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ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN TAIWAN:

A Study of the Effects of Teaching Culture on Motivation and Identity

Meng-Ching Ho

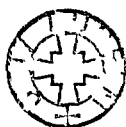
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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Education

University of Durham, England

September 1997



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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to investigate: (1) general opinions about Culture Studies in junior high school English language education in Taiwan, and (2) the effects that Culture Studies would have on Taiwanese pupils' motivation to learn English and on constructing a new identity in pupils. The research reported in this study involved 44 English teachers and 480 pupils in junior high schools in Taiwan.

The study is examined in relation to existing literature in many disciplines: Motivation research in foreign/second language learning which describes the motivation process at orientational, attitudinal and motivational levels (Gardner, 1985; Young, 1994); theories on acculturation which describe cultural identity in terms of identity with cultural values and practices; Phinney's (1993) description of multiple identities which addresses how an individual arrange conflicting group identities in a hierarchical order; Smith's (1991) analysis of culture, nation and state. The thesis combines these perspectives in an analytical description of the pupils' motivation and identity.

Data were collected from two sources. The questionnaire survey gathered data concerning English teachers' and pupils' opinions about Culture Studies in the English classroom. The experimental research grounded the analysis of the effects Culture Studies would have on pupils' motivation and identity on an empirical basis. Data engendered from these two researches were quantitative in nature, but the experimental research also provided a more qualitative description of the research issues.

Findings from the questionnaire survey suggest that English teachers/pupils had positive attitudes towards teaching/learning Culture Studies in the English language classroom. Findings from the experimental research reveals no statistically significant change in pupils' motivation and identity before and after the experimental culture teaching. In spite of this, other evidence drawn from the experiment, although limited and imperfect, is still a valuable source for expanding our knowledge on understanding the interaction between Culture Studies and motivation/identity.

The study ends by outlining Culture Studies as a potential motivator for pupils to learn English and catalyst for constructing a new identity in the part of pupils in Taiwan. Implications of this study for English education, for teaching materials compilation, for policy making, and for future research are provided as a concluding part.

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Chapter 1 Introduction to This Study

The origin of the research is, as will be described below in this chapter, in my own experience as an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teacher in a junior high school in Taiwan. This thesis is about Culture Studies and Taiwanese junior-high-school pupils' motivation in learning English on the one hand, and Culture Studies and pupils' perception of own culture on the other. Thus, three terms appear constantly which connect the key issues explored in this study: *Culture Studies*, *motivation* in English learning and *cultural, national and state identities*. This chapter will centre on describing how the two themes of research were developed and on formulating my research questions. However, before dealing with these issues, I will define what the following terms refer to in the context of this thesis: culture, Culture Studies in English education, and further illustrate why it is necessary to teach culture in the profession of teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL).

1.1 Culture and Culture Studies

This section aims at defining: (1) the concept of culture and (2) Culture Studies in TEFL. In the first part, the focus is on interpretations of culture in a chronological order, with more emphasis on conceptualising culture in the disciplines of cultural anthropology and sociology in the twentieth century. And then the contents of culture are discussed. The second part tries to clarify how the TEFL profession derives its concepts of Culture Studies and what it means by Culture Studies in foreign language education.

1.1.1 What Is Culture?

Defining culture is not an easy task owing to the fact that it can be interpreted in a variety perspectives. There are many different ways of viewing culture, e.g.,

treating culture as communication (Hall, 1981, in Abu Jalalah, 1993), and social (Hirschmeier and Yui, 1981), or educational (Brook, 1969) process .

1 A Historical Review of Definitions of Culture

The term 'culture' originated from the Latin word *cultura*, a verb associated with the idea of the tending or cultivation of crops and animals. Therefore, culture in Western interpretation represents the process through which the natural status, through human cultivation, becomes non-natural status. However, in the Chinese concept, culture means 'the way of nature' (Liu, in Huang 1993). The way of nature results in the status of culture. Consequently, a society without culture means one which is against nature.

Here I will make a brief review of the concept of culture according to three periods in Western history: (1) the Enlightenment, (2) the first half of the nineteenth century, and (3) the latter half of the nineteenth century.

During the Enlightenment, culture is synonymous to civilisation. It was used to describe the general, universal processes of human development and progress which—it was assumed—European civilisation had achieved, in contrast with that of more "rude", less civilised societies (du Gay *et.al.*, 1996). In the nineteenth century, under the influence of the German writer, Herder, as well as the Romantic movement and the rise of nationalism, 'culture' came to be associated with 'the specific and variable cultures of different nations and peoples'—that is, it described the way of life of particular groups, peoples, and nations or periods: a meaning which led to the word being more commonly used, as it often is today, in the plural—'cultures' (Ibid.) In the latter half of the nineteenth century, following Matthew Arnold's famous book, *Culture and Anarchy*, the word 'culture' acquired a more restrictive meaning in English—referring now to a state of intellectual refinement associated with the arts, philosophy and learning. This meaning persists in the present day, when 'culture' is used to refer to the 'high art', as compared with 'popular' culture (what ordinary folk, the relatively

unsophisticated masses, do) or 'mass' culture (associated with the mass media, and mass consumption) (Ibid.).

All these meanings of culture are still active wherever the concept of 'culture' is used. However, the definition which is probably most relevant to how the concept is used nowadays emerges at the end of the nineteenth and through the twentieth centuries, and is associated with the rise of the human and social sciences.

2 Conceptualising Culture in the Twentieth Century

Williams (cited in du Gay *et al.*, 1996) gave the social definition of culture, 'in which culture is a description of a particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour' (Ibid.:12). In terms of this, the analysis of culture is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. Defining culture in such a way involves several questions: how are the shared meanings underpinning particular behaviour or social structures and institutions produced?; what other counter meanings are circulating? what meanings are contested? how does the struggle between different sets of meaning reflect the play of power and the resistance to power in society?

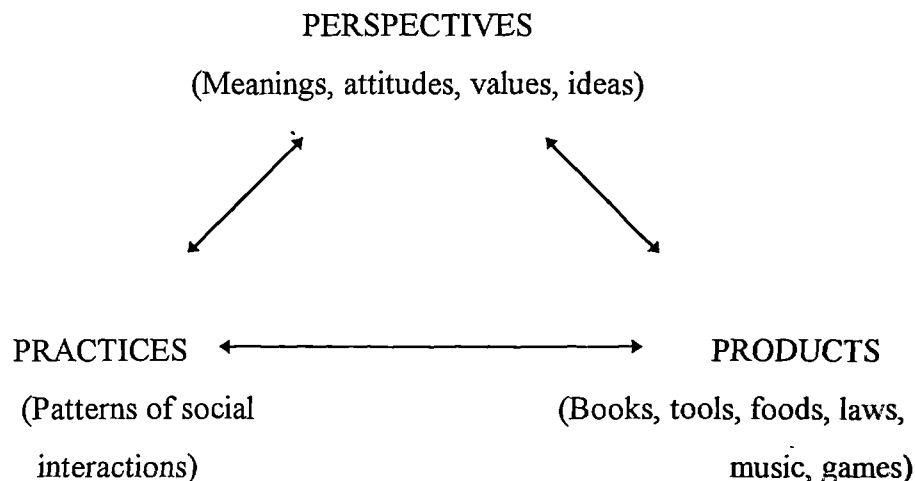
According to Rohner (cited in Hamers and Blanc, 1989:116), the sharing of symbolic meanings and behaviour is only approximate in the sense that they are equivalent rather than identical for any two individuals and are unevenly distributed in a society. Recently in anthropology, there is a phenomenon of rejecting the notion of a fixed inheritance of shared meanings because 'when culture is defined as that which is shared, questions about this sharedness—is it actually shared? to what extent? By who? How does it come to be shared?—disappear by definition' (Cowan, cited in Street, 1993:35). These anthropologists currently prefer to ask not 'what culture is' but 'what cultures do' (Thornton, cited in Street, 1993:23). Strauss (1992:1) also points out that:

Anthropological descriptions of culture are changing. In earlier decades it was conventional wisdom to think of cultures as integrated, stable sets of meanings and practices unproblematically reproduced through socialised actors. Now, anthropologists are beginning to stress conflict, contradiction, ambiguity, and change in cultural understandings — the way cultural understandings are “contested” and “negotiated,” in current jargon.

In terms of the aforementioned discussion, I thus give a brief and succinct definition of culture: culture is the meanings system which is agglomerated through generation to generation. It (the meanings system) is negotiable and therefore is subject to change rather than fixed once the meanings are settled down.

3 The Contents of Culture

In *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* published by the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project in 1996, culture contains three components: the philosophical perspectives, the behavioural practices, and the products—both tangible and intangible—of a society. How the products and practices are derived from the philosophical perspectives that form the world view of a cultural group and how these three components of culture are closely interrelated are illustrated by the diagram below.



4 Conclusion

There is a consensus that culture is a complex entity which comprises a set of symbolic systems, including knowledge, norms, values, beliefs, language, art and customs, as well as habits and skills learned by individuals as members of a given society. Culture therefore is a configuration of learned behaviour and the symbolic meanings attached to it; moreover, the components of culture are transmitted by members of a society to other members and shared among them.

In sum, culture is a synthetic organisation as well as structured systems of patterned behaviour. Once an individual is socialised into his or her cultural system, he or she is likely to see the world through it. Here what is emphasised is culture as concepts, values and norms in accord to which people act and interpret others' behaviours. Culture is not fixed but changeable through time; the boundary of two cultures is permeable (cultures communicate with each other). As Palmer (1994) said: it is not a question of two bounded, unitary 'ways of life', but of a universal borderland.

1.1.2 Culture Studies in Foreign Language Education

After the review of the definition and contents of culture in disciplines of anthropology and sociology, the discussion will turn to how the concept of Culture Studies is approached in the field of foreign language education. And then a personal definition of Culture Studies in foreign language teaching will be presented.

1 The Concept of Culture Studies in Foreign Language Education

From the American viewpoint, culture in the foreign language profession is divided into two scopes: 'Big C' culture, i.e., the culture of literary classics and works of art, and 'little c', the culture of the four Fs; foods, fairs, folklore, and statistical facts (Kramsch, 1991). 'Big C' culture is the more traditional conception of

culture adopted in the foreign language classroom, but more and more attention has been drawn to 'little c' culture (Brooks, 1969; Seelye, 1974; Corson, 1989).

Brooks (1969), who has been so influential in causing the profession of foreign language teaching to recognise the importance of culture and its link with language, identifies 'patterns for living', a concept defined as '...the individual's role in the unending kaleidoscope of life situations of every kind and the rules and models for attitude and conduct in them' (Ibid.: 210), as the most appropriate type of culture for teaching in the beginning language classroom. 'By reference to these models', Brooks (Ibid.:210) commented, 'every human being, from infancy onward, justifies the world to himself as best he can, associates with those around him, and relates to the social order to which he is attached.' Seelye (1974:23) also interpreted culture in the same vein:

Culture is seen to involve patterns of everyday life that enable individuals to relate to their place under the sun. It is nowadays emphasised that both categories (big C and little c) are inseparable because both aspects of culture are inextricably woven into the language of those who live in the culture and because understanding and involvement with both is vitally important for students at all levels of language learning (quoted in Standards for Foreign Language Learning, 1996:44).

2 The Definition of Culture Studies in this Study

Adopting this concept of culture discussed above, I define Culture Studies in TEFL as: (1) the study of a whole way of life, including those aspects of daily living such as housing, clothing, food, tools, transportation, and all the patterns of behavior that members of the culture regarded as necessary and appropriate; (2) the study of the meanings system which influences the behaviours of and beliefs, values and thought held by the people in the target language society. It is worthy of attention that what is emphasised in this study is that the two elements, culture studies and English language, are not to be treated as two separated bodies, with more importance placed in one element (usually the language), while taking the other element (usually Culture Studies) as minor, just to add some fun to language learning. Next, I will consider the needs of Culture Studies to explain why

studying target-language cultures should assume equal importance as learning the language itself.

1.2 The Needs of Culture Studies in Foreign Language Education

The needs of Culture Studies in foreign language education are seen at two levels here: the educational goals and the pragmatic goals.

1.2.1 The Educational Goal of Culture Studies in TEFL

One of the most cited and cherished goals of language teaching, as Loveday (1982) pointed out, is the promotion of international and cross-cultural understanding. Teaching about other people's cultures in the foreign language classroom is argued to have great advantages in broadening pupils' horizons by offering them insights into and access to other cultures which leads to the acquisition of a wider world-view and understanding of otherness (Abu Jalalah, 1993; Byram, 1989). Besides understanding other cultures, a further goal is also highlighted: encouraging positive attitudes towards speakers of that language, which is thought helpful to 'encourage tolerance, overcome stereotypes and to reduce prejudice and egocentricity' (Abu Jalalah, 1993:136).

1.2.2 The Pragmatic Goals of Culture Studies in TEFL

The pragmatic goals of Culture Studies which are frequently referred to in the profession of language teaching include promoting the learners' communicative ability and enhancing their interest in learning the language (Abu Jalalah, 1993). When the specific context of Taiwan is considered, Culture Studies in TEFL has another pragmatic goal: facilitating the construction of a new cultural identity among the young generation. (See the followings chapters for more discussion of this issue.)

In sections of 1.3 and 1.4, I want to clarify my research questions by dint of going back to the beginning of my research interests. The development of my research questions in motivation and identities is shown as follows.

1.3 Motivation and Culture Studies in TEFL in Taiwan's Junior High Schools

The idea of studying motivation in TEFL in Taiwan originated from my experience as an English teacher in one of Taiwan's junior high schools. Through my teaching experience, I found that most of my pupils lacked a clear reason and goal for learning English. They were learning English, but for most of them, their behaviour was more a kind of reluctant reaction under compulsion of the standard curriculum, the society, and the authority of Education. In other words, the pupils' behaviour was more like that resulting from the stimuli-response model of behaviourism rather than that coming from choice out of their free will. They learned English because it is in the curriculum, the same as any other subjects, e.g., Mathematics, biology, physics, etc. and it is a subject tested in important entrance examinations to get admitted to a senior high school, a vocational school or a five-year polytechnic school. In fact, to most of the junior-high school pupils, their reasons for learning English are indistinguishable from those for learning other school subjects to form a monolithic reason: to have a school to go to after junior high school. In my impression got from my pupils, I could not find a clear and specific reason that the pupils held to explain their behaviour of learning English, reasons that are special for English.

Although the concepts of TEFL in Taiwan is changing and moving toward the update ideas in this profession, in most junior high schools, English is still taught in a traditional grammar-translation way. This is the case in the school I taught before. In the school, the teaching schedule was always more advanced than other junior high schools in Taiwan, so there was strict time pressure which prevented the English teachers in the school from teaching what is not in the textbooks. In addition, owing to the standardised grammar-dominating textbooks all over

Taiwan and the entrance examinations, the English teachers had to teach what was in the textbooks because it would be what was tested in the exams. (The situation was not unique to the school where I taught but was generalisable to all the junior high schools in Taiwan. And it doesn't improve much until now.) As a result, there were no time and space for me to teach something that was extra to the textbooks but just followed the grammar-oriented way to conduct a English lesson.

Usually the response I received from the pupils was little. When asking a question, a devastating silence was the answer I got. The pupils either stared at each others or lowered their heads. And it always happened that some pupils talked audibly to their neighbouring classmates when I were giving instruction. Chambers' (1993:13) description of the demotivated pupils, although referring to the secondary pupils' learning foreign languages in England, is applicable to my case:

Poor concentration; lack of belief in own capabilities; no effort made to learn; 'what's the use' syndrome, negative or nil response to praise; lethargy; lack of co-operation; disruptive; distracted; distracts other pupils; throws things; shouts out; produces little or no homework; fail to bring materials to class; claim to have lost materials.

These descriptions are more vivid when the pupils in the low ability grouping class are the case.

The restrictions imposed on me from the teaching schedule, standard curriculum, examinations, textbooks seemed to be connected with those demotivated pupils in my class. Therefore I began to look for the possibility and space for using topics relevant to the cultures of English speaking people to make my teaching more interesting and attractive to the pupils, within the limitation of English textbooks and the teaching schedule. In my opinion, culture studies is a possible and potential motivator to create a 'need', a reason for the pupils to learn English by dint of showing the pupils that English is not only a school subject, tested in the entrance examinations, but also a language spoken as a mother tongue or lingua franca by people outside of our country. It is a real and living language, not the artificial language, a lot of strange alphabets and sounds and grammar recorded in

the textbooks. It is hoped that the pupils' interests in the people and the cultures in the target language society will create a need for them to learn English in order to communicate with the people and to understand their cultures, in spite of the fact that most of them learn English with an instrumental orientation, or even 'no orientation'.

In terms of its instrumental use, I assume that culture studies should be included in TEFL in Taiwan's junior high schools because it will be a potential motivator to demotivated pupils. In regard to the potentiality of culture studies as a motive in foreign language learning in general and in TEFL in Taiwan's junior high schools in particular, there will be further discussion in later chapters (Chapters 4 and 7), in terms of the language learners' needs to learn a foreign language and the changing socio-cultural milieu in Taiwan. Here, I will present some personal assumptions for adding culture studies in TEFL in junior high schools in Taiwan.

1. Culture studies may change Taiwan's junior-high-school pupils stereotype that English class is boring.
2. Culture studies may be a potential motivator to Taiwanese junior-high-school pupils, no matter that most of them are instrumentally orientated to learn English.
3. Culture studies may be a potential motivator to the pupils with low motivation to learn English

1.4 Identities and Culture Studies

Research interest in this part rose from comparing the directions of foreign or second language education in countries like Britain, the USA, and Canada, and countries like Morocco, Malaysia and Singapore, and Taiwan. A phenomenon appears that they treat the target-language culture studies in different ways. Countries in the former group are labelled as 'core English-speaking countries' by Phillipson (1992) in which the dominant group are native speakers of English.

The latter group is called periphery-English countries. Phillipson (Ibid.:17) describes periphery-English countries as follows:

The periphery-English countries are of two types: countries which require English as an international link language (Scandinavia, Japan), and countries on which English was imposed in colonial times, and where the language has been successfully transplanted and still serves a range of international purposes (India, Nigeria).

In the core English-speaking countries, a trend has formed which advocates integrating Culture Studies into foreign or second language learning, either for pragmatic goals (e.g., increasing the language learners' intercultural competence to increase their communicative competence) and/or educational goals (e.g., encouraging positive attitudes and understanding of other people). Whereas in periphery-English countries, learning of the target-language culture is conducted in a more sensitive and conservative manner in case their native culture will be endangered. From the comparison between these two sets of countries, the other research theme concerning teaching cultures of the target-language countries and the language learners' own cultural identity emerged: is teaching target language culture in contradiction to maintaining own cultural identity?

The question is of importance and interests when the specific context of Taiwan is considered. In Taiwan, the same debates exist but its special situation makes the issue subtler compared with other periphery English-speaking countries. At this moment, Taiwan is in need of resorting to western cultures to create unique Taiwanese culture for the purpose of state-building. Usually, being of the same cultural origin as Chinese culture and located at the edge of China Mainland, Taiwanese culture is thought to be subordinated to Chinese culture and marginalised. The confusion of Taiwanese culture with Chinese culture and depreciation of Taiwanese culture as a branch of Chinese culture, either within Taiwanese people or from outside of Taiwan (especially from the People's Republic of China, the PRC) interferes with the task of state-building in Taiwan. In Taiwan, people's ambiguity of cultural and national identities results in divergence in state identity; while outside of Taiwan, the PRC has the excuse to

claim sovereignty over Taiwan in spite of the fact that Taiwan has been a state independent of it in politics, economy, military and even culture for almost fifty years. Therefore, the desirability of keeping open to western cultures and the undesirability of it conflict with each other more violently than in some other countries. The detailed description of the comparison between core and periphery English-speaking countries and the situation of Taiwan will be further illustrated in Chapter 3.

1.5 The Research Questions

If implemented, the role that Culture Studies plays in TEFL in Taiwan's junior high school should be of great importance in terms of the positive contribution it would potentially have to motivate the junior-high-school pupils and the possible effects it would bring to the more complicated issue of the pupils' own identities. In order to understand this issue, we need to get a clear profile of junior-high-school pupils' motivation and cultural and national identity at present, to investigate English teachers' and pupils' opinions about Culture Studies, and then explore the relationship between cultural studies, motivation and cultural and national identities.

1. Research Questions

The concerns of the study are therefore as follows:

1. The possibility of implementing Culture Studies in junior-high-school English education, in terms of both pupil and teacher opinions, and pupils orientations, attitudes and motivation concerning English learning,
2. The impacts that Culture Studies would have on pupils' motivation to learn English and on their identity with their own culture.

2. The aims of the study are to find out (in the context of TEFL in Taiwan' s junior high schools):

1. The pupils' motivation to learn English at present.
2. The pupils' cultural identity at present.
3. If Culture Studies is a potential motivator for pupils' to learn English.
4. Possible effects that Culture Studies would have on pupils' motivation and on their own cultural identity.
5. Relationship between pupils' motivation, cultural identity, and their interests in Culture Studies.
6. The cultural items and country that pupils would like to learn about and English teachers think should be taught.
7. In what ways the pupils like to learn cultures of English speaking countries.
8. If there is any change in pupils' motivation to learning English after Culture Studies is conducted in their English class.
9. If there is any change in pupils' cultural identity after Culture Studies is conducted in their English class.
10. Pupils' and teachers' opinions about English textbooks (the amount of cultural introduction included, what aspects of cultures are included).

1.6 Overview of This Thesis

Here is description of contents of the following chapters in this thesis.

Chapter 2 introduces Taiwan, in terms of its: (1) social background (i.e. population and language, identity problems, foreign relations, economic development), and (2) historical development in education with special reference to English education.

Chapter 3 presents a review of language and cultural policies in core and periphery English-speaking countries. The discussion in this chapter reveals that in both groups of countries, there is more or less resistance to languages and cultures other than their own native ones or the mainstream language and culture. Two arguments concerning linguistic and cultural imperialism are discussed and then the policies of Taiwan are highlighted.

In Chapter 4 the central focus is on reviewing literature relevant to motivation, first in terms of psychology and then of empirical researches in the field of foreign/second language education. It is revealed from the discussion of this chapter that motivation involves intrapsychic and socio-cultural aspects, and in the field of foreign/second language education, approaches to motivation have extended from the socio-cultural dimension to the intrapsychic one. Furthermore, the chapter also explores the possibility of using Culture Studies to motivate foreign language learners.

Chapter 5 provides the theoretical background on the formation of cultural, national and state identities, as well as the discussion of the interrelationship among the three identities. Besides, this chapter also reviews the evolution of Taiwanese identity in history and then highlights the problem of identity confusion at the levels of culture, nation and state in Taiwan today. And then the role that Culture Studies in English education plays in constructing identity among Taiwan's young generation is also discussed.

Chapter 6 is about the two methodologies used to collect data in Taiwan, questionnaire survey and teaching experiment, the development of the research instrument, sampling, and the description of fieldwork carried out in Taiwan. It also mentions data regarding the characteristics of participants and the statistical tools used for data analysis.

Chapters 7 and 8 analyse and discuss the data collected from the fieldwork, and Chapter 9 summarises the findings of the research and then presents conclusion and recommendations for further English education in Taiwan.

1.7 Summary

This chapter provides a brief introduction to the origins of this study and the reasons to investigate the relationships between Culture Studies in English education and Taiwanese junior-high-school pupils' motivation to learn English and their own identity. In addition, the definitions of culture and Culture Studies in foreign language education were also discussed so that they can be used in the empirical research as a criterion with which Taiwanese junior-high-school English teachers' concepts of Culture Studies can be compared.

From the discussion in this chapter, we find that concerning the theme of motivation, Culture Studies as a potential motivator suggests that it is desirable in junior-high-school English education in Taiwan. When the issue of identity is concerned, it seems that in the case of Taiwan, Culture Studies in English teaching might serve as a catalyst to new identity formation; while in other periphery English-speaking countries, it becomes less desirable. In Chapter 3, there will be more discussion on this issue.

In the following chapter, space is given to the introduction to Taiwan, the context where the empirical research of this study will take place.

Chapter 2 Introduction to Taiwan

Chapter 1 briefly described the two research focuses in this study: Taiwan's junior high school pupil motivation to learn English and the arguments concerning identity in foreign language teaching. For the purpose of locating the problems of motivation and identity in the setting of Taiwan more specifically, this chapter aims at providing a general introduction to Taiwan in terms of its geographic background, history, and situation today (including languages, identity, diplomacy, economy, the education system, and English education). Through descriptions of these aspects, it is hoped that a clearer picture will emerge which points out the problems that Taiwan is facing with aspects of identity and of education in English.

2.1 The Geographic Background

The territories currently under the control of the Taiwan government include Taiwan, the Pescadores, Kinmen, and Matsu, as well as the archipelagoes in the South China Sea. Off the Pacific coast of Taiwan are Green Island and Orchid Island. To the north-east of Taiwan are the Tiaoyut'ai Islands. These lands, usually called the Taiwan Area, measure 36,000 square kilometres.

The island of Taiwan, measuring 377 km long and 142 km wide at its widest point, constitutes the major part of Taiwan (Republic of China, ROC). It is located off the eastern coast of China in the Western Pacific between Japan and the Philippines, and is separated from the Chinese mainland by the Taiwan Straits.

2.2 The Historical Background

The purpose of this section is to introduce the general history of Taiwan, with special reference to language education. Although the history of education in Taiwan can be

traced back up to the 16th (Ming dynasty) and the 17th (Dutch and Spanish colonisation) centuries, I will mainly focus on the period of Japanese colonisation and of Koumingtang's rule (KMT, which means 'the party of the people'). The reason for this arrangement is that Japanese colonisation was a turning point which led Taiwan towards the road of modernisation in education and KMT is the ruling party in Taiwan now.

2.2.1 Japanese Colonisation

In 1894, the Ch'ing dynasty had a war against Japan over Korea (the Sino-Japan War, 1894-1895). China lost the war and was forced to cede Taiwan to Japan as compensation. Consequently, from 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was under Japanese rule. In 1945, Japan, as a country who lost World War Two, gave up all its control and rights in Taiwan, and the Allied Powers, led by the United States, agreed to return Taiwan to Chinese control. Therefore, Chiang kai-shek and Chinese Nationalist authorities (that is, Kuomintang, KMT) sent troops and administrators to the island. Their inept, corrupt, and oppressive rule led to a wave of dissidence and a bloody crackdown in 1947 that continued to sour relations between the Nationalist "mainlanders" and indigenous "Taiwanese".

2.2.2 The Chinese Nationalists (KMT) Rule

In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and about 2 million other mainlanders fled to Taiwan because of losing the civil war against the Chinese Communists and of the establishment of Mao Zedong's People's Republic of China (PRC). The KMT set up the new base of their Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan and promoted it as the legitimate representative of all of China with support from the United States. However, as the US's policy in Asia changed from the 1960s and scores of countries switched official recognition to the PRC, the ROC became less and less recognised in the international community. In recent years, Chinese Taipei (or Taipei only) is the name used more commonly when Taiwan participates in international occasions (e.g., the Olympic Games) or sets up institutions in foreign countries. Through the first quasi-official contacts between Beijing and Taipei and

the “one country, two territories” formula coined in 1990, Taiwan has dropped its claim to sole representation. The fact that the KMT government is nevertheless still unable to publicly proclaim a “two Chinas” or even a “one Taiwan, one China” policy is due to the threat of force issued by mainland China in such an event, and to the associated questioning of Taiwan’s own legitimisation claimed in nearly fifty years of a state of emergency. The historical complexity in politics became the cause of Taiwanese people’s confusion in national identity. This problem is to be dealt with in section 2.4.2.

2.3 Foreign Languages Education in Taiwan: a Historical Review

The focus of this section is on the historical evolution of language education in schooling. The history of foreign language education is divided into two periods: Japanese colonisation, and KMT’s rule.

2.3.1 The Period of Japanese Colonisation (1895-1945)

During this period of being a Japanese colony, the educational system and language education changed tremendously. Generally speaking, the aim of Japan’s colonial education in Taiwan was to “Japanise” the Taiwanese and it was also characterised by separating Taiwanese and Japanese students in different schools. Usually the schools with better equipment and teaching staff were open to Japanese while Taiwanese could only go to the minor ones. The following section will explain the language education of Taiwan as a Japanese colony.

1 Elementary Schools

On the one hand, in schools for Japanese students (shiao schools), Taiwanese and Chinese were taught in the beginning in order to help the students adapt themselves to life in Taiwan. And on the other hand, in schools for Taiwanese (kung schools), Japanese teaching was strongly emphasised in order to “Japanise” the students. In these schools,

Chinese was an optional subject but deleted from the curriculum in 1937. In 1922, the colonial government allowed Taiwanese students to enter shiao schools on the condition of their fluency in Japanese. However the percentage of Taiwanese students in these schools was low.

2 Secondary Schools

At this stage, school education was characterised by separation between (a) Taiwanese and Japanese and (b) boys and girls. In schools for Taiwanese boys, English was an optional subject but in schools either for Taiwanese or Japanese girls, there was no teaching of any foreign language. In addition to these schools, there were two preliminary schools for universities. In these two schools, languages education was highly stressed in terms of academic study, so besides Japanese and Chinese, there was learning of the first and second foreign languages, i.e., English, German, and French (Huang, 1993).

It is obvious that Japanese assumed high prestige in this period on account of the advocacy of the Japanese colonial government. In fact, language education in Japanese colonial education took on the work of executing colonial policy. From the very beginning of the occupation, Japan had endeavoured to convert Taiwanese into obedient people who would be absolutely loyal to the Japanese empire. The colonial government in Taiwan hoped that through language shift, the Taiwanese could be assimilated to and identify with Japan. As a result, its sovereignty over Taiwan would be strengthened. Axiomatically, developing Japanese teaching became the preoccupation which stood before other minor languages, no matter Taiwanese, Chinese or foreign languages. After nearly fifty years' promotion, Japanese was deeply planted in the daily life of Taiwanese (Huang, 1993).

The descriptions in the preceding sections help to indicate the role foreign language education (in this case Japanese, although in terms of Japanese it was the native language) played in fulfilling the policy of assimilation made by the colonial rulers in Taiwan. Perhaps

this experience of being colonised explains some of the fear of neo-colonialism expressed by some Taiwanese.

2.3.2 The Period after the World War Two (1945-)

The change of rulers brought changes in education. In order to purify Taiwanese from contamination of Japan's enslavement education, the KMT government withdrew Japanese from the curricula of primary and secondary schools and Mandarin became the medium of instruction in Taiwan since 1945. In regard to foreign languages, English is the one which enjoys privilege in comparison with other foreign language. The position of English in Taiwan's schooling today will be illustrated in detail later.

2.4 Taiwan Today: problems of identity

This section will introduce Taiwan in terms of the following aspects: population and languages, national identities, the government, foreign relations, economy and the education system.

2.4.1 Population and Languages

1. Population

Taiwan's population numbered over 21,077,000 as of 1994. Taipei City has the largest population of the Taiwan area, followed by Kaohsiung City. Densely populated urban areas have merged around Taipei, forming an interdependent economic and industrial network. Neighbouring Taoyuan County, for example, has the third highest population concentration of the island, after the cities of Taipei and Kaoshiung.

According to the figures in 1985, 71 percent of Taiwan's population were ethnic Southern Min (whose ancestors came from a province in southern China), while 12 percent were

ethnic Hakka. Approximately 15 percent were Mainlanders whose families immigrated to Taiwan after 1945, especially in 1949 with the retreat of the KMT government from Mainland China (Young *et.al.* 1992).

2 Languages

Domestic languages

A diglossic bilingualism exists on Taiwan (Edwards, 1985). According to the figures in 1982 (cited in Edwards, *Ibid.*), 15 million speak Taiwanese (the Southern Min dialect), one million speak Hakka, and about two million have other native languages (including Mandarin). It is Mandarin, however, which is the official national language and which acts as the lingua franca. According to Young *et. al.* (1992), Mandarin was promoted in Taiwan under two assumptions: (1) Taiwan was a province of China; and (2) Mandarin was the national language of China. Most Taiwanese people are bilingual in Mandarin and another variety, most commonly, of course, Taiwanese. Since the government in Taiwan now is one which came from China in 1949 (the Kuo-min-tang, KMT), the authority concerned felt it necessary to promote Mandarin as a marker of its superiority as the ruling class. As a result, it is readily apparent why Mandarin rather than Taiwanese has received official recognition. Since 1954, there has been a large shift toward the use of Mandarin in Taiwan. The shift has taken place in many domains including families, the workplace and the market place (Young *et al.*, *Ibid.*).

However, due to the change in politics, the situation has changed in recent years. Another political party, the Democracy Progressive Party (DPP)¹ whose members are mainly native Taiwanese speakers, has become more and more powerful and possesses seats in the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly. Under the advocacy of DPP, more and more

¹ In September 1986, opponents of the government founded the Democratic Progress Party (DPP) (despite an official ban on opposition movements), which was committed in its majority to Taiwan's independence from China. The party was tolerated by the government. In 1987, President Chiang Ching-kou rescinded martial law, and then the DPP became a legal party.

Taiwanese people are coming to the awareness that Taiwanese should have the right to use their own native language on any occasion and begin to put it into action. For example, a few teachers in some colleges and universities use Taiwanese as a medium of instruction, regardless of the regulation set by the Ministry of Education (MOE) that Mandarin is the only language for teaching (excluding teaching of foreign languages) (Chen, 1995). In some provinces and cities where the chairmen and mayors are members of DPP, teaching Taiwanese is included in the primary curriculum. Nevertheless, so far, the education authorities have insisted that Mandarin should be the medium of instruction at all levels of schools and only when some topics related to teaching Taiwanese native culture are in question, can Taiwanese be considered to used as the medium of instruction. In spite of this change, it is, generally speaking, Mandarin which assumes still the status as the national and official language used in the government, the court and schools, and the large majority of television broadcasts are in Mandarin.

Language attitudes

In an investigation, Young *et. al.* (1992) pointed out that Mandarin played an instrumental role in unifying the peoples of Taiwan. However, the degree of linguistic attachment and attitudes toward usage were clearly divided along ethnic lines. Mainlanders felt a stronger attachment toward Mandarin than did the native Taiwanese. The Hakka and Southern Min, on the other hand, were much more attached to their non-Mandarin dialects and had more positive attitudes toward maintaining their mother dialects. Language attitudes later became a signal in relation to political stances of Taiwanese people.

Foreign languages

No foreign language enjoys the status as an official language as Mandarin does in Taiwan. The most popular foreign language in Taiwan is English and the second, Japanese. Japanese was widely spoken during the 50 years of colonial occupation and now is an important foreign language in Taiwan because of trading and technological exchange with

Japan. However, English, especially American English, is much more widely learnt and assumes a higher status than Japanese or other foreign languages in Taiwan. As Chen (1995:2) describes, 'despite some public concern about the Americanisation of Taiwanese Culture, American influence and especially American English through the media pervades Taiwan'. Chen (Ibid.) lists four reasons to explain this phenomenon:

First, the historical links between the US and Taiwan are influential, such as a US military presence in Taiwan until 1969; Taiwanese emigration to the US; and many Taiwanese people receiving advanced education in the US. Second, the US has long been Taiwan's most important trading partner. Third, the US language has been taught as a compulsory subject in high schools for about fifty years. Lastly, Americans (and other speakers of English) make up one of the largest and most prominent foreign groups in Taiwan.

Next, the discussion will turn to use of English in Taiwan and its importance to people's academic and career development.

English in Taiwan

1 Wide spread of English in Taiwan

English is a foreign language in Taiwan, so in general, people seldom have the opportunities to use it as a medium for daily interaction (in the aspects of speaking and writing). In spite of this, there are still a number of sources from which the local people can receive native English speaker input (in the aspects of reading and listening). In reading, a large number of English newspapers, magazines, and other publications are available in book stores and public libraries. In addition, two English language newspapers, the China Post and the China News, are published locally and widely available (both have a circulation of 150,000 copies). However, the readers of these English publications are limited to academics or university students. The general public, due to the fact that there are far more Chinese publications which can be much more easily read, are not motivated to read English publications. But English words can be seen everywhere on the signs of shops, road signs, and the packaging of imported or domestically-made goods.

For example, the Taipei City government has decided to set aside a special budget to standardise its English traffic and bus stop signs as part of its effort to internationalise the city (China New, January 16th, 1996).

With regard to listening to English, Taiwanese people have a lot of opportunities to watch English language movies or films with Chinese subtitles in local cinemas and on TV. on channels such as Star, CNN, Discovery, and HBO. In sound broadcasting, there is a radio station called International Community Radio Taipei (ICRT) whose programmes are all English medium. Moreover, many English teaching programmes are available on local FM/AM radio stations. From above, we know that English, although not a second language, is not actually foreign either to Taiwanese because in their daily life, they have a lot of opportunities to get access to English in the aspect of reading and listening.

2 The importance of English in Taiwanese people's academic and career development

English is a required subject in almost all kinds of exams in Taiwan (discussed in 2.4.6) and frequently required in the workplace in a wide range of businesses and enterprises. Therefore English ability is one of the conditions for social mobility and better economic status. In spite of the fact that people in Taiwan can receive English input from many sources and are aware that English is essential to their development in the future, their English ability, especially in speaking, is poor (see Section 2.5).

2.4.2 Identity and Independence

As mentioned in the previous section, there are different ethnic and ethnolinguistic groups in Taiwan. The ambiguous attitudes toward domestic languages extend to attitudes in the definition of Taiwan as a country and Taiwanese as a nation. In the following, I will firstly describe the problems in identity in Taiwan and secondly the issue of Taiwan's independence.

1 State and National Identities

Owing to the historical and cultural ties with China, the issue of state and national identities is a complex and debatable one in Taiwan. In the early stage of KMT control, the issue was less problematic because the notion that Taiwan was only a part of China and the government would take back Mainland China from the hand of Chinese Communists was unquestionable. At that time, the concept was clear and unquestionable that Taiwanese were Chinese, just like that English are British, and that Taiwan was a province belonging to the Republic of China (ROC., the government existing from 1911 to 1949 in Mainland China). The argument that Taiwan should be an independent country was strictly forbidden by the law. Later in the 1980s, accompanied by the openness and innovation in politics, people were allowed to organise new political parties and have freedom in presenting political arguments different from the ruling party, KMT. The shift in political environment made the voice of Taiwan's independence (mostly by the opposite party, DPP) louder. As a result, people in Taiwan had a variety of opinions about how Taiwan should be presented in the international world (a part of China, which means sticking to the name of ROC or Taiwan as an independent state) and about their identity (being Chinese or simply Taiwanese).

In a recent investigation (cited by Shao, in Central Daily News, July 11th, 1996), one-third of people in Taiwan thought themselves to be Taiwanese, one-third thought themselves to be Chinese and one-third thought themselves to be both Taiwanese and Chinese. The result reflected the ambiguous bifurcated national identities among Taiwanese people. Lacking a clear definition in attributing Taiwan as an independent Taiwan or as an inseparable part of China not only blurs Taiwanese people's conception of national identity but also makes Taiwan a place without a clear status (a country with autonomy or a province belonging to China?) in the world. Shao, an ex-minister of the Ministry of Information said that:

Because of study and work, I had a lot of opportunities to go abroad. However, there was one thing that always troubled me and made me feel powerless. Every time when I was asked to put my nationality in documents, I did not know what to write. If I put Republic of China, the foreigners always confuse it with PRC. (People 's Republic of China); if I put Taiwan, it is not recognised as a country internationally; the abbreviation of ROC is most probably taken as a brand of French perfume; and if I simply wrote CHINA, the foreigners thought that I am from Mainland China (Central Daily News, July 11th, 1996; my translation).

From this, it is shown that the problem of identity in Taiwan is confused. In terms of its historical complexity and importance in this thesis, the theory of identity and issues of Taiwanese identity will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

2 Taiwan between Annexation and Independence

There is no longer majority support in Taiwan for an active policy of reunification. The executive and legislative are currently dominated by advocates of a 'two-Chinas policy'. (Moeller, 1994:207). Furthermore, in the public, some proclaim 'one China, One Taiwan'. However, the desire to be independent either in the name of 'another China' or 'Taiwan' is beyond the free choice of Taiwanese people. Sutter (1994:281) describes the subtle situation of Taiwan at present in detail:

Beijing has considerable influence over Taiwan's future, particularly as its huge and rapidly expanding economy exerts a profound influence on decision-makers throughout Asia and around the globe. Political forces influencing government policy-makers in Taipei include those who advocate positions on self-determination and independence that could jeopardise the relatively stable relations with the People's Republic and promote conflicts across the Taiwan Strait. The shifts on the mainland seem to support a generally moderate stance toward Taiwan, presumably based on growing economic interdependence. While there are extreme political views floating around Taiwan, voters and politicians have repeatedly chosen a more moderated course, apparently wanting to avoid unnecessary tension while supporting Taipei's *de facto* independence.

In the light of the restrictions from the PRC, the government takes a more practical approach to strengthen Taiwan's *de facto* existence, which is reflected in its pragmatic

diplomatic policy (to be discussed in Section 2.4.4) and efforts to establish a new identity in the aspects of culture, nation, and state.

In view of Taiwan's status in the international society and its problems of identity, the teaching of a foreign language takes on a particular significance. In 1996, President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan advocated that Taiwan should endeavour to create a new 'Chinese' culture by integrating traditional Chinese, native Taiwanese, and Western cultures. The way of establishing a new culture and new identity and its relation to foreign language education in the cultural dimension is to be discussed in Chapters 3 and 5.

2.4.3 The Educational Administrative System and Its Policies on English Education

The discussion will first centre on introduction to the educational administrative system and governmental institutions in charge of educational affairs at different administrative levels. Then the contradiction between policies on English education made by these institutions will be presented to illustrate the arguments for and against opening up towards foreign languages and cultures

1 The Government and the Educational Administrative System

Taiwan is a constitutional democracy in which the exercise of power is entrusted to elected representatives. The system features a president, who is the head of state, and a premier, who runs the cabinet and the affairs of state. There are five branches in the central government, of which the Cabinet, or Executive Yuan, is one. The Taiwan government is organised into three levels: *the central level* comprised of the five branches and the National Assembly; *the provincial level* comprised of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly, the Taiwan Provincial Government, Fukien Provincial government, two municipal governments of Taipei and Kaohsiung; and *the city/county level* which consists of 16 county governments and five city governments directly under Taiwan Province.

Consequently, administrative authorities under the educational system can be divided into three levels as well—i.e., the Ministry of Education (MOE) at the central government level, the Department of Education at the provincial government level, and the Bureau of Education at the county government level, including the two municipal cities of Taipei and Kaohsiung. All matters related to education are in the charge of the MOE. Compulsory education (primary schools and junior high schools) are administered by the Bureaux of Education in the county governments and senior high school education is in the charge of the Department of Education in the provincial government. Both the Department of Education and the Bureau of Education are governed in turn by the MOE. Colleges and universities are directly controlled by the MOE.

Traditionally for the sake of standardisation, the MOE prescribes standard curricula for schools of all levels. The textbooks and teaching materials in primary and junior high schools are compiled, printed and supplied by the MOE. As for senior high schools, some are compiled by the MOE and some are compiled by private publishers and published after being screened by the National Institute of Compilation and Translation (the NICT) of the MOE. Recently, a more open policy was taken to make the textbook market free. In 1996, the MOE announced that primary schools in Taiwan can choose textbooks compiled and edited by private publishers in addition to those by the NICT.

2 Divergent English Language Policies between the MOE and Bureau of Education of Taipei City

In principle, as mentioned above, the Bureau of Education at the county level is governed by the MOE. However, in some places where the mayors are members of the opposition DPP, educational policies diverge from those made by the MOE. Here I will give one example relevant to English education. In 1994, a member of the DPP was elected as the mayor of Taipei City. Immediately in 1995, the Bureau of Education of Taipei City declared that in the academic year of 1998, an experimental multi-lingual and multi-cultural

primary school was going to be established, which would aim at: (1) cultivating on the part of the young generation the ability to understand and appreciate contents of foreign cultures, and (2) equipping the pupils with international views by means of letting them have contact with foreign languages and cultures. The Bureau of Education of Taipei City pointed out that internationalisation is an unavoidable trend, so it is urgent to prepare for multi-lingual and culture education in order to let Taiwan move towards international society (Central Daily News, Freedom Time News, and Independence Morning News, October 6th, 1995). The project was objected to by the MOE on the ground that it would interfere with the learning of the native language. The MOE said that even the Grade 6 pupils do not definitely have a good command of Mandarin, a "foreign" language for Taiwanese people. Under this condition, learning foreign languages whose grammar and syntax are always contrary to ours would result in pupils' confusion.

In 1996, the MOE's former minister Kou Wei-fan announced his new foreign language policy in order to match up with the social trend of internationalisation: (1) putting English into Grades 5 and 6's curriculum in primary schools, (2) increasing the second foreign language teaching for Grade 3 junior-high-school pupils, and (3) establishing departments of South-East Asian languages and literature in universities (in consonance with the government's economic policy of investing in south-east Asian countries, see 2.4.5). Kou indicated that to strengthen foreign language teaching and to enhance students' foreign language ability are the direction that our education would aim at. However, for the lower graders (Grades 1 to 4), teaching Mandarin and dialects was the priority. Therefore the proper way was to put English teaching in Grades 5 and 6 pupils' extra-curriculum activities (Freedom Time News, April 16th, 1996). Later in September, 1996, the Association of Educational Innovation which belonged to Executive Yuan suggested that English should be listed as one of the required subjects in primary schools' curriculum. However, the MOE, now under the charge of its new minister, Wu-Ging, still insisted that it could only be an optional subject because at the stage of primary school, Mandarin learning was prior to foreign language learning (Central Daily News, September 23rd, 1996).

From the above, we find that there is always an inconsistency in foreign language education policies between the central governmental level. In addition, the difference in policies between the two levels' governmental educational institutions also reflects the debate between protecting own language and culture and opening up to foreign languages and cultures.

2.4.4 Foreign Relations: Pragmatic Foreign Policy

Free Diplomacy is the right of an independent state. Taiwan, owing to mainland China's sabotage, has long been isolated from the international community. Next, the description of Taiwan's foreign relations with other countries will be presented and then the focus on the role English plays in promoting Taiwanese diplomacy.

1 Formal Diplomatic Relations and Substantive Relations

Taiwan is like an orphan in the international community. In 1971 PRC replaced ROC as one of the members in the United Nations and Taiwan was expelled or withdrew from other international organisations. In 1972, Japan stopped diplomatic relations with Taiwan and then in 1979, the US ended official relations with Taiwan, including the 1954 mutual defence treaty, in order to establish formal relations with Beijing as the sole legal government of China. After that, Taiwan's international standing declined drastically. In the 1970s, the number of countries which recognised Taiwan in the name of the ROC fell quickly from 71 to 21. In the 1990s, two countries, South Korea and South Africa stopped formal relations with Taiwan. So far in 1997, Taiwan maintains formal diplomatic relations with 28 countries, most of them concentrated in Central and South America, the Caribbean, and Africa.

In the light of Beijing's relentless diplomatic competition with Taipei, the opposition DPP party leaders argued that Taiwan would be better off internationally as a *de jure* separate

state than with its current claimed status as the government—or at least a government—of China (Sutter, 1994). Partly in response to this challenge, the KMT government has adopted a “pragmatic” approach to diplomacy in recent years, especially in the 1990s. Pragmatic diplomacy is predicated on the assumption that, in the absence of formal diplomatic ties, substantive relations, e.g. economic and cultural links, with the countries who recognise the Chinese communists will allow the Taiwan government to represent the legitimate rights of the people in Taiwan area and to fulfil its obligations to the new world order.

Under the rubric ‘pragmatic diplomacy’, Taiwan maintains links with over 140 countries and regions that do not officially recognise Taiwan in the name of the ROC. To promote substantive relations, Taiwan has 93 representative offices in 61 countries and regions. For the same reason, 41 countries have set up 45 representative offices, associations, or visa-issuing centres in Taiwan. Presently, Taiwan is focusing on expanding substantive ties with its largest trading partners, such as the United States, Japan, and countries in Europe and Southeast Asia. However the obstacles are still tremendous because of the interference from China. For example, in 1995, the present president of Taiwan, Lee, went to the USA to visit Cornell University in the name of being its distinguished former student. Although it was a private visit, China expressed its protest and asked the USA to promise that it will never issue a visa to any government officers from Taiwan again.

2 International Organisations

Taiwan’s unique international status has led it to place great emphasis on participation in international organisations. As of April 1994, Taiwan enjoyed membership in a number of inter-governmental organisations, such as the Asia Development Bank, International Cotton Advisory Committee, Asia Productivity Organisation, and the Central American Bank for Economic Integration. With Beijing’s toleration, Taiwan is a member of the International Olympic Committee and of the Organisation for Asian-Pacific economic Co-operation (APEC), under the name “Chinese Taipei” in both. At present, the Taiwan

government is endeavouring to join two important international organisations: the United Nations and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Being a major economic power with the world's second largest foreign exchange reserves, the government and the people of Taiwan believe that Taiwan should enjoy a reasonable status in the international community.

3 Foreign Language Education and the Development of Foreign Relations

In terms of developing foreign relations with other countries, the foreign language ability of our people assumes an important role. In order to develop official relations with foreign countries, Taiwan needs a lot of people who are capable of a good command of foreign languages to work for developing foreign affairs. In the light of the need, the government promoted establishing departments of foreign languages in universities. For example, Arabic and Spanish were both in the list of promotion in terms of Taiwanese relationships with the Middle East and Latin American countries in the 1970s to the 1980s. More recently, the focus has turned to European languages with the purpose of developing relationships with European countries. Besides, the government also encourages Taiwanese citizens to take every chance to introduce Taiwan to foreign people whenever they go abroad. Therefore, it is obvious that Taiwanese people's foreign language ability is one of the helping hands to develop relationship with foreign countries either officially or non-officially. In addition to foreign language in general, English ability assumes a particular important position in developing Taiwan's foreign relationships with other countries in terms of English as an international communicative language.

2.4.5 Economy

This section firstly introduces Taiwanese economy in terms of its annual economic growth and foreign trade. Secondly, problems for the 1990s are presented and then finally, the role of Taiwanese people's foreign language ability plays in promoting economy is discussed.

1 Annual Economic Growth and Foreign Trade

1 Annual Economic Growth

Taiwan is an island with limited natural resources. In the 1950s, the government's economic policy was to use the capital got from the selling of agriculture products (sugar for example) to develop industries and then export industrial products to earn foreign currency. As a result, international trade became an important way that Taiwan made its living. In the past two decades, Taiwan has created the internationally famous 'economic miracle' by making full use of agricultural resources and the labour force. Between 1953 and 1989 the Taiwanese economy grew at a mean annual rate of 8.9 per cent, more than double the average for developing nations (4.71 per cent) and industrialised nations (3.8 per cent) (Ferdinand, 1996). However, accompanied by the high economic development came the rise of labour costs and the appreciation of the New Taiwanese Dollar (NT\$) which threatens Taiwan's economic development. In the 1990s, the high rate of economic growth declined (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Annual Economic Growth Rate

Year	%	Year	%
1979	8.2	1987	12.7
1980	7.3	1988	7.8
1981	6.2	1989	8.2
1982	3.6	1990	5.4
1983	8.5	1991	7.6
1984	10.6	1992	6.8
1985	5.6	1993	6.3
1986	11.6	1994	6.5

Source: adopted from Ferdinand 1996, p. 45.

Over the whole of this period the economy went through progressive stages of quite rapid industrialisation, with the result that Taiwan has now become a developed industrial nation (see Table 2.2). This has been paralleled by a shift in the structure of employment away from agriculture, first into industry and then, more recently, into services (see table 2.3).

Table 2.2: Sectoral Composition of GDP (%)

Year	Agriculture	Industry	Services
1952	32.2	19.7	48.1
1962	23.8	24.2	52.0
1972	12.6	38.9	48.5
1982	6.8	44.4	48.8
1992	3.5	40.1	56.4
1994	3.1	39.0	57.9

Source: adopted from Ferdinand 1996. p. 38.

Table 2.3: Sectoral Distribution of Labour (%)

Year	Agriculture	Industry	services
1952	56.1	16.9	27.0
1962	49.7	21.0	29.3
1972	33.0	31.8	35.2
1982	18.9	41.3	39.8
1992	12.3	39.6	48.1
1994	10.9	39.2	49.9

Source: adopted from Ferdinand 1996. p. 38.

2. Foreign Trade

Tables 2.4 and 2.5 list Taiwan's regional destinations of exports and sources of imports in the past four decades.

Table 2.4: Regional Destinations of Taiwanese Exports (%)

Year	Japan	USA	Hong Kong	Europe	Others
1952	52.6	3.5	7.7	5.3	30.9
1960	37.7	11.5	12.6	6.0	32.2
1970	14.6	38.1	9.2	10.1	28.0
1980	11.0	34.1	7.8	11.6	35.5
1885	11.3	48.1	8.3	9.8	22.5
1990	12.4	32.4	12.7	18.2	24.3
1994	11.0	26.2	22.7	13.9	16.2

Source: adopted from Ferdinand 1996, p. 46.

Table 2.5: Sources of Taiwanese Imports by Region (%)

Year	Japan	USA	Hong Kong	Europe	Others
1952	31.2	45.7	9.0	6.6	16.5
1960	35.3	38.1	1.6	11.2	15.4

Year	Japan	USA	Hong Kong	Europe	Others
1970	42.8	23.9	1.8	9.7	23.6
1980	27.1	23.7	1.3	9.4	39.8
1885	27.6	23.6	1.6	12.2	36.6
1990	29.2	23.0	2.7	17.5	30.3
1994	29.0	21.1	1.8	18.7	29.4

Source: adopted from Ferdinand 1996, p. 47.

Concerning export, we can find from Table 2.4 that the gains from US markets used to account for a large portion of Taiwanese foreign trade surpluses. However, the trade surplus aroused official US concern and focused attention on Taiwan's foreign trade policies and infringements of intellectual property law. This had an effect. The Taiwanese government responded by encouraging businesses to look for alternative markets, for example, in Europe. In regard to import, Japan has continued to be the biggest exporter to Taiwan. Initially Japanese imports consisted of primary products, but increasingly manufactured goods have taken over. Many Taiwanese companies, e.g., in electronics and information technology, are still extremely dependent upon supplies of high-quality components from Japan. More recently, with increasing prosperity, Taiwanese consumer tastes have become more sophisticated, and European exports to Taiwan have grown significantly.

It is clear that Taiwan continues to need to export to the USA and, increasingly, to China (via Hong Kong) in order to pay for its imports from Japan and, to a lesser extent, from Europe, not to mention oil from the Middle East. In 1994 Taiwan's trade surplus with the mainland was roughly equal to its overall trade surplus. In practice, exports to China are often processed there for re-export to the USA. In that sense Taiwan is for the moment still dependent upon the US market, although less directly.

The rise in Taiwanese trade with and investment on the mainland attracted the Taiwanese government's attention, fearing that they might later be used by Beijing to put pressure on the ROC in negotiations. Some of the larger companies, too, are for

the moment reluctant to invest in long-term capital-intensive project on the mainland for fear of political instability. Compared with other areas, Taiwanese trade with and investment on the mainland are more risky.

2 Problems and The Trend of Economic Development in the Future

In the past the government used industrial policy and protectionism to develop textiles, petrochemicals, electronics, and other industries, and to assist the private sector to earn lots of money. However, this strategy, which did bring about the prosperous economic development for Taiwan in the past, is losing its magic power in the face of competition from new industrialising countries like China, Thailand, or Malaysia. These competitors are gaining the global market by trading with their cheap labour force and low investment costs. In comparison with these countries, Taiwan is in an inferior position owing to high investment costs in industries. In terms of the regression in the competitiveness of Taiwanese products, the government introduced a massive Six-Year development programme in 1990 to maintain Taiwan's power of competition in the international economic world. In it two goals were highlighted: upgrading Taiwan's industry and establish Taiwan into the operation centre in the Asia-Pacific area.

According to the plan, the state would focus its attention on developing ten major emerging industries and eight key technologies. The new key industries are telecommunications, information, consumer electronics, semiconductors, precision machinery and automation, aerospace, and advanced materials, speciality chemicals and pharmaceuticals, medical and health care, and pollution control. The new key technologies are opto-electronics, computer software, industrial automation, materials applications, advanced sensing technology, biotechnology, resources development and energy conservation. In addition to upgrading Taiwan's industry, the government also planned to make Taiwan become the operation centre in the Asia-Pacific area (the Asian-Pacific Regional Operation Centre, the APROC) in order to keep its economic development. In

this plan, Taiwan was designed to be developed into the centre for six categories: air transportation, finance, media, manufacturing, sea transportation, and telecommunication.

3 Importance of People' s Foreign Language Ability for the Taiwanese Economy

No matter whether in terms of industry upgrading or in terms of the APOC, Taiwanese people' s foreign language ability, especially English ability, plays an important role again. The first, industrial development, relies much on the invention of new technologies. At this moment, Taiwan' s science and technology, especially high technology, still falls behind countries like the USA or Japan. Therefore, co-operating with these countries in order to import their new, advanced technology is a possible way to achieve industrial development. Accordingly, foreign language ability is a factor to enhance international co-operation with other countries. Furthermore, English ability is a prerequisite to get access to technological information at present. With good English ability, Taiwanese can get access to the first hand scientific and technological information in the world.

Second, people' s English language ability is a prerequisite for Taiwan to compete with other neighbouring areas or countries, e.g., Hong Kong, Singapore, etc., to become the operation centre in the Asia-Pacific area in that English is the international business language in the world. In discussion about the possibility of succeeding in the project of the APOC (Liu, Central Daily News, April 28th, 1995), it was asked whether Taiwanese people' s English ability could be a defect which could weaken its competition with Hong Kong or Singapore where people' s English competence is said to be comparatively higher.

Interim Summary

In this section, I discussed the situation of Taiwan in terms of its economy, foreign diplomacy and identity problems. At the levels of economic and diplomatic development, the use of English functions as a tool for raising Taiwan' s economic growth and broadening its foreign relations. At a more general level of development,

that is, a need for new cultural and national identities which include absorbing something from the West as well as combining with tradition, the question is not only how learning English helps as a tool for economic and diplomatic development, but also how learning English helps to change the national and cultural identities of Taiwanese people. Therefore what can English education do for this? This will be discussed further later.

2.5 The Education System and English in School Education

2.5.1 Length of Education and Period of Study

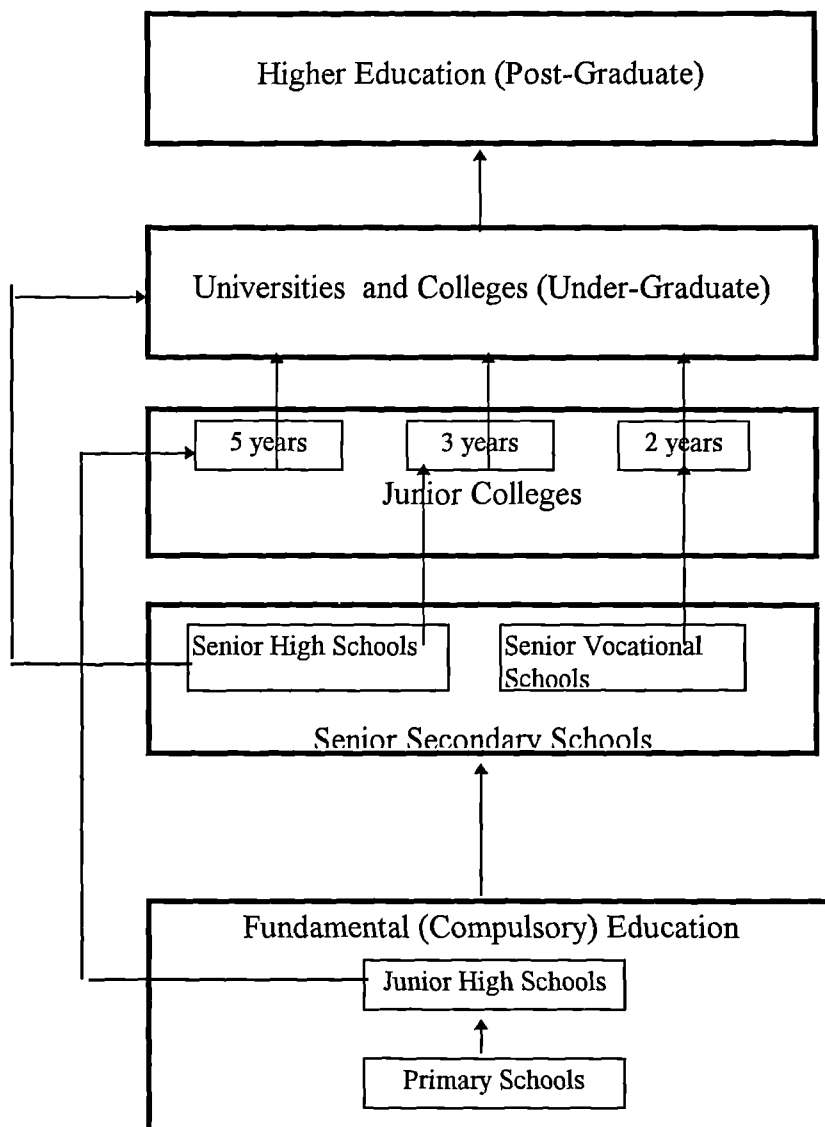
Education from kindergarten to graduate school requires about 22 years although the length is flexible, depending on individual cases. Normally, it includes two years of pre-school education, six years of elementary education, three years of junior high school education, three years of senior high school education, two to seven years of undergraduate study, at least two years of study pursuing the master's degree, and at least two years of postgraduate study pursuing the doctoral degree.

In Taiwan, the school year begins on August 1 and ends on July 31 of the following calendar year. The school year is divided into two semesters. The standard school week runs from Monday through Friday whole days, plus a half day on Saturdays. Students have a two-month vacation in July and August, and a winter vacation in February.

2.5.2 The School System

Before the description, the school system in Taiwan is diagrammed as Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Taiwan's School System



1. Fundamental (Compulsory) Education

The nine-year fundamental (compulsory) education program was launched in the School Year (SY) 1968 in the Taiwan area. The first six of the nine years are reserved for the elementary school education and the next three for the junior high school education. Education at this stage is compulsory and free.

1A Elementary schools

In the period of 1994-5, there were 2,504 private and public primary schools in Taiwan (Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 1995). They admit children from age six without any examination. A diploma is conferred on students upon graduation. Subjects covered in elementary include Mandarin, natural science, social studies, arithmetic, civics and ethics, arts, music, and physical education. A new curriculum for primary schools has been drawn up by the MOE. It will include elective courses like English, computing, use of the abacus, calligraphy, and choral singing.

At this stage, the purpose of education is to socialise the elementary school children into their own culture and society, so naturally subjects like Mandarin, civics and ethics, and social studies, which can help to achieve this purpose, are listed as required subjects. Foreign languages (English), in fear that it may interfere with the school children's learning of Mandarin cognitively, only assume a minor position in the elementary school curriculum (also see 2.4.3, Point 2).

1B Junior high schools

In the academic year of 1995-96, there were nine private and 714 public junior high schools in the Taiwan area and the number of students was 1,156,814. The pupils graduated from the elementary school (normally with age 12 or over) may be admitted to the junior high school without requirement to pass any examination. A diploma is conferred on students upon graduation. Usually the average number of pupils in a class in junior high schools is about 40 to 50.

At this stage, emphasis shifts to the acquisition of a foreign language (English) and computer literacy. These courses are offered in addition to primary courses on applied mathematics, industrial arts, biology, chemistry, physics, Chinese, history, and physical

education. As aforementioned in 2.4.3.2, in 1996 a proposal was examined by the MOE to put French, German and Japanese in the curriculum as an optional subject so the pupils can choose one of them as their second foreign language.

2 Senior Secondary Schools

Schools at this stage of education can be classified into two categories—senior high schools and senior vocational schools. They may be operated by private organisers or by the government. Admission to these schools is granted only for those junior high school graduates who pass the required entrance examination. Students have to take three years of education in school. A diploma is conferred on students upon graduation.

2A Senior high schools

There were 206 public and private senior high schools in the academic year 1995-96 in Taiwan and the number of students was 255,387. Senior high school is the usual route for students planning to continue on to college or university study. The final year of senior high school centres mainly on preparations for the Joint University Entrance Exam. The subjects tested in the exam include Chinese, English, Mathematics, history, geography, physics, chemistry, biology, and Sun, Yet-Sen's principles.

2B Senior vocational schools

In the 1995-96 school year, there were 203 senior vocational schools with 523,412 students. Of these students, 3.7 percent of them studied agriculture; 44 percent, industrial arts; 37 percent, commerce; 9.3 percent, home economics; 1.5 percent, marine products; 4.2 percent, nursing and medicine; and 0.3 percent, fine arts.

In all senior vocational schools, English is still required through the three-year study. In addition to general English, there are English courses special to every vocation provided in the schools. For example, in senior commercial vocational schools, English is a required course which assumes two hours of teaching per week in the curriculum, and Commercial English and English are listed as elective courses among other vocational courses such as Business Management, Cost Accounting, International Trade, etc..

3 Junior colleges

Junior colleges may be established by private organisers or by the government. At present, most of them are run by private operators. Admission is granted only for qualified junior high or senior secondary school graduates who pass the required entrance examination. Junior colleges concentrate on teaching the applied sciences and on training technicians. There are two types of junior colleges in Taiwan—one admits junior high school graduates for a five-year study program, and the other takes (a) senior high school graduates for a three-year program of study or (b) senior vocational school graduates for a two-year study. Junior college graduates may apply for the Taiwan Institute of Technology for advanced studies, or take an exam for admission to a university as sophomores or juniors. English is a required subject in the first year of all the three types of junior college.

4 Universities and Colleges

To be admitted to a university or college, high school graduates must take a highly competitive examination designed each summer by a board composed of university presidents. Students will then be assigned to a university based on their preference and examination results. The length of study for most undergraduate students is four years but for students majoring in law or medicine, the length is five and seven years

respectively. A bachelor's degree is awarded to those who successfully finish the courses.

In universities and colleges, there are three required common subjects in freshman year: Chinese, English, and Chinese History. In the remaining three years (sophomore, junior and senior), only the students whose major is English literature are required to take courses related to English language. The students can choose to take one of the four languages: French, German, Japanese, and Spanish as their second foreign language from their sophomore year. However, the second language is an elective but not required subject for students who are not language majors. In spite of the fact that the non-English major students are not required to take any English course, they still have a lot of opportunities to come into contact with English because many departments in Taiwan's universities and college use English textbooks. Chinese is the language of instruction in all universities and colleges unless the lectures are given by the occasional visiting foreign professors.

5 Graduate Schools

Again, there is still the entrance examination for graduate schools and usually the subjects tested include common subjects: Chinese and English, and specialised subjects. In addition, in all kinds of national examinations, e.g. to become a doctor of medicine or government employee, a pass in English is obligatory.

Interim Summary

The fact is obvious that in terms of both the individuals' academic and career development and the nation's economic growth and foreign relations development, English language competence is very important. The government recognises the importance of English and spend a lot of effort on promoting English. This is reflected in the fact that English is a required subject across junior high school and senior high school education and national examinations. While English language instruction

beginning in junior school is universal in Taiwan, the degree of competence learners develop is relatively restricted. Chen (1995) points out that some people can not even say easy daily greetings in English when they meet foreigners after learning English for six years in school. This is due, in part, to the role of English in the school curriculum.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the purpose of this study is to find out the relationship between Culture Studies and Taiwan's junior-high-school pupils' motivation to learn English and their own cultural identity. The main interests of this research are: (1) whether Culture Studies can be of interest to pupils, and (2) if Culture Studies in English education can change pupils' identity and furthermore, if it is possible to construct new identity for Taiwan via Culture Studies. Two reasons account for choosing junior-high-school pupils as subjects. First, English education starts from the stage of junior high schools, so it is decisive to pupils' interests in English in the following stages, e.g. senior high schools and universities. Second, junior high school pupils in Taiwan, aged from 12 to 15, are in their adolescence which, as Korger (1993:1) describes, 'seems to be a time, ..., when one is confronted with the problem of self-definition'. Therefore it was assumed that it is an optimal stage to study junior-high-school pupils own identity confronted with foreign cultures. Thirdly, my teaching experience was mainly about English education at the junior-high-school stage.

Next I will focus on the following issues: What are the aims of English teaching in junior high schools? what are teaching materials about? how is English taught and learned in schools? what is the concept of English teaching and learning at present in Taiwan?

2.6 English in Taiwan's Junior High School Education

2.6.1 English in the Standard Curriculum

In junior high schools English is a required subject in all three academic years. In the first two academic years, the English course is the same for all the junior high school pupils. While in the last year of their study, the pupils have two options to choose according to their own aptitude and ability: English or Practical English. The former is for pupils who will continue studying, while the latter is for those who will go to work after graduation. In the Standard Curriculum (1985, published by the Ministry of Education), the goals of English and of Practical English are listed as follows:

1 English

- (1) Develop the pupils' basic language skills, including listening, speaking, reading, and writing of English,
- (2) Instruct the pupils to understand and apply the basic syntactic structures of English, and
- (3) Foster the pupils' correct and positive attitudes towards learning English which can serve as the foundation of their study or work in the future.

2 Practical English

- (1) Match up with the education and career advisory principles, teaching the pupils necessary English related to fields like agriculture, industry, commerce and so on,
- (2) Cultivate in the pupils the abilities to use simple English in daily life, as preparation for their careers in the future,

(3) Provide the contexts for learning English in order to raise the pupils' interests in learning, and

(4) Enable the pupils to know the popular cultures and living etiquette of English peoples.

It is obvious that with respect to English, the emphasis is on pupils' basic language skills, in terms of the academic purpose, whereas Practical English centres on the pragmatic use of English in the pupils' future career. In addition, only in Practical English is the learning of foreign culture mentioned. No reason was given to explain why this difference existed between English and Practical English in the Standard Curriculum. It might be that the designers of the curriculum thought that knowing something related to the target language culture was more imperative to the pupils who were going to start their career than those who would continue study in that the former were more likely to encounter situations in which the pupils needed knowledge of the target-language culture.

The old version of Standard Curriculum is going to be replaced by the new one in the academic year of 1997 (starting from September). According to Professor Liu (of English Department in National Normal University), in the new version of Standard Curriculum more emphasis is going to be put on the cultural aspects of English language in the subject of English (speech made in the English Teaching Demonstration and Conference for Taipei Junior-High-school English Teachers in Ying-Ch'iao Junior High School, Taipei, on April 10th, 1996).

2.6.2 Hours of English Teaching

1. In the first academic year: two to three hours per week.

2. In the second academic year: four hours per week.

3. In the third academic year: four hours for practical English, or six hours for general English per week.

Hours of English teaching increases grade by grade in junior high schools.

2.6.3 The Contents of the Teaching Materials

In the Standard Curriculum, the MOE prescribed clearly what should be included in Junior High School English textbooks. The prescribed contents for three school years in junior high schools are listed as Appendix 1. In this section, some points of interest will be picked out and commented on.

Throughout the prescription, it is obvious that more emphasis was put on grammar learning and the training of speaking, listening, reading, and writing abilities. Concerning the aspect of culture, among the prescriptions for the second school year, one point says that one of the contexts for conversation in the textbooks could be that the pupils introduce our social and cultural background to foreigners. In the third-year prescription, it is said that brief and interesting descriptive articles or articles which introduce Chinese culture and Western culture (e.g. festivals, etiquette, habits in daily life, history or arts) could be added. We found that although in the goals of English, no cultural aspects of English language were emphasised, the contents of the teaching materials did record that the materials for English teaching could add introduction of cultures (Chinese and Western). And there seems to be a tendency that the MOE wanted pupils to know their own culture first (one point in the second-year prescription saying introducing own culture to foreigners), and then to understand foreign people and culture.

Similarly, the contents of practical English are listed as Appendix 2 and only some significant points are picked out for discussion. From these items listed in Appendix 2, we find that only Item 8 mentions culture; however, it aims at introducing Taiwan's own culture to foreigners rather than at teaching the pupils to understand foreign cultures. On

the one hand this again reveals that the prime goal of the MOE is to 'let ourselves be known' and 'knowing others' seems to be minor. On the other hand, it implies the fear that pupils would 'know others' culture without knowing their own culture' .

2.6.4 The General Concept of English in Schools: English as a Subject

In most of the teachers' and students' minds, English, like mathematics, history, chemistry, etc., is a subject, not a language which is used by people or has anything to do with their daily lives. Many teachers think that the students only have to learn English by rote during the stage of junior high school. The students, for lack of awareness of English as a language which is used to communicate with people who speak it, study English as a subject. The concept of learning English as a subject produces an abnormal phenomenon: searching for the standardised answers to the exam questions. For example, in the junior high school where I taught English, there was an exam item which asked the examinees to fill in the blanks in a context. The context is usually extracted from the textbooks. Take the dialogue in Book 3, Lesson 7 as an example.

Example:

David: There are a 1__ of boxes here. Whose are they?

Kevin: They're ours, but they are too small. He needs a big box. Look 2__ his bed.

David: Whose things are these?

Kevin: These things are all his.

David: I 3__ believe it! He's going to need two or three big boxes!

In the example, the answer for blank 1 is "lot" because it is the word used in the textbook. If the students fill in the blank with the word "number", they cannot get credit because it is not the correct answer to the question. Analogically, "don' t" is a wrong answer to blank 3 because it is "can' t" which is used in the book.

2.6.5 Teaching Methodology

The methodology used in class is knowledge-oriented, and therefore the teacher tends to promote activities which serve to internalise the formal properties of language. In terms of cultivating the pupils' communicative competence, this methodology is incomplete in that 'the learners may find that having made their speculative investment in form, they cannot gain effective access to it: they cannot act on their knowledge' (Widdowson, 1991:138). In class, the teacher gives lectures in Chinese, explaining the structural items in detail. The students listen to him/her and take notes. Normally the process of conducting a lesson is as follows:

1. The teacher explains the new vocabulary in the lesson, e.g. parts of speech, meanings, etc.
2. Then the teacher expounds on the content in the reading text. In this part, there is always a topic item. For example, the structural item in Book 4, Lesson 5 is infinitive and gerund constructions, so the teacher will tell students which verbs should be followed by a gerund, which verbs should be followed by an infinitive and which verbs can be followed by either an infinitive or a gerund with a change of meaning, e.g. remember and forget. The second part, Dialogue, proceeds in the same way as the first part, Reading.
3. After explanation, the teacher will ask the students to answer questions for oral practice. Originally this was designed to provide the pupils with a chance to practise their speaking skills, but because of the large size of the class (about 40-50 students in a class), few teachers ask the students to answer orally.

The students' duty is to remember what the teacher says, the vocabulary, the grammatical rules, the reading content and so on. From the description above, we know that the

English language classroom is teacher-directed. Transmission of knowledge is a kind of one-way imposition from the teacher to the students, who act as passive recipients.

2.6.6 Review of the English Textbooks

In this section, the review concerning English textbooks used in Taiwan's junior high schools will centre on discussion about the target-language culture covered in textbooks. Owing to the fact that the main purpose of this study is to investigate the relationships between Culture Studies and pupils' motivation to learn English on the one hand and Culture Studies and their own identity on the other hand, it is necessary to understand if the current textbooks cover cultures of English-speaking countries and if they do, how much and what aspects are introduced.

In Taiwan, the syllabus followed is a structural syllabus. There are six textbooks within a three year course, and each textbook is edited according to grammatical items, e.g. simple present tense, present continuous, the past and perfect tenses, relative pronouns and clauses, auxiliary verbs, the infinitive and the gerund, and so on. Every single lesson develops according to a topic and includes parts like reading and questions, dialogue, sentence patterns, oral practice, and application. Appendix 3 shows the content of a lesson in the English textbook.

Next, discussion of the contents of the English textbooks is directed as follows: (1) How many cultural dimensions are covered in Taiwan's junior high school English textbooks? (2) How representatively do they reflect the real situation of English-speaking societies? and (3) What culture-specific image do they portray for pupils?

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1 Characters Appearing in the Illustrations of the English Textbooks in Taiwan's Junior High Schools

Table 2.6 Lists the characters appearing in the illustrations of the English textbooks in terms of their nationalities.

Table 2.6: The Characters in the English Textbooks

Book	Numbers of Taiwanese characters	Numbers of foreign characters ²	Total numbers
Book 1	261	0	261
Book 2	343	3	346
Book 3	207	18	225
Book 4	163	3	166
Book 5	34	36	70
Book 6	79	14	93
Total	1087	74	1161
Percentage	93.63%	6.37%	100%

From this table, we find that the majority of the textbook characters are Chinese. In the textbook, these Chinese characters communicate with each other in English, a phenomenon which is unnatural and impossible in the pupils' daily life. The foreign characters appear mostly in Book 5 and Book 6. The activities they do with the Chinese characters in the textbook have nothing to do with culture, i.e. they do not introduce their culture or ways of life to the Chinese characters.

² The word "Foreign" refers to those characters whose hair is not black. Although in the illustration, there are no explanations about their nationality, we can judge from the contents that they are all Americans.

2 The Names of Places Which Are Mentioned in the English Textbooks in Taiwan's Junior High Schools

Table 2.7: The Names of Places Mentioned in the English Textbooks

Book	Taiwanese places	American places
Book 1	No	No
Book 2	Taipei	No
Book 3	Taiwan; Kaohsiung	America; New York; Texas
Book 4	Hualien	No
Book 5	No	San Francisco; California
Book 6	Suao; Kinmen; Taichung	Florida

The foreign places which appear in the six textbooks are all in America and there are no descriptions or pictures of these places. Only reading the names from the textbooks, the students cannot know these places, which are not only names in the books. They are places where other people live and which express characteristics different from ours.

3 The Settings of the Contents

The settings which appear in Book 1 include the classroom, the living room, the kitchen and the park, all in the context of Taiwan. In Book 2, the settings are also confined to the contexts of schools and families in Taiwan. In Book 3, the settings are still under the circumstance of Taiwan, but the scope extends to some activities in our society, for example in Book 3, Lesson 11, the traditional Chinese dragon is dancing for Chinese New Year. In Book 4, the settings are again limited to Taiwan. For example, in Book 4, Lesson 2, the reading section mentions city life and country life and from the illustration we can see a scene of typical Taiwanese countryside. Book 5 and Book 6 cover more cultural dimensions than the previous four books; nevertheless, the settings are all in Taiwan. Take Book five, Lesson 2 as an example. In this lesson, a Taiwanese boy, Joe, has a pen pal,

Mark, who lives in America. In Lesson 4 of the same book, Mark is going to come to Taiwan to visit Joe and they plan to go to some places in Taiwan. Joe is excited because he will have a lot of fun practising his English. (See Appendix 3.) In Book 6, Lesson 3 'It Looks Like An Apartment Now!' there is a letter that Jack, a Taiwanese student, writes to Rick, an American boy. They became good friends when Rick was studying in Taipei.

4 The Numbers of Lessons Related to People or Affairs of English Speaking World

Among the seventy lessons, there are fifteen lessons (about 21%) which are relevant to people or affairs of the target-language culture, e.g. lessons which mention people from America, American food or English language itself. They are listed as Table 2.8

Table 2.8: Lessons Related to English Speaking World

Book	Lesson	Unit	Contents
3	2	Reading	Three Americans, Tom Smith and John and Mary Collins are studying Chinese in Taipei.
3	4	Reading	One Taiwanese boy, Tom, and one American boy, John are good friends. John sometimes goes to Tom's house. Tom has a computer in Taiwan, but John has a computer in America. They always talk about computers.
3	9	Dialogue	Two participants compare the seasons, spring and winter, in Taipei and New York.
3	11	Dialogue	Two participants, David and Tom, are talking about their Christmas, New Year and Chinese New Year holiday plans.
5	2	Reading	John has written a letter to his pen pal, Mark, who lives in San Francisco, California.
5	4	Reading	Joe's pen pal, Mark, will come from America to visit him.
5	12	Reading	The narrator told his two American neighbours the Chinese fable about the old man who wanted to move a mountain.
6	3	Reading	Jack is home by himself this evening and has just written this letter to Rick. Jack and Rick became good friends when Rick was studying in Taipei.
6	5	Dialogue	Two participants in the dialogue discuss whether to have hamburgers, milk shakes and French fries as lunch at McDonald's.
6	7	Reading	Introduction to Disney's city of the future in Disney World, Florida.
6	8	Reading	Introduction to take-away fast-food restaurants

Book	Lesson	Unit	Contents
6	9	Reading	Introduction to some English words that come from the invention of new products, e.g. walkman, Coke and Frisbee.
6	10	Reading	Discussion about the origins of some English words, e.g. Mandarin and hamburgers.
6	11	Reading	The definition of dead languages (e.g. Latin) and living language (e.g. English and Chinese) as well as introduction to changes in pronunciation and usage of English words and sentences
6	12	Reading	Introduction to the usage of English dictionaries, what functions they have and what people can look for in a dictionary, for example, different pronunciation for the same word, meanings of a word, and so on.

The arrangement of lessons related to English-speaking people and world is obviously in accordance with the prescription issues by the MOE (see 2.5.3).

5 Comments on the English Textbooks

Based on the foregoing review, the following comments are offered:

- (1) The English textbooks in Taiwan's junior high schools do cover the dimension related to people in English-speaking countries. However, compared with those contexts located in Taiwan's own society and schools, the contexts mentioning foreign countries occupy a small amount (15 lessons in a total number of 70 lessons, about one-fifth). In our family-centred textbooks, the textbook characters' activities are confined to situations at home (in the living room, in the kitchen) outside the home (at school, shopping, in the supermarket, holidays in our country), all in the context of Taiwan. The only sign which gives the learners the culture-specific impression of English speaking countries is the American pen pals or neighbours of the textbook characters.
- (2) American culture is the dominant representative of English-speaking countries in Taiwan's junior high school English textbooks. This assumes the risk of imposing on

the students the idea that American culture and language equals English culture and language. After all, there are many other English speaking countries in the world besides America, e.g. Australia, Britain, Canada, and so on.

- (3) Although foreign characters do appear in the units of reading or dialogue of textbooks, it does not mean that the target language culture has been taught properly. Overall, the cultural images portrayed in these textbooks are superficial and vague. That is, only some American places and names of food are mentioned, without further description of ways of life or the societies in America or other English speaking areas.

Generally speaking, if Culture Studies is to be covered in the junior-high-school English curriculum, it is better to develop new materials for teaching in a cultural dimension. Or at least, there should be some changes in current English textbooks, e.g. adding more cultural topics to introduce ways of life in the English-speaking world.

2.6.7 Entrance Examinations: Their Impacts upon English Teaching in Junior High School

In Taiwan, the junior high school students have to take very competitive entrance examinations to be admitted to senior high schools, vocational schools or polytechnic schools. These examinations are important not only for the students themselves but also for the teachers. Usually the more students that are accepted to the first-choice schools, the more advantage the teacher will have, e.g. a good reputation, a better assessment from the principal, a larger bonus at the end of the year. Under this system, it is not hard to understand why the phenomenon that 'Examination leads teaching' exists in Taiwan. English is a subject tested in the entrance examinations which do not contain a listening or speaking component and focus instead on the knowledge of grammar and translation skills. As a result, language instruction is geared towards preparation for the exams and not towards the development of communicative ability. For instance, in an investigation of 480 junior-high-school pupils in Taipei City and Taipei County, it was found that what was

most frequently taught in English classes were grammar, sentence patterns, and so on. In regard to the items related to the target language culture, few of them were mentioned in class. (see 7.2.2).

2.7 The Assessment to Taiwan's Junior-High-School English Education

In Section 2.4, the question what education in English can do to create a new identity among Taiwanese people was presented. In this section, I will continue to explore this issue in terms of the current junior high school English education. In addition, another theme in this study, that is, motivation is also considered. In regard to motivation, the main question is that to what extent the current junior high school English education can motivate pupils to learn English.

2.7.1 Motivating Pupils to Learn English

Taiwan is a diglossic bilingual community where Taiwanese and Mandarin function as languages for communication (2.4.1), so English, as a foreign language without the status of being an official language in Taiwan, is not used outside the classroom by junior high school pupils. In their daily lives, English is neither a language used as a means of wider communication outside of the classroom nor a medium for learning other subjects in the school. Although there are a lot of sources from which the pupils can receive English input in reading and listening, they have few opportunities to speak or write it. Owing to the social environment, the majority of Taiwanese students' orientations to learn English are completely instrumental. To most of the junior-high-school pupils, the orientation to learn English could be simplified to one: to pass the examinations. For the pupils who had high achievement in English tests, their motivation could be maintained because they get rewards in the exams; while for those who get low scores they may always feel frustrated and even hold negative attitudes towards English learning. According to an informal talk with an English teacher in a junior high school in Taipei, it was indicated that in a class with

about 40 pupils, only about one-fourth of them really tried to learn English. It is postulated that if we want to motivate more junior-high-school pupils to *learn English*, *there should be* some changes in current English education.

2.7.2 Creating a New Culture and Identity

When scrutinising the six textbooks for junior high school English courses, we *find that* many lessons merely repeat traditional Chinese ideas and customs in an English version. For example, in Book 3, Lesson 11, the title of the reading is 'Chinese Holiday'. The contents introduce two Chinese holidays: Confucius' Birthday and Chinese New Year. And in Book 5, Lesson 11, the section of 'Reading' presents a story about the ancient Chinese philosopher Chuang-tzu and his friend. Although some lessons mention places in the USA, Christmas, and so on (see Table 2.8), they cannot be counted as introduction to target-language culture.

Through these lessons, the pupils cannot learn knowledge relevant to the target-language culture. What they gain is a new code for old thoughts. They are learning a new language on the background of their own culture, society and life experiences. Under such conditions, it is doubtful if the goal of absorbing Western cultures into Taiwanese society (see Chapter 1, Section 4) can be achieved.

2.8 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter first explored the role of English in Taiwan in terms of Taiwan's societal background, i.e. its history, education, language use, identity problems, status in international society, and economy. Secondly, English as a subject in all levels of schools was introduced and then the discussion focused on English education in junior high schools, with respect to the Standard Curriculum, the general concept of teaching and learning English in schools, the teaching methodology, and the English textbooks. Finally, space was given to discussing the possibility of using the current English education in

junior high schools to motivate pupils and to create a new culture and identity among the young generation. It is obvious that in terms of internationalising Taiwan for the sake of promoting its status in the world and economic growth, and of constructing a new culture and identity for it, teaching the target language culture is also a necessary dimension. However, as mentioned in chapter 1, the worry that the pupils' cultural identity might be weakened should be considered because it will be a barrier if we want to implement the concept of cultural studies in the junior high school English education in Taiwan.

After reviewing the socio-cultural background, the situation of English language teaching and learning, and the problems in English education in Taiwan, I will turn to introducing the issue of English and identity on a broader front of different countries, with specific emphasis on the context of Taiwan. And then in the succeeding two chapters, the concepts of motivation and cultural identity and the role of culture studies in changing student motivation and cultural identity are in the spotlight.

Chapter 3 Foreign Language Education in Core and Periphery English Speaking Countries

This chapter aims at examining the different attitudes toward teaching target-language cultures in some core English-speaking and periphery English-speaking countries. (See Chapter 1 for the distinction of the two.). In general, the former's attitudes towards target-language cultures is comparatively more positive and open than the latter's. Then an explanation for the discrepancy between the two attitudes is given and arguments related to the effects of learning target-language cultures on own national/cultural identity raised. Finally, the case of teaching English cultures in English education in Taiwan is discussed in terms of Taiwan's cultural and educational policies which reflect its needs of constructing new cultural and national identities.

3.1 The Situations in Core English Speaking Countries

Three core-English speaking countries are listed here: (1) Britain (less open to immigration), (2) the USA (open to emigration, but becoming strict in its immigration policy recently), and (3) Canada (open to immigration). In these core English speaking countries, the discourse of language education can be divided into two levels: foreign language and immigrants' languages.

3.1.1 Britain

In England and Wales, the introduction of the concept of cultural awareness by the Working Group on the National Curriculum was a major innovation in Modern Foreign Language teaching. They argued that 'a growing awareness of the culture of the people who speak the language of study is intrinsic to the learning of it...' (DES,

1990:37). They also suggest that 'the promotion of understanding of and respect for other cultures is one of the most important aims of modern language studies' (Ibid.:36).

In contrast to the open attitude to foreign language learning, especially languages of EC countries, attitudes towards immigrants' languages and cultures in Britain are more cautious, although the concept of language education has progressed from the 1960s' assimilationist approach, which was characterised by its emphasis on assimilating immigrants' children into dominant British culture through English education (English as a second language, ESL) to multicultural education, which expanded language teaching to include mother-tongue teaching and bilingual support, as well as cultural and religious teaching (multi-faith celebrations and world religions) (Thompson, Fleming and Byram, 1997). As Thompson, Fleming and Byram (Ibid.:119) point out:

...the inherent value system of education policy makers is clear. English is now firmly established as the only official language of mainstream education in Britain. Foreign languages are taught in secondary schools but these are almost exclusively defined in terms of modern European languages. French and German are widely taught while Urdu and Punjabi are not. This seems a misfocus and a mistake.

3.1.2 Canada

Because of its bilingual (English and French) nature, provinces of Canada have always encouraged learning of English or French as a second language. In addition, in the light of the fact that there are more and more immigrants from Asian countries, many provinces (e.g., British Columbia and Alberta) also have policies on learning languages other than English or French as second languages (e.g., Chinese and Punjabi). In terms of Canada's social context, it is not hard to understand why an encouraging approach is taken to multilingual and multicultural education because it helps to foster greater understanding among Canadians from a wide range of cultural and ethnic

backgrounds. Apart from this reason, it is also recognised that learning a variety of languages enhances opportunities for living and working (the economic reason) (Policy, Regulations and Forms Manual, Alberta Ministry of Education, 1996). Next, I will take the project of National Core French Study (NCFS, LeBlanc *et al.*, 1990; cited in Flewelling, 1994) as an example to illustrate how the cultural dimension is emphasised in Canada's second language education.

In Canada, the findings of NCFS bring an important change in approach with regard to the teaching of French as a Second Language, that is, the increased emphasis being put on the teaching of culture. In NCFS, seven goals for teaching culture are outlined in terms of a Canadian perspective:

1. to help students understand and appreciate francophone culture
2. to prepare students for life in a bilingual, multicultural Canada
3. to broaden students' horizons
4. to help students gain a better understanding of their own culture
5. to increase student interest in the French language
6. to improve student skills in the French language
7. to reduce ethnocentric attitudes toward the students' own culture.

From the two example countries mentioned above, we find that their language education focus on different aspects. Canada, being a bicultural society in nature, uses language teaching as a mean of helping its people to understand their country and cultures within it. As a result, Canada makes a lot of effort in minority education, either in the linguistic or cultural dimension. In contrast to Canada, Britain tends to ignore diverse cultures within it but focuses on cultural awareness which is outwards to other countries. So comparatively, language education in Britain is treated as a way to understand foreign countries.

3.1.3 The USA

1 Status and Role of First Language, Second Languages, Heritage Languages and Foreign Languages

As Dutcher (1995) indicates, English is the *de facto* official language and plays an all-pervasive role throughout society. All other languages, variously called "minority," "heritage," "ethnic," or "native," including the Native American languages, play roles limited to home, church, community or tribe. The exception is Spanish, which is widely used in Florida and the Southwest. Its speakers have developed considerable political power.

2 The Situation of Foreign Language Learning and Policy on Foreign Languages in Education

There is no official federal policy on the teaching of foreign languages in the US, but there is important federal legislation which offers funding to states and local educational agencies for teaching and study of foreign languages and related area studies. (Dutcher, 1995). The responsibility for education is in the hands of the states. All 50 states in the US include foreign languages in their curricula. Forty states have laws requiring that public school students have at least two years of foreign language study available to them, usually on the secondary level, but they do not require that the students study a foreign language. The remaining 10 states require second language study on the secondary level, but only for advanced/honours diplomas or for college-bound students.

In spite of the lack of strong requirements for foreign language study in many states, many students in the United States do study a foreign language. Most of that study is in the upper grades (Grades 9-12), where over a third of the students study a modern

foreign language. Spanish is by far the most popular of the languages studied, followed by French, German, and then Russian, Italian, and Japanese.

For thirty years, Title VI of the 1965 Higher Education Act has funded activities supporting the teaching of foreign languages, including the less commonly taught languages. The underlying rationale is to develop expertise to conduct United States foreign policy and to help United States business expand into international markets. Current activities include research and teaching of 125 languages mainly at college level. Most frequent offerings are in Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish. In addition, in 1992 the National Security Education Act was enacted to develop specialists in the less commonly taught languages and less commonly studied regions of the world. The underlying rationale was to develop the capacity to respond in languages and areas of the world which may present a security threat to the United States.

Policy on Language Curricula

In the USA, the concept of second language education is deeply influenced by the movement of global education¹ which urges that American education must improve the students' abilities to apprehend international issues from a variety of perspectives and to interact skilfully with people of different cultures. It has been advocated that second language teachers accept partial responsibility for preparing their students with multicultural skills for the coming complex, interdependent world. Mantle-Bromley (1993:208) states that:

Given the inseparable nature of language and culture and the complexities of intercultural communication, language teachers are uniquely placed to teach their students cultural understanding and intercultural skills.

¹ For an detailed description of global education, see *The United States Prepares for Its Future: Global Perspectives in Education*, 1987.

Dutcher (1995) points out that about 17 states have developed, or plan to develop, performance standards. In addition, under federal grants, the Project for National Standards in Foreign Language education is developing standards for Kindergarten through Grade 12, with sample progress indicators for Grades 4, 8 and 12. The September 1995 draft presented five goals and then they finalised in 1996 Standards for Foreign Language Learning. The five goals are as follows:

1. Communicate in languages other than English.
2. Gain knowledge and understanding of other cultures.
3. Connect with other disciplines and acquire information.
4. Develop insight into own language and culture.
5. Participate in multilingual communities at home and around the world.

3 Debates on Policy

Because of immigration, the population of the United States has become increasingly multicultural and pluralistic over the last 30 years. However, in the last 15 years or so there has been a reaction against what is seen as a negative effect of this immigration. One example of that reaction is the official English movement which began in 1980s and has been gaining momentum. Adherents state that English should be declared the official language of the country, an action necessary to preserve the role of a common language among the diverse immigrant and ethnic groups of the nation (Dutcher, 1995). Dutcher (1995:15) describes diverse opinions on this issue:

Important policy issues now come from the tensions between the proponents of education that is pluralistic, multicultural, and international and the proponents of education that is focused on what its adherents call American traditions and values. The dialogue is loud and vigorous. Some persons continue to support bilingual and foreign language education—the programs funded through the civil rights legislation initiated in the mid-1960s. Others support foreign language instruction but not bilingual education. ... Still others are working to secure recognition of the English language as Official English or English Only, placing in some cases limits on the use of other language in US administrative and legal domains.

The recent case is the promotion of the legislation of English as the official language of the US by an organisation called US ENGLISH (Lee, 1996).

It is within these ambivalent divides that some of the contradictions over language policies emerge. In the case of the US, its attitudes towards other languages and cultures are two-fold. When the languages in question are foreign languages (that is, native English-speaking children learning Spanish, French, and so on), an open attitude is taken towards the target languages and cultures. While when the case is that minority-group children learn their own native languages, the attitude becomes more conservative. In this sense, the example of the US is similar to that of Great Britain.

Interim Summary

The review of language policies in the aforementioned core English-speaking countries suggests that the 'high' idea of understanding and appreciating other cultures is conditional on the languages and cultures in question. On the one hand, according to their foreign language policies, two of these countries, that is, Britain and the US, seem to agree that the promotion of understanding and respect for other cultures is one of the most important goals of foreign language education, while on the other hand, they take a relatively more restricted approach towards teaching immigrants' languages and cultures in schooling. Canada displays a different case in which language education places more emphasis on the context within the country than on countries outside of it.

3.2 The Situation in Periphery English Speaking Countries

The periphery English countries included here can be categorised into two groups: (1) the former colonies of Britain: e.g., Malaysia (Muslim), Singapore (non-Muslim dominated), and (2) other former colonies: e.g., Morocco (colonised by France;

Muslim). The case of Taiwan, owing to its significance in this thesis, will be given special introduction after the section on other countries.

3.2.1 Malaysia

In the context of Malaysia, the contradiction of English as desirable and undesirable at the same time is approached at two levels: (1) the ethnic and economic levels and (2) the religious level.

1 The Ethnic and Economic Levels

Although there are at least four ethnic groups in Malaysia, (Malays, Chinese, Indians, and Tamil), Malays dominate the country in politics. Chinese and Indians control the country's economy and their economic power is closely connected to the language: English. Chinese and Indians have the advantage of having better English competence, so that they more easily get access to technological and scientific knowledge from the western world. Naturally, they possess superiority in economy. Therefore, 'with English still operating as a key to wealth and prestige in the country, and with large numbers of Malays, especially in the rural areas, excluded from the language, English came to be regarded as a barrier to Malay social and economic advancement' (Pennycook, 1994: 195).

Because the government and congress are Malay dominated, Bahasa Malaysia and Malay culture were promoted to represent Malaysian national identity. In terms of national identity and culture, English is undesirable. However, when considering English as the means of access to Western science, technology, to economic development and modernisation, English is a prerequisite. The dilemma arises as Pennycook (1994:199) describes:

..., the struggle between the Malay and Chinese and Indian middle classes involved a struggle around English. But it also poses the Malay dilemma of

needing to promote Bahasa Malaysia as a symbol of Malay power and national unity, and the need to ensure that Malays are sufficiently competent in English to compete both with the Chinese within Malaysia and also in the global economy.

2 The Religious Level

Another debate arises in the field of religion, in the case of Malaysia, Islam. This can be approached from two angles: English and western secular knowledge. On the one hand, for most Malays, English is strongly associated with Christianity and is thought to be a *kafir* (non-Islamic) language (Pennycook, 1994:206). On the other hand, there is concern about the issue that Western secular thought embodied in technological-rational knowledge undermines the holistic concept of divine knowledge embodied in Islamic thought. And it is significant that there is a close connection between the spread of English and the spread of Western secular thought. Consequently, the government has been faced by another dilemma:

How to support the learning of English for pragmatic scientific, academic, business, and political reasons while at the same time support the Islamization of the country, which for many may seem a process incompatible with the learning of English.
(Ibid.:208)

The view that there is a disparity between the objectives of teaching *English* and the aims of Muslim education has led to *Islamicization of English*, which implies learning English which is based on the Islamic faith, thought and conduct and excluding anti-religious and irreligious ideologies. The Islamic approach to TEFL, although questioned by the non-Muslim sectors of the population, is bringing certain changes to the English language curriculum. With the increased Islamic content in the secondary school curriculum, 'curriculum writers are not only required to ensure that there is no inappropriate material in textbooks (such as non-Islamic celebration of birthdays), but they must also include aspects of the new Muslim-dominated moral curriculum in their work' (Ibid.:210)

3.2.2 Singapore

In spite of being a former British colony as Malaysia was, Singapore is a different case. The privilege English assumes in this country makes Singapore a conspicuous case since no other former colony has gone on to officially adopt English as the working language (Pennycook 1994). The status of English in Singapore cannot be taken as the imposition in terms of English linguistic imperialism from English speaking countries but rather the promotion of the Singaporean government.

1 The Promotion of English in terms of the Social Background in Singapore

Established in 1819 as a trading post, Singapore was a British colony until 1959, when it was granted self-government, with Lee Kuan Yew as Prime Minister. The fact that Singapore was a small island with few natural resources for economic self sufficiency and the multi-ethnic composition of its population, 70 percent Chinese, 15 percent Malays and 8 percent Indians (Chun, 1996), enabled the government to promote the use of English for the sake of economic gain and ethnic harmony. Thus on the ground of the two reasons, that is, English as the connection between the language and science and technology, and as a neutral medium of communication between the different races of Singapore, English has the privilege as a *de facto* official language and as the medium of instruction in schools. The primary consideration for Education is to enable children to gain the skills necessary for them to help Singapore participate in the world economy. As Pennycook (1994:246) comments, these reasons are 'a classic articulation of the pragmatic function of English: it is a neutral medium for the gaining of important knowledge, a neutral medium for inter-racial communication, and an essential language for participation in the global economy.'

2 The Result of Promoting English: Deculturalisation and Westernisation

The 1980s were the turning point of the Singaporean government's unproblematic promotion of English. First the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew signified the problem of 'deculturalisation'. In his National Day Rally speech in 1978, Lee indicated the danger of learning English at the expense of losing one's mother tongue and of ending up with a different culture, namely the culture associated with the language (Pennycook, 1994). Then in 1982, Dr. Tay Eng Soong, Minister of State (Education) suggested in a speech at the National University of Singapore that English 'becomes the vehicle through which the mass media and TV purvey values from abroad, mainly from the US and the UK' (The Straits Times, 13, Dec. 1982).

In terms of the Singaporean government, these Western values include such undesirable qualities as hippism, a libertine pre-occupation with self-gratification, the cult of living for today and for myself and to hell with others, liberal freedom, drug abuse, sexual promiscuity and rampant consumerism (Pennycook, 1994; Chun, 1996). The adverse consequences of modernisation as 'Westernization', were of constant concern to the government.

3 The Dilemma

Argued in this vein, English has now become not merely the bearer of cultural values that threaten local values by dint of their difference, but the bearer of Western decadence to guard against which it will be necessary to set up educational programmes designed to teach correct moral values. Thus while on the one hand English is said to be the neutral language of business and technology, on the other hand it is portrayed as the bearer of undesirable Western values to which Singaporeans are particular vulnerable.

In the eyes of the government, the dilemma it faced was that, on the one hand, English is a neutral, pragmatic language, essential for Singapore's development, but on the other it is a language tied to forms of Western culture and knowledge which threaten Asian cultural identities. It is important, therefore, to maintain competence in a mother tongue as a form of 'cultural ballast'. As a result, in early the 1980s it proposed to actively promote an Asian ethic of modernisation as a cure for this virus.

4 The Arrangements against Westernisation

Thus the reaction to the supposed threat of Western decadence through English was the implementation of a language policy that endeavoured to wipe out the use of the different Chinese languages in favour of Mandarin, (the campaign of speaking hua-yi, interpreted as 'the language of ethnic Chinese') and the connecting of this to a Chinese cultural identity than emphasised Confucian values¹. As Pennycook (1994:248) puts it, the argument of the Singaporean government is that 'to avoid the threat of deculturalisation, Westernisation, one needs to stress the maintenance of an Eastern value system and that by having both systems in one's mind, one can maintain a functional divide between the practical use of English and the more personal and cultural investment in one's mother tongue.'

5 Conclusion

Clearly in the context of Singapore, there is a tension emerging between the pragmatic view of English as a neutral language and the discourse of multiracialism, which assumes a close connection among race, mother tongue, culture and identity. This portrays a predicament that Pennycook (1994:252), referring to Bloom, describes in the following way:

¹ According to Pennycook (1994), Confucian values (Orientalism) here defines people as hard-working, pragmatic, self-disciplined, and oriented towards education, the family and collectivism, requires for its own rationality the ever unchanging character of a quiescent subject, rationalising his/her subjugation as loyalty and suppressing any impulse to protest in the interest of social harmony.

It is within these ambivalent divides that some of the dilemma over English emerge. How can one deal with a language that is both a neutral medium for development and the bearer of foreign and undesirable values? How can one develop an attachment towards a national language (which English unofficially undoubtedly is) which is linked only to economic success? The equation of English and wealth on the one hand, and the role of English in national identity on the other, is very disturbing to some people.

Singapore now 'perceives English as largely responsible for having created tremendous obstacles to the development of a national identity' (Pennycook, *Ibid.*:252).

As Singaporean politicians reacted to what they came to define as 'excessive individualism', an obsession with the self and with material possessions which was linked to the widespread use of English, they looked to this Confucian/Mandarin connection to regain a firmer sense of social, cultural and moral control. English, then, has been caught in a complex web of cultural politics based on an East-West divide.

3.2.3 Morocco

Because of the country's complicated history of European colonisation, the people of Morocco tend to be very aware of the issue of imperialism. This kind of awareness is reflected in the case of new Morocco textbook project (Adaskou, Briton, and Fahsi 1990). This project was designed for Morocco's new three-year English course in Secondary 5-7 which was completed and revised in 1990. In the new Moroccan textbook project, it was decided that the cultural content of the new English course for Moroccan secondary schools is kept to a minimum. The decision was deduced from:

1. the official formulation of the aims of ELT in Morocco which states that English be taught in secondary schools for purposes of communication;

2. estimations of learners' likeliest future needs, e.g., using English to communicate with other foreign-language speakers of English in the setting of Morocco; the need for written more than for spoken English, and
3. the English teachers' opinions on 'the motivational value—positive or negative—of foreign cultural content, with a view to augmenting this content beyond the learners' estimated needs if this is likely to be useful and innocuous' (Ibid.: 9).

For these reasons, culture in the aesthetic sense, that is, Culture with a capital C: the media, the cinema, music (whether serious or popular) and, above all, literature, and culture in the sociological sense, that is, culture with a small c: the organisation and nature of family, of home life, of interpersonal relations, material conditions, work and leisure, customs and institutions, are minimised in the new textbook for the new English course. As a result, 'over 90 per cent of the geographically specific content of the new secondary English course is situated in Morocco itself, and more than half the characters are Moroccan' (Adaskou, Briton, and Fahsi, 1990: 8).

Interim Summary

The story of periphery English-speaking countries is different from that of core English-speaking countries; although the intention of protecting own cultures and languages is seen on both sides. From the three examples given above, we found that the inconsistency of English as desirable and undesirable lies in the resistance between Western cultures and own cultures in the periphery English-speaking countries. In the case of Malaysia and Morocco, the resistance is between the Western secular culture and Islam; while in Singapore, it is between Western cultures and Confucianism.

3.3 Insights into EFL in the Cultural Dimension

After reviewing these countries, I found that the cautious and conservative attitude toward foreign languages and cultures is not in a dichotomy of 'there is' or 'there is not' between core English-speaking countries and periphery English-speaking countries. It exists in both groups and the question is how strongly this kind of attitude is held by these countries. However, it appears that comparatively, the periphery English-speaking countries have more cautious and conservative attitudes when dealing with the issues of teaching foreign languages and cultures. Although we cannot put it into a dichotomy, it is an obvious coincidence that the core English-speaking countries mentioned above happen to be either a colonial country (i.e. Britain) in the 19th century or the world-wide dominant culture (the case the US, in terms of its cultural export to other countries) of today. And the periphery English-speaking countries can be seen as colonies, either in terms of military imperialism in the 19th century or cultural and linguistic imperialism at present. Considered in this vein, it seems to be attractive to attribute the hostile attitudes of the periphery English countries towards English and its cultures as a continuity of colonies' resistance to the colonial power. The difference lies in the fact that in the past, their resistance was against the control of the colonial power over their lands, but nowadays, the focus is on withstanding against English, or more precisely, the over-flooding of Western cultures and ideologies.

As a result, the arguments of restricting English to a pure instrumental use, to 'de-Anglo-Americanise' English in cultural respects, in order for the language to be in tune with the needs of the EFL learners appear and gain support. The production of local teaching materials that are culturally and experientially appropriate for learners in periphery English countries like Kuwait and China (Alptekin, 1982:16) serves as illustration. More recent cases are Malaysia and Morocco mentioned in 3.2.1 and 3.2.3 respectively. Key questions are raised: why does the contradiction exist? Why are the periphery English countries so cautious about the target-language culture?

(English is the case in the examples given above.) Why is there, in the periphery English countries, a question of the submergence of their own cultural identity, against which Alptekin (1982:15) warned, by Anglo-American influence?

These questions cannot be seen as issues simply related to culture and language but involve more sensitive power struggle and conflicts between Western and non-western cultures. The language policies in the periphery English countries reflect these struggles and conflicts. Next, I will mainly refer to Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994) to discuss this issue in terms of linguistic and cultural imperialism.

3.3.1 English and Cultural Imperialism

In the debate of whether the West represents the power of imperialism invading the non-West, Phillipson and Pennycook present two different kinds of arguments, the former argues that there is imperialism, whereas the latter suggests there is resistance.

1 Western Cultures as the Imperialist

Phillipson (1992) ascribes the fear of being assimilated by the Western world and losing own cultural roots in periphery English countries to the impact of English linguistic imperialism and cultural imperialism. The core English-speaking countries export their language through well-organised institutions (e.g. British Council), training teachers and editing language textbooks, and the like. Therefore the censorship of cultural elements in English textbooks, Islamicisation of English, or deculturalising English is reaction to the infusion of English and Western cultures (American, especially) from the core English countries.

The concept is obvious in Phillipson's argument that core English countries always play the role of invaders, either in the 19th century or at present, under the disguise of cultural imperialism. In the past, the core countries went to periphery nations for raw

materials for industrial processing in their own places, and then sold the finished products back to the periphery for consumption. Nowadays, this process takes place in another form, let's say "knowledge imperialism". The core countries went to periphery nations to collect data in the form of flora, fauna, archaeological findings, attitudes, opinions, behavioural patterns, and so on for data processing, data analysis, and theory formation. This takes place in the centre universities, in order to send the finished product, a journal, a book back for consumption in the periphery, first having created a demand for it through demonstration effect, training in the centre country, and some degree of low-level participation in the data-collection team (Phillipson, 1992). Most of the benefits and spin-offs of this relationship accrue to the centre, while the periphery remains in a dependent situation.

Cultural imperialism has also been analysed as the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system (Phillipson, 1994). Ensuring the place of the dominant language as a school subject or even as the medium of education is one of the means used for this purpose. In terms of the forms of cultural imperialism, Phillipson (Ibid.: 58-9) argued that:

This definition of cultural imperialism meshes usefully with the definition of English linguistic imperialism: English is the language in which this incorporation is taking place (form), and the structures and ideologies connected with English operate globally (content). If Americanisation or Westernization is what Schiller is describing, then English is the key medium for this process.

Phillipson's contention is based on the historical dichotomy: the Western, the stronger, the exploiter; while the Eastern, the weaker, the exploited. However, Pennycook (1994) and Bhabha (in Sarup, 1996) see the issue from a different angle.

2 Western Cultures as the Catalyst for New Cultures

When the regional contexts of the example countries given above are taken into consideration, a different interpretation of the same phenomenon, that is, world-wide spread of English and English culture, appears. Pennycook (1994) argues that periphery English speaking countries are using English to create new cultures and reconstruct their own cultural identity. In terms of this, these periphery countries are not in a position of passive receivers who are not able to defy invasion of Western languages and cultures, but on the contrary active users who use English and Westerns cultures for their own purposes. For example, in countries like Singapore, it is because English is convenient and neutral in the contexts where ethnic problems are complex, that the governments use English as the national and/or official language. In terms of this, English is used to suit their purpose in politics or in society, nothing to do with cultural or linguistic imperialism.

The periphery English countries are no longer in the position of the receiving end of the one-way information of Anglo-American centres. The economic power of the periphery English countries, such as Japan, Singapore, China, and so on, make them no longer passive recipients of Western information and technology. Therefore explaining the fear of being assimilated, from Phillipson's or Alptekin's points of view, is not sufficient to exclude culture from EFL. One question is raised in all this: is it true that teaching culture in the foreign language classroom leads an individual to give up his/her culture-specific behaviours, values and norms, and identify with the foreign culture? In the following, my personal arguments are presented against this fear.

3.3.2 Analysis of Foreign Language Education in the Cultural Dimension

After reviewing the two kinds of interpretations of the wide spread of English language and culture, I will present personal arguments on this issue as follows.

Argument 1

At the cultural group level, the subjective sense of togetherness, we-ness, or belongingness which indicates the formation of a psychological group can be challenged when the individual member of a certain cultural group encounters culture contact. When possibility of the change of cultural identity is considered, the following variables should be taken into account:

1. on whose territory the interactions take place (home, foreign or joint),
2. the time-span of the interaction,
3. its degree of intimacy, relative status and power,
4. the numerical balance, and
5. the distinguishing characteristics of the participants

(Furnham and Bochner, 1989: 22-23).

Generally speaking, one's cultural identity can change because of different forms of cultural contact: travelling or emigrating to a foreign country; watching foreign programmes on TV;.... However, in terms of the variables above, Culture Studies in the foreign language classroom, especially when it takes place in the language learners' country might be ranked as the least possible form of cultural contact for change of cultural identity.

Argument 2

Only when confronted with another culture can one sense the existence of his/her own cultural identity. Mamers and Blanc (1983:116-117) argue that:

Cultural identity is part of , but not the same as, social identity. Whereas social identity exists within the same society and helps the individual to define himself in relation to the roles and the social groups in that society, one can only become aware of one's cultural identity to the extent that

one becomes cognisant of the existence of other cultures in or outside one's society.

In terms of this, presenting foreign culture in the foreign language classroom is a stimulus which makes the language learners sense their cultural identity.

Argument 3

It was mentioned in Chapter 1, Section 1.1 that culture contains three components: the philosophical perspectives, the behavioural practices, and the products of a society. In the field of acculturation research, researchers (Berry, cited in Felix-Ortiz, *et. al.* 1994) measure individuals' cultural identity in terms of the extent to which they identify with their own cultural values, beliefs, and practices (or behaviour). In my opinion, the attitudes one has toward his/her cultural values and beliefs, contrasted with his/her behaviours, are more representative of his/her cultural identity. For example, people in the periphery English countries may enjoy western materials but at the same time maintain strong native cultural identity. Therefore we cannot tell if someone's cultural identity changes simply by looking at his/her behaviour, e.g., drinking coca cola, going to McDonalds, listening to western pop music, etc.. It is a kind of misunderstanding that people's changes in behaviours represent their changes in thoughts or attitudes.

To some extent, the worry in the periphery English countries that people are losing their own cultural identity comes from seeing their change in behaviours in daily life. However, we should further ask 'what is going on in their minds?'

Argument 4

We do not just take others' cultures (be it the cultural practice, core values or norms) as they are in the target society (just like a photocopy or fax), but choose, digest, and sieve them to match up with our needs and our standards. In other words, cultural

contact results in a new form of culture which is not a copy from the target cultures and always infuses new energy and elements to the native cultures. Sarup (1996), referring to Bhabha, has also drawn attention to hybridisation, the process whereby two cultures retain their distinct characteristics and yet form something new.

Interim Summary

So far I have:

- (1) looked at core and periphery English-speaking countries and find that both groups protect their own culture;
- (2) examined the linguistic imperialism argument and find that it is less simple than it seems, and
- (3) introduced research which suggests cultural contact can reinforce rather than threaten a culture.

Now I am going to look at the case of Taiwan in the light of this review of the issues.

3.4 The Issue of Teaching English Language and Culture in Taiwan

In the context of Taiwan, the current policies in culture and education reflect Pennycook's argument. In spite of the fact that there were still some arguments advocating the strengthening of Chinese language and literature education in resistance to the 'cultural invasion' which accompanied the wide spread of English and American culture (Lo, 1995; Hsu, United News, April 29th, 1996), Taiwan, being a periphery English-speaking country, takes an open policy towards absorbing foreign cultures for the sake of its developments of economy on the one hand and of cultural and national identities on the other hand. In Section 4.1 of this chapter, I will first try to analyse the reason for this more open attitude taken in Taiwan and then present national policies in culture and education at this stage.

3.4.1 The Reasons for an Open Policy towards Western Cultures

Here, the discussion of an open attitude towards foreign cultures are directed in two dimensions: first, the pragmatic reason and second, socio-cultural reasons.

1 The Pragmatic Reason: to develop diplomacy and get Economic Gain in the Global Context

The pragmatic reason for Taiwan's open attitude towards foreign languages and cultures is related to foreign relations and economy mentioned in 2.4.4 and 2.4.5. On the one hand, Taiwan is endeavouring in pragmatic diplomacy to break through China's isolating it from the international world. On the other hand, it is trying to find a new economic competition superiority over other countries in Asia, when its old superiority (i.e. cheap labour force) was lost to other developing Asian countries like China, Malaysia, and Thailand. So the project of the APROC was presented as a solution (see 2.4.5). These two goals drive Taiwan to take an active approach to embrace the world outside.

2 Socio-Cultural Factors:

- (1) Not having been a colony of core English-speaking countries (Britain), Taiwan received less influence from English-speaking culture and is less hostile to it compared with the other periphery English speaking countries mentioned above. The reaction towards English countries (Britain) is comparatively weak. Besides, Taiwan is an island country which possesses the potentiality of expanding outwards for economic activities. As Hsu (1993) describes, like some Chinese provinces in the south-east coast, Taiwan belongs to the 'ocean culture' which is characterised by its practical attitude, being able to introduce new cultural elements to strengthen its own competition superiority, and using new culture to stimulate its old culture for re-creation.

- (2) Taiwan is not a multi-racial country as Malaysia and Singapore are and its population is mainly Chinese of the same cultural origin, in spite of some aboriginal minority groups. Mandarin is the language widely used and under the government's propaganda over the past fifty years, the stereotype of Chinese identity has been deeply ingrained (but the conception of Taiwanese identity is awakening now). Therefore, English poses less problems in blurring Taiwanese people's identity than it does in Singapore and Malaysia.

- (3) As Lo (1994) describes, the identity problem (national identity) in Taiwan is not the same as that in many third world countries, where the issue was perceived in the commonly accepted dichotomy between the West and the non-West (the West as the 'natural enemy'). The problematic issue of national identity in Taiwan results from the ethnic rivalry between two groups with the same racial origin. In early years, it resulted from 'Taiwanese versus Mainlanders' and more recently from 'Taiwan (the Republic of China) versus China (the People of Republic of China)'. As we saw in 2.4.2 the discussion of this confusing identity. The present government in Taiwan resorts to the approach of creating a new 'Chinese culture' by virtue of combining the traditional Chinese culture, the native Taiwanese culture and Western cultures in order to distinguish Taiwan from China. Relative policies to achieve this will be dealt with in the following section.

Next, I will describe the process of change in concepts concerning education and foreign language education in a top-down order, that is, from the level of national policies, the academic level, to the level of practitioners in the English teaching profession.

3.4.2 National Policies in Culture and Education

This section focuses firstly on cultural and educational policies in general and then on the policy in foreign language education.

1 Cultural and Educational Policies

The Taiwanese Ministry of Education held the Seventh National Education Conference in Taipei from June 22nd to June 25th in 1994. In the closing ceremony, the Prime Minister, Lien-can, made a speech which pointed out that due to the internationalisation of the world, our education should aim at cultivating citizens with concerns about our own native land as well as with the world. In other words, we should foster in students the global view, i.e. considering benefits of all countries and peoples in the world as a whole. Therefore, he said, we should emphasise the teaching of cultures, languages and the economic and political development in different areas of the world.

In 1996, President Lee Teng-hui presented in his inauguration speech his ideas on a 'Chinese renaissance' and the emergence of Modern China in Taiwan. The 'Chinese renaissance' President Lee talked about is an ideal Chinese culture based in Confucian thought, but not distorted and rigidified by authoritarian rulers, which also absorbs the best of modern Western culture (Wang, 1996). Based on this idea, the policies on culture planning and education reformation were formulated as follows:

1. Cultural planning is directed towards culture reconstruction and re-birth. President Lee said 'I hope that our fellow countrymen in Taiwan can establish new life culture, cultivate prospective and grandiose life values and create new Chinese culture by adopting the essence of the Western culture on the basis of our traditional culture.' (The Great New, May 28th, 1996)

2. Reform in education aims at leading the new generation to know their own country and land, love their own country and to equip them with broad international views. As President Lee indicated himself:

The new generation will be assisted to know their homeland, love their country and foster a broad international view. Fortified in this manner they can better meet international challenges and map out a bright future for their country in an increasingly competitive global village (The Great New, May 28th, 1996).

President Lee's talk pointed out a specific direction for cultural and education developments in Taiwan in the future, but it needs further consideration and planning to make it come true. For example, how to combine these idiosyncratic Chinese, native Taiwanese, and Western cultures together? It needs to be operationalised to make this idea feasible in education.

2 The Policy of Foreign Language Education in Taiwan

The policy of foreign language education is always led by the national policies in general. In the very beginning, in order to eradicate the poison of Japanese colonial education, as well as socialise people into the standard dialect, Mandarin, and Chinese culture, the new government of Taiwan began to adopt Mandarin as the medium of instruction in schools. Heavy emphasis was given to the teaching of Chinese through schools at all levels.

Foreign language education starts from junior high schools. In both junior and senior high schools, English is a required subject. In universities and colleges, it remains required in the freshman year. The students in universities or college can take the second, or even third foreign languages in the second year (see 2.5.2). The other foreign languages usually taught in universities are French, German, Japanese and Spanish. From this phenomenon, we know that English has been in the spotlight of foreign language teaching. Such an emphasis on English is very much related to the early reliance on America in trade, politics, military support on the one hand and the role of English as an international communicative language on the other. America had always been the most powerful country with which we have had diplomatic relations and the biggest market for Taiwan's products in the past two decades. Furthermore, English as an international language outlines the issue that full English ability predetermines success in competitive international trade. Consequently, cultivating persons with English competence became a priority to those with competencies of other foreign languages.

In addition to English, it also becomes evident that more and more emphasis is being put on the learning of a second foreign language in schooling. The former Minister of Education of Taiwan, Kou Wai-fan, declared that:

Owing to the internationalisation of the world, the trend of emphasising English teaching only will change and go to the coexistence of many foreign languages.... In addition, accompanied by the rise of the European Community, it will become more and more popular that people in Taiwan learn languages of European countries. Foreign language learning will not be confined to English; other languages and cultures will have influence on our lives, too (Kou, 1993:9)

In terms of these changes, it is not hard to understand why recently there have been so many proposals for foreign language education in Taiwan, e.g. advancing English teaching to the stage of primary schools or providing the junior high school pupils with the chance of learning a second foreign language (French, German, or Japanese). In the academic year of 1996, the Education Bureau of Taipei City chose three senior high schools to implement experimental second foreign languages teaching and it also decided to develop English teaching among pupils of Grades 3 to 6 in primary schools of Taipei City (Central Daily News, October 2nd, 1996).

3.4.3 The Opinions from the Academic Experts

This concept of internationalisation views is also highlighted by educationalists. Chang (1992) states that one of the qualifications the citizens in the 21st century of Taiwan should possess is a sense of universality and the ability of tolerating and respecting others. Therefore he suggests that enlarging students' 'world view' should be the preoccupation of education in Taiwan. In response to the coming of internationalisation, many countries in the world have already given up provincialism and participated actively in international activities in order to contribute to the world. However, when human lifestyles become more and more unified because of frequent interaction with each other, the desire is strong that every country wants to preserve the unique characteristics of its own culture and language, refusing influences from

outside. The more similar the outside world becomes, the more we adhere to our tradition and cultural values. The coexistence of the global view and sense of looking for one's own roots will be the trend in the future. In light of this, many countries, e.g., America, emphasise multi-cultural education, whereas in Taiwan this kind of cultural awareness is still lacking. Therefore education in Taiwan should provide students with the chance to learn foreign languages, increase courses about the history and geography of foreign countries in order to let the students understand the close tie between the world and ourselves, and the versatility of cultures in the world.

Huang (1993) also emphasises developing the global view on the part of pupils through education. He thinks that confronted with transient and tremendous social evolution, education should undertake the responsibility of fostering the students' abilities in adapting themselves to these changes in the society as well as determining the directions for the changing society to follow. In order to achieve this aim, Huang suggests educationists in Taiwan should:

1. re-design the goals, contents, activities and evaluation of the curricula and teacher training, in terms of the need and benefit of the students, not of the authority,
2. design curricula which can teach pupils the major ideas and basic principles of a subject rather than cram them with fragmentary knowledge,
3. strengthen the pupils' basic abilities in some 'instrumental' subjects like the native language and foreign languages, and
4. foster the students' positive attitudes toward learning, encourage them to be concerned with, accept, and participate in learning activities as well as help them build up positive self-concepts and willingness to learn independently, co-operatively and through life.

In regard to the third point, Huang emphasises teaching languages in a way which develop the pupils' abilities in problem solving, critical thinking, creative thinking, self-understanding, the ability of self-adjustment, career developments and exploring other disciplines. By taking the example of racial conflicts in some European countries in the early 1990s, he highlights the importance of multi-cultural and global-viewed education. He states that education should aim at

...teaching the children inter-personal, inter-group, and international relations in order to let them understand, respect and appreciate different cultures and cultivate in them the skills in and attitudes towards co-operating and co-existing peacefully. What is worthy of attention is that the students are not only to be educated into being a good individual, family member, worker, community citizen and national citizen, but also an excellent world citizen (C-H Huang 1993: 108; my translation).

In his mind, languages, either native or foreign, are the basic instruments that facilitate the achievement of this goal. Here, foreign language education provides a forum for inter-cultural contacts which underpins the accomplishment of all these educational aims.

3.4.4 The Practitioners in the English Teaching Profession

In recent years, some English teachers in Taiwan have been aware of the problems of English teaching and begun to re-consider the aims of English teaching in terms of its accountability in education, i.e., 'the instilling of useful skills and the encouraging of an open attitude and understanding of other cultures' (Byram, 1989:11). For example, Hsieh, an English teacher in a junior college in Taipei, introduces in a journal Kumaravadivelu's postmethod condition 'in which L2 teachers are invited to design their own classroom procedures under the guidance of some theoretical principles called 'macrostrategies' (Hsieh, 1995:7). Among the ten macrostrategies, two indicate the language teachers' duty to: (1) raise cultural consciousness: ease the pupils into the target culture by appealing to their experience in their native culture, and (2) ensure social relevance: one of the goals of teaching is to foster the pupils' ability to function well in the foreign language in the native society, mediating between the target culture and the home

culture. This suggests that English teachers are beginning to notice the cultural issues involved in language teaching.

Although it is a common recognition among the authorities concerned, the foreign language educationists and practitioners in Taiwan, that one of the important education goals is to cultivate citizens with global views for the coming 21st century, the advocacy of teaching English language and its cultures does not go unquestioned and unproblematic. In the following, I will describe the opinions against Western culture in Taiwan.

3.4.5 Opponents of Opening up toward Foreign Cultures

In contrast to the advocacy of opening up towards the diversity of cultures in the world is the call to remain conservative to the traditional culture. Lao (1995), criticises the phenomenon prevailing in Taiwanese society that:

Obviously, parents nowadays spare no efforts to ask their children to learn English, Japanese, or other foreign languages and to play western instruments, whereas nobody wants the children to read books about Chinese culture, like Sen-Tsu-Chi or Confucius' s sayings.

What is the most strange is in the kindergartens, the first forum of socialising children. They (the kindergartens) are so enthusiastic in conducting 'bilingual education' to appeal to parents to send their children to them. The children learn English from the foreign teachers as well as their ideas and thoughts. It seems that parents encourage their kids to pretend to be westerners.

(Lao, 1995:39; my translation)

These contradictory perspectives reveal the dilemma confronting FLT in schooling in Taiwan. It is not deniable that in terms of education accountability foreign language education should undertake the responsibility of satisfying the needs of our country and pupils in the future. In view of this, conducting foreign language teaching under the concept of opening up to foreign cultures is definitely necessary.

There is however worry coming concomitantly with the trend of internationalisation that our native and local cultures will be deformed under the impingement of foreign cultures. Such a worry resulted in the Legislative Yuan's objection to the draft bill of advancing English education to the primary schools in Taiwan. In 1993, the Ministry of Education presented a draft bill which planned to conduct English teaching in primary schools in Taiwan. However, the bill was turned down by Legislative Yuan (the highest legislative institution in Taiwan) on the grounds of the fear that foreign language education in this stage will hinder children's learning their own language and identity with the native culture.

In sum, the attitudes towards foreign language education can be expressed in two ways: on the one hand, the common sense view has formed among the education authorities and the educationalists that: (1) the language capacities of individuals are a part of the resources of our country, therefore doubling individuals' language competence doubles our opportunities to re-enter international society, and (2) foreign language teaching assumes the duty to enhance inter-cultural understanding and tolerance. But on the other hand, the fear is still prevailing that learning foreign languages opens a door to foreign countries and cultures which will probably blur identities in our native language and culture.

3.4.6 The Restrictions on English Teaching in the Cultural Dimension from the Entrance Exams

There is another more decisive factor which hinders English teaching in Taiwan, that is, the emphasis on the instrumental function of English for examinations. As mentioned in Chapter 2, in Taiwan, the entrance examinations lay heavy restrictions on English teaching. Because what is examined is taught, English teaching in schools is largely engaged in drills of English grammar and tautological practice of examination models. As a result, although more and more English teachers in Taiwan's schools are becoming aware of the need for teaching target-language culture, their awareness contributes little to changing English teaching. The teachers might be able to modify their teaching methodologies to some

extent in the micro-environment of the English classroom but they cannot change the examination system in the macro-environment.

3.5 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I firstly compared the attitudes towards foreign language and culture in core and periphery English-speaking countries; the latter's is obviously more conservative than the former's. Then two interpretations of the phenomenon of world-wide spread of English language and cultures were presented. One says that it is linguistic and cultural imperialism of the central English speaking countries which through well planned promotion impose English on periphery countries; while the other argues that the periphery is able to appropriate and nativise English language and culture according to their cultural and social conditions. Finally, current cultural and educational policies, the debate between opening up to western language and culture and protecting and maintaining own language and culture in Taiwan were described.

From the discussion, we find that in Taiwan the argument for promoting foreign language learning and absorbing western cultures is gaining power over that of resisting them, for the reason that on the one hand, Taiwan is heading towards internationalisation in terms of economic profit, and on the other hand, it needs western cultures as a part in constructing new cultural identity. Therefore Taiwan portrays a case different from other periphery English countries. In the light of Taiwan's needs, Culture Studies could and should assume a position in English education.

Thus, the argument for Culture Studies in English has been made at a policy level. The questions which arise next are:

1. Whether Culture Studies will appeal to learners in the way it appeals to policy makers, academics and teachers;

2. What effects Culture Studies will have on the development of national and cultural identities in practice, whatever the policy makers may argue in theory.

In order to address these two questions, I shall turn in the next two chapters to a review of the related literature, before describing in later chapters my empirical investigation of these two questions.

Chapter 4 Motivation in Foreign/Second Language Learning

Introduction

In this chapter I attempt to explore the concepts of motivation within the body of motivation research with particular reference to the foreign language learning (FLL) context in order to build the theoretical framework for the specific research questions outlined in chapter 1. In addition, the role that culture teaching plays as a potential motive in FLL will be discussed, too.

When we talk about motivation, we are asking the question 'Why do people do what they do?'. Both psychologists and sociologists contribute to the research of motivation but with different foci. In psychology, earlier research paradigms have explained motivation primarily in terms of universal needs and drives; however in sociology, currently dominant social and cultural theories would make human action a direct precipitate of cultural constructs. In light of this fact that different disciplines approach motivation from different angles, perspectives reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of the area of study are taken in consideration. In the following discussion, the issue of motivation is to be dealt with from general theories to FL theories.

4.1 Motivation in Psychology

This section approaches motivation in terms of psychology in the order of: (1) concept of motivation, (2) the motive-as-drive approach, (3) the motive-as-goal approach, and (4) the motivation process.

4.1.1 Concepts of Motivation

Early psychological discussions of motivation centred on the concept of observable behaviour and activity, defining motivation as concerning why:

...behavior gets started, is energized, is sustained, is directed, is stopped
this is going on (Jones, cited in Young, 1994:23).

Then interests shifted to 'What are the internal processes that underline the initiation, direction and determination of different types of activities?'. Bernard (cited in Young, 1994:23) mentions the significant character of motivation:

...the stimulation of action toward a particular objective where previously there was little or no attraction toward the goal. It is the process of arousing, maintaining and controlling interest.

Over the past century, psychology has developed a complex body of experimental and clinical findings concerning motivation. A major part of the scientific understanding of motivation has come from the investigation of hunger and thirst. This kind of investigation typically treats motivation as a *drive*, an internal stimulus which becomes painful if not satisfied. Hunger, thirst, sex, pain and other physically experienced states are typically conceptualised within this framework. A different approach to the study of motivation begins by defining motives not with reference to internal stimuli but with reference to *goals* or *incentives*. The following sections will introduce these two conceptions of motivation.

4.1.2 The Motives-as-Drive Approach

The motives-as-drive approach typically views motivation as an enabling factor--a means to an end. In this approach, motivation is 'an internal state, need, or condition that impels individuals toward action' (Covington, 1992:13). The need is thought to be the reason

which resides inside the individuals, enabling them to act toward or away from a chosen goal or activity.

In the early years, motives-as-drive theory emphasised the satisfaction of basic tissue needs such as hunger and thirst. However, because of the limitation of applying a totally physiological approach to explain human behaviours, researchers (Atkinson, 1964; McClelland, 1965; cited in Evans, 1975) eventually broadened their focus to include learned drive or psychological motives such as the need for achievement. This approach views motivation from the standpoint of emotion and cognition.

1 The Emotional Level: Need Achievement Model

The achievement model owes its origin to John Atkinson (Covington, 1992). The main theme of this model is that the affective (feelings, emotional) aspect of human beings serves as the avenue through which motivation is aroused. In emotional terms, human achievement is held as the result of an emotional conflict between striving for success and the fear of failure. For people who have a hope for success, or 'a capacity to experience pride in accomplishment' (Atkinson, cited in Covington, 1992: 28), anticipation of success and of pride at winning or prevailing over others will produce a thrust in them to strive for excellence. On the contrary, the motive to avoid failure is described as the capacity for experiencing humiliation and shame when one fails. A failure-avoiding individual tends not to undertake achievement activities. Even though they are forced or enticed to participate, their anticipation of failure will likely disrupt their performance.

Every achievement situation involves an approach-avoidance conflict to one degree or another. For the success-seekers (high approach-low avoidance), whose optimism heavily outweighs any thoughts of failure, the conflict is minimal. They approach success readily and for them any anxiety in the process of pursuing success usually gives way to a sense of challenge. By contrast, for the failure-avoider (low approach-high avoidance), the fear of failure exceeds the anticipation of success. As a result, they reduce their tension by escape,

either actual or psychological. Covington (Ibid.), referring to need theorists McClelland and Murray, associated these two achievement-oriented behaviours with past successes or failures. Past successes in a particular situation would make a person more likely to engage in achievement behaviours in a similar situation in the future; past failures would engender fear and stifle achievement behaviours.

However, the need achievement model can not explain all achievement behaviours. Sometimes failure-oriented students perform just as well or are just as willing to perform as success-oriented students. Why should this be? Evans (1975), referring to Atkinson, pointed out that two more variables, possibility and attractiveness of the success in question, must be taken into consideration. The approach-avoidance motives are not the sole determinants of achievement behaviour. They are only potential—potential in that they lie dormant until activated by cues from a specific achievement situation. First, motives will be aroused depending on the attractiveness of the goal, that is, its incentive value. Second, motives will be aroused depending on the possibility of attaining the goal. The engagement in achievement-oriented behaviour is a function not only of the motivation for success, but also of the possibility of success (expectancy) and the incentive value (valence) of success. Recognition of these dynamics qualifies Atkinson's model for what is referred to as an expectancy-value theory. Accordingly, the relationship between achievement behaviour, approach-avoidance motives, and expectancy-value theory can be understood in terms of the formula, $B = M \times P \times I$ (B = actual, observable behaviour; M , or motivation, which represents a combination of the approach-avoidance motives; P = probability of attaining the goal, or, expectancy of success; I = incentive value of the goal).

2 The Cognitive Level: Attribution Theory, Self-Efficacy Theory, and Learned Helplessness

In the early 1970s, cognitive psychologist Weiner proposed another interpretation of achievement motivation which reckons cognitive (thought) processes as the agents primarily responsible for the quality of achievement. Weiner (1992; cited in Dornyei,

1994) lists three major cognitive conceptual systems: attribution theory, self-efficacy theory, and learned helplessness. All three concern the individuals' self appraisal of ability: what they can or cannot do. This in turn affects their striving for achievement in the future. However, one difference between attribution theory and self-efficacy theory is that the former is a post-task ascription of the causes of one's success or failure, whereas the latter is a pre-task estimate of the individuals' control over their performance in a coming activity.

Attribution Theory

In contrast with the need achievement theory which postulates emotional anticipation as the basic driving force behind all achievement behaviours, attribution theory views the individuals' ascription of the causes of their prior success or failure as the determinant for choosing or not choosing to work on a particular task. In other words, the domain of attribution theory is the study of how causal ascription of past failures and successes affects future goal expectancy.

Weiner (cited in Covington, 1992) presents four major causal elements of achievement performance: ability, effort, task difficulty, and luck. These causes are separated across two dimensions: locus of causality and stability. The locus of causality dimension classifies the causes of an event as either internal or external in the criterion that either they are within or outside a person's ability to control. Ability and effort are designated as internal factors because they are within the individual's control. Likewise, task difficulty and luck are portrayed as external factors because they are subject to determinants which are beyond the person's influence. The other dimension, that of stability, classifies the four causes as either stable or unstable. Task difficulty and ability are considered to be relatively stable causes of achievement outcomes, whereas luck and effort are liable to change (Covington, 1992).

The Attribution Model

1. Attribution theory and need achievement theory

Success-oriented persons and failure-prone persons ascribe different causes for their successes and failures, and it is precisely the differences that are taken as the essence of individual differences in achievement motivation. Generally speaking, a success-oriented individual is more likely to ascribe his/her successes and failures to internal factors, e.g., the combination of high ability (stable) and sufficient effort (unstable). By contrast, 'failure-threatened persons are said to ascribe their failure to a lack of ability (stable, internal) rather to insufficient effort' (Covington 1992: 55). If successes occur, failure-avoidant persons explain them as the function of external elements such as luck or help from others.

2. Attribution theory and expectancy of the future goal

Attributing causes of past successes and failures also interferes with the individual's expectation of his/her performance on a similar task in the future. For example, it is postulated that failure that is ascribed to low ability or to the difficulty of a task decreases the expectation of future success more than failure that is ascribed to bad luck or to a lack of effort (Dornyei, 1994a). Covington (1992) also argues that persons who attribute their past successes to high ability are more likely to undertake similar challenges in the future. On the contrary, persons are less likely to anticipate doing well in the future if they attribute their prior successes to good luck, or if they judge themselves powerless to succeed again due to insufficient ability. These hypotheses gain support from the research evidence in foreign/second language learning. Dornyei (Ibid.), in his exploratory study among Hungarian L2 learners, identifies an independent 'attributions about past failures' component to L2 motivation and argues that such attributions are particularly significant in foreign language learning contexts where L2 learning failure is a very common phenomenon. Crookes and Schmidt (1991) also state that the students who attribute their previous failures to their own inability rather than problems with the course or text, are

likely to have a low estimate of their future successes in SL learning, which may result in low risk-taking, low acceptance of ambiguity, and other behaviours that are probably negatively correlated with successful SL learning.

Self-Efficacy Theory

Self-efficacy refers to one's judgement of his/her own ability to execute courses of action required to deal with a prospective situation. Self-efficacy, as Oxford and Shearin (1994: 21) point out, 'involves the idea that performance will lead to rewards and focuses on one's ability, creativity, adaptability, and on one's ability to perform in a particular situational context'. The main determinants of self-efficacy include: (1) attributions of past accomplishments, e.g., a sense of personal helplessness occurs when one repeatedly ascribes failure to internal, stable causes such as low ability, (2) observational experiences, e.g., observing peers, and 3) persuasion, reinforcement, and evaluation by others, especially by teachers or by parents (Dorynei, 1994a).

Learned Helplessness

Learned helplessness is a state of depression or loss of hope that accompanies a belief that no matter how hard or how well one tries, failure is the unavoidable outcome. The influences that the helplessness dynamic has on all aspects of achievement are pervasive and insidious (Dener and Dweck, cited in Covington, 1992). This feeling of helplessness, once established, is very difficult to reverse. These helpless learners come to believe that they have no control over their performance and that success or failure is the uncontrollable results brought by external factors such as teachers' compassion, an easy task, or just luck.

A balanced approach to motivation

The arguments between the affective model and the cognitive model of motivation seem to have come to a compromise recently. Weiner (1986) advocates a balanced

approach to motivational studies, including the taking into consideration of feelings and perceptions, as well as actions. He pointed out that:

Motivation has been inseparably linked with the study of overt behavior. Throughout the history of this field, well known books have had behaviourally oriented titles, such as *Principles of Behavior* (Brown, 1961) and *The Dynamics of Action* (Atkinson and Birch, 1970). However, we experience, feel and think, as well as act and all these processes have a place within the experiential state of the organism and the meaning of an action (Weiner, 1980, in Young, 1994:24).

Most recent psychological theories still maintain a tripartite distinction among cognition, motivation, and affect. Nevertheless, as we shall see below, some cognitive anthropologists believe cognition is a realm that is inseparable from affect. They maintain the psychic processes and states are a co-effect of feeling and thought. Strauss (1992) uses the phrase 'thought-feeling' to emphasise the interdependence of the cognitive and affective aspects of psyche.

4.1.3 The Motives-as-Goal Approach

By definition, a goal, to be called a motive, should have some degree of autonomy. In terms of this definition, if somebody strives to learn a foreign language, for example, not because he/she wants to know the language itself, but because he/she wants to find a good job, their language learning striving would not be considered a real goal. However, to the extent that somebody strives to learn a foreign language just for the sake of knowing the language, to that extent the foreign language learning goal can be treated as having an autonomous power to instigate action and to that extent can be considered a motive.

Theorists of motivation have different lists of goals, but here only two of these are referred to: first, the major needs Murray (cited in D' Andrade and Strauss, 1992) presented, and secondly Maslow's (cited in Oxford and Shearin, 1994) hierarchies of need.

1 Murray' s list of human needs

Pioneer work on the goal-striving approach was carried out by Henry Murray and his associates in the thirties. Murray turned to the definition of motive as goals rather than drives out of necessity — having decided to study human personality in all its richness, he discovered that he simply could not describe the things people strive for with just the limited vocabulary of tissue needs, aggression and sex. Human goal striving is too complex and differentiated to be encompassed by the vocabulary of drives alone. Table 4.1 shows the major needs Murray presented.

Table 4.1: Murray' s Need List (adapted from Strauss, 1992:25)

Need Abasement	To submit passively to external force. To accept injury, punishment. To surrender. To resign to fate. To admit inferiority, error, wrong-doing. To confess and atone.
Need achievement	To accomplish something difficult. To overcome obstacles and attain a high standard. To excel. To rival and surpass others.
Need acquisition	To gain possessions and property. To grasp, snatch, or steal things. To work for money or goods.
Need affiliation	To draw near and cooperate enjoyably or reciprocate with an allied other. To please and win the affections of others. To adhere and remain loyal to a friend.
Need Aggression	To overcome opposition forcefully. To fight. To revenge an injury. To attack, punish, belittle, censure, curse or ridicule maliciously others.
Need Autonomy	To get free. To resist coercion and restriction. To be independent. To be unattached, unconditioned. To defy conventions.
Need Cognizance	To explore. To ask questions. To satisfy curiosity. To look, listen, inspect. To read and seek knowledge.
Need Contrarience	To act differently from others. To be unique. To take opposite sides. To hold unconventional views.
Need Defendance	To defend the self against assault, criticism and blame. To conceal or justify a misdeed, failure or humiliation. To vindicate oneself.
Need Deference	To admire and support a superior. To praise, honour, or eulogise. To yield eagerly to the influence of allied others. To emulate an exemplar. To conform to custom.
Need Dominance	To influence or direct the behaviour of others by suggestion, seduction, persuasion, or command. To dissuade, restrain, or prohibit. To get others to cooperate.

Need Exhibition	To make an impression. To be seen and heard. To excite, amaze, fascinate, entertain, shock, intrigue, amuse or entice others.
Need Harm avoidance	To avoid pain, physical injury, illness and death. To escape from a dangerous situation. To take precautionary measures.
Need Infavoidance	To avoid humiliation. To quit embarrassing situations or to avoid conditions which may lead to belittlement.
Need Nurture	To give sympathy and gratify the needs of a helpless other. To assist others in danger. To feed, help, support, console, protect, comfort, nurse, heal.
Need Order	To put things in order. To achieve cleanliness, arrangement, organisation, balance, neatness, tidiness and precision.
Need Play	To act for "fun," to take a playful attitude. To devote time to various forms of amusement.
Need Rejection	To separate oneself from negatively regarded others. To exclude, abandon, expel, or remain indifferent to inferior others. To snub or jilt others.
Need Retention	To retain possession of things. To refuse to give and lend. To hoard. To be frugal, economical and miserly.
Need Sentience	To seek and enjoy sensuous impressions.
Need Sex	To form and further an erotic relationship. To have intercourse.
Need Succurance	To have one's needs gratified by the sympathetic aid of allied others. To be nursed, supported, sustained, protected, loved, advised, guided, indulged, forgiven, consoled.

We found that the human needs Murray listed go beyond the biologically based drives, such as hunger or thirst. Some theorists prefer to restrict the list of "true" motives to biologically based drives, and to call the sorts of goals that Murray formulated "secondary" or "learned" motives.

2 Hierarchies of Need

Maslow's (cited in Oxford & Shearin 1994) hierarchies of need is the best known list of human needs. Maslow formulated a five-fold hierarchy of human needs which begins with biological needs and progresses upward to psychological ones:

- (1) Physiological needs, including the need for food and water;
- (2) The need for safety;

- (3) Social needs, including belongingness and love;
- (4) Esteem needs, e.g., the feelings of self-respect and positive recognition from others, and
- (5) Self-actualisation, which means the need for a sense of self-fulfilment.

Although Maslow's theory has been confronted with a number of critiques and contradictions (Wahba & Bridwell, cited in Covington 1992; Rauschenberger, Schmitt & Hunter, cited in Oxford & Shearin 1994), it provides a useful way of thinking about the factors that activate human action. The basic concept in the theory is that the satisfaction of lower physical needs must precede that of more psychological needs. Additionally, as the needs at one level are met, their importance in motivating individuals decreases, and the next higher level of needs becomes the strongest source of goal-directed behaviours.

From the previous review of psychological literature in motivation we know that motives, either as drive or as goal, provokes the choice of activity, judgements, the feelings and the behavior of the individual. Next, the discussion will turn to the internal process of motivation, that is, the direction, persistence, and vigour of goal-directed behaviour.

4.1.4 The Motivation Process

The motivation process covers the external behaviour and internal machinations of the individual. Keller (cited in Crookes & Schmidt, 1991:481) gave a succinct definition of motivation, which refers to 'the choices people make as to what experiences or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort they will exert in that respect'. Maehr and Archer (cited in Crookes & Schmidt, 1991:481) listed, in a more detailed way, four elements of motivation. They are (1) *direction*, which refers to carrying out one among a set of activities, or attending to one thing and not another, or engaging in some activities and not others; (2) *persistence*, which means concentrating attention or action on the same thing for an extended duration; (3)



continuing motivation, which is returning to previously interrupted action without being obliged to do so by outside pressure; (4) *activity level*, which is more or less equivalent to effort, or intensity of application.

Interim Summary

Two characteristics are prominent in the psychological approach to motivation. First, whether in terms of the motive-as-drive approach or the motive-as-goal approach to motivation, psychologists have endeavoured to find universal drive (e.g., hunger, thirst, need for achievement, etc.) or human needs (e.g., needs for food, love, affiliation, and so on) to explain human behaviours. Secondly, in this field, human beings are treated as if they are independent of the environment around them and human behaviours are purely the result of the internal process of individual's thought and feelings. However, these two characteristics are questionable.

On the one hand, as D' Andrade (1992) indicates, the tradition of motivation research described above is no longer dominant in psychology because its proponents were unable to specify a limited set of universal motives, identify them in behaviour, and explain situational variance in their expression. On the other hand, human beings are not entities existing in a vacuum, therefore human action is the interaction between the individual's psyche processes and states with the social world. Strauss (1992:1) explains this point of view as follows:

Human motivation has to be understood as the product of interaction between events and things in the social world and interpretations of those events and thing in people's psyches.

Both cognition and emotion are internal in the individuals. But this/these internal psychological state/s is partly a reflection of the social context of the environment in which the individual finds him/herself. This argument gives inspiration to motivation research centred on cultural models.

4.2 Motivation and Cultural Models

Instead of approaching motivation from the internal states and process of the individual only, cognitive anthropologists propose that a more promising alternative may be to investigate how cognitive schemas learned in specific cultural contexts are linked to one another and to goals for action. To put it in a slogan, cultural models (i.e., culturally formed cognitive schemas) can have motivational force because these models not only label and describe the world but also set forth goals (both conscious and unconscious) and elicit or include desires (Strauss, 1992). In a sense, the theoretic basis of this socio-cultural approach to motivation draws from both psychology and currently dominant social and cultural theories because it argues that socio-cultural constructs (systems, meanings, and/or values,) and people's interpretation of these constructs function interdependently to form human actions. However, in another sense, it rejects psychological determinism, which explains motivation primarily in terms of universal human needs and drives, as well as sociocultural determinism, which takes private interpretations as replicas of public messages.

The cognitive anthropologists' argument is that to understand people one needs to understand what leads them to act as they do, and to understand what leads them to act as they do one needs to know their goals, and to understand their goals one must understand their overall interpretive system, part of which constitutes and interrelates these goals, and to understand their interpretive system—their schemas—one must understand something about the hierarchical relations among these schema. From this analogy, we found schema is the beginning point to understand human action. What is a schema? This is to be discussed in the following section.

4.2.1 Schema: Cognitive Schema and Cultural Schema

To make it succinct, a schema is a procedure by which objects or events can be identified on the basis of simplified pattern recognition. According to Strauss (1992:2), cognitive schemas are learned, internalised patterns of thought-and feelings that mediate both the interpretation of on-going experience and the reconstruction of memories. Cultural schemas (or in another term, cultural model) is an important subset of cognitive schemas. Cultural schemas range from highly concrete and specific constructs for things like spoons and left turns to highly abstract conceptions like love, success, authority, pollution, and the like. Generally, the basic elements of a cultural model will be lexically encoded and used frequently by people in ordinary conversation. Such models have normative properties; inappropriate use is sanctioned. There are two other properties of schemas which help us understand the role schemas play in the motivation process: hierarchic organisation and the goal instigator.

4.2.2 Hierarchic Organisation of Schemas

Schemas are hierarchically organised. They are hierarchical in the sense that interpretations provided by one schema are 'passed on' to higher-level schemas in order to make more and more interpretations. D' Andrade (1992) listed three types of schema hierarchy: (1) means-ends linkage, (2) the part/whole relation, and (3) implication relations.

In spite of the fact that there are many possible linkages through which one schema passes its interpretation to another, it is the topmost level of interpretation which is typically linked to the actions by which an individual operates in his/her environment. At the highest level are schemas (e.g., for love or success) whose goals are easily triggered by a wide range of inputs. A schema at this level always functions as a person's most general goals which instigate action with no more ultimate goal in sight. At the lower level are schemas (e.g. marriage or attending a job fair) that direct a action only if "recruited" by higher level goals. Near the bottom of the hierarchy would be a schema for things like memos,

birthdays, getting in line, and so on. These are schemas that instigate almost no actions except when other higher-level ones interact with them.

4.2.3 Schema as Goals

Another important property of schemas is that they have the potential of instigating action, that is, they can function as goals. The strength of instigation depends at any one point on the important particulars involved in each interpretative instance—what can be achieved, the difficulties and rewards involved, how that kind of achievement is related to one's own situation and abilities, etc. Owing to the fact that cultural schemas are an important subset of schemas, they also have the potential of instigating actions.

Cultural Schemas as goals

In his investigation of a research project on American person perception, D'Andrade (1992) found that some American cultural models are remarkably similar to some of the needs in the Murray's need list. The correspondence between the Murray needs such as affiliation, achievement and autonomy and what D'Andrade's informants said about friends, jobs and their own selves was obvious. In D'Andrade's finding, the correspondence between cultural models and Murray's needs is especially notable in the case of achievement. He said that

Achievement is not a brute fact; an achievement is a culturally constructed object which exists only because some groups of human have developed the notion of 'achievement', and agreed that certain things will count as an achievement (D'Andrade, 1992: 35).

For many Americans, such a schema for achievement is more than just a recognition process by which an achievement can be identified when it occurs; it has the potential of instigating action; that is, for some people it is a goal. However, D'Andrade also indicated that not all schemas function as goals, but all goals are schemas. For something to serve as

a goal, the person must have some cognitive structure which is activated and which instigates action. The person does not have to be conscious of the interpretation which instigates the action, but some interpretation—whether accurately or inaccurately made from the point of view of an outside observer—must occur for the action to have an instigation.

Interim Summary

Although cognitive anthropologists indicate that cultural models do not automatically impart motivational force because not all parts of a culture are held by people in the same way, and because cultural propositions vary in the degree to which they are internalised, it is undeniable that cultural models do explain part of the motivation process. In other words, human action is not purely a result of individual mechanics of internal processes but also partly socio-culturally constituted.

After reviewing psychological approaches and cognitive anthropological approaches to motivation, I will turn to motivation in foreign/second language learning. In general, the approaches to motivation in foreign/second language learning fall within research interests in psychology and cognitive anthropology. In early years, research on motivation in foreign/second language learning centred on the socio-cultural dimension but recently there has been a call for more learner- and learning situation-centred approaches to motivation in this profession.

4.3 Motivation in Foreign/Second Language Learning

Far from being a monolithic concept, this 'motivation to learn the language' is the sum of a wide range of factors which are expressed in the motivated behaviour shown by the learner in the classroom. In the past four decades, the major approaches to describing the role of motivation in SL learning have been mainly social-psychological ones (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Lambert, 1974; Gardner, 1985 and 1988;

Schumann, 1978; Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993). The most influential work in the field has been that of Gardner and Lambert and their associates in Canada, whose research deals primarily with the linking of attitudes, motivation and achievement, beginning in the 1950s and continuing to the present. In Gardner and Lambert's preliminary research, motivation was concerned with instrumental or integrative orientation to learn the target language. However, the dichotic version of motivation has been criticised as over-simplistic and highly ambiguous (Clement and Drudenier, 1983; Crookes and Schmidt, 1991; Dornyei, 1994; Oxford and Shearin, 1994).

4.3.1 The Instrumental/Integrative Dichotomy

Gardner and Lambert highlighted two different types of motivation (or orientation, to be discussed later): *integrative motivation* and *instrumental motivation*. Integrative motivation occurs when the learner learns the language with an orientation to identify with the culture of an/the L2 group. Usually the learner with an integrative orientation is characterised with a positive disposition toward an L2 group and the desire to interact with and even become similar to valued members of that community. Graham (cited in Brown, 1987) makes a more advanced division of integrative motivation. According to the intensity of identifying with the target-language community, integrative motivation is divided into two levels:

- (1) Integrative motivation, which is the desire on the part of a language learner to learn the second language in order to communicate with, or find out about, members of the second language culture, and does not necessarily imply direct contact with the second language group, and
- (2) Assimilative motivation, which is the drive to become an indistinguishable member of a speech community, usually requiring prolonged contact with the second language culture.

The other component of Gardner's motivation constructs is understood as instrumental motivation, which refers to more functional reasons for learning a language as the means of attaining certain instrumental goals, e.g., getting a better job, reading technical materials, passing required examinations, etc..

Gardner and Lambert developed their original integrative motivation construct from Mowrer's (cited in Young, 1994:32) theory of successful first language acquisition. Mowrer believed that a child's success in acquiring his/her first language was attributable to his/her quest for identity, initially amongst family members and later with members of his/her speech community (Young, *Ibid.*). In their initial studies in Canada and the U.S.A., Gardner and Lambert claim that an integrative motive is positively associated with SL achievement and integratively-motivated learners are successful because they are active learners compared to instrumentally-motivated ones. However, not all empirical evidence supports the superiority and validity of integrative motivation in successful SLA.

1. The superiority of the Integrative Motivation over the Instrumental Motivation

In their 1970 motivation research in the multi-ethnic Philippines, Gardner and Santo find that students who learn English with an instrumental motivation are clearly more successful in developing proficiency in this language than those who do not adopt this motivation. Lukmani (cited in Young, 1994) found that instrumental motivation is more effective than integrative motivation in the case of non-westernised female learners of L2 English in Bombay, India. In light of these contradictory results, Gardner and Lambert (1972) gave an explanation in terms of the role L2 plays in learners' community. In the context where L2 functions as a foreign language, e.g. North American settings, 'students of foreign languages will profit more if they can be helped to developed an integrative outlook towards the groups whose language is being studied' (Gardner and Lambert, 1972:130). However, for 'member of ethnic

minority groups in North American or citizens in developing nations where imported foreign languages become one of the national languages, learning a second language with national and world-wide recognition is for them of vital importance, and both instrumental and integrative approaches to the learning task must be developed' (Ibid.:103).

The identification of the decisive role played by learning contexts leads to studies examining the effect of the socio-cultural environment upon motivation in foreign language learning. For example, Dornyei (cited in Clement, Dornyei and Noels, 1994) contends that foreign language learning in a classroom setting could not logically involve attitudes toward the L2 community, because learners have little or no contact with members of the L2 group. He illustrates with the example of Hungary that Hungarians would learn English as a *lingua franca* to link them with the rest of the world, facilitating trade and travel and conveying international knowledge and cultural products. Therefore he hypothesises that 'in such contexts, the instrumental orientation may acquire a special importance, and the individual's L2-related affectively based motivation would be determined by a more general disposition toward language learning and the values the L2 conveys rather than ethnocultural attitudes towards the L2 community' (Clement, Dornyei, and Noels, 1994:421).

2. Enquiries Concerning the Causal Relation between Integrative Motivation and L2 Achievement

On the other hand, the generalisation that achievement in second language is facilitated by an integrative motivation has been questioned. Oller and Au (cited in Au, 1988) summarised empirical studies of the relationship between integrative motivation and language proficiency, finding four different results existing: positive, nil, negative and uninterpretable ambiguous. Crookes and Schmidt (1991) reviewing studies by Oyama, Purcell and Suter find that correlations disappear when other influences such as age were statistically controlled. Oller (1981:5) concluded that such results show that the

relationships among attitudinal and motivational variables and learning achievement are an 'unstable non-linear function that varies greatly across individual, context, and learning task'. Gardner (1985:76) himself also acknowledged these unstable relationships because 'not everyone who values another community positively will necessarily want to learn their language'. The disparity between these studies on motivational orientation is attributed to two sources:

- (1) the ambiguity of definitions and concepts such as integrative and instrumental orientations in some of the studies and
- (2) the influence of the language environment on the individual orientations.

In light of these conflicting research results, Gardner made a distinction between orientation and motivation. Gardner re-defines motivation as a combination of 'effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language' (Gardner 1985: 10). Here motivation in language learning includes four components: a *goal orientation* of learning a language, a *desire* to learn—whatever the reason, *effort* and *persistence* toward learning the language, and *positive attitudes* toward learning it. In regard to orientations, Gardner and MacIntyre refer to the reasons for learning a second language, asserting that:

It has been shown repeatedly that it is not so much the orientation that promotes the student's achievement but rather the motivation. If an integrative or instrumental orientation is not linked with heightened motivation to learn the second language, it is difficult to see how either could promote proficiency (Gardner and MacIntyre, cited in Young, 1994:37).

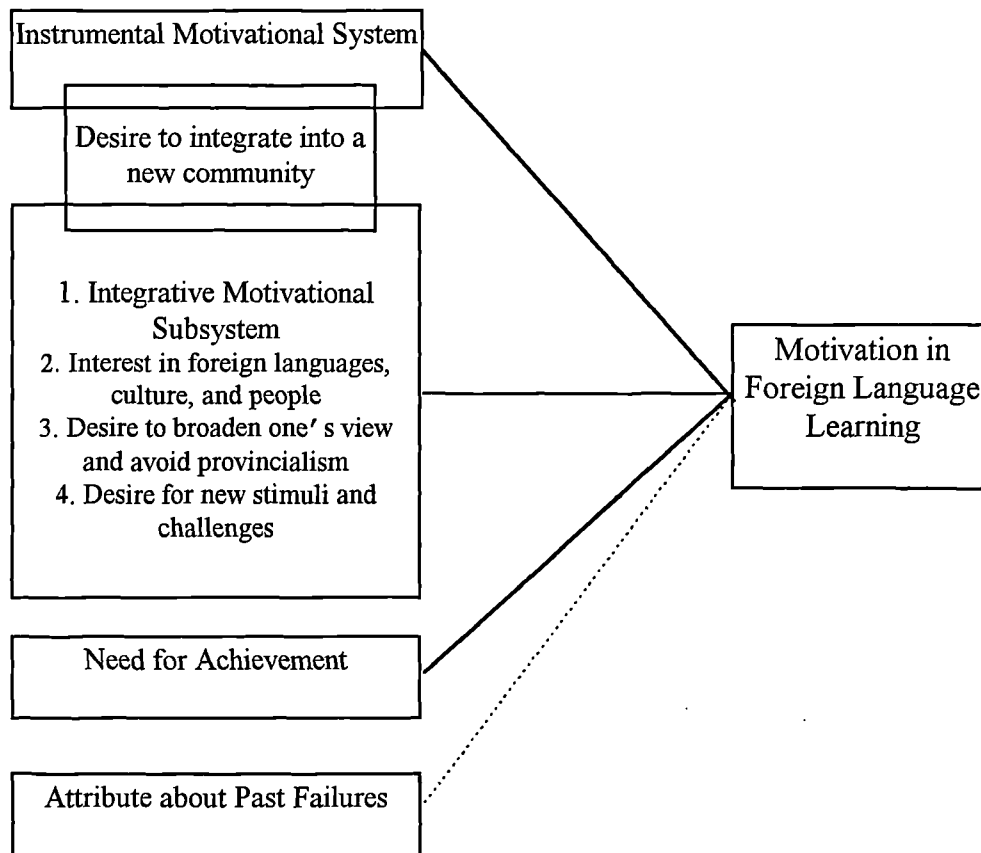
Gardner and Lambert therefore amend their original hypothesis which treats the primacy of integrative motivation as essential or meaningful to foreign language achievement. More recently, findings from a study carried out by Gardner and

MacIntyre (1991) indicates that an instrumental motivation is effective in SL learning under some contexts.

A further problem with the instrumental/integrative dichotomy is that it is not directly applicable to foreign language learning, 'which involves learning the target language in institutional/academic settings without regularly interacting with the target language community' (Dornyei, 1990:46). Dornyei, attempting to overcome this problem, suggests that two other orientations should be taken into consideration: need for achievement and attributions about past failure (see Figure 4.1).

The instrumental/integrative dichotomy in the socio-psychological approach has dominated motivation research in SLA or FLL since it appeared. However, this approach was criticised in the early 1990s. On the one hand, although this model, or other researches centred on this field, explored the effects the socio-cultural environment has on foreign/second language learning motivation, it did not pay too much attention to the interaction between the socio-cultural milieu and the individual language learner's internal states of thought-and-feeling. And on the other hand, although the influences on motivation from the learning environment at the micro level (e.g., the language classroom) were mentioned (Gardner & Smythe, cited in Hamers and Blanc, 1989) they did not draw much research interest, compared with large amount of research interests bestowed at the macro level (in this case, the society where language learning takes place). As a result, a marked shift in thought appeared concerning L2 motivation as researchers tried to reopen the research agenda in order to shed new light on the subject (e.g., Brown, cited in Dornyei, 1994; Crookes and Schmidt, 1991, Dornyei, 1994a; Oxford and Shearin, 1994).

Figure 4.1: Schematic representation of the Conceptualised Construct of Motivation in Foreign-Language Learning (adapted from Dornyei, 1990)



These researchers, drawing mainly from psychology, try to present 'a more pragmatic, education-centred approach to motivation research, which would be consistent with the perceptions of practising teachers and which would also be in line with the current results of mainstream education psychological research' (Dornyei, 1994a:273).

4.3.2 The New Scope for Motivation Research in Foreign Language Learning

These new motivation constructs in foreign language learning generally focus on individual differences and situational factors which initiate the motivation process. The former views motivation to be a function of an individual's cognitive processing

of foreign language stimuli or of some instinct, need, drive, or state; while the latter focuses on motivation which is initiated by motives existing in the language learning environment. In light of the fact that most of these ideas owe their origin to psychological approaches to motivation, I will mention them in brief, and link them to the earlier discussion of general psychological theories.

1. The Individually-Different Motivation Construct

The individually-different motivation construct interprets orientations that result in motivated behaviour in terms of:

- (1) theories of intrinsic/extrinsic motivation, dividing individual's act into (a) *extrinsically motivated*, that is to say, to acquire external positive payoffs (e.g., good grades, acceptance, or approval of others), or to avoid negative reinforcers, such as punishment, disapproval, or (b) intrinsically motivated to perform a particular activity for its own sake or simply to satisfy one's curiosity;
- (2) need theories, referring to the fact that motivated activities may be initiated by human needs. (See section 4.1.3.) Oxford and Shearin (1994:17), referring to Maslow's need hierarchy, argue that in the setting of foreign language classrooms, 'needs (and thus motivation) for foreign language learners would centre on the psychological aspects of the second level in the hierarchy and, when those needs are satisfied, would relate to the third, fourth, and fifth level'.
- (3) expectancy-value (See section 4.1.2, Point 1.). Basing their theory on Atkinson's expectancy-value theory, Oxford and Shearin (1994) assert that engagement in achievement-oriented behaviours is a function not only of the motivation for success, but also of the probability of success (expectancy) and the incentive value (also called valence) of success. They point out further that L2 learners' expectancies of success or failure are very important in determining their

motivation to learn the language. Other important factors include L2 learners' beliefs about whether their learning performance will lead to something else (e.g. career enhancement, general enjoyment, greater cultural tolerance), and whether these outcomes are meaningful and valuable.

- (4) cognitive theories, which includes three major cognitive conceptual systems: attribution theory, self-efficacy, and learned helplessness. (See section 4.1.2, Point 2.).

2. Situationally-Specific Motivation Construct

Motivational characteristics of the situation involve:

- (1) goal setting theory, which proposes that performance is closely related to an individual's accepted goal.

At the level of individual psyche, based on their research, Oxford and Shearin (1994) indicate that individual differences in learning style, as well as ability, directly affect goal-setting behaviour and argue that in order to function as efficient motivators, goals should be 'specific, hard but achievable, accepted by the students, and accompanied by feedback about progress' (Ibid.:19).

At the wider socio-cultural level, referring back to the schema theory mentioned in 3.2, an individual's accepted goal may comply with a commonly-accepted cultural model. Therefore how learning a foreign language is interpreted in a cultural schema may influence language learners' motivation. For instance, if in a society where 'success' (a cultural model) is related to 'having a good job', which is associated with a good command of 'foreign language ability', the goal to be successful may function as a instigator to the action of learning a foreign language.

- (2) equity theories, concerning a mathematical ratio of inputs to outcomes.

In Oxford and Shearin's (1994) opinion, inputs include intellectual ability, personality traits, experience, psychomotor skills, seniority—anything the individual believes he or she contributes to the working setting. Outcomes include grades, performance ratings, money, promotions, praise—anything that results from the situation that the individual perceives as having personal value. Once individuals have set up this ratio, they compare the value of that ratio to their own internal standards or to the value of the ratio for significant others. If a person perceives a discrepancy, unhappiness and demotivation result.

- (3) reinforcement theories, which attributes individual behaviour to the association of stimulus, response, and reward.

Rewards may be contingent or noncontingent, intrinsic or extrinsic. Contingent rewards, those that occur only if certain behaviours occur, yield higher levels of effort and production than noncontingent rewards, like weekly or monthly pay. By extension, then, energy expenditure (motivated behaviour) results from contingencies among stimulus, responses, and rewards.

- (4) course-specific aspects such as syllabus, materials, teaching methods, and learning tasks.
- (5) teacher-specific aspects like the teacher's personality, teaching style, feedback, relationship with students, etc..
- (6) group-specific aspects such as goal-orientedness, norm & reward system, group cohesion, and classroom goal structure.

Compared with the socio-psychological approach which grounds motivational components in the social milieu, these new approaches to motivation, which centre on the micro level of individual language learners and language classroom, reflect the fact

that L2 motivation is an elective, multifaceted construct. Dornyei (1994), basing his suggestion on the interdisciplinary perspective of motivation and the results of Clement, Dornyei, and Noels' s classroom study—in which a tripartite L2 motivation construct emerges comprising integrative motivation, self-confidence, and the appraisal of the teaching environment—presents an integrated framework of L2 motivation as well as a list of strategies to motivate language learners. In this framework, it is obvious that constructs in general psychological (i.e. need for achievement, attribution theory, self-efficacy, and learned helplessness) and socio-psychological (i.e. integrative orientations and instrumental orientations) theories discussed at the beginning are integrated into the new motivation construct of foreign language learning. The motivation construct and strategies are summarised in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Motivation Construct and Strategies of Foreign Language Learning (adapted from Dornyei, 1994a:280)

Motivation Construct	Motivation Strategies
Language Level	Language Level
Integrative orientations: e.g. the desire to interact with the target language community; interest in foreign languages, cultures, and people;...	1 Include a sociocultural component in the L2 syllabus. 2 Develop learners' cross-cultural awareness systematically. 3 Promote student contact with L2 speakers.
Instrumental orientations: e.g., getting a better job; knowledge; friendship, and travel orientations	Develop learners' instrumental motivation by discussing the role L2 plays in the world and its potential usefulness both for themselves and their community.
Motivation Construct	Motivation Strategies
Learner Level	Learner Level
Need for Achievement:	Develop students' self-confidence by trusting them and projecting the belief that they will achieve their goal; making sure that students regularly experience success and a sense of achievement.

<p>Cognitive theories: motivation to be a function of a person's thought; information encoded and transformed into belief being the source of action</p> <p>* attribution theory (See 4.1.2, Point2.) * self-efficacy (4.1.2, Point 2) * learned helplessness (4.1.2, Point 2)</p>	<p>1 Promote the students' self-efficacy with regard to achieving learning goals, e.g. by teaching students learning and communication strategies, helping them to develop realistic expectations of what can be achieved in a given period.</p> <p>2 promote favourable self-perceptions of competence in L2, e.g. by highlighting what students can do in the L2 rather than what they cannot do.</p> <p>3 Decrease student anxiety, e.g. by creating a supportive and accepting learning environment in the L2 classroom.</p> <p>4 Promote motivation-enhancing attributions by helping students recognise links between effort and outcome; and attribute past failures to controllable factors such as insufficient effort.</p> <p>5 Encourage students to set attainable sub-goals for themselves that are proximal and specific (e.g. learning 200 new words every week).</p>
<p>Learning Situation Level</p>	<p>Learning Situation Level</p>
<p><i>Course-specific orientations:</i> concerning the syllabus, the teaching materials, the teaching method, and the learning task. Course should be:</p>	<p><i>Course-specific orientations:</i></p>
<p>1 Interesting to maintain the learners' curiosity and desire to know more</p>	<p>1 Increase the attractiveness of the course content by using authentic materials, unusual and exotic supplementary materials, recordings, and visual aids.</p> <p>2 Arouse and sustain curiosity and attention by introducing unexpected, novel, unfamiliar, and even paradoxical events; not allowing lessons to settle into a too regular routine,...</p> <p>3 Increase students' interest and involvement in the tasks by designing or selecting varied and challenging activities; adapting tasks to the students' interests;...</p>
<p>Motivation Construct</p>	<p>Motivation Strategies</p>
<p>Learning Situation Level</p>	<p>Learning Situation Level</p>

2 relevant to the learners' needs	Make the syllabus of the course relevant by basing it on needs analysis, and involving the students in the actual planning of the course programme.
3 match up with the learners' expectancy of successful learning	<p>1 Match difficulty of tasks with students' abilities so that students can expect to succeed if they put in reasonable effort.</p> <p>2 Increase student expectancy of task fulfilment by familiarising students with the task type, giving them detailed guidance, making the criteria for success clear, offering students ongoing assistance,...</p>
4 providing the learners with satisfying outcomes, either praise, good marks, enjoyment or pride.	Facilitate student satisfaction by allowing students to create finished products that they can perform or display, encouraging them to be proud of themselves after accomplishing a task,...
<i>Teacher-specific orientations:</i>	<i>Teacher-specific orientations:</i>
1 Affective drive: students' need to do well in school in order to please the teacher (or other superordinate figures like parents) whom they like and appreciate	Try to be empathic, congruent, and accepting, being sensitive to students' needs and feelings, behaving according to your true self, that is, to be real and authentic without hiding behind facades or roles, acknowledging each student as a complex human being with both virtues and faults.
2 Authority type: referring to whether a teacher is autonomy supporting or controlling	<p>1. Adopt the role of a facilitator rather than an authority figure or a 'drill sergeant,' developing a warm rapport with the students.</p> <p>2 Promote learner autonomy by allowing real choices about alternative ways to goal attainment; minimising external pressure and control (e.g. threats, punishments); sharing responsibility with the students for organising their time, effort and the learning process;...</p>
<p>3 Direct socialisation: whether a teacher actively develops and stimulates learners' motivation</p> <p>* Modelling: the teachers, in their position as group leaders, embody the 'group conscience' and, as a consequence, student attitudes and orientations toward learning will be modelled after their teachers, both in terms of effort expenditure and orientations of interest in the</p>	<p>* Model student interest in L2 learning by showing students that you value L2 learning as a meaningful experience that produces satisfaction and enriches your life; sharing your personal interest in L2 and L2 learning with the students,...</p>

<p>subject.</p> <p>* Task presentation: efficient teachers call students' attention to the purpose of the activity they are going to do, its potential interest and practical value, and even the strategies that may be useful in achieving the task, thus raising students' interest and metacognitive awareness.</p> <p>* Feedback:</p> <p>** informational feedback, which comments on competence,</p> <p>** controlling feedback, which judges performance against external standards</p>	<p>* Introduce tasks in such a way as to stimulate intrinsic motivation and help internalise extrinsic motivation by presenting tasks as learning opportunities to be valued rather than imposed demands, pointing out challenging or exotic aspects of the L2, calling attention to unexpected or paradoxical aspects of routine topics,...</p> <p>* Using motivating feedback by making your feedback informational rather than controlling; give positive competence feedback, pointing out the value of the accomplishment; and not overreacting to errors,...</p>
Motivation Construct	Motivation Strategies
Group-specific Level	Group-specific Level
<p>1 Goal-orientedness: the extent to which the group is attuned to pursuing its group goal (in this case, L2 learning)</p>	<p>Increase the group's goal-orientedness by initiating discussions with students about the group goal(s), and asking them from time to time to evaluate the extent to which they are approaching their goal.</p>
<p>2 Norm and reward system: concerning extrinsic motives that specify appropriate behaviours required for efficient learning; should be internalised as much as possible to foster intrinsic motivation; rewards and punishment should give way to group norms, which are standards that the majority of group members agree to and which become part of the group's value system.</p>	<p>1 Promote the internalisation of classroom norms by establishing the norms explicitly right from the start, explaining their importance and how they enhance learning, asking for the students' agreement,...</p> <p>2 Help maintain internalised classroom norms by observing them consistently yourself, and not letting any violations go unnoticed.</p> <p>3 Minimise the detrimental effect of evaluation on intrinsic motivation by focusing on individual improvement and progress, avoiding any explicit or implicit comparison of students to each other, making evaluation private rather than public, not encouraging student competition,...</p>
<p>3. Group cohesion: the strength of the relationship linking the members to one another and to the group itself. In a cohesive group, members want to contribute to group success and the group's goal-oriented norms have strong</p>	<p>Promote the development of group cohesion and enhance intermember relations by creating classroom situations in which students can get to know each other and share genuine personal information (feelings, fears, desires, etc.),</p>

influence over the individual.	organising outings and extracurricular activities,...
4 The co-operative classroom goal structure: students working in small groups in which each member shares responsibility for the outcome and is equally rewarded; more powerful in promoting intrinsic motivation (in that it leads to less anxiety, greater task involvement, and a more positive emotional tone), positive attitudes towards the subject area, and a caring, cohesive relationship within peers and with the teacher.	Use co-operative learning techniques by frequently including group work in the classes in which the group' s—rather than the individual' s— achievement is evaluated.

3 Interim Conclusion

The expanded theory of FLL motivation, coming from not only the socio-psychological tradition of motivation research in L2 but also from general, industrial, educational, and cognitive developmental psychology, is 'more "education-friendly", that is, congruent with the concept of motivation that teachers are convinced is critical for SL [second language] success' (Crookes and Schmidt, cited in Dornyei, 1994:283). However, this fully articulated vision of L2 motivation, although offering the important start of an expanded model that enhances and enlarges the current L2 learning motivation theory in a useful way, is at this stage no more than a theoretical possibility because many of its components have been verified by very little or no empirical research in the field. Gardner and Tremblay (1994:362) comment that:

The generalization and recommendations made by some researchers (Crookes and Schmidt, 1991; Dornyei, 1994; Oxford and Shearin, 1994) are insightful and potentially valuable. Moreover, they are all compatible with the theoretical model and empirical approach followed by Gardner and his colleagues. It seems quite reasonable to argue that the points raised in these reviews could well be valid in the area of second language acquisition. What is missing, however, is the research necessary to determine whether or not in fact this is true.

Actually individual approaches and socio-cultural approaches are necessary and sufficient conditions for realising motivation in foreign/second language learning owing to the fact that motivation is a complex whole reflecting the individual' s

psyche, which functions under the influences coming from his/her affection, cognition, and the social context of the environment. Therefore, a complete conception of motivation should consider all these aspects, that is, the individual's psychological process and states, and the learning milieu, either at the micro level or the macro level. In regard to this, combining both the Gardnerian social psychological model and the individual psychological model (referring to those presented by researchers like Crookes and Schmidt, Dornyei, and Oxford and Schearin in the 1990s) help to shed light on this issue. Next, I will draw on Gardner's and Young's models in order to draw an overview of motivation in terms of the relationship among individual orientations, attitudes and socio-cultural milieu.

4.4 Orientation, Attitudes, and the Motivation Process in FLL

As Young (1994) points out, two issues emerge which account for the contradictory results in motivation research in foreign/second language research: (1) failing to consider the motivational process as a whole but only examining the salient components of motivation, and (2) confusing orientations, attitudes, and motivation together in motivation research. In the following sections, the focus of discussion will centre upon these two aspects in order to get a clear picture of motivation in FLL.

4.4.1 The Socio-Psychological Model

Gardner's socio-psychological model, which is addressed specially to the situation where children study a language as a formal school subject, stresses the idea that 'language learning is unlike any other subject taught in a classroom in that it involves the acquisition of skills or behaviour patterns which are characteristics of another cultural community' (Gardner, 1985:146). This model centres attention on four classes of variables which are thought to be linked causally in the language acquisition process: cultural beliefs in the social milieu where SL learning happens, individual differences, e.g. motivation, intelligence, language aptitude and situational anxiety (the last three not discussed here),

formal and informal language acquisition contexts, and linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes.

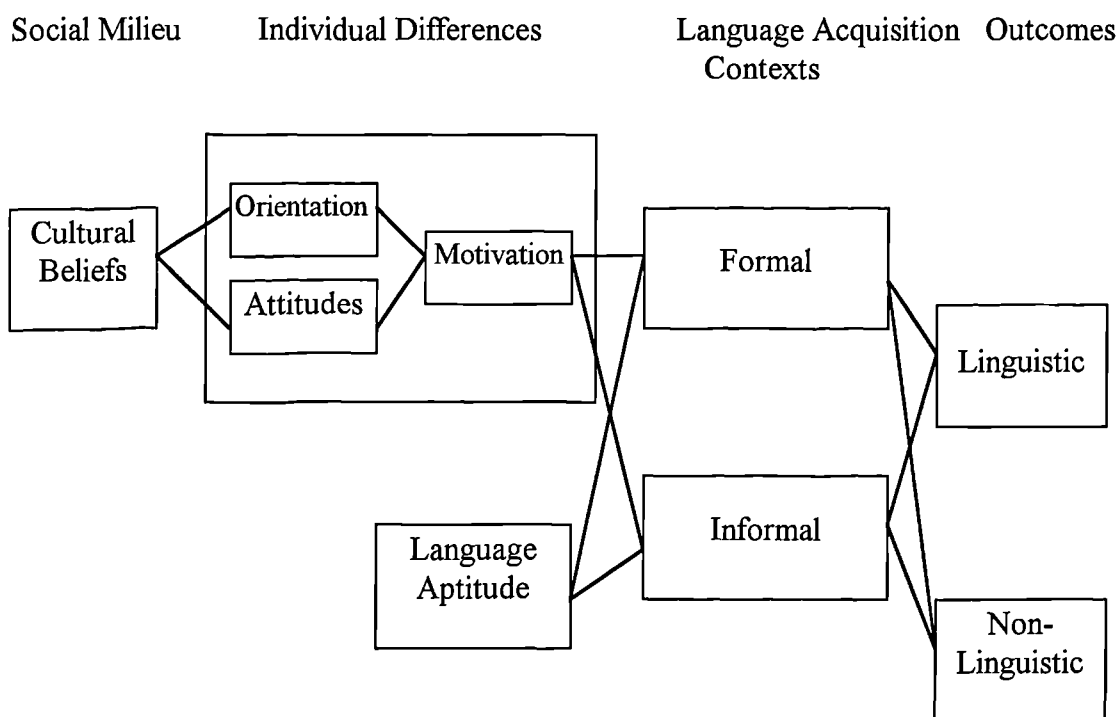
Gardner (Ibid.) argued that the cultural beliefs held in the social milieu where foreign/second languages learning takes place influence the learners' attitudes which in turn influence motivation to learn the languages in question. Two attitudinal foundations are thought to be influential to motivation: one involves an open willingness to take on aspects of behaviour of another (integrativeness); the other revolves around the learning situation itself, e.g. the individual's attitudes towards the learning situation assessed in terms of reaction to the course and the teacher, etc.. Although Gardner's model did not go unchallenged (see 4.3.1), his argument that cultural beliefs have influences on the language learners' motivation is not questionable. The questions are therefore, how is a person's behaviour (in this context, learning a foreign/second language) influenced by the cultural beliefs held in his/her society and to what extent is he/she influenced (the cultural schema, discussed in 4.2.).

Figure 4.2 shows the relationship among the cultural beliefs, attitudes, motivation, and outcomes of learning in the socio-educational model. In light of the fact that the instrumental orientation is also crucial to motivation, I include it in the figure.

4.4.2 The Motivation Process and Individual States

In Gardner's model, attitudes are not depicted because 'they are seen as determinants of motivation not of achievement' (Gardner, 1985:148). This missed piece (attitudes) is found in Young's model. Young (1994) focused her study on examining the effect of the socio-cultural environment upon the motivation that French and English school children have, in terms of personal factors, e.g. orientations and attitudes. There are two subsets, the motivation process and states of individuals, in Young's model which interrelate with each other to form the complete motivation construct.

Figure 4.2: Social Psychological Model of L2 Acquisition (adapted from Gardner, 1985)



1. The Motivation Process

As mentioned in 4.3.1, motivation in L2 learning is re-defined as a combination of *a goal* (referring to learning the language here) plus *desire* to achieve the goal plus *favourable attitudes* toward learning the language plus *effort*. Following this pattern, Young (1994) presented the motivation process in four steps: needs, goal, desire and drive. In order to initiate motivated action in foreign language learning, the learner must first experience a need or needs associated with foreign language learning, secondly identify a precise goal (in this case, learning the foreign language), thirdly engender desire to achieve the goal and finally take concrete steps, i.e. effort towards the realisation of the goal. All four components of the process must be present in order for the individual to experience a motivated state.

2. States of Individuals

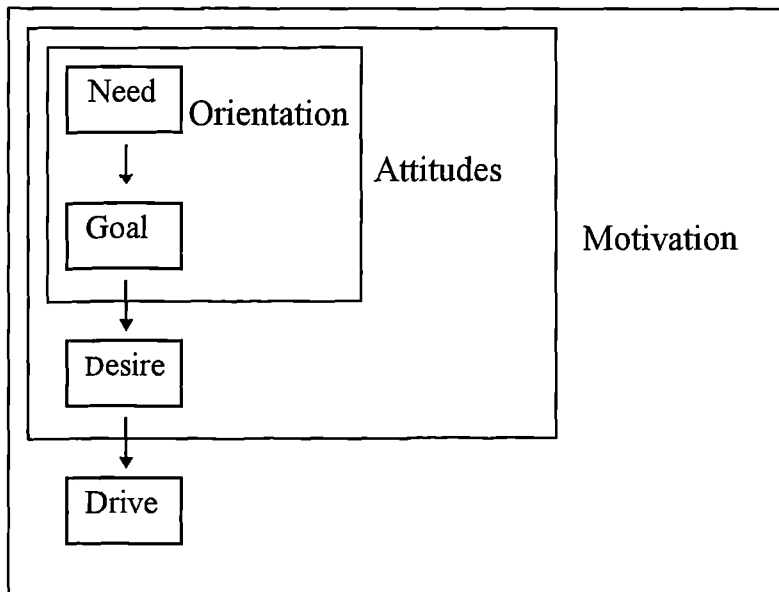
The states of the individuals differ from the process in that they encompass 'not only the mechanics of internal process which lead to overt behaviour, but also the affective, experiential state of the organism, involving the individual's feelings and thoughts as well as actions' (Young, *Ibid.*:63). The motivation is a progression involving a sequence of developments which lead to observable behaviour; whereas the individual's state represents his/her condition or circumstances at any given time during the process. Young (*Ibid.*) points out that states both influence and reflect the process.

Three states of individuals are identified in this model: the orientational state, the attitudinal state and the motivational state. The states of the individual in relation to motivation process can be best represented diagrammatically, as in Figure 4.3.

The three squares labelled motivation, attitudes and orientation, each represent a state of the individual. The complex associations between these states and their interactive relation is represented in the model by the positioning of the squares one inside another. If the squares are considered permeable entities, the model shows how the individual's orientations in foreign language learning influence his/her attitudes and similarly, motivation state. In reverse direction attitudes may affect orientation and motivation, and motivation may reinforce attitudes and orientations (Young, 1994).

The Orientational State

The first square represents the orientational state which includes the first two components of the motivation process: needs and goals. Orientation concerns the reason, the motive for foreign language learning and therefore in this model, the orientation state incorporates needs and goals. Whatever needs the individual experiences and goals he/she sets, these components of the motivational process are fundamental to his/her orientational state.

Figure 4.3: The States of the Individual and the Motivation Process

The Attitude State

Young (1994:68) defines attitudes as 'an evaluation of some objects about which an individual has some knowledge'. According to Young, we evaluate or judge our thoughts and feelings about a precise object on a particular dimension, such as good-bad, or positive-negative. In order to make such judgements, it is not necessary to be fully informed about the particular object, but one must have enough knowledge to be able to represent the object in memory` (Ibid.). In terms of this argument, it is obvious that schemas (see 4.2.1) function as the knowledge upon which we rely to make judgements about an particular object, person or event.

Referring to Stahlberg and Frey, Young (1994) points out that attitudes are tripartite in nature, having components which are:

1. affective, concerning evaluative feelings of liking and disliking,
2. cognitive, concerning beliefs, opinions, and ideas about the attitude object, and

3. conative/behavioural, concerning behavioural intention or action tendencies.

In Young's model, the individual attitudinal state is represented by the second square in the series of three. From Figure 4.3, we know that attitudinal state also comprises three components: needs, goals and desire.

The Motivational State

According to this model, the motivational state subsumes the entire motivational process and the two states of attitudes and orientations. It is the element of drive which distinguishes the motivation state from the attitudinal state and both desire and effort components which differentiate it from the orientational state.

Inter-Relationship among the Motivational, Attitudinal, and Orientational States

Needs and goals may shape and direct orientation but the important motivational elements of desire and effort are not directly concerned with the concept of orientation. Of course, needs and goals are linked to desire, the desire to achieve the goals thus satisfying the needs. For example, when we ask a person 'why do you learn English?' and he/she says 'Because I want to go to America.', we can infer that the person experiences a need to go to America, e.g. tourism, studying..., and then s/he sets the goal of 'learning English'. But the reason (the orientation) does not guarantee that the person is motivated, that is, he/she is going to make an effort in learning English. Not yet. If his/her need to go to America is so important (that is, he/she must go there) that his/her desire to attain the goal is strong, then he/she is likely to devote effort in learning in order to achieve his/her goal. Not until the effort comes out, can we say that this person is motivated. Therefore, there is a gap between the first square (the orientational state which encompasses needs and goals) and the third square (the motivational state in which effort is the salient, visible characteristic). To bridge the gap, we have to look at desire, an affective concept which is closely linked to attitudes.

The first, the affective component of attitudes may interact with the individual's needs. For example, an individual may learn a foreign language because he/she likes the target-language culture and experiences a need to communicate with people in the target-language community. Conversely, needs may engender affect. For example, a learner may at first experience a need to learn a foreign language and after learning it, he/she begins to like the language and the people or culture related to it. The second, the cognitive component of attitudes may be relevant to the setting of a precise goal by the individual learner. Cognition is defined as 'a special type of knowledge, notable knowledge of which content is evaluative or affective' (Young, 1994:69). Beliefs, opinions and ideas about the attitude object may all interact in the goal selection process. For instance in Taiwan it is thought that foreign languages other than English have little practical use in business. Therefore although liking, say, Arabic, German, or Italian, an individual may not learn it when he/she considers its practical use. The third, the conative/behavioural component of attitudes may be identified with the desire component in the motivation process. Young (1994:70) states that:

A desire to achieve a precise goal in order to satisfy a need is a statement of intention to act, to initiate the drive component of the motivation process.

Interim Summary

In this section, I relied mainly on Gardner's and Young's models in order to establish the theoretical background for operationalising the concept of motivation in foreign language learning for the following fieldwork to be carried out in Taiwan. In his social psychological model, Gardner (1985) signifies that the socio-cultural environment (cultural beliefs) where L2 learning takes place have impact on L2 learners' orientation and attitudes and then their orientation and attitudes influence motivation. Young (1994) highlights the interaction between foreign-language learners' psychology (needs, goals, desire, and drive) and their motivation process (orientation, attitudes, and motivation). Young (Ibid.)

argues that it is not so much the needs and goals (orientation) which promote the student's achievement but rather the desire (attitudes) and effort (motivation).

4.5 An Integrated Construct of Motivation in Foreign Language Learning

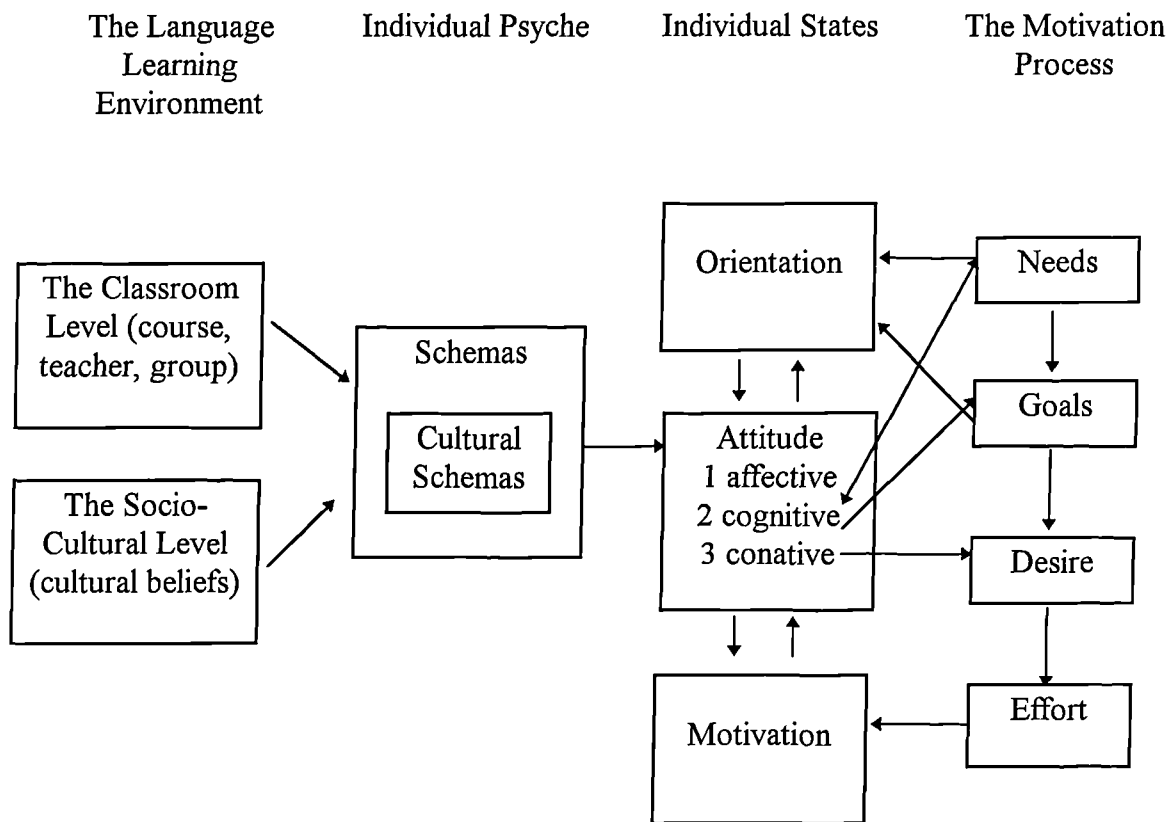
After reviewing research and theories concerning motivation in foreign/second language learning, I would like to draw the following conclusion:

When motivation to learn a foreign/second is in question, the factors listed below influence the learners' motivation (referring to the entire motivation model, that is, the motivation process and states of the individuals):

1. learner-specific factors, e.g. individual foreign language learners' need for achievement,
2. course-specific factors, e.g. if the course is interesting, relevant to foreign language learners' needs, etc. (see 4.2.2, Point 2),
3. teacher-specific factors, e.g. authority types (see 4.2.2, Point 2),
4. group-specific factors. e.g. group cohesion (see 4.2.2, Point 2), and
5. socio-cultural specific factors, e.g. attitudes towards the target language culture, people, and towards the language itself (e.g. useful to career development or no) held by the social milieu where the foreign language learning takes place.

Figure 4.4 depicts the relation.

Figure 4.4: The Language Learning Environment, Individual Psyche, Individual States and the Motivation Process



The direction of influence is shown by the arrows.

In this study, the interest of research focuses on whether change in the language learning environment at the socio-cultural level (in the case of this study, this refers to the current policies in culture and education), the classroom level (that is, adding Culture Studies in English learning) has any influence on individual psyche and then on individual states (i.e. language learners' orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards English learning). Owing to this, the discussion in the following section will centre on the socio-cultural specific, the course-specific and the learner-specific levels.

4.6 Culture Studies as a Potential Motive to Motivation in FLL

In this section, I will explore the possibility of using culture studies to motivate school children to learn a foreign language, with special reference to junior-high-school pupils' learning English in Taiwan. In addition to the two levels (course-specific and learner-specific) mentioned above, another level, i.e. the socio-cultural level, is also covered in terms of the current cultural and educational policies presented by the Taiwanese government.

4.6.1 The Learner-Specific Level

From Murray' s list of needs (see 4.1.3, Point 1), we found that need for cognizance (to explore; to ask questions; to satisfy curiosity; to look, listen, inspect; to read and seek knowledge) specifies precisely the goals that activate human being to learn and is relevant to foreign/second language learning. According to cognitive anthropologists, this need could be interpreted as a cultural schema, too.

In a research conducted in Hungary, a typical European FLL environment, Dornyei (1990) finds that although foreign language learners often have not had enough contact with the target language community, they still have the integrative orientation which is determined by more general attitudes and beliefs, involving (1) interest in foreign languages and people, (2) the cultural and intellectual values the target language conveys, as well as (3) the new stimuli one receives through learning and/or using the target language.

Clement and Kruidenier (1983) conducted a large-scale survey in Canada, investigating a variety of learning reasons (orientations) in different samples (defined by the learners' ethnicity, the learning milieu, and the target language). In spite of specific language learning contexts, four orientations proved to be common to all groups (1) students learned a second language to travel, (2) to seek new friendships,

(3) to acquire knowledge, and (4) for instrumental purposes. Recent investigations (Dornyei, 1994a; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Seedhouse, 1995) conducted to identify needs for learning a foreign language, especially in the context where the language is learned as a school subject among teenagers, render a list of pupils' needs as follows:

- (1) getting a better job, getting access to target-language media, or conducting business with the target-language country (the instrumental orientation);
- (2) travelling to other countries (the instrumental motivational subsystem);
- (3) friendship, or, in Dornyei's term, xenophilic (the integrative motivational subsystem);
- (4) broadening one's view and avoiding provincialism (the knowledge orientation);
- (5) interests in foreign language culture, and people, or satisfying curiosity about cultural 'secrets' (the socio-cultural orientation);
- (6) seeking new intellectual stimulation and personal challenge;
- (7) enjoying the elitism of taking a difficult language (e.g., the American high school students learning Japanese);
- (8) showing off to friends;
- (9) developing greater cultural tolerance through language study;
- (10) aiding world peace, and
- (11) having a private code that parents would not know.

From this list, we can see that the integrative/instrumental dichotomy (Points 1, 2, and 3) assumes an important position, in spite of the fact that it has been challenged (see 4.3.1). This list also reveals that the researchers are trying to accommodate orientations other than the integrative/instrumental dichotomy into their research category.

Teaching about culture in foreign language classes is argued to have a great significance in creating interest and motivation toward learning the foreign language (Dornyei, 1994; Abu Jalalah, 1993; 1988; Valdes, 1986). Introducing culture in a

foreign language classroom gives learners a sense of reality because they will be studying way of life, behaviours, thoughts, or values and norms, about real people. In addition, teaching culture can meet school pupils' needs of learning a foreign language because they want to travel, to know foreign friends, or to satisfy their curiosity toward foreign cultures. As mentioned above, when pupils feel that the foreign language course is relevant to meet their needs, they are more likely to have motivation to learn the language. Hedon (cited in Abu Jalalah, 1993:192), sharing the same opinion, maintains that :

Most students are curious to know more about the foreign peoples and their way of life and many find the discussion about culture an exciting experience. Cultural materials provide many topics of personal interest to a student, thereby increasing motivation. The inclusion of culture in an FL classroom could well provide an important bridge for the language student in his search for relevance.

4.6.2 The Course-Specific Level

As mentioned in 4.3.2, at course-specific level one of the ways to promote pupils' motivation to learn a foreign language is to keep the course interesting to maintain the learners' curiosity and desire to know more. And, in Section 4.6.1 the list (Points 2, 3, 4, and 5) which shows teenagers' needs to learn a foreign language indicates that Culture Studies may offer a way to maintain pupils' curiosity and satisfy their needs. In terms of this, Culture Studies should be able to meet the criterion of promoting pupils' motivation at the course-specific level.

4.6.3 The Socio-Cultural Level (with special reference to the context of Taiwan)

As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 3, Taiwan is in need of creating a new identity among Taiwanese people. The current cultural policy presented by President Lee shows clearly that one aspect of the new identity would be integrating Western cultures. In terms of this, Culture Studies in junior high school English education is related to the

notion of a new identity. Therefore, at the socio-cultural level, Culture Studies could be seen as a motivator for pupils to learn English because of its significance related to the dimension of Taiwanese identities.

4.7 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I reviewed the literature on motivation from the angles of other disciplines, i.e. general psychology and cognitive anthropology, and then turned to theories in foreign/second language education. Finally, the potential of Culture Studies as a motivator to foreign language learners was explored in terms of the learner-specific level, the course-specific level and the socio-cultural specific level.

In general, it seems that there is a tension between the research by psychologists and anthropologists who are looking for generalisable scientific explanations, and that by Dornyei etc. who are trying to work out applicable methods which teachers can use in the foreign language classroom. In fact, these two directions of research have their own values and importance in their disciplines respectively. And in fact they are not absolutely incompatible because many motivation researchers in the field of foreign/second language education derive their theories from those in the fields of psychology. In this study, however, because of the main concern is Culture Studies would influence junior high school pupils' motivation to learn English, the theories adopted for the development of research instruments (motivation scales) were those in the discipline of foreign/second language education. In the following chapter, another theme of this study—identities—will be approached.

Chapter 5 State, National, and Cultural Identities

Introduction

Through the literature review made in Chapter 3, I found that in the periphery English-speaking countries, contact with western cultures is treated in different ways. In Singapore, it is thought to be detrimental to self-cultural identity; while in Taiwan, absorbing western cultures is an important part of President Lee's cultural and educational policies in order to create new cultural identity and national identity for the purpose of state-building. Despite the fact that the specific contexts where culture contact takes place are idiosyncratic, it seems that contact with foreign cultures is inevitably considered to be tangled with identities with own-culture, nation, and state. However, does the change in identities simply come along with contact with foreign cultures or are there other factors interacting in the process of identity change? The taken-for-granted assumption that contacting foreign cultures brings in identity change or what is worse, endangers identities with own groups seems to be in need of re-examination. In terms of the importance of culture, language, and identity in Taiwan, I will survey literature and then use it as the basis for analysing the nature of identity and debates about identity in Taiwan.

This chapter thus focuses on two parts. Part 1 aims at clarifying concepts used loosely in the Taiwan debate. The focal point in this part will be mainly on what identity is. The approaches taken to identity will be from psychological points of view (ego identity) and then from sociological and political points of view (national identity and state identity). And then efforts will be made to see how identity and state and nation are related, so the notions or concepts of cultural identity and national identity are clarified. It is hoped that through the literature survey, points useful to describe Taiwan's identity issues in the following part will emerge. Part 2 is a description of the historical development and construction of identities and the issue of state-building and national and cultural identities in Taiwan at present. Owing to historical interrelations, we cannot not understand the

identity problems in Taiwan today merely by a description of the contemporary situation but have to explore deeply into the history of Taiwan. Put in this historical vein, it becomes clear why President Lee presented his new cultural and education policies (see Chapter 3). The examples of the USA and Ukraine are also discussed briefly with the hope that by contrast, they can help shed light on the complicated issue of Taiwanese identity.

5.1 Identity

Identity is a very elusive concept. As Marcia (1993:XV) described, difference exists in the field of identity research: 'some of us prefer to think of identity as an overall structure, some as specific to different domains; some prefer a questionnaire measure of identity status, others a semi-structured interview, still others a combination of these methods; some see identity elements as wholly constructed, others as both constructed and discovered; some focus on the societal aspects of identity, others on its intrapsychic components; some of us are psychoanalytically inclined, others are societal interaction.' Erikson (cited in Eberwein, 1994) outlines the concept of identity and distinguishes among others between personal identity, which refers to the individual and subjective sense of continuous existence and a coherent memory of individuals, and psychology identity which encompasses groups of people. In its individual and collective aspects, Erikson continues, social identity strives for ideological unity. It is always defined by the past and by the potential future. In this section, I will first discuss personal identity and leave the issue of psychological identity to the next.

5.1.1 The Definition of Identity

The central theme in the issue of identity lies in the process of searching for 'Who am I?' The search begins simultaneously when one recognises the existence of self. Shih (1993) indicates that the first step for an infant to learn objectively to know itself is seeing itself in the mirror. From the reflection in the mirror which follows its every movement, the infant learns three key concepts. First, the infant knows itself objectively through the reflection in

the mirror and thereupon develops the ability to see itself in terms of other people's perspective. Secondly, the infant begins to identify with the reflection in the mirror and to appreciate its ability to control absolutely the reflection. And finally, through comparison and analogy, the infant recognises and accepts that the existence of self always has to rely on other people's or objects' representation. Accordingly, the concept of identity is not totally a self-defining and self-sufficient one but partly involves interaction between selves and others (other individuals, or the larger social context as ethnic group, class or society) and being recognised by others.

Arguing in this vein, Erik Erikson (cited in Kroger, 1993:2) described the term ego identity in the following way:

What I have called ego identity, however, concerns more than the mere fact of existence; it is, as it were, the ego quality of this existence. Ego identity then, in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity to the ego's synthesising methods, the style of one's individuality, and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community.

5.1.2 The Identity Formation Process

The process of identity formation begins at birth and continues throughout the life span; however, 'it is during adolescence that this task comes to the fore' (Kroger, 1993:2). On the one hand, the identity formation process of adolescence is based on the satisfactory resolution to issues of basic trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry during infancy and childhood years, and on the other, developing an assured sense of identity will provide one with the resources to address issues of genuine intimacy generativity¹, and integrity in the adult years of life.

Kroger (Ibid.), referring to Erikson, says the formation of one's sense of identity begins where the process of identification ends. Identification refers to the process of socialisation

¹ According to Marcia (1993), generativity refers to both the grower and the growing, joined in a mutually enhancing, mutually validating, and mutually nourishing relationship.

of individual behaviour. In the social context, the individual, through imitating or internalising significant others' or groups' behaviour, attitudes, and/or values, comes to a sense of sameness as other individuals or the members in a given group. By dint of identification, the individual comprehends a sense of belongingness or consciousness of belonging psychologically.

Although children have used the mechanisms of identification to become like admired others, the final identity is not merely the sum of its parts. It demands a synthesis of these earlier identifications into a new psychological structure which is superordinate to any single identification with individuals of the past. It (the final identity) 'includes all significant identifications, but it also alters them in order to make a unique and reasonably coherent whole of them.' (Kroger, 1993:3). It is through the interaction and mutual regulation of biological givens, personal talents and interests, and societal opportunities for expression that one can watch the adolescent identity formation process—the process of 'young people becoming whole in their own right' (Kroger, *Ibid.*:3)—at work.

5.1.3 The Need to Have Identity

By means of achieving a healthy identity, individuals come to experience a sense of being at home in themselves—at home in their own bodies, with their own unique blends of psychological drives and defences, and in their cultural and societal neighbourhood, recognising and being recognised by others who count. As Kroger(1993) says, a healthy sense of identity provides the individual with a subjective experience of well-being, of being at home in biological, psychological, and societal contexts.

On the contrary, failing to develop a sense of identity or losing identity (as Kroger called identity disturbance) brings about a feeling of 'homelessness' within the individuals' life. Kroger (1993:2), quoting New Zealand writer Janet Frame's moving description of identity disturbance in her own life, argues that:

Therefore in an adolescent homelessness of self, in a time where I did not quite know my direction, I entered eagerly a nest of difference which others found for me by which I lined with my own furnishings; for, after all, during the past two years I had tried many aspects of 'being'.

P'eng (1992), citing Kenneth R. Hoover, thinks that identity describes the status of individuals' psychological belongingness and helps to lead individuals to be adopted to or to create a new environment. In addition, referring to Erikson, he also indicates that the situation of identity has influence on the development of sense of obligation and the sense of obligation strengthens mutual growth of human beings.

5.1.4 Marcia's Ego Identity Statuses

The psychologist James Marcia (1993) categorised four identity statuses based on the criteria of exploration and commitment. They are listed as follows:

1. Identity Achievement: those who have formed meaningful commitments following a period of exploration and decision making.
2. Foreclosures: those who have also formed strong commitments to identity-defining values, but their decisions have been made without exploration and are generally derived from parental values.
3. Identity Moratorium and Identity Diffusion: those who are equally uncommitted in their life direction, but moratoriums are searching for meaningful value and roles, where as diffusions are not.

Within the realm of the identity status, exploration is neither the only, nor final, criterion for identity achievement. By itself, it yields, at best, a perceptual moratorium, at worst, identity diffusion. It is important because the greater adaptiveness, generalizability, and viability of commitment make following a genuine exploration of alternatives possible, as contrasted with those with no periods of questioning. It is true that where exploration is

doomed to failure, where none but a traditionally circumscribed number of viable ideological, occupational, or relational niches exist, it is better to be your father and mother if you can (a foreclosure identity) than to be no one (identity diffuse). However, all research on identity statuses, most of which has been done in cultures where a variety of niches does exist, established that those persons, women and men, who have undergone the exploration-commitment process are more relationally competent and mature than those who have not (Marcia, 1993).

5.1.5 The Self and Others: the Separational Aspects and the Relational Aspects of Identity

In 1990, Gilligan declared that early identity theory (circa 1972), because it was based on interviews with men, focuses unduly on issues of separateness and individuality. She argued that 'our identity theory tended to explain in directions of doing, of agency, of self-assertion and self-awareness, or mastery, values and abstract commitments.' (cited in Marcia, 1993:102). In other words, the integration of psycho and social that is self and others, the interdependence of human life and the reliance of people on one another become largely unrepresented or mute in 'the "rugged individualist" ethic of Western patriarchal culture' (Patterson, cited in Marcia, 1993:102).

In reaction to this argument, Marcia (Ibid.), after reviewing Erikson's psychosocial stages and his own identity statuses, commented that neither Erikson's self-definition nor his exploring alternative appears to be a 'world view based upon the values of autonomy and independence.' In Marcia's idea, separation or exploration is not an end in itself; it is a means to the end of mature and mutual connection. This can only occur when one has incorporated and made of oneself those aspects of others that at one time were crucial externally before one's development. Once the outside becomes inside, one can perceive and relate to others without that sense of desperate necessity that distorts both perception and relationship (Marcia, Ibid.:103). Consequently, Marcia maintains that human development is an ongoing dialectic between connection and separation, between

relatedness and solitude and any portrayal of the human condition and of identity that overlooks either pole shows us only half the picture. Phinney (1993) also notes that an authentic identity does not simply mean being autonomous, but rather successfully integrating both the personal and social aspects of identity.

Given the foregoing, we may infer that identity development is not simply an intrapsychic process, but also an interpersonal process, embedded in a social context. In regard to the categorisation of the social contexts, Phinney (1993:47) indicates that:

The social context has been most often conceptualized in terms of significant others, primary parents and friends with whom the adolescent interacts on a daily basis. However, in addition to family and peers, the larger context, such as ethnic group, class, or society, plays an important role in the formation of identity.

Besides these categories Phinney raises, I would like to add the groups at the state, national and cultural levels.

The concept of separation and relatedness seems to be applicable to a larger social context, between one nation and the other nations, one cultural group and the other cultural groups. Separation from others (either cultures, nations, or states) does not promise maintaining pure identity with self culture, nation or states. On the contrary, it is analogised that through communication with and exploration of other cultures (relatedness), people in one cultural group arrive at the sense of being.

This section has distinguished ego identity which focuses on the subjective sense of continuous existence and a coherent memory of individuals. In the next section, the discussion will turn to psychological identity which encompasses groups of people, that is, group identity.

5.2 Group Identity

A group identity means that a group or groups of people share some basic values and develop a common memory of their past. Eberwein (1994:162), quoting Erikson, argues that the concept of group identity includes objective and social elements which 'presupposes a community of people whose traditional values become significant during maturation. ...psychosocial identity is not feasible before and is indispensable after maturation'. In the following discussion, I will list the characteristics of group identity.

5.2.1 Extreme Group Identity: the Root of Exclusionism

Human beings are group animals so that formation of group identity among humans is in their nature. However, once group identity is transformed into strong emotion, it becomes the root of exclusionism and consequently the boundary between one group and another becomes clear and not able to be transgressed (Hsu, 1996). So not only the possibility for peaceful co-operation among groups reduces but also there may be violent quarrels or fight. The example of Nazis during the World War Two may illustrate this argument. In this case, extreme emphasis on the superiority of the self-group over out-groups resulted in Germany's persecuting the Jews.

5.2.2 Group Identities: A Constructed Concept

Recently in the academic field, a lot of scholars have pointed out that almost all group identities are constructed, so they are not qualified as the truth to last eternally (Hsu, 1996). For instance, nation is such a holy concept today but actually there is not a single nation which is unchangeable in history. Hsu (1996:61) questions:

Is there any nation which has not gone through the process of integration, to absorb the ingredients from other nations? Is there any nation which has not experienced dissolution and separated into different nations? (my translation)

For example, Israel and Arabs were both once parts of the Semites but today they are in hostility against each other; while the Muslim world in the Middle East today covers many ethnic groups with different backgrounds in the past.

Therefore, according to Hsu, the boundary and contents of groups (either ethnic, cultural, or national groups) are liable to change, so group identities are not an immutable belief but a transient concept which can be constructed for the specific purposes and benefits of a group at a certain moment. He argues that humanity as a whole is the largest unit of the human society and individuals are the smallest unit of it. All of the groups between the two are merely intermediate levels, which are transitional in structure and changeable through time. The purpose of constructing these group identities is to combine individuals for cooperation, in order to accomplish the tasks which cannot be achieved by single individuals. However, unfortunately, human beings always compete with or destroy one another for the sake of incorporating these intermediate groups between the two ends (humanity as a whole and individuals).

After World War Two, owing to the formation of the world economic system, a global identity which transcends nations and countries is appearing; at the same time, because of awareness of human rights, the idea that individuals are subjective beings is becoming more and more obvious. If, Hsu continues, the two phenomena can develop smoothly, then there will be the identity with the macro-society of human beings as a whole and respect for individuals as subjects. At that time, the boundary of all the intermediate identities will fade away and their relationship is like concentric circles, no exclusion between circles but coexistence simultaneously with one another (multiple identities, to be discussed in the following section).

5.2.3 Multiple Identities

The notion of multiple identities sounds like a contradiction in terms, because the word identity implies unity and sameness. However, Phinney (1993) argues that while in the past

a single identity situated in a stable social setting was the norm, in today's world many people must define themselves with reference to a number of widely differing and changing social situations, and they must deal with the task of integrating the multiple identities that develop in these situations. He points out that:

Both sociologists and psychologists from various research traditions have explored the topic of multiple identities and the resultant conflict or competition among different identities or "selves". Weigert and his colleagues (Weigert, Teige, and Teige 1986) suggested that the availability of multiple identities is a defining characteristic of contemporary society (Phinney, *Ibid.*:48).

The issue of multiple identities has not been widely studied by ego identity researchers. Studies of identity formation have dealt with a number of different identity domains and the possibility of adolescents being in different statuses in different domains, but the emphasis has been on the development of a clear sense of self that integrates different identifications. There has been little examination of possible conflicts among different domains, for example, between occupational identity as a scientist and religious identity based on beliefs that cannot be empirically verified. The same as personal identity which may involve disparate selves in different contexts, group identity may develop with reference to different groups. Most adolescents are exposed to a range of reference groups with which they may identify. In a simple or homogenous setting, these reference groups are generally congruent, but with greater social complexity, there is increasing likelihood of multiple reference groups with different goals, values, and associated behaviour (Allen, Wilder and Atkinson; Chun; cited in Phinney, 1993).

Greenwald (1988) used the term 'collective self' to refer to a construct based on the establishment of an identity relationship with a reference group, which leads to adoption of the group's values and goals. He pointed out that a range of groups can provide the basis of the collective self (e.g., religious, racial, ethnic, national, political, corporate, and professional groups) and he noted the problems the individual may face because of conflicts between the goals of different reference groups. In spite of these possible conflicts between the goals of different reference groups, Phinney (1993) maintains that in

a complex modern society, adolescents are likely to develop multiple identities that are associated with varied contexts, and they may identify with a number of different reference groups that have contrasting and possibly conflicting goals. The existence of contrasting self-attributes or identities raises the question of how these differing facets of the self may be integrated into the unified structure assumed in an achieved identity. This will be the focus in the following discussion.

The Integration of Multiple Identities

Phinney (1993) points out that the adolescent can make individual choices that are personally expressive to integrate their personal identity; while choices involving group identity are constrained by the norms and values of the particular groups. Membership in different reference groups presents no difficulty if the groups are similar in norms and values. For example, there is likely to be no conflict between being an American and being a Catholic. It is also suggested that difficulties are minimal when one identity can be nested within another, as in the case of various denominations of Protestantism, or of citizenship in a state and a country (Allen, *et al.*, 1983; cited in Phinney, 1993). However, in many cases, the norms and expectations of groups may be inconsistent or contradictory. In these cases, the problem of discordant group identities may be alleviated in two ways: *compartmentalising* and *hierarchicalising*, according to Phinney (1993).

In some cases, the individual may separate participation in the two groups in time and place, so that the inconsistencies do not have to be confronted. Greenwald (cited in Phinney, 1993:51), in his discussion of the potential conflicts between goals of different reference groups, suggested that 'these conflicts can be avoided by aligning one's identity firmly with a single group, or by compartmentalizing one's life in order to minimise the opportunity for group goals to come into conflict'.

When compartmentalising is not possible, a hierarchy of personal values may be useful in determining the salience of one group over another in situations of conflict. In support of

this point, Weigert and his colleagues (Weigert et al., 1986; cited in Phinney, 1993:51) suggested that 'individuals...must present an organization of multiple identities arranged into hierarchies of salience appropriate to the kind of person they wish to be, the course of action they want to pursue, and the shared meanings they seek to construct'. This is accomplished by presenting a master identity that involves an organisation of multiple identities arranged into hierarchies of salience.

There are likely to be development changes in the ability of the individual to integrate conflicting sources of identification into a hierarchical organisation. A number of developmental theories emphasise increasing levels of differentiation and integration as central to development (e.g. Langer and Reigel, cited in Phinney, 1993). In the area of ego identity research, a developmental sequence is clearly implied, from a diffuse (less differentiated) status to an achieved identity, which is clearly seen as a coherent, integrated entity. It seems likely that with increasing age the possibility of finding a way to integrate various group identities will increase.

Interim Summary

In this section, the issue of identity was approached in terms of sociology and politics at the group level. I have presented three characteristics of group identity in general: (1) exclusionism resulting from extreme group identity, (2) group identity as a constructed concept, and (3) co-existence of multiple identities. It is assumed that the identities (cultural and national) which this study focuses on share these characteristics owing to the fact that they also belong to group identity by nature. Based on this assumption, the following arguments are presented:

- (1) A clear group identity, either cultural identity or national identity, makes the members of that group know who they are. However, over-emphasis on own cultural or nation identity probably brings in exclusionism which may be the cause of inter-group conflicts. Therefore, during the process of seeking own cultural or national identity, it

is necessary and important for a cultural or national group to keep open-minded to other groups, to encourage understanding towards out-groups.

- (2) Since that group identity can be a constructed concept, who constructs it for what purposes and how? Considered in this vein, construction of group identity is in fact a political matter rather than simply finding out the truth 'who are we?'. For example, Taiwan's current policies on culture and education (mentioned in Chapter 3) are in fact a way used to construct identity among Taiwanese (the constructor: the government; the purpose: for distinguishing Taiwan (the ROC) from China (the PRC); the means: through culture integration of traditional Chinese culture, native Taiwanese culture and Western cultures).
- (3) It is possible that individuals have the ability to integrate differing group identities, by aligning one's identity firmly with a single group, by compartmentalising one's life in order to minimise the opportunity for group goals to come into conflict, or by organising multiple identities into hierarchies of salience. Therefore, it seems to be an unnecessary worry that learning a foreign language or absorbing values and norms in another culture system may result in identity change with own nation.

After exploring group identity in general, I will focus on the three group identities, that is cultural identity, national identity and state identity, which are one of the main themes in this study. Before tackling the issue of identities, I will explore the conceptions of nation and state first.

5.3 Nation and State

The inter-relationships among culture, nations and states is elusive and intricate, not only owing to the fact that they vary in every individual context but also that the politicians always interpret them in terms of their advantages and convenience. Here, I will try to disentangle these conceptions through relevant theories with the hope of clarifying the

ambiguity. In light of the fact that definitions of culture have been presented in Chapter 1, there will not be redundant discussion on culture in this section. The focal points are thus mainly on definitions of nations and states, and on relationships among culture, nations, and state.

5.3.1. Nation: the Definitions

As Patterson (1993) points out, there is a series of shared classifications which elicit and sustain the individual's or group's commitment to the social order and the central task is to explain this general question of the individual's commitment to the social order. Argued in this vein, it is assumed that there should be some classifications (e.g. language, religion, and the like) which underpin solidarity and collective action of a nation and serve as criteria to distinguish in-groups from out-groups. Therefore, the following discussion aims at finding out these classifications for nation formation. The concept of 'nation' is undeniably a product which is particularly Western (Smith, 1991). In spite of the overwhelming influence of Western conceptions in defining 'nation', the conceptions of nation in this discussion will be approached from both the Western (or in another term, civic) model and non-Western (or ethnic) model of nation.

1 The Western Model of Nation: the Civic Model

Smith (1991:14) defines nation as 'a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members'. According to this definition, we can infer that the components of nation are:

1. an historical territory, or homeland where the people of the nation and the land must belong to each other and the members have free mobility through the territory.

2. a patria, a community of laws and institutions with a single political will and common legal rights and duties for the members.
3. a common, mass public culture and civic ideology which may include a set of common understandings and aspirations, sentiments and ideas with the function to bind the population together in their homeland.
4. vertical economic integration around a common labour system: the members of the group would work a common economic system which is self-sustaining and not dependent on some other larger system.

Besides, Huang (1993:5), citing Hayes, states that 'a nationality, by acquiring political unity and sovereign independence, becomes a nation.' Generally, the Western conceptions of nation centres on the broader political front and this is a vivid contrast to the Eastern model of nation to be discussed next.

2 The Eastern Model of Nation: the Ethnic Model

In the ethnic model, nation is a group of people combining themselves together via some common factors and then constituting a certain relationship. Because of the stability of the relationship, the combination of the group of people is permanent rather than temporary. The factors which constitute a nation can be attributed synthetically into two kinds: the natural factor and the cultural factor.

The natural factor mainly refers to: (1) the ethnic tie which is thought to be inherently decided and unchangeable and (2) the geographic influences on the formation of nation. Lee (1993) argues that different geographic environments result in a certain ways of making a living and living habits of a group of people. Put in this sense, the geographic factor has, directly or indirectly, influence on the formation of the culture of the nation. Based on the natural factors, Lee (Ibid.) states that nation is a group of people who live in the territory of the same geographic unit and are with the same presumed descent tie. The

other factor, culture, in this model refers to vernacular culture, for example, language, religion, customs and way of life. It is the interaction of the natural factor and cultural factor that bring in nation formation.

The natural factor, especially the ethnic factor, and the vernacular cultural factor underpin the concept of nation in the Eastern world. For example, the ROC (Taiwanese) nationality is based on an ethnic descent criterion. The first condition for one to get ROC nationality is that his/her father is Taiwanese (ROC). The other factor, vernacular culture, is seen in the case of Malaysia. The Malaysian constitution defines a Malay as one who habitually leads the Malay way of life, speaks the Malay language and is a Muslim (Pennycook, 1994:194).

3 Analysis of the Civic Model and the Ethnic Model

1. No Dichotomy Separation between the Two Models

The legal-political and economic features in Smith's definition of nation distinguish the 'Western' from the ethnic, non-Western model, which is overshadowed by vernacular culture, including language and custom. And the territorial feature in Smith's model is replaced by the ethnic tie in the Eastern model. Although the two models distinguish different factors in nation formation in the East and the West, this dichotomy is only apparent; there can be elements of both. Nor can we attribute all Western nations to the civic model and all Eastern nations into the ethnic model. Smith (1991:13) himself maintains that:

In fact every nationalism contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and different forms. Sometimes civic and territorial elements predominate; at other times it is the ethnic and vernacular components that are emphasized.

2. Objective Factors and Subjective Factors for Nation Formation

Analysing the components in both models, they can be divided into two groups:

1. the objective factors: e.g., the historical territory, vernacular culture (language, religion, custom, race, etc.), shared political experience, citizenship, and economic systems.

2. the subjective factors: e.g., national sentiment, a psychological status shared by members in a given society. (A nation exists when the members have the sense that they belong to the same group. Eberwein (1994) also argues that nations only exist not by what they are but by the memory of what they have been, their identity.)

These factors interact to influence one's sense of being a member of his/her nation and the emphasis attributed to each factor may differ from nation to nation and from individuals of different ages. In Carrington and Short's (1995) investigation, the subjects (British secondary-school pupils aged from 8-11) listed seven factors which make a person British: born in Britain, language, lives in Britain, ties of consanguinity, race/ethnicity, cultural habits and citizenship (ranked in order of importance). And the trend is obvious that the older the subjects are, the more emphasis they attribute to abstract concepts to represent Britishness (for example, citizenship). In this study, no subjective factors were mentioned; however, I take it that subjective factors are related to one's commitment to his/her nation as strongly as objective factors are.

In sum, constitution of nations involves ethnicity, territory, economy, language, religion, customs, historical experience, subjective sense, and so on. Nation is an entity in which the members share the common fate but not an entity delimited by races. In fact, a nation must have common languages, live in a common territory, be combined by common economic systems, and/or share the common psychological structure which is out of communal characteristics shared in culture.

4 Arguments

Smith (1991) argues that whether the Western or the Eastern, a national identity is a collective identity; 'it can never be reduced to a single element, even by particular factions of nationalists, nor can it be easily or swiftly induced in a population by artificial means' (Smith, Ibid.:14). His words are applicable to a nation which forms in a natural environment without interference or manipulation from artificial forces outside of the nation. However, when the interfering forces are taken into consideration, Smith's argument comes under challenge.

Argument 1: national identity can be imposed on a population by deliberately designed propaganda, that is, it can be constructed by the dominant group. (I call this kind of identity 'artificial national identity'. Usually it is designed by the dominant group to maintain their political interest and advantage.)

Argument 2: not all the classifications presented by Smith are necessary and sufficient conditions for nation formation. (Again, through sophisticated planning, the constituting elements of a national identity can be reduced to a single one (e.g., the shared cultural root, languages). That is, one of these elements can be endowed with primacy and others belittled or discarded. Under this condition, the 'well-designed' national identity could be merely a myth which deviates from the reality and truth.)

The example of Taiwan, which shows how a national identity was shaped through the element of "traditional" Chinese, is given in 5.5 to illustrate these two arguments.

5.3.2 State

As Smith (1991:9) puts it, the Western experience 'has exerted a powerful, indeed the leading, influence on our conception of the unit we call the "nation". A new kind of policy—the rational state—and a new kind of community—the territorial nation—first

emerged in the West, in close conjunction with each other.' In this description, two terms are highlighted: nation and state. These two concepts are confusing and seem to be identical because they contain some similar elements: sovereignty, political matters, and territory. Here I will list two succinct definitions of state given by two scholars separately.

State refers to political formations with *de facto* territorial sovereignty (Smith, 1991: 17).

It (state) is defined as a sovereign territorial entity recognised by the other actors in the international system as such (Eberwein, 1994:163).

P'eng (1993), referring to Almond, also outlines three conditions for state formation: effective internal political integration, territorial boundaries, and regularised exchange with other states. From these definitions, it is obvious that nation and state share one thing in common, that is, they both have territories. Nevertheless, in contrast to the concept of nation, which refers to a community of people combined through common culture, and/or consciousness (cultural and psychological), states are political and legal groups in nature because they need recognition from other counterparts to enjoy their rights or fulfil their duties regulated by international laws in the international world. Besides, according to the definition in the Oxford American dictionary, a state is 'an organised community under one government.' This definition indicates that there must be a central government that can represent the state to participate in international affairs. Mayall's (1990:7) description is worthy of quotation here because it points out accurately the essence of state:

The important point to note is that all these formal states, whose governments take part in the ritual quadrille of international diplomacy and enjoy the dignity of mutual recognition and membership of the United Nations, actually exist: they can be located on the map; they have more or less defined boundaries; they have settled populations and identifiable social and political institutions.

States are the basic units counted in the international world. Their importance to their people lies in their being able to give their citizens the sense of 'I know who I am' and 'I know where I am from', especially when they are confronted with citizens or subjects (in the case of monarchy) from other states or participate in international activities. In light of

the importance of states in international society, it is obvious why the ultimate goal of nationalism is to have a nation-state. 'One nation, one state' is the dream that nationalists pursue; however, this case is rare in the real world. Because of the complexity of political conditions, nation and state have many different permutations and combinations. Next, I will discuss the relation of nation and state in terms of: (1) the mono-national and multi-national states, (2) the order of existing, and (3) the status of being, that is, nation-state and state-nation.

1 Mono-National States and Multi-National States

One way to categorise states is according to the nation/s it contains: mono-national states and multi-national states (Wu, 1993). The former refers to the situation that one nation forms a state, for example, Japan (the Ta-Ho people) and Israel (the Jewish people), and the latter means that more than one nation unite together to form a state, on the basis of ethnicity and culture (e.g. life styles, religion, customs, historical factors, geographic environments, the common desire of establishing a state, national characters, and so on). Concerning mono-nation states, there are two advantages. The first, since the state is composed of a single nation, unanimity of ethnicity and culture makes it easier to strengthen internal unification. The second, it helps combine national consciousness and patriotism to form the power to resist external invasion. However, true mono-national states are few in the world. Today, most states in the world are more multi-national in nature, whether they are states which include more than one nation (e.g. the United Kingdom) or those which are composed of more than one ethnic group (or "nation") (e.g. the USA). And this (the fact that most states in the world are multi-national states) is one of the factors for continuous national problems and regional conflicts

2 The Order of Existing

P'eng (1993), referring to Mostafa Reijai and Cynthia H. Enloe, indicates that the interacting relation between nation and state is basically one between cultural and national

integration, and political supremacy. In most developed countries, national integration comes prior to systematisation of political authority structure, e.g. France; however, in developing countries (mostly in Asia and Africa), authority and supremacy always precede national and cultural integration, e.g. Nigeria and Ghana. Therefore, concerning the order of existing of state and nation, there are two different arguments.

One argument is that nations exist prior to states, so it is nations which create the states, rather than states create nations. The other maintains that culture unification is not always prior to political unification but comes after it. By reason of this, nations are not the cause of states but the result of states (P' eng, 1993). However, as revealed by history, the cases of the USA, India and Turkey show that state existence precedes nation creation; while in the cases of Poland, Greece, Norway, and Iceland, nation formation comes before states (P' eng, 1993). Given the foregoing, in regard to the order of state building and nation formation, there is no generalisation applicable to all contexts because different countries have different historical backgrounds that result in different development. Based on the fact that state and nation may not appear simultaneously, it is possible that the state boundaries are not identical with national boundaries.

3 Nation-State and State-Nation (the status of being)

Smith (1991) elaborates two types of states: nation-state, that is, a nation with de facto territorial sovereignty and state-nation, referring to states which have de facto sovereignty but do not possess two of the components of a nation—cultural differentiate and national sentiment. Establishment of a nation-state is the most basic goal of political development in any country, especially in the developing countries in the third world (Lucian W. Pye, cited in P' eng, 1993:215).

Here I want to clarify two points. First, the establishment of a nation-state is not related to the order of nation formation and state building. The key is whether a distinguishable culture and in-group identity can be formed, regardless whether before or after the state is

built. For example, in the case of the USA, when the state was established, there was not such a nation called American nation because it lacked the component of a nation—cultural differentiation (Smith, 1991). However, nowadays, the people in the USA have developed their own unique culture which is characterised by its ability to accommodate a variety of cultures from different origins. In terms of the component of cultural differentiation, the US should be counted as a nation-state. Secondly, it (nation-state) does not necessarily have to be “one nation one state”, although that is theoretically ideal. If the we-ness feelings cannot be achieved among the nations in the state, even though the state is constituted of one nation, it is not a nation-state; the other way round, if national sentiment is shared among the forming nations, a multi-national state can be called a nation-state.

5.3.3 Culture, Nation, and State: the Order of Constitution

Given the foregoing, it is obvious that on the one hand, the three terms, culture, nation and state have different referents, but on the other hand, the inter-relationships among them are extremely elusive and complicated. Culture refers to the special ways of life of a specific group of people, which includes shared dressing, diets, customs, languages, religion, values, models of behaviour, and so on; nation denotes a community of people unified by means of common culture and sentiment; state indicates an organised community under one government, emphasising more the authority level (the specific government in charge), the regime level (the normative structure, i.e., the institutional arrangements determining the rules of the political process), and the polity level (the territorial unity of the state) (Eberwein, 1994). Nevertheless, further scrutinising the constituent parts of nation and state reveals that the three concepts, culture, nation, and state can be formulated as follows:

culture \subset nation \subset state (The symbol “ \subset ” means ‘as one of the forming parts of’.)

When the three, culture, nation, and state are identical, that is, the state is formed by one nation which has a monolithic national culture (mono-nation state), the possibility for

conflict seems to be less. However, since the case that 'culture = nation = state' is theoretically desirable but rare in reality, it is common that cultural and/or national conflicts always happen within a state which contains more than one cultural group and/or nation, for example, the conflicts between Chinese and Tibetans in China, between the French in Quebec and Anglophone Canadians, and among Serbs, Slovenes, and Croats in Yugoslavia.

Although the ideal formula of 'culture = nation = state' may pose less conflicts internally in the state, it portrays another problem, that is, a state may use 'of the same cultural and/or national origin' as an excuse to ask (or force) other states which it believes share the same cultural and /or national root with it to identify with the state. Usually, the culture and/or nation under this declaration are/is interpreted in a political sense. For instance, China (the PRC) grounds its claim of sovereignty over Taiwan on two reasons: (1) Taiwan was always a part of China in its history, and (2) most Taiwanese people are descendants of immigrants from China and Taiwanese culture also belongs to Chinese culture. In fact, when making this kind of claim, China neglects that in reality, Taiwan has been separated from China for one hundred years (Japanese colonisation, 1895-1945 and the KMT ruling, 1945-) and during this period, it has developed its own cultural style which, although deeply Chinese culture influenced, is not exactly the same as the culture in China today in ideologies, ways of thinking, and values. The Russian—Ukrainian conflict may serve as another example. Although Ukraine has announced its independence since 1991, most Russians still think that it is identical with Russia owing to their ties in history and religion (Laba, 1995).

Interim Summary

In this section, I discussed (1) the crucial factors of nation in terms of the Western civic model and the Eastern ethnic model, including territory, a community of laws and institutions, vertical economic integration, ethnic ties, and vernacular culture, (2) the crucial factors of state, i.e. effective internal political integration, territorial boundaries, and

recognition by the other actors in the international system, and (3) the relationship among culture, nation, and state (culture \subset nation \subset state, culture being a forming part of a nation which is a forming part of a state). From the discussion, we know that there is a hierarchic order among the three entities of culture, nation, and state: states on the top and then nation in the middle and culture at the bottom. Because of this hierarchic relationship, identities with own cultural groups, own national group and state become intricate. Identity with the entity at the lower level (e.g. cultural identity or national identity) may be used easily in order to achieved identity at the higher level (usually states identity). Next, the focus of discussion will turn to how culture identity and national identity are used as a drive to state formation.

5.4 Identities and Nationalism

Hsu (1996) presents the ideal argument that only identities with individual as the smallest forming part of the human world and with all human beings as a whole are the two true identities and all the other identities between the two ends are but transient and fallacious (see 5.2.4). However, the reality is that so far state boundaries are still impregnable and states function as the basic units of international society. Human beings are still living in the era of nationalism and new states keep on being created (Young, 1993). So in spite of the idealised theory, the demise of territorial states in the nearest future is beyond prediction. Once state creation is mentioned, it is inevitable to connect it with nationalism.

The contents of nationalism are extremely complex and elusive and after a century of research, there is still not a clear and universally recognised definition of nationalism (Young, 1993). Because of differences in politics, economy, societies, historical development, geographic environments, people in the world present their nationalism in different forms and the contents of nationalism also change through time. In spite of all these, there is a commonly accepted perspective that the final goal of nationalism is to establish a nation-state and/or to maintain its independence and supremacy.

Brock and Tulasiewicz (1985) see nationalism as the reaction of communities or groups upon each other, with certain patterns of identity being selected as criteria for the creation of an independent existence or distinct political nationhood. Their definition not only points out the purpose of nationalism but also highlights the drive for state creation—certain patterns of identity. This 'certain patterns of identity', however, does not come from nothing. Wang explains clearly that:

Nationalism is taken as the strongest and the most influential ideology in the contemporary world. All kinds of powers try to make use of it. Nevertheless, it is not an ideology which can exist on its own but must be rooted in deeper soil, that is, the common culture of a nation and the nation members' high-degree identity with their own culture (Central Daily New, February 1st, 1997; my translation).

It is at this point that nationalism is linked with cultural and national identities and makes the issues of identities so complicated. In the earlier section, I argued that culture, nation and state are three different concepts but with intricate relationships because of 'one being a forming part of the other'. Owing to their complicate entanglement, confusion and conflicts concerning identities with own culture, own nation, and own state easily arise, especially when distorted interpretations of culture and/or nation are/is made or misleading beliefs in cultural and/or national origins deliberately inculcated for political purposes. (The coming discussion of construction of national identity through culture by KMT in Taiwan and the example of the Russian—Ukrainian conflict given in 5.3.3 illustrate this.) So through the process of 'making believed', those politicians or state leaders aim at promoting an identity, either cultural or national, which helps achieve their political wills. Consequently, an exclusive state identity is forged at the expense of the diversity of cultures and nations.

In the following part, attempts are made first to define cultural identity, national identity and state identity, and then to figure out the possible ways of disentangling their complex relationships.

5.4.1 Cultural Identity

The discussion of cultural identity will resort to definitions given by various scholars and from these definitions, I will try to find out the characteristics of cultural identity.

1 Cultural Identity as the Result of Socialisation

Hamers and Blanc (1989:116 and 121) indicate that:

The integration of the complex configuration that is culture into the individual's personality constitutes his cultural identity.

Cultural identity is a consequence of the socialisation process that the child undergoes. It is a dynamic mechanism developed by the child and it can be modified by social and psychological events throughout the individual's life.

The definition reflects that the process of integrating culture into one's personality is in a sense the process of socialisation and it is an on-going process rather than static. It also implies that individuals' cultural identity is likely to change.

2 The Duality of Cultural Identity

Fishman (1977, in Appel and Muysken, 1992) interprets cultural identity in terms of one's allegiance to patrimony, i.e., the legacy of collectivity—defining behaviours and view: pedagogic patterns, music, clothes, sexual behaviour, special occupations etc., which are somehow inherited from earlier generations. In Fishman's (Ibid.:13) opinion, language is the symbol par excellence of cultural identity because it is the expresser of patrimony. Although language is the most frequent example and proves its strength as an identifying element, the relationship between culture and language is not absolute. Different cultural groups have their own salient cultural characteristics as well as different culturally-specific factors which serve as predominant cultural identifiers to outline cultural identity among their members.

Fishman's definition of cultural identity emphasises mainly the visible parts of culture but neglects the other invisible side of culture: cultural values and ways of thinking. Therefore to be more specific, when the individual is socialised into his/her culture, he/she has allegiance to his/her cultural group, which is defined by 'a number of cultural components such as values, norms, beliefs and customs, or language' (Hamers and Blanc, 1989:262). The strength of this allegiance, or cultural identity, can be reflected in to what extent the individuals identify with shared visible cultural characteristics (language, religion, etc.) and/or invisible culturally-specific attitudes, beliefs, values, norms, etc.. So when measuring cultural identity, we must take into consideration both visible and invisible sides of culture.

3 Cultural Identity and Nationalism

Cultural identity is achieved by access to the elements of culture of a national or ethnic group. Therefore, cultural identity has a strong national-specific tint. It is identity with culture of one particular nation rather than with any other nations. Owing to this character, elements of cultures, e.g., language, religion, history, artefacts of symbols, fields of activity are always selected to raise a sense of a particular cultural and national identity, which contribute to create an independent existence or distinct political nationhood (or to a more advanced level, statehood).

5.4.2 National Identity: the Role of Culture in It

In the light of the fact that culture is mentioned as one of the forming parts in both the civic model and the ethnic model of nation, I will start from analysing the cultural elements which appear in both models and then try to define national identity in terms of its forming parts, especially of culture.

1 Culture in the Civic Model

Culture in the civic model refers to a common civic culture and ideology, including national sentiments, common historical memories, myths, symbols and traditions. Smith (1983) emphasised the component of national sentiments in nation formation. Here national sentiments refers to 'a strong and widely diffused consciousness of belonging to a certain nation' (Smith, *Ibid.*:168). Besides national sentiment, in the Western model of national identity nations are also seen as 'culture communities, whose members were united, if not made homogeneous, by common historical memories, myths, symbols and traditions' (Smith, 1991:11). Even where new immigrant communities equipped with their own historic cultures have been admitted by the state, it has taken several generations before their descendants have been admitted into the circle of the "nation". Usually, the task of ensuring a common public, mass culture has been handed over to the agencies of popular socialisation, notably the public system of education and the mass media.

2 Culture in the Ethnic Model

In the ethnic model, culture is embodied in more objective aspects of culture, such as language, customs and habits, religion, tradition, and so on. As Smith (1991:12) comments:

That is why lexicographers, philologists and folklorists have played a central role in the early nationalisms of Eastern Europe and Asia. Their linguistic and ethnographic research into the past and present culture of the "folk" provided the materials for a blueprint of the 'nation-to-be', even when, as in Ireland and Norway, the ancient languages declined.

It is obvious that the subjective factor (sentiment) receives special attention in the Western model, while the objective aspects such as language and religion are significant to the notion of nation in the Eastern model. To be more specific, the culture referred to in the civic model is in fact an attempt to create "we-ness" feelings among the members of the

nation; while in the ethnic model, culture means languages, religions, and the like. However, these two definitions of culture are not irrelevant to each other because the emphasis on shared objective features always helps in arousing common sentiment and it is the function of arousing national self-consciousness that makes these tangible features of culture valuable. Edwards' (1985:14) words illustrates this point to the full:

We have seen here that nationalism, like ethnicity, has both objective and subjective aspects. While we can attempt to list characteristics of nations, no particular tangible traits are essential to the definition. A psychological bond, a sense of community residing in affective ties, these are the common and necessary conditions for nationalistic sentiment. Thus, as Seton Watson (1977) notes, no scientific definition of the notion can be devised. Self-awareness and self-consciousness are the marks of nationalism, and objective features like religion and language are 'significant to the notion only to the degree to which they contribute to this notion or sense of the group's self-identity and uniqueness'. (Condor, 1978:389). It will thus be understood that nations can alter or lose characteristics without losing the necessary self-consciousness. Tangible features are, of course, necessary as rallying-points, and they are needed to give the all-important national consciousness a visible form, but none is essential *per se*.

3 National Identity: the Formulas

According to the definitions of nation discussed in 5.3.1 and the analysis of culture in both civic and ethnic models of nation, we may infer that national identity is a collective identity which springs from a dialectic among an existing cultural, ethnic, territorial, legal politic, civic, and/or economic reality. However, it is also possible that through deliberate design and planning, a national identity is an individual identity underpinned by a single highlighted element of culture (e.g. language). No matter which one may be the case, one thing is for sure that elements of culture can be either: (1) one of the features which constitute nation, or (2) the only feature. (The term "culture" in (1) means more closely to "lived culture", that is, the elements culture which are followed by the people. And in (2), the elements of culture is more likely to be ones constructed for political purposes.) The example of Taiwan to be discussed in 5.5 will illustrate this argument.

Thus, we may say that culture is closely relevant to the formation of national identity. The relationships between nation and culture can thus be theoretically formulated as follows:

- (1) National identity = subjective in-group sentiment + the sum of identifications with lived culture, territory, civic rights, the integrative-economic system,..., or
- (2) National identity = subjective in-group sentiment + the sum of identifications with high/heritage culture, territory, civic rights, the integrative-economic system,...
(Political factors might interact to construct high/heritage culture.)

Again, the term "culture" used in formulas 1 and 2 can be interpreted in different ways. Firstly, the term "culture" may be ascribed to the vernacular culture, the traditions, beliefs, institutions and ways of life shared by a social group or a whole society; secondly, it can be embodied in the culture of literary classics and works of art, that is, 'high culture.' Here, one point is worthy of attention. Once utilised for the sake of the dominant group's political interests, the culture, either interpreted as the vernacular culture or the high culture, is a kind of twisted culture estranged from reality in the specific context. This issue is to be discussed in detail in Section 5.5 on the construction of national identity through culture in Taiwan.

Regardless how it is interpreted, culture always serves as a decisive and important criterion to define a national identity. McCreadien (1991:45), when describing the revival of Scottish national identity, referred, in a large part, to the renaissance of "highbrow" culture as well as popular culture which 'firmly rooted itself in the urban lifestyle of most Scottish people, tapping amongst other things a rich vein of working class humour, Scotland's extraordinary wealth of folk music and a fascination for Scottish sport that borders on the fanatical'. And through reviewing the situation in the periphery English speaking countries in Chapter 3, we know that cultural contact with Western culture is to some degree taken to be a threat not only to cultural identity but also to national identity. Therefore culture is a prerequisite to nation formation either in terms of the Western or

non-Western model. King (1993:75; based on Weber) gives the following statement: culture is the most eminent factor for nation formation. In this case, culture means in-group consciousness. Whereas states are constituted under certain objectives which are related to power.

However, the cultures which underpin national identity do not necessarily have to be a single national culture with a single and pure origin. It may be a culture with its traditional origin but at the same time adopts new ingredients from other cultures, or a combination of cultural elements of a number of nations. In the context of the modern world where international communication is prevailing and unavoidable, cultural elements of any given nation are liable to change. So the culture/s underpinning a national identity should not be confined to 'traditional culture' of a given nation. In my own opinion, the term "culture" refers to the integration of cultural elements which can represent the uniqueness of the individual nation in question.

5.4.3 State Identity

According to the definitions of state mentioned in 5.3.2, it is clear that state identity is constituted partly by political identity and partly by national identity. The formula for state identity could thus be:

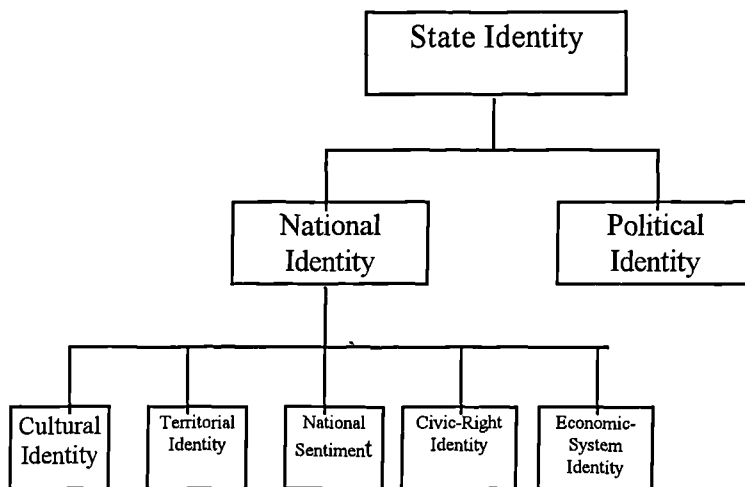
State Identity = National Identity + Political Identity +

Here political identity does not refer to identification with a given political party in the state but means identifying with the political systems (e.g., democracy, totalitarianism, or authoritarianism) and/or economic theories (e.g., capitalism, socialism, or communism) the state adopts. If individuals cannot identify with the political system or economic systems of their state, they might give up their state identity and turn to other states, e.g., people in communist countries seek refugee with democratic countries.

5.4.4 Cultural Identity, National Identity, and State Identity: Single Identity or Multiple Identities

In general, cultural identity, national identity and state identity are three identities at three different levels which have individual factors for formation, contents, and functions. The group with the same cultural identity does not definitely need to or is not absolutely able to be upgraded to nation identity or state identity; it is not necessary that the same nation must identify with the same state; likewise, the citizens in a state should not be forced to share the same cultural identity (Lee, 1993). This idealised argument is not always the case in the real world. As was mentioned in 5.3.3, if we see culture, nation and state in terms of their forming parts, there appears to be an hierarchical order of power among them: state, nation, and then culture. Accordingly, state identity, national identity and cultural identity can be represented in a diagram as follows:

Figure 5.1: The Hierarchic Order of Power among State Identity, National Identity, and Cultural Identity



A state always exerts its power to shape the national identity and cultural identity which match up with its purposes. In this situation, the state in question selects indicators of a single culture and nation (or given cultures and nations) to construct the cultural and national identities which contribute to shaping the state identity it expects. As to why some

elements are chosen in preference to others, as suitable vehicles for separate political identity, it depends on various compounds of factors, such as successful alliances forged to bring about the desired result. Brock and Tulasiewicz (1985) illustrated this by using the case of Israel, where the Ashkenazim and Sephardim have had to co-operate in developing and maintaining the state despite widely different cultural origins found even within each of these groups. It is not always the historically given cultural and national identities which determine the new state identity but a conscious selection is made of available identifiable realities by those who actively promote an identity. Referring again to Brock and Tulasiewicz' (1985) example, the choice of Marxism-Leninism in the former GDR, albeit in a context of some pressure from the former USSR, serves as an illustration. In this case, various additional selections were made from the German and Soviet cultural inheritance available to those formulating the identity of the former GDR, competing with alternative West German, European and Anglo-American inheritance.

It is axiomatic that politics can be used to further, transform, or destroy a cultural or national identity and does affect groups or individuals in different levels of scale of change. Politicians' efforts to construct an unified identity indicate that they do not believe in the argument of multiple identities presented by Phinney (see 5.2.3) that it is possible that identities in different levels can co-exist and individuals are likely to develop multiple identities that are associated with various contexts, and they may identify with a number of different reference groups that have contrasting and possibly conflicting goals. In sum, ambitious politicians use culture and nation as excuses to either maintain their superiority of ruling over subgroups within the state or claim their legitimate control over other states. If political forces keep on exercising, Hsu' s argument of identity circles (see 5. 2.2) is not going to be realised.

Interim Summary

In this section, I tried to formulate cultural identity, national identity, and state identity. It was found that on the one hand, cultural elements (either those of high culture or lived

culture) assume an important role in constructing these three identities and on the other hand, there is an hierarchic order among the three identities: state identity, national identity and cultural identity (in a top-down order). Furthermore, political factors always operate in the process of identity construction. In the following section, the case of Taiwan is to be discussed in order to further understand how the political factors influence development of Taiwanese identities and identity problems in Taiwan today.

5.5 Taiwanese Identities in History

The problem of identities in Taiwan lies in that they are confused at the cultural, national and state levels at the same time. First, I will briefly describe identity problems in the USA., Ukraine, and Taiwan to explain the uniqueness and ambiguity of Taiwan' s problem.

5.5.1 Identity Problems in the USA and Ukraine

1 the USA

In the USA., identity at the state level is relatively clearly unified, but at the cultural level, divergence in the ethnic-cultural origins from which the USA immigrants and aboriginal people came is evident in compound nouns such as Chinese Americans, Afro Americans, Latino Americans, Anglo Americans, and so on. Therefore, identity problems for people of the USA in the intra-personal level embedded in their social context may be how to allocate their state identity and ethnic-cultural identity, in a linear order or in a hierarchical order without contradiction. Concerning the inter-group level, the focus may be on how to avoid conflicts among different ethnic-cultural group (e.g. the riot in Los Angeles in 1993).

2 Ukraine

After the Russian Revolution in October, 1917, the people of Ukraine, under the permission of the Russian Socialism Federation Soviet Republic (RSFSR), were allowed to establish their own state as a subject of international law and won recognition from numerous states *de facto* and *de jure*. In December, 1922, the Ukraine joined USSR and became a republic of it (the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), and in 1991, Ukraine claimed its independence. However, although it is already an independent state, there are political divisions within the various parts of Ukraine. Laba (1995:478) points out that 'a significant number of ethnic Ukrainians accept the Russian case and believe that Ukrainians share a common identity with Russians'. Historically called the 'Little Russian stance', today over four years after independence, the 'Little Russians' and many Russians in Ukraine desire union with Russia. Apart from divergence within Ukraine, mass Russian political attitudes and political myths do not accept the existence of a Ukrainian state or nation (Laba, 1995). The fact that the majority of Russians believe that the ethnic and state boundaries of Ukraine and Russia overlap entirely, can be explained by the following reasons:

(1) History: the Russian account of who they are and from where they have come

As Laba (Ibid.) describes, according to the historical myth taught today in Russian schools, Russia arose for the first time in the Kingdom of Rus with its capital in Kiev. The Russian people in this account are those who live on the territory of ancient Rus, including Ukrainians and Belorussians. They believe they share a common blood, which is the essence of the ethno-national bond. Consequently, the process of acquiring or uniting is called the ingathering of the Russian lands. Although alternative accounts of Russian history have been proposed that the Russian state arose in the north around Suzdal and Vladimir and on the other hand, that Kievan Rus became the first state on the territory of today's Ukraine, 'the point here is not whether history is right or wrong, but what people believe and in this case the Russian people believe that Ukrainians are Russian, or in a

slightly nuanced version, inferior Russians speaking a degraded Russian dialect' (Laba, *ibid*).

(2) Religion

A second key element of Russian national identity is religion, in this case, Eastern Orthodoxy. This ethno-religious identity is a common Eastern Slavic identity which emphasises their unity. In it, Ukrainians, Russians and Belorussians are seen as one people beset by enemies—Muslims to the South and East, and Catholics, especially Polish Catholics from the West. As in the first version a significant number of Ukrainians subscribe to this common unity and its description of the significant others, Islam and Catholicism.

(3) The Russian Empire

The third factor in Russian ethnic and political identity is the empire, which formed before Russian ethnic nationality. This meant that Russians considered the territory of the empire to be their homeland, their land. The USSR, although it was not an ethnic state, still made many Russians believe that it was one and the same as Russia. Today, after the USSR fell apart, many Russians acknowledge that Russia is not the Russian Empire or the USSR, but in doing so they draw on their underlying political myths which return them again to their knotted relationship with Ukrainians.

3 Comparison

Comparing the examples of the USA and Ukraine, we find that:

1. In the case of the USA, American people's identity at the state level is clearer and less debatable. Although there are no statistical data to be referred to, it can be inferred that their identity with the USA as an independent state and with being the citizens of

the USA are unproblematic. Their conflicts in identities happen at the level of ethnic-cultural groups because of their backgrounds of being descendants of immigrants. The identity problems in Ukraine are more complicated than those in the USA because they are blurred from the state level down to the national and cultural levels. At the level of state identity, two different stances appear: the stance of Ukraine as an independent state and the stance of Ukraine and Russia being united into one state.

2. Identity problems in the USA involve mainly factors within the state; that is, there is no interference from another state; while in Ukraine, factors within and outside (from Russia owing to historical reasons) of the state both influence the Ukrainian identity.
3. In the case of the USA, culture differences are the key point of conflicts within personal psyches e.g., being a Black vs. being an American) and among different cultural groups. In spite of these, the USA-as-a-state identity is a commonly accepted belief. Nevertheless, in the example of Ukraine, the concept of 'being the same ethnic-national group' (whether it is a truth or a constructed belief) makes a significant number of Ukrainians and the majority of Russians think they should share the same political identity and the two states should be in union. Despite the difference, there is one thing in common between the two cases, that is, cultural factors play important roles in identity conflicts (the USA example) or identity confusion (the Ukrainian example).

The situation in Taiwan is more similar to that in Ukraine in terms of (1) its people's different opinions about Taiwan as an independent state or as a province of China, and (2) of the interference from the PRC to prohibit Taiwan from being independent. However, Taiwan is in a inferior position to that of Ukraine in that it has never gained international recognition as a *de jure* state, in spite of the fact that its *de facto* existence from 1949 till now. The PRC always claims that the Taiwan problem is a domestic problem rather than an international one, and any involvement of foreign countries in Taiwan's independence or not is viewed as interference with the PRC's civil affairs.

Confusion in state, national and cultural identities is a problem with historical complexity in Taiwan. The factors for confusion in state identity among Taiwanese are mostly because of the KMT's educational and cultural policies which centre on Chinese Chauvinism and partly because of deficiency in the concept of Taiwan being a state in early Taiwanese history.

5.5.2 The Historical Factors for Identity Problems in Taiwan

In the early history of Taiwan, a clear Taiwanese identity (either the identity of Taiwanese as a nation or the identity of Taiwan as a state) was absent. Chang (1993) categorises three factors in identity confusion: the complexity of the ethnic-group relationship, the regionalism of the *Han*² emigrants, and frequent changes of the rulers. However, Wu (1993) argues that 'the complexity of ethnic-group relationships' cannot explain sufficiently the absence of Taiwanese identity because compared with other countries, e.g., Philippine and Indonesia, the ethnic groups in Taiwan are not complex. He maintains that the major reason ascribed to Taiwanese failing to develop a state identity is that 'we (Taiwanese) are located beside the Chinese cultural circle' (the record of State Identity Conference in Taipei, Taiwan, 1993). Synthesising Chang's and Wu's arguments, I will discuss the factor for lack of Taiwanese identity in terms of: (1) aborigines' and the Han immigrants' psychology, and (2) frequent changes of rulers from outside of Taiwan.

1 Aborigines' and the Han Immigrants' Psychology

The inhabitants in Taiwan are from two major sources: Han immigrants from China and aboriginal peoples. The aborigines arrived in Taiwan about five or six thousand years ago, much earlier than the Han immigrants. However, after the Han people's large-scale

² *Han* is one of the dynasties in Chinese history. It is usually used by Chinese people to call themselves *vis-a-vis* other minority people in China.

immigration from the seventeenth century onward, they became the minority and were assimilated gradually (Chang, 1993).

On the one hand, the aboriginal peoples did not have the concept of state from the beginning, and on the other hand, under the strong influence from the Han people, they were absorbed into the Han cultural system, losing their own ethnic group identity. Although recently many aborigines sense their identity crisis and are endeavouring to revive their ethnic-cultural identity, it is rather difficult for them to break through the Han people's superiority in the social, economic, political, and cultural aspects to re-build their history and cultures.

In regard to the Han immigrants, their identities are various because of conflicts of political interests, regionalism, or divergent ideologies. In the seventeenth century, under the encouragement of the Dutch, some people from two Chinese provinces in the south, Fukien and Kwangtung, began to immigrate to Taiwan gradually. During Ch'ing's rule for two hundred and twelve years, Han immigrants amounted to more than three million and became the majority. Early immigrants categorised themselves according to the places they came from, so there were divisions between Fukien emigrants (further divided as those who came from Ch'uan-Chou and from Chang-Chou) and Kwangtung (Hukkanese). As a result, regional identity, that is, identifying with their homelands, was the essence of early Taiwanese immigrants' identities and at the same time the cause of conflicts among them (Chang, 1993). Because of their immigrant background, the Han immigrants kept affectionate adherence to and worship towards their original fatherland, which impeded the development of local Taiwanese identity in the early age.

2 Frequent Changes of the Rulers from outside of Taiwan

According to the historical record, Taiwan has been ruled by the Netherlands, Spain, Ch'eng (the prince of Ming Dynasty), Ch'ing Dynasty, Japan and the ROC (KMT) (see Chapter 2). Every rule brought its own ways of ruling and destroyed or re-shaped the

ideologies or thoughts left by the previous one. The Dutch and Spanish came to Taiwan in the 17th century, when commercialism was highly emphasised in Europe. They took Taiwan as the base for trading in the East. Ch'eng retreated to Taiwan because of losing the war against Ch'ing in Mainland China. He took Taiwan as the base for resisting against Ch'ing and for reviving the Ming Dynasty. Although Ch'eng established a Han regime in Taiwan and introduced fifty thousand Han immigrants, his policy was not made centring on Taiwan but to utilise it to fight back to the Mainland. Throughout the Ch'engs' rule for three generations, Taiwanese identity was still not developed. Ch'ing overcame Ch'eng's grandson and took over Taiwan, starting its rule for two hundred and twelve years. Ch'ing was a continental regime with its political centre in Beijing, so to it Taiwan was only an island located on the margin of its territory and was paid little attention. In addition to the factor of frequent change of rulers, the Han immigrants at that time did not think about their identity problems because they were busy in dealing with the newly opened-up land and the aboriginal peoples.

To sum up, throughout the rules of the Dutch and Spanish, Ch'eng and Ch'ing Dynasty, Taiwanese identity was lacking among people in Taiwan. One reason for this result is that all those regimes came from outside Taiwan with different purposes and none of them really took it as the land in which that they would like to grow their roots. Another reason is the contests among the different regional groups (e.g., Fukien against Kwangtung, two provinces in the south of China; Ch'uan-Chou against Chang-Chou, two counties in Fukien), which limited people's identity within the category of regionalism. Furthermore, the influence of China and Chinese culture also assumed an important role in Taiwanese people's identity. Being immigrants from China, early Han inhabitants in Taiwan were psychologically tied with it. For the immigrants, China was still their fatherland. It is not until Japanese colonisation that Taiwanese people began to think about the relationship between human beings and the land and developed their Taiwanese identity (Chang, 1993).

5.5.3 Identities During Japanese Colonisation

1895, the year in which Japan took over Taiwan from the Ch'ing Empire, is the starting point for Taiwanese nation. Japanese colonisation forced Taiwanese to re-consider the relationship between people and the land where they live, which consequently stimulated the national consciousness of Taiwanese people. Before that, aboriginal peoples and the Han people were discrete groups without the link of "we-ness" (P'eng, 1993). Japan ruled Taiwan in terms of "Japanising" Taiwanese people, which made people in Taiwan lose themselves as an identified entity; however, contradictorily, it was under Japan's policy of assimilation that people's consciousness of being Taiwanese was stimulated. Next, a brief introduction will be given to the factors for the rise of Taiwanese identity and identity development during Japan's colonisation in Taiwan.

1 Factors for the Rise of Taiwanese Identity during Japanese Colonisation

Taiwan was the first colony of Japan after it became a modern country. On the one hand, Japan introduced to Taiwan many modern arrangements which helped Taiwan turn into a modern society as well as inspiring Taiwanese consciousness and identity incidentally. On the other hand, the rise of Taiwanese identity can be attributed to Japanese discrimination against the Taiwanese in education and politics.

1. Modern Investigations and Arrangements

Under the Japanese officer of civil administration, many investigations of natural sources, production, forests and fields, aboriginal peoples' customs, the Han people's customs and population were held in order to understand the distribution of Taiwan's material resources and human resources, for policy making. Besides these investigations, Japan built a railroad which connected the north and the south of Taiwan. The opening-up of the railroad shortened the time needed for travelling and enhanced communication between the north and the south which in turn contributed to the inspiration of Taiwanese

consciousness. Other arrangements by Japan, including unifying measurement and currency, and establishing the Taiwan Bank, enabled Taiwan to step towards modern financial and banking systems. All these investigations and arrangements not only laid the foundation for Japan's colonisation but also indirectly enhanced the formation of a modern society in Taiwan.

2. Differences in Ethnic-Group Identities

Japan categorised the inhabitants in Taiwan at that time as in-landers (Japanese), and islanders (including Hukienese Hans, Kwangtung Hans, and aborigines). The obvious delimitation between the rulers and the ruled deepened identities with ethnic groups. Taiwanese people (either the aboriginal peoples or the Han people) and Japanese belonged to different nations, and each had their own histories and cultures. Although Japan tried to assimilate Taiwanese by means of a movement called "Huang-Ming-Hua", which means to make Taiwanese the subjects of Japanese emperor, it did not work properly.

3. Discrimination in Education and Politics

The aim of education during Japanese colonisation in Taiwan was to make Taiwanese obedient subjects of Japanese empire. For the sake of government and convenience, Japan made the rule that at the stage of primary schools, Taiwanese children went to "kung-hsueh-hsiao (public schools) and Japanese children went to hsiao-hsueh-hsiao (primary schools) (see Chapter2, Section3.1 for more detail); concerning the high-school entrance examinations, between Taiwanese and Japanese there was a difference in the number of admissions which was in favour of Japanese. These unreasonable regulations in colonial education resulted in dissatisfaction among Taiwanese and consequently deepened the anti-Japanese sense. In addition, Japanese monopolised the ruling levels in politics, education and the police force, so very few Taiwanese could be government officers of higher ranks. According to statistics, during Japan's colonisation, only four Taiwanese were appointed as the Chief of the County; in 1943, there were one thousand and forty-seven primary

schools but only six of them had Taiwanese principals (Chang, 1993). The same inferiority in politics enabled Taiwanese to distinguish themselves from Japanese and again Taiwanese identity was strengthened.

2 The Development of Taiwanese Nationalism through Political and Cultural Movements

In the beginning of Japanese colonisation, many Taiwanese people organised themselves to resist Japan's taking over; the Taiwan governor of Japan took about seven years to crush this resistance. Basically, this kind of resistance arose from defending the homeland in the traditional society, but did not yet originate from the recognition which took Taiwan as a state to be identified with. It was not until the 1920s that the resistance which centred on Taiwan as the identified object appeared. At this stage, the issue of Taiwanese identity had not yet been raised to the level of state building because on the one hand, the Taiwanese nation with the sense of self consciousness had not yet developed to the full, and on the other hand, there was not a state to be identified with at that time. Japan was a colonial ruler; the ROC in China was established after it overturned Ch'ing dynasty in 1911. Then, because of the trend of national self-determination after World War One throughout world, the theme of Taiwan's nationalism was one which focused on national awareness, national emancipation, and self-determination (Chang, 1993). The theme was embodied in two movements: the political movement and the cultural movement. The activity of cultural enlightenment inaugurated the pursuit of Taiwanese identities, then the political movement succeeded. When the political movement was suppressed by Japan, the Taiwanese turned again to the cultural movement.

Cultural Enlightenment

In 1921, the Association of Taiwanese Culture was established with the purpose of 'using cultural enlightenment to awaken Taiwanese' (Chang, Ibid.). The methods which the Association of Taiwanese Culture resorted to included making speeches, plays, publishing

magazines and newspapers, holding summer study clubs. Chang (Ibid.) comments that these activities were intended to collect the intelligentsia to think about the future of Taiwanese culture and were the beginning of the Taiwanese self-recognition and pursuit of own culture.

The political movement centred on two themes: pursuit of democracy and class emancipation and Taiwan independence.

The Pursuit of Democracy

From 1921 to 1935, there were fifteen petitions presented by Taiwanese who asked for the establishment of Taiwanese Parliament. In 1927, the first political party, Taiwan Ming-Chung-Tang (the Taiwan People's Party), was established. Its declaration clearly revealed the goal of pursuing emancipating Taiwanese in politics, economy, society, and culture. The idea that Taiwan was Taiwanese Taiwan became the common hope and at the same time implied Taiwanese identity which arose from the consciousness of being a Taiwanese. In 1935, because of the pressure from the Taiwanese public, Japan held the first local election in Taiwan (Chang, 1993).

Class Emancipation and Taiwan Independence

During the 1920s, Taiwan was also influenced by socialism and communism. In 1928, Taiwanese Communist Party was established in Shanghai, China. It proclaimed publicly that Han immigrants in Taiwan had become a unique Taiwanese nation and it (the Taiwanese nation), under the persecution of imperialism, should seek for independence. Taiwanese socialists and communists thought that only through co-operation with the proletariat could Taiwan overthrow Japanese imperialism. The rise of communism in Taiwan reflected the fact that the Taiwanese intelligentsia sensed the power of the proletariat and the historical significance of national self-determination.

The Re-establishment of Taiwanese Culture

This political movement, which progressed from the pursuit of democracy, parliamentary politics, to class emancipation and national independence, revealed that some of the intelligentsia understood clearly that Taiwan could be an independent state and Taiwan was the state which Taiwanese people should identify with. The political movement in the 1920s ended because of Japan's arresting Taiwanese communists in 1931. However, the cultural movement succeeded, through which the Taiwanese intelligentsia tried again to locate Taiwan in terms of culture. In general, the elements that were used to construct Taiwanese identities during this period were those of high culture.

The cultural re-establishment in the 1930s emphasised exploring the Taiwanese people's interior minds and the nature of Taiwanese culture. As Chang (1993) said, this was the core of Taiwan's identity problems. Only through renewing Taiwanese culture could true Taiwanese identities be constructed. The cultural movement in this period mainly resorted to literature and arts. In 1933, the Association of Taiwan's Literature was established, and then in 1934, the Association of Tai-Yang Arts was founded. The combination of Taiwanese literati and artists symbolised the rise of Taiwanese consciousness and the intention of creating new culture.

Interim Summary

The appearance of Japanese as the rulers in Taiwan was a strong contrast to Taiwanese as the ruled. Together with the contrasts of different nations and cultures, these are conditions which laid the foundation for the appearance of Taiwanese identity. During its fifty-year colonisation, Japan modernised Taiwan's society through education and new arrangements in economy for the purpose of its own advantage; however, based on these arrangements, Taiwan was transferred into modern society which helped to bring about Taiwanese identity. It is obvious that cultural elements played a very important role in the Taiwanese struggle for national self-determination and national formation, owing to the

constraints imposed on public political movement from Japanese colonial government. Through cultural movements, the Taiwanese tried to establish a Taiwanese nation based on an independent culture of Taiwan. The development of Taiwanese identity elicited the ideas of establishing a new culture and of Taiwan's independence among the Taiwanese elite during Japanese colonisation; nevertheless, the newly sprouting identity was destroyed after the KMT government took over Taiwan from Japan.

5.5.4 Identities During the KMT Rule

The identity problems during the early period of the KMT rule are well described by the following two quotations:

..., national identity and state identity are both confused. On the one hand, the regime (the KMT) twisted the definition of nation, denying the existence of the Taiwanese nation, so the idea of the Taiwanese nation was ruined and Taiwanese were forced to accept the unreasonable and unrealistic title of 'the Chinese nation'. On the other hand, with respect to state identity, the KMT made the myth that Taiwan is a part of China and Taiwanese people are citizens of the ROC. All these were for the sake of legitimating its regime. (P' eng 1993:75; my translation)

Taiwan is confronted with the problem of state identity, which is not only reflected in politics but also in culture. After 1945, the KMT-controlled education emphasised inculcating Chinese culture but neglected the local culture of Taiwan (Lin 1993:81).

Taiwan is a society where the culture of the Han immigrants constitutes the major part of Taiwanese culture. However after more than three hundred years, the Han culture in Taiwan has developed its unique character by means of integrating the aboriginal peoples' cultures. Besides, Japanese colonisation also left a certain degree of influence on Taiwanese culture. During the last one hundred year, Taiwanese people were twisted violently toward Japan in the first fifty years and then toward China (the ROC) after World War Two. Being in the interface between the two regimes, the Taiwanese inevitably had a hard time to adapt themselves. In the beginning of its rule, the KMT government overlooked the special situation in Taiwan but just transplanted ideologies and culture from China without any modification.

In terms of nationalising, post-war Taiwan under KMT rule presented an appeal to cultural planning. It is the sense of Chinese-ness that the KMT government endeavoured to highlight among Taiwanese. Given its Cold War confrontation with mainland China and forcibly backed by martial law, the KMT government took a heavy-handed approach to culture. The systematicity and thoroughness by which cultural policy was carried out reflected its strategic importance in relation to the national (or more directly, KMT's) interest. The purposes of ingraining the concepts that Taiwanese are Chinese and Taiwanese people's sacred duty to protect Chinese culture were two-fold: (1) legitimising and stabilising the sovereignty of KMT (as described in 2.2, KMT is a party coming from outside but not an indigenous Taiwanese people's party), and (2) protecting its orthodoxy, i.e., the representative and the protector of traditional Chinese culture against its (KMT's) counterpart's heterodoxy, that is, Chinese Communists' destroying Chinese culture during the Culture Revolution.

1 The Culture Being Advocated: "Chinese" Culture

Chun (1996:56) gives a refined interpretation of the nature of Chinese culture:

Underlying the imagination of a cultural China as nation was an appeal to sacred origins and the myth of a continuous history, as captured most powerfully in the concept of *hwa-hsia*, *hwa* here referring to a general sense of Chineseness emanating from the mythical Hsia dynasty. Rooted in the sanctity of a primordial past, the legitimacy of history has often served to vindicate the mandate of Heaven despite the actual history of repeated dynastic upheaval, barbarian conquest and alien religious influences. Yet, this myth of sacred communion with the past that is Chineseness was more importantly a definition of culture or civilization that, in effect, transcended considerations of ethnic identity and the realities of political affiliation. In pre-modern times, identification with *hwa-hsia* was key to the inclusiveness of a sinocentric world order that could assimilate distinct nations, heterogeneous customs and diverse beliefs. In post-war Taiwan, the appropriation of the notion of *hwa-hsia* had rather different meanings. In the context of the modern world system, *hwa-hsia* epitomized the uniqueness of China vis-à-vis other nations, as though rooted to its origin in Civilization. Pitted against the people's Republic, *hwa-hsia* represented the defense of a traditional past that contrasted with the radicalism of a communist world-view.

One character of Chinese culture is highlighted in this description. Here, Chinese culture is only a concept based on an imagined past rather than a lived culture which reflects active lives of those who share it. As a result, the area which was once influenced by Chinese culture is counted as a part of China and the people there as the Chinese nation; within the imagined Chinese cultural circle, any deviation from it is absolutely forbidden. Put in this vein, it is easy to understand why the ROC in Taiwan and the PRC in China both claim that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China.

As Chun (1996) indicated, 'Chinese culture' here not only involved a multiplicity of things (markers of national identity, habits of custom, icons of patriotic fervour and national treasures), but it also involved the authority of different kinds of rhetorical statements through the codification of discursive knowledge as shared myths, beliefs and values (as well as a common language, ethnicity and history) whose coherence and systematicity ultimately reflected the larger utopian vision of a nationalist state. It is important to point out that Chineseness in this regard was not synonymous with ethnic culture; it was instead a constructed sense of identity in which things like language, history, custom, beliefs and values occupied particular niches. Moreover, insofar as it was constructed, it also had to be by nature selective as well. In the following account of cultural planning by the KMT in post war Taiwan, the focus will be on what cultural elements were selected and how they were used to construct identity.

2 The Stages of Cultural Planning

According to Chun (1996), there are three different phases of cultural policy. This section will cover the first two phases and the third phase which is overlapped with the era of identity problems today, will be discussed in 5.5.4 together with Taiwan's identity issues in 1990s.

1 Cultural Reunification (1945-67)

1. *The time*: starting from Japan's returning Taiwan to the KMT to the height of Cultural Revolution in China.

2. *Purpose*: to reconsolidate Chinese culture by purging Japanese influences lingering as a result of 50 years of colonial rule and suppressing any movements toward local Taiwanese cultural expression.

3. *Method*: the strict imposition of standard Mandarin.

Through unification of language, the government was able to inculcate Chinese traditional history, thought and values, or culture in a broad sense.

Given the state of war and the emphasis upon reorganisation and development of basic industries, vernacular culture here was never part of an explicit programme of political reconstruction. Emphasis was rather upon accepting the myth of a shared cultural origin, as invoked by the notion of hua-hsia and the protection of national treasures.

2 Cultural Renaissance (1967-77)

1. *Purpose*: principally in reaction to the Cultural Revolution on the mainland (to emphasise its orthodoxy)

2. *Method*: three-step process involving public dissemination, moral education and active demonstration. In the schools, courses on society and ethics as well as citizenship and morality were taught at elementary and middle-school levels, respectively. At the high-school level, introduction to Chinese culture, military education, and thought and personality became a staple part of the curriculum in addition to regular courses in natural and social sciences.

The promotion of the cultural renaissance movement beginning in the mid-1960s was not a spontaneous discovery of traditional culture and values. It was a systematic effort to redefine the content of these ideas and values, cultivate a large-scale societal consciousness through existing institutional means and use the vehicle of social expression as a motor for national development in other domains, economic as well as political. The cultivation of a spirit of cultural consciousness was also explicitly linked with the policy of cultural development in other regards, namely the extension of ties with overseas Chinese and foreign cultural agencies, the financing of grassroots cultural groups, development of tourism, increased publication of the classics, preservation of historical artefacts, explicit promotion of activities in science, ethics, social welfare and sports, as well as the use of mass media to step up cultural coverage and intensify anti-communist propaganda.

During the periods of cultural reunification and renaissance, the KMT focused on promoting Chinese culture but this emphasis has been shifted recently. At the early stage, the KMT government believed that it would soon 'recover' Mainland China from the hands of Chinese Communists; however, as time went by, the belief was proved to be an illusion. The old myth constructed by the KMT that the ROC government in Taiwan is the only legal regime to represent China is seriously challenged in terms of a more powerful PRC in Mainland China and of less and less recognition of the ROC as a state by other states in the international society. Confronted with this kind of predicament, the KMT government was forced to shift its emphasis to localisation in Taiwan. This trend of localisation, reflecting on the KMT's policies in education, culture and politics, is especially obvious from the 1980s onward.

5.5.5 Identity Issues in Taiwan in the 1990s

In recent years, identity issues in Taiwan have been extremely confused and in urgent need to be clarified, owing to the direct confrontation with China (the PRC) in international society.

1 Cultural Reconstruction (1977- the present)

1. The background:

In Taiwan, the trend toward democratisation in the 1980s after the waning of its Cold War with mainland China spawned, among other things, a resurgence in Taiwanese ethnic consciousness. This resurgence could be seen as inevitable, given the brutal suppression of Taiwanese language and ethnic expression that was part of the KMT's marginalisation of Taiwan from the early post-war onwards, perhaps doubly so given the fact that indigenous Taiwanese still made up a large majority of the population, the remainder being composed of mainlanders (see 2.4.1 for statistics on the composition of the population). However, democratisation was actually well under way before the collapse of the Eastern bloc. Expelled from the United Nations and facing increased diplomatic isolation in the late 1970s (see 2.4.4), Taiwan under then President Chiang Ching-kou embarked on a path of free-market, export-oriented economic development which coincided with the growth of other industrialising countries of Asia. Economic progress enabled Taiwan to steer away from Cold War confrontational politics that viewed security as a prime objective of national policy. Commercialisation of the economy filtered into society as a whole and transformed the conservatism of a previous era of cultural renaissance into an atmosphere centred on modernisation. Against the background of these rapid developments, culture became increasingly viewed in less 'political' light and more as an object of consumption in a free-market economy.

The era of cultural reconstruction was thus part of this overall trend toward economic and political reform. Diplomatic isolationism then ironically forced the KMT to indigenise the scope of Nationalist politics by grounding it within a more pragmatic Taiwan-centred framework. Moreover, Chiang Ching-kou, unlike his father Chiang Kai-shek, repeatedly emphasised that he was Taiwanese and tried to defuse the ethnic dualism between mainlanders and Taiwanese. His choice of Lee Teng-hui, a native Taiwanese, to succeed him underscored his objective of localising the state apparatus while at the same time

(sacred) aura of culture as a precondition for making it a tangible entity accessible to all citizens.

2 Identity Ambiguity

Nowadays in Taiwan, cultural identity, national identity and state identity are all blurred and full of ambiguity in confrontation with Chinese culture, Chinese, and the PRC. The following discussion will tackle this issue in terms of the cultural, national, and state levels.

As mentioned earlier, Taiwan is always influenced by Chinese culture because of the ethnic and geographic ties with it. Especially after the KMT retreated to Taiwan, the Taiwanese were depreciated as the majority dominated and Taiwanese culture marginalised as an inferior dialectic culture subordinate to Chinese culture. Even though the local sense is rising now, different opinions are still being debated. Lee (1993) argues that Taiwanese culture is forming an 'autonomous cultural system'³, and in terms of the elements it accumulated from the aboriginal culture (e.g. respects for nature and spirits, humility, optimism and innocence, and co-operation), Han's immigrants' spirit (including adventurism, amity and mutual help, and romanticism), Japanese influence (e.g. reasonableness, law-obedience and law-governing), and western influence after World War Two (such as democracy, freedom, rationalism, and scientific reasoning), the contents of the culture in Taiwan are actually different from Chinese culture. However, because of the KMT's inculcation for nearly fifty years, the concept that Taiwanese culture is also Chinese culture still haunts (P'eng, 1993). Regarding the ambiguity about national identity, as what is described in 2.4.2, the identities with being Taiwanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese-Chinese co-exist in Taiwan nowadays.

³ According to Lee(1993), an autonomous cultural system is an individual cultural system which is self-supporting and maintaining. Internally it has complete organisations and systems; externally it has distinctive features to categorise itself from other cultures. Besides, it also has the functions of self-correction and self-adaption.

The issue of state identity is more complicated because of the foreign forces (the PRC) are also interfering. In the interior of Taiwan, two major stances characterise the current discourse of state identity. The first is the ROC's conservative stance 'one China'. The KMT claims it is the sole legitimate government of China but for the time being, it has jurisdiction over Taiwan, Penghu (the Pescadores), Kinmen, and Matsu (the ROC in Taiwan). The second stance is represented by the political dissidents' slogan 'one China, one Taiwan', which signifies the call for Taiwan independence. However, concerning which stance to choose, it does not totally lie in Taiwanese people's hand to decide because of the PRC's interference. The intentions of the PRC are clear. First, it wants Taiwan to identify with it and acknowledge that the PRC is indeed China. This would provide a justification for Beijing's refusal to recognise that China is a divided country or that the ROC government has *de facto* sovereignty, not to mention its decrying that those who speak up for Taiwan independence are sinners for 'splitting the Chinese nation'. It claims that the ROC is already a part of history and therefore has no meaning in domestic or international law, and that Taiwan, as a province of China, cannot pass itself off as a country.

The factors of Chinese culture, Chinese, and China account for cultural, national, and state identity ambiguity in Taiwan. In the light of these ambiguities, Lee (1993) suggests that Taiwanese cultural, national, and state identities, which centre on Taiwanese culture as an individual system, Taiwanese people as a nation, and Taiwan as a state, should be established at the same time. Nevertheless the truth is that partly because of constraints from the PRC and mostly because the ROC's insistence on the name of China and Chinese culture, there is a divergence between what is said and is intended. Take President Lee's inauguration speech in 1996 for example. President Lee points out clearly that we should aim at creating a culture which combines local Taiwanese culture, traditional Chinese culture and Western cultures. In my opinion, this new culture is in nature unique Taiwanese culture; however, President calls it 'new Chinese culture'.

On the one hand, Western cultures help Taiwan to create a new culture which is able to distinguish itself from Chinese culture. However, on the other hand, if we refer back to what was discussed in Chapter 3, the clash between the East and the West cultures, and the arguments of protecting traditional culture (be it Chinese culture or Taiwanese culture), President Lee's policies are challenged: will Taiwanese people lose their own cultural identity in confrontation with a more powerful western cultures? Although the example of Singapore shows that it is possible for a periphery country to create a culture of their own style under the influence of English and western cultures, the worry is still lingering in Taiwan. Seen in different dimensions, the issue of absorbing western culture becomes desirable and undesirable simultaneously. This is the dilemma which Taiwan is facing now. In addition, the argument to create new culture by combining native Taiwanese culture, traditional Chinese culture and Western culture poses another problem. Could it be possible that Western culture over-rides the other two cultures which are, comparatively, more native to us Taiwanese? Without careful consideration, the result might come out as what Dumont (1986:26) said: 'We think of combining the old with the new, and actually we just manage to pervert both.'

In the governmental version, national identity (Taiwanese) was constructed centring on the sense of Chineseness. However, referring to Smith (1983), national sentiment, aspiration and sense of belonging to a society is, in my own opinion, a more important element to form national identity. Therefore, I would like to say that the three main components that Carrington and Short (1995:221) pointed out to be the constituting elements of nation are more specific and fundamental:

The first assumes the existence of a distinctive group of people defined in terms of tangible characteristics such as language, religion, cultural practices or physical/behaviour traits.... The second is predicated upon the assumption that these groups occupy or lay claim to a distinctive territory or place. Finally, it is held that a 'mystical bond' is foster between people and place to form an 'immutable whole': the nation.

Hereupon, my ideal definition of Taiwanese national identity is as follows:

1. a strong inclination to be devoted to the land of Taiwan and to the benefit of people in Taiwan,
2. a strong sense of being a Taiwanese (I am a Taiwanese rather than Chinese.), and
3. attachment to current Taiwanese culture (formed after a four-hundred-year cultural transplantation from China, plus absorbing foreign cultures, e.g. Spanish and Dutch, Japanese and more recently, American, plus aboriginal culture). (Here culture refers to lived culture rather than constructed high culture.)

5.6 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the concept of identity at the ego level and the group level. Then the focus turned to the three collective identities: cultural identity, national identity, and state identity. It was argued that although the forming elements of the three conceptions of culture, nation, and state are not exactly the same, the encompassing character of 'one being the constituting part of another' always makes the relations of the three identities complicated and liable to be utilised for political reasons. Next, the construction of cultural, national and state identities through Chinese culture by the KMT was presented and the identity crisis nowadays in Taiwan caused by the misleading identity construction discussed.

From the literature, we know that identities based on taking Taiwan as the target being identified with always lacked or were obscure in the history of Taiwan. Now the local Taiwanese identity is rising and the common feeling has been achieved among the general public that Taiwan, no matter what title it is given, is by no means just a part added to the territory of China or to the category of Chinese culture. Discarding the political

arguments, we can say that Taiwanese is a nation and Taiwan is qualified as a state in the world.

From the analysis of identity problems Taiwan confronted nowadays, we know that culture elements are a basic and crucial factor to cultural, national and state identities and the government has been always endeavouring to use cultural elements to shape the desired identities. It was shown in Chapter 3 that the current governmental policies to create a new Chinese culture by resorting to elements in three cultures: traditional Chinese, native Taiwanese and the West. Chapter 4 indicated that Cultural Studies might be a motivator at the socio-cultural level, when the need of creating new cultural identity is considered. And this chapter reveals that effort has been made to create new identity by integrating Western cultures. In terms of this, Culture Studies can be part of that contribution to integrate the West. Therefore it is important then to understand how the young generation perceive their own and foreign cultures and to investigate what English education, being an important source to the school children to contact foreign cultures, can help to achieve this goal. As a result, after looking at the issue of Taiwanese identity in terms of the theoretical level, I will turn to investigate it on an empirical basis in the following chapters. Chapter 6 focuses on description of how research instruments were developed and how data were collected in the fieldwork. Chapters 7 and 8 analyse the data collected, the former on the basis of a questionnaire survey, and the latter on the basis of a small-scale experiment conducted in a junior-high-school English classroom.

Chapter 6 Fieldwork Design, Development, and Administration

Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the aims of the study are to find out if Culture Studies can be a motivator for pupils to learn English and at the same time contribute to construct a new identity in the part of pupils. Accordingly, the research questions in the study are as follows:

1. *What is the current situation of junior high school English:*
 - A. the current textbooks (the amount of cultural elements, the cultural topics covered);
 - B. if English teachers mention cultural topics in the English class;

2. *What are the junior high school English teachers' and pupils' attitudes and opinions towards Culture Studies, that is,*
 - B. if the junior high school English teachers think they should teach Culture Studies, and if they do,
 - a1. what country should be taught;
 - a2. what cultural aspects should be taught;

 - B. the junior high school pupils' desire to learn cultures of English countries, and if they do,
 - b1. what target country do they wish to know about;
 - b2. what aspects of cultures do they wish to know about;
 - b3. in which ways do they like to learn Culture Studies;

3. *What is the status of Taiwan's junior high school pupils' motivation to learn English:*
 - C. their motivation to learn English at present;
 - D. the possible effects that Culture Studies have on their motivation;
 - E. if there is change or not after they experience Culture Studies in English class;

4. *What is the status of Taiwanese junior high school pupils' own cultural identity:*
 - D. their own cultural identity at present;
 - E. the possible effects that Culture Studies have on their own cultural identity;
 - F. if there is change or not after they have Culture Studies in English class;

5. *What are the inter-relationships among pupils' motivation to learn English, own cultural identity and the extent to which pupils like to have Culture Studies in their English class?*
 - E. Do pupils with higher motivation to learn English like to learn Culture Studies more, and vice versa?
 - F. Do pupils with stronger cultural identity less like to learn Culture Studies, and vice versa?

In Chapter 1, the situation of some pupils' low motivation to learn English in Taiwan's junior high schools was described and the adding of cultural elements in English class suggested as a possible cure to it. In chapter 3, I presented the contrastive attitudes existing in core English-speaking and periphery English-speaking countries about teaching target language cultures in foreign language education, when the issue of cultural identity is in question. Chapter 4 and chapter 5 reviewed theories and research in the fields of FL/SL motivation and of identity at the cultural, national and state levels. Through the literature review, I argued that presented in an appropriate way which is suitable for the individual context of foreign language teaching/learning in Taiwan, Culture Studies would have positive influence on both the junior high school pupils' motivation and cultural identity. In this chapter, the focus

will turn to a field investigation in order to test empirically the argument mentioned above and answers for the research questions.

6.1 The Procedure of the Fieldwork

The aims of the field study were two-fold: first, to obtain a general idea of the regarding pupils' motivation to learn English and own cultural identity, and attitudes towards Culture Studies; and secondly, to have a close look at the junior high school pupils' response and changes in their motivation and cultural identity after encountering a foreign culture in the English classroom. In light of the fact that the junior high school pupils in Taiwan did not have experience concerning learning Culture Studies in English, it was necessary to conduct the course of Culture Studies in English class in a junior high school to investigate if there would be any change in pupils' motivation and own cultural identity. As a result, the study was divided into two parts: first, the survey research and secondly, the teaching experiment.

Before starting the discussion of the two parts of research, it is important to signify that the choice of these quantitative approaches is not because they are positively right to measure pupils' motivation and identity, but because of constraint from the environment where the research took place.

6.1.1 The Survey Research

Typically, surveys gather data at a particular point in time. As Cohen and Manion (1994:83) mention, the purposes of a survey intend to:

1. describe the nature of existing conditions, or
2. identify standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or
3. determine the relationships that exist between specific events.

Accordingly, in this study, a survey research was employed aiming at gathering data needed to analyse the research questions 1 to 4. It was hoped that, through a survey, a clear picture would come out which depicted, on the one hand, the situation of English teaching, pupils' motivation to learn English and own cultural identity at present and, on the other hand, the inter-relationship among Culture Studies, motivation and cultural identity, e.g., what kind of pupils were more interested in Culture Studies, those with high motivation or low motivation; were pupils who identified with own culture strongly less willing to learn Culture Studies; and what kind of Culture Studies do English teachers and pupils in junior high schools like, e.g., what country and what aspects of cultures to be taught/learned? Furthermore, the results generated from the data could serve as a reference for: (1) the English teachers who plan to or already incorporate cultural elements in their teaching, and (2) the education authorities who are planning to implement multi-cultural and multi-lingual education in Taiwan.

There are several types of data collection by survey, e.g., questionnaire, interview, observational and test data. The type of data collection used in the main study is a questionnaire. Sections 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 will provide detailed description of the survey conducted in this study.

6.1.2 The Experimental Research

The second part of the field study is more like experimental research in terms of the method used. Wiersma (1986:101) indicated that:

... a basic concept from the broad usage of experiment is retained; that is, something is tried—one or more independent variables are manipulated to determine the effects.

In this study, the manipulated variable, that is, experimental variable, is the conducting of Culture Studies in English class and the effects to be studied are the changes in pupils motivation to learn English and in their own cultural identity. Further discussion of the experiment design is to be illustrated in Sections 6.2 and 6.5.

This part of the research aimed at studying the pupils' reaction to Culture Studies in English more deeply. Owing to the fact that there was no Culture Studies in English at the Standard Curriculum level, the subjects of the junior high school survey research would be asked something that they did not have experience of. The experimental part of the research therefore attempted to approach the issues from a different angle by giving pupils some experience of Culture studies and analysing their response.

Thus, two different research methods were employed in the study: survey and experimental research. The survey method assisted the researcher to gather large amounts of information from the research population and the experimental method provided a way to understand the possible effects that would result from conducting the course Culture Studies in junior high school English. These approaches complemented each other in the study, enabling the researcher to gain a fuller picture of the phenomena under investigation.

6.1.3 The Research Schedule

The techniques used to collect the data were:

1. questionnaires and attitude scales for both teachers and pupils for the first part of field study, and
2. teaching Culture Studies in English class in a junior high school for the second part of field study, with questionnaires and attitude scales before and after the experiment.

In terms of the techniques used for data gathering, there was a need, on the one hand, for instruments that would be appropriate to ascertain opinions of the English teachers and pupils in question and to measure pupils' motivation to learn English and their own cultural identity in the context of Taiwan. And on the other hand, it was necessary to have proper materials for teaching Culture Studies. In regard to the instruments, owing to the complexity of the study, which cover three topics: Culture Studies in English, motivation and cultural identity, it was difficult to find any ready-made instruments that are adequate for the purpose of the study. Therefore I decided to devise tailor-made instruments for this study. Concerning the teaching of Culture Studies, in light of the fact that there was no same or similar course in the subject of junior-high-school English in Taiwan, it was necessary to design materials for teaching.

The design, development and implementation of these instruments and teaching materials for data collection are the main points of this chapter. I will describe them in two parts: part 1 for questionnaires and attitude scales, and part 2 for teaching materials. In regard to part 1, firstly, an account will be presented to explain the formation of the instruments used: questionnaires and attitude scales, and secondly, I will give the sequence of the procedures that were followed to implement the instruments and administer them. In regard to part 2, the process of designing materials for Culture Studies in English class and then the procedures of carrying out the course in Taiwan are to be presented. The following tables provide a process of these steps in brief.

Table 6.1: Instruments Design and Implementation of the Survey Research

Stage 1: Designing questionnaires and attitude scales	
Teachers'	Pupils'
1. Adapting the questionnaire from Abu Jalalah (1993)	1. Adapting the questionnaire from Abu Jalalah (1993) Adapting motivation scales from Gardner (1985b) Adapting identity scales from Ghuman (1995)
2. Designing the questionnaire	2. Designing the questionnaire
3. Translating the questionnaire into Chinese.	3. Translating the questionnaire into Chinese.
Stage 2: Administration	
Teachers	Pupils
1. Pilot questionnaires on male and female English teachers in junior high schools.	1. Pilot questionnaires, attitude scales, and identity scales on male and female pupils in junior high schools.
Stage 2: Administration	
Teachers	Pupils
2. Modify questionnaire.	2. Modify questionnaires and scales.
3. Administer questionnaires to junior high school English teachers.	3. Administer questionnaires and scales to junior high school pupils.
4. Test reliability of questionnaires	4. Test reliability of questionnaires
5. Test validity of questionnaires	5. Test validity of questionnaires

Table 6.2: Instruments Design and Implementation of the Experimental Research

Stage 1: Designing teaching materials
1. Choosing topics of culture in accordance to the English teachers' and pupils' opinions collected from questionnaire piloting
2. Designing materials, making reference to German textbooks and English course books for teaching English culture
3. Collecting teaching aids, e.g., slides, British secondary school pamphlets, teenagers' magazines,...
Stage 2: Implementation
1. Contact a junior high school.
2. Get permission to do the experimental teaching.
3. Conducting motivation and cultural identity scales on the class of pupils to be taught two weeks before the teaching started.

Stage 2: Implementation
4. Teaching.
5. Conducting motivation & cultural identity scales and questionnaires on the same class of pupils two weeks after the teaching finished.

6.2 Design of Questionnaires, Attitude Scales, and Teaching Materials

The discussion of stage one is divided into two parts: part one for questionnaires, attitude scales used in survey and part two for materials used in teaching.

6.2.1 Part One: Questionnaires and Attitude Scales

Questionnaires and attitude scales were designed on the basis of adapting questionnaires and scales which have been empirically used in other research, with modification in order to make them match up with the individual context of Taiwan.

1 Questionnaires

Because of the distance between England and Taiwan and time and money pressure, I was not able to conduct free-style, exploratory interviews or open-ended questionnaires in Taiwan to get the possible answer-categories for the questionnaires. As a result, I resorted to Abu Jalalah's (1993) questionnaires which were aimed at investigating secondary school teachers' and pupils' opinions towards English as a foreign language with its cultural content in the Gulf states, in general, with special reference to Qatar. A letter was sent to Mrs. Abu Jalalah to ask permission of questionnaire adaptation and it was allowed.

1 Pupils' Questionnaires

The questions listed in the pupils' questionnaires are as follows in order:

1. the pupils' ideas about the amount of cultural elements presented in the current English textbooks and what aspects of culture are included,
2. if the pupils' English teachers teach English in relation to its cultures,
3. through what channels pupils get their knowledge about English speaking countries,
4. would the pupils like to know more about English speaking countries through their English class, and if so, what country and what cultural aspects would they like to know and in what ways would they like to know.

Questions 1, 3 and 4 and their answer-categories were based on those of Abu-Jalalah's (1993) questionnaire. However, because of the different cultural backgrounds between Qatar and Taiwan, some items were modified to make them fit to the context of Taiwan. For example, in the question asking what cultural aspects pupils would like to know, the answer relating to gender differences and religion were deleted because in Taiwan gender equality and religious freedom are generally recognised, these two cultural aspects are less likely to interest Taiwanese pupils.

All the questions are closed questions because they are easier for the pupils to answer. Nevertheless, to avoid the pupils feeling that the choice of answers fails to do justice to their own ideas, an 'Other (please specify)' category was added at the end. In addition, for fear that the pupils may not understand what the term 'Culture Studies'

referred to, another expression 'the situation in English speaking countries' was used to replace Culture Studies.

2 English Teachers' Questionnaires

In addition to the pupils' opinions, the opinions from English teachers were also asked. It was hoped that through the point of view of the English teachers, some contrasts and comparisons can be made in relation to the pupils' self measured motivation and cultural identity. Also the differences between the English teachers and the pupils in regard to their opinion about Culture Studies, e.g., what country and what aspects of cultures should be included are of great interest.

The teachers' questionnaires included questions arranged in order as follows:

1. English teachers' opinions about the English textbooks, e.g., the amount of cultural elements included and the cultural aspects covered,
2. their concepts of Culture Studies and through what channel do they acquire these concepts,
3. their attitudes towards Culture Studies in the English class, i.e., do they think English teachers should teach culture of English speaking countries and if they do, what country and what aspects of cultures should be taught, and
4. do they teach their pupils some aspects of cultures of English speaking countries, and if they do, what aspects do they teach and what difficulties do they have?
5. their assessment of: (a) their pupils' motivation to learn English, (b) the pupils' own cultural identity, (c) the influence that Culture Studies have on the pupils'

motivation to learn English, and (d) the influences that Culture Studies have on the pupils' cultural identity.

Questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 were closed questions with the exception of the question asking English teachers' concepts of Culture Studies which were in the form of an open question. Question 5 was presented as a lot of statements to which the respondents were asked to locate their answer in the answer categories running from 'strongly agree' to 'agree', 'uncertain', 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' (Likert scales).

3 The Motivation Scale for the Pupils

In order to measure the pupils' motivation to learn English at present, it was necessary to devise an appropriate scale. The motivation scale for pupils used in this study is mainly based on Gardner's (1985b) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), which has been developed to assess the major affective components shown to be involved in second language learning for the Canadian context and for English-speaking Canadians learning French in elementary and secondary school. It has also been used and validated in other contexts. In his socio-educational model, Gardner used the AMTB to define four major clusters:

1. integrativeness (represented by the sum of three sub-scales in AMTB: integrative orientation, attitudes toward French Canadians, interest in foreign languages,
2. attitudes towards the learning situation (represented by the sum of two sub-scales in AMTB: French teacher evaluation and French course evaluation),
3. motivation (represented by three sub-scales in AMTB: motivational intensity, desire to learn French, and attitudes toward learning French), and

4. language anxiety, which is the sum of French class anxiety and French use anxiety.

Making reference to Young (1994; see 4.4.2) who approaches motivation in foreign language learning in terms of the states of the individual (orientational, attitudinal and motivational) and the motivation process (need, goal, desire, and effort), the first three clusters were chosen to constitute the scale to be used in the study. The last cluster, language anxiety, was deleted because it was irrelevant to the research questions. In addition, the sub-scale which measures instrumental orientation were included in the light of the fact that it was assumed that instrumental orientation is an important reason for the junior high school pupils in Taiwan to learn English. Furthermore, in order to make it fit the specific context of Taiwan, the MATB was slightly modified. For instance, the term "English" was substituted for "French".

Thus, the AMBT was re-organised into three subscales according to Young's (Ibid.) definition of motivation:

1. *the orientational state*: including integrative orientations and instrumental orientations,
2. *the attitudinal state*: including attitudes towards English speaking people, learning foreign languages, English instructors and English course, and
3. *the motivational state*: including attitude towards learning English, motivational intensity (effort) and desire to learn English.

The initial content of the scale included an items pool of 35 statement items which were constructed according to the method of the Likert procedure, that is, the respondents were asked to place themselves on the attitude continuum for each statement ranging from 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'uncertain', 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' (see appendix 4).

4 The Cultural Identity Scale for the Pupils

In this study, pupils' cultural identity was assessed by the cultural identity scale which owes its origins to the existing acculturation scales (Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb, and Myers, 1994; Ghuman, 1995).

Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb and Myers' cultural identity scale, which is used to assess bicultural identity of American Latino/a adolescents, included the sub-scales shown as follows:

1. language subscales (four items for Spanish proficiency, four items for Spanish language preference, and three items for English proficiency),
2. behaviour/familiarity scales (four items for familiarity with American culture, four items for familiarity with Latino/a culture, four items for Latino/a activism and three items for preferred Latino/a affiliation), and
3. value/attitudes scales (three items for perceived discrimination, three items for "respeto" and three items for feminism).

As Felix-Ortiz *et al.* (Ibid.) point out, the scale attempts to identify a multidimensional construct of cultural identity that effectively assesses bicultural, as well as monocultural orientations on several dimensions. Specifically, this instrument assesses the individual's sense of familiarity with both American and Latino/a cultures. The measure of cultural identity also incorporates a specific measure of Latino/a values/attitudes in addition to language and behavioural indicators of cultural identity.

Ghuman's (1995) acculturation scale was designed for exploring the attitudes of Indo-Canadian adolescents to their home culture and Canadian culture respectively.

The attitudes were measured by criteria of the following domains: cultural values, customs and social practices.

The cultural identity scale to be used in the study was developed on the basis of the acculturation scales mentioned above, with proper change to be adapted to the context in Taiwan. For example the language scale in Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb, and Myers' acculturation scale was not included because in Taiwan Mandarin was the language used widely in the society and it would be of no point to ask Taiwanese pupils whether they prefer to speak Mandarin or English.

There were two subscales in the cultural identity scale: cultural values scale and behaviour (practice) scale. The subscale of cultural values included Taiwanese cultural values like obedience to parents, respect for teacher and the old, generosity, and thriftiness (summarised from Sinorama, 1991). The behaviour scale was made up of items which measured the pupils' preference for western food, having an English name, and the like. These behaviours are often referred to by criticisms which criticise the young generation's westernisation (Lao, 1995; The United News, April 29th, 1996). The initial scale had an item pool of 30 items which were constructed in Likert style (see Appendix 5).

6.2.2 Part Two: The Teaching Material Design

The design of teaching materials for Culture Studies was carried out after the questionnaire pilot study. The three topics, British festivals and holiday, school life in a British secondary school and British teenagers, were chosen in reference to the result obtained from the pilot study in regard to the cultural aspects that the pupils and English teachers preferred. Appendices 6 and 7 show the course outline and the three units to be used in experimental teaching. The course was designed according to the principle of comparison and contrast (Byram, Morgan *et. al.*, 1994) between the target language culture and the pupils' own native culture. In the practices following the

contexts in every section, the pupils were supplied with the chance to think about their own situations in relation to what was presented in the materials. In light of the fact that the course aimed at introducing the cultural aspects of an English speaking country (Britain), grammar teaching, the traditional way of teaching English in Taiwan's schools, was given minor emphasis.

In England, the programme was sent to Ms S. Duffy , who is an experienced French teacher, to check its appropriateness concerning description of British culture. And in Taiwan, it was discussed with two English teachers, Ms Lin, Mey-Chih in Shih-Yu Junior High School and Ms Hsu, Chung-Wen in Tung-Hu Junior High School in regard to its difficulty and clarity of the content. Amendments to the vocabulary and grammar of the teaching programme were made according to these two teachers' opinions. The final version of teaching materials were presented in English.

6.3 Questionnaire Translation and Pilot Study

In this section, the procedures of questionnaire translation and pilot study will be described. Then detailed contents of both English teachers' and pupils' questionnaires, pupils' motivation scale and cultural identity scale will be discussed.

6.3.1 Translation

Both pupils' and English teachers' questionnaire, the motivation scale and the cultural identity scale were translated into Chinese by the writer. Some items in the motivation scale were deleted because of difficulties in translating them appropriately to Chinese. In the cultural identity scale, the term 'the elder' refers to generations of the pupils' parents or grandparents.

Both Chinese and English versions of the questionnaires, the motivation scale and the cultural identity scale were sent to Taiwanese students at the University of Durham to

make sure that the Chinese version expressed exactly what was expressed in the English version.

6.3.2 Pilot Study

After being translated from English to Chinese, both teachers' and pupils' questionnaires were posted to Taiwan for pilot study in the middle of October, 1995. The questionnaires were sent separately to two English teachers in two junior high school, Tung-Hu, a public junior high school in Taipei City and Shih-Yu, a private junior high school in Taipei County. Through them, the questionnaires were distributed to twenty English teachers (ten in each school) and fifty pupils (twenty-five in each school) to fill in. The motivation scale and cultural identity scale were enclosed together with pupils' questionnaires. A letter was enclosed which listed the following things to be piloted:

1. question wording: is it unambiguous, understandable?
2. layout: is it tidy and easy to be read?
3. instruction of every item: is it clear enough for teachers and pupils to understand it? and
4. time needed to complete the questionnaires.

The questionnaires were sent back around mid-November, 1995.

6.3.3 Modification and the Contents of Questionnaires

1 Questionnaire Modification

At this stage, modification of both pupils' and teachers' questionnaires, the motivation scale and the cultural identity scale was limited to the issues mentioned in section 6.3.2. In regard to testing reliability and validity of the motivation scale and cultural identity scale, it was postponed till the real administration of questionnaire

was finished in that the sample acquired in pilot study was not enough for test reliability and validity of attitude scales (usually 100 to 150 respondents for scaling purpose).

Some modification was made regarding the layout (e.g., the brackets for coding was changed from typing to hand writing), and instruction (e.g., the item where a single answer was required, the term 'single answer' blackened and enlarged). The time needed for the pupil respondents to complete the questionnaires was reported as 20-30 minutes, which was within the acceptable length for questionnaire completion. Accordingly, the item pool in both motivation scale and cultural identity scale were kept in the final version of questionnaire without any deletion. In regard to teachers' questionnaire, an average of 15 minutes was needed to finish fill-in.

2 The Content of Questionnaires

1 Pupils' Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of seven pages (Appendix 8) and was divided into:

- (1) A cover page which explained the aims of the questionnaire and indicated the importance of the pupils' opinions to help the people in the academic field and educational field to understand the current situation of English learning in Taiwan's junior high schools. In case the pupils should take it as a kind of exam and try to give "right" answers, special emphasis was given to tell the respondents to choose the answer which could really express their individual opinions. Pupils were also assured that their answers would be treated confidentially and would not be used for any purposes other than the present study.

- (2) Part 1, the personal data which aimed at collecting data about the type of pupils answering the questionnaire. It included basic detail about the pupils, such as gender, grade, school (private or public) and school location. It also covered some details about pupils' parents, e.g., their English ability and if they ever talked about speaking English to their children. Pupils were also asked about their experience of visiting English speaking countries. For example, if they had ever been to any English speaking country? If they had, what country had they been to, for what purpose and how long was their duration? The aim of these questions was to find out the different variables that might affect the pupils' answers to the research questions.
- (3) Part 2, the questionnaire itself which consisted of eight questions.

The first two questions were about the English textbooks. In question 1, the respondents were asked to choose among four answer categories to express how much they thought the textbooks told them about English speaking countries (1) a great deal, (2) quite a lot, (3) a lot and (4) nothing. Question 2 asked the respondents to tick the cultural items which they thought were included in the English textbooks.

Question 3 intended to find out whether the pupils' English class taught something in relation to the target language culture in addition to language itself. The seventeen answers plus one 'Others (specify)' category were listed: grammar, translation, English songs, pronunciation, vocabulary, education and school in English speaking countries, festivities and customs, family life, living conditions, food and drink, political systems, geography and regions, religion, youth culture, sports, social problems, and arts.

Question 4 aimed at finding out the possible sources from which pupils obtained their knowledge about English speaking countries. Seven sources were presented and pupils were asked to circle the number which could best indicate the extent to which

they learn about English speaking countries via this source (1 = a great deal, 2 = quite a lot, 3 = a little and 4 = nothing). The sources listed were: the mass media, visiting English speaking countries, living in English speaking countries, the English textbooks, reading English books or magazines, English teachers and English native speakers in Taiwan. Pupils were also invited to add any other sources of reference.

Question 5 meant to investigate whether pupils would like to know more about English speaking countries through English class in schools. Five answer categories were offered to the pupils to indicate their response to this question: like very much (scored as 5), like (scored as 4), uncertain (3), dislike (2), strongly dislike (1). Pupils whose answers fell in the last two categories were told to stop here.

Questions 6, 7 and 8 tried to find out the type of Culture Studies the pupils would like. Question 6 asked which English speaking countries were the ones the pupils like to know about. The pupils were given five English speaking countries in the western world: 1 Australia (popular with Taiwanese migrants), 2 America (whose culture circulates widely and is dominant in Taiwan), 3 Britain (where English originated), 4 Canada (a country popular with Taiwanese migrants), and 5 New Zealand (a country popular with Taiwanese migrants).

Question 7 included 18 different cultural aspects that could be incorporated in Culture Studies. The pupils were asked to indicate the extent to which they would like to know this cultural aspect by circling the appropriate number: 1 = like to know a great deal, scored 4; 2 = like to know quite a lot, scored 3; 3 = like to know a little, scored 2; and 4 = do not like to know at all, scored 1. The items included in this question covered various cultural aspects: family life, school life, youth culture, the medical system, and so on.

The purpose of the last question, Question 8, was to know in what ways the pupils would like Culture Studies to be presented. Four ways of presenting Culture Studies

were listed: 1 lecture given by English teachers in class; 2 inviting English native speakers to talk about their culture; 3 visiting foreign people's schools in Taiwan, e.g. Taipei American School; 4 visiting foreign people's community in Taiwan. The pupils were asked to circle the number which could represent their opinion appropriately (1 = like it very much, scored as 4; 2 = like it, scored as 3; 3 = like it a little, scored as 2; 4 = do not like it at all, scored as 1). In this question, the methods listed were all concrete activities which were thought to be understood by pupils. Other methods such as comparing and contrasting the native and the target-language cultures used in the experiment were not included because pupils would not understand alternative methods of which they have little or no experience.

In the last three questions, pupils were also invited to add any other answers which were not listed in the category.

2 Teachers' Questionnaire

This ten-page questionnaire was divided into three parts (Appendix 9).

- (1) A cover page which explained the aims of the study and assured the respondents that the data obtained were to be kept confidential.
- (2) Section 1, the personal data, which contained a set of personal questions, i.e., gender, place of work, years of experience in TEFL, age, educational qualification.
- (3) Section 2, the questionnaire, which comprised ten questions.

The first was an open question which invited the respondents to describe briefly their concepts of Culture Studies in foreign language education.

Question 2 asked through which source the English teachers obtained their concepts of Culture Studies. The answer categories were made up of five sources: (1) publications concerning TEFL; (2) conferences; (3) courses taken in the university; (4) in-service teacher training; (5) other (specify).

Question 3 intended to discover to what extent the English teachers would agree to include Culture Studies in English teaching. Five answer categories were given: 1 = strongly agree (scored 5); 2 = agree (scored 4); 3 = uncertain (scored 3); 4 = disagree (scored 2); 5 = strongly disagree (scored 1). They were also asked to offer their reason(s) for their answer by ticking the answers listed.

Question 4 aimed at finding out whether the respondents told their pupils about cultures in English speaking countries. They were asked to tick the number which could indicate appropriately the amount of cultural elements they taught in class (1 = nothing; 2 = a little; 3 = a lot; 4 = a great deal). Those who choose number 1 were told to go to question 7.

Question 5 asked what cultural aspects the respondents choose to teach culture of English speaking countries. Twelve answer categories plus 'Other (specify)' were listed. The teachers were told to choose as many items as they wanted.

Question 6 tried to understand the difficulties the respondents had when they taught culture of English speaking countries in English class. They were asked first if they had difficulties in teaching foreign cultures and then if they had, what their difficulties were. Four answer categories (deficiency in teaching materials, time constraint, not enough knowledge about cultures of English speaking countries and pupils' lack of interest) plus the item of 'Other (specify)' were listed.

Questions 7, 8, 9 and 10 in the teachers' questionnaire were identical to Questions 1, 2, 6 and 7 in pupils' questionnaires.

- (4) Section 3 which had twenty-three statements aiming at finding out the English teachers' : (a) opinions about their pupils' motivation to learn English and own cultural identity and (b) attitudes towards Culture Studies, e.g., Culture Studies reducing the pupils' loyalty to their own culture, Culture Studies contributing to motivate the pupils to learn English, and so on. The respondents were asked to locate their answers along the continuum: 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = uncertain; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree.

In regard to the motivation scale and cultural identity scale, their complete content is to be presented after the discussion of their reliability and validity.

6.3.4 Scoring: the Motivation Scale and Cultural Identity Scale

The standard procedure for scoring was followed: a numerical mark of 1 was awarded to 'strongly disagree' ; 2 to 'disagree' ; 3 to 'uncertain' ; four to 'agree' and five to 'strongly agree' . In the motivation scale, the scoring of the items expressing negative attitudes towards learning English and negative desire to learn English was reversed. And in the cultural identity scale, as the scale is meant to assess the respondents' identity with own culture, items expressing preference for English cultures were scored in reverse. Any item not answered by the respondent was scored as the numerical mark of 3.

6.4 Questionnaires Distribution and Descriptive Analysis of Personal Data

The focus of discussion in this section are as follows: (1) research population and sampling, (2) questionnaire distribution, (3) reliability of questionnaire, (4) validity of questionnaire, and (5) description of sampling in terms of the respondents' personal data.

6.4.1 Population and Sampling

As this study was aimed at investigating Culture Studies in Taiwan's junior high schools, the writer found it necessary to draw opinions and attitudes from the people relevant in this context. As a result, the population specified for this study was 'junior high school English teachers and pupils'. And because of financial limitation and time constraints, the area to be studied was confined to Taipei City and County. The reasons for choosing this area were as follows:

1. Taipei is the capital area of Taiwan, which constitutes one-fifth of the population of the whole country,
2. usually, people in Taipei City and County are more up-to-date in ideas and they have more chances to contact foreign cultures and people,
3. innovations in administration and in education conducted by the central government usually start from this area, and
4. it is easier for the writer to get access to junior high schools in Taipei City and County because of the private relationship with some teachers in these schools.

The total number of junior-high-school pupils in the academic year 1995/6 was 127,660 for Taipei City and 187,202 for Taipei County (Bureau of Education, Taipei City, statistic report, September, 1996; Bureau of Education, Taipei County, statistic report, September, 1996). In regard to the population of English teachers in junior high schools in Taipei City and County, no official records were found in both Bureaux of Education in Taipei City and Taipei County

1 Sampling

Even though narrowing down the area to be investigated, the large number of the pupil population plus the factor that the present study was conducted by a single researcher without financial support from any institution and with time constraints (only three to four months) resulted in the decision not to sample the population in the rigid procedure for random and stratified sampling. The sampling techniques employed for pupils' and teachers' sampling are introduced as follows respectively.

1 Pupils

The sampling techniques used in collecting data from pupils was convenient sampling which involves 'choosing the nearest individuals to serve as respondents and continuing that process until the required sample size has been obtained' (Cohen and Manion, 1994:88). The schools in the study were selected primarily for reasons related to access: I knew one or two teacher teaching in most of the schools. I got access to the pupil respondents through the help of these teachers and they, in turn, helped to disseminate more questionnaires to other schools.

2 English Teachers

English teachers' sampling was also conducted according to the criterion of convenient sampling. English teachers' questionnaires were distributed by post. The way the list of English teachers to whom the questionnaires were to be sent is to be presented in the section of questionnaire distribution (Section 6.4.2).

Neither of pupils' nor English teachers' sample followed rigid procedures for probability sampling, e.g., random or stratified sampling. Both were conducted according to non-probability sampling, in which the probability of selecting is unknown (Cohen and Manion, 1994). The type of sampling is advantageous because

it is far less complicated to set up and is considerably less expensive. However its non-representativeness limits generalisation of findings to a large population. As a result, caution should be taken in generalising conclusions drawn in this study to the population in question.

2. Sample Size

As Cohen and Manion (1994) say, four factors inform researchers' decisions about sample size prior to the actual research undertaking: (1) the purpose of the study, (2) the nature of population under scrutiny, (3) the number of variables researchers set out to control in their analyses, and (4) the types of statistical tests they wish to make. However they also indicate that 'a sample size of thirty is held by many to be the minimum number of cases if researchers plan to use some form of statistical analysis on their data, though techniques are available for the analysis of samples below thirty' (Ibid.: 89). Gay (cited in Abu Jalalah, 1993), points out that a sample of 10 percent of the population is considered minimum. Accordingly, the sample of pupils in this research should be 47,239. The sample size of English teachers, because of no statistical figures to be referred to, could not be calculated.

Owing to the fact that I was a single researcher without any sponsorship from governmental institutions and financial support, it was impossible to collect so many copies of questionnaires. Therefore it was decided that the size of sample would depend on my personal financial status and time available to collect samples.

6.4.2 Questionnaire Distribution

Pupils' questionnaires were distributed through the English teachers I knew to nine junior high schools in Taipei City and County during March to May, 1996. Most of these questionnaire fill-ins were supervised by the English teachers of the pupils who

completed the questionnaires. I supervised the questionnaire fill-in in Tun-Hua Junior High School through the help of the head teacher who presented me in the class.

Teachers' questionnaires were distributed by post in Taiwan in the middle of April, 1996. There were 130 copies of questionnaires posted in total, among them seventy went to schools located in Taipei City and sixty to schools in Taipei County. For the part of Taipei City, the questionnaires were sent to the English teachers whose names were listed in the pamphlet for the conference of English teaching held by the Taipei Education Bureau in April 8th, 1996. Seventy English teachers from public and private junior high schools in Taipei City were covered. Concerning the part of Taipei County, questionnaires were sent directly to the chairman/woman of the English Teaching Committee in every individual school whose telephone number was listed in the yellow book.

6.4.3 Reliability

Reliability means consistency. Abu Jalalah (1993:238), referring to Slavin, interpreted reliability as 'the degree to which a measure is consistent in producing the reading when measuring the same thing'. Adequate reliability is a precondition to validity.

1. Internal Reliability of Pupils' Motivation Scale

There are several different ways that reliability of an attitude scale may be measured, e.g., test-retest reliability, internal consistency, the split-half method and the parallel-form method. Here the reliability of the motivational scale was measured by the internal consistency method (Cronbach alpha) in that it is based on two or more parts of the test and requires only one administration of the test.

Table 6.3 presents the Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients for each of the nine scales obtained. The Cronbach coefficient alpha assesses the degree of homogeneity of the

items within each scale and indicates the extent to which each scale is internally consistent (Gardner, 1985b).

Table 6.3: Reliability Coefficients for the Motivation Subscales

Subscale	Number of Items	Reliability Coefficients Alpha	Standardised Item Alpha
Orientalional			
1. Inte	4	.82	.8167
2. Inst	3	.67	.6711
Attitudinal			
1. AEP	4	.78	.7851
2. AFL	4	.65	.7098
3. AET	4	.87	.8649
4. AEC	4	.85	.8467
5. ALE	4	.79	.7859
Motivational			
1. MI	4	.73	.7388
2. D	4	.80	.8017

NOTE: Inte = integrative orientations; Inst = instrumental orientations; AEP = attitudes towards English speaking people; AFL = attitudes towards foreign languages; AET = attitudes towards English teachers; AEC = attitudes towards English course; ALE = attitudes towards leaning English; MI = motivational intensity; D = desire to learn English.

In this table, reliability of the measurement is expressed by coefficients alpha. Reliability is never perfect but a matter of degree. Usually correlations of +1.00 would indicate perfect reliability; correlations at or close to 0.00 would indicate no reliability, and correlations at intermediate points between 0.00 and +1.00 would indicate intermediate levels of reliability (Fox, 1969). A correlation coefficient seldom reaches above .90 (Oppenheim, 1992). In Table 6.3, the coefficients ranged from .65 to .87. The reliability coefficient for the total 35 items was found to be .94, comparable to the internal-consistency estimates of .85 reported in the study by Gardner (1985).

Of special interest is the factor analysis which was conducted and how it compared to that reported by Gardner (1985b). Six interpretable factor with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 were identified for the motivation scale in the study; however, application of the scree test (Cattell, cited in Gardner, Ibid.) suggested retaining a four-factor solution, which accounted for 54% of the variance. Table 6.4 shows the result obtained from factor analysis.

Table 6.4: Varimax Rotated Factor of Matrix

Item	Factor Loading			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 1				
1. I really work hard to learn English.	.65			
2. I can't be bothered trying to understand the more complex aspects of English.	.67			
3. When I am studying English, I ignore distractions and stick to the job at hand.	.64			
4. When I have a problem understanding something we are learning in my English class, I always ask the instructor for help.	.48			
5. To be honest, I really have little desire to learn English.	.78			
6. I wish I were fluent in English.	.29			
7. If it were up to me whether or not to take English, I would definitely take it.	.65			
8. I hope there is no English.	.72			
9. I would rather spend my time on courses other than English.	.57			
10. I really enjoy learning English.	.70			
11. Learning English is a waste of time.	.60			
12. I love learning English.	.73			
Factor 2				
1. I feel that my English teacher is competent		.68		
2. My English course is colourful.		.68		
3. I feel that my English teacher is good.		.85		
4. My English course is meaningful.		.70		
5. I feel that my English teacher is patient.		.82		
6. My English course is pleasurable.		.76		
7. I feel that my English teacher is friendly.		.79		

8. My English course is useful.		.52		
Factor Loading				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 3				
1. It will help me to understand the ways of life in English speaking countries.			.50	
2. It will enable me to better understand and appreciate English culture.			.50	
3. It will help me acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook.			.50	
4. I would like to make friends with people from English speaking countries.			.66	
5. I have a favourable attitude towards people in English speaking countries.			.72	
6. If I were visiting a foreign country I would like to be able to speak the language of the people.			.51	
7. The more I learn about the English speaking countries, the more I like them.			.71	
8. I would really like to learn a lot of foreign languages.			.53	
9. I have always admire people in English speaking countries.			.67	
10. I would study a foreign language in school even if it were not required.			.24	
11. I would like to get to know the people in English speaking countries better.			.73	
12. Studying a foreign language is an enjoyable experience.			.49	
Factor 4				
1. I may need it to be admitted to a higher school.				.66
2. It will someday be useful in getting a good job.				.71
3. It will help if I should ever travel.				.64
Eigenvalue:	12.51	2.80	2.67	1.58
% variance explained:	35.8	8.0	6.5	4.5

As a rule of thumb, only variables with loadings of .30 and above are interpreted. The greater the loading, the more the variable is a pure measure of the factor. Loadings in excess of .71 (50% overlapping variance) are considered excellent, .63 (40%

overlapping variance) very good, .55 (30% overlapping variance) good, .45 (20% overlapping variance) fair, and .32 (10% overlapping variance) poor (Tabachnick and Fidell, 1989).

Twelve items from three subscales (four items of Motivational Intensity (MI), four items of Attitudes toward Learning English (ALE) and three items of Desire to Learn English (D)) loaded highly on Factor 1, which was defined as Motivation in Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model. However, on the one hand, one item in D had low loadings on this factor (.29) and on the other, one item of Attitudes toward Foreign Languages (factor loadings of .51) was associated with Motivation.

Factor 2, with high loading from eight items, was best identified as Attitudes toward the Learning Situation. Four measures of the evaluation of the English teacher and four of the English course loaded on this factor.

Factor 3, defined by twelve items, clearly reflects Integrativeness. All three measures of Integrative Orientation (INT), Attitudes toward English speaking people (AEP) and Attitudes toward Foreign Languages (AFL) loaded on this factor. The only exception is the item in the subscale of ALF (with low loadings of .24). Three items loaded highly on Factor 4, which was defined as Instrumental Orientation.

The overlap of the factors between the motivation scale and the AMTB is encouraging since the motivation scale used in the study was based upon the AMTB. The similarity of the motivation scale's interpretable factors with those factors identified for the AMTB proved factorial validity of this scale.

2 Internal Reliability of Pupils' Cultural Identity Scale

Factor analysis was conducted and items with factor loading of .50 below were dropped from the scale. Seventeen items were left which constituted four

interpretable factors: (a) preference for foreign culture (account for 21.1% of the variance), (b) respect (16.6% of the variance), (c) preference for foreign goods and food (8.2%), and (d) generosity (7.0%) (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Varimax Rotated Factor of Matrix

Item	Factor Loading			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
PFC				
1. I like to insert some English words in my conversation with others.	.54			
2. I like to have an English name.	.66			
3. If it is possible, I would like to emigrate to an English speaking country.	.68			
4. I like to make friends with foreigners.	.69			
5. I would like to attend Taipei American School.	.70			
R & T				
1. I will obey what the elder tell me.		.63		
2. I respect my teachers.		.57		
3. I think saving is a good virtue.		.77		
4. I save my pocket money.		.71		
5. It is my duty to take care of my parents when they grow old.		.71		
PFG				
1. I prefer western fast food (e.g., McDonald) than local food.			.58	
2. I like to wear clothes with English letters on them.			.55	
3. I like to use foreign-made products more than Taiwan-made ones.			.74	
4. I like to buy expensive clothes.			.74	
G				
1. I will like to share my things with other people.				.70
2. I like to treat my friends.				.77
3. I always invite friends to my house.				.76
Eigenvalues:	3.58	2.82	1.39	1.91

Factor Loading				
Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
% variance explained:	21.1	16.2	8.2	7.0

NOTE: G = generosity; R & T= respect and thriftiness; PFG = preference to foreign goods and food; PFC = preference to English, foreign countries, people and schools. The four factors explain over 50 per cent of the total variance.

Items for each factor from the factor analysis were grouped into scales and tested for reliability. Table 6.6 presents Cronbach's alpha for the subscales in the cultural identity scale.

The reliability coefficients alpha for the total 17 items is .66., which, although not high, was nevertheless within the acceptable range.

Table 6.6: Reliability Coefficients for the Cultural Identity Subscales

Subscale	Number of Items	Reliability Coefficients Alpha	Standardised Item Alpha
Values			
1. G	3	.67	.6757
2. R & T	5	.73	.7313
Behaviour			
1. PFG	4	.65	.6498
2. PFC	5	.72	.7243

NOTE: G = generosity; R & T= respect and thriftiness; PFG = preference to foreign goods and food; PFC = preference to English, foreign countries, people and schools.

3 Teachers' Questionnaire

The reliability coefficient alpha for the 23 items, which measured teachers' attitudes toward teaching cultures of English-speaking countries in the English classroom, in Part 3 of English teachers' questionnaires was .8865.

6.4.4 Validity

In principle, validity indicates the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed or intended to measure (Cohen and Manion, 1994; Wiersma, 1986). In general, validity can be discussed in two directions: validity of factual questions and validity of attitude questions. In this section, the focus is on the discussion of validity of attitude questions, that is, the motivation scale and the cultural identity scale. There are several ways to measure validity of attitude questions: content validity, predictive validity, and construct validity. In this study, construct validity was chosen to measure validity of the attitude scales.

Construct validity

According Cohen and Manion (1994: 162), construct validity shows 'how well the test links up with a set of theoretical assumptions about an abstract construct such as intelligence, conservatism or neuroticism'. Construct validation can involve both logical and empirical analysis. The term construct refers to the theoretical construct or trait being measured, not the technical construction of the test items. A construct is a postulated attribute or structure that explain some phenomenon, such as an individual's behaviour. Theories of learning, for example, involve constructs such as motivation, intelligence, and anxiety. The construct may be informally conceptualised with only a limited number of propositions, or it may be part or all of a fully developed theory (Wiersma, 1986:292).

Here, I will try to test the validity of pupils' motivation and cultural identity scales by referring to theories about gender differences in motivation to learn languages and cultural identity, and see if the results (boys' and girls' means on the scales) are in accordance with these assumptions.

1 The Construct Validity of Pupils' Motivation Scale

Assumption of gender difference in language learning: girls have more positive attitudes and higher motivation than boys do (Hus, 1988; Clark and Trafford, 1996).

T-test was conducted to compare boys' and girls' means on the three subscales of the motivation scale: the orientational subscale, the attitudinal subscale, and the motivational subscale. The result is listed as Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Boys' and Girls' Mean Scores and S.D. on the Motivation Scale (in terms of three subscales: motivational, attitudinal and orientational)

	Boys	Girls
Number	286	194
The Motivational Scale		
Mean	27.73	28.42
S. D.	5.95	5.65
2-Tail Sig	.203	
The Attitudinal Scale		
Mean	69.13	72.20
S. D.	13.70	13.56
2-Tail Sig	.016	
The Orientational Scale		
Mean	27.85	28.56
S. D.	4.65	4.17
2-Tail Sig	.053	

The girls' mean scores in the three subscales were higher than the boys'. There was significant difference between the girls' and the boys' means on the attitudinal scale at the level of .05. However, there was no significant difference between their means on the motivational and orientational scales. Although the statistical result did not give strong support to the validity of the motivation scale, it is still reasonable to say that the motivation scale has validity because it was adapted from existing tests (the AMBT, Gardner 1985) which had themselves been validated.

2 The Construct Validity of Pupils' Cultural Identity Scale.

Theory: Boys hold slightly more traditional attitudes as compared to girls (Ghuman, 1995).

T-test was used to compare boys' and girls' means on the cultural identity scale (including the cultural value subscale and the cultural practice subscale). Table 6.8 shows the result.

Table 6.8: Boys' and Girls' Means and S. D. on the Cultural Identity Scale

	Boys	Girls
Number	294	184
The Cultural Value Subscale		
Mean	31.24	31.53
S. D.	4.38	3.98
2-Tail Sig	.475	
The Cultural Practice Subscale		
Mean	25.70	25.13
S. D.	6.35	6.17
2-Tail Sig	.330	
The Cultural Identity Scale*		
Mean	56.95	56.65
S. D.	7.25	6.85
2-Tail Sig	.663	

* The cultural identity scale = the cultural value subscale + the cultural practice subscale.

In the cultural value subscale, the girls scored a little bit higher than the boys but 2-tail significance shows that there was no significant difference between the two means. In the cultural practice subscale, the boys' mean was higher than the girls'. However, they were not significantly different. When scores in the two subscales were added up, we know that the boys' mean was higher than the girls', although there was still no

significant difference. In general, although T-test could not prove that there was difference between the boys' and the girls' cultural identity, it is argued that the validity of the cultural identity scale could still be claimed in the light of the fact it was adapted from existing tests (Felix-Ortiz *et al.*, 1994; Ghuman, 1995) which had themselves been validated.

6.4.5 The Characteristics of Samples

This section introduces the characteristics of pupil samples and teacher samples in terms of their personal backgrounds.

1 The Pupil Samples

Five hundred and fifty questionnaires were distributed to male and female pupils in nine junior high schools in Taipei City and County. Five hundred and sixteen copies were returned and after scrutiny, thirty-six were discarded because of uncompleted answering or careless answering (for example, choosing the answer '3' throughout all the motivation scale). As a result, four hundred and eighty questionnaires were valid for data analysis. Table 6.9 lists the schools where the questionnaire was distributed and the number of respondents in every school.

Table 6.9: School Location and the Number of Pupil Respondents

School	Location	Number of Respondents	Level
Tun-Hua	Taipei City	42	public, a top-10 school
Min-Ch'uan	Taipei City	33	public, medium level
Ch'ang-An	Taipei City	31	public, medium level
Ming-Hu	Taipei City	38	public, medium level
Tung-Hu	Taipei City	77	public, medium level
Ch'eng-Cheng	Taipei City	77	public, a bottom-10 school
Tsai-Hsing	Taipei City	93	private,
Shih-Yu	Taipei County	42	private,
Chung-Shan	Taipei County	47	public,
Total		480	

In Taipei City, there are 65 public junior schools and 14 private junior schools (the Education Bureau of Taipei, September, 1996); in Taipei County, there are 63 public junior schools and 3 private junior high schools (the Bureau of Taipei County, September, 1996). Generally speaking, the quality of pupils in private junior high schools is better than those in public junior high schools because many of the private schools in Taiwan select their pupils through examinations.

In the following, a description is given of the independent variables which might be of influence on the analysis and discussion of data. The table below shows the distribution of the respondents in terms of gender, grade, school and school location, parents' backgrounds, and pupils' experience about English-speaking countries.

Table 6.10: The Characteristics of the Pupil Respondents

Characteristics	Category	Frequency	Percentage	Total
Gender	Boys	286	59.6	480
	Girls	194	40.4	
Grade	1	251	52.3	480
	2	229	47.7	
School	public	340	70.8	480
	private	140	29.2	
School Location	Taipei City	381	79.5	479
	Taipei County	98	20.5	
Fathers speak English	Yes	272	57	477
	No	205	43	
Fathers talk about English cultures	Yes	207	43.4	477
	No	270	56.6	
Mothers speak English	Yes	233	48.8	477
	No	244	51.2	
Mothers talk about English culture	Yes	160	33.6	476
	No	316	66.4	
Visiting English-speaking countries	Yes	99	20.7	479
	No	380	79.3	

From Table 6.10, we see that there were 194 female respondents (40.4%) compared to 286 male respondents (59.6). If the ratio (52% : 48%) of boy pupils (66,364) and girl pupils (61,296) in Taipei City is considered, the ratio of the boy and girl respondents reflects generally the actual population to a large extent in which the number of male pupils outnumbered female pupils. Table 6.8 also shows that the sample was made up of 251 (52.3%) grade 1 pupils and 229 (47.7) grade 2 pupils. No grade 3 pupils participated in the investigation because they had very heavy study load resulting from preparing for the entrance examinations. Usually, the school authority and the teachers expressed in advance of questionnaire fill-in that it was not possible to let grade 3 pupils in their schools to participate in the investigation.

Seven out of ten respondents were from junior high schools and three from private junior high schools. Although there are no statistical figures of the pupil numbers in public and private high school to be referred to, the ratio of the pupil respondents in both types of schools could be in proportion to the actual ratio when the fact that there are more public junior high schools than private ones in Taipei City and County is taken into consideration. Concerning school location, the ratio of the respondents from Taipei City and from Taipei County was 4 : 1. Generally, Taipei City is a more urban area compared to Taipei County. However the rural-urban dichotomy is not applicable in this case. Two schools in Taipei County were included in this investigation. One of the two schools (Chung-Shan) were in the county capital, Pan-Ch'iao City and the other (Shih-Yu), although in the rural area of Taipei County, had pupils came mostly from Taipei City. The homogeneity of the samples in term of this may have influence on data analysis.

Questions which investigated information concerning the respondents' parents and their experience with English speaking countries were also asked. Although it was not clear how much the data would be necessary for the analysis and interpretation, it was thought important to get some ideas about the possible variables that might be needed at the advanced stages. The following is a brief description of these data.

Among the 480 informants, more than half of them indicated that their fathers could speak English; while there was also nearly half of them said that their fathers could not speak any English. Two pupils were not sure about their fathers' English ability and one pupil did not reply to this question. As for their mothers, nearly half of the pupils' mothers could speak English, but more than half of them could not. Two pupils were not sure about their mothers' English ability and one pupil did not reply to this question. Two hundred and seven pupils (43.1%) indicated that their fathers had told them about English-speaking countries; while 270 pupils' fathers (56.3%) had not mentioned anything about English-speaking countries. Three pupils did not respond to this question. One hundred and sixty pupils (33.3%) said that their mothers had ever told them about English-speaking countries, but 316 pupils' mothers (65.8%) had never told their children about English-speaking countries. The same, three pupils did not reply this question. One out of four pupils had been to English-speaking countries (e.g., Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, and/or the USA), but the majority, about three quarters, had never been to any one of them.

2 Teacher Samples

Forty-four out of one hundred and thirty questionnaires were returned in total (return rate = 34%). The low return rate may be attributed to failing to send out follow-up letters to the subjects, as a consequence of time constraints, but this is about average for postal questionnaire, as Cohen and Manion (1994) indicate. Table 6.11 shows the characteristics of the English teacher respondents.

From Table 6.11, we find that the male participants were far fewer than female ones (male : female = 1 : 14). This phenomenon could be attributed to the reason that the profession of teaching is traditionally thought to be female job. Most of the teacher respondents were from public junior high schools (public school : private school = 14 : 1) in Taipei City (Taipei City : Taipei County = 2 : 1). Nearly half of the English

teachers were aged between 30-39 with teaching experience of less than ten years (including 10 years). Concerning their education backgrounds, the majority of the English teachers (seven-tenth) graduated from normal universities¹ with bachelor degree (eight out of ten).

Table 6.11: The Characteristics of the English Teacher Respondents

Characteristics	Category	Frequency	Percentage	Total
Gender	male	3	6.8	44
	female	41	93.2	
School	public	41	93.2	44
	private	3	6.8	
School Location	Taipei City	30	68.2	44
	Taipei County	14	31.8	
Years in Teaching	0-5	10	22.7	44
	6-10	11	25.0	
	11-15	9	20.5	
	16-20	7	15.9	
	more than 20	7	15.9	
Age	20-19	7	15.9	44
	30-39	20	45.5	
	40-49	14	31.8	
	50-59	2	4.5	
	60-69	1	2.3	
Education	normal universities	32	72.7	44
	other universities	12	27.3	
Degree	bachelor	34	81.0	42
	Master	8	19.0	

In this section, I have described the procedure of the survey research. Next, the design and implementation of the experimental research will be the focus.

¹ There are three normal universities (the National Taiwan Normal University, the Chung-Hua Educational University, and the Koushiung Normal University) in Taiwan. Students who graduate from the three normal universities are qualified teachers for junior high schools and allocated to public junior high schools. Students who do not graduate from the normal universities have to take extra credits on education-related courses held by the normal universities to be qualified junior high schools teachers. An examination is required to be able to attend the courses.

6.5 The Design and Implementation of the Experimental Research

In this section, the discussion goes to the other type of research which aimed at exploring experimentally the possible influences that Culture Studies in English class have on Taiwan's junior high school pupils' motivation to learn English and their own cultural identity.

6.5.1 The Experiment Design

The experiment undertaken was a kind of the One-Group Pretest-Posttest design which could be represented as:

Experimental O1 X O2

O1 = the dependent variables, (in this case, motivation to learn English/own cultural identity)

X = the experimental manipulation (or treatment), in this case a ten-week project of Culture Studies.

O2 = the dependent variables, (motivation to learn English/own cultural identity after the experimental treatment of Culture Studies)

6.5.2 The Study Hypotheses

The hypotheses to be tested in the research are that:

1. Culture Studies in English class changes junior high school pupils' motivation to learn English, and
2. Culture Studies in English class changes junior high school pupils' own cultural identity.

For Hypothesis 1, the null hypothesis can be stated as follows:

Motivation to learn English of the junior high school pupils remains the same before and after a Culture Studies course.

For Hypothesis 2, the null hypothesis is as follows:

Own cultural identity of the junior high school pupils remains the same before and after a Culture Studies course.

6.5.3 The Research Instruments

The instruments used to measure pupils' motivation to learn English and their own cultural identity were those used in the survey research in this study (Appendices 4 and 5). Their reliability and validity were discussed in Sections 6.4.3 and 6.4.4.

6.5.4. The Context of the Experiment

The context where this experimental teaching was conducted will be introduced in terms of: (1) the school itself, (2) the subjects who were taught, (3) the role of the researcher in the class.

1 The School

In June, 1995, contact was made with the principal of the Private Shih-Yu Junior High School in order to get permission to conduct the experimental teaching in the school. Two reasons accounted for choosing this private school as the experimental school.

1. Private schools enjoy more autonomy than public ones in terms of administrative control imposed from the Bureau of Education. Therefore it was assumed to be easier to get permission from a private school than a public one.

2. This was the school where I used to teach. Understanding the context for the experiment and knowing most of the teachers, especially the English teachers, in this school make it easier to get permission and convenient for negotiation with the administrative staff and teachers if there would be any resistance to the teaching.

The school is a boarding school located in the countryside of Taipei County with a high reputation in Taipei and Keelung areas because of its strict discipline and high rate of the pupils' admittance to the star senior high schools in both Taipei and Keelung areas. The pupils' quality in the school is, generally speaking, higher than the average pupils in public junior high schools in that the school controls its intake of students by means of its own entrance exam.

However, although consent was given, the prerequisite that the experimental teaching should not interfere with the formal English teaching in the school limited the freedom of the experiment. The agreement was achieved between the principal and me that the course was conducted in the period called English Linguistic Training but not in the other eight periods for English class which followed the Standard Curriculum and standardised English textbooks of the Ministry of Education. The duration allowed was two to three months.

2 The Subjects

The subjects were fifty-four Grade 2 pupils (35 boys and 19 girls), belonging to the same class in the school. Ability grouping is adopted in the school and the subject class was in the lower ability grouping. According to the English teacher, this class's English record for mid-terms or final exams always ranked as the last one or two among the five classes of the same ability grouping. (There were four other classes in the higher ability grouping.)

Most of the pupils came from Taipei City and according to their English teacher's description, were more out-going and active than the other class in the same grade. The subjects were told by their English teacher the purpose and nature of the course before it started.

In terms of the fact that the experimental group was not chosen randomly, this condition influences the generalisability as well as internal validity; in addition, ability grouping also endangers external validity (interaction of selection and the experimental treatment X) (Wiersma, 1986). Because of constraints from the experimental context, there was no other alternative to choose to reduce the threat to the validity of the experiment. However, this experiment can be seen as a case study which observed the characteristics of an individual unit (in this case, a class), and an action research, which is a small-scale intervention (the experimental teaching of Culture Studies) the functioning of the real world and a close examination of the effects of such intervention (Cohen and Manion, 1994; Elliott, 1991). The issue of validity will be discussed later in this chapter.

3 The Role of the Researcher

Once being a teacher in the school for two and a half years, I was not a total stranger to the teaching staff. However, to the pupils in Shih-Yu, I was an outsider. This had an effect to some degree on the study itself. The role of a researcher from outside and the teacher for the course 'Culture Studies' had both its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the role enabled me to participate in the classroom activity to make observations, gather and analyse data. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the role, being an outsider to the school context, endangered the validity of the experiment in that the pupils might behave atypically. The presence of myself might be a reminder to the pupils that the course was part of an experiment. In order to conduct the course in a more natural and unobtrusive way, I and the English teacher of the class co-operated as a team to supervise the process of the course. Generally, a

lesson was given by me in the first half of the class and then the following discussion was held by the English teacher, Ms Lin. Because the pupils were not used to other methods, I tried to follow the method the pupils are used to, that is, lectures given by the teacher, to reduce the effect new methods might have rather than new contents.

6.5.5 The Implementation

On March 1st, 1996, the motivation scale and cultural identity scale were administered to the fifty-six subject pupils. And later on March 8th, the ten-week experimental teaching started. The course were conducted once in a week on Friday, with a period of fifty minutes from 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.. The course proceeded in the language lab where the pupils were used to having their Linguistic Training Course.

1 The Contents of the Experimental Course

In principle, the course was taught in reference to the course outline designed for this experimental teaching. The material used for the course was that mentioned in 6.2.2. Two units, rather than the three units originally designed, were presented owing to time constraints. In the first half of the teaching, the topic centred on festivals and holidays in Britain. Two festivals were given special emphasis: Christmas and Easter. It was good timing because the pupils just had their Chinese New Year in February and the spring vacation (during which there was a important festival for Taiwanese: Tomb Sweeping Day) was coming. In the class, lectures were given and discussion held to let the pupils compare the two pairs of festivals in Taiwan and Britain: Chinese New Year vs. Christmas and Tomb Sweeping Day vs. Easter, in terms of their meanings to people in these two countries, the ways they were celebrated, the special food for these festivals, and so on. At the end of this unit, the activity, pancake making, was conducted by the pupils themselves.

The second half of the course introduced school life in Britain. The topics, i.e., a day in school, subjects and examinations, secondary-school pupils' dress and school lunch, were introduced through lectures during this period. Meanwhile, contact had been made with Taipei British School (TBS) in order to organise a cultural exchange between the subject pupils and pupils in TBS. However, the plan was not carried out because of a failure to get further reply from the senior teacher in TBS). Instead, the activity of cultural exchange proceeded by means of sending a collection of the subject pupils' items to Tudhoe Grange Comprehensive School in Spennymoor, England. The pupils were encouraged to choose their own collection of items to be sent and write English letters to the pupils in Tudhoe Grange Comprehensive School. Appendix 10 contains a detailed description of the lessons and activities conducted.

The course ended on May 24th, 1996. Discounting the two weeks in which the pupils had mid-term exam, the experimental teaching lasted for nine weeks. The post-test was administered after the course finished, with an interval of two months. At the same time, a short questionnaire was distributed to the subject pupils.

6.5.6 Validity and Significance of this Experiment

Thus far in my discussion of this experimental culture teaching, I have concentrated on the methodology only and have said little about the substance of it. In this section, discussion will focus on the threats that jeopardise the validity of this experiment and the significance of this experimental culture teaching.

In Campbell and Stanley (1963) the One-Group Pretest-Posttest design was introduced as a 'bad example' to illustrate several of the confounded extraneous variables that can jeopardise internal validity of the experiment. Aware of the weakness of the One-Group Pretest-Posttest design, I still conducted the experiment in this way owing to many practical constraints from the school under study, e.g., no possibility to find another class of equal ability as the control group because of the

principal's disagreement. Because of the weakness of the research design, there were many extraneous reasons which may interact with the experimental treatment (Culture Studies) to affect the validity of this research, caution should be taken in data analysis and generalisation.

1 Internal and External Threats to Experimental Validity

According to Campbell and Stanley (1963), experimental validity is considered in two dimensions: internal validity and external validity. Internal validity is the basic minimum of control, measurement, analysis, and procedures necessary to make the results of the experiment interpretable; while external validity refers to the degree to which generalisation can be made from the particular experimental conditions to other population or settings. Table 6.12 shows the threats that Campbell and Stanley (Ibid.) indicated to be determinant to the validity of the One-Group Pretest-Posttest Design.

In the case of this experiment, the following threats should be taken into considered:

1. As mentioned earlier, because of constraints from the experimental context, there was no control group in this experimental research.
2. Because the pupils were ability-grouped in Shih-Yu Junior High School, the external validity of this experiment was endangered (the external threat, interaction of selection and the experimental treatment X).
3. The subjects were told that they would participate in an experiment before the experiment started (the external threat, reactive effects of experimental arrangements, that is, the Hawthorne effect).

4. The effect of pre-test and post-test on the internal validity should also be considered (the internal threat, testing, and the external threat, interaction effect of test).

Therefore, data analysis should proceed with caution because O1—O2 differences could be attributed to the effect of these threats rather than the manipulated independent variable X (i.e., Culture Studies). As Wiersma (1986:125) pointed out:

Table 6.12: Threats to Experimental Validity

Internal Threats	External Threats
1. History—unanticipated events occurring while the experiment is in progress that affect the dependent variable.	1. Interaction effect of testing—pretesting interacts with the experimental treatment and causes some effect such that the results will not generalise to an unpretested population.
2. Maturation—processes operating within the subject as a function of time.	2. Interaction effects of selection biases and the experimental treatment—an effect of some selection factors of intact groups interacting with the experimental treatment that would not be the case if the groups had been randomly formed.
3. Testing—the effect of taking one test upon the scores of a subsequent test.	3. Reactive effects of experimental arrangements—an effect that is due simply to the fact that subjects know that they are participating in an experiment and experiencing the novelty of it; also known as the Hawthorne effect.
4. Instrumentation—an effect due to inconsistent use of measuring instruments.	
5. Statistical regression—an effect caused by a tendency for subjects selected on the basis of extreme scores to regress towards an average performance on subsequent tests.	

6. Differential selection of subjects—an effect due to the groups of subjects not being randomly assigned or selected, but a selection factor is in operation such that the groups are not equivalent.	
7. Experimental mortality or differential loss of subjects—an effect due to subjects dropping out of the experiment on a non-random basis.	
8. Selection-maturation interaction—an effect of maturation not being consistent across the groups because of some selection factor.	

It may not be possible to eliminate all threats, but it is important to recognise and interpret the results accordingly, entertaining alternate explanations of the data if such explanations are plausible.

In spite of these threats to its validity, this experiment is still of value if seen in terms of a case study. This will be discussed in the following section.

2 The Significance of this Experimental Culture Teaching

In this experiment, I participated in the classroom activities and observed the classroom interaction, like the research in a case study, probing 'deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the class' (Cohen and Manion, 1994:106). The participation and observation made me able to have a closer look at what really happened in the classroom. As a result, although this experiment was not well designed because of constraints from the experimental setting, it is still of great importance that it was carried out. At least it provided some concrete basis for discussing the value of Culture Studies in Taiwan, instead of having to speculate and extrapolate from other situations and from the questionnaire survey, which had to ask pupils and English teachers about a phenomenon of which they had no experience (i.e., Culture Studies).

6.6 The Approaches to Data Analysis

The data obtained from the questionnaires were ordinal ones. Although in theory, ordinal or nominal scale data should be processed by nonparametric analyses, parametric analyses (T-test and One-Way ANOVA) were employed for data analysis in the next two chapters. The reasons for this decision are listed as follows.

6.6.1 Parametric Analysis for More Advanced Information

The pupil questionnaire contained four scales: the Motivation Scale, the Orientation Scale, the Attitudes Scale and the Cultural Identity Scale. Each scale was made up of two or five sub-scales and for the sake of convenience every single item in each sub-scale was scored and then the item score added up to for a sub-scale core. If the statistical analyses used were limited to nonparametric ones, there would not be any possibility to add up items in a sub-scale to form a unit for computation. Besides, parametric analyses provide more advanced information about the central tendency and variability of a distribution.

6.6.2 The Flexibility of Statistical Analysis

Consultation had been sought from two statistics experts in School of Education, University of Durham (Mr. John Steele and Mr. Peter Tymmm) separately. Mr. John Steele suggested that I use nonparametric analyses; while Mr. Peter Tymmm indicated that the dichotomy between parametric analyses and nonparametric analyses is rather flexible. In addition, according to personal discussion with the other two Ph. D. Students, Mr. Mousa Abu-Dalbouh and Mr. Mohamed A. H. Kshir, in this school, it appears that there is no right or wrong approach to analyse data. One student insisted that there was not mismatch between the types of data and the approached used, that is, interval scale data should be analysed by parametric analyses and ordinal or nominal scale data should be analysed by nonparametric analyses; however, the other student

indicated that the approaches to data analysis are not fixed and researchers can and should use the one/s which is/are most suitable for their data and give the reasons why they use this/these approach/es.

6.6.3 No Difference between the Results from T-test and Ch-square

At the stage of running data analyses through SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences in Windows, both T-test and Chi-Square test analyses were conducted. Usually the results obtained from T-test analyses and those from Chi-Square test analyses were identical with each other. Therefore the author decided to employ parametric analyses (mainly T-test) to process data.

6.7 Summary

This chapter described two parts of fieldwork in this study: (1) the survey research and (2) the experimental research. The former aims at gaining a general understanding of pupils' and English teachers' attitudes towards Culture Studies; while the latter tries to find what influence Culture Studies has on pupils' motivation to learn English and on their own cultural identity, after they experienced the course of Culture Studies in their English class. The analysis and discussion of data collected from these two researches will be presented in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER 7 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: the Survey

Introduction

In this and the next chapters, the data collected in the fieldwork done in Taiwan will be analysed and then the results presented and discussed. In Chapter 7, the focus is on the data collected in the survey research, which includes 480 copies of the pupils' questionnaire and 44 copies of the English teachers' questionnaire administered to the subjects in both Taipei City and Taipei County in Taiwan. And in Chapter 8, the data collected in the experimental research conducted in Shih-Yu Junior High School in Taipei County will be presented. Briefly speaking, the survey research data reveal the general opinions of the pupils' and English teachers' towards: (1) the current English class and textbooks; (2) culture studies; (3) motivation to learn English and strength of own cultural identity, while the experimental research data aim at exploring the change in the subject pupils' motivation to learn English and their own cultural identity. The former provides an overview of the societal level of interest in culture teaching/learning; the latter presents how target-language cultures affect the pupils' motivation and own cultural identity in terms of the classroom level. In the latter section of Chapter 8, I will try to link the two parts of data and make comparisons between them.

The data analysis in this and the following chapters is to be presented in correspondence to the research questions listed in Chapter 6.

The Points of and Sources for Data Analysis

The chapter is presented in the following order:

1. The current situation of junior high school English education in Taiwan, in terms of:

- A. the pupils' questionnaire, and
 - B. the English teachers' questionnaire.
2. The junior-high-school English teachers' and pupils' attitudes and opinions towards Culture Studies, in terms of:
- A. the pupils' questionnaire, and
 - B. the English teachers' questionnaire.
3. Taiwan's junior-high-school pupils' orientation, attitudes and motivation towards learning English, in terms of:
- A. the pupils' questionnaire, and
 - B. the English teachers' questionnaire.
4. Taiwanese junior-high-school pupils' own cultural identity, in terms of:
- A. the pupils' questionnaire, and
 - B. the English teachers' questionnaire.
5. The relationship among the pupils' motivation, cultural identity and their willingness to learn Culture Studies, in terms of:
- A. the pupils' questionnaire, and
 - B. the English teachers' questionnaire

7.2 The Current Situation of English Education in Junior High School English in Taiwan

Before the introduction of the situation of English education in Taiwan, the conceptions of Culture Studies revealed by the English teachers will be given as the basis of the following analysis.

7.2.1 The English Teachers' Conception of Culture Teaching in TEFL

The open-ended question was put to the teacher informants to give their ideas of what culture teaching in English class is. Among the 44 teachers, 19 of them did not write down their answers, 8 teachers' answers were useless (e.g., answers such as culture studies is to teach the culture) and 17 teachers offered useful answers for analysis. Categories represented in teacher answers about culture teaching can be put in order according to the times mentioned:

1. Ways of life and traditions: habits, life style, experience, and/or communication (15 times),
2. Art and elite: elite culture, treasures, and/or intellectual development (8 times),
3. Norms and values: religion, attitudes, way of thinking, and/or frame of reference (7 times), and
4. Objective structure: living conditions, history, landscape, and/or material (6 times).

Referred back to the definition of culture and Culture Studies in foreign language teaching mentioned in Chapter 1, it seemed that these teachers' concept of culture was close to 'small c' culture.

Next, the current situation of junior high school English in Taiwan is presented in terms of: (A) the current English textbooks, from Book 1 to Book 6, and (B) if the culture of the target language was taught by English teachers.

7.2.2 The Current English Textbooks

Basically, the English textbooks used in Taiwan are grammar-teaching centred with little space that accommodates limited cultural information about the USA (see 2.5.4, review of the English textbooks). In this survey, the pupils and the English

teachers were asked about their opinions concerning the English textbooks in terms of the amount of cultural elements and the cultural topics covered in them.

1 The amount of cultural elements in the English textbooks

The questions put to ask the English teachers and the pupils in regard to this issue are: (to English teachers) 'How much do you think the textbooks compiled by the National Institute of Compilation and Translation cover cultural aspects of English-speaking country/ies', and (to the pupils) 'How much do you think the current English textbooks tell you something about English-speaking country/ies?'. Both teacher and pupil subjects were asked to express their opinions as: Very Much, A Lot, Little, or Nothing. Table 7.1 shows the frequency and percentage of the teachers' and the pupils' response to this question.

Table 7.1: The Frequency and Percentage of the English Teachers' and the Pupils' Answers to the Amount of Cultural Elements Included in the English Textbook

	Very Much		A Lot		Little		Nothing		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Pupil	18	3.8	241	50.3	177	37.0	43	9.0	479	100
Teacher	0	0	13	30.2	26	60.5	4	9.3	43	100

F = Frequency

The results are discussed in accordance to the following order: the English teachers, the pupils and then comparison between the two groups of informants.

1. *The English Teachers' part:*

It is evident from this table that approximately two out of three teachers indicated there was little or nothing in the textbooks about English speaking countries. However the remainder thought there was 'a lot'. Since they were referring to the same books, it is possible that this reveals different expectation of what ought

to be in the books, or perhaps different definitions of what cultural information consists of.

Owing to the small number of subjects, no analytical analysis (i.e., chi-square Test) was conducted.

2. The pupils' part:

From the table, it is indicated that about half of the pupils thought the English textbooks included a lot of cultural element of the target language country/ies, more than a third thought there were few cultural elements, one out of ten pupils thought there was nothing related to the target-language culture and very few pupils indicated the cultural elements covered in the English textbooks as very much. Again the differences may be in terms of expectations and definitions of what is cultural information. Pupils may also not have paid attention to this in their books.

In addition to the basic analysis, chi-square test was conducted with the pupils' personal backgrounds as the independent variables in order to know if pupil answers varied as their backgrounds changed. Table 7.2 presents the frequencies, percentages, chi-square and level of significance of the pupil responses in terms of the different variables to the amount of the target-language cultural input in their English textbooks.

Table 7.2: Frequency and Percentage of Pupils' Opinions about the Amount of the Target-Language Culture Input in their English Textbooks

	Very Much		A Lot		Little		Nothing		Total		2-Tailed P
	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	
Grade 1	10	4.0	111	44.0	98	39.2	31	12.4	249	100	.0053
Grade 2	8	3.5	130	56.8	79	34.5	12	5.2	229	100	

F = Frequency; P = Percentage.

Table 7.2 reveals that only the independent variable of grade proved to be significant in the pupils' estimation of the amount of cultural elements included in the current English textbooks. From the figures, it seems that Grade 1 pupils were comparatively less satisfied with the cultural inputs covered in the textbooks. About half of the first graders see the cultural elements as being little or nothing, while there were only 4 out of 10 Grade 2 pupils thought it as being little or nothing. The possible reason for this difference between Grade 1 and Grade 2 pupils might be that being in their first year of learning English, the first graders still keep an interest in knowing things other than grammatical learning, while the Grade 2 pupils, facing the senior high school or vocational school entrance examinations, pay more attention to grammatical learning. Therefore relatively, they (the second graders) thought the amount of the cultural information in the textbooks as enough for them.

3. Comparison between the English Teachers' and the Pupils' Answers to the Amount of Cultural Information in the Textbooks

It is also possible to compare the teachers' and the pupils' responses to the question in Table 7.1. The chi-square test (Mann-Whitney) indicates that there is significant difference between the English teachers' and the pupils' responses to the same question ($P = .0060$). Referring back to the frequencies and percentage in Table 7.1, it is obvious that generally the teachers thought the cultural elements were less in comparison to the pupils' opinion. The possible factors for this difference might be that there were differences in maturity and perspectives between teachers and pupils.

The English teachers and the pupils in junior high schools, being different in ages and in perspective, had different criteria to judge the amount of cultural information in the textbooks. The teachers, being more mature and with wider perspectives than the pupils, thought the cultural information covered too little to internationalise the young generation to meet Taiwan' needs of upgrading

industry, of promoting economic growth, at present, of developing foreign relations, and of nation and state building (see Chapters 2, 3, and 5). While the pupils, being young and limited in their knowledge, might not have such insight as the teachers did.

2 The Cultural Topics Covered in the English Textbooks

Concerning the cultural topics covered in the English textbooks, both the teacher and pupil informants' opinions were asked if the following items were covered in the English textbooks: festival, geography, sports, school life and food and drink (thought to most frequently appear in the books). The informants were also asked to list the items they thought to be included. However, in light of the few responses, this answer category is not analysed. Table 7.3 records the results got from the English teachers' and the pupils' survey data.

Table 7.3 Frequencies and Percentages of the English Teachers' and the Pupils' Answers to the Cultural Topic Included in the English Textbooks

Item	Covered				Not Covered				Total	
	Pupil		Teacher		Pupil		Teacher		Pupil	Teacher
	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	F
Festival	178	37.1	23	52.3	302	62.9	21	47.7	480	44
Geography	93	19.4	8	18.2	387	80.6	36	81.8	480	44
Sports	99	20.7	9	20.5	380	79.3	35	79.5	479	44
School Life	266	55.4	10	22.7	214	44.6	34	77.3	480	44
Food & Drink	264	55.0	23	52.3	216	45.0	21	47.7	480	44

From the table above, the English teachers' and the pupils' ranks of these items which were seen to be covered in textbooks can be as follows (from the highest percent to the lowest percent):

	Festival	Geography	Sports	School Life	Food & Drink
Pupil	3	5	4	1	2
Teacher	1	5	4	3	1

The pupils' and the English teachers' perceptions toward food & drink, geography, and sports were quite convergent. More than half of the pupils and the teachers thought food & drink was the aspect mentioned in the English textbook.

Their opinions were in accordance with the textbooks in which one lesson introduced western fast food (Book 6, Lesson 5). Geography and sports occupied the first two highest percentages which were thought not to be covered. In regard to the other two items, school life and festival, there was a divergence among the pupils' and teachers' responses. Only nearly a quarter of the pupils saw festivals as the aspect covered in the textbook, while more than half of the teachers thought so. School life was seen as included by more than half of the pupils but only one-fifth of the teachers said it was in the English textbooks.

The chi-square test (Mann-Whitney U-Wilcoxon Rank Sum W Test) shows that there were significant differences between the two groups' responses towards the two items of festival ($P = .0476$) and school life ($P = .000$). The differences may be explained in terms of the two groups' paying different attention to the contents in the English textbooks. On the part of the English teachers, their ranking "festival" as number one reflected their focusing on the introduction of Christmas and western New Year in the textbooks; in regard to the pupils' ranking the aspect of school life as number one, it may be that they mistook the contexts located in Taiwanese junior high schools in the textbooks as what was referred to in the question. (The school contexts appearing throughout the six volumes of textbook are all located in Taiwan's junior high schools.)

Comparing the two groups' percentages which saw the five cultural items as being covered in the textbooks, it is found that except for the item of festival, the teachers' percentages were all lower than the pupils'. This seems to be consonant with the result shown in 7.2.2., Point 1 that the English teachers considered that the textbooks had fewer cultural elements of the target language than the pupils did.

7.2.3 Mention of Cultural Topics in English Class

Both the pupils' and the English teachers' opinions were consulted in order to find out whether cultural topics were mentioned in the English class. Different

approaches were taken to ask the pupils and the English teachers in regard to this issue.

1 The Pupils' Opinion

On the pupils' part, the issue was explored in an indirect way by asking the pupils to tick the items that their English teachers mentioned in class. The answer categories offered included items mentioned in the textbooks (grammar, translation, English songs, pronunciation, and vocabulary) and those not mentioned (education and school, festivities and customs, family life, living conditions, food and drink, political system, geography and regions, religion, youth culture, sports, social problems of young people, and arts). Table 7.4 presents frequencies and percentages of the result.

There is significant difference between the pupil replies. In regard to the five items mentioned in the textbooks, about nine out of ten pupils thought they were taught by their English teachers. However, the percentage dropped clearly when the items in question are not included in the textbooks. Among the twelve cultural items, the highest proportion of the pupils who thought the items were taught is one third (school life and education). Accordingly, in the subject pupils' minds, their English classes were mainly grammatically oriented. There are two possible factors for this result. Firstly, in Taiwan it always happens that what is tested in the entrance examinations is taught, so grammar and vocabulary are highly emphasised. Secondly, the five non-cultural items are included in the textbooks while the twelve cultural items are either less mentioned or not included at all (e.g., politics, arts).

Table 7.4 Pupils' Responses towards the Items They Thought Were Taught in English Class

Item	Ticked		Not Ticked		F	Rank
	F	%	F	%		
In the textbooks						
Translation	467	97.7	11	2.3	478	1
Pronunciation	465	97.3	13	2.7	478	2
Grammar	446	93.3	32	6.7	478	3

Item	Ticked		Not Ticked		F	Rank
	F	%	F	%		
In the textbooks						
Vocabulary	438	91.6	40	8.4	478	4
English Song	435	91.0	43	9.0	478	5
Not in the textbooks						
School Life and Education	161	33.7	317	66.3	478	6
Family Life	143	29.9	335	70.1	478	7
Food & Drink	137	28.7	341	71.3	478	8
Festivals and Custom	132	27.6	346	72.4	478	9
Youth Culture	107	22.4	371	77.6	478	10
Living Standard	98	20.5	380	79.5	478	11
Social Problems	67	14.0	411	86.0	478	12
Sport	63	13.2	415	86.8	478	13
Religion	60	12.5	418	87.4	478	14
Geography	56	11.7	422	88.3	478	15
Arts	46	9.6	432	90.4	478	16
Politics	42	8.8	436	91.2	478	17

2 The English Teachers' Opinion

On the English teachers' part, the question 'How much do you teach culture in your class?' was issued to the subjects to find out if the teachers taught culture in English class. Table 7.5 demonstrates the result.

Table 7.5: The Frequencies and Percentages of the English Teachers' Answers to the Amount of Cultural Information They Taught in Class

Very Much		A Lot		A Little		Nothing		Total	
F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
4	9.3	25	58.1	12	27.9	2	4.7	43	100

According to Table 7.5, more than half of the informants said that they taught a lot of culture in English class. About one-third though said a little, one out of ten indicated very much, and only very few admitted that they taught nothing about culture. The comparison was made between the teachers' responses to the amount of cultural information covered in the textbooks and that they taught in class. The result was shown as follows:

	Very Much		A Lot		A Little		Nothing		Total	
	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Amount	4	9.3	25	58.1	12	27.9	2	4.7	43	100
Teach	0	0	13	30.2	26	60.5	4	9.3	43	100

F = Frequency; P = Percent

From the comparison, it is evident that generally the majority of the teachers pointed out that the cultural information included in the English textbooks was a little but thought they taught a lot about culture of the English speaking countries. It seems to be in contradiction between the teachers' responses to the two questions. One possible factor is that the teachers supplied their teaching with extra materials related to cultural information of the English speaking countries. Another is they thought it desirable to answer in this way.

Although the approaches to find out if culture were taught by the English teachers were different on the teachers' and the pupils' parts, it might be induced that generally, the pupil subjects thought that culture was comparatively less mentioned while over half of the teacher informants indicated that they taught a lot of cultural things in their class.

3 The Cultural Topics that the English Teacher Taught

In this section, the foci were first on the cultural topics that the English teachers thought they taught in class and then on the comparison between the teachers' and the pupils' replies to the cultural aspects they taught and were taught. Table 7.6 lists the cultural aspects which the English teachers taught in class.

Table 7.6: Frequency, Percentage and Rank of the English Teachers' Responses to the Cultural Aspects They Taught in Class

Item	Yes		No		Frequency	Rank
	F	P	F	P		
Festival & Custom	28	63.3	16	36.4	44	1
Family Life	27	61.4	17	38.6	44	2
Daily Life	23	52.3	21	47.7	44	3
Food & Drink	23	52.3	21	47.7	44	3
Education & School	22	50	22	50	44	5
Youth Culture	16	36.4	28	63.6	44	6

Item	Yes		No		Frequency	Rank
	F	P	F	P		
Sports	13	29.5	31	70.5	44	7
Social Problems	11	25.0	33	75.0	44	8
Religion	9	20.5	35	79.5	44	9
Arts	8	18.2	36	81.8	44	10
Geography	7	15.9	37	84.1	44	11
Politics	7	15.9	37	84.1	44	11

Referring back to the conceptions of culture studies given by the teachers, there seem to be consistency between their concepts and the cultural topics they chose to teach.

4 The Comparison between the Cultural Aspects the English Teachers Taught and the Pupils Were Taught

Basically, the teacher's and the pupils' ranks of the cultural aspects they taught and were taught were in consistency with each other. (See Table 7.7).

Table 7.7: Rank of the Cultural Items that the English Teachers Taught and that the Pupils Were Taught

Rank	Pupil	Teacher
1	School Life and Education	Festival & Custom
2	Family Life	Family Life
3	Food & Drink	Daily Life
4	Festivals and Custom	Food & Drink
5	Youth Culture	Education & School
6	Living Standard	Youth Culture
7	Social Problems	Sports
8	Sport	Social Problems
9	Religion	Religion
10	Geography	Arts
11	Arts	Geography
12	Politics	Politics

In both ranks, cultural items like festival and custom, family life, daily life, food and drink, education and school, and youth culture were listed as the first six items; while sports, social problems, religion, arts, geography, and politics were the last six items.

5 The Difficulties in Teaching Culture

When asked if they had any difficulty in teaching culture, 39 (88.6%) English teachers indicated yes; while only 3 (6.8%) of them said they did not have difficulties to teach culture. Two teachers did not respond to this question. A tick-list question was asked further in order to know what difficulties these teachers encountered. The result is listed as Table 7.8.

Table 7.8: Frequency, Percentage and Rank of the Difficulties that the English Teachers Had in Teaching Culture

Difficulty	Yes		No		F	Rank
	F	%	F	%		
No Teaching Materials	32	76.2	10	23.8	42	1
Time Constraint	22	52.4	20	47.6	42	3
Don't know much about English Speaking Countries	25	56.8	17	38.6	42	2
Pupils' Lack of Interest	4	9.5	38	90.5	42	4

From the data, it is inferred that the biggest problem in teaching culture was lack of teaching materials. Nearly four out of five of the English teachers said they had this kind of difficulty. Lack of knowledge about English speaking countries and time constraint ranked as the second and the third serious problem. It implies that if Culture Studies is to be implemented in Taiwan, there must be some arrangement made about the curriculum, the textbook design, arrangement of school timetable, and teacher training for culture teaching (either initial or in-service training). Only less than one-tenth of teachers said the difficulty was that the pupils did not have interest in cultures of English speaking countries. Although the proportion was small, it is worthy of attention because it indicated that to some pupils, cultural elements of English speaking countries were not interesting to them. However, there may be different interpretations to the pupils' lack of interest: the topics taught were not what they were interested in, the methodologies the teachers used in presenting these topics, and the like.

Interim Summary

In this section, I presented the situation of English education in Taiwan's junior high schools through the viewpoints of the pupils and the English teachers. In spite of the fact that the informants were chosen from Taipei City and Taipei County only and the small scale of sampling in relation to the population (see 6.4.1), the result can be generalised when the homogeneous English learning and teaching environment is taken into consideration:

1. the standardisation of the Standard Curriculum and the textbooks,
2. the nationally-widely implemented entrance examination system, and
3. the monopoly of English teacher education by the normal universities in Taiwan. (The majority of junior-high-school English teachers are normal-university graduates.)

In terms of the current English textbooks used, we can infer on the one hand that the cultural elements covered are mainly the festivals and food & drink in the target-language country (in this case, the USA). On the other hand, the pupils thought that the textbooks contained more target-language cultural elements than the English teachers did. In terms of what was taught in English class, the pupil answers pointed out that grammatical items were taught in a overpowering ratio against cultural items, while most of the English teachers said that they taught a lot of culture in class.

In general, the situation of English education in Taiwan is primarily grammatically-oriented, either in the textbooks (the MOE edited, reflecting the Standard Curriculum of the country) or in teaching in practice. The cultural aspect of English education has not received equal emphasis as the linguistic aspect has, but there are clearly different perceptions of how much is taught and perhaps of the definitions of what culture and culture teaching is.

7.3 The English Teachers' and the Pupils' Attitudes toward Culture Studies

From the previous section, we know that although there is cultural information in the English textbooks, the amount is generally considered to be little and it is treated as minor to linguistic teaching. If Culture Studies is to be implemented in English class, what are the pupils' and English teachers' attitudes towards it? It is necessary to discuss the issue here in order to know if Culture Studies can serve as a potential motivator to the pupils' learning interests and if there will be resistance from the English teachers once they are asked to teach the target-language culture. In addition, one of the difficulties the teacher informants gave in teaching target-language culture is pupils' lack of interest, so it is important to investigate this further. Apart from attitudes to Culture Studies, the investigation in this part also explored the issues relevant to the implementation of Culture Studies: the country and the cultural aspects to be taught/learned, and the methods to teach it.

7.3.1 Attitudes towards Culture Studies

This issue is approached in the following order: the English teachers' attitudes to teaching culture, the pupils' willingness to learn Culture Studies, and finally the comparison between the teachers' and the pupils' opinions.

1 The English Teachers' Opinions

The question was asked to the teacher subjects that 'To what extent do you agree that the English teachers in junior high schools should include the cultural dimension of English speaking country/ies in their teaching?' and at the same time the subjects are asked to tick their reasons for their answer (Question 9 in the teachers' questionnaire, see Appendix 9). Table 7.9 lists the teachers' replies.

Table 7.9: Frequency and Percentage of the English Teacher Response to the Need of Including the Cultural Dimension in Their Teaching

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Frequency	12	31	1	0	0	44
Percentage	27.3	70.5	2.3	0	0	100

The data reveal that there was overwhelming agreement among the teachers' answers. Almost all of the participators in the survey either strongly agreed or agreed the idea that culture should be taught in English class. Only one participant expressed uncertain attitude and no negative attitudes existed. The result seems to indicate an awareness of the need to teach culture in English class among the English teachers and they were extremely open to teaching foreign cultures. This finding might be interpreted in the following directions.

The first, the subjects responded to the question according to their common sense that teaching culture is a good thing so that we (English teachers) should teach it. (The analysis of the teachers' reasons to teach culture in the coming section is in support of this interpretation.)

The second, the English teachers' self-experience of foreign countries and cultures makes them open to western cultures. In Taiwan, teachers are ranked as the middle-upper class according to their income. And because of the school year implemented in Taiwan, junior-high-school teachers have long vacations in summer and winter, up to three months in a year. The two factors make them able to go abroad to travel during their vacation.

Thirdly, the influence from the macro-environment plays a role in the English teachers' attitudes to teaching foreign cultures. As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 3, Taiwan is in urgent need to be open to the world for both economic and political reasons. As a result, the culture policy and education policy presented by the government in recent years is directed toward this goal of internationalisation, which means to keep oneself open and to accept foreign information, technique, investment, and unavoidably, people and cultures. Being in such an environment,

the English teachers in Taiwan seem to be aware that in addition to teaching linguistic items, teaching foreign cultures is also their educational responsibility to cultivate the children who are capable of meeting Taiwan's imperative need of internationalisation.

A question was asked further in order to find out the reasons behind the teachers' support to culture teaching. Table 7.10 records the findings.

Table 7.10: Frequency and Percentage of the English Teachers' Reasons for Teaching Culture Studies

Reason	Ticked		Not-Ticked		F	Rank
	F	P	F	P		
1. helping the pupils understand English cultures	40	90.9	4	9.1	44	1
6. making English teaching more interest	35	79.5	9	20.5	44	2
7. inter-relation of culture and language	35	79.5	9	20.5	44	2
5. helping the pupils communicate with English speaking people	29	65.9	15	34.1	44	4
2. breaking down bias toward English speaking countries	25	56.8	19	43.2	44	5
4. discerning differences and similarities between own and foreign cultures	21	47.7	23	52.3	44	6
3. helping the pupils understand own culture	17	38.6	27	61.4	44	7

F = Frequency.

Reasons 3 & 4 (C1 interference and transfer C2), 5 (inter-cultural communication competence), 6 (arousing motivation in FLL), and 7 (the interrelated nature of culture and language) are the pragmatic goals of culture teaching stated in Chapter 1 and Reasons 1 and 2, the educational goals.

Nine out of ten teachers who ranked Reason 1 as the first thought that Culture Studies was necessary because it let the pupils understand English cultures. The result implies that the subjects had the awareness to teach the children to be open and not enclosed by their own culture. However, the fact that Reason 2 did not

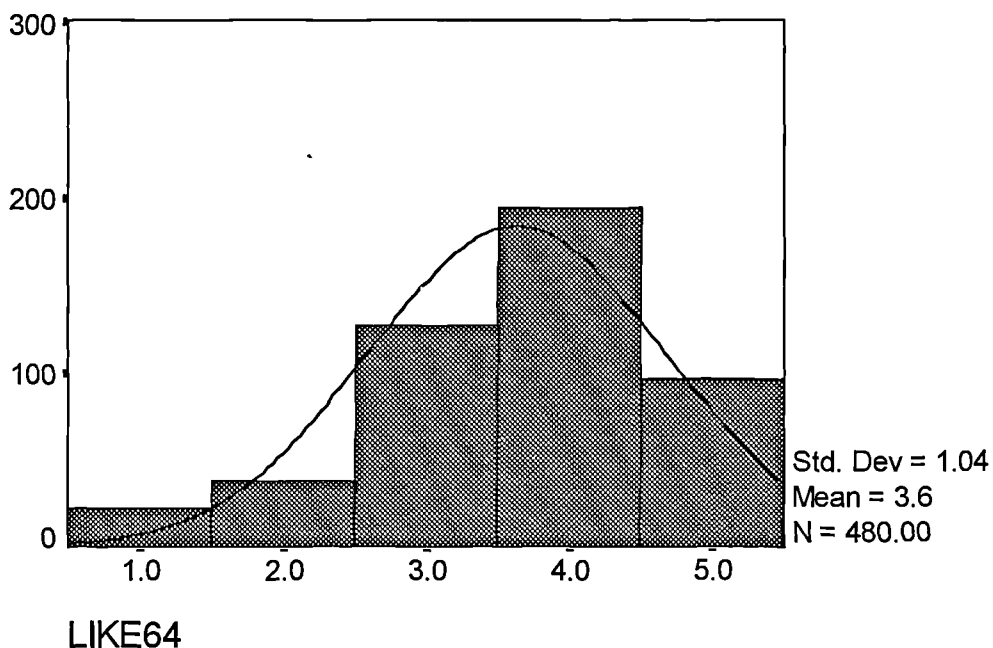
receive as much approval as Reason 1 did seems to suggest that this kind of willingness to understand other cultures did not go beyond the purpose of self advantage (that is, to be internationalised in order to attract foreign investment, to gain economic benefit, to compete with other countries). Revealed from the data seems to be the message that the far more subtle educational goal of empathising with other culture is less stressed. Reasons 6 and 7 were ranked as the second together. This indicated on the one hand that most teachers saw Culture Studies could possibly make their teaching more interesting and on the other hand that their conception of language teaching was connected with the target-language culture in spite of the fact that English education in Taiwan's junior high schools is linguistic-dominated because of constraints from the macro environment. In view of the findings, the prospective for culture teaching is optimistic. Reason 5 ranked as the fourth and gained about three out of five teachers' support. This means that the teachers identified with the argument (Carson, 1990; Fantini, 1991) that full communication is composed of not only the linguistic (the sounds, forms and grammar of language) and paralinguistic (the tone, pitch, volume, speed and other affective aspects of how we say things) dimensions but also the sociocultural dimension (familiarity with the sociocultural context of the target language). Reason 4 and 5 ranked as the last two and the proportion of approval they won were both less than half. Two factors may be attributed to the low proportion of approval. First, perhaps the teachers thought these two reasons were less important than the others and/or second, they doubted that Culture Studies, which introduces other countries' cultures, will help the pupils understand their own culture. (The later discussion about the possible effects of cultural teaching on the pupils' own cultural identity in terms of the English teachers also reveals that the teacher informants agreed less with the argument that being aware of the existence of other cultures would contribute to pupils' Taiwanese identity. See 7.5.4, Point 2).

2 The Pupils' Opinions on Culture Learning

In response to the question 'To what extent would you like to know more about the English-speaking country/ies through English class in school', the pupil answers were as Figure 7.1.

There were more than half of the subjects (60.2%) who would like or like very much to know more about the English speaking country/ies in their English class. Compared with the pupils who liked to learn the culture of the English speaking country/ies, those who did not like to learn occupy a small percentage (12.9%). However, given this, it is worth noting that this kind of view exists and implies that Culture Studies is not so powerful a motivator to some of the pupils. Given the condition that the pupils were asked something that they had never experienced, one possible explanation for this phenomenon may be that the subjects just expressed their dislike for anything related to English because they did not like the subject of English they were learning in school.

Figure 7.1: Frequency, Mean and Standard Deviation of the Pupil Answers to the Extent that They Like Culture Studies



NOTE: 1 = do not like it at all; 2 = dislike it; 3 = uncertain; 4 = like it; 5 = like it very much.

There is a quite significant number of the pupils, nearly one third, who said they were not sure about it. This might be attributed to the fact that the pupils did not have clear ideas about what it meant by Culture Studies because there was not such a course included in the current English class in Taiwan. In the light of the fact that the proportion of the pupils who did not like culture learning and who were not sure if they liked it or not was quite large, T-test analysis was conducted to see if there was any difference in response to the question when the pupils' personal background was considered. The findings show that differences in the degree of willingness to learn culture existed between boys and girls, first graders and second graders, and the pupils whose father had told them about English-speaking countries and those whose father had not told them. Table 7.11 lists the findings.

Table 7.11: Differences in the Pupil Answers to Willingness to Learn Culture Studies (in terms of their personal backgrounds)

	Variable					
	Gender		Grade		Father	
	Boy	Girl	1st Graders	2nd Grader	Father Told	Father No Told
Mean	3.50	3.82	3.51	3.76	3.75	3.53
S. D.	1.082	.957	1.075	.995	1.001	1.069
P	.006		.122		.085	
2-Tail Sig	.001**		.010*		.020*	

The extent to which the girl pupils liked culture studies was higher than the boy pupils and the former expressed a more homogeneous opinion than the latter.

Grade 2 pupils expressed higher willingness for culture learning than Grade 1 pupils. One factor might be attributed to the second graders' higher liking for culture learning: being more mature and having more experience in English learning, Grade 2 pupils were more sure about what they needed and wanted, and had clearer ideas about what Studies is to be actualised in junior high school English curriculum, the optimal stage is in Grade 2.

The findings also show that fathers played a role in pupils' willingness to learn cultures of English speaking countries. The pupils whose father had told them about English speaking countries exhibited a higher willingness for culture learning than those whose father had not told them. It seems plausible to infer that the issue that whether Culture Studies would be a potential motivator to pupils is related not only to the factors inside school but also to those outside of school (family factor).

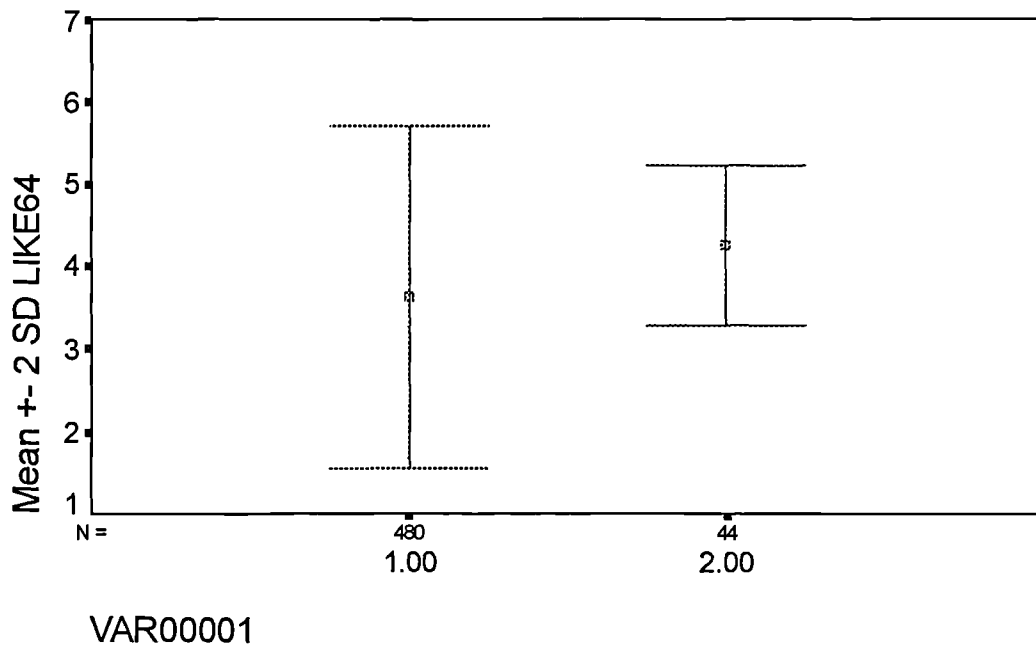
Generally speaking, in spite of the fact that there were pupils whose attitudes to learning culture of the target language were negative or unsure, the liking for it indicated by the majority of the pupils makes the perspective optimistic that Culture Studies could be a possible motivator for the pupils.

3 The Comparison between Pupils and Teachers

The English teachers demonstrated very positive and homogeneous attitudes toward teaching cultures in English class in terms of the fact that no one thought it should not be taught. Contrarily, the pupils held a more conservative and heterogeneous attitudes towards learning target-language cultures. See Figure 7.2 on the next page.

T-test indicated that there was significant difference between the pupil and teacher answers to culture studies (2-Tail Sig = .000; mean for the pupils = 3.63, for the teachers = 4.25). Obviously there was a gap between the extent to which the teachers thought culture should be taught and that to which the pupils liked to learn it. Perhaps the different positions from which the English teachers and the pupils viewed the same issue provide an interpretation for this difference in teacher and pupil attitudes. The teacher informants were relatively more open to culture teaching because they knew the needs and importance of teaching their pupils about foreign cultures (see 7.3.1, Point 1); while the pupils, being under the pressure of examinations, might be afraid that culture learning would add another burden on them.

Figure 7.2: The Error Bar that Represents Standard Deviations of the Pupil/Teacher Responses to Learning/Teaching Culture



NOTE: 1 = Pupils, 2 = Teachers

7.3.2 What Country to Teach/Learn

This question concerning English-speaking countries to be taught and learned is discussed in terms of English teachers' and pupils' opinions.

1 The English Teachers' Opinions

When asked the question which English speaking country should be taught and why, the teachers expressed the following opinions.

Table 7.12: Frequency and Percentage of the English Teachers' Reply to the English Speaking Country Should Be Taught

	America	Australia	Britain	Canada	New Zealand	America & Britain	Missing	Total
F	33	0	5	0	1	4	1	44
%	75.0	0	11.4	0	2.3	9.1	2.3	100

It is obvious that the majority, three quarters, of the teacher informants chose America as the country to be taught. Only Britain gained a noteworthy number of votes and then only one in ten. This finding is not surprising if the situation that American culture is the mainstream in the world and that the society of Taiwan is highly American-influenced, either in popular culture or in politics, is taken into consideration. Table 7.13 then shows the ranks of reasons for the choice of a country, and it is quite clear that the USA's world-wide dominance lies behind the teachers' choice.

Table 7.13: Frequency and Percentage of the English Teachers' Choices of the Country to Be Taught

Reason	F	%	Total	Rank
1. The country's culture is the most wide-spread and influential one in the world	33	75%	44	1
Reason	F	%	Total	Rank
2. It is familiar to pupils due to introduction of media	32	72.7%	44	2
5. In Taiwan, most English publications come from that country.	28	63.6%	44	3
3. It is important because of its dominance in science and technology.	19	43.2%	44	4
6. It is the country that pupils are most likely to go for their study abroad.	19	43.2%	44	4
8. Taiwan has strong political bonds with that country.	18	40.9%	44	6
7. It is the country where most Taiwanese emigrate to.	12	27.3%	44	7
4. The people of that country represent the overwhelming majority of English speaking people.	11	25.0%	44	8
9. Taiwan is endeavouring to develop business and cultural exchange with the country.	11	25.0%	44	8
11. It is the country where English originates	10	22.7%	44	10
10. Introducing this country helps to break down Taiwan's Americanisation.	8	18.2%	44	11

2 The Pupil Opinions to the English Country They Liked to Learn

Table 7.14 shows the result of the pupil answer to the country they like to know most.

Table 7.14: Frequency and Percentage of the Pupil Answers to the English Speaking Country They Like to Know Most

	America	Australia	Britain	Canada	New Zealand	Other	Missing	Total
F	159	66	50	57	48	2	98	480
%	33.1	13.8	10.4	11.9	10.0	0.4	20.4	100

F = Frequency

About one out of five pupils mistook the question as multiple-choice. Disregarding this part, the data indicate that America is still the country that attracts the pupils most. However, not like the teachers' answers, the pupil answer distribution is more even. Interests in the other four English-speaking countries were about the same. One factor might account for the pupils' wider interests in countries other than America: there are more and more Taiwanese families migrating to or sending their children to study in these countries, especially Australia, Canada and New Zealand, for study after graduating from schools. (America used to be the only choice; however in recent years it was more and more difficult for Taiwanese to get immigration permission and student visa (I-20) from the US government.)

In general, both teacher and pupil informants' choice reflects the fact that in Taiwan, American culture is the dominant foreign culture and other English-speaking countries assume comparatively little space in Taiwan's society. In terms of avoiding over-emphasising on a single country and of achieving real "internationalisation" rather than "Americanisation", it is worth consideration to introduce other English-speaking countries into the curriculum if Culture Studies is to be carried in Taiwan's junior high schools.

7.3.3 The Favourite Ways to Learn Culture Studies

Pupils' opinions were asked in order to know their favourite ways to learn Culture Studies. Four answer categories were offered: lectures in class, inviting native

English-speakers to their English class, visiting schools for people from English-speaking countries, and cultural excursions to English-speaking people's community in Taipei. The result is listed as Table 7.15.

Table 7.15: Frequency, Percentage and Rank of the Pupils' Answers to their Favourite Ways to learn Culture Studies

	Very Much		Much		A Little		Not At All		Rank (in terms of much and very much)
	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	
visiting schools for people from the English speaking countries (e.g., Taipei American School)	38.9	164	30.1	127	20.4	86	10.7	45	1
lectures given by my English teacher in class	22.7	96	33.4	141	32.7	138	11.1	47	2
inviting native speakers of English to talk about their countries	23.5	99	26.3	111	34.1	144	16.1	68	3
cultural excursions to the English people's community in Taipei	18.3	77	31.6	133	32.1	135	18.1	76	4

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This table shows that visiting English-speaking people's schools was the most popular way for pupils to know about foreigners. It also implied indirectly that pupils were interested in their peers in English-speaking countries. The more traditional way, that is, English teachers giving lectures in class, ranked as the second. This may be because the pupils had got used to it already.

7.3.4 Cultural Aspects Preferred to Be Taught and Learned

1 The English teachers

The English teachers were asked to express to what extent they thought the 18 cultural aspects were needed to be taught (See Teacher Questionnaire, Section 2, Question 18, Appendix 9). Appendix 11 shows the result in terms of frequency, percentage and rank.

In general, the result is quite consistent with the teachers' rank concerning the cultural items they taught in their class (7.2.3, Point 3), although the items asked in

both questions were not totally identical. Table 7.16 shows a clear comparison between the ranks of the cultural items which the English thought should be taught and those they actually taught.

The cultural aspects reflecting ways of life in the target society received more attention in relation to high culture (e.g., literature, ranking fifth among the 18 items which the teacher thought should be taught, and arts, ranking tenth among the 12 items which the English taught in class).

Table 7.16: Rank of the Cultural Aspects in Terms of Should be Taught and Being Taught

Item	Rank (in terms of should be taught; 18 items in total)	Rank (in terms of being taught; 12 items in total)
festival and customs	2	1
family life	1	2
daily life	1	3
food and drink	4	3
education and school	3	5
youth culture	5	6
politics	16	11

In the following discussion, Items 1, 2, 17, and 18 are categorised as *life style* of the target-language society, Items 4, 5, 11, 14, and 15 as *youth life*, Items 3, 7, 8, 9, and 12 as the *social systems*, and finally Items 6, 10, 13, and 16 as *other*. The means of items in each category and standard deviation of the first three categories are listed as follows:

	Mean	S.D.	Rank
Life Style	3.17	.49	1
Youth Life	2.84	.75	2
Social Systems	2.47	.70	3

The result suggests that the category needed to be taught most was life style (e.g., family life, customs) and then were youth life and social systems. Two factors may be attributed to this result. The first, for the teachers, the definition of culture meant festivals, customs, food & drink, and dress of a people, so when it came to teaching culture, they said these cultural aspects should be taught. The second,

these cultural aspects were those that appeared most often in the English textbooks, therefore, the English teachers had the impression that what was in the textbook should be taught.

2 The Pupils

The same 18 cultural aspects were offered to the pupils in order to know to what extent they would like to learn them. The result is listed as Appendix 12.

The pupils' rank for the three categories is as follows:

	Mean	S. D.	Rank
Youth Life	3.16	.66	1
Life Style	2.89	.64	2
Social Systems	2.66	.64	3

According to the figures, it seems that the pupils were interested in their peers in the English-speaking countries. The cultural aspects concerning the life style and social systems were comparatively less attractive to them. It is worth noticing that the pupils also showed high interest in knowing tourism (ranking second out of the 18 items) and in how to make friends with people in the English speaking countries (ranking fourth out of the 18 items). It seems that the pupils had strong curiosity toward the world outside of their own country and the topics about foreign people of their age were particularly of interest. Furthermore, in addition to understanding the facts of the English-speaking countries in class, they were also enthusiastic about exploring these countries by means of going there and direct communication with the people there.

3 Comparison

First a T-test was conducted in order to find out whether there was difference between the pupils' and teachers' responses to each item in the question. From the findings, we know that significant differences existed between both groups' responses toward 11 items: daily family life, festival & customs, young people's growing pain, politics, tourism, youths' part-time jobs, medical systems, how to

make friends with foreigners, young people's leisure activities, English-speaking peoples' impressions of Taiwan, and dress. The detailed result is listed as Appendix 13.

And then through comparing the English teachers' and the pupils' means in the three categories (life style, youth life, social systems) by virtue of T-test, the following result appeared.

Table 7.17: Mean and Significance of the Pupil and the English Teacher Answers to the Three Cultural Categories of Life Style, Youth Life, and Social Systems

	Teacher	Pupil	2 Tail Sig
Life Style	3.17	2.89	.005**
Youth Life	2.84	3.16	.002**
Social Systems	2.47	2.66	.055

NOTE: ** = $P < .01$

The teachers and the pupils showed quite consistent opinions in regard to the aspects of social systems. The teachers considered it less necessary to teach social systems in the English speaking countries and the pupils was also less interested in knowing them. It seems that both pupils and teachers in Taiwan prefer more easy and close-to-life topics than serious ones, in spite of the fact that their foci were a little different. It was the most necessary to the teachers to teach cultural items concerning life style of the target-language countries, while the pupils liked to learn youth life best.

Interim Summary

The findings in this show that in general, the majority of English teachers thought Culture Studies should be taught and most pupils said they would like to learn it. Concerning the country to be taught/learned, both teachers and pupils indicated unanimously that it should be the USA. When asked what cultural aspects they prefer, there was an difference between the teachers' and the pupils' opinions. The English teachers said cultural aspects about life style in English-speaking

countries should be taught; while the pupils seemed to like to know youth life in the target-language countries. Besides, the pupils also expressed that they liked to visit their foreign peers' schools in Taiwan to understand them.

7.4 Taiwan's Junior High School Pupils' Orientation, Attitudes and Motivation towards Learning English

This section aims at exploring the status of the junior-high-school pupils orientation, attitudes and motivation to English learning with the hope that it can provide a deeper understanding of the pupils' psyche and explore further the possibility of using culture studies to increase their interests in learning English.

The arrangement of this section is as follows:

1. analysis of motivation, attitudes and orientation in terms of the pupils,
2. analysis of the Independent Variables (the Person Background) that might influence the pupils' motivation, attitudes and orientation,
3. analysis of the English teachers' evaluation towards the pupils' motivation, and
4. the English teachers' attitudes toward culture studies in view of its function as a motivator to pupils' learning English.

7.4.1 The Pupils' Orientation, Attitudes and Motivation at Present

The order of data analysis is arranged as follows:

1. Analyses of orientation, attitude, and motivation scales separately:
 - a. Item by item analysis
 - b. Comparisons between/among the sub-scales

2. Comparisons among the Orientation, Attitudes and Motivation Scales.

1 Orientation

In this scale, four statements were presented to the informants on instrumental orientations to learn English and four on integrative orientations. Table 7.18 shows the pupils' orientation to learn English.

Table 7.18: Frequency, Percentage, Means, Standard Deviations and Rank of the Pupils on the Orientation Scale

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S.D.	Rank (in terms of means)	Total
INST							
3. English will help me if I should ever travel.	444 (92.5%)	9 (1.9%)	27 (5.6%)	4.50	.72	1	480
2. English will someday be useful in getting a good job.	391 (81.5%)	13 (2.7%)	76 (15.8)	4.24	.86	2	480
1. I may need English to be admitted to a higher school.	358 (74.5%)	34 (7.1%)	88 (18.3%)	4.04	.99	3	480
INTE							
3. English will help me acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook.	345 (71.9%)	31 (7.1%)	123 (25.6%)	3.96	.96	1	480
4. I would like to make friends with people from English speaking countries.	323 (67.3%)	34 (7.1%)	123 (25.6%)	3.93	1.02	2	480
2. English will enable me to better understand and appreciate English culture.	307 (63.9%)	39 (8.1%)	134 (27.9%)	3.77	.96	3	480
1. English will help me to understand the ways of life in English speaking countries.	307 (64.0%)	45 (9.4%)	128 (26.7%)	3.73	.97	4	480

NOTE: INST = Instrumental Orientations for learning English; INTE = Integrative Orientations for learning English.

The Instrumental Orientation Sub-Scale

As shown in the table, learning English for the sake of travelling was the most common reason for the informants to learn English. About nine out of ten pupils

agreed with the statement. The popularity of self-service travelling in Taiwan may explain the result. It is fashion among young people to go abroad to travel by themselves without joining a tour party. Consequently, good English competence is thought to facilitate travelling in the light of English as an international communication language. The reasons for learning English in order to go to a good school and get a good job also gain a very high degree of agreement. About seven or eight out of ten pupils agreed to the statements respectively. The high degree of approval on the job- and school-hunting orientations reflects the common belief prevailing in Taiwan's society that learning English is important in terms of social mobility.

The Integrative Orientation Sub-Scale

Seven out of ten pupils indicated that they learned English because it helped them acquire new ideas and broaden their outlook. Concerning the other three items, learning English in order to make friends with people from English-speaking countries, to understand ways of life and to appreciate cultures in English-speaking, about three-fifth of the informants agreed with them. From the ranking of the four items in terms of their means, it seems that the pupils' integrative orientations moved from a more self-centred level to a more other-caring level. (Items 3 and 4 reveal the purposes of learning English for the sake of self-advantage and interests; Items 1 and 2 for the sake of understanding and appreciating others.)

The Comparison between the Instrumental Orientation Sub-Scale and the Integrative Orientation Sub-Scale

1. In terms of means

From the table, it seems that Taiwanese junior high school pupils were more instrumentally oriented than integratively oriented. The three instrumental items (learning English to go to a higher school, to get a good job, and to go travelling) occupy the first three ranks among the total seven items. T-test analysis further

proves that there is significant difference between the means of the instrumental orientation sub-scale (15.38) and of the integrative orientation sub-scale (12.78) ($P = .000$). The findings seem to be disadvantageous to the argument that Culture Studies increases pupils' motivation to learn a foreign language, if we consider that in Taiwan, the pupils' instrumental orientation refers to passing the exam to go to a senior high school. However, when the current social-cultural context of Taiwan is considered, this disadvantage, that is, the pupils were instrumentally-oriented, is not unchangeable.

On the one hand, in Taiwan, the pupils' instrumental orientations were highly socio-culturally influenced. As is mentioned above, English is widely taken as an important tool to social mobility and better economic status, so consequently the children in Taiwan are directed toward learning English with an instrumental orientation (e.g., to get a good job). On the other hand, the trend of going abroad for travelling in Taiwan explains why the overwhelming majority of the pupil participants, more than nine out of ten pupils, indicated that they learned English because it was helpful for travelling abroad. Since the pupils' orientations may be socio-culturally directed (Gardner, 1985), new perspectives in the society may possibly change them. As mentioned in Chapter 3 and 5, Taiwan is in need of heading toward internationalisation in terms of its needs to maintain economic growth and to forge a new culture for state-building and the authority concerned has already been aware of the need. As a result, the national policies on culture and education have begun to lay emphasis on absorbing the merits in foreign cultures. Once the conception is inculcated upon the society and achieves a certain degree of popularity, it is possible that the pupils will be turned to learn English with a more integrative orientation.

Another optimistic reason to believe that Culture Studies is still a possible motivator in spite of the fact that the pupils were more instrumentally inclined is that the difference between the pupils' instrumental orientations and integrative orientations was a kind of difference in degree rather than in the dichotomy of "have" or "have not". Judging from the percentage of the pupils who indicated

that they learned English for integrative reasons (more than 60% in all the four items), it is plausible to consider target-language culture as a potential motivator.

2. In terms of correlation

Correlation test (Pearson) shows that there was positive correlation between instrumental orientation and integrative orientation (correlation coefficient = .4866, 2-tailed $P = .000$, cases = 480). According to the coefficient, it is inferred that pupils' instrumental orientations go with their integrative orientations. This means that a pupil with strong instrumental orientation to learn English may have strong integrative orientations, and vice-versa.

2 The Attitude Scale

The Attitude Scale was comprised of five sub-scales: attitudes toward foreign languages, toward people in English-speaking countries, to learning English, to the English course, and to the English teachers. Each sub-scale contained four statements. Table 7.19 shows frequency, percentage, means and standard deviations of the pupils on the Attitudes Scale.

Table 7.19: Frequency, Percentage, Means, Standard Deviations and Rank of the Pupils on the Attitudinal Scale

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S. D.	Rank (in terms of means)	Total
AFL							
1. If I were visiting a foreign country I would like to be able to speak the language of its people.	414 (86.3%)	15 (3.1%)	51 (10.6%)	4.31	.85	1	480
2. I would really like to learn a lot of foreign languages.	342 (71.2%)	39 (8.1%)	99 (20.6%)	3.98	1.05	2	480
3. Studying a foreign language is an enjoyable experience.	276 (57.5%)	67 (14.0%)	137 (28.5%)	3.57	1.05	3	480
4. I would study a foreign language in school even if it were not required.	261 (54.3%)	56 (11.7%)	163 (34.0)	3.54	.99	4	480

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S. D.	Rank (in terms of means)	Total
AEP							
5. I would like to get to know the people in English speaking countries better.	282 (58.7%)	63 (13.1%)	135 (28.1%)	3.64	1.06	1	480
6. I have a favourable attitude towards people in English speaking countries.	247 (51.4%)	53 (11.0%)	180 (37.5%)	3.53	.96	2	480
7. The more I learn about the English speaking countries, the more I like them.	243 (50.7%)	57 (11.9%)	180 (37.5%)	3.52	1.04	3	480
8. I always admire people in English speaking countries.	229 (47.7%)	104 (21.7%)	147 (30.6%)	3.41	1.20	4	480
ALE							
9. Learning English is a waste of time.	34 (7.1%)	324 (67.5%)	122 (25.4%)	3.87	.97	1	480
10. I would rather spend my time on courses other than English.	76 (15.8%)	194 (40.4%)	210 (43.8%)	3.28	.99	2	480
11. I love learning English.	197 (41.1%)	91 (19.0%)	192 (40.0)	3.26	1.05	3	480
12. I really enjoying learning English.	291 (39.8%)	99 (20.6%)	190 (39.6%)	3.24	1.09	4	480
AT							
14. I feel that my English teacher is friendly.	273 (56.9%)	97 (20.2%)	110 (22.9%)	3.44	1.20	1	480
15. I feel that my English teacher is patient.	263 (54.8%)	94 (19.6%)	123 (25.6%)	3.24	1.19	2	480
16. I feel that my English teacher is good.	237 (49.4%)	95 (19.8%)	148 (30.8%)	3.38	1.23	3	480
13. I feel that my English teacher is competent.	274 (57.1%)	75 (15.6%)	190 (39.6%)	3.24	1.09	4	480
AC							
17. My English course is useful.	279 (58.1%)	67 (14.0%)	134 (27.9%)	3.59	1.09	1	480
18. My English course is meaningful.	251 (52.4%)	81 (17.0%)	147 (30.7%)	3.43	1.12	2	479
19. My English course is pleasurable.	205 (42.7%)	118 (24.6%)	157 (32.7%)	3.22	1.17	3	480
20. My English course is colourful.	181 (37.8%)	124 (25.8%)	175 (36.5%)	3.15	1.16	4	480

NOTE: AFL = Attitudes towards Foreign Language Learning; AEP = Attitudes towards English Speaking People; ALE = Attitudes toward Learning English; AT = Attitudes towards the English Teacher; AC = Attitudes towards English Course.

The Attitude towards Foreign Language Sub-Scale

From what was shown in the table, the majority of the pupils, about nine out of ten, wished that they could speak the languages of the countries they visited and had a strong desire to learn a lot of foreign languages. However, when asked if studying a foreign language is an enjoyable experience and if they would study a foreign language even though it was not a required school subject, the percentage of agreement dropped obviously. The percentages of uncertainty also show that the pupils who were not sure about Items 3 and 4 are more than those who were not sure about Items 1 and 2. It seems evident that at the affective level, the pupils had a more positive and certain attitude toward foreign languages but at the cognitive level, they were not so keen in learning foreign languages.

The Attitudes towards English Speaking People Sub-Scale

The distribution of answers was quite homogeneous across four questions in this sub-scale. About half of the pupils agreed with the four statements listed. This implied that most pupils had a positive and favourable attitude towards people in English speaking countries and were also curious in knowing more about them. The positive attitudes towards and curiosity in people in English-speaking countries seem to be in support of the argument that culture studies may serve as a motivator to the pupils' English learning. About one tenth to one fifth of the pupils expressed their negative attitudes towards people in English speaking countries and unwillingness to know more about them. The proportion, although small, is noteworthy because it poses a possible resistance to learning the target-language cultures. There was still one third of the informants said that they were not sure about their attitudes. One possible reason for the pupils' uncertain attitudes might be that they did not have too much chance to contact people from English-speaking countries in Taiwan, so the input was not enough for them to form positive or negative attitudes towards these people.

The Attitudes towards Learning English Sub-Scale

As can be seen in Table 7.19, except for Item 9, the pupils' answers were quite in contiguity with one another. About one fourth of the pupils' responses to Item 9 were uncertain; in regard to the other three items (Items 10, 11, and 12), there were about two-fifth pupils chose the same answer. The ratio of the pupils who agreed that learning English is a waste of time and those who disagree with it was 1:9; the ratio of the pupils who were for the statement that they would like to spend time on subjects other than English and those who were against it was 2:5; the proportion of the pupils who agree that they loved learning English and those who disagreed with it was 2:1; the proportion of the pupils who were for the statement that they really enjoyed learning English and those who were against it was also 2:1. It seems that although the pupils considered that it was worthy of time to learn English, learning English was comparatively not so happy a matter to them. The causes for the result may be many: because the pupils were forced to learn English; because the study load was very heavy; because the contents of the course was boring; because the teaching methods were tedious;..., so the pupils did not get enjoyment from learning English and did not really like it. It is implied that some arrangements must be made to let the pupils feel that learning English could be joyful and pleasant.

The Attitudes towards Teachers Sub-Scale

Generally, all items except for Item 16 had the percentage of agreement over 50%. This means that the majority of the pupils thought their English teachers were competent, friendly, patient and good. About one out of five pupils held the opposite opinions, and nearly three out of ten were not sure about it. The average standard deviation for the four items in this sub-scale was larger than those in the other four sub-scales and this implies that the pupils' opinions were more heterogeneous in this sub-scale. The reason for this may be because pupils were thinking of different English teachers with different personalities as they answered this question.

The Attitudes towards the English Course Sub-Scale

More than half of the informants thought that their English course was useful and meaningful; about 15 percent of them said it was not; about one third were not sure. And the number of the pupils who said that their English course was not pleasurable and colourful are nearly twice as many as those who said it was; about one third were not sure if their course was pleasure and colourful. The result suggests that the pupils had more positive attitudes toward their English course in terms of its utility (perhaps for passing the examinations) than in terms of its interests and variety. It is inferred that having the English course might be boring to those pupils under investigation.

The Comparisons among the Five Attitude Sub-Scales

After interpreting the sub-scales in the Attitude Scale one by one, the discussion will turn to integrative comparison among the five sub-scales. The comparisons are made in accord with two respects: the means of the five sub-scales and the correlation among them.

1. The Comparison of the Means on the AFL, AEP, ALE, AC and AT Sub-Scales

Pupils' scores of four items in every sub-scale of the Attitude Scale were added up as a new score. Table 7.20 demonstrates the means and standard deviations of pupils' scores on the AFL, AEP, ALE, AC and AT sub-scales.

Table 7. 20: Means and Standard Deviations of the Pupils on the Five Attitude Sub-Scales

	AFL	AEP	AT	ALE	AC
Mean	15.47	14.10	13.80	13.64	13.40
Std. Dev.	3.35	3.31	4.06	3.21	3.76
Rank	1	2	4	3	5
Valid N	480	480	480	480	480

NOTE: AFL = Attitudes towards Foreign Language Learning; AEP = Attitudes towards English Speaking People; ALE = Attitudes toward Learning English; AT = Attitudes towards the English Teacher; AC = Attitudes towards English Course.

Concerning attitudes towards language learning (foreign languages in general and English in specific), it seems that the pupil informants kept high interests in learning foreign languages, but when it came to actual English learning, their attitudes turned relatively more negative. Based on the order of mean ranking, the pupils showed moderate attitudes towards people in the English-speaking countries. In regard to attitudes towards the English learning environment at the classroom level, i.e., the English teachers and English course, the pupils showed comparatively less positive attitudes towards them. One-way ANOVA test reveals that there was significant difference among the means of the five sub-scales (F Prob. = .0000) and the mean of AFL was heterogeneous with the other four means. The result suggests that the pupils' attitudes toward foreign languages were generally better than towards English-speaking people, learning English, their English teachers, and their English course.

The factors for this divergence in attitudes could be as follows. On the one hand, curiosity about and socially-directed xenophilia accounted for the pupils' positive attitudes to English-speaking people. And, on the other hand, the pupils' relatively less positive attitudes to the English teachers, the English course and learning English might be attributed to their dissatisfaction with the teachers' personality and/or teaching skills, to the sheer teenagers psyches (that is, they had negative attitudes to the teachers just because they wanted to rebel against whatever represented authority), to the teaching methodology taken, to textbooks used (both grammatically oriented because of the entrance examinations), and to over-loaded homework and quizzes, and so on.

2. Relations among the Five Sub-Scales

Correlation test was conducted in order to come across more understanding about the pupil attitudes to the five components in the Attitudes Scale. The result is listed as Table 7.21.

The results can be summarised as follows:

1. All coefficients, ranging from .31 to .78, are positive.
2. According to the general guidelines listed by Cohen and Manion (1980), one coefficient, between AT and AEP, fell into the range of .20 to .35, one, between AC and AT, into the range of .65 to .85, and the other was in the range of .35 to .65.
3. Scores on AEP and AT have comparatively lower coefficients with other score on attitudes, except for AFL and AC respectively.

The conclusions that can be drawn from these results are:

1. Attitudes towards the English course go with attitudes towards English teachers and with attitudes towards learning English.
2. Attitudes towards English-speaking people has little to do with other attitudes, except for attitudes towards foreign languages; attitudes to English teachers had little to do with other attitudes, except for attitudes towards the English course.

Table 7.21: Correlation Coefficients and Level of Significance of the AFL, AEP, ALE, AT and AC Sub-Scales

	AEP	AFL	ALE	AC	AT
AEP	1.0000 (480) P=.	.5458 (480) P=.000	.4512 (480) P=.000	.4027 (480) P=.000	.3117 (480) P=.000
AFL	.5458 (480) P=.000	1.0000 (480) P=.	.5894 (480) P=.000	.5057 (480) P=.000	.3878 (480) P=.000
ALE	.4512 (480) P=.000	.5894 (480) P=.000	1.0000 (480) P=.	.6178 (480) P=.000	.4360 (480) P=.000
AC	.4027 (479) P=.000	.5057 (479) P=.000	.6178 (479) P=.000	1.0000 (479) P=.	.7777 (480) P=.000
AT	.3117 (480) P=.000	.3878 (480) P=.000	.4360 (480) P=.000	.7777 (479) P=.000	1.0000 (480) P=.

(Coefficient / (Cases) / 2-tailed Significance); " ." is printed if a coefficient cannot be computed

In the light of the pupils' positive attitudes towards people in English-speaking countries, Culture Studies might match with the pupils' taste and be the possible catalyst to strengthen pupil motivation intensity. Obviously, given the impossibility of making strong causal inferences from correlation results, this interactive interpretation would need to be tested for its causal sequence and its generality.

3 The Motivation Scale

The Motivation Scale included two sub-scales: the motivation intensity sub-scale and the desire to learn English sub-scale. Again, the pupil responses to the statement in the scale is presented first.

Table 7.22: Frequency, Percentage, Means, Standard Deviations and Rank of the Pupils on the Motivation Scale

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S.D.	Rank (in terms of means)	Total
Motivation Intensity							
4. I really work hard to learn English.	224 (46.7%)	55 (11.5%)	201 (41.9%)	3.44	.91	1	480
3. I can't be bothered trying to understand the more complex aspects of English.	91 (19.0%)	236 (49.2%)	153 (31.9%)	3.44	1.11	2	480
2. When I am studying English, I ignore distractions and stick to the job at hand.	164 (34.2%)	82 (17.1%)	234 (48.8%)	3.21	.89	3	480
1. When I have a problem understanding something we are learning in my English class, I always ask the instructor for help.	140 (29.9%)	143 (29.8%)	197 (41.0%)	2.98	1.03	4	480
Desire to Learn English							
8. I wish I were fluent in English.	408 (85.0%)	22 (4.6%)	50 (10.4%)	4.31	.92	1	480
7. If it were up to me whether or not to take English, I would definitely take it.	265 (55.3%)	73 (15.2%)	142 (29.6%)	3.57	1.08	2	480
6. I hope there is no English.	81 (16.9%)	273 (57.0%)	126 (26.2%)	3.56	1.17	3	480
5. To be honest, I really have little desire to learn English.	88 (18.3%)	264 (55.1%)	128 (26.7%)	3.49	1.12	4	480

The Motivation Intensity Sub-Scale

There was a high percentage of uncertain answers to the statements on the Motivation Intensity Scale, which made up an average of 40.9%. From the percentage of agreement shown in the table, we know that about half of the pupils thought that they really worked hard to learn English and made an effort to understand more complex English; however, only about one third of them said that they were totally concentrated when studying English and went to their English teachers when they had a problem in English. The findings seem to suggest that the pupils' self-estimated effort on learning English was more than the effort they made in fact.

The Desire to Learn English Scale

An average of 23.2% of pupils chose the answer "uncertain" in response to the four statements in this sub-scale. Compared with the percentage of uncertain shown in the motivation intensity sub-scale, this means that the pupils were more sure about their own desire to learn English than about their effort made to learn it. About one-fifth informants expressed uncertainty about the statements in this scale. Nearly nine out of ten pupils expressed strong desire to be fluent in English; half of them said they would still learn English even if they could choose to learn it or not; only one-fifth of informants hoped that there was no English and said that they had little desire to learn it. The results imply that most pupils had a strong desire to learn English.

The Comparisons between the Motivation Intensity Sub-Scale and the Desire to Learn English Sub-Scale

The comparisons are also made in terms of the pupil means on the two sub-scales and of the relation between their motivation and desire to learn English.

1. The Comparison of the Means

As shown in the table, the four items in the sub-scale of Desire to Learn English all rank before those in the Motivation Intensity sub-scale, and the mean of the former scale is also higher than the latter (14.9353 against 13.0708). T-test analysis shows that the difference between the pupils' means on their desire to learn English and motivation intensity was significant (2-tail Sig = .000). It seems that there was a gap between Motivation Intensity and Desire to learn English. Generally, the pupils had strong desire to learn English, but their motivation intensity (their efforts) does not seem to be in proportion to their desire. It is worth investigating from their desire stage (wish to learn English) to their action stage (efforts really made to learn English), what factors were interacting so that their efforts to learn English seemed to be discounted compared with their desire to learn it. (For example, the pupils' psyche: just wanting to get something but making no effort to get it; ...) Correlation test suggests that pupils' motivation (motivation intensity and desire to learn English) correlated obviously with their attitudes. In section 7.4.2, the issue will be explored further.

2. The Relation between Motivation Intensity and Desire to Learn English

Although there is a gap, nevertheless there is a correlation between pupils' desire to learn English and effort made to learn it. Correlation analysis (Pearson) indicates that there was quite strong positive relation between the pupils' motivation intensity and their desire to learn English (Correlation Coefficient = .6740, 2-tailed P = .000, Cases = 479). This means that the effort the pupils made for learning English goes with their desire to learn it.

7.4.2 The Comparison of Means of and Correlation among the Motivation Scale, Attitudes Scale and Orientation Scale

The preceding discussion gave a general depiction of the pupils' orientation, attitude, and motivation status concerning learning English separately. Now the

focus will turn to a synthetic discussion of the three scales together in terms of the following two aspects: (1) the means of the motivation, attitudes and orientation scales and (2) the relation among the pupils' orientation, attitudes and motivation.

1 The Comparison of Pupils' Means on the Motivation Scale, Attitudes Scale, and Orientation Scale

One-Way ANOVA test (Scheffe test with significance level .05) shows that there is significant difference among the pupil means on the Motivation Scale (3.5008), the Attitudes Scale (3.5184) and the Orientation Scale (4.0224) (F Prob. = .000). The test also indicates that the mean of the orientation is the one which is significantly different from those of the motivation and attitudes scales. Referring back to Young's (1994) theory on the states of the individual and the motivation process (see 4.4.2), it seems that the pupils experienced a need to learn English (no matter what the need is), but their attitudinal status (affective, cognitive, and conative components) and motivational status (effort) were comparatively lower. Based on Young's (1994) argument, this result implies that in order to have pupils' attitudinal and motivational statuses match with their orientational status, effort should be made to improve pupils' attitudinal status (e.g., attitudes towards learning English, English teachers, English courses, English-speaking communities, and foreign languages). And hopefully through the change in their attitudes, there would be a change in their effort to learn English (motivation). Here, it is argued again that Culture Studies as a potential motivator at the course-specific level may change pupils' attitudes towards English (see 4.6.2).

2 The Correlation of the Motivation Scale, Attitudes Scale, and Orientation Scale

The result of correlation test is listed as Table 7.23.

Table 7.23: Correlations among the Pupils' Motivation, Attitudes, and Orientation (Pearson)

	Motivation	Attitudes	Orientation
Motivation	1.0000 (479) P = .000	.7480 (478) P = .000	.5863 (479) P = .000
Attitudes	.7480 (478) P = .000	1.0000 (479) P = .	.6644 (479) P = .000
Orientation	.5863 (479) P = .000	.6644 (479) P = .000	1.0000 (479) P = .000

(Coefficient / (Cases) / 2-tailed Significance); ". ." is printed if a coefficient cannot be computed.

The following discussion is based on Gardner and MacIntyre's argument that successful language learning is related more directly to pupil motivation than to orientations. (See 4.3.1, Point 2).

Overall, the coefficients are large, all above .500. The largest coefficient is between motivation and attitudes, the next largest between orientation and attitudes, and the smallest between motivation and orientation. The coefficients suggest the relation between pupils' motivation and their attitudes towards foreign languages, people in English speaking countries, learning English, their English course and English teachers is stronger than others.

	AEP	AFL	ALE	AC	AT	INST	INTE	MI	D
AEP	1.000 (480) P=.	.5458 (480) P=.000	.4512 (480) P=.000	.4027 (479) P=.000	.3117 (480) P=.000	.3016 (480) P=.000	.5851 (480) P=.000	.3141 (480) P=.000	.4143 (479) P=.000
AFL	.5458 (480) P=.000	1.000 (480) P=.	.5894 (480) P=.000	.5894 (480) P=.000	.3878 (480) P=.000	.4053 (480) P=.000	.5911 (480) P=.000	.4800 (480) P=.000	.5987 (479) P=.000
ALE	.4512 (480) P=.000	.5894 (480) P=.000	1.000 (480) P=.000	.6178 (479) P=.000	.4360 (480) P=.000	.4052 (480) P=.000	.5654 (480) P=.000	.7049 (480) P=.000	.8481 (479) P=.000
AC	.4072 (480) P=.000	.5057 (480) P.000	.6178 (480) P=.000	1.0000 (480) P=.	.7777 (479) P=.000	.3559 (479) P=.000	.4877 (480) P=.000	.5591 (480) P=.000	.5743 (479) P=.000
AT	.3117 (480) P=.000	.3878 (480) P=.000	.4360 (480) P=.000	.7777 (480) P=.000	1.0000 (480) P=.	.3044 (480) P=.000	.3473 (480) P=.000	.4153 (480) P=.000	.4030 (479) P=.000
INST	.3016 (480) P=.000	.4053 (480) P=.000	.4052 (480) P=.000	.3559 (480) P=.000	.3044 (480) P=.000	.4866 (480) P=.000	.4866 (480) P=.000	.3324 (480) P=.000	.4909 (479) P=.000

	AEP	AFL	ALE	AC	AT	INST	INTE	MI	D
INTE	.5851 (480) P=.000	.5911 (480) P=.000	.5654 (480) P=.000	.4877 (479) P=.000	.3473 (480) P=.000	.3224 (480) P=.000	1.0000 (480) P=.000	.4442 (480) P=.000	.5422 (479) P=.000
MI	.3141 (480) P=.000	.4800 (480) P=.000	.7049 (480) P=.000	.5591 (479) P=.000	.4153 (480) P=.000	.3224 (480) P=.000	.4442 (480) P=.000	1.0000 (480) P=.000	.6740 (479) P=.000
D	.4143 (480) P=.000	.5987 (479) P=.000	.8481 (480) P=.000	.5743 (479) P=.000	.4030 (479) P=.000	.4909 (479) P=.000	.5422 (479) P=.000	.6740 (479) P=.000	1.0000 (479) P=.

(Coefficient / (Cases) / 2-tailed Significance); ". " is printed if a coefficient cannot be computed.

AEP = Attitudes towards English Speaking People; AFL = Attitudes towards Foreign languages; ALE = Attitudes towards Learning English; AC = Attitudes towards the English Course; AT = Attitudes towards English Teachers; INST = Instrumental Orientation; INTE = Integrative Orientation; MI = Motivation Intensity; D = Desire to learn English.

The result can be summarised as follows:

1. All the coefficients, ranging from .3016 to .8481 are positive. The largest coefficient is between ALE and D, the next largest between AC and AT, and the smallest between Inst and AEP.
2. Overall, scores on AT and INST tend to have lower coefficients with other scores. (The coefficients between scores on INST and other score are all below .5000 and the coefficients between scores on AT and other scores are also below .5000, except for the one between AT and AC, scored at .7777.)

Accordingly, the conclusion can be drawn that there was a strong interrelation among pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation. This result can be seen as an initial support to Young's (1994) argument that individuals' orientational, attitudinal, and motivational statuses have influence on one another, although the present data can not prove the direction of influence.

7.4.3 Personal Backgrounds and Motivation, Attitudes, and Orientation towards Learning English

T-test analyses were made in order to further understand the pupils' motivation, attitudes and orientations in terms of their gender, grade, schools studying in (in this case, private school and public school), school location (Taipei City and Taipei County), their fathers' and mothers' English ability, and their personal contact with English-speaking countries. It was found that the difference was significant when the factors in question are gender, school, school location, fathers' speaking English or not, and fathers' talking about English countries or not. Table 7.24 shows the means of the pupils on the motivation, attitude, and orientation scales in terms of their gender, schools (private or public), school location, fathers' English ability and mention of English speaking countries, as well as the level of significance.

Table 7.24: Means and 2-Tail Significance of the Pupils on the Motivation, Attitude, and Orientation Scales (in terms of their personal backgrounds)

	Gender			School		
	Boys' Mean	Girls' Mean	2-Tail Sig	Public	Private	2-Tail Sig
Orientation	27.85	28.65	X	27.93	28.75	X
Attitudes	69.13	72.21	.016	69.76	71.80	X
Motivation	27.27	28.42	X	27.52	29.19	.004
	Location			Father 1		
	City	County	2-Tail Sig	Speak	Not Speak	2-Tail Sig
Orientation	28.03	28.73	X	28.43	27.34	X
Attitudes	69.46	73.96	.004	70.99	69.48	X
Motivation	27.84	28.58	X	28.55	27.29	.020
	Father 2					
	Told	Not Told	2-Tail Sig			
Orientation	28.81	27.67	.005			
Attitudes	71.49	69.46	X			
Motivation	28.76	27.40	.011			

Note: School = Private Schools and Public Schools; Location = Taipei City and Taipei County; Father 1 = Fathers who Spoke English and Fathers who Did not Speak English; Father 2 = Fathers who Talked about English Speaking Countries and Fathers who Did Not Talk about English Speaking Countries; X = No Significant Difference.

1. The Orientation Scale

The pupils whose fathers had ever told them about English-speaking countries had higher means on the orientation scale than those whose fathers had not. Further analysis revealed that difference existed on the instrumental orientation sub-scale (significance attained at the .05 level) but not on the integrative orientation sub-scale. In Section 7.3.1, Point 2, the data also shows that input from fathers had influence on pupils' willingness to learn Culture Studies. The reason for this may be that Taiwan is patriarchal society, so fathers have strong influence on children, and that fathers talk in instrumental tones.

2 The Attitude Scale

Two factors are related to the pupils' attitudes towards English: gender and school location. Generally speaking, the girl pupils' scores on the attitude scale were higher than the boy pupils and the pupils in the Taipei County had higher scores than the pupils in Taipei City. (Higher scores mean more affirmative attitudes towards foreign languages, people in English-speaking countries, learning English, the English course and English teachers.) After further analysis, it is found that gender is attributed to the differences on AFL (boy mean = 15.01, girl mean = 16.13, 2-tail Sig = .013), AEP (boy mean = 13.80, girl mean = 14.55, 2-tail Sig = .015) and ALE (boy mean = 13.43, girl mean = 14.09, 2-tail Sig = .012); school location to the differences on AC (Taipei City mean = 13.14, Taipei County mean = 14.41, 2-tail Sig = .003) and AT (Taipei City mean = 13.43, Taipei County mean = 15.33, 2-tail Sig = .002).

The girl informants had more positive attitudes toward foreign language, to people in English-speaking countries and to learning English. The findings are in consonance with the research results of Hsu (1988). The pupils in Taipei County had more affirmative attitudes toward their English teachers and course than the pupils in Taipei City.

3 The Motivation scale

Three factors are attributed to the pupils' mean differences on the motivation scale: schools (private or public), fathers' English ability, and fathers' mention about English-speaking countries or not.

There was significant difference between public-school pupils' and private-school pupils' means in the Motivation Scale. The former had a lower score than the latter. The factor for this result might be attributed to pupil quality in private and public schools. In Taiwan, private schools hold strict criteria in selecting their pupils. Pupils have to pass an entrance exam in order to go to some private schools (for example, Shih-Yu Junior High School). Therefore, usually private-school pupils have a stronger sense of studying hard than public-school ones do.

Fathers' English ability and their talking about English speaking countries or not are also related to the pupils' motivation. The pupils whose fathers had told them about English speaking countries had higher means on the motivation scales than those whose fathers had not told them about English speaking countries and the pupils whose father spoke English scored higher than the pupils whose father did not speak English in the motivation scale. The results suggest, on the one hand, that fathers played an important role in pupil motivation and on the other hand that exposure to English and information about English-speaking countries in the family may have something to do with pupil motivation. However, causality cannot be inferred from the results because there may be many intervening variables and conditions.

So far, the analysis centred on pupil self-reports of orientations, attitudes and motivation. Next the English teachers' evaluation of their pupils' motivation will be presented with the hope that it can provide insight from another angle. Furthermore, the teachers' estimate concerning the possible effects that culture studies would have on pupil motivation is also discussed.

7.4.4 The English Teachers' Evaluation of Their Pupils' Motivation

1 The English Teachers' Evaluation of Their Pupils' Motivation

The ten statements asked included English teachers' measurement of their pupils' motivation intensity (Items 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10), their estimate of pupils' attitudes towards learning English (Item 1), and their general measurement of pupil motivation. Table 7.25 lists the result of the English teachers' assessment of pupil motivation.

Table 7.25: Frequency, Percentage, Means and Standard Deviations of the English Teachers on the Motivation and Attitudes Evaluation Scale

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S.D.	Rank	N
4. Most of my pupils come to me to ask anything about English which they have problems in understanding in class.	27 (61.4%)	10 (22.7%)	7 (15.9%)	3.45	1.00	1	44
2. Most of my pupils pay a lot of attention to what I teach in class.	23 (52.3%)	6 (13.6%)	15 (34.1%)	3.39	.81	2	44
5. Most of my pupils do their English homework carefully.	23 (52.3%)	7 (15.9%)	14 (31.8%)	3.34	.81	3	44
9. Most of my pupils really try to learn English.	20 (45.5%)	8 (18.2%)	16 (36.4%)	3.34	.86	4	44
1. Most of my pupils love learning English.	18 (40.9%)	7 (15.9%)	19 (43.2%)	3.27	.76	5	44
3. When I ask a question in English class, most of my pupils always volunteer answers.	18 (40.9%)	14 (31.8%)	12 (27.3%)	3.05	.94	6	44
6. Most of my pupils' motivation in learning English is high.	13 (29.5%)	13 (29.5%)	18 (41.0%)	2.98	.82	7	44
8. Most of my pupils take every opportunity to speak English outside of class.	12 (27.3%)	16 (36.4%)	16 (36.4%)	2.84	.91	8	44
7. Once getting their exam paper back, my pupils correct their mistakes automatically.	12 (27.3%)	19 (43.2%)	13 (29.5%)	2.80	.90	9	44
10. Most of my pupils spend more time on English than on other subjects.	6 (13.6%)	13 (29.5%)	25 (56.8%)	2.80	.73	10	44

Among the ten items, there were three items in which the percentage of answering "uncertain" was higher than that of answering "agree" or "disagree": the one asking the teachers if their pupils spent more time on English than on the other subjects, another asking if their pupils loved learning English, and the other asking if their pupils' motivation in learning English was high. The possible reason for this result may be that the three questions asked either more abstract aspects of motivation (the first two) or the aspect that the teachers could not know clearly only from their contact with the pupils in class or in school (the last one). In regard to the remaining items, the proportion of uncertain answers was about one third, except for Item 4 (less than the proportion).

More than half of the informants agreed that their pupils went to them when they had problems in English, paid attention in class, and did their homework carefully. About two out of five teachers thought that their pupils really tried hard to learn English, loved English learning, and volunteered to answer question in class. When asked if their pupils corrected their exam paper, took opportunities to speak English outside of class and spent more time on English than on other subjects, only about one out of five teachers said that their pupils did. Concerning the question which asked about the pupils' motivation in general, three out of ten teachers thought that their pupils had high motivation in learning English, the same number as the teachers who did not think that their pupils had high motivation. In terms of the teachers' opinions, it appears that the pupils performed more motivatedly in class than they did after class.

Although the statements on pupil motivation and attitudes presented to the pupils and the English teachers are not exactly identical, comparisons were made between some equivalent items in both teacher and pupil scales on motivation and attitudes with the view to understanding the difference between pupil self-reports of motivation and attitudes and the teachers' estimate of pupil motivation and attitudes. T-test was made on four equivalent items on both pupil and teacher scales (Table 7.26).

Table 7.26: Means and 2-Tail Sig of the Teachers and the Pupils on Student Motivation

	Teacher Mean	Pupil Mean	2-Tail Sig
Most of my pupils/I love learning English	3.27	3.26	.895
Most of my pupils/I ask me/my English teacher if they/I have problems in understanding English.	3.45	2.98	.003
Most of my pupils/I try hard to learn English	3.34	3.44	.481
Most of my pupils/I spend more time on English than on other subject.	2.80	3.28	.000

There seems to be inconsistency between the pupils' and the English teachers' opinions about whether the pupils went to their English teachers for problems in English and spend more time on English than other subjects (motivation intensity). On the one hand, most English teacher informants thought that if their pupils had problems in understanding English, they always asked them for help, while most pupil informants either hesitated in seeking help from their English teachers or did not go to ask for help. On the other hand, the pupils indicated that they were more willing to spend time on English; while the English teachers thought that their pupils spent more time on other subjects than on English. The discrepancy between teachers' and pupils' expectations of what is a normal amount of time of study may account for the different responses of the pupil and teacher respondents.

With regard to the other two statements, trying hard to learn English (motivation intensity) and loving learning English (attitude to learning English), no significant differences existed between pupil and teacher answers. It seems that basically pupil opinions were consistent with teacher opinions concerning the more general and abstract statements of motivation.

2 The Possible Effects that Culture Studies Will Have on the Pupils' Motivation (the English teachers' evaluation)

Two statements were presented to the English teachers for the purpose of knowing if they thought that culture studies would have positive effects on pupil motivation in English learning. Regarding the statement 'Culture Studies can enhance pupils' motivation to learn English', the teachers' responses were as follows: 38 teachers (86.4%) agreed, no teacher disagreed, and 6 teachers (13.6%) were not sure about it. The mean was 4.11 and standard deviation .62. The result implies that the overwhelming majority of informants considered culture studies a motivator to pupil motivation in English learning and their opinions was quite homogeneous. 3 teachers (6.8%) agreed with the statement that culture teaching would interfere with English learning, 40 teachers (90.9%) disagreed with it, while 1 teacher (2.3%) was not sure about it. The mean was 4.09 and standard deviation .83. To sum up, the English teachers thought commonly that culture studies would have positive influences on pupil motivation and English learning.

Interim Summary

This section presented a general description of Taiwan's junior-high-school pupils' orientations, attitudes, and motivation concerning learning English, mainly in terms of pupil self-report data. In addition, estimates from the English teachers on pupil motivation and on the effects that culture studies is likely to have is also covered to serve as supplementary information. The main conclusions drawn from these findings are:

1. Pupils were more instrumentally oriented than integratively oriented to learn English.
2. In general, pupils had comparatively more positive attitudes towards foreign languages and people in English-speaking countries than towards their English course and English teachers.

3. Pupils showed strong desire to learn English; however, the effort they made to learn it seemed to be relatively less.
4. Pupils had clear orientation to learn English, but comparatively, their attitudes towards it were less positive and their motivation less strong.
5. There was a strong interrelationship among pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards English learning.
6. Most of the English teachers thought that Culture Studies would have positive influence on pupils' motivation to learn English.

7.5 Taiwanese Junior High School Pupils' Own Cultural Identity

This section turns to the findings and discussion of the pupils' own cultural identity in terms of three dimensions:

1. The pupils' own cultural identity at present,
2. The personal backgrounds which are related to pupils' cultural identity,
3. The English teachers' assessment of the junior-high-school pupils' cultural identity, and
4. The English teachers' attitudes towards culture studies in terms of its effects on pupils' cultural identity.

7.5.1 The Pupils' Own Cultural Identity at Present

The cultural identity scale was made up of the Cultural Practice sub-scale and the Cultural Values sub-scale. Each sub-scale contained two categories. The discussion is arranged in the order of: (1) item by item analyses in each sub-scale; (2) the comparison between categories in sub-scales; (3) the comparison between sub-scales.

1 The Cultural Practice Sub-Scale

The scale was scored in terms of the pupils' inclination to own cultural practice, therefore the answer "strongly agree" was scored as 1, "agree" as 2, "uncertain" as 3, "disagree" as 4, and "strongly disagree" as 5. The higher scores mean more own culturally oriented practice, and lower scores indicate that the pupils behaved in a more westernised way. Table 7.27 lists the pupil responses to the statement in the Cultural Practice Scale.

Table 7.27: Frequency, Percentage, Means, Standard Deviations and Rank of the Pupils on the Cultural Practices Scale

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S.D.	Rank (in terms of means)	Number
PFG							
1. I like to buy foreign-made clothes.	120 (25%)	196 (40.9%)	164 (34.2%)	3.24	1.22	1	480 (100%)
2. I prefer western fast food (e.g., McDonald) than our food.	148 (30.8%)	174 (36.3%)	158 (32.9%)	3.03	1.21	2	480 (100%)
3. I like to use foreign-made products more than Taiwan-made ones.	170 (35.4%)	136 (28.3%)	174 (36.2)	2.87	1.14	3	480 (100%)
4. I like to wear clothes with English letters on them.	219 (45.6%)	97 (20.2%)	164 (34.2%)	2.64	1.12	4	480 (100%)
PFC							
1. If it's possible, I would like to attend Taipei American School.	139 (29.0%)	149 (31.0%)	192 (40.0%)	3.03	1.24	1	480 (100%)
2. If it is possible, I would like to emigrate to an English speaking country.	157 (32.7%)	173 (35.0%)	150 (31.3%)	3.03	1.28	2	480 (100%)
3. I like to insert some English words in my conversation with others.	211 (44.0%)	121 (25.2%)	148 (30.8%)	2.76	1.14	3	480 (100%)
4. I like to make friends with foreigners.	218 (45.45)	74 (15.5%)	188 (39.2%)	2.56	1.11	4	480 (100%)
5. I like to have an English name.	290 (60.4%)	71 (15.5%)	119 (24.8%)	2.33	1.14	5	480 (100%)

NOTE: PFG = Preference for Foreign Goods or Food; PFC = Preference to Foreign Countries, Language, People or School.

1. The PFG Category

In all of the four items in PFG, the pupils who expressed uncertain attitudes amounted to about one-third of the informants. Several reasons may be attributed to this: it was hard to decide which (foreign or local) goods or food they like more; the extent to which they liked (or disliked) both were the same; they had not even considered these questions; or they did not know which are foreign or local.

For Items 1 and 2, the pupils who agreed with the statements were less than those who disagreed (about 3 : 5 for Item 1 and about 5 : 6 for Item 2). In Items 3 and 4, the pupils who were for the statements were more than those who were against (about 9 : 7 for Item 3 and 9 : 4 for Item 4). In general, the degree to which the pupils liked to use foreign-made products and to wear clothes with English letters is higher than their liking of buying foreign-made clothes and of eating western fast food.

One of the possible factors for the result of Item 1 may be that usually local made clothes are no worse than foreign-made ones in quality and style, and their prices are cheaper. The result of Item 2 reveals that more pupils preferred local food than western food although fast food is very popular in Taiwan. This implies that these pupils were still used to having food that they usually had in daily life. (In Taiwan, rice is still the main meal, in spite of the fact that food made of flour, such as bread, is more and more popular.) However, there were also nearly one-third of pupils who indicated that they like western fast food better than traditional food. The almost equal proportion of the pupils for and against this statement (although the former is 5.5% higher than the latter) displays that western food assumed an important position in the junior-high-school pupils' diet. The time that western food chains, like McDonald, Kentucky, Pizza Hut, etc., entered Taiwan was about or earlier than the generation to which the informants belong was born. Perhaps it is because of the easy access to western food that the diet of the young generation is changing in Taiwan.

Their response to Item 3 reflected the myth in Taiwan that foreign-made products are better than Taiwan-made ones (xenophilia). This situation is common to all age groups in the society. For the older generation, the foreign products are those like cars, electronic equipment used in daily life, and so on; for the young generation, they may be watches, stationery, or sport shoes. Another factor may be that using foreign-made products is a kind of showing off because it represents better social and economic status. In regard to the pupil answers to item 4, liking to wear clothes with English letters on them, this is possibly because of fashion and the popularity of English. Even the T-shirts made in Taiwan are often printed with English words or sentences on them.

2 The PFC Category

Again, a large proportion of the pupils chose the answer "uncertain" in all the five items (more than one third of them). There are different interpretations for different items to explain this situation. Concerning Items 1 (preference for attending Taipei American School), 2 (preference for emigrating to an English-speaking country), and 4 (preference for making friends with foreigners), lack of understanding in these aspects of foreignness might account for the high ratio of uncertain answers. According to the investigation in this study, only 20.6% of the informants had been to English speaking countries and most of them went there for holiday with a duration of less than one month. Deficiency in English oral competence might explain the pupils' uncertain attitudes when asked if they liked to insert English in conversation (Item 3). After all, English is a foreign language with limited use, especially in speaking and writing, in their everyday life in Taiwan. As for Item 5, perhaps no actual use in daily life made the pupils not sure if they wanted to have an English name.

From the table, it is clear that the pupils against Items 1 and 2 in the PFC category were more than those for them, but the difference is little (2% for Item 1 and 2.3% for Item 2). The message revealed from the figures is that, quite a lot of pupils did not have, or had relatively weaker, identities with their own education system or native land. Although these pupils were a minority, it is worth noticing in that

the longing for settling down in a foreign country or going to foreign school means more serious deviation from self-group identity in a degree comparable with preference for foreign food, goods or language. As for Items 3, 4 and 5, the pupils for these items were all more than those against them, with comparatively larger difference (18.8% for Item 3, 29.9% for Item 4, and 29.9% for Item 5). The result signifies that there was an obvious preference for English language and foreign people among the pupils.

Comparing the pupils' responses to the five items, it seems that the pupils were relatively more open to the English language than to the countries and their education systems. Again, the phenomenon directly reflects the extent to which they had contact with English, foreigners, English-speaking countries and their school systems. English, compared with English-speaking countries and their school system, was more close to the pupils in terms of the fact that they learn it in school or hear it from Star TV. The other reasons might be that English is an international language and American pop culture is wide-spread and influential in Taiwan. Thereupon, even though English is not a language which Taiwanese junior high school pupils use in daily life, it is a symbol of being up-to-date. In the pupils' minds, to insert English in conversation or to have an English name is a kind of fashion and represents being "cool". In addition, the pupil informants seemed to have expressed their liking to make friends with foreigners. The result may be attributed to their curiosity towards foreigners and their desire to have direct communication with them. It intimates that the pupils did not reject knowing foreign people.

The means on PFG and PFC are 2.94 and 2.74 respectively, which signifies a higher degree of attachment to materials belonging to own culture but a lower degree of attachment to own language, land and people. However, the pupils' discrepancy in practices was a kind of difference in degree. In fact, taking the proportion of the pupils for and against the statements on the PFG and PFC categories into consideration, we find that the pupils were on an average quite westernised in behaviour. The attitudes of admiring foreign matters could be

traced back to the tendency of xenophilia. Xenophilia is a common and popular phenomenon in Taiwan's society, in terms of the historical complex. In 19th century Ch'ing, compared with the western countries like Britain, France or even Japan, was one full of corruption and lagging behind in politics, military force, education, and material culture. Facing the invasion from the western world, Ch'ing began to mimic the western military system and the education system, with the hope that it could make China stronger. It was since then that people in China became xenophilic and thought that everything came from the western countries was better. Taiwan, as a province of Ch'ing, was deeply influenced by this kind of concept. Then in 1895, Taiwan was seceded to Japan because Ch'ing lost the war against it. During Japanese colonisation, Taiwanese people had the chance to contact directly a more modern and strong country, and were educated under modern education. Thereupon, although Taiwanese were treated as the second-rank citizens whose social status was inferior to Japanese, the experience of being a colony was not totally bad for Taiwanese. Until now, some old generation people still miss Japanese colonisation. And then after being taken over by the KMT, Taiwan had the chance to meet another modern country, the USA. After the KMT lost the civil war against Chinese Communists and retreated to Taiwan, the USA army came to Taiwan to help it defend against the Communist China. In addition to military aid, the USA also provided Taiwan with economic aid.

2 The Cultural Values Scale

Two categories constitute the Cultural Value Scale: respect & thrift, and generosity, both being the core values in Taiwanese (or Chinese) culture. Item by item analyses on each category will first be presented and then the comparison between the two categories. The result of analysis is recorded in Table 7.28.

1 The R & T Category

Among all the five items, the percentage of agreeing with the statement was higher than that of disagreeing, amounting to an average percentage of 77.2%. In particular, there was an overwhelming approval (nine out of ten pupils) for Item 1.

Table 7.28: Frequency, Percentage, Means, Standard Deviations, and Rank of the Pupils on the Cultural Value Scale

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S.D.	Rank (in terms of means)	Number
R & T							
1. It is my duty to take care of my parents when they grow old.	427 (89.0%)	9 (2.5%)	41 (8.5%)	4.43	.78	1	480 (100%)
2. I think saving is a good virtue.	395 (82.3%)	14 (2.9%)	71 (14.8%)	4.24	.85	2	480 (100%)
Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S.D.	Rank (in terms of means)	Number
3. I save my pocket money.	360 (74.0%)	27 (5.6%)	93 (19.4%)	4.06	.93	3	480 (100%)
4. I respect my teachers.	348 (72.5%)	26 (5.4%)	106 (22.1%)	3.89	.90	4	
5. I will obey what the elder told me..	327 (68.1%)	26 (5.4%)	127 (26.4%)	3.81	.90	5	480 (100%)
G							
1. I like to treat my friends.	335 (69.8%)	30 (6.3%)	115 (24.0%)	3.85	.88	1	480 (100%)
2. I would like to share my things with other people.	307 (64%)	31 (6.5%)	142 (29.6%)	3.72	.89	2	480 (100%)
3. I always invite friends to my house.	212 (44.2%)	83 (17.3%)	185 (38.5%)	3.36	1.05	3	480 (100%)

NOTE: R & T = Respect (obeying or respecting parents, the elder or teachers) & Thrift; G = Generosity.

This outcome means that at least in thoughts, the majority of the pupils stuck very strongly to these traditional concepts, that is, filial duty, respect for teachers and the older people, thrift, in their culture, no matter whether they really followed them in deed. One factor, that is, pupils' being socialised into these values, might account for the high percentage of the pupils' identification with own cultural values. All the statements in the category are taken as virtues in the traditional culture and morally desirable. In Taiwanese society, it is taken for granted to obey these precepts and also the children are socialised into them in families or in schools from an early age. Actually these virtues, especially filial duty, have become so widely accepted criteria of judging one's behaviour in Taiwan's society that people think everyone should behave accordingly. Responding

intuitively according to their common sense, most of the pupils naturally agreed with these statements.

2 The Generosity Category

Items 1 (treating friends) and 2 (sharing things with others) gained more than half of the pupils' support; however in contrast, the ratio of agreement to Item 3 (inviting friends home) is low (about two out of five pupils). Generally speaking, compared with the R & T category, the percentage of the pupils who were for the statements about generosity is relatively low. This means that the pupils had stronger identification with the values of filial duty and thrift than with generosity. The comparatively weaker identification with generosity may be attributed to the influence of individuality, which is ascribed to the western culture. (The pupil informants in this survey are usually called "new new generation" by the mass media in Taiwan, who are characterised by egotism, just caring about themselves.)

7.5.2 The Comparison Between the Cultural Practice Scale and the Cultural Values Scale

1 The Comparison of Means of the Pupils on the Cultural Practice Scale and the Cultural Values Scale

The means for the single item on the Cultural Practice Scale and the Cultural Values Scale are 2.83 and 3.92 separately. T-test shows that there is significant difference between the two means (2-Tail Sig = .000). In addition, difference in variability existed between the two distribution of scores in both scales (P = .000). Judging from the result, it is inferred that the pupils had a higher degree of identification with own cultural values and a more homogeneous response to the items on the cultural values scale than they did on the cultural practice scale. That is, the pupils still kept in mind the core values in their own culture but their behaviour was comparatively more western-oriented. The specific context of Taiwan must be taken into consideration if we try to find a reasonable explanation to this phenomenon.

Taiwan is not a culturally miscellaneous country. It is not like some countries, e.g., the USA or Canada where there are many immigrants from a variety of countries who bring their own native cultures to form a 'melting pot'. Thereupon, the concept of multi-lingual and multi-cultural education, which is popular and implemented in those countries, is just in bud in the 1990s in Taiwan. In Taiwan school education, the culture promoted, the dogma preached, and morality criteria taught are Chinese-culture centred and one of the main purposes of education is to socialise the children into the traditional cultural values (for example, *Su-Wei* (four principles): courtesy, righteousness, integrity, and modesty, and *Pa-Te* (eight virtues): loyalty, filial duty, benevolence, love, credit, justice, harmony, and peace) and philosophy (e.g., Confucianism). The children, being taught under such an environment where their native culture is highly advocated, are ingrained in their own cultural values. However, accompanied with the progress of sciences and technologies, it is inevitable that foreign cultures came to Taiwan and people can get access to these cultures by all kinds of channels easily to be reached in daily life, e.g., TV, the inter-net, and the like. In addition, owing to economic growth, Taiwanese people can afford to travel abroad, which offers a more direct contact with foreign people and cultures. As a result, people in Taiwan become western-culture (American culture in particular) impacted. Nevertheless, not like the influence of the native culture, the influence of foreign cultures is not so profound in people's minds but limited to a more superficial and visible level, such as preference for having an English name or making friends with foreigners.

2 The Correlation Between the Pupils' Cultural Values Identity and Cultural Practices Identity

The coefficient between pupils' scores on the cultural value scale and the cultural practice scale is -0.1322 ($P = .004$, cases = 480). In the light of the negative value of the coefficient, we can infer that there is a tendency that the pupils who had stronger identity with their own cultural values behaved in a more westernised way

(although there is not necessarily a causal relationship between CV and CP). However, regarding the relation between CV and CP, it seems that cultural value identity is close to being independent of cultural practice identity (evidenced by the $-.132$ coefficient). The relation among the sub-scales in CV (including G and R & T) and CP (including PFG and PFC) were further studied in order to get more detailed information. Table 7.29 shows the coefficients and the levels of significance.

Table 7.29: Coefficients and the Levels of Significance for the Cultural Values Identity and Cultural Practice Identity

	PFC	PFG
G	-.2510 (480) P = .000	-.0834 (480) P = .068
R & T	-.1314 (480) P = .000	.0962 (480) P = .035

(Coefficient / (Cases) / 2-tailed Significance)

G = Generosity; R & T = Respect and Thrift; PFC = Preference for Foreign Cultures; PFG = Preference for Foreign Goods

The results can be summarised as follows:

1. All coefficients, except the one between R & T and PFG, are negative.
2. In general, the coefficients are very small (in terms of absolute value), the smallest one, $.0834$, between G and PFG, is even not significant at the level of $.05$; the second smallest, $.0962$, is between R & T and PFG.

Based on the results, it is concluded that there was hardly any relation between the pupils' cultural value identity and cultural practice identity. In this sense, it seems that the findings support the argument presented in 3.3.2, that is, individuals' own cultural identity cannot be seen in terms of their behaviours or identity with own cultural values only.

7.5.3 The Pupils' Personal Background and Their Cultural Identity

In the discussion of this section, the pupils' scores in the Cultural Values Scale and the Cultural Practice Scale were added up to form their cultural identity scores as a whole. T-test was made to see if the pupils' personal background (e.g., gender, grade, fathers' and mothers' English ability, visiting English-speaking countries or not, etc.) are related to their response to the statements in the scales. The outcome shows that differences in responses exist when the independent variables are the following two: fathers' mention of English-speaking countries and their own visiting English-speaking countries. Table 7.30 listed the result.

Table 7.30: The Means and Level of Significance in The Pupils' Answer to the Cultural Identity Scale

Scale	Father			Visit		
	Father 1	Father 2	2-Tail Sig	Visit 1	Visit 2	2-Tail Sig
Cultural Identity	56.46	57.11	X	55.40	57.17	.036
Cultural Practice	24.42	26.30	.001	24.10	25.82	.015
Cultural Value	32.04	30.81	.001	31.39	31.35	X

Note: Father 1 = Fathers who Had Talked about English Speaking Countries and Father 2 = Fathers who Had Not Talked about English Speaking Countries; Visit 1 = Have been to English Speaking Countries and Visit 2 = Have Not Been to English Speaking Countries; X = No Significant Difference; Cultural Identity = Cultural Values + Cultural Practices

On the Cultural Value Scale, there was significant difference in the means of the pupils whose fathers had told them about English speaking countries and of the pupils whose fathers had not told them about English speaking countries. The former's mean was higher than the latter's. As to the Cultural Practice Scale, the significant difference in means also exists between the pupils whose fathers had told them about English speaking countries and the pupils whose fathers had not told them about English speaking countries. The former group's mean score was lower than the latter's. When their cultural identity was counted, the pupils whose

father had not told them about English-speaking countries had higher scores than those whose fathers had. However, the difference is not significant at any level.

Although the result does not mean that there is causality between the factor of Father and the pupils' cultural practice identity and cultural values identity, it is clear that fathers' mention about the English-speaking countries has a relationship with the pupils' behaviour and thoughts. This result is plausible when the role that fathers play in the family is taken into consideration. Traditionally, society in Taiwan is a patriarchy and fathers are always taken as symbols of authority and the job of educating children is related more to fathers than to mothers. Although the situation has somewhat changed in the modern world because of the rise of feminism, the frame of this traditional ideology is still there.

The phenomenon is worthy of noticing that the pupils who had ever been told information about the English-speaking countries had stronger identity with own cultural values and weaker identity with own cultural practice (behaving in a more westernised way). In spite of the fact that the reason for this result still remains to be investigated, it is postulated that mention of foreign countries functioned as a reminder which made the pupils sense the differences between themselves and others and then strengthened their identification with their own cultural values.

The other factor relating to the pupils' own cultural identity is whether they had been to English speaking countries or not. On the Cultural Practice Scale, the pupils who had been to English speaking countries were scored lower than those who had not been to English speaking countries. On the Cultural Value Scale, although the pupils who had been to English-speaking countries had higher score than those who had not been there, the difference is not significant, even at the .05 level. However, with regard to the total scores on the Cultural Identity Scale, significant difference exists at the .05 level between the pupils who had been to English-speaking countries and those who had not been to. The former has lower scores than the latter. Although no causation can be established from the comparison of means, the comparison might be said to substantiate the probability

that visiting English-speaking countries will affect the pupils' own cultural identity and the influence is possibly more on their behaviour than on their cultural values.

7.5.4 The English Teachers' Evaluation of Their Pupils' Cultural Identity

Apart from the pupils' own points of view, the English teachers' perception of their pupils' cultural identity was also investigated with the purpose of understanding this issue from another side. Besides, the teachers were also asked to give their opinions about the possible effects they thought culture studies had on pupils' cultural identity.

1 The English Teachers' Evaluation

The English teachers were asked for their opinions about their pupils' identities concerning three aspects: cultural values, behaviour, and culture in general. For an overview of their evaluation, see Table 7.31.

Table 7.31: Frequency, Percentage, Means, Standard Deviations and Rank of the English Teachers' Evaluation of the Pupils' Own Cultural Identity

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S.D.	Rank (in terms of means)	F
1. I think that most pupils in junior high schools believe in thought, values, and norms in our traditional culture.	9 20.4%	11 25.0%	24 54.5%	2.98	.90	1	44 100%
3. I think that most pupils in junior high schools have strong identity with our traditional culture.	8 18.2%	10 22.7%	26 59.1%	2.91	.74	2	44 100%
* 2. I think that most pupils in junior high schools behave in a more and more westernised way.	24 54.5%	7 15.9%	13 29.5%	2.61	.84	3	44 100%

* Item 2 is scored in reverse. Therefore, higher scores mean that the teachers thought the pupils behave more own culturally orientedly and lower scores mean in a more and more westernised way.

In Items 1 (beliefs in traditional cultural values) and 3 (identity with self-culture in general), the number of the teachers who chose the answer "uncertain" is more than half of the total informants. The ratios of the answers for and against the two items are about 3:4 and 4:5 respectively. Item 2 (westernised behaviour) has more answers for than against it, about 3.6:1. There are about one third of the teachers saying that they were not sure if the pupils behaved in a more and more westernised way. It is clear that the teachers who chose "uncertain" in Item 2 were far less than those in Items 1 and 3. It may be because that the pupils' exterior behaviour was easier to be seen and assessed than their interior thoughts towards traditional cultural values.

From the ratios of the answers for and against the three items, it seems that from the point of view of the teachers, the pupils behaved more western-culturally oriented and were not so strongly tied up with traditional cultural values. Referring back to the pupils' self-reports of cultural identities, the English teachers' evaluation of the pupils behaviour is in accordance with the result gained in the Cultural Practice Scale, that is, the pupils behaved in a more westernised way. However, the teachers' evaluation toward the pupils' own cultural identity seems to diverge from the pupils' own answers. According to the pupil self-reports of cultural value identity, an average of 70.4% of the pupils agreed with the cultural values stated in the CV scale but only one out of five teachers agreed that most junior-high-school pupils believe in traditional cultural values. The possible reason for the result might lie in the different definition of these traditional values. For example, being obedient probably means to follow whatever the parents, the teachers or the older say to the teachers' generation; while for the pupils, it is more flexible that they choose to obey what they think is reasonable. As a result, discrepancy appeared between the English teachers' assessment on pupil cultural value identity and the pupils' self-reports of cultural value identity. Nevertheless, in spite of the difference, both teacher and pupil opinions are quite consistent that the junior-high-school pupils had relatively stronger identity with own cultural values than with own cultural practices.

2 The Possible Effects that Culture Studies Would Have on the Pupils' Own Cultural Identity

The English teachers' answers to the possible effects that culture studies would have on pupil cultural identity are listed as Table 7.32.

Table 7.32: The Possible Effects that Culture Studies Have on the Pupils' Own Cultural Identity (in terms of English teachers' point of view)

Item	Agree	Dis-agree	Un-certain	Mean	S.D.	Total
* 1. Teaching pupils the culture of the English speaking country/ies would lower their loyalty to our traditional culture.	0	38 (86.4%)	6 (13.6%)	4.20	.67	44 (100%)
* 2. In light of Taiwan's Americanisation, teaching the culture of the English speaking country/ies should be excluded from the English course.	1 (4.5%)	39 (88.7%)	3 (6.8%)	4.11	.72	44 (100%)
* 5. Culture Studies would lead pupils to the adoption of norms/values in foreign cultures which undermine their identity with the values in the local traditional culture.	2 (4.5%)	31 (70.4%)	11 (25.0%)	3.82	.76	44 (100%)
3. Through comparisons between Taiwanese and English speaking people's cultures, pupils would understand their own culture better.	34 (77.3%)	2 (4.5%)	8 (18.2%)	3.82	.76	44 (100%)
8. Teaching cultures of English speaking people helps to educate our junior-high-school pupils as world citizens.	32 (72.7%)	3 (6.8%)	9 (20.5%)	3.80	.76	44 (100%)
* 7. Teaching the culture of the English speaking country/ies will make westernisation of Taiwanese culture worse.	2 (4.5%)	29 (65.9%)	13 (29.5%)	3.77	.77	44 (100%)
* 6. Teaching the culture of the English speaking country/ies would be likely to produce a generation of Anglophiles in Taiwan's society.	5 (11.4%)	26 (59.15)	13 (29.5%)	3.61	.87	44 (100%)
4. Being aware of the existence of other people's culture would contribute to pupils' Taiwanese identity.	21 (47.7%)	7 (15.9%)	16 (36.4%)	3.36	.89	44 (100%)

NOTE: * = negative statements, scored in reverse.

In this scale, Items 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7 represented negative effects of culture studies on the pupils' own cultural identity; Items 3 and 4 signified the positive effects on own cultural identity, and Item 8 the positive effect on internationalising the pupils. Concerning the statements of negative effects Culture Studies may have on pupil identity, most teachers objected to them. However, from the percentages of agreement, disagreement and uncertainty, it seems there was difference in degree among the teachers' answers to different items.

At the level of loyalty to and beliefs in own culture values, the teachers did not think that teaching foreign cultures would have a negative impact on pupil identity. However, there appears to be more worry that Culture Studies would produce a generation of Anglophiles and make Taiwanese culture more westernised. Seen superficially, the English teachers appeared to be inconsistent with their answers. Here again, the homogeneous context of Taiwan may serve as the point of departure to discuss the contradiction. Taiwan is a dialectic multi-lingual (Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hukkanese) and multi-cultural (Chinese and indigenous Taiwanese) society. In contrast with some multi-lingual and multi-cultural society, such as the USA and Canada where the languages and the cultures come from different origins, Taiwan is a more homogeneous society in terms of its cultures and languages, which are the branches from the same origin. Therefore, owing to the fact that the pupils are surrounded by the macro-environment which is local culture dominated, the extent to which Culture Studies in English class would shake the pupils' cultural roots, i.e., their beliefs in core cultural norms and values, was thought to be limited. Nevertheless, seen from another angle that the channels to contact foreign cultures are more and more open and easy to get access to and that people, especially the young generation, behave in a more and more westernised way, the worry that culture studies would have negative effects on own cultural (practice, in this case) identity lingers on among the teachers. (In Taiwan, westernisation is always connected with adoption of western dress, behaviour (celebrating Christmas, increase in borrowing words from English), habits (e.g., eating habit), and so on. These are more visible aspects compared with changes in thought, values, etc..)

Interim Summary

The analysis and discussion of pupils' behaviours and cultural values was the focus of this section. The main conclusions can be summarised as follows:

1. According to their self-report data, the pupils seemed to have stronger identity with own cultural values than with own cultural practices.
2. Basically, there was hardly any relationship between pupils' own cultural value identity and own cultural practice identity.
3. In general, the English teachers thought Culture Studies would have positive influence on pupils' own cultural identity

So far, the analyses made discussed pupil motivation, attitudes, orientations, cultural identity individually. Next, the focus will be on analysis of correlation between these scales and the pupils' willing to learn Culture Studies.

7.6 Correlation Analysis

The correlations to be analysed in this part are mainly: (1) between the pupils' cultural identity and their motivation, attitudes, and orientation, and (2) between the extent to which the pupils liked culture studies, and their motivation, attitudes, orientation, and cultural identity separately.

7.6.1 The Correlation between the Pupils' Cultural Identity and Their Motivation, Attitudes, and Orientation

The analysis will be presented in the following order: (1) correlation between the scales mentioned above, and (2) correlation among the sub-scale of these scales.

1 Cultural Identity and Motivation, Attitudes, and Orientation

First, the correlations are shown as follows:

Table 7.33: Correlation between Pupils' Cultural Identity and their Motivation, Attitudes, and Orientation towards Learning English

	Orientation	Attitudes	Motivation
Cultural Identity	-.0893 (480) P = .050	-.0990 (479) P = .030	.0225 (479) P = .623

(Coefficient / (Cases) / 2-tailed Significance)

The data show that there were no relations between: (1) pupils' cultural identity and their motivation to learn English and (2) their cultural identity and orientation to learn English. Although according to the P value, the correlation between cultural identity and attitudes was significant at the .05 level, in the light of the fact that the sample size was large and that the coefficient was very small, we cannot say that cultural identity correlated well with attitudes. Further analysis was carried out in order to know the more detailed correlation among the sub-scales in the cultural identity, orientation, attitudes, and motivation scale.

2 Relationship among the Sub-Scales of the Cultural Identity Scale, the Motivation Scale, the Attitude Scale, and the Orientation Scale

First, the correlation among the cultural identity, motivation, attitude, and orientation scales is shown as Table 7.34.

According to this table, the following results can be drawn:

1. CV correlated positively with INST, INTE, AFL, AEP, ALE, AC, AT, MI, and D; while CP had negative correlations with them.
2. Overall, the coefficients are not large; the largest, .5369, between CP and AEP, is the only coefficient above .5000; the next largest coefficient, .3671, is between CP and INTE.

3. Among the nine sub-scales in motivation, attitudes and orientation, both CV' s and CP' s coefficients with ALE, AT, and D are all below .3000. With INST, AFL, AC, and MI, CV correlated more strongly than CP did; while with INTE and AEP, CP correlated more strongly than CV did.

Table 7.34: Correlation among the Cultural Identity, Motivation, Attitude, and Orientation Scales

	INST	INTE	AFL	AEP	ALE	AC	AT	MI	D
CV	.3284 (480) P = .000	.3443 (480) P = .000	.3074 (480) P = .000	.2885 (480) P = .000	.2524 (480) P = .000	.3352 (480) P = .000	.2732 (480) P = .000	.3483 (480) P = .000	.2860 (479) P = .000
CP	-.2315 (480) P = .000	-.3671 (480) P = .000	-.3019 (480) P = .000	-.5368 (480) P = .000	-.2555 (480) P = .000	-.2282 (480) P = .000	-.1266 (480) P = .005	-.1544 (480) P = .000	-.2183 (480) P = .000

NOTE: CV = Cultural Value Identity; CP = Cultural Practice Identity; INST = Instrumental Orientation; INTE = Integrative Orientation; AFL = Attitudes towards Foreign Languages; AEP = Attitudes towards English Speaking People; ALE = Attitudes towards Learning English; AC = Attitudes towards English Course; AT Attitudes towards English Teachers; MI = Motivation Intensity; D = Desire to Learn English.

From these the results, we know that:

1. The pupils who had stronger self cultural value identity tended to have stronger integrative orientation, instrumental orientation, more positive attitudes toward foreign languages, people in English-speaking countries, learning English, English teachers and English course, stronger desire to learn English, and stronger motivation intensity. While the situation is in reverse for the pupils who had stronger self cultural practice identity.
2. The pupils' cultural value identity and cultural practice identity had comparatively weak relation with their attitudes towards learning English and towards English teachers and their desire to learn English.

3. The pupils who behaved in a more westernised way tended to have more favourable attitudes to people in English speaking countries and stronger integrative orientations to learn English.

However, there is one caution to be borne in mind that since the coefficients are generally small, the conclusions drawn are of limited use.

7.6.2 Correlation Between the Extent to Which the Pupils Liked to Learn Culture Studies and Their Motivation, Attitudes, Orientation and Cultural Identity

The correlation between the extent to which the pupils liked Culture Studies and their motivation, attitudes, orientation and cultural identity is listed as Table 7.35.

Table 7. 35: Correlation Between the Extent to Which the Pupils Liked to Learn Culture Studies and Their Motivation, Attitudes, Orientation and Cultural Identity

	Motivation		Attitudes				
Liking	.4375 P = .000		.5036 P = .000				
	MI	D	AFL	AEP	ALE	AET	AEC
Liking	.3361 P = .000	.4529 P = .000	.4129 P = .000	.4211 P = .000	.4360 P = .000	.2967 P = .000	.3968 P = .000
	Orientation		Cultural Identity				
Liking	.4699 P = .000		-.1323 P = .004				
	INST	INTE	CV	CP			
Liking	.3046 P = .000	.4748 P = .000	.1891 P = .000	-.2767 P = .000			

NOTE: Liking = Liking to Culture Studies; MI = Motivation Intensity; D = Desire to Learn English; Motivation = MI + D; AFL = Attitudes towards Foreign Language Learning; AEP = Attitudes towards English Speaking People; ALE = Attitudes toward Learning English; AT = Attitudes towards the English Teacher; AC = Attitudes towards English Course; INST = Instrumental Orientations; INTE = Integrative Orientations; Orientation = INST + INTE; CV = Cultural Value Identity; CP = Cultural Practice Identity; Identity = CV + CP.

All the coefficients in this table are positive except for the two between liking and cultural identity and between liking and CP, where the coefficients are all small. The largest coefficient, between liking and attitudes, is the only one above .5000; the second largest is between liking and INTE. The smallest coefficient is between liking and cultural identity.

On the one hand, the data suggested that the extent to which the pupils like Culture Studies correlated consistently and highly with their motivation, attitudes and orientation. The correlation between pupils' liking for learning foreign cultures correlated especially strongly with their integrative orientation. However, there is no causal relationship can be induce from these correlation analyses. On the other hand, the correlation between pupils' liking to Culture Studies and their cultural identity was relatively weaker and there was difference between the two sub-scales (Cultural Values and Cultural Practices) subordinating to the Cultural Identity Scale. The extent to which the pupils liked Culture Studies correlated positively with their cultural values identity but negatively with their cultural practices identity. (High scores in the cultural values scale mean that the pupils identify with own cultural values is high, while low scores mean the opposite. High scores in the cultural practices scale mean that the pupils identify with own culturally inclined behaviour is high, while the low scores mean the opposite.)

7.7 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed and discussed the data of the survey research concerning the English teachers' and the pupils' opinions about the current English class and textbooks, and Culture Studies. Another focus of data analysis and discussion was the status of the pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards learning English, and their own cultural identity at present. From these data, the following main conclusions can be drawn:

1. Most of the English teachers and pupils thought the current English textbooks cover cultural elements and the elements appearing frequently are school life, food and drink, and festivals of the target language country.
2. According to the pupils, few cultural topics were introduced in their English class; while most of the English teachers indicated that they taught a lot of culture of the target language country.
3. The majority of the English teachers thought that cultures of the English speaking countries should be included in teaching, and most of the pupils also said they would like to know about cultures of the English speaking countries.
4. In regard to their motivation status:
 - A. comparatively, most of the pupils had stronger instrumental orientation (e.g., travelling abroad, go to a good senior high school, and so on) to learn English.
 - B. Comparatively, the pupils had more positive attitudes towards foreign language and people in the English speaking countries than towards learning English and their English course and teachers.
 - C. The pupils' desire to learn English was stronger, compared with the effort they made to learn it.
5. Concerning their own cultural identity, it seems that the pupils' identity with own cultural values was strong, although their behaviour was more western-oriented.
6. There was strong relationships between the pupils' liking for Culture Studies and their orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards learning English; while the relationship between their liking for Culture Studies and their own cultural identity was relatively weaker.

In the next chapter, I will turn to analysis and discussion of data gained from the experimental research.

Chapter 8 Data Analysis and Discussion: the experiment

Introduction

Chapter 7 focuses on description of and relations among pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation to learn English and their identity with their own culture based on the questionnaire survey at the macro level of junior high schools in Taipei City and County. The analysis and discussion of data in Chapter 7 provide a general profile of Taiwanese pupils' and English teachers' opinions about Culture Studies, the pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards learning English. Chapter 8 aims at analysing and discussing data gained from the small scale experiment implemented in Shih-Yu Junior High School in Taipei County. The focus point is to find out if intervention of culture teaching would bring any change in pupil motivation and cultural identity. The resources of data are from: (1) the quantitative data, i.e., the pre-test and post-test results measured by the same attitude, orientation, motivation, and cultural identity scales used in the questionnaire survey, and (2) the qualitative data, which includes the subject pupils' own evaluation and my reflection on the classroom room interaction. And then I will synthesise the data of the questionnaire survey and of the experimental teaching to draw a conclusion.

Three units, British Festivals, British School, and Life of British Teenagers, were designed for the experimental teaching, but only the first two units were taught in class, owing to deficiency in time. The total number of the pupils who completed the pre-test questionnaire was 54; while that of those who answered the post-test questionnaire was 52. In the light of loss of respondents, the following comparisons between the pre-test and the post-test were recorded in percentage. Because the subject pupils filled in the pre-test and post-test scales anonymously, no individual pupils could be traced. Owing to this, it is impossible to an compare individual pupil' s responses before and after the experimental culture teaching. As a result, the

following data analysis and discussion were made on the basis of the comparison between the pupils' pre-test and post-test means.

8.1 The Pupils' Orientation, Attitude, and Motivation in Pre-test and Post-test

As in Chapter 7, the analysis proceeded in the order of pupils' orientation, attitudes and motivation. In the following sections, analysis concerning items on these scales will be presented first and then the focus goes to the pre-test means and post-test means on the sub-scales of orientation, attitudes and motivation.

8.1.1 The Pupils' Change in Orientation

Table 8.1 shows subject pupil reply to the items on the orientation scale. The following discussion will be divided into two parts: the whole class of pupils' orientations before and after teaching, and the high-oriented pupil responses and the low-oriented pupil responses before and after the culture teaching.

Table 8.1: Percentage and Means of Pupils' Answers on the Orientation Scale

Item	Agree (%)		Dis-agree (%)		Uncertain (%)		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
Inst								
1. I may need English to be admitted to a high school.	74.1	90.2	11.1	0	14.8	9.8	3.98	4.35
2. English will someday be useful in getting a good job.	81.5	86.5	5.6	0	13.0	13.5	4.24	4.29
3. English will help me if I should ever travel.	85.2	90.4	3.7	0	11.1	9.6	4.30	4.61
Inte								
4. English will help me to understand the ways of life in English speaking countries.	61.1	59.6	14.8	7.7	24.1	32.7	3.61	3.60
5. English will enable me to better understand and appreciate English culture.	57.4	55.8	14.8	11.5	27.8	32.7	3.54	3.48

Item	Agree (%)		Dis-agree (%)		Uncertain (%)		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
6. English will help me acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook.	63.0	66.6	7.4	5.9	29.6	27.5	3.80	3.73
7. I would like to make friends with people from English speaking countries.	72.2	69.2	11.1	3.8	16.7	26.9	3.83	3.98

NOTE: Inst = Instrumental Orientation; Inte = Integrative Orientation

From the percentages showed in Table 8.1, it is evident that pupil instrumental orientations became stronger after the experimental teaching. And the means of the three items are all higher in post-test than in pre-test. However, T-test analysis indicates that significant difference only exists between pupils' responses to Item 1 (to be admitted to a good senior high school; 2-tail Sig = .036, P = .045). On the integrative orientation sub-scale, in terms of percentage, pupils' agreement to Items 5 (to understand the ways of life in English-speaking countries), 6 (to better understand and appreciate English culture), and 8 (to make friends with people from English-speaking countries) dropped but agreement to Item 3 (to acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook) increased in post-test. However, in terms of mean, all the means, except that of Item 4, dropped in the post-test. T-test analysis reveals that there are no significant differences between pupils' means on the orientation scale before and after the experiment (see Table 8.2). The comparison between the item means of the instrumental orientation and integrative orientation reveals that the subject pupils were more instrumentally oriented than integratively oriented, either before or after the teaching experiment (Inst mean : Inte mean = 4.17 : 3.69, for the pre-test; Inst mean : Inte mean = 4.36 : 3.70, for the post-test).

Table 8.2: Means and Level of Significance of the Pupils on the Pre-Test and Post-Test Orientation Scale

	Number		Mean		S.D.		P	2-Tail Sig
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test		
Orientation	54	50	27.30	27.92	4.46	3.49	.069	.431
Inst	54	51	12.52	13.10	2.01	1.65	.193	.116
Inte	54	51	14.78	14.82	3.40	2.39	.062	.937

Level of Significance at 95%.

NOTE: Inst = Instrumental Orientation; Inte = Integrative Orientation; Orientation = Inst + Inte; S.D. = Standard Deviation.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, because the experiment was designed in a one-group pre-test-post-test way, caution should be borne in mind when any conclusion is to be drawn, in the light of the fact that there are internal and external threats to the validity of the experiment (see 6.5.6, Point 1). Therefore, the result showed above might not be totally attributed to the manipulated independent variable, in this case, culture teaching. One factor, the entrance examination, may explain increase of support for the instrumental orientation of being admitted to a better senior high school. The subject pupils, who were going to be in the final year of junior high school, would soon face the pressure of the entrance examination after the experimental culture teaching. (The experiment ended in May, 1996 and the subject pupils would start their final year in September in the same year. Usually, the junior high schools in Taiwan arrange courses during summer vacation, from July to September, for the third graders-to-be). Compared with the immediate need, other orientations, either instrumental or integrative ones, were minor. The result shows obviously that the pupils were strongly instrumentally oriented. However, in spite of this, we can not say that culture teaching is invalid in making the pupils more integratively oriented because a more powerful and decisive factor in the macro environment (the examination) probably interacted to influence pupil response. Overall, pupils'

orientations to learn English did not have significant change before and after the teaching experiment.

8.1.2 Pupils' Change in Attitudes

This section analyses and discusses pupils' attitudes toward things related to English learning before and after the experimental teaching. The discussion focuses on their responses scale item by item and then on the means on the attitude scale.

First the result of the subject pupils' responses on the attitude scale is presented (see Table 8.3) and then analyses and discussion follow.

Table 8.3: Frequency and Means of Pupils' Responses on the Attitude Scale before and after the Experimental Culture Teaching

Item	Agree (%)		Dis-Agree (%)		Uncertain (%)		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
AFL								
1. If I were visiting a foreign country I would like to be able to speak the language of its people.	83.4	92.3	9.3	3.8	7.4	3.8	4.17	4.54
2. I would really like to learn a lot of foreign languages.	70.3	76.9	13.0	7.7	16.7	15.4	3.93	4.12
3. Studying a foreign language is an enjoyable experience.	51.6	53.9	18.5	17.3	29.6	28.8	3.48	3.44
4. I would study a foreign language in school even if it were not required.	62.9	48.1	16.7	13.4	20.4	38.5	3.61	3.54
AEP								
5. I would like to get to know the people in English speaking countries better.	64.8	53.8	13.0	21.2	22.2	25.0	3.74	3.44
6. I have a favourable attitude towards people in English speaking countries.	41.8	67.3	13.0	11.5	35.2	21.2	3.54	3.69

Item	Agree (%)		Dis-Agree (%)		Uncertain (%)		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
7. The more I learn about the English speaking countries, the more I like them.	61.1	61.6	11.1	32.7	5.8	22.2	3.76	3.75
8. I always admire people in English speaking countries.	66.7	51.9	11.1	25.0	22.2	23.1	3.87	3.44
ALE								
*9. Learning English is a waste of time.	62.6	57.7	9.3	7.7	27.8	34.6	3.87	3.71
*10. I would rather spend my time on courses other than English.	44.4	28.8	25.9	23.1	29.6	48.1	3.19	3.08
11. I love learning English.	31.5	40.3	37.0	19.2	31.5	40.4	3.02	3.25
12. I really enjoying learning English.	29.6	21.1	27.8	28.8	42.6	50.0	3.07	2.81
AET								
13. I feel that my English teacher is competent.	59.2	46.2	9.3	9.6	31.5	44.2	3.72	3.44
14. I feel that my English teacher is friendly.	66.7	59.6	7.4	13.5	25.9	26.9	3.91	3.58
15. I feel that my English teacher is patient.	79.6	69.2	3.7	13.5	16.7	17.3	4.13	3.69
16. I feel that my English teacher is good.	70.3	57.7	13.0	7.7	16.7	34.6	3.74	3.58
AEC								
17. My English course is useful.	51.8	44.2	22.2	17.3	25.9	38.5	3.44	3.39
18. My English course is meaningful.	46.3	40.4	16.7	23.1	37.0	36.5	3.37	3.19
19. My English course is pleasurable.	27.8	17.3	22.2	28.9	50.0	53.8	2.98	2.81
20. My English course is colourful.	24.1	19.2	35.2	30.8	40.7	50.0	2.78	2.87

NOTE: AFL = Attitudes towards Foreign Language Learning; AEP = Attitudes towards English Speaking People; ALE = Attitudes towards Learning English; AET = Attitudes towards English Teachers; AEC = Attitudes towards English Course.

From the means, we know that only five items (would like to be able to speak the language of the country if going there; would like to learn a lot of foreign languages; having a favourable attitudes towards people in English-speaking countries; loving learning English; thinking the English course is colourful) have higher means on the post-test scale. T-test analysis shows that there are no significant differences between

these pre-test means and post-test means for each item, except Item 16 (my English teacher is good; 2-Tail Sig = .036). In general, there are no significant differences between pupils' responses to the statements on the pre-test and post-test attitude scale.

T-test analysis was also conducted to see the changes of pupils' means on the sub-scales. The result is shown as Table 8.4.

Table 8.4: Means and Level of Significance of Pupils' Responses on the Attitudes Scale

	Number		Mean		S.D.		2-Tail Sig	P
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test		
Attitudes	54	52	71.31	69.24	14.27	11.48	.437	.226
AFL	54	52	15.19	15.63	3.79	2.58	.476	.059
AEP	54	52	14.91	14.33	3.84	3.45	.416	.467
ALE	54	52	13.15	12.85	3.67	2.53	.622	.014
AET	54	52	15.50	14.29	3.06	3.49	.060	.710
AEC	54	52	12.57	12.25	3.45	3.24	.619	.505

NOTE: AFL = Attitudes towards Foreign Language Learning; AEP = Attitudes towards English Speaking People; ALE = Attitudes towards Learning English; AET = Attitudes towards English Teachers; AEC = Attitudes towards English Course; Attitudes = AFL + AEP + ALE + AET + AEC. S.D. = Standard Deviation

Again, the result shows that there are no significant differences between pupils' pre-test and post-test means on the attitude scale, the AFL, AEP, ALE, AET, and AEC sub-scales. Among the five sub-scales, the only increase of mean is on the AFL sub-scale. The post-test means of the other four sub-scales dropped and inter alia, the AET sub-scale has the biggest mean difference which reach 1.21. In spite of the fact that statistical analysis shows no significant difference in pupils' attitudes before and after the experiment, I will still try to analyse the factors for the slight change in pupils' attitudes.

The drop of scores might be attributed to intervention of culture teaching or other factors. If the intervention of culture teaching was interacting, failing in carrying out the activity of cultural exchange with Taipei British School (TBS) may assume an important role in change of attitude towards the English course. From the beginning of the experiment, the pupils were told that the activity of cultural exchange with TES was included in the course and if possible, pupils from TBS would be invited to Shih-Yu to spend one day with the subject pupils. The subject pupils showed very high interest in direct contact with native speakers of English of their age and in knowing more about school life of and youths from a foreign country, Britain, in a more vivid and interesting way. However, owing to time constraint on the one hand, and getting no response from the senior teacher in TBS, the activity was not fulfilled. When knowing that the activity could not be carried out, the subject pupils were disappointed.

If other factors are taken into consideration, one factor is worthy of noticing that when the pupils answered the statements on the attitude scale, the target they had in mind may be their formal English class. Therefore the data gained from the AEC and AET sub-scales actually reflect their attitudes towards their English course and English teacher, rather than attitudes towards the experimental culture teaching and the instructor of the teaching. As aforementioned, the subject pupils were going to be the third graders in the summer. The increasing study load and pressure of facing the entrance examinations might be two reasons explaining their decline of attitudes towards English course and learning English. Concerning their attitudes towards the English teacher, it is possible that when the pupils were answering the questionnaire, the English teacher they had in their mind was the one who taught them the former English class, rather than me, the experimenter and the instructor of the culture teaching. Consequently, the relationship between the instructor of the formal English class and the subject pupils might result in the less positive attitudes to the English teacher.

8.1.3 Pupils' Change in Motivation

This section of data analyses and discussion focuses on the pupils' pre-test and post-test responses on the motivation scale.

The statistical results of the pupils' replies on the motivation scale are recorded in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5: Percentage of Pupil Response on the Pre-Test and Post-Test Motivation Scale

	Agree (%)		Dis-Agree (%)		Uncertain (%)		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
MI								
1. When I have a problem understanding something we are learning in my English class, I always ask the instructor for help.	24.1	26.9	37.0	25.0	38.9	48.1	2.78	2.98
2. When I am studying English, I ignore distractions and stick to the job at hand.	25.9	25.0	26.0	21.2	48.1	53.8	2.98	3.06
3. I can't be bothered trying to understand the more complex aspects of English.	31.5	26.9	50.0	38.5	18.5	34.6	3.24	3.17
	Agree (%)		Dis-Agree (%)		Uncertain (%)		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
4. I really work hard to learn English.	20.4	46.2	24.1	5.7	55.6	48.1	2.94	3.46
Desire								
5. To be honest, I really have little desire to learn English.	27.8	23.1	46.3	50.0	25.9	26.9	3.22	3.38
6. I hope there is no English.	25.9	26.9	53.7	44.3	20.4	28.8	3.37	3.29
7. If it were up to me whether or not to take English, I would definitely take it.	57.4	53.9	14.9	7.7	27.8	38.5	3.67	3.62

	Agree (%)		Dis-Agree (%)		Uncertain (%)		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
8. I wish I were fluent in English.	77.8	86.5	9.3	1.9	13.0	11.5	4.24	4.39

NOTE: MI = Motivation Intensity; Desire = Desire to Learn English.

On the MI sub-scale, pupils' mean of Item 3 (not bothered trying to understand the more complex aspects of English, scored in reverse) decreased; while their means of the other three items (1, asking the English teacher for help when having a problem in English; 2, ignoring distractions when studying English; 4, really working hard to learn English) all increased after the experimental culture teaching. However, significant difference was only found between the pre-test and post-test mean of Item 4 (2-Tail Sig = .002). On the Desire sub-scale, the means of Items 5 and 8 (having little desire to learn English and wishing to be fluent in English) increased after the experiment but the means of Item 6 and 7 (hoping that there is no English and taking English even if it is not required) decreased. Nevertheless again, there is no significant difference between pre-test means and post-test means on the items of the Desire scale. Furthermore, T-test analysis was conducted to see if there are differences between pupils' means on the pre-test and post-test orientation scale (see Table 8.6).

The result shows that there is no significant difference between pupils' pre-test and post-test means on the motivation scale, although their post-test means are higher than pre-test ones. Again, in the light of no significant difference, the subject pupils were divided into the high-motivation and low-motivation groups in order to compare the pre-test and post-test means of the two group separately. The following section presents the results.

Table 8.6: Means, Standard Deviations, Level of Significance, and P of the Pupils on the Motivation Scale

	Number		Mean		S.D.		P	2-tail Sig
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test		
Motivation	54	52	26.44	27.33	6.54	5.06	.057	.440
MI	54	52	11.94	12.67	3.06	2.40	.154	.177
Desire	54	52	14.50	14.65	3.91	3.20	.091	.825

NOTE: MI = Motivation Intensity; Desire = Desire to Learn English; Motivation = MI + Desire. S.D. = Standard Deviation

8.1.4 Summary and Discussion

Overall, the findings of this study do not provide strong support for the hypothesis that culture teaching should have influence on junior-high-school pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation to English learning. Comparisons between pupils' pre-test and post-test means on the orientation, attitude, and motivation scales reveal that there are no significant differences. Time constraints may be the cause of this result. After all, the period of experiment is short, only two months, so it is hard to see significant change in pupils.

8.2 The Pupils' Cultural Identity in Pre-test and Post-test

In the coming section, I will analyse and discussion pupils' changes in their cultural identity after they had experienced Culture Studies. The analysis of data and discussion will follow the model adopted in analysis and discussion of pupils' orientation, attitudes and motivation, that is, item by item, and the comparison of the pupils' pre-test and post-test means.

8.2.1 Pupils' Change in Cultural Practice

The statistical results of the pupils' replies on the pre-test and post-test cultural practice scale are listed as Table 8.7.

On the PFG sub-scale, the subject pupils' means of each item increased after the experiment, except the mean of Item 1 (liking to buy foreign-made clothes). In regard

to the PFC sub-scale, the means of Items 1 (attending Taipei American School), 2 (emigrating to an English-speaking country), and 5 (having an English name) increased; while the means of Items 3 (inserting English words in conversation) and 4 (making friends with foreigners) increased. Nevertheless, T-test analysis shows that there are no significant differences between pre-test and post-test item means.

Table 8.7: Percentage and Means of the Pupils' on the Cultural Practice Scale

Item	Agree (%)		Dis-Agree (%)		Uncertain (%)		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
PFG								
1. I like to buy foreign-made clothes.	42.6	42.3	27.8	28.8	29.6	28.8	2.76	2.75
2. I prefer western fast food more.	40.7	26.9	33.4	38.5	25.9	34.6	2.91	3.23
3. I like to use foreign-made products more than Taiwan-made ones.	40.8	42.3	22.2	23.1	37.0	34.6	2.69	2.85
4. I like to wear clothes with English letters on them.	63.0	53.9	14.8	9.6	22.2	36.5	2.30	2.44
PFC								
1. If it's possible, I would like to attend Taipei American School.	42.6	36.5	29.7	25.0	27.8	38.5	2.78	2.81
2. If it is possible, I would like to emigrate to an English speaking country.	61.1	46.2	20.4	25.0	18.5	28.8	2.31	2.73
3. I like to insert some English words in my conversation with others.	53.7	50.0	22.2	11.5	24.1	38.5	2.46	2.44
4. I like to make friends with foreigners.	42.6	42.3	27.8	28.8	29.6	28.8	2.24	2.08
5. I like to have an English name.	64.8	67.3	14.9	19.2	20.4	13.5	2.20	2.30

NOTE: PFG = Preference for Foreign Goods or Food; PFC = Preference for Foreign Countries, People or School.

T-test analysis was conducted to analyse the pre-test and post-test means of the pupils' on the cultural practice scale. The result is recorded in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8: Means, Standard Deviations, and Level of Significance of the Pupils on the Cultural Practices Scale

	Number		Mean		S.D.		P	2-Tail Sig
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test		
Cultural Practices	54	52	22.65	23.63	6.42	4.50	.808	.434
PFG	54	52	10.65	11.27	3.52	3.15	.347	.342
PFC	54	52	12.00	12.37	4.64	4.33	.346	.676

NOTE: PFG = Preference for Foreign Goods or Food; PFC = Preference for Foreign Countries, People or School; Cultural Practices = PFG + PFC. S.D. = Standard Deviation

Again, the result reveals no significant differences between the pupils' pre-test and post-test means, in spite of the fact that their means on the cultural practice scale, the PFG and PFC sub-scales all increased. If other factors are neglected, it is possible that because the experiment only lasted for two months, the time is too short to result in significant change on the part of the pupils' behaviour. Another factor may be that the experimental culture teaching took place in the context of school which was not powerful enough to have obvious impact on the pupils' daily-life behaviours.

8.2.2 Pupils' Change in Cultural Values

1 The Pupils' Responses on the Pre-Test and Post-Test Cultural Value Scale

First pupils' answers to the items on the pre-test and post-test cultural value scale are presented as Table 8.9.

Table 8.9: Percentage and Means of the Pupils on the Cultural Value Scale

Item	Agree		Dis-Agree		Uncertain		Mean	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
R & T								
1. It is my duty to take care of my parents when they grow old.	90.8	92.3	0	1.9	9.3	5.8	4.53	4.63
2. I think saving is a good virtue.	79.6	90.4	14.8	0	5.6	9.6	4.15	4.39
3. I save my pocket money.	79.6	76.9	5.6	5.8	14.8	17.3	4.11	4.06
4. I respect my teachers.	72.2	78.8	1.9	0	25.9	21.2	3.87	4.08
5. I will obey what the elder told me.	64.8	69.2	9.3	5.7	25.9	25.0	3.70	3.94
G								
1. I like to treat my friends.	77.8	88.4	3.7	0	18.5	11.5	4.13	4.33
2. I would like to share my things with other people.	63.0	92.3	3.7	0	33.3	7.7	3.81	4.25
3. I always invite friends to my house.	55.5	59.6	16.7	5.8	27.8	34.6	3.67	3.83

NOTE: R & T = Respect (obeying or respecting parents, the elder or teachers) & Thrift; G = Generosity.

The table shows that the pupils' mean of every item increased after the experimental teaching. However, significant difference only exists on Item 2 of the generosity sub-scale (2-Tail Sig = .004). T-test analysis was also conducted to compare the pupils' means on the pre-test and post-test cultural value scale by adding their item means together (see Table 8.10).

From this table, we found that the subjects' post-test means are higher than their pre-test means. T-test analysis indicates that there are significant differences between pupils' pre-test and post-test means on the cultural values scale and the generosity sub-scale.

Table 8.10: Means, Standard Deviations, and Level of Significance of the Pupils on the Pre-test and Post-test Cultural Values Scale

	Number		Mean		S.D.		P	2-tail Sig
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test		
Cultural Values	54	52	31.98	33.50	3.90	3.68	.967	.042*
R & T	54	52	20.37	21.10	3.04	2.78	.851	.203
G	54	52	11.61	12.40	2.05	1.77	.546	.036*

NOTE: R & T = Respect (obeying or respecting parents, the elder or teachers) & Thrift; G = Generosity; Cultural Practices = R & T + G. S.D. = Standard Deviation

8.2.3 Summary and Discussion

In general, the pupils' identity with practices in their own culture did not change, but their identity with own cultural values became stronger after the experimental cultural teaching. If other factors are neglected, the findings seem to suggest that culture teaching probably can have more influence on pupils' cultural-value identity than on their cultural-practice identity. The difference between pupils' cultural value identity and cultural practice identity, that is, there is significant change in the former but not in the latter, may be as follows:

- (1) Concerning the change in pupils' cultural-value identity, confrontation with another culture might be the factor. The presentation of festivals, secondary school life, and teenagers in Britain reminded the pupils that they had a different culture from the target in question. This kind of recognition might then result in the subject pupils' tighter attachment to their own cultural values which served as a distinguishing criterion to differentiate them from others.
- (2) The reason for the result that there is no change in the pupils' practices can be attributed to the shortness of time for the experiment. The experiment lasted for

two months and a half in the school, with one class (50 minutes) in a week, so it is hard to result in any significant change in behaviours on the part of the pupils.

Without considering other factors, the findings seems to suggest that in this case, Culture Studies might be able to strengthen the pupils' identity with own culture by presenting different others; while it did not have obvious effects on their practices.

8.3 The Comparison between Pupils' Liking for Culture Studies in Pre-test and Post-test

The pupils' liking towards Culture Studies before and after the experimental culture teaching is also compared. Table 8.11 lists the results.

Table 8.11: Frequency, Percentage, and Means of the Pupils' Liking to Culture Studies in Pre-test and Post-test

	1		2		3		4		5		Mean	Missing	Total
	F	%	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P			
Pre-test	1	1.9	7	13.0	7	13.0	31	57.4	8	14.8	3.70	0	54
Post-test	1	2.2	1	2.2	9	19.6	26	56.5	9	19.6	3.89	6	52

NOTE: 1 = dislike it very much; 2 = dislike it; 3 = uncertain; 4= like it; 5 = like it very much.

The result shows that the percentages of disliking very much and disliking reduced after the experimental teaching, that of liking decreased a little, and that of liking very much increased. The post-test mean increased compared with the pre-test one. However the comparison of the two means through T-test analysis reveals no significant change in the pupils' liking of Culture Studies. Compared with the pupils' liking to learn Culture Studies in the survey (mean = 3.6), the experimental group's liking in pre-test and post-test is slightly higher.

8.4 Pupils' Responses towards the Experimental Culture Teaching Course

In the previous section, I analysed the pupils' orientation, attitudes, motivation, cultural identity, and liking of Culture Studies before and after the experiment. However, the findings show that there are no statistically significant changes in these aspects. It is inferred that deficiency in time and the scales used may be attributed to this result. On the one hand, the experiment started from March 1st to May 17th, 1996, about two and a half months and the course was conducted once in a week, about fifty minutes. The period of time, compared with that of other research on motivation or identity, is too short to influence the pupils' motivation and cultural identity. On the other hand, the scales used in pre-test and post-test were designed to measure junior high school pupils' orientation, attitudes and motivation to learning English, and their cultural identity at present, so they did not match closely with the purpose of investigating the results of the small scale experiment. Since I was aware of this flaw, a short questionnaire designed to investigate the subject pupils' responses directly towards the experiment course was distributed immediately after the course finished and before the pupils filled in the orientation, attitude, motivation, and identity scales (see Appendix 14). The reliability coefficient alpha of this questionnaire was .8087 (number of item = 11; number of cases = 49).

8.4.1 Opinions towards the Experimental Culture Teaching

In this section, I will analyse and discuss the pupils' responses towards these questions in the questionnaire. It is hoped that the data gained from this questionnaire can serve as supplement to understanding the subjects' changes in motivation and identity after the experimental culture teaching.

1 The Pupils' Responses towards the Culture Teaching Course

This section analyses and discusses the pupils' : (1) attitudes towards the experimental culture teaching course in general, (2) preference for the contents of this course, (3) the activity the pupils preferred in this course, and (4) understanding and appreciation towards foreign cultures.

1 General Opinions about the Culture Teaching Course

When asked the question 'To what extent did you like the course?', the pupils' answers are as follows:

1		2		3		4		5		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6	12.2	13	26.5	24	49.0	3	6.1	3	6.1	49	100

NOTE: 1 = Like it very much; 2 = Like it; 3 = So so; 4 = Do not like it; 5 = Strongly dislike.

About two out of five pupils said that they liked the course, one out of five indicated that they did not like it, and there are nearly half of the pupils indicated no particular liking or disliking. The result shows that generally the pupils had positive or medial opinions towards the experimental culture teaching course, although there was still minority of them did not like it. The factors for this result can be discussed in three dimensions according to Ms Lin's and my observation in class and some of the pupils' opinions.

1. In terms of the pupils who liked the course:

The experimental culture teaching course was different from the formal English in contents, therefore the pupils were full of a sense of freshness towards the experimental course. In addition, the activities (pancake making, slide watching, and

letter writing) designed in the course also provided the pupils with a way of learning English in a more pleasurable atmosphere. As one of the pupils commented, the course let her know that learning English can be fun. In addition, the pupils' personal backgrounds also had effects on their liking of the culture teaching course. For example, one pupil whose sister studied in England revealed high interests in learning, e.g., participating in the activities actively and asking questions in or after class.

2. In terms of the pupils who did not show particularly liking or disliking:

The subject pupils' English teacher, Ms Lin, told them about the experiment long before it started. Perhaps the English teacher's exaggeration made these pupils have high expectation towards the coming course. Therefore it is likely that when the pupils experienced this course, they felt that they course did not match with their expectation.

3. In terms of the pupils who did not like (including those who disliked strongly) the course:

In the beginning of the course, Ms Lin told me that when she announced the news that there would be an experiment to be carried in the new semester, one of the pupils said that he did not want to be treated like a guinea pig. Therefore this sense of 'being experimented on' may explain some pupils' disliking of the culture teaching course.

2. Preference for the contents of the experimental course in contrast to the English textbooks

When asked to make a comparison between the contents of the experimental course and of the formal English course, nearly three out of five pupils (57.1%) thought the experimental culture teaching course was more interesting than their English class;

about two out of five (36.7) said that they were the same; while only three of the pupils (6.1%) indicated that the experimental course was more boring. It is evident that the units taught in the course, that is, the school life of their peers, and the customs and festivals in a foreign country, matched up with the majority of the pupils' interests.

3. The activity the pupils preferred in the course

Three activities relevant to the units taught were held in the experiment: slide watching, pancake making, and letter writing, with the hope that they could facilitate the teaching (also see Chapter 6). The contents of the slides were about introduction of Christmas, e.g., decoration in the house, food for Christmas, and the evening service in the United Reform Church, Durham; pancake making matched with introduction of Easter; the purpose of the activity of letter writing was to let the pupils correspond with the pupils in Tudhoe Grange Comprehensive School in Spennymoor, England. In this questionnaire, the question was asked which activity was most popular to the pupils. The result is shown in Table 8.12.

Table 8.12: Frequency and Percentage of the Pupils' Preference for the Activities Hold in the Course

1. Pancake Making		2. Slide Watching		3. Letter Writing		4. Other		Total	
F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
19	38.8	18	36.7	2	4.1	10	20.4	49	100

NOTE: F = Frequency, P = Percentage. The ten answers which were classified as "Other" are those which chose multiple items.

From this, we found that pancake making and slide watching were far more popular than letter writing. The factors for this result can be analysed in two ways. Firstly, pancake making and slide watching were both activities that the pupils never experienced in their English class before, so they felt fresh about these. It is inferred

that compared with their routine in the English classroom, e.g., note taking, lesson reciting, and the like, these two activities are more attractive to the pupils. Secondly, letter writing did not receive equivalent popularity as the other two because it was more difficult for the pupils in terms of their writing ability. From the pupils' letters, it appeared that a lot of pupils were interested in exchanging information with their peers in England. In their letters, they asked about the target pupils' school, subjects learned, personal data (name, age, height, and habits), and so on, and also described their school and themselves. At the end of their letters, many pupils indicated that they were looking forward to a reply. However, because of lacking the training in composition, most of the pupils had difficulty in writing a complete and readable English letter. This may reduce their preference for letter writing. Finally, only three pupils sent their letters to Tudhoe Grange Comprehensive School.

4. Enhancing Understanding and Appreciation towards a Foreign Culture through the Course

In order to know if the culture teaching course helped the pupils understand and appreciate a foreign culture more, two statements were presented: (1) 'The course helps me know more about British ways of life.', with five answer categories: strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, and strongly disagree, and (2) 'After this course, I am more able to empathise the ways of life and education system in another country.', with five answer categories: strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, and strongly disagree. Concerning the first question, the overwhelming majority (81.7%) agreed that the course help them to know about British ways of life, about one-tenth (12.2%) said that they were not sure, and only three pupils (6.1%) disagreed with it. The result of the second question is as follows: more than half of the pupils (52.1%) agreed with the statement, nearly two out of five (37.5%) were uncertain, and five pupils (10.5%) disagree with it.

From these statistical results, we found that this experimental course helped more in making the pupils understand the facts of a foreign culture than in enabling them to empathise with it. Actually, once when I talked about the movie 'Brave Heart' and the kilt in class, the pupils felt that this Scottish traditional dressing is weird and laughed at it. And when discussing about British secondary education, the subject pupils thought that British pupils did not have to study hard as they did because British pupils did not stay at school as long as they did. They also thought that British pupils do not have pressure from study because they do not have entrance examinations for going to senior high schools. In the light of the pupils' misunderstanding, it is worth noting that if the aim of enhancing empathy and tolerance towards other cultures is to be achieved, we can not just present facts of a foreign culture.

8.4.2 The Pupils' Motivation to learn English and to learn Culture Studies

This section analyses and discusses the data concerning the pupils' willingness to learn English and Culture Studies after the experimental culture teaching course. The first part is the question that asks them whether they would learn English harder or not and why; the second part is two statements which measure the pupils' intention to learn the target-language culture and if Culture Studies could elicit their orientation to learn English after the experiment.

1 The Pupils' Willingness to Learn English More Actively and their Reasons

The pupils were asked of the question 'After the course, will you be more actively engaged in learning English? If yes, why? If no, why?'. Concerning the first half of the question, 26 (53.1%) pupils said yes, 15 (30.6%) of them said no, and 8 (16.3%) pupils did not answer. Reasons were given to both "yes" and "no" answers (see Table 8.13).

Among the reasons for this question, the first nine answers are directly related to the experimental course; while the last four are less relevant to the course itself. The pupils' opinions which were for the course are quite encouraging. Synthesising Answers 1 to 9, we can say that Culture Studies is probably capable of motivating the pupils to learn English in terms of the fact that:

- (1) it elicited their integrative orientation (e.g., Answer 6), and instrumental orientation (Answers 1, 7, and 8).
- (2) it satisfied their needs for activity (see 4.1.3) (e.g., Answer 2), and for knowledge (e.g., Answer 3).
- (3) it is interesting to maintain the pupils' curiosity and desire to know more (see 4.3.2) (e.g., Answers 4, 5, and 9).

From these, the argument that Culture Studies is a potential force for pupil motivation seems to be supported.

Table 8.13: Reasons for and against being Engaged More Actively in Learning English after the Experimental Course

Reasons for answering "Yes"		Reasons for answering "No"	
Item	Frequency	Item	Frequency
1. Understanding the importance of English through the course.	5	1. I am not interested in English.	4
2. Feeling like going to other countries after the course.	4	2. The vocabulary in the handout was too difficult.	1
3. Understand something which I did not understand before the course.	2	3. The course is useless.	1
4. Feeling that the course is interesting.	2	4. The course is not enjoyable.	1
5. It (the course) helped me cultivate interests in English	1	5. I do not have the heart to learn English.	1
6. The course helped me absorb foreign culture.	1	6. I did not learn English well in the beginning.	1
7. Understanding the advantage of being able to use English after the course.	1		

Reasons for answering "Yes"		Reasons for answering "No"	
Item	Frequency	Item	Frequency
8. Knowing that English is not "dead" but applicable in daily life.	1		
9. The slides were nice.	1		
10. To get a good job.	1		
11. Originally wanting to learn English well.	2		
12. The entrance examination is coming.	1		
13. Do not know.	1		

Answers 10 to 13, although less relevant to the experimental course itself, also provide useful information. Answers 10 and 12 show again that instrumental orientation does have impact on junior-high-school pupils in Taiwan, when learning English is in question. In addition, the appearance of these answers indicate that it is reasonable to take interference of instrumental orientation (in the case of this experiment, entrance examinations) into consideration when evaluating the effect of the experimental culture teaching course on pupil motivation to learn English. (It is assumed that in the context of Taiwan, junior high school pupils study English with an instrumental orientation of passing the entrance examinations may not be interested in knowing cultures of English speaking countries because they are not tested in the exams.)

Concerning the reasons against the question, Answers 2 (handouts too difficult), 3 (the course useless) , and 4 (the course not enjoyable) are more relevant to the course. Answer 2 shows that there was a flaw in the contents of the handouts used in the experiment in terms of its degree of difficulty. It was neglected at the stage of teaching material design that the materials should have been sent to some of the pupils to read in order to know if they were suitable for Grade 2 junior high school pupils, although the English teachers' opinion had been consulted. Even so, this answer provides a clue to our understanding that if Culture Studies is to be a motivator, in addition to choosing cultural topics which pupils like, we also have to design a course whose degree of difficulty matches up with pupils' English ability. Answers 3 and 4,

although only two pupils said so, are worth noting. In terms of the pupils who wrote down Answer 3, the factor for it may be that Culture Studies is useless for the entrance examinations. Interpreted in this vein, intervention of examinations in the experiment appears again.

From Answer 11 which is for the course (original wanting to learn English well) and Answers 1 and 5 which is against it (not interested in English and not having the heart to learn English), it seems that there were still pupils whose motivation to learn English were not influenced by the factor of Culture Studies.

2 Desire to Learn Culture Studies and English

This part contains two statements which measure the pupils' desire to learn Culture Studies and English after the experimental culture teaching course. The result is listed as Table 8.14.

Table 8.14: Frequency and Percentage of the Pupils' Desire to Learn Culture Studies and English

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Total
1. Besides grammar, I hope that I can learn ways of life in English speaking countries when learning English.	41 (83.7%)	4 (8.2%)	4 (8.2%)	49 (100%)
2. Now I feel more like learning English well for the sake of contacting information or people from English speaking countries.	30 (61.2%)	4 (8.1%)	15 (30.6%)	49 (100%)

The overwhelming majority of pupils indicated that besides grammar, they wanted to learn cultures of English-speaking countries when learning English. Firstly, this result implies that traditional grammar teaching cannot satisfy the pupils' need. Besides grammatical knowledge of English, they also wanted to know the cultures which are behind the language. Secondly, it is also possible that grammar teaching was too boring and dry for the pupils, so they needed something, i.e., learning the cultures of

the target language, that is vivid to arouse their authentic interests in English, rather than learning it for the sake of passing examinations. When asked if they would more like to learn English in order to contact foreign cultures, more than half of the pupils agreed. However, compared with Statement 1, the percentage of agreement dropped about 20 percent. The factor for this result may be interpreted in the following two directions. The first, the pupils were not interested in contacting cultures and people from the English-speaking countries. The second, they would like to know cultures and people from the English-speaking countries, but the current way that English was taught could not motivate them. (It was assumed that when answering the question, the English class in the pupils' mind was their formal English course, rather than the experimental Culture Studies.) However, from the subject pupils' responses to the statements on the attitudes towards English-speaking people (AEP) sub-scale (The more I learn about people in English-speaking countries, the more I want to know them. The percentages of agreement with this statement is 61.1% in the pre-test and 61.6% in the post-test.), and the preference for foreign culture and people (FPC) sub-scale (I would like to make friends with foreign people. The percentage of agreement is 57.4% in the pre-test and 67.3% in the post-test), it is the second interpretation which is more probable to be the factor for Statement 2.

8.4.3 The Pupils' Identity

Three statements were presented in this questionnaire to investigate pupils' attitudes towards Britain after they had learnt these units concerning British festivals, schools, and teenagers. Table 8.15 shows the results.

Table 8.15: Percentage of Pupils' Responses on the Identity Statements

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Total
1. After knowing something about British secondary schools, I began to admire the pupils there.	27 (55.1%)	8 (16.2%)	14 (28.6%)	49 (100%)
2. I feel that the pupils in Britain are luckier than those in Taiwan.	26 (54.2%)	7 (14.6%)	15 (31.3%)	49 (100%)
3. I wish I was born in Britain.	16 (32.7%)	14 (28.6)	19 (38.8%)	49 (100%)

NOTE: In this table, the number and percent under the title "Agree" contain the categories of "Strongly Agree" and "Agree" in the questionnaire; the title "Disagree" in this table covers the categories of "Strongly Disagree" and "Disagree".

From Statement 1, we know that more than half of the pupils admired their peers in British secondary schools, nearly two out of five pupils said they did not, and about one-third were not sure about it. The distribution of answers to Statement 2, British pupils were luckier, is about the same as that to Statement 1. Concerning responses to Statement 3, wishing to be born in Britain, the percentage of agreement dropped. About one-third of the pupils wished that they were born in Britain and the number of the pupils who were against the statement doubled compared with that in the previous two statements. However, one-way ANOVA analysis reveals that there was no significant difference among the means of the pupils on these three statements at the .05 level (means of Statements 1, 2, and 3 are 2.47, 2.48, and 2.88 respectively).

The factors for this result may be that after knowing some facts of a foreign country, the subjects began to be aware of differences between their own place and others', and further through this awareness, the pupils made comparisons. For instance, in the unit talking about British schools, the subject pupils knew how much time a British pupil stayed at school (as the example given in the unit, from 9:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.). It is then possible that through comparing with the time they stayed at school (from 7:10 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.), the subjects envied secondary-school pupils in Britain. In terms of this, Culture Studies seems to have a detrimental effect on the pupils' identity with their own education system and on their willingness to be a Taiwanese. However, these do not necessarily mean that their cultural identity was weakened, if

we consider that cultural identity was made up of cultural-value identity and cultural-practice identity in this study and the pupils' identity with own cultural values increased in the post-test cultural-value sub-scale. (See 8.2.2.)

8.4.4 The Pupils' Comments and Suggestions

At the end of this questionnaire, an open question was presented to let the subjects give their comments on the experimental culture teaching course freely. However, most pupils left it blank. This may be because pupils in Taiwan were used to accept what is offered to them but not good at expressing their feelings, especially when asked to give their opinions in a question without itemised answers like this. Sixteen pupils completed this open question. Among them, one pupil expressed no feelings toward this course, and two indicated that the handout is too much and more difficult than the English textbook. One pupil gave a negative comment, saying that the course is "boring". Apart from these, other comments and suggestions were for the experimental culture teaching. The following is itemised list of these comments and suggestions.

1. Feel that the course was good but no suggestion.
2. Feel good. Interesting.
3. Feel that the course is interesting.
4. Good. Rather meaningful.
5. Very good.
6. Very good!
7. Very good. There should be more activities like this.
8. Very good. Hope that there would be more interesting things. A pity that the time was too short.
9. Hope that I can go to the place mentioned in class. Can pay the fee myself.
10. Very interesting. Let us know that learning English can be happy.

11. (The course) More active and relaxing, not being dominated by the teacher. I can participate in it.
12. Come next time!

In general, the pupils' impression of the experimental culture teaching is that it was good and interesting. Therefore, we may say that culture teaching provided the pupils with the sense that 'learning culture in the English class' is interesting. And it was also capable of arousing the desire in the pupils to contact the foreign culture and people by themselves (Comment 9). More important, it could change the pupils' stereotype that learning English was an unpleasant matter.

8.5 Comparisons between the Survey and the Experiment

In this section, I will try to make comparisons between the survey findings and the experimental findings, in order to link up the two parts of investigation and then to draw conclusions from the experimental findings gained.

8.5.1 Comparisons between the Survey Findings and the Experimental Findings

The questionnaire-survey findings in Chapter 7 shows that pupils' motivational state (including attitudes, motivation, and orientation towards learning English) correlated more strongly with their liking of Culture Studies than their cultural identity did. Therefore it is inferred that the possibility of a causal relationship between motivational state and Culture Studies is higher than that between cultural identity and Culture Studies, although a further empirical investigation is needed to prove this. In this chapter, the experimental findings seem to indicate that Culture Studies had effects on pupils' cultural identity (in this case, their cultural-value identity) rather than on their motivational state.

8.5.2 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented analyses of data from the experimental research and discussion of results. Analyses and discussion of data gained from the pre-test and post-test motivation, orientation, attitude, and cultural identity scales were first presented and then the results of the questionnaire distributed immediately after the experimental culture teaching course. On the one hand, the findings from the motivation, attitude, orientation, and cultural identity scales suggested that there was no significant change in the pupils' motivational state and cultural identity (including cultural-value identity and cultural-practice identity) before and after the experimental culture teaching course, although the data shows that significant difference exists between their pre-test and post-test cultural-value identities. On the other hand, the pupils' liking of learning Culture Studies did not change significantly in pre-test and post-test, either. However, from the questionnaire which was designed to investigate the subjects' responses towards the experimental course by asking them more direct questions, we found that the majority of the pupils had positive comments towards the course and they also felt their understanding of the foreign culture was enhanced. In addition, it seems that: (1) there was positive influence on their motivation to learn English, in terms of the fact that the majority said they would like to learn English harder after this course, and (2) there was impact on the pupils' identity with own culture because they began to admire English pupils and quite a lot of them wanted to be "others".

The following conclusions are drawn based on these findings:

- (1) In terms of pupils' motivational state, Culture Studies seemed to make the pupils feel that learning English was interesting, although powerful statistical support that it definitely motivated them to learn English could not be gained from this experiment. However, it is possible that the feelings of interests may change their

attitudes towards English and then hopefully result in change in their behaviour (efforts) to learn English.

- (2) In terms of pupils' cultural identity, the findings suggest that on the one hand, Culture Studies' influence on their cultural values and practices was partial and limited; while on the other hand, it seemed to arouse pupils' admiration towards foreignness. Therefore if Culture Studies is to be included into the curriculum, caution should be taken how to achieve balanced views towards own and foreign cultures.

8.6 Summary

This chapter mainly analysed and discussed the data obtained from the experimental research. In general, the findings show that there was no significant change in the pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards learning English, and their own cultural identity. However, owing to the limitations in experiment design (e.g., no control groups, deficiency in time for longer teaching, and repeated post-test questionnaire filling-in), the reason for this result may not be because of the teaching itself. In spite of the fact that the reliability of the experiment was influenced and the findings of this small-scale experiment may not be generalised, the experiment is still of value because it enhanced our understanding of the effects of Culture Studies on pupils' motivational state and cultural identity in a real classroom setting on the basis of empirical experimental results rather than postulation.

Chapter 9 Conclusion and Implications

Introduction

The main purpose of this study, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, is to investigate the influence that Culture Studies in the English classroom would have on junior high school pupils' motivation to learn English and on their own cultural identity in the context of Taiwan. This chapter will summarise the findings from the survey and experimental researches and discuss implications which arise from the background, literature reviews and data analysis and discussion chapters for future development and research.

9.1 Summary of Findings

This section is divided into the following parts: (1) findings related to teaching/learning English in Taiwan's junior high schools, (2) findings related to attitudes towards Culture Studies in the English class, (3) findings related to pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards learning English, and their own cultural identity at present, (4) findings related to pupils' change in orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards learning, and in their own cultural identity after they experienced the experimental Culture Studies course, and (5) findings related to the reviewed literature.

9.1.1 Teaching/Learning English in Taiwan's Junior High Schools

1. The current English textbooks used cover cultural elements of the target language country (the USA) like festivals and food and drink. And the pupils thought that the textbooks contain more target-language cultural elements than the English teachers did.

2. In general, English education in Taiwan's junior high schools is primarily grammatically-oriented. The cultural aspect of the target language receives less emphasis than the linguistic aspect does.

9.1.2 Attitudes towards Culture Studies in the English Class

1. Findings suggest that there is overwhelming agreement with teaching culture in the English class among the English teachers because they thought it may help the pupils understand English cultures on the one hand, and make English teaching more interesting on the other hand. Nevertheless, most teachers indicate that they have difficulties in teaching cultures of English speaking countries mostly because of no appropriate materials for teaching and their lack of knowledge about cultures of the target-language countries.
2. The pupils' willingness to learn Culture Studies, compared with the English teachers' support for teaching it, is comparatively lower. However, the majority of the pupils still express high interest in knowing about English-speaking countries.
3. Both the English teachers and pupils thought if Culture Studies is to be taught/learned, the USA should be the country introduced first. Concerning cultural aspects, the English teachers thought life styles (e.g., daily family life, festivals and custom, food and eating habits, and the like) should be taught; while the pupils prefer to know something about youth life (for example, the youth culture and young people's leisure activities) in the target-language country. In addition, findings also show that the pupils like to learn Culture Studies in a more vivid way, like visiting schools of people from English speaking countries in Taiwan.

9.1.3 Pupils' Orientation, Attitudes, and Motivation towards Learning English, and Their Own Cultural Identity at Present

1. There is a tendency that the pupils are more instrumentally oriented (e.g., travelling abroad, going to a better senior high school, and getting a good job) than integratively oriented (e.g., understanding cultures of, and making friends with people from English-speaking countries) to learn English, but the findings also suggest that the pupils' instrumental orientation correlates positively with their integrative orientation.
2. The pupils have more positive attitudes towards foreign languages than towards people in English-speaking countries, learning English, their English course, and their English teachers. In addition, findings also imply that pupils' attitudes towards English teachers have little to do with other attitudes.
3. It is suggested that there is a gap between the pupils' effort made to learn English and desire to learn it. In general, their desire to learn English is strong, but their motivation intensity is not in proportion to it. However, in spite of this gap, the data suggest as one could expect that the higher their desire to learn English is, the more effort they make to learn it, and vice versa.
4. It is evident from data-analysis that the pupils have a strong identity with own cultural values (e.g., respect for the old and parents, thrift, and generosity) although their behaviour are quite western-oriented (e.g., using English names, making friends with foreigners, wearing clothes with English letters, and inserting English words in conversation). Findings thus suggest that there is little relationship between the pupils' cultural value identity and cultural practice identity.

9.1.4 Pupils' Change in Orientation, Attitudes, and Motivation towards Learning English, and in Their Own Cultural Identity

1. According to the English teachers' estimate, Culture Studies may enhance pupils' motivation to learn English. Nevertheless, findings from the experimental research imply that there is no significant change in the pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation towards learning English before and after they experienced the experimental culture teaching, although the extent and nature of the experiment preclude definite conclusions.
2. The English teachers do not think that Culture Studies would weaken pupils' identity with own cultural values but they worry that it may have negative influence on pupils' own cultural practice identity. In the experimental research, the findings suggest that the pupils' own cultural value identity became stronger after the experimental culture-teaching course; while there is no change in their identity with own cultural practices.
3. Findings from another questionnaire administered after the experimental research suggest that on the one hand, Culture Studies influences the pupils' motivation positively because they said they would like to learn English harder. On the other hand, Culture Studies seems to have impact on the pupils' cultural identity because they begin to admire English pupils and want to be "others".

9.1.5 Findings Related to the Reviewed Literature

1. The strong correlation among pupils' orientation, attitudes, and motivation seems to support Young's (1994) model of the individual status and the motivation process (see 4.4.2) which argues that the individual's orientation, attitudes, and motivation in foreign languages learning influence one another, although from this study, the direction of influence cannot be identified.

2. Findings suggest that the correlation between the pupils' own cultural value identity and cultural practice identity is weak. This result seems to support the argument presented in Chapter 3 (3.3.2) that we cannot measure the strength of individuals' identity with own culture simply by looking at how they behave (practice) without finding out what they think (about own cultural values).

9.2 Implications of This Study

This study has its limitations. The first, in terms of representativeness of sample, findings may not be generalised to the whole research population. The second, because of constraints on the experimental research, findings gained from this part cannot be attributed to manipulation of the experimental treatment. Therefore further research should be conducted involving a wider sample and more well-designed experiments. However, this study still has some implications for the aspects of English teaching in junior high schools, English textbook compilation, policy making, and research in the future.

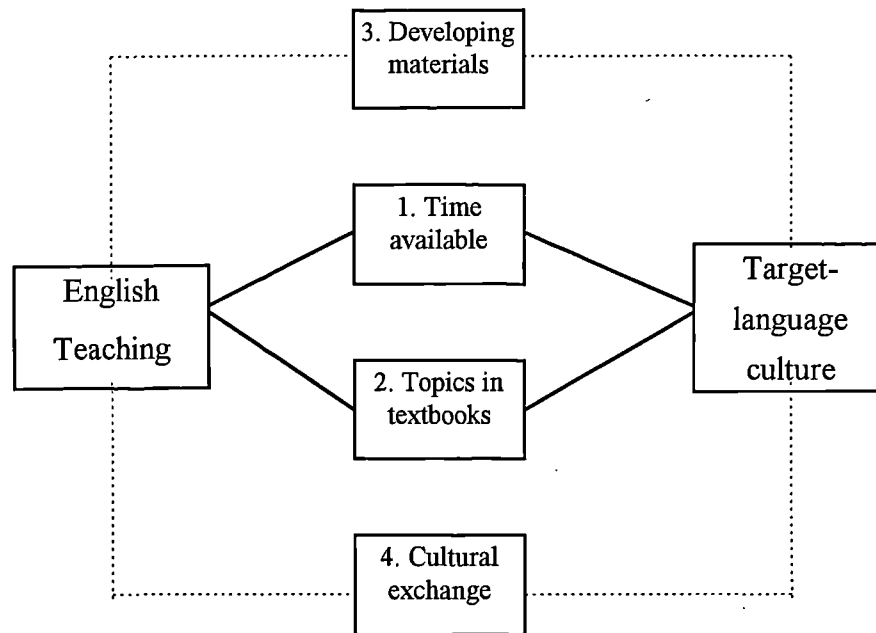
9.2.1 Implications for English Teaching

One possible conclusion that may be drawn from this study is that, Culture Studies could be a potential motivator for pupils to learn English. And English teachers also support the argument that Culture Studies can enhance pupils' motivation. However, it is evident from an interview with an English teacher who also completed the questionnaire that although teachers were aware of the needs of teaching target-language culture, constraints in the existing teaching practices may hinder teachers in doing it. This teacher indicated that unless the curriculum is changed and there are no entrance examinations, it is very difficult to combine culture teaching with English teaching. The question for English teachers, then is, given the current situation, how can they adopt a realistic method that on the one hand includes elements of target-language cultures in their teaching and on the other hand allows for the limitations of the existing education system.

In spite of the constraints of curriculum and entrance examinations, I believe that

change can be made within the existing framework at the classroom and the school levels. Figure 9.1 shows the possible methods that teachers can use to adopt culture teaching in the current linguistic-dominated English teaching.

Figure 9.1: Proposed Methods for Connecting Culture with English Teaching



In this diagram, the four boxes in the middle represent the methods that English teachers can get access to. The boxes which connect culture teaching and linguistic teaching by full lines refer to the possible ways teachers can use at the classroom level individually; the boxes connecting the two by dotted lines refer to the ways at the school level. Box 1 represents a certain period of time that English teachers can use in every class to introduce target-language culture systematically, say, the last ten minutes. Box 2 means that English teachers can use the topics which mention names of place or festivals of English speaking countries (see Section 2.6) in English textbooks as a starting point to introduce related information of cultures. Box 3 suggests that English teachers in the school can work as a team to develop materials for teaching culture. For fear that teachers may not have enough experience and knowledge to accomplish this task, it is suggested that they can seek co-operation with experts of culture teaching in the

academic field, e.g. professors in the English departments of normal universities. Box 4 indicates that teachers may try to contact schools or communities of people from English speaking countries in Taiwan or even schools in the target countries in order to organise activities for cultural exchange between their pupils and pupils of the target-language country. It is assumed that when doing these activities for cultural exchange, pupils would learn knowledge not only about the language itself but also about the culture of the target-language country.

9.2.2 Implications for Materials Compilation

The findings show that the lack of materials is one of the difficulties which hinder the implementation of Culture Studies in Taiwan's junior high schools. Review of the Standard Curriculum for junior high school English (Chapter 2) reveals that although limited, the culture of the target language was mentioned. Therefore it is suggested that the authority in charge of editing and compiling textbooks for junior high school, that is, the National Institute of Compilation and Translation (the NICT) should take the responsibility of designing textbooks which include not only linguistic knowledge but also culture studies. Here, two suggestions based on findings from this study are presented as reference for material compilation.

1. In terms of matching with pupils' interest, materials for teaching target-language cultures may include aspects of youth culture, school life of pupils' peers, and the like.
2. In terms of absorbing western cultures, it is suggested that aspects which describe ways of life and reflect cultural values and thoughts of English-speaking countries could be included in teaching materials.

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9.2.3 Implications for Policy Making and Education Authorities

In spite of the fact that national policies in culture and education recognised the urgent needs of constructing a new identity for state building and of cultivating

citizens with international views, there is no systematic programme which explains how this can be done in foreign language teaching. It is time for policy makers to consider seriously how the ideas stated in national cultural and educational policies can be carried out through education, especially through English language education which, compared with other school subjects, is a more direct link to absorb western cultures. Findings from this study may provide insights to this issue for policy making.

The data analysis shows that: (1) in spite of their westernised behaviour, the pupils still hold strong identity with values in Chinese culture, and (2) the pupils' identity with own cultural values became stronger after they had experienced Culture Studies. These findings have meanings in two ways. On the one hand, it suggests that the worry is redundant that learning foreign cultures would weaken own cultural identity; on the other hand, it (strong identity with own culture) portrays obstacles to constructing a new identity which was signified in the current governmental policy (see Chapters 1 and 3). Therefore it is recommended that if the goal of constructing a new identity by combining traditional Chinese culture, native Taiwanese culture and Western cultures is to be achieved, implementing Culture Studies systematically in English teaching is a crucial and necessary arrangement. In other words, authorities at the Ministry of Education in Taiwan should be aware of the importance and need of curriculum innovation for junior high school English.

In addition, findings in this study show that deficiency in knowledge concerning cultures of English speaking countries is one of the difficulties the English teachers are confronted with in culture teaching. In light of this, it is also suggested that the authorities related should provide appropriate in-service teacher training for teachers in Taiwan in order to help them to solve the problem. However, discussion of in-service teacher training is beyond the scope of this study. Further research is needed to address this issue.

9.2.4 Implications for Future Research

1. Owing to constraints on experiment design, the experimental research is not able to offer absolutely clear answers to the question what effects Culture Studies would have on pupils' motivation in English language learning and on their own cultural identity. Future study focusing on this domain with more accurate experiment design and longer duration would provide further insights.
2. Motivation in foreign language learning was tackled mainly at the language (including a sociocultural component in the English course, i.e. Culture Studies) and course-specific (introducing novel and exotic materials) levels in this study. However, little is known about motivation at the levels of learners' intra-psyche, and further research is needed here, too.

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Appendix 1: The Prescribed Contents of Junior-High-School English Textbooks in the Junior High School Standard Curriculum (by the MOE, 1985).

The First Academic Year

1. The materials include textbooks and audio-visual aids. The contents should be simple and practical and related to junior-high-school pupils daily life.
2. The materials should use practical conversation to train the pupils how to express themselves in English.
3. The materials should be compiled in the principle of progressing gradually, accumulation and repetition. Every new unit should be connected to those which were taught before and those which are going to be taught.
4. Most materials should be brief and interesting dialogues or stories which introduce sentence patterns and intonation systematically.
5. The introduction of new vocabulary should be controlled in the materials. No more than four new words should be introduced in a single teaching hour.

The Second Academic Year:

1. The same with Points 1 to 5 for the first academic year.
2. The conversation in the materials should be designed in accordance with the situations which are mostly likely to happen in daily life, e.g., the pupils' conversation in school or at home, or conversation about the situation in which the pupils introduce our social and cultural background to foreigners. The vocabulary, intonation and sentence patterns used in the conversation should be natural and practical.

3. The training of listen comprehension and speaking are prior to that of reading and writing.

The Third Academic Year:

1. The same as Points 1-4 for the first academic year.
2. The introduction of vocabulary should be controlled. No more than five new words should be introduced per teaching hour.
3. The same as Point 2 for the second academic year.
4. The materials should focus equally on training the four skills, i.e., listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing. At the same time, brief and interesting descriptive articles or articles which introduce Chinese culture and Western culture (e.g., festivals, etiquette, habits in daily life, history or arts) could be added.

Appendix 2: The Prescribed Contents of Junior-High-School Practical English Textbooks in the Junior High School Standard Curriculum (by the MOE, 1985).

1. The materials include textbooks and audio-visual aids. The contents should be simple and practical and related to junior-high-school pupil' daily life.
2. The materials should use practical conversation to train the pupils how to express themselves in English.
3. The materials should be compiled in the principle of progressing gradually, accumulation and repetition. Every new unit should be connected to those which were taught before and those which are going to be taught.
4. Most materials should be brief and interesting dialogue or stories which introduce sentence patterns and intonation systematically.
5. The introduction of new vocabulary should be controlled in the materials. No more than four new words should be introduced in a single teaching hour.
6. The introduction of new vocabulary should be controlled in the materials, No more than four new words should be introduced in a single teaching hour. Homograph, heteronym, and idioms with special meanings and usage should be treated as new vocabulary.
7. The units in the materials should connect and match up with each other in their contents (including vocabulary, pronunciation, sentence patterns, and syntax)for the sake of letting the pupils practice synthetically
8. The conversation in the materials should be located in the contexts which are easily to be encountered in daily life, e.g. pupils' dialogue in school or at home, dialogue which introduce foreigners to know our social and cultural backgrounds, etc.. Vocabulary, intonation, and sentence patterns used in conversation should match up with the principle of nature and practice.

9. The contents of materials should cover training in listening, speaking, reading and writing and introduce knowledge and technology related to agriculture, industry and business.

10. The amount and schedule of teaching materials should match up with the teaching hours regulated in the Standard Curriculum. Principally, every lesson should be finished within teaching hours of per week.

Appendix 3: A Lesson in the Textbook



LESSON TWO
2

2.1 (A) Reading 读 读 信 或 书

Joe Has Written A Letter

Joe has a pen pal* who lives in the United States. His name is Mark* and he lives in San Francisco*, California. Joe got Mark's first letter yesterday and was very excited. He has just written this letter.

Sept 12

Hi, Mark

I enjoyed reading your letter very much.

Many of our interests are the same. We both love all kinds of sports. I especially love to swim. There are swimming pools near our apartment and I often go there in summer.

I enjoy swimming at the beach. I hope that swimming is a part of your life. I often go to the beach with my class when it is very

pen pal 笔友	Mark (名字)	swim 游泳
live 居住 居住	San Francisco 旧金山	swimming pool 游泳池
the United States 美国(国名缩写)	California 加利福尼亚(州名缩写)	pool 池
interested 感兴趣	letter 信	beach 海滩
excited 兴奋	entire (整个的/全部的)	

at the beach on the sand

brother, who is four years older than me. He is a very good swimmer." My classmates and I have become very good swimmers, too, because my brother has taught us a lot.

Our family likes to camp at the beach on the weekend. We camped there last Saturday. We swam all day, played in the sand, and took pictures. When we came home on Sunday, we brought most of the beach home with us!

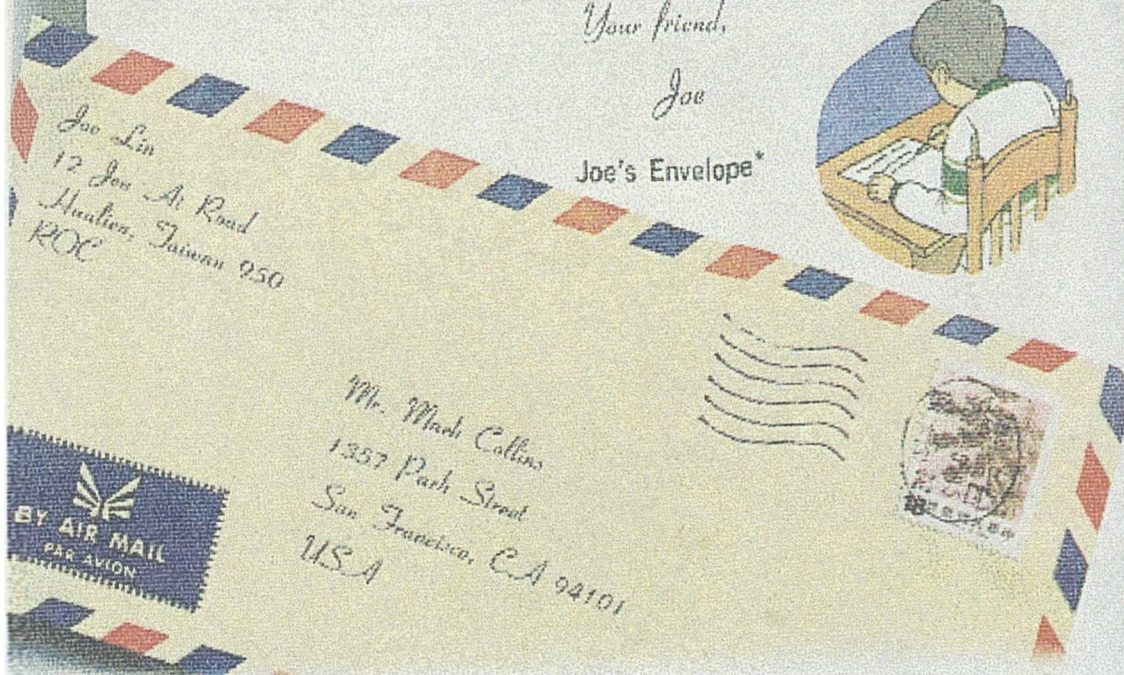
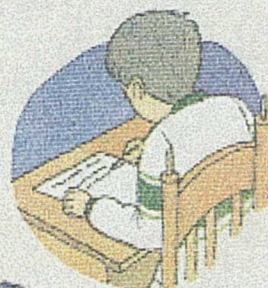
Have you ever swam at the beach? "Maybe we both swim in the same ocean!"

Here are two pictures which I like very much. We took them last week. I hope you like them, too!

Your friend,

Joe

Joe's Envelope*



swimmer 游泳者	swam (swim的過去式)	swum (swim的過去分詞)
taught (teach的過去式及過去分詞)	sand 沙子; 沙灘	ocean 海洋
	take pictures 照相	envelope 信封
	picture 照片	

2.3 (B) Questions

1. Where does Joe's new pen pal live?

he lives in the United States

2. Why was Joe very excited?

he was very excited because he got Mark's first letter yesterday.

3. Are many of their interests the same?

Yes, many of their interests are the same

4. What sports do they both love?

they both love all kinds of sports

5. Where is the swimming pool?

It's near their apartment.

6. Does Joe enjoy swimming in a swimming pool more than at the beach?

No, he does not.

7. Who does Joe often go to the beach with?

he often goes to the beach with his classmates and his

- *8. Why have Joe and his classmates become very good swimmers?

they have become very good swimmers because they had good teachers because Joe's brother has taught them a lot

9. Where do Joe and Mark maybe swim?

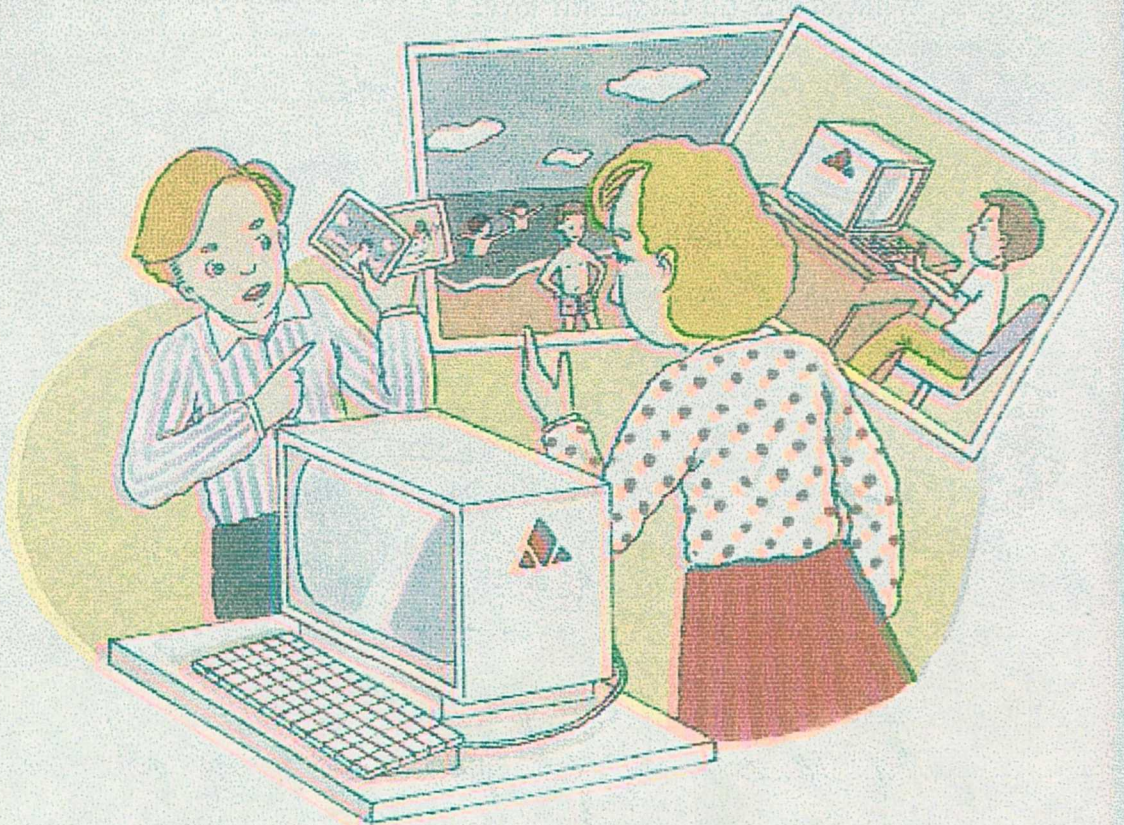
Maybe they both swim in the same ocean.

※10. What did Joe send to Mark in his letter?

He sent two pictures to Mark in his letter.

2.2 Dialogue

I've Never Used A Chinese Computer



Appendix 4: Pupils' Orientation, Attitudes, and Motivation Scales

FOLLOWING ARE A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS WITH WHICH SOME PEOPLE AGREE AND OTHERS DISAGREE. PLEASE TICK THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER ACCORDING TO THE AMOUNT OF YOUR AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT.

1. The Orientation Scale

Learning English is important to me because:	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
1. I may need it to be admitted to a higher school.					
2. It will help me to understand the ways of life in English speaking countries.					
3. It will someday be useful in getting a good job.					
4. It will enable me to better understand and appreciate English culture.					
5. It will help me if I should ever travel.					
6. It will help me acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook.					
7. I would like to make friends with people from English speaking countries.					

2. The Attitude Scale

Item	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
1. I have a favourable attitude towards people in English speaking countries.					
2. If I were visiting a foreign country I would like to be able to speak the language of the people.					
3. I feel that my English teacher is competent					
4. My English course is colourful.					
5. I really enjoy learning English.					
6. The more I learn about the English speaking countries, the more I like them.					

Item	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
7. I would really like to learn a lot of foreign languages.					
8. I feel that my English teacher is good.					
9. My English course is meaningful.					
10. I hope there is no English.					
11. I have always admire people in English speaking countries.					
12. I would study a foreign language in school even if it were not required.					
13. I feel that my English teacher is patient.					
14. My English course is pleasurable.					
15. Learning English is a waste of time.					
16. I would like to get to know the people in English speaking countries better.					
17. Studying a foreign language is an enjoyable experience.					
18. I feel that my English teacher is friendly.					
19. My English course is useful.					
20. I love learning English.					

3. The Motivation Scale

Item	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
1. I really work hard to learn English.					
2. To be honest, I really have little desire to learn English.					
3. I cannot be bothered trying to understand the more complex aspects of English.					
4. I wish I were fluent in English.					
5. I would rather spend my time on courses other than English.					
6. If it were up to me whether or not to take English, I would definitely take it.					
7. When I am studying English, I ignore					

distractions and stick to the job at hand.					
Item	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
8. When I have a problem understanding something we are learning in my English class, I always ask the instructor for help.					

Appendix 5: Pupils' Cultural Identity Scale

HERE ARE SOME STATEMENTS WHICH DESCRIBE YOUR FEELINGS/VIEWS AND BEHAVIOURS. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE WITH THEM? PLEASE PUT A TICK THE SCALE WHICH BEST REPRESENTS YOUR FEELINGS/VIEWS AND BEHAVIOURS.

Statement	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
1. I will do whatever my parents want me to do.					
2. I will like to share my things with other people.					
3. I will not hesitate to give money to people who are in need of it.					
4. I like to treat my friends.					
5. I always invite friends to my house.					
6. I always help to do housework.					
7. I like to study hard even on Sunday.					
8. I respect old people.					
9. My achievements are due to help from other people.					
10. I prefer western fast food (e.g., McDonald) than local food.					
11. I like to insert some English words in my conversation with others.					
12. I like to wear clothes with English letters on them.					
13. I like to have an English name.					
14. I like to use foreign-made products more than Taiwan-made ones.					
15. If it is possible, I would like to emigrate to an English speaking country.					
16. I will obey what the senior tell me.					
17. I respect my teachers.					
18. I like to listen to English pop music.					
19. I think saving is a good virtue.					
20. I save my pocket money.					

Statement	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
21. It is my duty to take care of my parents when they grow old.					
22. I always finish what I have in my dish rather than throw it away.					
23. I like to buy expensive clothes.					
24. I think group benefit is more important than individual's benefit.					
25. In a bus, I give my seat to old people.					
26. I do not like to lend anything to people.					
27. I like to make friends with foreigner.					
28. Our films are more entertaining than English-language films.					
29. We should celebrate Christmas as we celebrate Chinese New Year.					
40. Parents and children should live on their own and not with grandparents and uncles.					

Appendix 6: The Course Outline

1. Introduction

This course was designed for teaching ways of life in Britain to a class of pupils in Shih-Yi Junior High School in Taipei County, Taiwan, as a part of an experimental research which aims at investigating the influences Culture Studies would have on pupils' motivation to learn English and on their own cultural identity.

2. The Goals of this Course:

- A. to let the pupils understand British people's ways of life in terms of their festival celebration, school life of secondary school pupils, education and young people's life and culture.
- B. to enable the pupils to be aware of the differences and similarities between Taiwanese and British peoples and cultures.
- C. to encourage the pupils to appreciate and understand towards British people and culture.

3. The Objectives of this Course

At the end of this course, the pupils should:

- A. understand the important festivals (Easter and Christmas) in Britain and be able to equate them with two Taiwanese festivals (the Tomb-Sweeping Day and Chinese New Year) in terms of their origins and meanings to people in the two countries separately.
- B. know the school life of British secondary pupils and be able to discern the differences in schools in Taiwan and Britain, e.g. the school subjects, exams, food for school meals, and so on.

- C. have a general ideas about British teenagers' life outside of school (youth culture, dressing, activities, fashion, and the like).

4. The Units

A. Unit One: Festivals in Britain

- important festivals
- Easter (the meanings, duration, and special food for Easter)
- Christmas (the meanings, the ways of celebration, and traditional food)

B. Unit Two: A School in Britain

- a day at a secondary school (the school timetable and school subjects)
- the style of school uniform
- school lunch (the menus for lunch)
- British education system (from primary schools to universities)

C. Unit Three: British Teenagers

- pop music for teenagers
- fashion (dressing and magazines for teenagers)
- age limits in Britain (from 5-18)

Appendix 7: The Teaching Materials

UNIT 1 FESTIVALS IN BRITAIN

1.1 IMPORTANT FESTIVALS

There are fewer public holidays in Britain than in Taiwan. There is Christmas Day, of course, and "Boxing Day" (the day after Christmas), New year's Day, the Monday after Easter and three more Mondays, two in May and one in August.

Public holidays in Britain are called "bank holidays", because the banks as well as most shops and offices are closed.

There is no national day in Britain, but there's one festival that everyone celebrates Christmas. In Scotland, New Year's Eve is the biggest festival of the year. The dancing goes all night, and too many people drink too much whisky!

One special British festival takes place on November 5th. On that day, in 1605, Guy Fawkes tried to blow up the House of Parliament. He did not succeed, but the children of Britain never forget him. Every year, on "Guy Fawkes night", they make "guys" to burn on bonfires, and let off fireworks.

There are smaller, local festivals all through the year. In the spring, village children dance round the Maypole. In the autumn, people take vegetables and fruits to church for the Harvest Festival, and once a year the Lord Mayor of London puts on a show and rides through the streets in his golden coach.

1 Comprehension

1. How many public holidays are there in Britain? What are they?
2. What are public holidays called in Britain? Why?
3. Is there a national day in Britain?
4. What is the festival that everyone celebrates in Britain?
5. What is the biggest festival of the year in Scotland?
6. When does the British festival "Guy Fawkes night" take place?
7. What do the children of Britain do on "Guy Fawkes night"?

2 How about you?

1. How many public holidays are there in your country?
2. If there is a national day in your country? If yes, what is it?
3. What are the important festivals in your country? List some of them.
4. What is the biggest festival of the year in your country? How do you celebrate it?

1.2 EASTER

Easter is one of the big festivals in Britain. It follows Jewish Passover, which happens on Thursday evening. The Friday before is called "Good Friday". Lent is

the period of forty days before Easter. For Christians it's time to give up something—for example, to stop eating sweets. Then at Easter, children in Britain eat lots of sweet things—especially chocolate Easter eggs! Lent begins on a Wednesday, and many people eat something special on the day before, “Shrove Tuesday”. In Britain they eat pancakes.

On Shrove Tuesday, children in Britain often ask their mother to make pancakes. Sometimes there is a pancake race on the playing-field. Everyone has to carry a pancake in a frying pan and throw it up in the air—and catch it again—twice before finishing the race.

1 Comprehension

Correct these sentences

1. Easter is in April.
2. Lent starts on a Tuesday forty days before Easter.
3. British people eat pancakes at Easter.
4. British kids eat chocolate eggs during Lent.
5. In the pancake race, everyone has to throw a pancake up in the air and then catch it with their hands.

2 How about you?

1. Are there festivals in spring in your country? What are they?
2. What do you do for these festivals in spring?
3. Do you have special food for the festivals in spring?

3. Here is the pancake recipe. Try to make it by yourself.

PANCAKE RECIPE

Ingredients:

100 grams flour
 a pinch of salt
 2 eggs
 200 ml milk with 75 ml water
 2 tablespoons melted butter or oil
 a little oil for frying file pancakes
 some sugar and one lemon

Method:

Mix the flour and the eggs with a fork.
 Slowly mix in the milk and water.
 Put a little oil in the pan. Heat the pan (very hot).
 Pour in one and a half tablespoons of mixture.
 Cook for about 30 seconds.
 Toss* the pancake once.
 Cook for another 30 seconds.

Serve* * with a little sugar and lemon juice.
 (*Toss = throw it up so that it turns over. **Serve = eat with.)

1.3 Christmas

1.3.1 Carol's Christmas

Carol is eleven, and she lives in Bristol in the South-West of England

I love Christmas. We go to stay at my grandparents' house. My uncles, aunts and cousins are there, too—nineteen of us. It's like a big party. And it goes on for three days: Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, and Boxing Day. We play games, sing songs, eat, and watch lots of TV.

'We open our presents on Christmas Day in the morning. The younger children have a stocking full of little present next to their bed. These are 'from Father Christmas'. Only good children get things from Father Christmas. Naughty children get nothing—of course! The other presents are under the Christmas tree in the living room. We open them and my Auntie Diana takes hundreds of photos of us. If you don't like a present, you still have to smile.

1 Comprehension

Are these sentences true or false?

1. Carol stays at home at Christmas.
2. Boxing Day is the day after Christmas.
3. Carol opens her present on Christmas Eve.
4. Everybody gets a stocking full of presents.
5. If you don't like a Christmas present, you can give it back to the sender.

2 How about you?

1. Do you celebrate Christmas?
2. Do your family get together at Christmas?
3. Do you get presents at Christmas?

3 Is your Christmas the same as Carol's? Make a list like this.

The same	Different

1.3.2 Food for Christmas

Christmas Day is a family day. The members in the family all meet for the big Christmas dinner *. For Christmas dinner there is usually a turkey with roast potatoes. After that there is plum pudding. Sometimes there are coins in it, so you

must be careful. Fruit mince pie is another kind of food that people eat at Christmas.

1. How about you?

1. What is the day for family reunion in Taiwan?
2. What food do you usually have on that day?

* People in Britain usually eat their Christmas dinner in the afternoon, at about one o'clock.

DO YOU KNOW?

British meals mean different things and different times to different people.

Early morning	Breakfast (but many people do not eat anything at breakfast)
Midday (12.00—2.00 p. m.)	Lunch (hotels, restaurants, middle-class homes) Dinner (working class)
Mid-afternoon (4.00—5.00 p. m.)	Afternoon tea (hotels, tea shops, middle-class homes)
Evening (5.30—6.30 p.m.)	Tea—main evening meal of working classes, and of some middle-class people, especially in Midlands and North.
(7.00 —9.00 p.m.)	Dinner—the ordinary evening meal for some middle-class people (A). Others (B) call it "supper". when (B) invite people to a three-course evening meal, and put on their smartest clothes, they usually call the meal "dinner". In hotels and restaurants it is always "dinner".
(9.00—10.00 p.m.)	Supper—light snack (many working and middle-class people)

UNIT 2 A SCHOOL IN BRITAIN

2.1 My name's Angie Foster

My name's Angie Foster. I'm fourteen, and I live in Bristol, England. My father is a journalist and he works for a newspaper. My mother stays at home and says she has enough to do taking care of me and my brother, Martin.

I go to Speke Community Secondary School, with five hundred other pupils, all between 11 and 18 years old. I'm in Form 3A and I will probably stay at school until I am 18.

Every morning my mother wakes me up at 7:15. I have a shower and get dressed as quickly as I can, but it takes me some time to feel ready for work. Then I go downstairs and eat the breakfast Mother has prepared for us. I always have a cup of tea. I cannot really wake up without one! As school doesn't begin until 9:00, I have plenty of time to walk there.

1. Comprehension

Answer these question

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. How old is Angie? | 6. What time does Angie wake up every morning? |
| 2. What is Angie's father? | 7. What does Angie always have for breakfast? |
| 3. What is Angie's mother? | 8. How does Angie go to school? |
| 4. What school does Angie go to? | |
| 5. How many pupils are there in Angie's school? | |

2. How about you?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. What's your name? | 7. What time do you wake up every morning? |
| 2. How old are you? | 8. What do you always have for breakfast? |
| 3. What is your father? | 9. How do you go to school? |
| 4. What is your mother? | |
| 5. What school do you go to? | |
| 6. How many pupils are there in your school? | |

3 Now it's your turn

Talk to your partner about your family, school and daily routine and compare it with Angie's.

2.2 A DAY AT SCHOOL WITH ANGIE

This is a typical Tuesday in Angie's school.

'Our class teacher, Mrs Ghani, does the register at 9 o'clock. She's also our Maths teacher. She's nice, but she often gets angry about stupid little things, like uniform.

'Assembly is in the school hall. The head teacher, Mr Barry Simmons, talk to the whole school. He is sometimes very funny. We call him 'Big Barry'. And 'Mr Simmons' of course when we speak to him!

'Tuesday is a good day. We have my two favourite subjects—Music and Art. The first period is music. Most of the class do singing in the hall, but I am in the band. So I play electric guitar in a special music studio. We play really loudly—it's great!

Period 2 is Maths. I was good at Maths last year, but this year it's very difficult, and Mrs Ghani is impatient.

After break we have two periods of English. The first half hour is boring—we always do spelling and punctuation (my spelling is terrible!). But then we do literature. At the moment we're doing Shakespeare's *The Tempest*—it's very interesting.

'From 2 o'clock to 3.30, we have Art. I love drawing and painting, and I'm the best in the class (I think!). The teacher, Miss Terry, is excellent. She wears beautiful colours—completely different from the other teachers!'

1 Comprehension

a) *What did Angie's timetable tell you?*

- It told me that school starts at _____.
- It told me that the first lesson starts at _____.
- It told me that the lessons are _____ minutes long.
- It told me that the break is _____ minutes long.
- It told me that the lunch hour is from _____ to _____.
- It told me that the last lesson ends at _____.
- It told me that Angie has _____ lessons a day.

b) *Copy Angie's timetable. Write down the lessons for Tuesday.*

c) *What does Angie like at school? What does she not like? Complete the table.*

	Likes	Dislikes
Angie		

2 How about you?

1. *When do you start school?*
2. *How many lessons do you have in a day?*
3. *How long are your lessons?*

4. *When does your last lesson end?*
 5. *What are your favourite subjects in school? What subjects do you dislike most?*
 Complete the table below.

	Like	Dislike
yourself		

3 Now it's your turn.

Write, in English, about the timetable at your school and then compare it with Angie's. For example, who's school starts earlier? Who has more lessons in a day? Who has more subjects? What are the subjects that your have while Angie doesn't have? What are the subjects that Angie has but you don 't?...

2.3 ANGIES SCHOOL UNIFORM

In some schools in Britain, the boys and girls must wear school uniform. At Angie's school, the school colours are blue and grey. The girls must wear a grey skirts, a white blouse and a blue cardigan. They must wear black shoes, but they can wear tights or white socks. The boy must wear grey trousers, a grey shirt, a blue pullover and black shoes. The boys and girls can wear a school blazer, too.

1 Comprehension

Are these sentences true or false?

1. Every school boys and girls have to wear uniforms.
2. The school colours at Angie's school are blue and grey.
3. The girls in Angie's school wear must wear a blue pullover.
4. The boys in Angie's school can wear tights or white socks.
5. Both girls and boys in Angie's school wear black shoes.
6. Only the girl can wear a school blaze.

2 How about you?

1. Do you *wear* school uniform at school?
2. What are the school colours at your school?
3. What do the girls wear at your school?
4. What do the boys wear at your school?

3 Do you like to wear school uniform? If you do, why? If you do not, why?
Discuss with the other members in your group.

2.4 SCHOOL LUNCH

You know that school food is generally poor. School cooks have a lot to learn!
(Clare, 13)

1 Look at these menus. Do you agree with Clare?

Barnsbury School for Girls, London

(700 pupils, 500 for lunch)

Veal and fried potatoes; sausages, salads; ice-cream and fruit salad; lemon cake

The girls say: Not too bad for school food, but it makes you fat

The Broadway Comprehensive school, Birmingham

(906 pupils, 680 for lunch)

Fish cakes or vegetables and eggs; salads, chips; a grapefruit.

The pupils say: Lovely.

2. How about your school lunch?

1. Do you have school lunch? Or can you go home for lunch?
2. What do you usually have for your lunch at school?
3. How do you like your school lunch?

3. Write, in English, the menu for your school lunch today. Compare it with the previous two menus in British schools.

2.5 THE SCHOOL WE'D LIKE

Read the following sentences.

The uniform we have to wear now was certainly all right for dear old ladies: it must be changed.

Jenny, 13

The pupils must be given more chance to speak and the teacher must be given a chance to listen.

Mark, 13

You would go to Assembly only if you wanted to. This is not because I don't want to go to Assembly, but because I'd like to choose for myself

Alan, 15

The girls would do football and rugby and they would also do other sports. Girls love the things boys do and I think that girls can do anything boys can do. Also the boys would learn to cook and use a sewing-machine to make clothes because when they get married and have children it will be very useful.

Angela, 13

Life is much more interesting if you can go out and see something instead of just sitting in a classroom.

Christopher, 15

I don't think I would be happy in that kind of school because I need help all the time.

Frances, 15

Do you agree with these British pupils' words? What are your own opinions about schools?

UNIT 3: ABOUT BRITISH TEENAGERS

3.1 MUSIC

Phuoc Tien ('Tony' to his friends) lives in Manchester. He is a very good dancer. He only listens to dance music.

'If you can't dance to it, what's it for? I like Prince, Hammer, and quite a lot of good new bands, like Silverfish.' Tony can't go to discos, because he's not old enough. But he and his friends do a lot of dancing.

'Some of my friends have really nice parents. They just go out and leave us alone so we can make a bit of noise. Or sometimes we put our money together, buy some batteries for the cassette player, and go dancing in the park. That's OK. Other kids join in, and you make new friends!'

Maggie, from London, isn't very interested in the latest fashions in music.

She hasn't got pictures of Silverfish on her bedroom wall. She doesn't like rap or indie groups. She prefers her parents' record collection, and she knows a lot about the history of rock.

'My all-time greats are Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and The Beatles.'

Lee, from Liverpool, follows the latest fashions in music; if it's not new, it's no good.

'Two years ago a lot of American groups were doing really well. But that's all finished, right? The only good music now is coming from new British bands like Primal Scream, Nine Inch Nails and Mega City Four. They're called 'Indie' bands. That means 'independent'—not with big record companies like Polygram and EMI. But not many people appreciate them. Old people just think they're dangerous.'

In Aberdeen, Mark listens to a lot of rap.

'Actually, I like all types of music. But at the moment rap is my number one. Call it 'rap' or call it 'hip-hop', it's the same thing. Public Enemy are really good, and so are De La Soul. And I really respect some of the first hip-hopper, like Afrika bambaataa. You can dance and sing at the same time!'

Which type are you?

Rock 'n' roll You like nice, loud music—everything from the Rolling Stones to today's heavy metal (like Guns N'Roses or Metallica). You have long hair and a leather jacket.

Rap You like mostly black band—with a heavy beat and lots of words, You wear dark glasses and athletics shoes.

Indie You like very new British band—different, modern, interesting. You buy your clothes at street markets.

Pop You like the pretty songs on the radio 24 hours a day—and in supermarkets! Australians Kylie Minogue and Jason Donovan are your favourites these days. You look... well, normal!

Dance You like a non-stop beat. The music is more important than the words!

1 Comprehension

Are these sentences true or false

1. Tony likes all kinds of music.
2. Maggie is interested in the music of the 1960s and 70s.
3. 'Indie' is short for 'Indian music',
4. Mark thinks that rap is much better than hip-hop.
5. Heavy metal is a type of rock 'n' roll.

2 How about you?

- I. Which of the types on this page are you? Or do you like other types of music which are not included in the list? If yes, what is it?
1. What is your favourite band? Favourite singers? And why do you like them?

3.2 FASHION AND STYLE

3.2.1 JEANS AND ATHLETICS SHOES

jeans, denim trousers, usually blue. Mr. Levis Strauss first made jeans for gold-miners in San Francisco in the 1850s. For 100 years they were working clothes only. But in the 1950s they became fashionable for young people.

Sandy, 15, comes from Bristol

Sandy usually wears jeans. She has a black pair, a white pair and three blue pairs.

'I wear jeans to school. I wear them on the weekend. And for going out, I wear my new white pair.'

'They are comfortable, and they always look good. You can wear them with a T-shirt and sneakers, or with nice shoes and a jacket. Fashion changes quickly, and you have to buy new things all the time. But jeans always stay in fashion. And they're strong. I have a pair of my Mom's old jeans—and I mean really old! They still look good.'

Athletics Shoes

They are called 'athletics shoes' or 'running shoes' or 'sport shoes'. But these days 95% of athletics shoes are in the street, in classrooms, and in offices—not in the gym or on the sport field.

Everybody wears them. Young people, old people, kids, rock stars, even teachers—everybody!

So are athletics shoes fashionable? The answer is yes...and no. To be fashionable, you have to get the right athletics shoes.

For British school-kids two things are very important. First, they have to be expensive. If you only spent £20 on your athletics shoes, forget about fashion! Second, they have to have the right name on them. What is the right name? Sorry. We can't tell you. That changes every year. Right now it may be Adidas, Nike, Head, Reebok, or something new. Ask a British kid!

1 Comprehension

Correct these sentences

1. The first jeans were Australian.
2. Sandy has six pairs of jeans.
3. Athletics shoes are not for sport.
4. Expensive athletics shoes cost about £20.
5. Adidas, Nike and Reebok are name of types of jeans.

2 How about your?

1. What kind of dress is in fashion now in your place?
 2. What's your favourite dress? What type of shoes do you like to wear?
 3. Do you like to catch up with fashion? Or do you think you are an old-fashioned person in dress?
 4. Do you wear clothes or shoes with 'the right names' on them? What names do you usually have on your dress?
 5. How much do you spend on your dress every month?
- 3. Sandy will come to Taipei for a holiday but she doesn't know what she should wear. Can you tell her?**

3.3 AGE LIMITS IN BRITAIN

3.3.1 LIMITS

At the age of 5...

You must go to school.

You can drink alcohol at home.

At the age of 10...

The police can arrest you. But don't worry—you can't go to prison.

At the age of 12...

You can buy a pet without your parents.

At the age of 13...

You can get a job. But you can only work two hours a day on school days.

At the age of 14...

Boys (but not girls) can go to a special prison for young people.

At the age of 16...

You can leave school.

You can work full time.

You can get married but only with your parents' permission.

Boys can join the army.

You can buy cigarettes.

At the age of 17...

You can drive a car and ride a motorbike.

Girls can join the army.

At the age of 18...

Congratulations! You are an adult. You don't need your parents' permission for anything. You can get married, vote, borrow money from a bank, have a tattoo, and drink alcohol in a pub. (Please don't try to do all these things at the same time!)

3.3.2 Claire's problem page

Dear Claire,

My parents are always criticising me. They don't like my friends, they don't like my hairstyle, they don't like my music. At the moment I am having a big argument with my parents. I want to work in a shop after school. They say it is against the law. I also want to buy a tarantula spider, have a tattoo on my neck and get my ears pierced. They say I'm too young for all these things. Are they right? Please help me

Yours sincerely,
Mellisa (age 13)

Now it's your turn.

1. Write an answer for Claire to Melissa. Tell her the facts and then give her some advice. Start your letter like this.

Dear Melissa,

The law says you can...

2. Make a list of age limits in Taiwan. Which ones are different from those in Britain? Do you think they are right? Which ones would you like to change?
3. Some age limits in Britain are different for boys and girls. Which ones? Why do you think they are different? Should they be the same? Do you think all age limits should be the same for girls and boys?
4. Which of these sentences about Britain are true and which are false?
 - a) You can get married before you can drive a car.
 - b) At the age of 13, the police can arrest you, but you can't go to prison.
 - c) You don't have to go to school until you are six.
 - d) 21 is an important age, when many things change for you.
 - e) Children must spend at least 13 years at school.

Appendix 8: Pupils' Questionnaire

Dear pupil,

This questionnaire is a part of a research which aims at investigating Taiwan's junior high school pupils': (1) interest in learning English, (2) identity with own culture, and (3) attitudes towards learning cultures of English-speaking countries.

Your opinions can not only help people in the academic and educational fields in Taiwan to understand the current situation of junior high school pupils' learning English, but also are of great value to this study. Please answer every question in the questionnaire and do miss any question.

The questionnaire is anonymous and no single individual can be identified. All data will be kept confidentially and used for the purpose of research only.

Yours sincerely,

Meng-ching Ho
Research student in
School of Education
University of Durham
United Kingdom

MOST QUESTIONS REQUIRE YOU SIMPLY TO TICK A POSSIBLE ANSWER. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS SINCE MANY PEOPLE HAVE DIFFERENT OPINIONS. PLEASE TICK CLEARLY

PART 1: YOUR PERSONAL DATA

1. SEX 1 Male() 2 Female()
2. GRADE 1. Grade 1 () 2 Grade 2 () 3 Grade 3 ()
3. MY SCHOOL IS: 1.public() 2 private()
4. MY SCHOOL IS IN:
- 1 Taipei City()
- 2 Taipei County()
- 3 Other () (specify:)
5. CAN YOUR FATHER SPEAK ENGLISH?
- 1 Yes() 2 No()
6. HAS YOUR FATHER EVER TALKED TO YOU ABOUT THE ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES?
- 1 Yes() 2 No()
7. CAN YOUR MOTHER SPEAK ENGLISH?
- 1 Yes() 2 No()
8. HAS YOUR MOTHER EVER TALKED TO YOU ABOUT THE ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES?
- 1 Yes() 2 No()
9. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN TO ANY ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES?
- 1 Yes () 2 No () If "No", go to Part 2.

10. IN THE FOLLOWING TABLE, TICK ANY COUNTRY WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN VISITED AND GIVE THE MAIN PURPOSE FOR YOUR VISIT AND INDICATE HOW LONG YOU HAVE STAYED THERE.

MAIN PURPOSE: 1=holiday 2=visiting relatives 3=dwelling 4=learning English
5=other (specify:)

DURATION: 1=less than one month 2=one to three months 3=four to six month
4=seven to twelve months 5=more than one year

country	Tick if visited	main purpose (Use number indicated above)	duration(Use number indicated above)
Australia			
America			
Britain			
Canada			
New Zealand			
other(specify:....)			

PART 2

1. HOW MUCH DO YOU THINK THE CURRENT ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS TELL YOU SOMETHING ABOUT ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES?

1.a great deal	2.quite a lot	3.a little	4.nothing

2 WHAT ASPECT(S) ABOUT THE ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES DO YOU THINK THE ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS COVER?

festivities() geography() sports() school life() food and drink()
other() (specify. _____)

3. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DOES YOUR ENGLISH TEACHER TEACH YOU ABOUT? PLEASE TICK THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER(S).

grammar()

translation()

English songs()

pronunciation()

vocabulary()

education and school in the English speaking country/ies()

festivities and customs in the English speaking country/ies()

family life in the English speaking country/ies()

living conditions in the English speaking country/ies()

food and drink in the English speaking country/ies()

political system in the English speaking country/ies()

geography and regions in the English speaking country/ies()

religion in the English speaking country/ies()

youth culture (fashion, music, etc.) in the English speaking country/ies()

sports in the English speaking country/ies()

social problems of young people in the English speaking country/ies()

arts in the English speaking country/ies()

other() (specify:.....)

4. HOW MUCH DO YOU FIND OUT ABOUT ENGLISH SPEAKING PEOPLE FROM THE FOLLOWING? PUT A TICK TO INDICATE HOW MUCH YOU LEARN FROM EACH OF THE FOLLOWING:

	1 a great deal	2 quite a lot	3 a little	4 nothing
Media (TV, radio, video, newspaper and magazine)				
Visiting the English speaking country/ies				
Living in the English speaking country/ies				
English textbooks				

	1 a great deal	2 quite a lot	3 a little	4 nothing
Reading (general books and stories) outside schools				
English teachers				
Native English speakers in Taiwan				
Others(Specify:.....)				

5. TO WHAT EXTEND WOULD YOU LIKE TO KNOW MORE ABOUT THE ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES THROUGH ENGLISH CLASS IN SCHOOL?

1 extremely like	2 like	3 uncertain	4 dislike	5 extremely dislike

If your answer is "dislike" or "extremely dislike", please stop here.

6. WHICH ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY DO YOU LIKE TO KNOW MOST?

(Please tick **one** only.)

- 1. Australia.....[]
- 2. America.....[]
- 3. British.....[]
- 4. Canada.....[]
- 5. New Zealand.....[]
- 6. Other (Specify:.....)

7. HOW MUCH WOULD YOU LIKE TO KNOW ABOUT THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES? (Please indicate to what extent you would like to learn the items listed below by ticking the appropriate answer from the scale.)

Aspects	1 a great deal	2 quite a lot	3 a little	4.nothing
1. daily family life				
2. festivals and custom				
3. men/women social status				
4. the youth culture				
the teenagers' growing pains				
6. literature				
7. traffic				
8. the environmental protect				
9. The political system				
10. famous scenery for tourists				
11. young people's part-time job				
12. the medical system				
13. how to make friends with people				
14. young people's leisure activities				
15. the young people's school life				
16. what is the young native English speaking people's impression of Taiwan				
17. food and eating habits				
18. their special costume on special occasions like wedding				
19. other(Specify:.....)				

8. HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO LEARN ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES?
PLEASE TICK THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER IN THE SCALE.

	1 very much	2 much	3 a little	4 not at all
lectures given by my English teacher in class				
inviting native speakers of English to talk about their country/ies				
visiting schools for people from the English speaking countries (Taipei America School)				
cultural excursions to the English people's community in Taipei				
other (Specify:.....)				

Thank you for your help.

Appendix 9: English Teachers' Questionnaire

Dear teacher,

The questionnaire is a part of my research which is aimed at:

1. introducing appropriate theories, methodologies, and materials for teaching culture of English speaking countries in Taiwan's junior high schools,
2. investigating the relationship between culture teaching and the pupils' motivation to learn English, and
3. investigating the relationship between culture teaching and the pupils' own cultural identity.

Your attitudes towards teaching culture of English speaking countries, assessment of your pupils' motivation to learn English, and their own cultural identity are the key points to be studied in the questionnaire. Your answers are of great importance to TEFL in Taiwan's junior high school. It is hoped that this research can offer the junior-high-school English teachers in Taiwan a way to motivate their pupils more efficiently through combining culture and language teaching in the English classroom.

The questionnaire is anonymous and no single individual can be identified. All data will be kept confidentially and used for the purpose of research only. Please answer every question in the questionnaire. Thank you for your help in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Meng-ching Ho

Research student in

School of Education

University of Durham

United Kingdom

MOST QUESTIONS REQUIRE YOU SIMPLY TO TICK A POSSIBLE ANSWER. PLEASE TICK CLEARLY

SECTION 1

1. SEX: 1. Male() 2. Female()

2. THE LOCATION OF YOUR SCHOOL:

1. Taipei City()

2. Taipei County()

3. other (specify:.....)

3. IS YOUR SCHOOL A PUBLIC ONE OR PRIVATE ONE?

1. public()

2. private()

4 YEAR OF TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE:

() 1. less than 5 years (including 5 years)

() 2. 6 to 10 years

() 3. 11 to 15 years

() 4. 16 to 20 years

() 5. 21 years or more

5. AGE:

() 1. 20 to 29

() 2. 30 to 39

() 3. 40 to 49

() 4. 50 to 59

() 5. 60 to 69

6 EDUCATION:

Higher Education:

- () 1. normal university (including National Taiwan Normal University, National Kaoshiung Normal University, and National Changhua University of Education)
- () 2. non-normal university
- () 3. other (specify:.....)

Higher Degrees:

Do you have a higher degree? 1. Yes() 2. No()

SECTION 2

1. IF POSSIBLE, PLEASE GIVE A SIMPLE DESCRIPTION OF "CULTURE TEACHING" IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. FROM WHICH SOURCE DO YOU KNOW ABOUT "CULTURE TEACHING" IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING? PLEASE TICK AS MANY AS NECESSARY.

- publications related to English teaching()
- conference()
- courses taken when I studied in the university()
- in-service training course()
- other() (please specify:

3. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE THAT THE ENGLISH TEACHERS IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS SHOULD INCLUDE THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES IN THEIR TEACHING? (Please tick.)

1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree

If "strongly agree" or "agree", the reason(s) is/are:

1. It gives pupils knowledge and understanding of the relevant culture.()
2. It helps to break down prejudices and develop pupils' tolerance.()
3. It gives pupils understanding of their own cultural identity.()
4. It helps to develop pupils' ability to see similarities and differences between countries.()
5. It helps pupils to get personal contacts in the foreign country.()
6. It helps to increase pupils' competence in communicating with native English speakers in the future.()
7. It makes English teaching more motivating.()
8. Culture and language are inseparable.()
9. other() (specify:

If is "agree" or "strongly disagree", the reason(s) is/are:

1. The main purpose of English course is to teach the language rather than the culture.()
2. It is not the English teachers' task to teach about the culture of the English speaking country/ies.()
3. There is no space for teaching the culture of the English speaking country/ies in the current junior high school English curriculum.()
4. It will add burden to English teachers.()
5. There is no teacher training course which trains English teachers to teach the target-language culture.()
6. English is learnt as an instrument so there is no need for teaching culture.()
7. The culture of the English speaking country/ies is not relevant to the senior high school entrance exam.()
8. other() (specify:

4. HOW MUCH DO YOU TELL YOUR PUPILS ABOUT THE ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES IN CLASS?

1 a great deal	2 quite a lot	3 a little	4 nothing

If "nothing", please go to Question 7.

5. WHAT TOPIC(S) DO YOU CHOOSE WHEN YOU TEACH ABOUT ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES? PLEASE TICK AS MANY AS APPROPRIATE.

family life()

daily living conditions()

education and school()

food and drink()

festivities and customs()

political system()

geography and regions()

religion()

youth culture (fashion, music, etc.)()

sports()

young people's social problems()

arts()

other ()(specify:.....)

6. DO YOU HAVE ANY DIFFICULTY/IES IN TEACHING CULTURE OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES?

1 Yes() 2. No()

If "Yes", please indicate your difficulty/difficulties

lack of teaching materials()

time pressure()

my lack of knowledge of the English speaking country/ies()

pupils' lack of interest()

other() (specify:

7. HOW MUCH DO YOU THINK THE TEXTBOOKS COMPILED BY THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF COMPILATION AND TRANSLATION COVER CULTURAL ASPECTS OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES?

1 a great deal	2 quite a lot	3 a little	4 nothing

8. WHAT ASPECT(S) ABOUT THE ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES DO YOU THINK THE ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS COVER?

festivities and custom()

geographic environment()

sports()

education and school()

food and drink()

other() (specify:

9. WHICH ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY DO YOU THINK SHOULD BE INTRODUCED TO THE PUPILS PRIOR TO OTHERS?

1. America()

2. Australia()

3. Britain()

4. Canada()

5. New Zealand()

6. other () (specify:.....)

WHAT IS/ARE THE REASON(S) FOR YOUR ANSWER?

This country's culture is the most wide-spreading and influential one in the world.()

It is familiar to pupils due to introduce of media.()

It is important because of its dominance in science and technology.()

The people of that country represent the overwhelming majority of English speaking people.()

- In Taiwan, most English publications come from that country.()
- It is the country that pupils are most likely to go for their studies abroad.
- It is the country where most Taiwanese emigrate to.()
- Taiwan has strong political bonds with that country.()
- Taiwan is endeavouring to develop business and cultural exchange with the country.()
- Introducing this country helps to break down Taiwan's Americanisation.()
- It is the country where English originates.()
- other () (specify:.....)

10. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU THINK IT IS NECESSARY TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING CULTURAL ASPECTS OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY/IES IN ENGLISH TEACHING?

Cultural Aspects	1 Of very great necessity	2 Of great necessity	3 Of some necessity	4 Of no necessity
1. daily family life				
2. festivals and custom				
3. men/women social status				
4. the youth cultures				
5. the teenagers' growing pain				
6. literature				
7. traffic				
8. environmental protection				
9. the political system				
10. famous scenery for tourists				
11. young people's part-time jobs				
12. the medical system				
13. How to make friends with people.				
14. young people's leisure activities				
15. the young people's school life				
16. the native English speaking				

people's impression of Taiwan				
Cultural Aspects	1 Of very great necessity	2 Of great necessity	3 Of some necessity	4 Of no necessity
17. food and eating habits				
18. their special costume on special occasions like wedding				
19. other.(specify:.....)				

SECTION 3

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?
PLEASE INDICATE TO WHAT EXTENT YOU AGREE THESE STATEMENTS.

	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
1. Most of my pupils love learning English.					
2. Most of my pupils pay a lot of attention to what I teach in class.					
3. Teaching pupils the culture of the English speaking country/ies would lower their loyalty to our traditional culture.					
4. When I ask a question in English class, most of my pupils always volunteer answers.					
5. Culture studies can enhance pupils' motivation to learn English.					
6. Most of my pupils come to me to ask anything about English which they have problems in understanding in class.					
7. In light of Taiwan's Americanisation, teaching the culture of the English speaking country/ies should be excluded from the English course.					
8. Most of my pupils do their English homework carefully					

	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
9. Through comparisons between Taiwanese and English speaking people's cultures, pupils would understand their own culture.					
10. Most of my pupils' motivation in learning English is high.					
11. Once getting their exam paper back, my pupils correct their mistakes automatically.					
12. Being aware of the existence of other people's' culture would contribute to pupils' Taiwanese identity.					
13. Most of my pupils take every opportunity to speak English outside of class.					
14. Culture Studies would leads pupils to the adoption of norms/values in foreign cultures which undermine their identity with the values in the local traditional culture.					
15. Most of my pupils really try to learn English.					
16. Most of my pupils spend more time on English than on other subjects.					
17. Teaching the culture of the English speaking country/ies would be likely to produce a generation of Anglophiles in Taiwan's society.					
18. Culture teaching will interfere English learning.					
19. Teaching the culture of the English speaking country/ies will make westernisation of Taiwanese culture worse.					
20. I think that most pupils in junior high schools believe in thoughts, values, and norms in our traditional culture.					
21. I think that most pupils in junior high schools behave in a more westernised way.					
22. I think that most pupils in junior high schools have strong identification with our					

traditional culture.					
	1 strongly agree	2 agree	3 uncertain	4 disagree	5 strongly disagree
23. Teaching culture of English speaking people help to educate our junior high school pupils as world citizens.					

Appendix 10: Lesson Plan for the Experimental Culture Studies Course

Lesson Plan One

Date: 01/03/96

Time: 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi

Room: the language lab.

Lesson Title: No

Lesson Goal: (1) To let the pupils know what Culture Studies refers to and make them understand the rules to be followed. (2) to conduct the motivation and cultural identity scales.

Resources:

The motivation and cultural identity scales and blackboard
--

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	No	
Introduction	1. Self-introduction of the research. 2. Introduce the course. 3. Present the rule to be followed in the classroom	15 minutes
Development	Questionnaire fill-in.	25-30 minutes
Conclusion	Brief introduction of the first unit to be taught. Disseminating hand-outs of Unit 1.	5 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	Good.
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	good
Classroom Order	Good

Lesson Plan Two

Date: 08/03/96

Time: 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi

Room: the language lab.

Lesson Title: British Festivals (Unit One, 1-1 & 1-2)

Lesson Goal: (1) To let the pupils know the holidays and festivals in Britain. (2) Introduce passive tense.

Resources:

slides, hand-outs, a map of Britain

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	No	
Introduction	Introduce the festivals and holidays in UK.	20 minutes
Development	1. Pupils were asked to reply the question in the section of "Comprehension". 2. pupils worked in groups to think about the differences and similarity between Taiwan's and Britain's festivals.	20 minutes
Conclusion	Pupils were led to conclude the main point in the lesson and make generalisation.	10 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	Good. The pupils answered the questions I asked voluntarily.
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	Good
Classroom Order	A little bit noisy at the end of the class.

Note:

1. Ms Lin told me that one pupil said he felt being tested and watched (like a guinea pig).
2. The pupils seemed to be more interested in watching the slides. Their reaction was enthusiastic. They asked what was strange to them in these slides, e.g., the snow scene in Durham, the statue in the market place of Durham, etc..

Lesson Plan Three

Date: 15/ 03/ 96

Time: 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi

Room: the language lab.

Lesson Title: British Festivals (Unit One, 1-2 & 1-3)

Lesson Goal: To let the pupils know who British people celebrate Easter.

Resources:

slides, hand-outs

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	The important festivals mentioned in the previous section.	5 minutes
Introduction	The origin of Easter (in terms of religion); special food for Easter	20 minutes
Development	Discussion: comparing the coming Taiwanese festival, tomb-sweeping, with Easter (e.g. their meanings)	15 minutes
Conclusion	Sum up what have taught in this lesson. Tell the pupils to prepare ingredients for making pancake.	10 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes
Pupil Participation	Low
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	The pupils were passive. Teacher dominant. No response when I asked questions.
Classroom Order	O. K.. A bit too quiet.

Note:

1. Obviously, the pupils' sense of freshness lowered down.
2. Ms Lin said usually the pupils' attention lasted for 20 minutes. It was better to have a break in between to tell them something other than the lesson, e.g. my story in UK.
3. The text was too difficult (too many vocabulary and grammar that the pupils had not learned yet).
4. The pupils interests in participating in the activity of pancake making in the next class seemed to be low. When I asked their opinions, e.g., if they liked to have the activity after the mid-term exam, no pupils responded. However, this might be typical Taiwanese pupils response in class. They are used to do what they are told without giving their own opinions.

Lesson Plan Four

Date: 29/ 03/ 96 **Time:** 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi **Room:** the school kitchen

Lesson Title: Pancake making

Lesson Goal: To let the pupils know how to make pancake.

Resources:

Ingredients for pancake, cookery

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	No	
Introduction	Introduce vocabulary in the recipe.	10 minutes
Development	The pupils worked in group to make pancake	30 minutes
Conclusion	Clear up.	10 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	Good
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	Good
Classroom Order	Good

Note:

The pupils was divided into eight groups and took turn to make pancake (four groups at a time). Their enthusiasm to participate in this activity was high. Every group made their

own pancake and tried it. They also sent some to me, Ms. Lin and other teachers. After the class, many pupils stayed automatically to clear the kitchen and do the washing-up. Some pupils told me after the class that they liked it.

Lesson Plan Five

Date: 12/ 04/ 96

Time: 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi

Room: the language lab.

Lesson Title: Christmas (Unit Two, 2-3 &2-4)

Lesson Goal: After the class, the pupils should know: (1) how Christmas is celebrated in Britain and (2) the religious meanings of Christmas and its meanings to British family (reunion)

Resources:

hand-outs, cook book for Christmas meal, slide (photos showing an English Church's and family's decoration for Christmas)

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	Ask the pupils their feelings towards the activity of pancake making.	5 minutes
Introduction	Explain the contents about Christmas in the hand-out. Show the pupils the slides.	20 minutes
Development	The pupils worked in groups to find out the answers to the questions in the hand-outs, e.g., what do people usually do during Christmas in Britain; what date are Christmas Eve, Christmas Day and Boxing Day; What is boxing Day for?	20 minutes
Conclusion	Sum up and ask the pupils to preview the next lesson.	5 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	More enthusiastic when watching slides; asking questions, e.g. the decoration in the house.
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	Good
Classroom Order	Good

Lesson Plan Six

Date: 19/04/96 **Time:** 10:5 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi **Room:** the language lab

Lesson Title: Writing a letter to an English secondary pupil

Lesson Goal: At the end of the lesson, the pupils should know how to write an letter in English (the contents of a letter; the format of an envelope, etc..)

Resources:

Sample: the letter from the head teacher of Taipei English School

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	No	
Introduction	Introduce the format of an envelope and contents of a letter.	20 minutes
Development	Pupils wrote their own letters.	25 minutes
Conclusion	Tell the pupils to continue their writing in next class	5 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	Good. Most pupils tried to write, but some of them just looked around.
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	Good. The pupils asked Ms Lin and me for help if they had problems to translated a word or a sentence into English.
Classroom Order	A little bit noisy.

Lesson Plan Seven

Date: 02/ 05/ 96 **Time:** 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi **Room:** the language lab

Lesson Title: Activity: writing a letter

Lesson Goal: The same as the previous lesson

Resources:

No

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	No	
Introduction	Tell the pupils to continue writing their letters	5 minutes
Development	The pupils wrote their letters	40 minutes
Conclusion	Ask the pupils to submit their letters.	5 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	Good
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	Good
Classroom Order	The girls behaved better than the boys (more concentrated on writing).

Note:

At the end of the class, I collected the pupils' letters to correct them. Their letters revealed that most of them were interested in knowing English pupils' life and many of them wished they can have pan pals. They described their school life to English pupils and asked their

age, school subjects they are interested, the place they live, and so on.

The girls were more motivated to write the letters to be sent to an English secondary school. They (the girls) brought dictionaries to the classroom and asked Ms Lin or me when they had difficulties in writing. But many of the boys just sat on their seats or played with each other. Few of them worked hard to write their letters.

Lesson Plan Eight

Date: 10/05/96 **Time:** 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi **Room:** the language lab.

Lesson Title: A School in Britain (Unit 2, 2-5 and 2-6)

Lesson Goal: To let the pupils know the school life of a British secondary school pupil

Resources:

hand-outs, slides (some British secondary school pupils with uniforms)

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	No	
Introduction	Introduce a British secondary pupil's school life, e.g., the hours spent in school a day, the timetable, the subjects taught, homework. Show the pupils the slides of British secondary pupils with uniform. Ask them to find out differences between their and British pupils' uniforms.	20 minutes
Development	Ask the pupils to work in groups to draw their own school timetable for a week. Contrast their timetable with the British pupil's school timetable listed in the hand-out and compare in both countries: (1) pupils' hours spent in school a day and (2) subjects learned.	20 minutes
Conclusion	Help pupils to generalise what they have learnt.	10 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	Sat and listened to the instructor.
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	O. K.
Classroom Order	Quiet

Lesson Plan Nine

Date: 17/05/96

Time: 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi

Room: the language lab

Lesson Title: The Education System and Exams in Britain

Lesson Goal: At the end of the class, the pupils should know all levels of schools in Britain and what qualification exams British pupils should take in order to go to an university.

Resources:

hand-outs

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	No	
Introduction	Introduce GCSE and A-Level in Britain	25 minutes
Development	Discussion: comparing the exams in Taiwan and Britain.	20 minutes
Conclusion	Draw conclusion about what was taught. Tell the pupils the activity for the next class.	5 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	Good (The pupils seemed to listen with care to the introduction of GCSE and A-Level.
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	Good.
Classroom Order	Very Good. (complete silence)

Lesson Plan Ten

Date: 24/ 05/ 96 **Time:** 10:15 a.m. to 11:05 a.m.

Class: Grade 2, Class Yi **Room:** the language lab.

Lesson Title: Activity: Cultural Exchange

Lesson Goal: At the end of the class, the pupils should be able to decide the items they wanted to send to a British comprehensive school.

Resources:

No

Activity:

	Content	Time
Revision of Previous Lesson	No	
Introduction	Ask the class leader to hold the meeting for selecting their collection of items	40 minutes
Development	The same as the above.	
Conclusion	Thank Ms Lin and the pupils for their co-operation over the past two months	10 minutes

Assessment:

	Description
Lesson Goal Achieved	Yes.
Pupil Participation	Good.
Teacher & Pupil Interaction	Good.
Classroom Order	Good.

Note:

I told the pupils that they could send their letters together with these items to Tudhoe Grange Comprehensive School in Durham, UK. But only three of them, all girls, gave me their letters. At the end of the class, the class leader, in representation of the class, gave me a card to express their thanks to me.

Appendix 11: Frequency, Percentage and Rank of the Cultural Aspects Should be Taught (in Terms of the English Teachers)

	Needed Very Much		Needed		Needed A Little		Not Needed		Total		Rank (in terms of needed very much and needed)
	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	
1. Daily Family Life	25	56.8	19	43.2	0	0	0	0	44	100	1
2. Festival & Custom	21	47.7	20	45.5	3	6.8	0	0	44	100	2
15. Young People's School life	19	44.2	18	41.9	4	9.3	2	4.7	43	100	3
17. Food & Drink	18	41.9	18	41.9	7	16.3	0	0	43	100	4
4. Youth Culture	17	39.5	18	41.9	4	9.3	4	9.3	43	100	5
8. Environment Protect	15		15	34.1	20	45.5	6	13.6	3	6.8	6
14. Leisure Activities of Young People	16	37.2	15	34.9	8	18.6	4	9.3	43	100	7
13. How to Make Friends with Foreigners	9	20.9	22	51.2	8	18.6	4	9.3	43	100	8
10. Tourism	11	25.6	18	41.9	8	18.6	6	14.0	43	100	9
3. Male & Female Social Status	10	23.3	15	34.9	12	27.9	6	14.0	43	100	10
5. Young People's Growing Pain	11	25.0	14	32.6	9	20.9	9	20.9	43	100	11
16. English Speaking People's Impression to Taiwan	9	20.9	14	32.6	11	25.6	9	20.9	43	100	12
18. Dressing	6	13.6	15	34.1	16	36.4	7	15.9	44	100	13
7. Traffic	7	15.9	11	25.0	17	38.6	9	20.5	44	100	14
6. Literature	6	13.6	12	27.3	18	41.9	7	16.3	43	100	15
9. Politics	3	7.0	11	25.6	15	34.9	14	32.6	43	100	16

	Needed Very Much		Needed		Needed A Little		Not Needed		Total		Rank (in terms of needed very much and needed)
	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	
12. Medical Systems	2	4.5	12	27.3	15	34.1	14	32.6	43	100	17
11. Youths' Part Time Jobs	4	9.1	9	20.9	15	34.9	15	34.9	43	100	18

Note: F = Frequency; P = Percentage.

Appendix 12: Frequency, Percentage, and Rank of the Cultural Aspects the Pupils Liked to Know

Item	Very Much		A Lot		Little		Not At All		Total		Rank
	N	%	N	%	N	&	N	%	N	%	
14. Leisure Activities of Young People	269	63.6	111	26.2	34	8.0	9	2.1	423	100	1
10. Tourism	251	59.3	115	27.2	51	12.1	6	1.4	423	100	2
15. Young People's School life	217	51.3	129	30.5	62	14.7	15	3.5	423	100	3
13. How to Make Friends with Foreigners	224	53.0	120	28.4	61	14.4	18	4.3	423	100	4
4. Youth Culture	181	43.2	139	33.2	79	18.9	20	4.8	419	100	5
16. English Speaking People's Impression to Taiwan	161	38.1	149	35.2	84	19.9	29	6.9	423	100	6
17. Food & Drink	150	35.5	155	36.6	99	23.4	19	4.5	423	100	7
5. Young People's Growing Pain	168	39.9	118	28.0	99	23.5	36	8.6	421	100	8
1. Daily Family Life	109	25.9	170	40.4	128	30.4	14	3.3	421	100	9
2. Festival & Custom	116	27.6	147	34.9	132	31.4	26	6.2	421	100	10
12. Medical Systems	126	29.9	132	31.3	126	29.9	38	9.0	422	100	11
11. Youths' Part Time Jobs	132	31.4	138	28.8	107	25.4	44	10.5	421	100	12
8. Environment Protect	114	27.0	138	32.7	143	33.9	27	6.4	422	100	13
18. Dressing	130	30.8	122	28.9	124	29.4	46	10.9	422	100	13
3. Male & Female Social Status	91	21.7	139	33.1	138	32.9	52	12.4	420	100	15
6. Literature	94	22.4	132	31.4	143	34.0	51	12.1	420	100	16
7. Traffic	85	20.2	119	28.3	165	39.3	51	12.1	420	100	17
9. Politics	79	18.7	119	28.1	152	35.9	73	17.3	423	100	18

Appendix 13: Mean and Significance of the Pupils'/the English Teachers' answers towards the Cultural Aspects that they like to know/think should be taught

Item	Pupils' Mean	Teachers' Mean	2 Tail Sig
1. Daily Family Life	2.89	3.57	.000***
2. Festival & Custom	2.83	3.40	.000***
3. Male & Female Social Status	2.64	2.67	.825
4. Youth Culture	3.14	3.11	.825
5. Young People's Growing Pain	2.99	2.62	.023*
6. Literature	2.64	2.39	.111
7. Traffic	2.56	2.36	.178
8. Environment Protect	2.80	3.06	.066
9. Politics	2.48	2.06	.009**
10. Tourism	3.44	2.79	.000***
11. Youths' Part Time Jobs	2.85	2.04	.000***
12. Medical Systems	2.81	2.04	.000***
13. How to Make Friends with Foreigners	3.30	2.83	.001**
14. Leisure Activities of Young People	3.51	3.00	.000***
15. Young People's School life	3.29	3.25	.769
16. English Speaking People's Impression to Taiwan	3.04	2.53	.004**
17. Food & Drink	3.03	3.25	.105
18. Dressing	2.79	2.45	.030*

NOTE: * = P < .05, ** = P < .01, *** = P < .001.

Appendix 14: Pupils' Questionnaires Administrated after the Experimental Culture Studies Course

1. To what extent do you like this course? (Please circle one appropriate answer.)
 - a. Like it very much.
 - b. Like it.
 - c. So so.
 - d. Dislike it.
 - e. Strongly dislike it.

2. Compared with your English course, this course was:
 - b. More interesting.
 - c. The same.
 - d. More boring.

3. Which of the following activities do you like most in this course?
 - c. Pancake making.
 - d. Slide watching.
 - e. Letter writing.
 - f. Other (Specify:

4. After this course, will you be more actively engaged in learning English? If yes, why? And if no, why? (Please tick one appropriate answer and write down your reason(s).)
 Yes, because

 No, because

5. Please answer each of the following statements by ticking the scale which appears to describe your ideas and impressions best.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
1. The course helped me know more about British ways of life.					
2. After this course, I am more able to empathise the ways of life and education system in Britain.					
Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
3. Besides grammar, I hope that I can learn ways of life in English speaking countries when learning English.					
4. Now I feel more like to learn English well for the sake of contacting information or people from English speaking countries.					
5. After knowing something about British secondary schools, I began to admire the pupils there.					
6. I feel that the pupils in Britain are luckier than those in Taiwan.					
7. I wish I was born in Britain.					