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### The Taiwanese-American Perspective on Discrimination in English Language Teaching

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University of San Francisco

# **The Taiwanese-American Perspective on Discrimination in English Language Teaching**

A Thesis Presented to  
The Faculty of the School of Education  
International and Multicultural Education Department

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Masters of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

By  
Kuan Cheng Song  
May 2016

# **The Taiwanese-American Perspective on Discrimination in English Language Teaching**

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTERS OF ARTS

In

T.E.S.O.L.

By

Kuan Cheng Song  
May 2016

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

Approved:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Chairperson

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Date

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to first thank my mother for always being there for me and supporting me throughout my entire life. Without her unconditional love, her perseverance and her occasional scolding I would have never learned the value of hard work, compassion and education. I want to also thank Alisa for always giving me love and emotional support when I needed it the most. I also want to acknowledge my uncle for insisting that I try to find a job on my vacation in Taiwan, because without him, I would have never experienced the hiring discrimination that fueled my passion to challenge it. I also want to acknowledge all the participants of the study and my professors for the contributions they made in helping me complete this study. I want to end my acknowledgements with a quote from my favorite artist for all the people that I have met throughout this process who believe nothing can be changed.

“Empty your cup so that it may be filled”

-Bruce Lee

I want to dedicate this paper to all the people that I have mentioned and to all the English teachers on their path to self-discovery.



## ABSTRACT

This is a qualitative study examining the perspectives of five Taiwanese-American English teachers on their experiences of discrimination in the English language-teaching field of Taiwan. An extensive amount of literature has been written about the nativeness paradigm and its effect on the English language-teaching field, but the Taiwanese-American experience concerning those issues has yet to be explored. The study used Asian Critical Race Theory, Social Identity Theory and Asian American Racial Identity Theory to analyze the history of English language teaching in Taiwan, the critical studies on native and non-native English language teachers and the social issues affecting Asian Americans in Taiwan. The study found that all of the participants were aware of the notions of hiring discrimination and stereotypes against ethnically Asian English teachers, but not all participants believed that it had a negative impact on their social identity or self identity. This study offers a voice to Taiwanese-American English teachers in hopes of encouraging a more progressive attitude towards the diversity of all English teachers in Taiwan.

## CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

### **Statement of the Problem**

Growing up in America as the son of Taiwanese immigrants with limited English ability has always presented my parents and me with communication challenges. So, when I began my bachelor degree at University of California Santa Cruz, I knew that I wanted to pursue a career in teaching English. After graduating, I applied to teaching jobs all over Asia; and, while looking through numerous job postings, I started to notice a correlation between the limited number of job opportunities for Asian native English speaking teachers (ANESTs), like me, and the school's willingness to hire Caucasian native English speaking teachers (NESTs). Most of the job postings would explicitly list native speaker status as a requirement to apply, which I later learned was another way of saying that employers were looking exclusively for native English teachers with white phenotypical features. This was apparent for most of the job postings that I looked through in Taiwan, Japan, China and Korea.

After a long search through similar postings, I finally got a teaching job in Korea where I gained valuable experience teaching for five years. Afterwards, I decided that I wanted to apply for an English instructor position in Taiwan at a private institution. During an interview, my interviewer asked me to teach an elementary school class to observe my teaching, and at the end of the interview she said,

The students really like your style. But, honestly, it's going to be really hard for you to get a job in Taiwan because you are Taiwanese.

I understood that her intention was to be helpful towards me, but comments like this one attempt to reinforce discriminatory hiring practices among society and maintain the presumption that there is a negative connotation linked to being an ethnically Asian Native English teacher.

There are two things that this comment insinuates about the social perception of English language teachers in Taiwan: non-native English speaking teachers (NNESTs) and ANESTs are perceived as being less desirable when compared to their white native English speaking teacher (NEST) counterparts. In other words, the privilege of white skin results in more English teaching job opportunities for white English teachers than Asian English teachers.

After realizing this, I began to study the reasons behind this racial preference and I stumbled across a chat room group of young Asian males whom I spoke to about hiring discrimination. One of the Asian males messaged me with the intention of enlightening me about discrimination in Asia:

Are you asking because English teachers are the biggest loser out here so everyone hates on them or because they prefer white people to teach English? What you are studying is not discrimination...it's the same as in hotels. It's a marketing strategy out here, not discrimination. If I need a tall, clean white boy standing in the lobby smiling and greeting people so that my local guest feel they're in a 5 star international hotel, I hire according to the image I'm looking to sell...It's a different way of thinking out here so looking at things from an American point of view won't really help your thesis, if you are trying to understand why things are done that way out here.

After reading this, I could conclude that discriminatory generalizations about Asian English teachers are pervasive even among younger generations of Asians.

Studies focusing on the nativeness paradigm have made concerted efforts to address the political, social-cultural and linguistic aspects of the phenomenon. Within the literature, the dichotomy between the native speaker and non-native speaker (NS & NNS) has been defined, characterized and studied among different context from all over the world where they interact (Brutt and Griffler, 1999; Nayar, 1994; Jia, 2007). Some scholars have even questioned the validity of nativeness and its connotations as being the ideal language teacher (Ferguson, 1992; Kachru, 1996; Widdowson, 1994). But, the literature addressing NS/NNS dichotomy in Taiwan have yet to examine the experiences of ANESTs or their effect on the Taiwanese ELT field.

Even though the most observable effect of discrimination for NNEST and ANEST is the preferential treatment of white NESTs for English teaching jobs, Asian Americans may experience other forms of micro-aggressions that may affect them negatively. The premium of race in Taiwanese social perception requires critical examination by ELT professionals. Therefore, in the ELT field, there is a need for ELT professionals to research the lived experiences of ANEST and the dynamic that has been created by their participation in the ELT field.

### **Background and Need of the Study**

The ELT field is inherently political. Situations that result in discriminatory hiring practices are deeply rooted in larger political, economic and social issues, which affect teacher identity and their approach to teaching (Alsup, 2006; Wang,

2014). Currently, there is an extensive amount of literature exploring the political, sociological and linguistic issues brought up by the ELT field in different EFL/ESL context (Emrah, 2015; Medgyes, 1992; Wang, 2014). Within those studies is a concept used to explore people's view on social, cultural and linguistic perception of teacher identity referred to as the 'Nativeness Paradigm', which is a fundamental topic that addresses the linguistic identity of ELT professionals (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999, Medgyes, 1992, Phillipson, 1992). Generally, the terms used to understand the linguistic identity of Teaching professionals in the ELT field are Native Speakers (NSs) of English or Non-Native English Speakers (NNESs), but these categorizations are limited in that they do not address the ethnic and cultural background of the categorized or their varying degree of linguistic ability. Many scholars believe that the Native speaker construct is an important sociopolitical issue because the status of NNS and NS of English may lead to discriminatory hiring practices (Canagarajah, 1999, Liu, 1999). One gap in the literature is the study of the effects of the ELT field and Taiwanese society on Taiwanese-American English teacher identity. In order to gain a deeper understanding of discrimination in the ELT field, the political, social and economic history of Taiwan needs to be explored.

Let us first examine who the Taiwanese people are. Many people perceive the concept of Taiwanese-American identity differently. In the United States, the term is defined by anyone who comes from Taiwan and has a United States citizenship. For the people in Taiwan, the term Taiwanese is used to identify geographical, political and social differences from Mainland Chinese. However, for the Taiwanese-American, their global, national, social and individual experiences are complex and

have more elements that could be explored. (Ng, 1998 pg. 103). One particular aspect that has not received as much attention in academic discourse is the impact of Taiwanese society on Taiwanese-American identity because issues concerning Asian-American identity are often studied exclusively in the American context.

Many Taiwanese from all over the world have been impacted by the ethnic, political and international forces that contributed to their identity long before the establishment of the ELT field in Taiwan. It is true that different ethnicities, cultures and languages on the island have created socio-political issues among its citizens, but some differences that separated community groups have gradually become connections that bind some together. Ng (1998) stated that, “while many Taiwanese marry other Taiwanese, intermarriages are on the rise. In the United States, there are many instances of marriage of those from Taiwan marrying other Chinese...there are also marriages with Chinese from Hong Kong, Singapore, Southeast Asia, and other areas” (pg. 33). Hence, some ethnic identities of Taiwanese people have become a sophisticated blend of cultural dimensions that add depth to the general conception of Taiwanese identity.

The Taiwanese political system is another element that shaped the identity of people from Taiwan and enabled the Taiwanese education system to have the same democratic freedoms that the government maintains. For instance, the gradual replacement from Han Chinese officials to Taiwanese officials in the administration not only allowed Taiwan to push towards democracy, but also established the freedom of choice as a fundamental principle in Taiwanese society (Jacobs, 2012). Despite the shift towards democracy, the international community

repudiates Taiwan's claim as an independent country because of the overshadowing political influence of China on the perception of Taiwan as a nation in the eyes of the international community. The freedom to govern itself and the desire to claim this freedom only emphasized Taiwan's need to be more involved in the international community, particularly with the United States. Achieving this integration is how ELT became such a major component in Taiwan's society.

Early Western interaction is another dimension that must be considered, if one is trying to grasp an understanding of ELT in Taiwan. For example, in 1948, American entrepreneurs, serving as economic advisors, and western educated Taiwanese collaborated on improving Taiwan's land infrastructure. They created the Joint Commission of Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) whose main responsibility was to oversee Taiwan's land reform program in 1949-1953 (Roy, 2003). In addition to public reform, the shared interest for democracy and promise of a return on investment encouraged the United States government to provide an estimated \$100 million in non-military aid annually (Roy, 2003, pg. 99). The goal of the Kuomintang (KMT) administration was to increase postwar economic development by attracting foreign investment primarily aimed towards U.S. investors by establishing economic reforms, labor-intensive industries and an investment banking system involved in stocks (Roy, 2003; Rubenstein, 1999). Given these points, we can conclude that Taiwan became a democratic society that shares political, cultural and linguistic ties with the United States.

The evolving ethnic diversity, the effects of politics on the nation and the Taiwanese involvement with the international community has not only contributed

to the evolving perception of Taiwanese and Taiwanese-American identity, but also provided a profitable environment for ELT to flourish, which will be explored in detail later.

The multiple dimensions mentioned above fostered the circumstances that encouraged the development of a heterogeneous society on the international and national level. It is currently estimated that the population in Taiwan is 84% Taiwanese (Hakka), 14% mainland Chinese, and 2% indigenous. Even though these statistics represent a simplified version of the population in Taiwan, there is a complex web of ethnicities among the Taiwanese population. For example, the ethnic identities of the people who are grouped in the 84% are usually made up of a mix between the Fujianese, Hakka and Han Chinese (Ng, 1998). In addition, Taiwanese who immigrated into America represent another multiracial, multicultural and multigenerational identity that contributes to the evolving conception of Taiwanese identity. Some Taiwanese Americans have formed a hybrid cultural identity because their ethnic background in western society requires them to negotiate and navigate through multiple dimensions of identity<sup>1</sup> that are prescribed to them by their respective social context (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, pg. 119).

The historical significance of the Taiwanese educational system and its influence on the philosophical framework of Taiwanese society is also an important factor necessary in understanding the ELT field of Taiwan. When Japan established colonial rule on Taiwan, there were two major effects in regards to the educational

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<sup>1</sup> Race, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic class, religion, roles in life, personality, and etc.



system: the impact on the identity of previous Taiwanese generations and the establishment of educational institutions that are still in operation today. For example, the Japanese administration established Taipei Normal School, which trained thousands of teachers in education and still provides higher educational programs in English today.

The KMT also made contributions to the educational system after gaining control of the island. For one thing, The KMT modeled the modern Taiwanese educational system after the efforts of English and Canadian Presbyterian missionaries who started teaching people on the island in 1860 and communicated in Taiwanese through a Romanized version of the language (Rubinstein, 1999 pg.377). Today, there are private and public institutions that have been inspired by success of the Presbyterian educational model and follow in their likeness.

Other contributors to the educational system are the entrepreneurs that responded to the public demand for English instruction by establishing privatized English institutions, which get patronized by parents who are worried that the English education in the public school system is unable to provide the resources for students to succeed through the rigorous demands placed by the government's English policy. This is where the need for the study begins.

Forms of discrimination against English instructors happen among those institutions and the causes are rooted deeper than just the opinions of an employer. The hiring discrimination against ANESTs and NNESTs at private English institutions in Taiwan is a product of the Taiwanese government's policy on English language education. The history of Taiwan and America explains the reasons why

the value of English is interwoven into the fabric of Taiwanese society, and the trends of the ELT field reveal how the government's policy on English education resulted in hiring discrimination against Asian English teachers.

Before 1968, The Taiwanese English education policy modeled the 9-year compulsory curriculum after the Grammar Translation Theory (GTT), which reflected the modern methodologies and theories of the time (Chern, 2002, pg. 98). These English courses focused heavily on reading and the technical understandings of English. In 1971, changes in the policy began to place slightly more emphasis on listening and speaking, which created a need for instructors who were proficient in those particular skill sets.

However, most instructors who tried to follow government guidelines achieved limited success and focused their lessons on language forms rather than communicative competence because the early demands of the government on English education could not be achieved with the insufficient resources and linguistic abilities of the instructors (As cited in Chern, 2002, pg. 99). Also, their English curriculum goals were generally focused on technical knowledge and geared solely towards passing university entrance exams, also referred to as Teach-to-Test. These language tests were seen as a major factor in determining a students' future and was often correlated with the increase of student suicide rates (New York Times, 2013). The goal of learning English to pass university entrance examinations is a practice that not only limits the scope of student development, but also prompted hiring discrimination in privatized English schools, both of which will be discussed in detail in this study.

Since martial law was lifted in 1987, the Taiwanese government started supporting and placing a higher value on communicative forms of English education to meet the needs of the international community. A challenge that came from creating an effective English curriculum was the lack of a screening processes or an accreditation procedure for linguistically qualified and well-trained English instructors capable of satisfying social expectation (Chern, 2002). With high stakes placed on English education equating to academic success and the lack of qualified teachers to assist in achieving those goals, the government inadvertently created an economic need for supplementary English courses and instructors to make up for the lack thereof.

Educational entrepreneurs responded by establishing privatized English institutions that hired the 'ideal' white English instructor who were seen as being able to teach the features of the language that their non-native counterparts could not. On top of that, the government emphasis placed on engaging parents in education by stating that their 1998 policy would “follow trends of the new era and fulfill parent expectation of the English language education” allocated some of the responsibility of educating the children to the parents (Chern, 2002). Being that parents were the main patrons of the ELT market and their social perceptions were valued by the government and owners of English intuitions, one can argue that their opinion, informed or uninformed, had a tremendous effect on who gets hired for jobs.

Studies done on the attitudes of parents in regards to the evolving nature of English education in Taiwan have shown that the policy enacted by the Ministry of

Education (MOE) in Taiwan emphasized particular skills sets that influence parents to have a predisposition on Native and Non-native English language instructors (Barret, 2009, Chang, 2008). Chang (2008) explains that some Taiwanese parents do not speak English fluently and expect high English proficiency from their children, which forces them to rely on the only indication of a proficient English teacher—a ‘white’ monolingual speaker of English. Thus, this reaction by the parents explains the root causes of discrimination against NNEST and ANEST, which originated from the institutional development of ELT in Taiwan. The educational policy pressures some Taiwanese parents into being patrons who rely solely on racial appearance as an indicator of linguistic proficiency and quality education.

As cultural globalization rapidly happens, racial and cultural lines become blurred. The cultural experiences between the Taiwanese-Americans and Taiwanese society affect the formation of identity in both groups. The dialogical process that affects Taiwanese-American English teacher identity becomes, “an ongoing process of integration of the personal and the professional sides of becoming and being a teacher”, which requires the teacher to acquire a perceived identity and to redefine it into one that is socially legitimized (as cited in Wang, 2014 pg. 7). Therefore, the Taiwanese-American's conception of teacher identity, obtained from the one prescribed by society, will largely be influenced by socially constructed discourse, which could result in an effect on teaching performance (Huang, 2013, Wang, 2014).

The globalizing of the world, the hegemony of English and educational institutes are factors that contribute to discriminatory hiring practices against ANEST and deserve more attention in respects to academic inquiry. A possible point

of departure to research identity formation and its effect on teaching is the hiring discrimination against Taiwanese-Americans (ANEST). Limited research has been done to follow up on sociological issues surrounding hiring discrimination in Taiwan because the Taiwanese government has only recently (after martial law), created acts that protect citizens and ensure equal job opportunity (Chiao, 2008). Despite the efforts made to address hiring discrimination, it seems as though issues affecting NNEST and ANEST in the ELT field have been neglected to be addressed by the Ministry of Labor and disregarded by owners of privatized English institutions whose choices are not actively criticized by teachers facing hiring discrimination. How do these policies and social perceptions shape the identity of Taiwanese-Americans who want to teach English in Taiwan? How does it affect their teaching and their students? How are English institutions addressing this issue? Studies need to look at how Taiwanese society affects the Taiwanese-American conception of identity because it will inevitably affect the Taiwanese English language learner (Ryan et al., 2014).

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to reveal the issues of discrimination against ANESTs in Taiwanese English institutions by exploring the effect of linguistic, ethnic and sociopolitical factors on the identity of ANESTs. Furthermore, particular attention will be given to the perceived advantages and disadvantages that ANEST encounter in Taiwan through their individual lived experiences and how it is relevant to the ELT field. From this point of departure, the study will attempt to do the following:

- a. Elucidate whether or not ANEST have experienced discrimination or micro-aggressions of some form in the ELT field.
- b. Acquire an understanding of the Asian NESTs conception of self-identity
- c. Critically examine how these issues are impacting them

The goal of this qualitative study is to inform stakeholders<sup>2</sup> and educational policy makers and to contribute to the evolving understanding of the 'Nativity' paradigm in current literature of ELT.

### **Research Questions**

This research focuses on a number of questions that are aimed at understanding hiring discrimination and its effect on the Taiwanese NEST identity in ELT.

1. How do Taiwanese-Americans perceive and define their identity?
2. What are the advantages of being bilingual in Taiwan?
3. Did participants encounter any hiring discrimination or micro-aggressions in Taiwan?
4. How did those experiences affect their sense of self-identity?

My hypothesis is that the scope of racial discrimination against ANESTs does not expand beyond the limits of preferential hiring discrimination in the ELT field, nor does it limit, restrict or deny Taiwanese-Americans from being treated as equal citizens in society. However, I do postulate that other differences between the Taiwanese-Americans and Taiwanese citizens may have the potential to elicit cultural and linguistic discriminatory perceptions. Finding the effect of Taiwanese-

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<sup>2</sup> Teachers, parents, educational officials, and community leaders.

American identity on English language learners will require further academic inquiry into the topic by connecting the findings of this study to other studies on Taiwanese English language learner perspectives.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The purpose of this study is to examine how the impact of hiring discrimination against ANESTs at Taiwanese English institutions affects the ANESTs perception of self-identity. By focusing on the linguistic, ethnic and sociopolitical factors related to the issue, various theoretical concepts are required to effectively analyze the context of Taiwanese English education and to interpret the ANESTs identity. This study will implement three major theoretical frameworks: Asian Critical Race theory (Asian-American Jurisprudence or AsianCrit), Asian-American Racial Identity Development Theory (AARID) and Social Identity Theory.

Asian Critical Race theory is subsumed under the original Critical Race theory, which derived from the critical scrutiny of the United States legal system in 1970's; its' tenets aim to eliminate racism, push towards social justice and empower researchers to critically engage in discussions about racial issues (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, Liu 2009). To examine identity, the premise behind intersectionality inspired the use of Asian-American Racial Identity Theory (AARID), which theorizes that an Asian-American identity is diverse and continuously developing through five stages of formation (Liu, 2009; Kim, 2012, Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008). Social Identity theory, which has been utilized in research on language teacher education and teacher development, examines the correlation between group membership and an individual's perception of self-esteem (Rodriguez, 2015).

Stemming from the theoretical movement within US law schools, CRT has found itself expanding its theoretical tenets beyond the limits of legal studies in the United States into other fields of study like education; in fact, the theoretical lens has been applied to various academic inquiries concerning racial identities such as Latina/os (LatCrit), American Indians (TribalCrit), and Asian-Americans (AsianCrit), just to name a few. Liu (2009) describes the tenets of CRT:

First, race and racism are at the forefront of the research process. Through race and racism are primary, CRT also features the intersectionality of race, gender, and class. Second, CRT methodology disputes the common paradigms, texts, and theories (e.g. deficit theory) that have traditionally been used to describe and analyze the experiences of students of color. Third, aims to undermine race, class, and gender subordination by providing liberatory and transformative solutions are essential. In this regard, the elimination of racism and social justice remain paramount goals. Fourth, CRT methodology privileges experiential knowledge, particularly as it pertains to race, gender, and class. Students' direct experiences offer strength and authenticity for addressing the problem at hand. Finally, drawing upon multiple disciplines such as ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, humanities, and law, is key. (pg. 3)

Through Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit), hegemonic values that affect Asian Americans and influence the global social perception of race become the subject of critical examination. Within ELT, AsianCrit could serve as "a framework or set of basic insights, perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze,



and transform those structural and cultural aspects of education that maintain subordinate and dominant racial positions in and out of the classroom” by using the preferred method of Critical Race research—the counter-story (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, pg. 25). Although originally modified to address concepts of Nativistic racism (i.e. the model minority) and discrimination against Asian Americans, AsianCrit posits that there are three stages that could be used to inform research on educational theory and practice: denial, affirmation, and liberation (Liu, 2009).

Asian-American Racial Identity Development (AARID) theory focuses on the effect of stereotypical connotations against Asian Americans within a society, and explores the process in which an Asian American gains a positive perception of self-identity (Kim, 2012). In the likeness of the feminist theoretical framework Intersectionality, AARID postulates an individual's identity is comprised of multiple identities beyond the characteristics of race or gender, which have an effect on how they experience oppression or privilege prescribed from their presumed hierarchical positions within a society (Kim, 2012). Moreover, the theory categorizes the basic components that describe the progression of an identity into five stages of development: ethnic awareness, white identification, awakening to social political consciousness, redirection to an Asian American consciousness, and incorporation (Kim, 2012).

As educational research advances from the analysis of in-class methodologies to the sociocultural and sociopolitical dimensions of teaching, the topic of language instructor identity gradually become a more prominent topic of scholastic inquiry. Among the various theoretical frameworks that investigate the multiple elements of

language teacher identity, Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory will be applied in this study, which focuses primarily on issues regarding race and ethnic identity development (Rodriguez, 2015). The theory maintains that the concept of race and ethnicity contribute to the notions of an individual's identity and status within the confines of a social context, and directly affect that individual's choice in adopting or rejecting characteristics of their personal or social identity to achieve a favorable self-concept (Rodriguez, 2015). The strategies implemented to improve an individual's self-concept include the following: exit, pass and voice, which Rodriguez (2015) describes as methods of validating identity through rejecting or distancing the self from devalued characteristics of a correlated group. The concept of voice, however, is the only strategy of the three that is not an individual response but a collective one that is used to improve image and social value of a group (Rodriguez, 2015).

AsianCrit, AARID, and social identity theory can all be utilized to seek a clearer understanding of the effects of social phenomenon on the Asian-American experience. AsianCrit provides the necessary framework to critically examine the sociopolitical conditions that affect Asian Americans in our globalizing world. AARID aims to understand the diversity of Asian-American identity and its progressive development that is affected by the conditions of a given context. The application of Social identity theory in English language education specifically analyzes the dilemmas concerning self-identity that language teachers may encounter.

## **Methodology**

The goal of the study is to examine the Taiwanese-American teacher identity by providing a platform for their voices and to reveal the experiences of ANESTs to the stakeholders involved in the ELT field by providing insight into their experiences teaching in Taiwan. The focus of the study will be on five Taiwanese-American English Speaking Teachers who have had the experience of teaching in Taiwan. Their ethnic similarity to NNESTs affects how society views them as English instructors, and their sociolinguistic variances from NNESTs have yet to be examined in relation to the ELT field. The qualitative survey will be distributed to participants in this study to gather information for a semi-structured interview that comes after. Surveys are traditionally implemented to gather quantitative data, but the qualitative survey aims to study the diversity of relevant dimensions and values within a specific group (Jansen, 2010). Face-to-face interviews guided by the qualitative survey and the use of GoogleDocs will gather transcripts and data for theoretical analysis that could eventually be used to inform educational policy, to serve as guidance for hiring justifications and to promote awareness of hiring discrimination challenges in Taiwan. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) believe that a multi-method approach enables the research to form an in-depth understanding of a particular study and to add rigor, breadth, and depth to an investigation.

Qualitative surveys are meant for exploring meanings and experiences (Jansen, 2010). In some studies, the qualitative survey has been criticized as being an illegitimate methodology that cannot offer a clear diagnosis of an inquiry nor a solution for it by a number of scholars (Baker, Wuest & Stern, 2009). However,

Jansen (2010) asserts that this basic type of empirical research is grounded in sound logic, which could be used to study the diversity of themes, advantages and issues impacting a particular group such as the ANESTs. The design of the qualitative survey in this study is meant to provide the researcher with a preliminary understanding of the informant's belief system, perception of identity, teaching experience and linguistic proficiency. Exploring these dimensions of identity could challenge and add to the growing knowledge of the social conditions affecting ANESTs in Taiwan.

There are two types of cultures that serve as a foundation for an individual's perception of self-identity: surface culture and deep culture. Imbedded in those cultures are varying value systems that Asian Americans must negotiate to formulate a sense of identity. Common stereotypes, misunderstandings and lack of exposure to their dual identities pressures Asian Americans to either, consciously or subconsciously, adopt or reject features of each value system (Liu, 2009). To examine this characteristic of identity, Bryan S. Kim, Donald R. Atkinson and Peggy Yang (1999) created a Likert-type scale survey, which aims to explore the diversity of Asian values. This scale will be attached to the preliminary survey given to the participants and will also serve as a value system reference for the semi-structure interviews that follow.

The purpose of implementing face-to-face Interviews and interactive writing documents in this qualitative research is to understand the experience and perspectives of an individual on specified matters that were asked in the preliminary survey. The interpretation of the data collected from qualitative

interviews varies depending on the discipline of study and the perspective of the researcher (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). The preliminary data gathered from the qualitative survey will provide the foundation for a semi-structured interview that aims to collect rich and descriptive narratives from the primary group of study—ANESTs. Semi-structured interviews are typically the focal point of an entire qualitative study, and they are conducted with predetermined open-ended questions that prompt the participants to engage in a dialogic process of meaning making with the researcher. Many scholars have maintained, “that dialogism illustrates the notion of identity as similar to a conversation one is engaged in with the interlocutors and environments” (as cited in Huang, 2014, pg.120). In other words, an individual’s perception of self-identity is developed from the perspectives of others and stratified with the social values of their environment; impacting an individual’s behavior, thought, and speech is the result (Huang, 2014). The narratives from interviews collected from the informants regarding identity, politics and society will be used to confirm or reject the selected theoretical frameworks applied in this study.

The researcher represents a vital component to the research because he directly affects the approach of the qualitative study, which then produces data that is perceived and analyzed through the lens of that specific researcher (Dwyer, 2009). The qualities and conditions that impact the researcher are inherently present through out the investigation. Adler and Adler (1987) stated that researchers engaged in a study would fulfill one of the three types of membership roles: a peripheral member, an active member or a complete member (as cited in

Dwyer, 2009). As the researcher, my relationship to this group would be described as the complete member because of a variety of factors: my profession and perception of self-identity are reflected in the likeness of the participants and the participants and I are affected by the social condition, which arose from the ripples of the globalizing world. Asselin (2003) asserts that being a complete member of the studied population allows the researcher to share an identity, a language, and a experiential base; moreover, Adler & Adler (1987) stated that “the complete membership role give the researcher a certain amount of legitimacy and/or stigma”(as cited in Dwyer, 2009, pg.56). In other words, my identity as an ANEST theoretically increases the chances that the participants will be more open to share information and to accept me as a member of their group (Dwyer, 2009).

### **Participants**

In 2011, Asian Americans made up 5.8% of the total U.S. population, which amounts to about 18,205,698 people. Despite being grouped under a single categorization, the Asian-American population is made up of a diverse collection of people with different cultures, languages and history. In particular, Taiwanese-Americans represent roughly 215,441 of the total Asian-American population, and it is estimated that 73.6% have attained a bachelor’s degree or higher. A higher education level is one major criterion that the participants must possess to be chosen for this study. The other criteria are as follows: (a) all participants must be 18 years of age or older, (b) participants must have at least one year of English teaching experience in Taiwan, (c) participants must have an American citizenship (d) all participants must be ethnically Asian. Five participants who identity as

Taiwanese-American and meet the specified qualifications will be chosen for the study.

### **Data Collection**

Participants were recruited from a Facebook group page Teachers Against Discrimination in Taiwan (TADIT), which, like its title, attracts primarily English instructors of different ethnicities who strive for equality in the ELT field in Taiwan. A general message was posted describing the nature of the study, the contact information for participation and the goal of the study. In addition, other qualified participants were contacted through personal connections. People who agreed to participate on the Facebook post and personal messages were sent an electronic consent form describing the nature of the study and their rights as participants (Appendix A). After receiving consent, the participants were contacted again to arrange and confirm an available time to take the survey (Appendix B), which needed to be completed and submitted one week before the Skype or GoogleDoc meeting. In conclusion, the survey gathered data on personal information, educational background, linguistic preferences and experiences of discrimination in Taiwan.

Responses to the surveys were categorized thematically for further investigation during the semi-structured interviews, which focused primarily on asking informants to expand on their answers with more detailed descriptions of their personal experience. The interview will take approximately an hour and a half to complete and address the following concerns:

1. How does gender affect the way English instructors are treated in

Taiwan?

2. In what ways does ethnicity, language, and culture affect the experiences of ANEST?
3. What are the stories of discrimination that participants may have experienced?
4. How does ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity affect the expectations of ANEST as English instructors?
5. In their opinion, what are the perceived benefits of their ethnicity, language proficiency and culture in correlation with ELT?
6. What are the advantages or disadvantages of being a Taiwanese English language teacher in Taiwan?
7. What are the participants' opinions on privilege in Taiwan?

### **Data Analysis**

There were several steps for analyzing data. The initial step requires the data collected from the surveys to be grouped into thematic similarities that provide guidance for answering the research questions. Those themes were questioned even further for more detail in the semi-structured interviews with the participants. Interviews were conducted through the online application, Skype, and recorded with an audio recorder or through an interactive online writing document (GoogleDocs). The interviews were then transcribed and examined with the theoretical framework to provide insight into the following themes: (a) Taiwanese-American identity, (b) advantages and disadvantages of ANESTs, (c) hiring discrimination and micro-aggressions, (d) affects of discrimination on Taiwanese-



American identity.

### **Limitations of the Study**

This study only focuses on the experiences of discrimination from the perspective of five ANESTs. Hence, the findings collected from this group do not represent all experiences of ANESTs nor does it reflect the way that all ANESTs feel about this social situation in Taiwan. As the researcher, my membership in the studied population may have an affect on the way in which participants share information. Moreover, It may be challenging to identify and judge certain biases and opinions through a different perspective because of my membership with the ANESTs.

### **Significance of the Study**

The lack of research regarding Taiwanese-Americans and their correlation with the NS/NNS dichotomy make this research valuable for the ELT field. Other studies have examined the perspectives of different stakeholders involved in ELT, but there is still a gap of knowledge that needs to be filled with the perspectives of Taiwanese-American English teachers. By focusing on Asian-American identity, race and language, this study introduces a their unique perspective to the discourse of ELT and contributes to the growing body of literature on social sciences, social theories and educational studies.

The findings in this study could be used to inform Taiwanese-Americans, students, administrators, TESOL professionals, parents, educational policy makers and anyone who has an interest in the effects of Taiwanese society on Taiwanese-American identity in the ELT field. Taiwanese-American English Teachers and other

educators, concerned with the social issues of Taiwan, could use this study to develop an understanding of discrimination in Taiwan and to prepare for any misunderstanding that may occur during their time teaching there.

In addition, TESOL professionals, educational policy makers and English language school owners could analyze their individual contexts' and sensitize themselves to issues surrounding their field from an understanding of the experiences of ANESTs.

Other scholars interested in expanding on this particular topic could utilize this study to examine the perspectives of other stakeholders on the ANESTs to gain a better sense of awareness to the social, linguistic and political issues affecting ELT in Taiwan.

## CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### **Introduction**

Examining discrimination against Asian-American English Teacher in Taiwan requires four significant topics of inquiry: the socio historical timeline of English education policy in Taiwan, the effects on Taiwanese English education from the neoliberal philosophy emerging from globalizing forces, the social perspectives on the native and non-native speaker dichotomy, and issues surrounding Asian-American identity (Taiwanese-American identity). The first section of the literature review gives an extensive overview of the socio-historical events of English education in Taiwan, the justification for its choices and its implications of educational policy on Taiwanese society. Moreover, it discusses the problems that have emerged from implementing an English policy that aims to prepare students for globalizing forces. The second portion examines globalization, neoliberalism and democracy on Taiwan as a nation and its educational system. The third section of the literature review examines the effect of cultural globalization and the nativeness paradigm in the Taiwanese context. The final portion attempts to explore and link the literature regarding social effects on Asian-American identity with the aforementioned literature.

#### *Educational history of Taiwan*

The English language has been included in the discourse of foreign language policy in Taiwan even before the lifting of martial law in 1987, as discussed in the background of the study. Moreover, it has been the only required foreign language

that garnered so much emphasis on the national level to be implemented at all levels of schooling in Taiwan (elementary, junior high, high school, and post-compulsory). According to Chern (2002), after the nine-year compulsory education system was implemented in 1968, the English education system underwent some major revisions. Until that point, the grammar translation theory was the major theoretical framework that guided the English education curriculum (Shih, 1998). Language forms and strict government guidelines created a dynamic that stressed the instrumental<sup>3</sup> importance of passing formal university entrance examinations over all other forms of second language acquisition (Su, 2006). It must be noted that local governments in the north and south of the island did not implement English language policies concurrently. Each local educational official had his or her own views on the need for foreign language education despite the central governments advocacy for internationalism. The following paragraphs will describe English language policy in all levels of schooling.

### *Elementary School*

Elementary schools, which are grouped as grade 1 through 6, were the center for rapid and intense development in regards to English language policy. In 1997, the government policy implemented English as a compulsory subject for fifth graders, even though public elementary schools in the south had already provided

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<sup>3</sup> Integrative and instrumental are terms used to describe a language learner's attitude and motivation. Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert (1972) describes instrumental motivation as an individual's desire to learn language for the purpose of furthering a career, reading technical material, translation and etc. While integrative motivation describes an individual's desire to integrate themselves into the culture of the second language group.

English as an extracurricular course by 1991 (Dai, 1998). According to Huang (1999), English education in the elementary level was developed through five stages in the northern part of the country:

1. Incubation stage (1984-1992)
2. The preparation stage (1993-1997)
3. The experimentation stage (1997-1998)
4. The promotion stage (1998-1999)
5. The implementation stage (1999-onward)

According to Dai (1998), by March 1998, 93% of public elementary schools had begun to dedicate one to two hours per week of instruction into their school curriculums. It was not until 2001 that the Ministry of Education (MOE) finally made English an official compulsory subject in elementary schools, which meant that English would be officially taught in elementary schools nationwide, schools would be required to give an English exit requirement test and English would be the medium for instruction in specified higher education courses (Chen, 2012). Local governments had the autonomy to allocate educational resources and to dictate the process of implementation at the elementary level. The following list describes the official goals of the English curriculum, which emphasized oral proficiency over the traditional reading and writing focus: developing communicative skills in English, cultivating learning interest and positive attitudes, and promoting the understanding of local and foreign cultures (Chen, 2012).

*Junior High School Level*

At the junior high school level (year 7-9), actual implementation of English in classrooms did not perfectly match the policy. For the junior high school curriculum, school administrators designed their English curriculums around the communicative approach in teaching. Their specific goals are as follows:

1. To help students develop basic language skills in listening, speaking, reading, and writing
2. To cultivate students' interest in learning English and develop correct learning habits and method
3. To promote students' understanding of local and foreign cultures

(MOE, 1994)

Student textbooks were reviewed by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) and used nationwide. However, most of the books were still 'form-based' coupled with a 'structure-oriented' syllabus that relied heavily on accuracy and test-driven activities (Su, 2000). Since September 2001, the NICT has approved 15 sets of English textbooks that aim to correct this issue (Chern, 2012).

### *Senior High School Level*

The senior high school level for English education experienced a more liberal approach towards teaching and a more developed collection of educational material. Chern (2002) stated that the high school English curriculum standards "put more emphasis on developing students' interest in learning English and helping them form learning methods and attitudes that lay the foundation for independent learning" (pg.100). In accordance with the national goals for language education, the

senior level of English education also implemented a communicative language approach that emphasized student-focused activities and learner strategies in language learning (Chern, 2002). Moreover, teacher-developed teaching material was available to senior high school instructors as early as 1999.

### *English Instruction at the University Level and Beyond*

English education at the Tertiary level went through an experimentation phase that granted universities autonomy to adjust their curriculum. Prior to 1993, the dominant methodology in university English education was reading and translating works from literary anthologies (Chern, 2002). English was a required course for only first year students and MOE required freshman to complete an eight-credit English course to graduate. After 1993, the MOE changed their graduating requirements to six-credit foreign language course that did not have to be specifically English (Huang, 1997). In actuality, universities sometimes did not have the resources to offer different foreign language courses and other schools did not allow students to take another foreign language courses unless they passed a certain level of proficiency (Huang, 1997). English education was still believed to be instrumentally important.

Universities had the opportunity to alter their English curriculums to better fit the needs of the students. In a survey done by Huang (1997), 11 out of 18 universities offered one-year general English courses and the rest of them offered a combination of general English and 'special-topic' courses such as ESP, drama, Current affairs, and others that kept English as an attractive subject of study for the

students. Upon gaining autonomy, Twenty-one universities in Taiwan all set different credit requirements ranging from 4-14 and even offered elective English courses for students to continue their English study (Chern, 2002). In general, all levels of Taiwanese English education gained autonomy in managing their curriculums.

However, some scholars have argued that graduation benchmark test, which was one feature added in the policy change in universities, was not as effective as originally hypothesized and require revisions for the variety of problems it raised in ethics and validity. Near the turn of the new millennium, the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) was phased in as a required test that determined a students' eligibility to graduate and receive a university degree (Shih, 2010). The test had low registrations fees and consisted of five different levels of proficiency that the university administration could choose from. Shih (2010) found in a study that some schools adopted the exit test while others rejected it. The universities that decided not implement the GEPT reported that parent opposition to the policy and some students' low proficiency level as deterrents to implementation. On the other hand, other universities believed that the policy would persuade students' to study English, motivate students' to seek employment after graduation and make their institution more competitive in the higher education market of Taiwan (Shih, 2012).

There was, however, debate about the validity of the benchmark test. As the only test used for graduation benchmarking, scholars agree that a thorough investigation and interpretation of its test scores were vital in gauging the tests' validity (Shih, 2008; Vongpumivitch, 2010). Vague descriptions of student



proficiency, which did not express a logical cohesive link to the unified English curriculum among Taiwanese universities, led scholars to conclude that the result of the test was arbitrary (Shih, 2012). For example, in an excerpt describing student listening skills, the Language Training and Testing Centre (LTTC), which was commissioned by MOE stated that, “students who pass the advanced level...are able to comprehend conversations of a variety of genres, such as television programs and debate and they are also able to understand oral reports and negotiations when they are in a meeting or are engaged in discussion” (Shih, 2012 pg. 62). In reality, the test did not include these particular communicative situations to be able to make that claim. Moreover, there was an ethical concern that this single test used for gate-keeping purposes was not fair as the benchmark for graduation, when the imbalance between educational resources and educational demands were so disproportionate.

Many studies investigated the Washback effect on graduation benchmarking test. Shih (2007) investigated the effectiveness of the GEPT on English learning by researching the data that he collected from two groups: test takers and non-test takers. The results indicated that the GEPT “had limited to no impact on students’ English learning in both departments” (Shih, 2007 pg.64). Furthermore, Chu’s (2009) study on the impact of the GEPT on students’ English learning suggested that the graduation benchmark test created anxiety among students that felt the test was “too formidable and daunting a task for low-achieving students to attain” (as cited in Shih 2007, pg. 65). Other studies found that students’ motivation was lacking and most students were entering the test unprepared (Chen, 2008). The aggregate

collection of the findings implies that the graduation benchmark test did not raise students' English proficiency in higher education.

The GEPT test made an impact on prospective employers, who believed the test had other indications. Pan (2009) found that out of 19 employers interviewed about English in the workplace, 13% of participants claimed that their job required applicants to submit their English certificates. In addition, 53% of the participants believed that applicants with an English certificate attained from the GEPT were diligent (as cited from Shih, 2007, pg. 65). Another study that examined English specific jobs found that verbal and written forms of communication with foreign clients and data sheet readings were the main task for English in the workplace (Chu, 2009). According to these findings, English was not the primary consideration when hiring prospective employees, but it had an impact on the employer's opinion of the applicant's work ethic.

Despite the incongruence between graduation benchmark testing and the actual use of English in the work place, English Education is linked to a major sector of the Taiwanese economy. Shih (2012) cited the Taiwanese Government Information Office (2004) on the importance of international involvement and found that, "80% of Taiwan's gross national product depended on international trade" (pg. 60). As the 16<sup>th</sup> largest exporter and 17<sup>th</sup> largest importer in the world, Taiwan had an instrumental need to learn foreign languages (English, German, French, Spanish, Japanese, and etc.) to ensure the nation was not excluded from the global economy (Shih, 2012). This made learning English a necessary skill set to enable the nation to participate in the global market in addition to other aspects that

contributed to the popularity of English language education.

The popularity of English language education in early childhood development can be attributed to two major factors: the widespread belief of the critical period hypothesis of language acquisition and the social view of national identity and education relative to the globalizing world. Tseng (2008) cited Lenneberg (1964) on the capacity of language acquisition, which emphasized that biological and psychological capacities of a human being may premise the existence of a critical period in which language is most effectively acquired. Supported by biological growth and neurological development, the theory argues that a human's ability to learn a language is inherently linked with the plasticity of the brain, which is more flexible during certain stages of childhood. The result has been students being introduced to English education at what some may consider to be an excessively early age. This, however, is considered a common parenting practice and a normal educational practice (Ho & Wu, 2007). Parents have come to agree that English language education is a 'must-have' curricular subject in early childhood education. In addition to the theoretical ideology increasing the desirability of English education, Tseng (2008) cited the launch of *Challenge 2008*, which was a program aimed at establishing English as an official language of Taiwan by 2013, as another contributor that aimed to increase the political-economic power of Taiwan. English has been considered a tool that helps the nation become an international force, despite the effects from English hegemony on national identity and culture.

Even though there were many controversies that surrounded English language education, some students were very receptive to the hegemony of English.

Huang (2005) conducted 30 semi-structured interviews with university college students about English education and found that students, generally, had a positive view on English education. They understood that English education contributed to the development of the nation and access to information and employment opportunities. Participants claimed to embrace the connotation that English was prestigious and were not critical about the hegemony of English and the possibility that it may dominate their own cultural identity. Moreover, they were not disturbed by the idea that local-languages (Taiyu) could inevitably become extinct. From this, we can argue that students in higher education regarded the English language at a higher or equal standard with mandarin and definitely higher than local languages. Cultural reception from the hegemony of English within Taiwanese society is a worthy topic of further inquiry, but exceeds the scope of this particular study. The next portion of this literature review discusses the effects of the neoliberal ideology on the nation of Taiwan, its identity and its education system.

### **Neoliberalism and Taiwan**

The effect of neoliberalism on Taiwan could be perceived in a positive or negative way, depending on the lens in which it is viewed from. In the words of Price (2014), Neoliberalism “venerates the ideals of ‘choice’, ‘competition’, and the ‘free market’”(pg. 567). Chou (2008) agrees with Olssen (2002) that, “the adoption of neo-liberal, free-market economic policies in 1980’s, and the consequent deregulation of education has impacted many systems in Europe, North and South America, and Asia”(p.3). Taiwan, specifically, is a unique democratic system that

provided the proper socio-political environment for the neoliberal ideology to benefit certain groups, especially within the educational system. But, one must be weary of the reality that a neo-liberal ideology asserts into a society. A positive increase in one aspect of society, which benefits certain parties, is usually paired with a consequence or decrease in another aspect. For example, the higher education system of Taiwan, which Chou (2008) defines as a four-year university that grants academic degrees, used to be considered fair and impartial because of the low university tuition fees and the opportunity to advance academically in spite of socio-economic status. This changed when the country adopted the neoliberal philosophy in education and consequently increased the number of private universities, increased the tuition rates of attending those universities and increased the students burden of learning foreign languages, such as English, to compete in the global market (Chou, 2008; law, 2002; Price, 2014). Chou (2008) noted that in 1987 there was a total of 107 university and colleges in Taiwan, which increased to 130 in 1994 and 163 in 2006 (pg.6). Not to mention, Private institutions, that charge two times as much as public universities, accommodate 70% of the student population in Taiwan (Chou, 2008).

*Table 1.* Numbers of Universities in 1994–2006.

Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Number of universities	130	134	137	139	137	141	150	154	154	158	159	162	163

*Source:* Ministry of Education (2007a).

Moreover, Chou (2008) argues that the gradual disparity of the top and bottom percent is growing, and families in the lower-income brackets are steadily earning

less, which makes paying for high tuition rates of the growing number of universities even more difficult than it was before. The Neoliberal effect on education and the socio-economic status of the general populace has been considered to be a double-edge sword, which preaches freedom and choice, but punishes, symbolically and materially, those that fail to participate in the market forces imposed by the neoliberal philosophy in politics (Price, 2014). More issues regarding the effects of neoliberalism will be discussed in later paragraphs.

Neoliberalism has undoubtedly had an affect on Taiwanese education and ELT, but other factors, which are typically considered separate, have as well. According to Chou (2008) the interconnected relationship between economic globalization, democratization and neoliberalism have had significant effects on higher education and ELT in Taiwan. These presumed separate entities have constructed a dynamic that has challenged stakeholders to maneuver through a variety of issues: the challenges that the internet as a platform for accessible knowledge brings into educational legitimacy, the inequality of educational resources presenting challenges to developing societies and the transformation of educational institutions into privatized commodities (Chou, 2008). However, a major result that has arisen from the neoliberal ideology in Taiwan is a restructuring of their public education system to gain relative autonomy. Changes made in the format, operation, management, and even mission of learning of educational institutions stem from the interplay of socio-political modifications listed above. This can be observed when martial law was lifted in 1987 and the Taiwanese government enacted the 1994 University Law, which allowed

universities to have academic autonomy and institutional flexibility free from the Taiwanese government's authoritarian control over educational policy. For example, after the law passed, a shift in power allowed stakeholders to appoint their own presidents, to change their course offerings, and to gain autonomy in solving the problem of finding school funding. Of course, this was seen as a beneficial result of implementing neoliberalism in higher education in the perspectives of many stakeholders, but it also shrunk government funding for public institutions that were traditionally given more resources and social prestige, and resulted in an increase of privatized higher education institutions (HEIs), which provided tuitions and courses that accommodated individual financial abilities and academic routes (Chang and Ho, 2007). Ultimately, the combination of those forces in Taiwan granted freedom to citizens within the confines of the ideology.

A list of results has evolved from effects of neoliberalism on politics and higher education. Chou (2005) and Lu, (2005) pointed out that the initial perception of universities within Taiwanese society was for public good because of its' open accessibility to those who are able to pass entrance examinations. However, the growth of educational institutions in the private sector, which were designed to be accessible to certain socioeconomic groups, created a sense of skepticism about the prestige of these schools. Another issue was the pressure placed on HEIs to respond to market-oriented demands by reorganizing their departments' coursework accordingly. In addition, the result of autonomy on HEIs, according to Chen (2003), led to a decrease in public funding opportunities and an increased demand to engage in fund-raising that was "molded by the interest of the business world" (As

cited in Chou, 2008). Equally relevant is the liberal arts department's requirement to transform their names and programs to remain competitive in the neoliberal market. But, the brunt of the weight imposed by the neoliberal philosophy is placed on the students who have to bear the burden of paying increased tuition rates for universities that reflect private business organizations.

Although the effects of globalization, democratization, and neoliberalism in education clearly influences the higher educational system found within Taiwan, they also contribute significantly to the conception of the Taiwanese national identity. Law (2002) argues that the nation's struggle for democratization and its' pursuit for a national identity are reflected in the many issues of Taiwanese educational reforms. In May 2000, the ruling KMT, which exercised political control for nearly 55 years after acquiring Taiwan from the Japanese, had finally ended their administration and transferred the coveted presidential seat to Chensuibian, the presidential leader of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), who advocated the independence of Taiwan from the Chinese Mainland. For the political parties, the issue of educational development had been in discussion 20 years prior to the change in political parties. According to Law (2002), Chensuibian believed that he had "to rise to the challenges of economic globalization and introduce educational measures such as the allocation of resources to develop students transnational skills including information technologic and learning foreign languages", which meant that citizens needed to develop English to succeed in the transnational arena (pg.62). What his ideology achieved was a widening acceptance towards the globalized world, but it also stimulated other corresponding effects: a dissolution of



national borders, the diminution of the role of state, the trivialization of democracy and freedom, and the undermining of local or indigenous cultures and identities (As cited in Law, 2002, pg. 62). However, Taiwan's desire to be recognized by the international community can be argued to have increased a redefinition of national identity and a promotion of local or indigenous identities that opposed Chinese mainland identity, found in the Local-Language in Education (LLE) policy and the English Education (EE) policy. The peaceful transfer of power from the KMT to the DPP and the lifting of martial law in 1987 established a number of changes that reallocated power within education and permitted stakeholders to form the foundations for a democratic approach towards educational policy. Redistribution of power between the state and society, freedom to express political rights and opposition at various levels, utilization of mass media, formation of civil organizations that exercised freedom and rights of association and speech, and the rule of law replacing the rule of the ruler are examples of actions taken in the political area that were, for the most part, mirrored by educational institutions (Law, 2002). Hence, the democratic society that emerged from the effects of globalization enabled educational institutions to have similar privileges of a neoliberal democratic society.

The Taiwanese educational system responded to the freedom granted through the political push towards democracy in a variety of other ways. Law (2002) describes the educational system in Taiwan as "an arena to develop, manifest, consolidate and transmit democratic ideals, respect for ethnic differences and culture and the new national identity" (pg. 66). The number of schools grew and

the establishing of new private education contributed to the post-compulsory level of Taiwanese education. In the likeness of the political changes in Taiwan, education was also concern with the reallocation of power between the state, society and national identity. Schools had the freedom to select the content of their curriculum and textbooks, to appoint school principles and administration in the public sector, and to promote a new collective identity of the Taiwanese people by marginalizing the idea of the Chinese mainland as a homeland and striving for global acceptance (Law 2002).

As these changes occurred, Taiwanese education became less dominated by the state, and educational institutions interacted more with social agencies and gained more autonomy in policy choices. Another major shift in influence is the empowerment of teachers and the decrease of power for school principals and educational officials. The Teachers Law in 1995 ensured that teachers were able to form their own associations at the school, local, and national levels (Law 2002). The National Teachers' Association (NTA), a group that resulted from legal changes, had the right to "participate in the making of policies concerning teachers affairs listed in the Teacher Law" (Law, 2002, pg.71). The power of governing teacher appointments was no longer the responsibility of the principal because the Teachers Review Committee (TRC), which is comprised of teachers without administrative duties, had taken the authority (Guo, 1998). For those many reasons listed above, it can be argued that the democratic freedom to self identify, which emerged from the effect of the neoliberal ideology on Taiwan, granted people the freedom to form their own sense of Taiwanese national identity through education. But, what does it

mean to be Taiwanese? How exactly did these institutions contribute to the Taiwanese national identity?

“Taiwanization” is a term emphasized by educational institutions, which strived to promote local identities, issues, and characteristics that embodied an opposing affiliation with Mainland China. For example, prior to 1990, the Taiwanese government ordered educational mottos, curriculum and extra-curricular activities to reflect the doctrines of the KMT to reduce the affiliation with Mainland China. Students were required to take compulsory ideology and political subjects, and schools that referenced Mainland China were renamed to reflect a new identity. Local languages were met with strong government opposition before the lifting of martial law, but the gradual shift towards democracy altered this perception. After the lifting of martial law, Taiwanese local dialects were promoted to emphasize local history, culture and contemporary developments of Taiwan (Law 2002). It is important to note that these changes were initiated by civil society rather than the central government. There is no other doctrine that describes the nature of the shift in perception of Taiwanese identity better than the perceptual changes introduced in the work of the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT).

1. Taiwan is no longer described as a periphery of the ROC, but as a political entirety, the ‘ROC on Taiwan’, in, of and by itself.
2. The Taiwanese government no longer uses people’s differences in the place of origin and time of settlement in Taiwan to maintain the domination of the mainlanders over native Taiwanese.
3. The ‘Taiwan People’ are encouraged to further develop the ‘spirit’ or ‘soul’ of

Taiwan, which is inherited from the attitudes and lifestyles of the 'Taiwan people' who have fought for their own fate and against external powers (including the past previous colonizers and the PRC) for centuries.

4. 'Taiwan People' are described as 'masters' of their past and future.

(As cited in Law, 2002)

Despite the push to attain an unique national identity that insisted on differentiating itself from mainland china, the sociopolitical direction taken by Taiwan and its desire to be recognized by the international community ushered in various western influences on Taiwanese identity that arguably marginalized local languages and favored international ones, especially English.

Some scholars have argued that the reality of the free market approach in language teaching in Taiwan actually contributed to the marginalization of localized languages, which are in fact characteristics of Taiwanese national identity, while simultaneously allowing internationalization to be promoted to a significantly higher degree in language education. Chen (2006) posits that the lifting of martial law in 1987 prompted a number of sociopolitical events, which have contributed indefinitely to the perception of Taiwanese national identity today. In particular, two political ideologies that shaped the language programs created the foundations for the development of national identity: indigenization and internationalization. Indigenization signified Taiwan's intent to claim a separate claim of identity from mainland China and was manifested in the enactment of the Local-in-Education (LLE) policy, which made teaching and learning Taiwanese local language, history and culture in primary schools a requirement (Chen, 2006). Around the same time,

internationalization, supported by popular theory on second language acquisition, promoted English language education as a means of “reinforcing the government’s attempt to promote Taiwan as an Asia-Pacific business center” (Chen, 2006, pg. 323).

LLE policy was announced in 1993 and formally implemented in schools nationwide by the MOE in 1997. Clashing with the language policy prior to 1987, the ideological foundation of LLE accepted multilingualism and pluralism by reestablishing local languages throughout elementary schools as a compulsory subject. The justification for teaching local languages are listed below:

1. To increase students understanding of their native culture, and to help develop concepts to preserve, transmit and create native languages culture
2. To develop student’s local language proficiency so that students were able to use the language effectively in the four macro areas of listening, speaking, reading and writing
3. To promote native language education and develop respect for multilingualism.

(Chen, 2011)

The tenets of LLE policy were not able to ensure that all varieties of ‘local’ languages would have an equal importance in language education nationwide. Taiwanese ‘local people’ are generally classified into three groups: Southern Min, Hakka and Austro-Polynesian aborigines, which are categorized under 12 major tribes (Chen, 2011). A survey conducted in 2004 found that 19 out of 20 schools in Chiayi city taught the Southern Min language, and in Changhwa County, 173 out of 174 schools did as

well. The dominating presence of the Southern Min language in schools could be attributed to the fact that a minimum of five students were required for a language to be offered in the curriculum. Moreover, there were a limited number of trained Taiwanese native language teachers to teach local-language courses. Most teachers were able to pass the certification to become language teachers but lacked the university degrees that allowed them to obtain full-time teaching status at schools. As Chen (2011) would claim, “many elementary schools preferred to reserve full-time positions for ‘important’ subjects such as English” (pg. 320). Teaching methodology was also inconsistent which resulted in lack in continuity in the national context. Moreover, well-designed textbooks for local language literacy never fully reached the same level of production as English language textbooks because of a number of reasons: (a) using textbooks in local-language classrooms were not required by law, (b) it was difficult to produce books that addressed all the geographical and regional characteristics of a region, (c) there was a lack of universality in regards to the standardized phonetic systems used in textbooks and (d) textbooks were not required to be authorized by the NICT (Chen, 2011). But the most inhibiting factor that limited the acceptance of LLE was the general opinion of the nation that the pragmatic and instrumental functions of local languages were perceived as unimportant and lower in status than Mandarin or English (Chen, 2011).

English, on the other hand, was received with much more acceptance and systematically implemented to ensure language acquisition, to stimulate economic growth in the free market, and to encourage awareness of foreign cultures and

customs. English education (EE) policy was planned from as early as 1990 and officially implemented in elementary schools in 2001. The MOE provided detailed requirements that ensured successful implementation of the EE policy in Taiwan such as teacher supply, syllabus', evaluations of policy, and etc. It was originally intended for students to start English at the start of grade 5, but Zhou (2003) stated that nearly 70% of elementary schools were already offering English courses to first and second graders (As cited in Chen, 2011). This trend continued to increase that percentage as the number of students being introduced to English at grade 1 continued to grow. Unlike the perception of local languages, English was considered to have more value that granted students an international outlook and socioeconomic advantage (Chen, 2003). English textbooks were required to be approved by the National Institute of Compilation and Translation and English instructors were gathered domestically and internationally. Formal assessments were taken seriously and included formative and summative assessments. Therefore, it can be argued that LLE policy did not receive an equal amount of support from stakeholders because of the challenges of implementing all indigenous languages in schools, the difficulty of being inclusive to all varieties of regional content, the lack of qualified teachers to teach local languages and the lack of formal assessment.

In addition, some scholars assert that the English language policy in Taiwan is actually indicative of educational success and future employment rather than a neutral opportunity for a transnational linguistic skill set offered by educational institutions. Price (2014) cites Bourdieu (1986) by asserting, "policies which

emphasize English in compulsory education systems lead to the ‘commodification of language’ as a valued cultural capital, either through the ‘embodied’ cultural capital of linguistic competence or through the ‘institutionalized’ capital of test scores or exam certificates” (pg. 570). The value of English as a transnational linguistic force dominating educational and employment markets overshadows notions of national identity when applied in a compulsory educational system, such as the case in Taiwan (Park & Wee, 2012). As the perceived gatekeeper into higher education, prestige and success, students must learn English well. For Example, the notion of ‘English for all’ in Taiwan is characterized by a number of different measures and events: the proposed goals of ‘Challenge 2008’, which aimed to teach English to the whole population including senior citizens, farmers, fisherman, aborigines and people with learning disabilities; the adoption of bilingual street signage and Anglicizing restaurant menus; the implementation of compulsory English education into early childhood development; and the introductions of different university entrance exams that tested English proficiency such as the General Scholastic Aptitude Test (GSAT), Joint Central College Examinations (JCCE) and General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) (As cited in Price, 2014, pg. 18). However, the ambitious goals to increase English proficiency on the national level could not anticipate the disparities of educational resources and private institutions competing with the public sector by providing English language education (Price, 2014).

The shift towards internationalization created a variety of changes to Taiwanese Society. Price (2014) found that there was a disparity in the distribution of educational resources, which eventually affected Taiwanese society in two



ways—Sociologically and linguistically. A study on school principals and country education directors serving the educational system during the years of 2000-2008 discovered two observable facts: Neoliberal discourse framed educational policies in Taiwan, which eventually affected the policy of local schools; and the emphasis placed on the 'lingua franca', ultimately, transformed the English language into economic capital.

Southern and Northern Taiwanese had different perceptions about the value of English in general and as a compulsory subject to be taught in schools. When Chinese political elites immigrated to Taiwan in the 1940's, they often found themselves settling towards the northern tip of the island, whereas the historically marginalized Hoklo, Hakka and aboriginal groups settled in the southern portion (Price, 2014). Prior to compulsory English education, these two groups have already been dealing with issues concerning socioeconomic disparity, politics and culture. When English was introduced as a compulsory subject, the south Taiwanese perceived it to be a symbol of elitism and another "site for the contestation of cultural politics" (Price 2014 pg.576). The demands to succeed within English education were impartial to the issues regarding regional situations. The 'pressure' to learn English was not only perceived to be an elitist concern adopted by people in higher socioeconomic status', but it was also a concern that was not afforded to marginalized ethnic groups because of their lack of access to resources (Price 2014). Students in the south were considered unable to compete effectively in the educational system.

The systematic increase and placement of private institutions (buxibans) in

urban areas and the distribution of available English instructors, exemplified the sociological emphasis of English in Taiwanese society and the growing disparity of educational resources available to students in Taiwan. According to Price (2014), “the uneven resource allocation in public schools that disfavored poorer, rural areas and the fact that ‘buxibans’ operated in wealthier, urban areas where it was economically viable to do so stratified access to English along rural/urban and socioeconomic lines” (pg. 574). A director he interviewed points out that the Ministry of Education did try to recruit up to 3,000 local Taiwanese English teachers, but had trouble allocating instructors because the majority were more attracted to urban areas (Director Chen, Miaoli County Education Bureau). When the issue was revisited in 2007, little had changed and issues concerning rural and urban gaps remained a topic discussed in political discourse (Price, 2014).

English also had an effect, linguistically, on Taiwanese society in that there was a circulating theory, which attested to the earlier-the-better argument. According to Price (2014), Lenneberg’s proposal of the Nativist model, which asserts that there is a ‘critical period’ during a child’s life between birth and puberty in which language must be acquired, began to gain acceptance during the 1960’s prior to the introduction of neoliberalism, which emerged in the late 1970’s. Even though the MOE had already implemented compulsory English education in elementary schools by 2001, some parents would introduce English to their children as early as five months old (Price, 2014, pg. 581). Moreover, it has been argued that the lowering of compulsory English education from grade five to grade three may have, “contributed to the perception that English language education should start

earlier, and vice versa” by creating a perception that children with higher levels of English proficiency would gain a competitive edge in academics (Price, 2014 pg. 581). A situation that further contributed to the concerns of the parents was the fact that the local education departments were given autonomy in choosing which grade levels to begin implementing English courses. Schools in Nantou and Taichung counties began implementing English education at grade one because of their need to compensate for the belief that students progressed faster in the urban areas and their limited resources. According to V. Chang (2007), it was estimated that 61% of children started ELE in grade three, 7% in grade two, and 32% in grade one (As cited in Law 2002, pg. 582). Thus, it can be assumed that most of society preferred earlier ages to introduce English language education.

The neoliberal ideology in English language education and the earlier-the-better philosophy created opportunities for buxibans in the private sector to profit, in light of the punitive fines. According to the MOE in 2004, a law was enacted that formally restricted kindergartens to teach English to children under six years old, citing that it was a threat to cultural continuity and students in that age period should be focusing on health, games, music and general knowledge instead. Fines from NT\$50,000 and NT\$250,000 were halfheartedly enforced as “symbols of state interference with the free market” and did not dissuade schools from continuing teaching kindergarteners (Price, 2014, pg. 583). The notion of free market in English education allowed parents to choose schools that offered the idealized English instructor.

The white ‘native’ speaker was believed to be the solution that could assist

students in attaining a better understanding of English. Educational resources at the time were very limited and properly trained English language instructors were short in supply as well. Therefore, based on the popular discourse on the nativist argument, the MOE decided to recruit foreign native English speaking teachers, especially into rural areas, but had trouble offering the proper amenities to encourage high retention rates at rural schools. Mr. Tang, a principal at an elementary school in Taidong county stated that he was very enthusiastic about implementing native English speakers into the faculty, but also understood that there was some aspects of language acquisition that native speakers were not as helpful on (Price, 2014, pg. 584). English teachers were categorized and strict guidelines that funneled the most ideal English instructors became the norm for hiring practices as schools:

Foreign teachers are required to possess specific institutionalized cultural capital to be granted a teaching visa: a bachelor's degree (though not necessarily in English, linguistics, or education) and a passport from the MOE's designation of an English speaking country. In practice this is a passport from Kachru's (1992) inner-circle: the US, Canada, the UK, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa. (Price, 2014, pg. 585)

The requirement to have a citizenship from an inner-circle English speaking country inadvertently created a dichotomy between the native and non-native English-speaking teachers seeking work in Taiwan.

Moreover, native speaking English Teachers received preferential treatment in a number of areas. Most NESTs didn't even have to have a bachelor degree in

language related disciplines to be hired as an English instructor (Jeon and Lee, 2006). They also received between \$1540usd-\$1870usd, which was almost double the amount that local Taiwanese of English were making at the time. Accents dictated job offerings and salary wages. For example, most job advertisements explicitly stated that the American accents or British accents were a necessary requirement for consideration of employment and others need not apply.

Furthermore, Chang (2004) and Lan (2011) discuss racialization in ELT by asserting that, “white teachers were often preferred and Asian-American teachers were often denied teaching jobs or offered lower salaries” (As cited in Price, 2014, pg. 585).

Policy and financial incentive seemed to have encouraged racial preference in ELT on the institutional level.

As a matter of fact, government policy addressing hiring discrimination in Taiwan has only been topics of discourse within the last two decades. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, the Taiwanese government has made efforts to protect socially disadvantaged people from employment discrimination in Taiwan.

According to Chiao (2008) Society has come to agree that “freedom from employment discrimination is a fundamental right which should be enjoyed by all workers throughout the world, with the International Labor Organization (ILO) designating two conventions related to the prohibition of employment discrimination as core labor standards” (pg. 141). Taiwan had two legal ‘regimes’ that governed the issue of employment discrimination. The first, Employment Service Act of 1992, was written to regulate foreign workers and stated that “employers cannot discriminate employees and job applicants on the basis of race,

class, language, thought, religion, marital status, party affiliation, age, birthplace, one's provincial/ county origin, gender sexual orientation, facial features, appearance, disabilities, and former membership in labor unions" (Chiao, 2008, pg. 141). The second regime, Gender Equality in Employment Act of 2002 addressed the issues of gender discrimination. Below is a list of all the different employment discriminations that have been officially been confronted by the Taiwanese legal system in order of importance according to the general public:

1. Gender discrimination is a major topic of debate in Taiwan. The Female labor participation rate is 49.20% and the male labor participation rate is 67.33%. Moreover, average female wages only reach 81% of their male counterparts.
2. Sexual harassment inherently follows. 15-33% of women claim that have experienced or noticed sexual harassment at the workplace.
3. Pregnancy discrimination is also entrenched in the issues surrounding gender discrimination. At one point, it was common to have pregnant female employees 'voluntarily' resign after beginning their family responsibilities. This practice was eventually outlawed.
4. Ethnic discrimination, which is mainly directed towards the aboriginal population, has yet to address non-national ethnicities in the Taiwanese labor force.
5. Disability discrimination is also growing concern for the general population.
6. Religious discrimination, which is usually very rare, occurs at institutions that place religious creeds as a requirement for employment.

(As cited in Chiao, 2008)

Despite being officially enacted in Taiwanese law, Chiao (2008) found that the government did not actively enforce enacted law, and without state action, “individual aggrieved workers could not challenge discriminatory employment practices by private employers” (pg. 147). The state also transferred responsibility of enforcing discrimination regulation to commissions residing in specific regions throughout Taiwan, but did not provide administrative guidelines on how to handle cases, which forced region commissions to learn from ‘trial and error’ (Chiao, 2008). The state later established state commissions that were dedicated to managing administrative rules concerning employment discrimination. Despite the concerted effort to address discrimination in the workplace, based on the concerns of the general public, it seems as though Taiwanese discrimination law does not deem it necessary to examine racial and linguistic discrimination in ELT, especially during the pre-hiring stages. Racial Issues surrounding buxibans are a perfect segue into the next section of this literature review because they establish the context of the nativeness paradigm that exist in Taiwan today.

Above, I have explained how the neoliberal ideology initiated growth in Taiwanese educational sector and altered the course of its’ core values. Moreover, I have argued that even though the concepts of globalization, democratization and Neoliberalism may represent broad topics that are presumably separate in nature, the reality is that they are interconnected, in regards to Taiwanese society and contributed significantly to the notion of Taiwanese national identity. In addition, I’ve emphasized how that has, ultimately, created the nexus of socio-linguistic and race politics existing in English educational institutions and the ELT field today.

From these conditions, a plethora of socio-political, cultural, and linguistic issues regarding the multitude of English language instructors have been explored and critically examined in the literature regarding nativeness.

### **The Nativeness Paradigm and Taiwan**

In the field of TESOL, progressive steps have been made in addressing the issue of race and its impact on today's world. However, the concept of racism has evolved into a form that continues to marginalize supposed inferior groups of people based on other categorizing factors (e.g. ethnicity, culture, identity). Although nativeness issues emerging from the wake of globalization have been critically examined, the potential of spreading disempowering discourse within the ELT have manifested itself in the form of unequal hiring practices of English language teachers globally. In Taiwan, a number of studies have found that the impact of race, globalization and ELT, directly and indirectly, affect Taiwanese society, institutions and individuals. This impact has been realized in Taiwanese society through the nativeness paradigm, which discusses the socially constructed concepts of native and non-nativeness in English speakers of ELT.

From a scientific standpoint, the genetic differences between human being are minute. Kubota (2006) deciphers the concept of race by asserting that different races cannot be verified by biological constructs such as genetic characteristics. According to Hutchinson (2005), the Human Genome Project found that 99.9% of human genes are shared in common, leaving only 0.1% for potential racial difference in a biological sense. However, when pervasive ideas of race are used to



legitimately divide human beings through phenotypical characteristics, it further legitimatizes the process of racialization, which leads to *racism* (As cited in Kubota, 2006). However, this does not discredit cultural, traditional and other characteristics that people identify with.

Despite the lack of a biological foundation, race continues to be a ubiquitous presence asserting its discourse through the racialization of the 'other'. Miles and Brown (2003) define racialization as "a dialectical process by which meaning is attributed to particular biological features of human beings, as a result of which individuals may be assigned to general category of persons that reproduces itself biologically" (pg. 102). In other words, racialization is when people communicate, comprehend, and believe in racially categorizing people based on their physical characteristics. Therefore, the act of racializing a supposed inferior group based on their physical characteristics—whether through limiting their rights as humans, withholding resources from them, or perpetuating categorizing discourse—is what is understood as racism (Kubota, 2006). However, how does racialization and racism address an ethnic group discriminating against other ethnically similar members? For example, would racism address Taiwanese English academy business owners that refuse Asian English teachers employment because they favor applicants with white phenotypical features?

### *Racialization and ELT*

Although blatant forms of ethnic prejudice exist within the realm of TESOL, Medgyes (1992) found that when sixty ELT specialists at a symposium in London in

October 1991 were surveyed and asked whether they would employ only native speakers despite the fact that they were not qualified EFL teachers—nobody said they would. Even though it seems there is a hopeful move towards equality, two thirds of the group in question chose that they would prefer a native-speaking EFL teacher over a qualified non-native teacher and only one third stated that race was not among their criteria for hiring (Medgyes, 1992). If race is not the determining factor, then what other factors are dictating their choice in teachers? Why favor one group over the other if both are equally qualified? This data shows that even though no participants were willing to admit that they may racialize applicants based on their physical features, it does infer that other factors could dictate their hiring choices. In this case, ethnicity and culture become some of the features that people use to racialize groups that are perceived to be of lesser value.

In our post-colonial society, relational concepts like ethnicity and culture become politically correct code words for race; derived from the socially constructed ideas that set one group of people apart from another rather than actually denoting innate attributes of humans (Kubota, 2006; Miles and Brown, 2003). Thompson and Hickey (1994) stated that ethnicity is often used as a category to distinguish groups based on sociocultural characteristics, such as ancestry, language, religion, custom and lifestyle (as cited in Kubota, 2006); And Kubota (2006) discusses the importance of criticizing the notion of culture in relation to race and ethnicity by examining issues of culture in English language teaching and learning (e.g. cultural difference in linguistic and nonlinguistic practices, construction and performance of cultural identities). Even though most scholars

agree that race is not a biologically determined concept in our contemporary world, cultural difference has replaced race as an acceptable term to exclude the experiences and qualities of certain racial and ethnic groups as the 'other' and undesirable (As cited in Kubota, 2006, pg. 476). Hence, these critical findings about ethnicity, culture, and identity become equally as prevalent in connection to globalization and its effect on ELT in modern discussion.

Cultural globalization and cultural hegemony are topics that are inherently attached to English language learning. Kumaravadivelu (2008) defines cultural globalization as a process that spreads culture, ideas, values, and cultural ways of life across the world, through the various ways that people in our modernized world come into contact (e.g. internet, language education, travel, and etcetera). Cultural globalization is especially relevant in TESOL because it has undoubtedly created institutional changes within ELT policy on the national level in Taiwan (Her, 2007). In order to adapt to the growing demands of our globalizing world, Taiwan has adjusted its English teaching approach from a grammar centered teaching style to a revamped curriculum that centers its attention on communicative competence, which inherently contains more cultural content than its predecessor. However, the results of this change on the politics of language policy, culture, and identity become problematic and open to a wide scope of subjectivities. In other words, learners' self-identities can become confused in the process of language learning. This is due to the fact that, "language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested" (As cited in Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p.21). Meaning that individuals who

learn a new language must navigate through the construction of their self-identity; and their original understandings of their customs and traditions become challenged. Taiwan, in particular with its social-political status in the international community, possesses a potentially susceptible environment to the hegemonic forces of the globalizing world.

Moreover, issues that raise the question about the definition of language learning success and what it means to be a native or non-native speaker become real issues that students and teachers have to face within ELT. Plus, the fact the non-native speaker now outnumbers their native counterparts show that a huge number of people are faced with the task of renegotiating their linguistic, social, and political identities. Crystal (2004) asserts that the ratio between L2 English speakers and native speakers in the world is 3:1, estimating that there are 470 million to 1 billion non-native English speakers and 360-400 million speakers who claim English as their first language. Therefore, if scholars and educational policy makers in ELT are not critical about these issues (e.g. race, ethnicity, culture and identity) in the context of globalization, stakeholders participating in those institutions may subconsciously perpetuate disempowering discourse on NELT and NNELTs or discriminate against people based on their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity.

Many scholars have taken it upon themselves to define the characteristics of the NS and NNS dichotomy. Brutt and Griffler (1999) suggested that the native speaker construct could be seen through a social, political, and linguistic lens. Nayar (1994) expands on this by providing a list, which he refers to as “the defining features” of a NS (pg. 3). This list contains the following items:

- Primacy in order of acquisition
- Manner and environment of acquisition
- Acculturation by growing up in the speech community
- Phonological, linguistic, and communicative competence
- Dominance, frequency, and comfort use
- Ethnicity
- Nationality/domicile
- Self-perception of linguistic identity
- Other perceptions of linguistic membership and eligibility
- Monolingualism

However, a growing number of scholars have already started questioning the validity of the native speaker construct and its connotation as being the ideal language teacher (Ferguson, 1992; Nayar, 1994; Widdowson, 1994). Phillipson (1992) rejects the idea of a native speaker by challenging the validity of the term NS and attributes its perpetuation to sociopolitical motives, such as favoring white native English speakers as having certain qualities that are absolutely unattainable by their Non-native counterparts and hiring those individuals to cater to the market demands for 'legitimate' English speakers. According to his theory, the native speakers are expected to have fluency, knowledge of idiomatic expressions, and cultural understanding, which he believes can be taught to NNS (Phillipson, 1992). But, Davies (1991) views the concept through a sociolinguistic lens and rejects the idea that the native speakers are uniquely and permanently different from the non-native speakers. He also believes that L2 learners have the capability of native like

linguistic competence. Moreover, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) posits that individuals who believe in the NS difference derive their prejudices from socially constructed ideas rather than substantiating their judgments with linguistic experience. Various scholars have a varying degree of support for the concept of the native speaker.

Most scholars do agree, however, that ELT professionals should sensitize themselves to the issues of the NS/NNS dichotomy and analyze their own divergences' (e.g. linguistic, social, and political) for the sake of making progress within their own constraints (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy, 1999; Medgyes, 1994). In 1992, the international community favored a liberalist<sup>4</sup> perspective towards the nativeness paradigm and there were even trends that attempted to get rid of the NS and NNS division by offering alternative terms to replace it (Kachru, 1985; Medgyes, 1994). However, Medgyes (1992) took a contrasting position by asserting that non-native speakers can never achieve a native speakers competence. He references the interlanguage continuum<sup>5</sup> and suggests a modification by inserting a line slightly short of 'native competence', which basically states that language learners can never be native. Moreover, he found that in a survey conducted between 220 NNEST and NEST working in 10 countries, 68% of respondents felt that there was a difference between Native and Non-native speaking teachers in the way they teach the foreign language, which were mostly attributed to linguistic issues (Medgyes, 1992). Based on the data, Medgyes (1992) concludes that there are other variables of teaching

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<sup>4</sup> Liberalism-rejection of any kind of discrimination, whether on grounds of race, sex, religion, education, intelligence, or mother tongue.

<sup>5</sup> Selinker, L. (1972). 'Interlanguage' IRAL/10: 219-31.

skill that have a bearing on teaching practice such as experience, age, gender, aptitude, charisma, motivation, training, and etc. Despite the firm belief in the distinction between the NS and NNS and the fluctuating strength of the variables presented above, Medgyes (1992) concludes that both stand an equal chance at achieving professional success and that NNESTs may have some hidden advantages in relation to teaching such as (a) being the only imitable model of a successful learner of English; (b) being able to teach learning strategies more effectively; (c) being able to provide learners with more information about the English language; (d) being more able to anticipate language difficulties; (e) being more empathetic to the needs and problems of their learners; (f) being able to benefit from sharing the learners' mother tongue. The perception of the NS and NNS has progressed, but the implementation of critical praxis within the field is yet to be improved.

I have highlighted the importance of the nativeness paradigm within ELT and its connection to globalization. A number of studies have been done on the different perspectives that various stockholders have on the NS and NNS dichotomy. However, the focus of this paper will be the research findings pertaining to the nativeness paradigm in the Taiwanese context.

### *NS and NNS in Taiwan*

Globalization has been attributed to a variety of social, political, and institutional changes in Taiwan that, directly and indirectly, affect the Taiwanese ELT market and social perception of the issues surrounding TESOL (Su, 2006; Her, 2007; Barret 2009; Chang, 2008). Within the classroom, ELT approaches shifted

their focus from grammar translation methods to communicative competency (Her, 2007). These issues have been explored from various perspectives of stockholders involved in the ELT market. Furthermore, the studies in the articles contribute to a variety of issues regarding the nativeness paradigm (Chang, 2008; Her, 2007; Liu, 1999; Su, 2006).

Scholars expanded on the theoretical framework by applying them to case studies involving different levels and context of English education in Taiwan. Su (2006) conducts a qualitative approach to gathering data on the effects of globalization on the attitudes of EFL instructors in the Taiwanese elementary school level regarding compulsory English education. The study explores the opinions of ten elementary English teachers and the findings show that the impact of government policy which places high value on placement testing, which inadvertently affect classroom practice and the attitude of parents who then are more inclined to favor individuals based on the color of their skin to achieve predetermined goals of the Educational policy in Taiwan. Chang (2008) explains that some Taiwanese parents do not speak English fluently and expect high English proficiency from their children, which forces them to rely on the only indication of a proficient English speaker—a white monolingual speaker of English.

Studies done on the attitudes of teachers, students and parents in regards to English education, have also shown that the policy enacted by the MOE in Taiwan accentuates particular skills sets that influence parents who are uninformed about teacher qualifications to have a predisposition on native and non-native English language instructors (Chang, 2008; Barret, 2009).



Her, Jia (2007) echoes similar findings of globalization and parental attitudes in her extensive case study on tertiary English education in Taiwan. He discusses the issues of the dramatic change of the Taiwanese national English policy from grammar based language education to communicative language teaching approach by stating that these issues operate in a political, social, and institutional context that impacts everything the instructors do (Her, 2007). He then goes on to write an extensive four hundred and seventy five-page study graphically documenting quantitative data on issues regarding those mentioned in contexts. To this end, He concluded, "Taiwanese academics are increasingly involved in language related research and increasingly prepared to interrogate their own practices, and Taiwan, unlike other countries in Asia, is moving towards graduation proficiency benchmarking" (Her, 2007). This finding shows that EFL learners strive to reach equal levels of higher learning as their native speaking counterparts, which can empower English language learners.

Jun Liu (1999) describes a number of dimensions that characterize the value of English speakers such as: precedence in learning languages, competence in the learned language, cultural affiliation, social identities, and language environment. Through a qualitative method of data collection, Jun Liu interview seven non native English speaking professionals in TESOL and discovers that the issues of discriminatory hiring practices of nonnative English speaking instructors are imposed by the power structures created by socially constructed labels. This finding confirms that teachers attempting to diverge from disempowering discourse face a

difficult psychological issue being perpetuated by politics affecting social opinions on the teachers.

Globalization has definitely influenced the Taiwanese MOE to alter the English language educational policy, which has initiated a number of changes among different institutions, programs, and people. This political change has created a market demand for English supplementary schools throughout the country. Su (2006) expands on the effects of the English language policy change and found that it has inadvertently affected the parent's social perception of NS/NNS English instructors in regards to racial preference in cram schools. Chang (2008) explains that racial assumptions of non-native English teachers are ill informed and perpetuated through the hiring choices of buxiban business owners. Native and non-native teachers in those Taiwanese institutions confirm some of the sociolinguistic characteristics of the nativeness paradigm and suffer from psychological issues instigated by political and social perspectives of society (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy, 1999; Jia, 2007; Medgyes, 1997). However, it appears that some institutions are addressing this racial disposition in Taiwanese society by creating curriculum plans that enable students to achieve similar academic levels as their native counterparts (Liu, 1999).

I've shown that the concept of race is a socially constructed idea and the majority of humans share a similar genetic make-up. I've also asserted that other forms of differentiation separate and benefit certain groups on the basis of linguistic and phenotypical characteristics. I examined various perceptions of nativeness in ELT and in Taiwan and found that other socio-cultural characteristics have become

the premise for discrimination. I have also expressed the importance of critically examining globalizing forces on national identity and listed various characteristics that define NS versus NNS. Generally, Taiwanese policy is overlooking the effects that English hegemony entails and is still trying to be recognized in the international community by staying current on many issues, especially language policy. The next section discusses the link between Asian-Americans identity and the literature of the aforementioned topics.

### **Asian American Identity**

The circulating literature about Taiwanese-American identity typically explores the impact of social conditions that affect Taiwanese-Americans exclusively in America. Terms like 'the model minority' and other challenges affecting Asian Americans are common issues explored by scholars (Cheng, 2004; Gu, 2015; Junn & Masuoka, 2008). However, there seems to be a disconnect in regards to the social conditions of Taiwan affecting individuals who identify as Taiwanese-American. Both identities have a varying sense of self, which is made up of different experiences and characteristics. The interplay between these two identities in Taiwan's social environment should receive more attention in academic research.

#### *Taiwanese Identity*

Taiwanese identity is a complex composition of sociological, political, historical and economic influences that interconnect with different global forces beyond their geographical borders. According to Ng (1997), the factors that

contribute to Taiwanese identity consist of the following: (a) conflict with Han Chinese, (b) the role of the United States and Taiwanese Americans, (c) the democratic system in Taiwan, (d) Taiwanese history and culture and (e) the political relationship with Mainland China (pg. 104).

After the Japanese occupation ended, a number of conflicts with the arriving Han Chinese created divergences between the two groups and their respective identities. Mainlanders felt that the Taiwanese language was inferior to Mandarin Chinese, and the difference in identity was further exacerbated when many Taiwanese elites, who had been educated by the Japanese, were killed in the February 28 incident, when civil unrest erupted in protest (Ng, 1997). The early conflict in Taiwanese history created a sense of difference between the native Taiwanese and the arriving Han Chinese.

On the other hand, the United State's involvement in Taiwan's political development placed Taiwanese identity into a precarious position. In 1970, when the United States began to recognize Beijing as the legitimate Chinese government, Taiwan's sense of identity in the perspective of the international community became uncertain. The lack of support in the international arena forced Taiwan to have a growing dependency on the involvement of the United States, which urged Taiwan to show greater support for opposing political views in Taiwan. America's involvement in Taiwanese politics dictated the direction of the sociopolitical landscape and allowed the citizens of Taiwan to freely develop their sense of identity in a democratic space guided by westernized influences.

The democratic society that emerged from western influences also

contributed to a growing sense of separation with Mainland China. Jiang Jinguo, the son of the previous president, realized that it was imperative for him to recognize public sentiment. So, he permitted political reform and the organization of opposing political parties, essentially replacing martial law with democracy. Government positions of authority were gradually being filled with native Taiwanese who desired to be independent from Mainland China.

A unique Taiwanese identity that was developing from growing interest in the regional history of Taiwan started to emerge. When Taiwan established itself as a formidable economic power, people developed a fascination for folk culture, religion, art, dance, opera, and architecture of Taiwan (Ng, 1998). People began studying native literature, which inspired politicians and revitalized the popularity of local languages like Min and Hakka. The combination of these factors created a synthesized version of Taiwanese identity.

The gradual move towards interacting with Mainland China also impacted Taiwanese identity. China saw Taiwan as a source of capital, expertise and technology and Taiwan viewed China as a site for investment, labor and other economic opportunities (Ng, 1998). Taiwanese entrepreneurs and tourists traveled into China for a variety of reasons as political relations became more diplomatic. During that time, the growing perception of Taiwanese identity was summed up as “culturally Chinese but politically Taiwanese” (Ng, 1998, pg. 113).

### *Taiwanese-American identity*

Another member of the Taiwanese community are Taiwanese-Americans

who share an ethnic background with their ancestors but have a different sense of cultural identity. Ng (1998) discusses the sense of detachment from Taiwan among the Taiwanese-American community:

When the second-generation Taiwanese-Americans visit Taiwan, they realize that they feel more comfortable in the United States. They find that in the United States they are seen as Asians instead of Americans. But when they are in Taiwan, they are regarded as Americans instead of Asians. They are not comfortable or fluent in speaking Taiwanese or Mandarin Chinese, and many cannot read the Chinese Characters (Ng, 1998).

Individual variation is a factor that should be considered when examining Taiwanese American identity, but language barriers, cultural comfort and generational differences are problems that second-generation Taiwanese Americans encounter when trying to retain a sense of self identity. Moreover, Their conceptualization of self-identity is often contrasted with the American social ideology.

Despite being confronted with stereotypes in Taiwan and in America, Taiwanese-Americans have continued to develop their own unique sense of identity that adopts traditional cultural orientations and challenges negative stereotypes. In a study conducted on 162 university students, Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997) examined topics concerning individualist and collectivist orientations, ethnic identity and beliefs about stereotypes among Asian Americans. They argue that the concept of American individualism focuses primarily on the individual rather than group and embraces cultural assimilation, which demands conformity and rejects

different cultural values. They also discuss the discontents of the model minority stereotype that, in one way, perceives Asian Americans at a higher standard, and, in the other, restricts them from ever being recognized in mainstream society.

Oyserman and Sakamoto (1997) framed the study with collectivism and familialism to propose four content domains that affect Asian American identity:

- a. The family-oriented focus of interdependence
- b. The more general influence of a collectivist worldview on sense of common fate
- c. Minority group members need to take into account the possibility of negative stereotyping or devaluation of one group by others in America
- d. A minority groups need to integrate achievement and group identity.

The result of the study showed that most participants generally viewed the model minority label in a positive perspective, which reflected the participant's sense of heritage, interdependent perspective on achievement and belief that group identity is important in self-definition (Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997). However, some participants lamented the label because of its connotations towards segregation and other participants completely rejected it. The study concluded that there was a correlation between collective self-esteem and the conception of individualism or collectivism. Asian-American students who showed more positive view of the model minority stereotype were insensitive to the possibility structural disadvantages that affect their sense of self. The perception of the model minority stereotype oscillates between positive and negative and the response of Asian-Americans to the social issues surrounding their cultural orientations vary depending on individual

variation.

Scholars reason that the Asian American racial category is distinctly an American construct that lacks the ability to account for the diversity among Asian immigrants. Junn & Masuoka (2008) argue, “that the Asian-American community offers an important case study to understand how social context and one’s perceived racial position influences an individual sense of group attachment” (pg. 729). The study tried to find a correlation between racial group consciousness and political activity. This scholar points out that some Asian immigrants who arrive into America may not conform to the pan-ethnic racial category prescribed to them by society. Moreover, they point to the socioeconomic status of Asian Americans as a means that has granted them with upward mobility to economically integrate with whites. These conditions contribute to their sense of political identity. The study found that Asian-American political identity was more malleable, but more likely to view separate Asian-American titles as an important indicator of self-identity. In the final analysis, the scholar concluded that Asian-American racial consciousness is a distinctive U.S.-based concept that imposes a racial classification groups the diversity of the Asian community into one manageable category.

Issues regarding Taiwanese-American career advancement have also been studied in America. This author explored the different strategies and reactions of Taiwanese-Americans to social boundaries in the Chicago metropolitan area. This study was particularly interested in observing gender-based differences and challenges. The qualitative study interviewed 40 Taiwanese-American professionals on structural inequality and the intersectional effects on individual experience (Gu,



2015). Drawing from literature on the glass-ceiling phenomenon, scholars have asserted that Asian Americans often “receive fewer socioeconomic reward than their white counterparts” (As cited in Gu, 2015, pg. 128). Moreover, this problem is exacerbated by boundaries that prevent Asian-American woman from gaining upper management positions that place them in a position to break the confines of the glass ceiling. In the study, 23 out of 40 Taiwanese American professionals claimed that they encountered some form of unfair treatment because of their race and 13 claimed they have witnessed some form of racial discrimination. In sum, nearly all participants claimed that cultural differences between Taiwanese-Americans and their white counterparts were the main obstacle for establishing close relationships with their white colleagues, which hindered their career advancement (Gu, 2015).

Taiwanese identity and Taiwanese-American identity vary depending on the larger social forces that contribute to its development. These studies suggest that Asian-American identity is a socially constructed status that is not homogenous in regards to ethnic, social and political association. Stereotypical connotations affecting Asian-American identity vary depending on their individual perception of self-identity. Racial differences were proven to be the major inhibitors of career advancement. All of which is studied exclusively in correlation with American social issues.

## CHAPTER THREE RESULTS

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this study is to reveal the issues of hiring discrimination against Asian native English teachers in Taiwanese English institutions by exploring how social, linguistic, ethnic and political factors affect the identities of those teachers. The research examines linguistic affiliation, discriminatory experiences, perceived social perceptions of teachers and job responsibilities to create a descriptive narrative of the lived experiences of the Asian native English teachers who have participated in this study. The study utilizes AsianCrit, Social identity theory and AARID as a theoretical framework to analyze the data. The data was collected through a preliminary survey followed by semi-structured interviews and interactive written interviews, which investigated the initial responses in the survey with greater detail. These are the main questions in the study:

1. How do Taiwanese Native English teachers perceive and define their linguistic, social and political identity?
2. In general, how have their experiences of teaching in Taiwan affected their perception of the ELT field and their identity as English instructors?
3. What are their thoughts on hiring discrimination in Taiwan and how has it had an impact on them?

The chapter will be organized as two major sections. The first section illustrates the background information and a consolidated version of the main responses from the survey of all participants in table format. The second section addresses the major

themes of the study by presenting relevant participant responses that correlate with specific questions within the themes.

### Participant Profiles

The participants identified ethnically as either Taiwanese or Chinese and all taught English for a period of time in Taiwan. Everyone possessed a bachelor's degree in their respective disciplines and a citizenship from either the United States or the United Kingdom.

Table 1.

#### *Participant Profile*

	Participant A	Participant B	Participant C	Participant D	Participant E
<b>Name</b>	Henry	Lily	Daniel	Roger	Victor
<b>Gender</b>	Male	Female	Male	Male	Male
<b>Age</b>	28	N/A	37	34	24
<b>Place or Birth</b>	Georgia	Oakland, California	Hsinchu, Taiwan	Taipei, Taiwan	Cambridge, UK
<b>Ethnicity</b>	Taiwanese/ Chinese	Chinese	Taiwanese	Taiwanese	Taiwanese
<b>Nationality</b>	U.S.A./ Taiwan	U.S.A	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	British
<b>Education</b>					
<b>School</b>	UCSD	SJSU	U of Texas	U of Maryland	U of Essex
<b>Degree</b>	Communication	Pictorial Art	Psychology and Asian Studies	Economics	Film Studies

Henry was born in Georgia and attended elementary school there. After starting middle school in San Diego, California, he spent the rest of his educational career there and graduated with a B.A. degree in Communications from UCSD.

Lily was born in Oakland California and was educated in the Bay Area where she attained her B.A. degree in Art from San Jose State University.

Daniel was born in Taiwan, but he started his education in the United States. He attended elementary school and middle school in Colorado, and he moved to Texas where he attended high school and graduated from the University of Texas with a B.A. degree in Psychology and Asian Studies. Daniel also received his Juris doctor degree from South Texas College of Law in 2007.

Roger was also born in Taiwan, but began school in the United States. He attended elementary school through high school in Franklin Square and graduated with a B.A. in Economics from the University of Maryland in College Park.

Victor was born in Cambridge, United Kingdoms and attended elementary school through high school in the same city. He graduated with a degree in Film Studies from the University of Essex in Colchester.

Table 2.

*Linguistic and Social profile*

	<b>Henry</b>	<b>Lily</b>	<b>Daniel</b>	<b>Roger</b>	<b>Victor</b>
<b>Mandarin proficiency (1-10)</b>	6	5	8	6	6
<b>Preferred language of use</b>	English	English	English	English	English
<b>Generation (footnote)</b>	Second	Second	First	First	First
<b>Raised in</b>	The U.S. only	The U.S. only	Mostly U.S. some in Asia	Mostly U.S. some in Asia	In Britain only
<b>Cultural association</b>	Bicultural	Bicultural	Very westernized	Bicultural	Mostly westernized
<b>Contact with Taiwan</b>	Occasional visits	Occasional visits	Raised 1 year or more in Asia	Raised 1 year or more in Asia	Occasional visits

All of the participants identified as bilingual and rated their degree of mandarin proficiency on a scale of 1-10. Despite being bilingual, everyone explained that they were more comfortable reading, listening, writing and speaking in English.

A first generation can be described as an individual who was born in an Asian country and immigrated to a western country. A second generation describes an individual whose parents were born in an Asian country and gave birth to him or her in a western country. Most of the participants were socialized in multiethnic countries from a young age and had varying degrees of cultural affiliation between their ethnic culture and the culture of the country they were raised in.

Table 3

*Teaching Experience*

	<b>Harry</b>	<b>Lily</b>	<b>Daniel</b>	<b>Roger</b>	<b>Victor</b>
<b>Teaching duration</b>	2013-present	2010-2013		1 year	2015-present
<b>Course taught</b>	Phonics for 1 <sup>st</sup> grade	Phonics Tutoring	Conversation	Conversation	Communication skills
	Picture book reading	Substitute Teaching	High school writing	Cram School courses	Email writing for business
		Adult Conversation	Test Prep listening courses	Company Class	IELTS tutoring

All of the participants taught different courses in different educational settings: public schools, private English institutions or private tutoring courses. However, Harry is the only one who is currently fulfilling his compulsory military service by teaching English at a public elementary school, which is located closer to the southern tip of Taiwan.

Table 4

*Preliminary Responses on Discrimination (Likert Scale)*

	<b>Henry</b>	<b>Lily</b>	<b>Daniel</b>	<b>Roger</b>	<b>Victor</b>
<b>My ethnicity is advantageous in Taiwan</b>	Partly agree	Slightly disagree	Slightly disagree	Partly agree	Agree
<b>My cultural affiliation is advantageous to me in Taiwan</b>	Partly agree	Partly agree	Partly agree	Partly agree	Agree
<b>My linguistic ability is advantageous in Taiwan</b>	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Partly agree
<b>I have faced some form of discrimination</b>	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Partly agree	Strongly agree
<b>People have certain expectations of my ability as an English teacher</b>	Agree	Agree	Partly agree	Agree	Slightly agree
<b>White native English teachers have advantages over ethnically Asian native English teachers</b>	Agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Strongly disagree

Based on the preliminary responses, most of the participants agreed that their cultural affiliation and linguistic ability were an advantage to them in Taiwan. Everyone agreed that they had faced some form of discrimination except for Harry, but they all agreed that white native English teachers have some sort of advantage over ethnically Asian native English teachers.

## **Overview of the Findings**

### **How do Taiwanese Native English Teachers Perceive and Define Their Linguistic, Social and Political Identity?**

#### **Political identity**

I asked a series of questions in an attempt to illicit more detailed responses that exhibit the multiple dimensions of the participant's identity as Asian native English speakers. Equally important was the perceived advantages and disadvantages of their cultural and linguistic affiliation.

Questions: How do you feel about the Chinese-American, Taiwanese-American or British American titles?

Henry: I consider myself Chinese-American and Taiwanese-American equally. While my parents were born in Taiwan, my grandparents on both sides emigrated from China in 1949 with the KMT. Growing up in a KMT family, I've always been told that Taiwanese people are ethnically Chinese and that I ought to identify myself as Chinese. After living in Taiwan for several years now, I recognize that it is very unique from the mainland and has its own identity. Therefore I call myself "Chinese/Taiwanese-American".

Lily: Taiwanese-Chinese American, because my mom is Taiwanese (Han) and dad is Cantonese (ABC).

Victor: I feel relatively indifferent to these titles. While my background are Taiwanese parents, our ethnicity still follows the Han Chinese descent so give or take.

The participants make a distinction between the conception of Taiwanese and Chinese identity, but there is an underlying understanding that their ethnic background may still be considered Chinese. Even though they identify as Chinese and Taiwanese, they still remain conscious of the different connotations that are attached to the labels.

### **Bilingualism**

Most of the participants identified as Bilingual and stated that they preferred to use English as their main language.

Questions: What is your opinion about your bilingual ability?

Henry: Bilingualism is one of the greatest gifts that my parents have given me. It has allowed me to live in this country that I love.

Lily: I was really good at Spanish when I studied it in high school, but with Mandarin I struggled so badly. Sometimes in my Mandarin class I would get the worst test score and it really took a toll on my self-esteem. I was not used to being so bad at something. I assumed my classmates were constantly judging me about it, but in reality they still loved me, so it didn't matter. In TW I was usually embarrassed about my Mandarin. Then I moved to San Gabriel Valley near LA, with probably the biggest Chinese/Taiwanese community in the country, and here I feel totally fine about my Chinglish because it's normal (I'm like all the second generation kids here), at least I can speak some Mandarin, and shop/restaurant owners, etc. appreciate that.

Victor: I think it's a blessing and its something to actively use in many job industries across the world no matter the country.



How would you describe their Mandarin ability and how has it affected your career as an English teacher?

Henry: Being bilingual seems to be more advantageous in Taiwan than it is in America, but I may be biased on that since I prefer living in Taiwan... On rare occasions, I had to speak with parents (of students) in Mandarin, but that's about the extent that my Mandarin has affected my teaching career.

Lily: My level of Mandarin is Intermediate. I learned as an adult by taking classes. My comprehension is pretty good, and I can read and write a decent amount of characters. Speaking is a struggle and my accent is pretty strong...It sometimes helped (with her career). We were supposed to speak only English in class but sometimes I'd cheat and just tell them the Mandarin translation of a word they were confused about, which would make things 10x easier. I really think that classes there should not be full immersion and that teachers should be allowed to explain things in Mandarin.

Victor: Listening and speaking is intermediate to upper level and reading and writing is elementary. If a student couldn't understand parts of my sentence then I would willingly try to translate for him/her.

How did people respond to your bilingualism?

Lily: People were confused by my shoddy Mandarin because I look like I should be fluent. Sometimes they would tease me about it. I ended up making friends with other teachers and locals who had studied abroad and could speak English. Though it didn't do much to improve my Mandarin

skills, it was really the only way I could feel at home and be able to truly express myself. I really respect people who can immigrate somewhere and not have friends around they can communicate with. It would be lonely and depressing as hell.

Most of the participants described their bilingualism as a gift or blessing. Lily, however, expressed a critical perspective about her ability to use Mandarin, but explained that in America, her bilingualism was more accepted and even appreciated by others. In Taiwan, Lily experienced ridicule about her ability to speak mandarin, which ultimately had an effect on her social circles and her social identity as a Mandarin speaker. The research found that mandarin had helped with communicating directly with parents or other staff and also helped to explain concepts through code-switching approaches in pedagogy

### **Social Challenges**

The purpose of the following questions was to gather a general understanding of the social and career challenges that may have affected the participant's sense of identity as a teacher or as an individual.

Question: What were some challenges within your career and society that you had to face when living in Taiwan?

Henry: I can't identify any specific challenges in my career as a teacher. It was a completely new field to me when I took it on so I had to learn everything from scratch, but that's about it. Regarding societal challenges, I also had to learn about the cultural mores and adjust my behavior accordingly.

Lily: Teaching kids don't come naturally. I wasn't very good at it and that was very challenging and humbling. I wanted to teach adults, but no adult school in Taipei would even consider an ABC teacher. (There are plenty of white teachers there.) In Taichung I at least found an adult school that paid me under the table, and would not pay the taxes to get me a visa.

Victor: Adapting to lifestyle changes as well as dealing with a colloquialism as well as the Southern Min Taiwanese language that I'm less familiar with.

Henry and Victor shared similar experiences of difficulty with teaching as a profession and adjusting culturally to their specific teaching context. The challenges that they chose to cite did not make any mention of hiring discrimination or anything else of that nature. Most of the challenges were universal issues that may occur when an individual is placed in a new English Foreign Language teaching environment. Lily, however, expressed that the adult English Language institution that she applied to did not register her as a legitimized employee for the company and was not involved in her visa process. It should also be noted that the school, which did hire her, was located near the middle of Taiwan and nowhere near the capital, Taipei.

Question: how was your ethnicity an advantage to you in those contexts?

Henry: I think as an ethnically Chinese/Taiwanese person, Taiwanese teachers may view me as one of their own compared to non-Taiwanese foreigners. I'm not sure if it helped me in any explicit way.

Lily: It wasn't really an advantage, but it did help school owners see me as "one of them," so perhaps it made them more comfortable around me than if I were non-Asian.

Both participants stated almost the exact same expression to convey that the privilege of their ethnicity in Taiwan could be found in the idea that their employers accepted them as a member of the social in-group (Rodriguez, 2015).

Question: are female instructors treated differently from male instructors?

Henry: I don't think so. I think the gender gap is much less pronounced in the English cram school industry. There are more female teachers than male teachers and cram school owners can't afford to be picky. Also, I believe that most people here view men and women as equally capable of teaching.

Lily: Female teachers are preferred over male ones for some reason. "foreign" Asian male teachers have an even harder time finding a job than "foreign" Asian female ones. School owners perhaps feel that women are more reliable, and/or more natural teachers than men. I'm sure they know that a lot of male English teachers (of any ethnicity) are in TW to party and have fun.

Based on their individual experiences, both participants had contrasting viewpoints about gender equality in ELT. Lily referenced an impression about Taiwanese Male English instructors as a possible reason for her belief.

### **Social Context of Teaching experience**

The following questions ask the participants about the nature of their relationship with Taiwanese students, parents, administrators and others within their respective educational institutions. It also includes some personal experiences from the participants on the topic of culture and language. After developing a sense of the dynamic of their social environment, the research ask them to reflect on their individual social experiences and to examine how those experiences may have made an impact on their perception of self and as a teacher.

Question: Can you describe your relationship with the locals, students, parents and administrators?

Henry: The people here in Yunlin are generally very warm and hospitable. They really take care of me. I would say that my relationship with them is amiable, but not necessarily very close.

Lily: Students were mostly good, but sometimes there would be a really bad one or two who want to test the limits of the sub. I didn't deal with parents at the schools at all. Administrators were more understanding if they were ABC<sup>6</sup>. Some local school owners seemed judgmental. Most parents of kids I tutored were very nice. Some wanted me to teach them as well.

Victor: Very friendly platonic for the most part.

Although Henry is teaching English at a typical public school, the teaching situation for him is anything but typical because his job is managed directly by a government-appointed military officer.

Question: do you have a military officer that you have to report to?

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<sup>6</sup> American Born Chinese

Henry: Yes, Taiwan's education system has a very interesting relationship with the military. Each public high school and university has a military officer, usually a corporal who is stationed at that school and is in charge of discipline as well as teaching the "Military Training Class" 軍訓課 (Jūnxùn kè) and the other draftees in my area, report to the military officer at a local high school.

Lily stated that people made comments about her culture. I asked her to elaborate and this is what she said:

Lily: When I would try to speak Mandarin, people would ask why my Mandarin wasn't good (intending to be nice, but sometimes the language can sound very blunt "為什麼妳的中文不好?" then I would tell them I was ABC, and they would be surprised and asked where my parents were from, where they were born, and where my grandparents were from. They were finally satisfied once knowing what part of China my ancestors are from, as if it made them understand me.

Question: are your experiences generally positive or negative about teaching?

Henry: My experience has been generally positive. I love kids and I love making them laugh and I love to see them learn. However, I really dislike the disciplining aspect of teaching. In fact, it's the main source of displeasure from teaching.

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<sup>7</sup> Translation: Why is your Mandarin so bad? (Wèishéme nǐ de zhōngwén bù hǎo)

Lily: Positive: I grew very attached to the 12-year old who I taught for 2 years and we keep in touch to this day. I'm also still in touch with some other people I tutored, and they taught me a lot about Taiwan, culture, and different ways of life. They are part of my Taiwan experience. Negative: trying to teach a classroom of kids who are louder than me and hard to control, feeling that I was absolutely not good at that job, dreading having to go back the next time.

Victor: Generally both positive and negative. The market flourishes in this field so the demand is always high just for any native English speaker so it's a good way to get a job to springboard your career. The negatives are obvious that anyone that does not wear a Caucasian mask is at a heavy unfair disadvantage.

Question: How have your feelings changed throughout your time as an English teacher?

Henry: Growing up, I never wanted to be a teacher. I always wanted to make a lot of money or be famous, but now I see the importance of teaching, especially when I consider future generations. So, I value the occupation more now, but I still don't see myself doing it in the long run.

Lily: Some things scare the crap out of me, but in TW I had to do it and did, and that makes me feel like I can do anything. I am not an English teacher and I knew this. However, I might be a decent art teacher one day.

The participants shared positive feelings about the communities they served and expressed an appreciation for the challenges that the profession presents for them.

Cross-cultural communication is indeed a challenge, but it may assist interlocutors in understanding one another<sup>8</sup>.

**In General, How have their Experiences of Teaching in Taiwan Affected their Perception of the ELT Field and their Identity as English Instructors?**

**Salary and classes**

The following questions attempt to gather detailed information about the different types of classes that the instructors taught, the difference in salary among their peers and the different ways that their teaching styles were utilized in their institutions.

Question: How did your salary compare with others? What criteria did they use to determine an individual's salary?

Henry: I don't know my coworkers salaries and I don't ask. The criteria my school used were based on years of experience in teaching as well as how long you've been with the school.

Lily: In some schools, the "ABC" rate is lower than the "Foreign" (white) rate, which is totally racist. I think at one school, they offered me \$15/hour, but the "foreign" rate was \$18. But I was a foreigner!

Victor: (on criteria for salary) Strictly appearance. Hair color, eyes, facial look.

Question: What types of classes did you teach?

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<sup>8</sup> Scollon, R., Scollon, S. W., & Jones, R. H. (2011). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach*. John Wiley & Sons.



Henry: I have been teaching phonics and picture book reading since 2013. Salary for military civil service is less than 10,000 NT/month. Standard salary of a college grad in Taiwan is 22,000 NT/month. English teaching is roughly 40,000-60,000 NT/month.

Roger: My salary was lower than foreign English teachers but it was still higher than the average salary for Taiwanese locals.

Lily: (2010-2013) Cram schools (subbing) were in Taipei. Private tutoring for kids was done at their home. For adults, we would meet in a I. The adult class I taught was when I lived for 6 months in Taichung... the hours were about 1.5-2 hours per class, 1-2 classes a day, 3 days/week.

Victor: it was very accessible and easy to find any freelance work in Taipei. Normally 1on1 classes. It (salary) definitely meets the standards and the experience I have for the field. Just right about the average threshold.

### **Strengths and Weaknesses**

Question: Can you describe yourself as a teacher? Do you think your cultural experience as an Asian American was ever incorporated in these language courses?

Henry: I'm funny and most students like me, but I'm very weak at discipline. I like to use acting/drama to engage the children...Not as an Asian-American specifically, but as an American yes. The way we're taught in America is starkly different from what you find in a typical Taiwanese public school classroom. I, along with other Western teachers, bring this to the classroom. Whether it be personal anecdotes, games from our childhood, or

even classroom management styles, our time in America/Western country has afforded us a different experience that we can bring to the kids here.

Lily: I think I'm a funny and interesting teacher for adults with a lot of stories to tell. For little kids, it didn't come naturally and I really struggled. I did have a lot of fun tutoring a 12-year old who liked stories and art like me. Her English comprehension was already pretty good because her father was fluent, but she initially wouldn't speak English back to him. I also taught her drawing and painting...My culture was not really incorporated. I explained racism and racial minorities to adult students a few times, which they had difficulty understanding. They really don't know what it's like to live in a multicultural place where race-related conflicts regularly occur.

Victor: I'm Easy going, open-minded and chill. Strengths come from being able to explain the meaning of vocabulary while offering synonyms as well as how to use them in sentences. Weaknesses would be trying to explain certain grammatical rules, as these parts can be very dull and tedious...I've offered some insights into the British Culture as well providing them a basic framework of living costs and lifestyle in the UK

Question: What types of skills were you asked to teach?

Henry: It varies a lot. Some people want to increase their vocabulary, some want to improve their pronunciation, and others want help preparing for their college entrance exams.

Lily: Pronunciation or grammar

Victor: Email writing, presentation skills and small talk advice.

Question: Do you feel that your skill as a teacher was being utilized to its maximum potential? Why or Why not?

Henry: I don't feel that I'm particularly gifted as a teacher. So, yes, I do think I was being utilized to my maximum potential in the teaching capacity.

Lily: I went to TW hoping to find a non-teaching job. I did, at a media company for a year, but was unable to get a work visa there. I was scared but open to teaching adult classes, but didn't get an opportunity in the 2.5 years I was in Taipei. Tutoring was okay, but teaching classes was done out of necessity and a lot of hardship came with it, such as getting over fears of public speaking and fears of being in charge of unpredictable kids.

Victor: I believe it (teaching skill) is being used to its max potential as every client at the cram school has different requests. Being adaptable and flexible is what makes teaching such a challenging job so everyday my potential is being tested.

### **Social Expectations**

Question: What do you think were the expectations of an Asian-American English teacher?

Henry: Asian-American teachers are expected to better understand cultural nuances more readily than other foreign teachers. For example, Western teaching emphasizes/rewards participation much greater than Taiwanese/Asian education. As such, foreign teachers might find it strange why their students are hesitant to raise their hands in class. Perhaps Asian-

American teachers have an advantage here in better knowing where their students are coming from.

Lily: Work hard and be extra smart and thankful because a white teacher is preferred. Caucasians are what most Taiwanese people see as their idea of a “normal” American or British person. I knew a French guy who got a job (paid under the table) as an English teacher because he looked the part. His English was pretty good, but had an accent and wasn’t totally fluent.

Victor:

Based on their response, I grew curious about what they believed were the expectations of Non-native English speaking teachers. I also wondered how students, teachers and others treated them in comparison to Non-native English teachers.

Henry: Non-Native English teachers are unfortunately paid less than native speaking teachers presumably for not having a native accent. However, I met a non-native teacher at one of my old schools that had perfect pronunciation and great grammar (she had studied in Canada), but she was not paid as much as native speaking teachers like myself. I think the expectation was for them to do the same work but be paid less.

Based on Henry’s response, it would seem that racial preference and pronunciation are separate categories that justify the pay rate. In other words, the pay rate will be higher for anyone who has a favorable accent, regardless of race. I asked them to elaborate more on how people perceived Asian Americans in Taiwan.

Henry: Some people assume that Asian American are prideful, narcissistic jerks. I think they get this idea from media. A lot of ABCs/ABTs come back to Taiwan to enter the music/entertainment industry and maybe their vibe just comes off in a bad way. From another point of view, Western culture definitely promotes individuality and self-confidence so it's really engrained in our identity. Some of my Taiwanese friends have told me that they assumed the arrogant Asian-American archetype was true but found me to be different from their expectations. When most people find out that I'm ABC, they typically treat me really well. They know that since language is a barrier, I need extra help doing certain things and they are all very willing to offer support.

Lily: People thought it was cool and fascinating. They don't meet as many Asian Americans as you would think. They weren't sure what to think of me. Pride was a topic that produced some interesting responses from the participants. However, pride for a particular aspect of an individual's identity did not necessarily correlate with a prejudice for others. Lily felt a sense of pride being Taiwanese but also respected the duality of her cultural association.

Lily: It's not that I think Asians are better than anyone else, it's just that I grew up in the US as a minority where sometimes you are made to feel you should choose between acting like the majority group in order to fit in better, or be proud of your heritage and learn more about your ancestors' cultures. I choose to embrace myself, learn more about the countries my ancestors are from, go visit them, and be proud when Asian Americans break ground to get

ahead of where they were in this country. For example, I support Fresh off the Boat, the first Asian American sitcom in 20 years and the first to last more than 1 season. This show has multi dimensional characters to show the rest of America that Asians have all types of traits and personalities and are not all the same. I'm extremely proud of Jeremy Lin, the first Asian basketball player to be as good as he is. He shows America that Asians can play ball too. And in everyday life I try to break stereotypes by being who I am and not what people expect me to be, and educate people who want to know more about my culture whether it's through food, discussion, etc.

### **What are their Thoughts on Hiring Discrimination in Taiwan and how has it had an Impact on them?**

#### **Hiring discrimination**

The purposes of these questions are to find data on whether discrimination against Asian-American English teachers occurs in Taiwan and if it has an effect on the Asian American English teacher. It also asks the participants about how they think issues of discrimination in Taiwanese English institutions should be addressed.

After answering a few questions, Roger withdrew from the interview. He provided an explanation for his decision.

Roger: Honestly, discrimination is a non-factor to me here, considering the population is mainly Taiwanese. The expat community here is so small and Taiwan is so small as a non-country on a global scale... from the view of an

English school owner (whether foreign or Taiwanese), hiring foreign teachers will make the school more money because the English language is identified as being spoken by Anglo-Saxons/Western races, so why wouldn't the school owners be more inclined to hire foreign teachers. I felt discriminated against way more in New York than compared to Taiwan. The majority of the questions don't really apply to my life so it doesn't make sense for me to answer them. Discrimination is a complicated issue but once you step outside of the US, the issue of discrimination pretty much becomes a pointless argument. The US is so great because issues like this can be addressed and progress can be made because BY DEFINITION based on The Constitution, the US is a free country for anyone to live and thrive in, so when it starts excluding races and ethnic groups from doing that, it becomes an issue to be addressed. Other countries were never meant to be that. You can only make a case for discrimination when one ethnic group or race controls the bulk of the income and power but in other countries, the people that have the most money and power are people of that country. But in Taiwan, Taiwanese people control the bulk of the money and power so they could discriminate all they want. It was never meant to be a nation for other ethnic groups and races to live in. Discrimination clearly exists in the US, but I consider Taiwan to be my mother country and the US to be my adopted father country because I was born in Taiwan and I look like the general population, therefore I don't feel discrimination here like I did in New York.

Discrimination would only be an issue to me here if I allowed it to be an issue in my own mind, which I don't.

Question: Based on your experience, why did you feel that you were discriminated against in the English Language teaching field?

Henry: I never felt overtly discriminated. Perhaps my resume was passed over in favor of white teachers, but I had no way of knowing. I just know that if it was me, I would choose a white face over a yellow one strictly from a business perspective. Now, that is only the case if the white and Asian-American teacher were equally qualified. If the Asian-American teacher were the better candidate in terms of experience or compatibility, I would choose the Asian-American teacher.

Lily: One school told me honestly that they know I was born in the US, but the money comes from the parents of the students, and they are the ones who are ignorant about ABCs and want their hard earned money to pay for a "real American" white teacher for their kid. The school has no choice but to cater to the parents or else they would go out of business.

Roger: Honestly, I don't find discrimination to be a big deal in Taiwan. I was still able to find English teaching jobs and I have other skills and abilities that allows me to get jobs that foreigners in Taiwan cannot obtain... There is no discrimination outside English teaching institutions, foreigners might mistake you for a local and assume you can't speak English, but that is expected.



Victor: Qualifications don't matter, because as long as the supervisor/interviewer know you have a strong verbal command for English then anything else hardly matters. I believe this is because the previous generation (namely our parents and before) have been heavily indoctrinated with that very notion that high standards of English should only be taught by "Caucasians".

There were varying perspectives on the validity of hiring discrimination. All the participants viewed issues of discrimination from different viewpoints. For example, Roger viewed hiring discrimination of Asian Americans on the national level and concluded that it did not inhibit equal opportunities for Asian Americans as a whole. Victor examined discrimination within the ELT field and stated that he acknowledged reasoning for the preference for white instructors, but he, himself, did not believe in the same logic. To that end, all the participants expressed different degrees of discrimination against Asian Americans and some even rejected the idea that it even occurs.

Question: In what ways do you think white native English teachers have advantages over other language teachers?

Henry: If I owned a cram school, I think I would favor white English teachers over ABC or other Asian American ones. From a branding point of view, it just makes sense to have a foreign teacher "look" like a foreigner.

Roger: They have spoken it for longer than I have. Their ancestors have spoken the language; the language was crafted by an Anglo-Saxon culture/society.

Victor: I don't believe "Caucasians" or "white" have any inherent advantage over any other race or language teachers. It's the very simple notion that the Taiwanese or other local pioneers of the cram schools here in Asia have a shallow perspective that the English language should be properly learnt by its corresponding native teacher of a "foreign" appearance. I can only deduce these pioneers feel that people who learn English this way will be guaranteed an unforgettable and unique experience but this is complete nonsense.

### **Advantages and Disadvantages**

The following questions ask the participants to express how they perceive their bilingual abilities as a privilege.

Question: What are the advantages and disadvantages of being a bilingual Asian American and as an English Teacher?

Henry: I always worked in full-English immersion schools and students were not permitted to speak Chinese to me or even to each other. Being able to speak Chinese has not been a huge benefit in terms of teaching.

Lily: I would walk down the street (not talking) and blend right in. I felt most people around me were comfortable around me and that I was "one of them," whereas non-Asians would get stared at and get way too much attention, sometimes negative. The disadvantage came when I would struggle to communicate and people had less patience with me because they couldn't tell I was ABC. I think some thought I was stupid or deaf...

Lily explained how she had some advantages when compared with non-native English speakers from nations outside of Taiwan.

Lily: I at least had a chance of getting a work visa here if I decided to sign a contract at a cram school. Then if I wanted to stay long term, I could. French people who could speak English (as well as students from Korea, Japan, etc. in my Mandarin class) knew they would not be able to find a job here because their language was not valuable enough for schools to pay for their visa. Their only option was to start a business with foreign funds or get married, and hope their Mandarin improves enough to get some kind of job.

### **Reflection and new approaches**

Question: how did these experiences affect you?

Lily: On the outside, I'm Taiwanese/Chinese, but on the inside, I'm mostly American. I was born here and it's an unshakeable part of me to be an individual and express myself, and want to pursue my own happiness. If something makes me miserable, I won't keep doing it. If my choices are limited, I'll go back home where I have more opportunities, no matter how much I love Taiwan.

Victor: Try not to take it personally as others have felt the same thing too. It seems disgusting but it is what it is. In addition, your native language and cultural experience is not equally valued like the Caucasian counter parts.

Question: Has your experience had an impact on your teaching, your perception of the ELT field or your perception of Taiwan as a nation?

Victor: Teaching methodology remains the same, just keep internal matters away from the classroom. It's still a fun field to teach, as long as salary

numbers of privileges aren't talked about. The nation itself has a lot of growing up to do and probably will for long time coming.

Lily: It made me realize that racism is everywhere and that I'm not a victim just because I'm Asian. I saw non-Asians being judged and stereotyped, walking around all self-conscious, while I felt more confident because I blended in. When a country has one huge cultural majority, people are going to be ignorant. They just don't know about other races and haven't been around them. Therefore, people should not get all riled up about an ignorant comment unless it was said with harmful intent. Taiwanese people are super nice and I love that, but America is more open minded and that's a beautiful thing.

Question: What do you think needs to be done to address hiring discrimination in Taiwan?

Victor: The idea of white privilege just needs to be abolished from the minds of the pioneers. I also believe that teachers especially the local ones who worked hard overseas to earn a Masters or PhD in the teaching field deserve a reasonably higher salary.

Lily: The Taiwanese people need to learn about diversity and know that appearances don't define someone's abilities. English teacher applicants should take a test and the job should be given to whoever's the best at English, loves teaching, and wants to stay in TW for a longer time. This would also benefit the schools so much... I really feel that it's going to take some time. Groups can try to educate people at events or on the street, but

they won't really care if it doesn't affect them or anyone they know. Asia loves American movies and shows, and with American media showing more diversity now (I heard *Fresh off the Boat* airs there and hopefully it's not dubbed), people will shake some of their stereotypes, including recognizing that true ABCs exist. More foreigners will continue relocating to TW and locals will encounter more of them as time goes by. The teachers there should all bring up the issue to their students to increase awareness.

### **Summary**

The participant profiles provided a brief ethnic and linguistic background of all the participants on a consolidated chart format to easily access and compare. The charts also included information about their cultural affiliation and linguistic preferences, which were further expanded by a written summary of the participant's early life experience. Based on the findings, it could be concluded that the participant's had a collegiate level of English proficiency and an understanding of both Asian and western cultural values. The overview of the findings explored different social aspects that may have affected the experiences of Asian English teacher in Taiwan. The questions provided opportunities for the participants to expand or challenge notions of discrimination, concepts of self-identity, cultural connotations and perceptions of Asian Americans in the Taiwanese context. Despite having similar ethnic and historical backgrounds, the participants expressed juxtapositional opinions about issues regarding gender and hiring discrimination. All the participants indicated that they were aware of stereotypical ideas about certain groups (Asian Americans, white English teachers and non-native English

teachers) and they had varying beliefs on the validity of those connotations.

However, those who felt hiring discrimination was prevalent in ELT provided valuable insight into ways of challenging it.

## CHAPTER FOUR DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

### **Discussion**

This study takes a qualitative approach to examine hiring discrimination against Asian native English teachers who have had the experience of teaching in Taiwan by exploring how these teachers identify, what their experiences were in the ELT field and how it affects their perception of Taiwanese society and themselves. By implementing a preliminary survey, the research not only gained valuable insight into the linguistic, cultural and social experiences of these Asian native English teachers, but also provided a general understanding of their view on the social phenomenon in question, which was examined in greater detail through follow-up interviews. The findings provide a new angle into the current literature because it examines the effect of social issues in Asia on Asian-American identity, which has been typically studied exclusively with issues in western societies. In addition, the study adds more depth to the current literature about the nativeness paradigm, which initially addressed an elementary understanding of the dichotomy between native speaker (white) and non-native speaker (non-white) in the earlier era of ELT. With this study, we could begin to critically examine the validity of the nativeness paradigm in the Taiwanese ELT context from the Asian-American perspective.

Originally, I had hypothesized that Asian Native English teachers who have taught in Taiwan would probably have experienced hiring discrimination in ELT of some sort. Forms of discrimination could include receiving less pay, being rejected for employment on the basis of race, having to encounter pervasive discourse, and other conditions that prevent Asian-American English teachers from achieving a

positive self-image in Taiwan. Even though I asserted that hiring discrimination exist within ELT, I postulated that it did not prevent Asian Americans from attaining a positive self-image within other aspects of Taiwanese society. The experiences of the participants in this study supported the hypothesis more or less. For some of the participants hiring discrimination in ELT was a major issue that affected them in a negative way. Other participants acknowledged the prejudicial discourse but questioned the validity of its pervasiveness. Furthermore, the implications from the findings that addressed the research questions are below.

The first question asked how Taiwanese Native English teachers perceived and defined their linguistic, social and political identity; and the second question investigated how Taiwanese society affected that. The findings suggest that the identities of the participants consisted of a sophisticated blend of cultural capital that Kumaravadivelu (2008) insists could “permit them to explore and establish alternative cultural practices and strategies that contribute not only to their own cultural growth but also to their community’s cultural change”(pg. 15). All the participants are ethnically Asian and have been through the experience of living in a western country as a minority group. Henry was born in Georgia and experienced his early childhood development period in a western social environment, where English was the main language spoken. Other participants like Daniel, possessed strong academic literacy skills that were attained from westernized universities. The participants all had a diverse pool of cultural capital and linguistic skill sets that not only contributed to their cultural growth, but also—either intentionally or unintentionally—added cultural and linguistic depth to their classes.



When we examine their comments about their political or racial identity, we can conclude that they made a clear distinction between the connotations of being Chinese and Taiwanese. To them, Chinese is the term that they believe defines their ethnic identity, while Taiwanese represents one dimension of their cultural affiliation. The other dimensions are maintained by their experience as Asians acculturating and assimilating in the western English speaking countries. According to Kim (2012), their racial self-awareness allows them “to relate to many different groups of people without losing their own racial identity as Asian-Americans...they also recognize that while racial identity is important, it is not the only identity of importance to them” (pg. 148). Lily exemplifies the fifth stage of AARID theory because she not only went through many stages of negotiating her racial self awareness in southern California where she lived, but she was also confronted with the challenge of negotiating her racial identity in a new setting that eventually impacted her realization of self. When asked about how her experiences affected her, she said:

On the outside, I’m Taiwanese or Chinese, but on the inside, I’m mostly American. I was born here (America) and that’s an unshakeable part of me to be an individual and express myself, and want to pursue my own happiness. If something makes me miserable, I won’t keep doing it. If my choices are limited, I’ll go back home where I have more opportunities, no matter how much I love Taiwan.

If we consider narratives like this, is it reasonable to assume that other Asian Americans who, at some point in time, return to Taiwan might be confronted with

other types of social assertions regarding their cultural and linguistic identity and be forced to question, again, their sense of racial identity? Would it be unreasonable to think that prejudiced discourse in Taiwan is discouraging Asian Americans who love the place of their ethnic origin?

Throughout the majority of the study we have considered Asian Americans as native speakers of English to support the idea that there is much more depth in the concept of a native speaker of English. If we consider the sociolinguistic information collected in this study about the participants in conjunction with the recent literature about nativeness, we can argue that these participants are inherently native speakers of English. Based on the English proficiency of the participant responses, the information they provided on their educational background and the lived experiences of the individual participants, many correlations can be made about nativeness and their sociolinguistic identity. Nayar (1994) suggest a list of characteristics that could be used to distinguish a native speaker of a language, which could be used to compare with data collected within this study. First, he cites the primacy in order of acquisition as a factor in assuring nativeness. All the participants spent their elementary school years in English speaking environment, which, according to the Critical Period Hypothesis, could support the claim that they have acquired English as their dominant language (Brown, 2000). Furthermore, we could also gather that their phonological and communicative competencies lean towards English, when we examine their responses to the questions that ask about their linguistic preferences. All of the participants spent the majority of their educational career in English speaking

institutions and their speech communities were heterogeneous in nature. Therefore, we can assume that they have been acculturated in both their Mandarin and English speech communities. Other characteristics that mark a native speaker can be subjective and difficult to quantify, but they still allow us to objectively observe the participant's sociolinguistic identity under the nativeness lens. For example, we can only make conjectures about the individual's frequency and comfort of use in English or the dominance of English in their lives. However, we could assume that the participants perceived their linguistic identity as an English speaker because they explicitly stated that. More or less, the participants in this study satisfied the prerequisites of being considered a native speaker of English. Be that as it may, characteristics such as ethnicity, nationality, and monolingualism remain as the only indicators that separate Asian native English teachers from their native English speaking counter-parts. So, if these characteristics that represent the criteria to be considered a native speaker of English are satisfied to a certain degree by the participants, then could we conclude that the only absolute difference that separates Asian native English teachers and white native English teachers is ethnicity and monolingualism? If ethnicity and monolingualism is used as a justification to differentiate between two equally skilled language teachers, is that not the quintessential definition of discrimination? These conditions seem to make Asian-Americans English teachers linguistically qualified, but racially inadequate to satisfy market demands, which are fueled by harmful discourse against Asian teachers and filled with privileged impressions of white teachers.

The relationship between English teachers and their students have a

significant effect on the future of ELT. The sociocultural site where the differences between English teachers and their students converge could be seen as an important moment when the interlocutors' assumptions and expectations are either reinforced or constructed into something entirely different than what it was before. Bhabha (1992) refers to this space as the third space where critical foreign language pedagogy could "reveal the codes under which speakers in cross-cultural encounters operate, and of constructing something different and hybrid from these cross-cultural encounters". If we assume that meaning is derived from the social experience, then we would have to accept, just as Kramsch (1996) has, that "cultural reality is as heterogeneous and heteroglossic as language itself" (pg. 8). Perhaps the participants have shown that the cultural reality of their lives is heterogeneous and more than just a references for linguistic accuracy. After all, they are people who have had the experience of living in both societies and they are teachers who are placed in a position to challenge seemingly fixed, stable cultural entities and identities from both sides of their national borders. Ultimately, the youth that they teach will be a reflection of their educational environment and the student's social perceptions will have the greatest impact on the future of ELT.

The last question directly addresses the issue by asking what the participants thought about hiring discrimination and how it impacted them. The research found that the Asian native English teachers in this study were in fact receiving lower salaries than their white counter-parts and most of the participants were aware of the reason for this imbalance. On top of being aware, some participants even felt that the reasoning for it was normative social conduct, and

rejected the idea that they were discriminated against. Roger, for example, stated that he had never felt discriminated against in other aspects of his life in Taiwan and Henry stated that he had never felt overtly discriminated against for his racial identity at all while he was teaching English. In essence, we could argue that the issue of hiring discrimination against some of the Asian native English teachers in this study is not significant enough for them to feel that they have not achieved a favorable self-concept. Their ethnic and linguistic identity allows them to navigate through Taiwanese society as a seeming member of the in-group (Rodriguez, 2015). Every person has their own unique life experience that impacts the way that they identify themselves in their respective social contexts. An individual may believe that hiring discrimination is a significant issue that deserves critical attention, while others who are not invested in the field may feel less inclined to agree.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this qualitative study is to expand and redefine the original understanding of the native speaker dichotomy by examining a very specific social phenomenon affecting Asian English teachers in Taiwan—hiring discrimination on the basis of race. The nativeness paradigm in ELT has garnered a lot of attention from a number of scholars who have speculated that the concept of nativeness may lead to discriminatory hiring practices; and other studies regarding Asian American identity has been studied extensively from a western context (Amin, 1997; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Rubin, 1992; Ruecker, 2011; Shuck, 2006). However, there is a lack of knowledge concerning the Asian American frame of reference on ELT issues in Taiwan. Therefore, there is a need to give Asian native English teachers a voice by exploring their narratives on their experiences with Asian social issues like discriminatory hiring practices in Taiwanese ELT.

The research found that pervasive ideas about the effectiveness of Asian English teachers in Taiwan emerged from the institutional establishment of ELT in Taiwan; and those ideas were perpetuated by pigeonholing ethnically Asian English teachers as inadequate instructors based on a number of different reasons. Even though language teachers are aware of the significance of labeling nativeness in ELT, there still remain a number of different categories that Asian societies reference to segregate English teachers like pronunciation, age, career and race (Lourie, 2005). The study showed that the participants were not only aware of discourse concerning Asian English teachers, but also experienced some forms of discrimination like salary disparities for being ethnically Asian. However, some felt

that it did not prevent them from achieving a favorable self-concept nor did it have a negative impact on their self-identity because some claimed that their ethnic identity enabled them to be viewed as a member of the in-group.

This study showed that race, nativeness and hiring discrimination in ELT is still a prevalent issue in Taiwan. Due to the relatively new development of social liberalism and democracy, racial discrimination is only beginning to be addressed and challenged. According to Ruecker and Ives (2015), ELT issues regarding, "racism, as well as native speakerism, only survive if they are constantly reinforced through daily discourses that make them seem natural, increasing their power through making them invisible and less likely to be challenged"(pg. 407). The reflective dialogues with the participants showed that younger generations and older generations of Taiwanese still believe that quality English instruction correlates with race, but other participants completely rejected this idea and urged for society to have a more progressive perspective on the criteria of an effective English instructor.

The ownership of the English language and the dichotomy between NSs and NNSs is debatable topic and should be reevaluated (Medgyes, 1992). Based on the findings, the teachers in this study could be classified as native speakers of English. They all grew up in multiethnic environments, self-identified as a bilingual speaker with a preference for English as their dominant language and possessed a collegiate level of English proficiency. However, the findings in this study did not try to contribute to an objective judgment of teacher effectiveness nor was it indicative of a sense of superiority to non-native speakers. Instead, it is an effort to disentangle

the association between being ethnically Asian and an inadequate English language teacher. It is a push towards redefining the connotations that are attached to the labels of being a native and non-native speaker of English. It is also a way for Asian English teachers to speak about issues that have affected them.

In the classroom, Asian-American English teachers could offer a unique social perspective for their language learners. From their experience living in an English speaking country as ethnically Asian, cultural nuances could be combined with critical foreign language pedagogy to address cross-cultural encounters. Bhabha (1992) referred to this as the third space where the ideological bases of division and difference among people's values and attitudes could be revised, inverted or revalued. Teachers are placed in a very important position that has a great impact on the perspectives of future generations. It is imperative that a critical foreign language pedagogy that includes social topics concerning the students be applied at this level regardless of the ethnic or linguistic background of the language instructor. I believe that the recommendations set forth by one of the participant's points to a positive direction for all teachers within Taiwanese ELT:

The Taiwanese people need to learn about diversity and know that appearances don't define someone's abilities. English teacher applicants should take a test and the job should be given to whoever's the best at English, loves teaching, and wants to stay in Taiwan for a longer time. This would also benefit the schools so much...Asia loves American movies and shows, and with American media showing more diversity now, people will shake some of their stereotypes. More foreigners will continue relocating to



Taiwan and locals will encounter more of them as time goes by. The teachers there should all bring up the issue to their students to increase awareness. Equality should extend to all ethnic groups and hiring discrimination should not be normalized in Taiwan.

This study traced the history of ELT in Taiwan and examined the Asian American perspective on social issues deriving from it. The findings in this study emphasized a call for society to develop a progressive perspective on issues regarding nativeness in ELT. Through the Asian native English teachers perspective on identity, outdated notions of nativeness could be critically examined and expanded. Even though, some participant disagreed with the importance of hiring discrimination against Asian Americans, it is undeniable that detrimental discourse about Asian English teachers exists in Taiwan. From this point of departure, stakeholders involved in the ELT field can begin to discuss and reevaluate traditional perspectives that prevent teachers from getting jobs and students from receiving quality instruction.

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APPENDIX

The Taiwanese-American Perspective on Hiring Discrimination in English Language Teaching



## **CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY**

Below are a description of the research procedures and an explanation of your rights as a research participant. You should read this information carefully. If you agree to participate, you will sign in the space provided to indicate that you have read and understand the information on this consent form. You are entitled to and will receive a copy of this form.

You have been asked to participate in a research study conducted by Kuan Cheng Song, a graduate student in the Department of International and Multicultural Education at the University of San Francisco. The faculty supervisor for this study is Dr. Onllwyn Dixon, a professor in the Department of International and Multicultural Education at the University of San Francisco.

### **WHAT THE STUDY IS ABOUT:**

The purpose of this research study is to:

1. Gather reflective/anecdotal information from Ethnically Asian English Language Teachers, who have had the experience of teaching in an Asian foreign country to examine how ethnicity, culture, and English hegemony affect the EAELT in the English language-teaching field (ELT) and the identities of participants.
2. By giving a voice to EAELT through interviews in qualitative research, issues like hiring practices and perceived racial qualities can be critically examined and analyzed to inform the ELT community of the growing number of challenges that affect instructors in the field.

### **WHAT WE WILL ASK YOU TO DO:**

Participants of the study will be given a pre-interview questionnaire to collect basic information such as age, ethnicity, educational background and teaching experience. The researcher will then follow up with an interview through either an in-person or phone meeting. The interview will take approximately two to three hours. During the interview, topics of exploration include: hiring practices, social expectations, perceived racial qualities and teaching methods.

The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed for analysis. The identity of all participants and individual names of people in their narratives will be replaced with pseudonyms.

**DURATION AND LOCATION OF THE STUDY:**

Individuals willing to participate in the study will be sent a questionnaire via email which will take about 30min-1hr to complete two weeks before a scheduled interview. An interview will then be scheduled with the participant in the month of March 2014.

**POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS:**

I do not anticipate any risks or discomforts to the individual participating in this research. In reported findings, the identity of the participants and the individuals involved in the narratives will be replaced by pseudonyms.

At anytime, the participant may withdraw consent and discontinue participation in the study without penalty.

**BENEFITS:**

You will receive no direct benefit from your participation in this study; however, your participation in the study will provide a new perspective that can inform other ELT professionals of issues surrounding the EAELT.

**PRIVACY/CONFIDENTIALITY:**

The name of the participant will be kept as confidential as possible, within local, state and federal laws. Records that identify the participant and this signed consent form may be looked at by the University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board. The results of this study may be shared in aggregate form at a conference or in a journal, but the participants name will not be revealed.

**COMPENSATION/PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION:**

There is no payment or other form of compensation for your participation in this study.

**VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THE STUDY:**

At anytime an individual may refuse to participate in the study without and penalty or loss of benefits. Furthermore, the participant may skip any question or task that are uncomfortable without penalty or loss of benefits. In addition, the researcher has the right to withdraw you from participation of the study at any time.

**OFFER TO ANSWER QUESTIONS:**

Please ask any questions you have now. If you have any questions later, you may contact the principal investigator: Kuan Cheng Song at (408) 705-0757 or Kenny@iic.edu. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board at (415) 422-6091.

**I HAVE READ THE ABOVE INFORMATION. ANY QUESTIONS I HAVE ASKED HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT AND I WILL RECEIVE A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM.**

---

*PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE*

*DATE*



### Ethnically Asian English Language Teachers and Their Experiences

This questionnaire is intended for Ethnically Asian English Language Teachers (EAELT) who have taught in an Asian foreign country to examine how ethnicity, culture, and English hegemony affect the EAELT in the English language-teaching field (ELT). The results of this study may be shared in aggregate form at a conference or in a journal, but the participants name will never be revealed. We are interested in your personal opinion. Thank you very much for your help.

#### 1. Personal Information

**Name:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Gender:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Birthdate:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Place of Birth:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Ethnicity:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Nationality:** \_\_\_\_\_

#### 2. Educational Background

	School	City
Elementary School		
Middle School		
High School		
	School	City
University		
B.A. Degree		
Other Education		

#### 3. Linguistic Background

**Do you consider yourself Bilingual? Y/N**

**What Languages do you speak or understand?**

Language	Proficiency on a scale of 1-10
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	
6.	

**What is your preferred language for the following activities? Please describe.**

Reading	
Writing	
Listening	
Speaking	

**4. Briefly describe your opinion on the Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese Conflict.**

**5. How do you identify yourself?**

- a) Oriental
- b) Asian
- c) Asian American
- d) Chinese American, Japanese American, Korean American, etc.
- e) American

**6. Which identification does (did) your mother use?**

- a) Oriental
- b) Asian
- c) Asian American
- d) Chinese American, Japanese American, Korean American, etc.
- e) American

**7. Which identification does (did) your father use?**

- a) Oriental
- b) Asian
- c) Asian American
- d) Chinese American, Japanese American, Korean American, etc.
- e) American

**What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child up to age 6?**

- a) Almost exclusively Asians, Asian Americans, Orientals.
- b) Mostly Asians, Asian Americans, Orientals.
- c) About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups.
- d) Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups.
- e) Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic
- f) groups.

**What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child from age 6 to 18?**

- a) Almost exclusively Asians, Asian Americans, Orientals.
- b) Mostly Asians, Asian Americans, Orientals.
- c) About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups.
- d) Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups.
- e) Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups.

**Whom do you now associate within the community?**

- a) Almost exclusively Asians, Asian Americans, Orientals.
- b) Mostly Asians, Asian Americans, Orientals.
- c) About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups.
- d) Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups.
- e) Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups.

**9. If you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate with in the community?**

- a) Almost exclusively Asians, Asian Americans, Orientals.
- b) Mostly Asians, Asian Americans, Orientals.
- c) About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups.
- d) Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups.
- e) Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups.

**12. What generation are you? (Choose the generation that best applies to you)**

- a) **First generation** = I was born in Asia or country other than the United States
- b) **Second generation** = I was born in the United States, either parent was born in Asia or country other than the United States
- c) **Third generation** = I was born in the United States, both parents were born in the United States, and all grandparents born in Asia or country other than the United States
- d) **Fourth generation** = I was born in the United States, both parents were born in the United States, and at least one grandparent born in Asia or country other than the United States and one grandparent born in the United States
- e) **Fifth generation** = I was born in the United States, both parents were born in the United States, and all grandparents also born in the United States
- f) **I don't know** what generation best fits since I lack some information.

**13. Where were you raised?**

- a) In Asia only
- b) Mostly in Asia, some in the United States
- c) Equally in Asia and the United States
- d) Mostly in the United States, some in Asia
- e) In the United States only

**14. What contact have you had with Asia?**

- a) Raised 1 year or more in Asia
- b) Lived for less than 1 year in Asia
- c) Occasional visits to Asia
- d) Occasional communications (letters, phone calls, etc.) with people in Asia
- e) No exposure or communications with people in Asia

**17. Do you**

- a) Read only an Asian language;
- b) Read an Asian language better than English;
- c) Read both Asian and English equally well;
- d) Read English better than an Asian language; and
- e) Read only English.

**19. If you consider yourself a member of the Asian group (Oriental, Asian, Asian American, Chinese American, etc., whatever term you prefer), how much pride do you have in this group?**

- a) Extremely proud
- b) Moderately proud
- c) Little proud
- d) No pride but do not feel negative toward group
- e) No pride but do feel negative toward group

**20. How would you rate yourself?**

- a) Very Asian
- b) Mostly Asian
- c) Bicultural
- d) Mostly Westernized
- e) Very Westernized

**21. Do you participate in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc.?**

- a) Nearly all
- b) Most of them
- c) Some of them
- d) A few of them
- e) None at all

**25. Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Americans who are non-Asian (Westerners):**

(do not believe) 1    2    3    4    5    (strongly believe)

**7. Teaching Background**

What countries have you taught English in, and for how long?

Countries	Length of Time

**Please list and describe courses that you taught as an English teacher.**

COURSES	COURSE DESCRIPTION

**6. Personal Experience**

During my time in a foreign country, people have made comments about my <b><u>race.</u></b>	Y/N - If yes, who? Why?
During my time in a foreign country, people have made comments about my <b><u>culture.</u></b>	Y/N - If yes, who? Why?
During my time in a foreign country, people have made comments about my <b><u>language.</u></b>	Y/N - If yes, who? Why?

My ethnicity is advantageous in a foreign country.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Partly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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My culture is advantageous in a foreign country.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Partly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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My linguistic ability is advantageous in a foreign country.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Partly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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I have faced some form of discrimination in a foreign country.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Partly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People have certain expectations of my ability as an English teacher.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Partly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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'White' Native English teachers have advantages over Ethnically Asian Native English Teachers.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Partly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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## Asian Values Scale

Instructions: Use the scale below to indicate the extent to which you agree with the value expressed in each statement.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Moderately disagree
- 3 = Mildly disagree
- 4 = Neither Agree nor disagree
- 5 = Mildly agree
- 6 = Moderately agree
- 7 = Strongly agree

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Educational failure does not bring shame to the family.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) One should not deviate from familial and social norms.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Children should not place their parents in retirement homes.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) One need not focus all energies on one's studies.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) One should be discouraged from talking about one's accomplishments.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) One should not be boastful.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Younger persons should be able to confront their elders.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8) When one receives a gift, one should reciprocate with a gift of equal or greater value.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9) One need not follow one's family's and the society's norms.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10) One need not achieve academically in order to make one's parents proud.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11) One need not minimize or depreciate one's own achievements.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12) One should consider the needs of others before considering one's own needs.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13) Educational and career achievements need not be one's top priority.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14) One should think about one's group before oneself.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15) One should be able to question a person in an authority position.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16) Modesty is an important quality for a person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17) One's achievements should be viewed as family's achievements.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 18) Elders may not have more wisdom than younger persons.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 19) One should avoid bringing displeasure to one's ancestors.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 20) One need not conform to one's family's and the society's expectations.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 21) One should have sufficient inner resources to resolve emotional problems.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 22) Parental love should be implicitly understood and not openly expressed.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 23) The worst thing one can do is to bring disgrace to one's family reputation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 24) One need not remain reserved and tranquil.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 25) The ability to control one's emotions is a sign of strength.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 26) One should be humble and modest.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 27) Family's reputation is not the primary social concern.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 28) One need not be able to resolve psychological problems on one's own.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 29) Following familial and social expectations are important.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 30) One should not inconvenience others.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 31) Occupational failure does not bring shame to the family.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 32) One need not follow the role expectations (gender, family, hierarchy) of one's family.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 33) One should not make waves.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 34) Children need not take care of their parents when the parents become unable to take care of themselves.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 35) One need not control one's expression of emotions.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 36) One's family need not be the main source of trust and dependence.