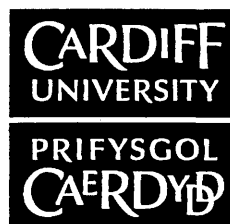


**Culture, ethnicity and English language learning:
A socio-cultural study
of secondary schools in Taiwan**

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**School of Social Sciences
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Ph.D. 2007



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Abstract

Learning English in Taiwan has become a primary economic concern as industry has recognised the need to compete within global markets in which trade is carried out predominantly in English. The national, longitudinal achievement data in English has consistently demonstrated a substantial gap in English between candidates (age 13) living in urban and rural locales. This thesis explores differences in secondary school students' access to English as a foreign language in four schools in Taiwan. The schools were chosen to represent locales dominated by different ethnic groups. Multiple methods were employed and the design of the research was guided by Rogoff's description of planes of analysis. Questionnaires adapted from Scribner and Cole' (1981) seminal work on literacy were used to assess students' engagement in learning English in everyday contexts. Classroom observations were conducted in eight classrooms, two in each school, and semi-structured interviews were carried out with students, teachers and parents. Key findings reveal that students from various ethnic groups and locales have access to different socio-cultural resources that position them differently with respect to formal school English learning. The study found a greater asymmetry in rural in contrast to urban locales between school and community values such as ethnic cultural legacies. In some schools teachers accessed students' ethnicity and dialect to bridge between school and outside school knowledge. Individual students' access to English followed complex trajectories that often reflected tensions relating to ethnicity, gender and social class background. Learning English was found to be a value-laden practice that has been exacerbated by the heightened political pressure to learn English to ensure Taiwan's place in the global economy. The theoretical and methodological approaches, and findings bring to light some of the socio-political implications to English language teaching for practitioners, policy makers, and academics concerning foreign language learning in countries such as Taiwan facing competition in global economic markets.

Abbreviations

BFT	Bureau of Foreign Trade, Taiwan
BLESS	The Bilingual Living Environment Service System, Taiwan
BSA	The British Sociological Association
CIP	Council of Indigenous Peoples, Taiwan
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan
CCA	Council for Cultural Affairs, Taiwan
ESOL	English as a second language for speakers of other languages
EFL	English as a foreign language
GEPT	General English Proficiency Test, Taiwan
GIO	Government Information Office, Taiwan
ICU	Intensive Care Unit
IRE	Initiation (question)-response-evaluation
KK	Kenyon and Knott phonetic symbols
KMT	Kuo-Ming Tang (former Chinese Nationalist Government)
LAD	Language acquisition device
LTTC	Language Training and Testing Centre, Taiwan
MOE	Ministry of Education, Taiwan
MOI	Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan
NBC	The National Basic Competence (NBC) Test, Taiwan
NICT	National Institute For Compilation And Translation, Taiwan
RDECE	Research, Development and Evaluation Commission, Taiwan
SLA	Second language acquisition
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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Chapter One

Introduction

My experience as a qualified, English language teacher in secondary schools in Taiwan for twelve years has informed the focus of this study which recognises learning English as a socio-culturally constituted practice. This chapter provides an introduction to and explanation of its selection, beginning by addressing why people in Taiwan believe that they need to learn English and introduces the existing and emerging problems of doing so. A critical review of the research literature concerning second (or foreign) language learning theories is presented which points to the inadequacy of traditional, cognitively oriented language learning theories. The study delineates the rise in importance of English language learning in Taiwan due to recent, national, economic growth and concern about future global markets. Concern has been raised about substantial gaps in English academic achievement among students of differing social groups.

1.1 Learning English as economic and political concern

The history of learning and teaching English as a foreign language has deep economic and political roots. Teaching English in China reaches back 150 years to the opening of the first English language school in 1861 in the Qing dynasty. Following its overthrow in 1911 the Republic of China Government announced in 1912 that English was chosen to be the foreign language in secondary school education. In 1937, following Japanese invasion, English language reverted to a non-compulsory status in the secondary curriculum, though when the Chinese Nationalist Government (KMT) retreated to Taiwan in 1949, English was still its major foreign language. Since the 1980s Taiwanese society has been subjected to far reaching, rapid, economic change, becoming the world's fifteenth largest trading country in 2004 (Bureau of Foreign Trade-BFT, 2004). Learning English in Taiwan has become a primary economic concern as industries have recognised the need to compete within global

markets in which trade is predominantly carried out in English. People in Taiwan now tend to assume that anything involving English must be good. Being able to speak it carries considerable prestige and it is generally believed that speaking better English fuels upward occupational and social mobility. Taiwan's entry into World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2002 has led to increased economic cooperation and trade exchange between Taiwan and the other countries in the world community. The growth in demand for and supply of English language education in business and public sectors and school settings is increasing. For example, in the public sector a plan to establish a bilingual environment was incorporated in the Challenge 2008 National Development Plan. A Chinese-English signage system was provided for roadways, public places and tourist sites, and bilingual websites were created. English news programmes were produced and laws and regulations were translated into English. In education the Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High Schools (Grades 1-9) required by the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Taiwan in 2001 designated English as a school subject as early as primary level grade 5 (age 10) and lowered it further to Years 3 and 4 in 2005, reflecting public recognition of the importance of learning English.

1.2 The gap in English achievement

Though English has gained in prestige in Taiwan, students from different geographical regions and various social groups seem to have unequal access to it in their everyday learning activities both in and out of school. Data from the National Basic Competence Test for Junior High Students taken at age 14, demonstrated a substantial gap in English achievement between candidates living in urban and rural locales. Governments and other groups in Taiwan, such as parents, educationalists and academics are concerned that students in rural areas dominated by Hakka (15% of the national population) and indigenous (2%) ethnic groups are achieving less well than Hokkien (69%), and Chinese Mainlander (14%) groups in urban locales. Political tension and conflict has emerged in relation to the substantial, historically rooted gap in English achievement between candidates from these different ethnic groups. In

addressing what he referred to as 'the world crisis in education', Coombs (1985) insightfully suggested that:

'Language differences are inextricably tied to ethnic, religious, tribal, and other differences [...] Any nation that encompasses various ethnic linguistic groups [...] inevitably faces the serious difficulties in achieving a binding sense of nationhood among its different peoples. These internal language difficulties are compounded by each country's need for linguistic bridges to the rest of the world.'
(Coombs, 1985: 256)

Indeed, the issue of which language to adopt as the national language or as the medium of school instruction is one of the most potentially explosive political issues in a number of societies. The problem has been particularly acute in the modern history of Taiwan as different ruling political parties, such as the KMT and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) identify predominately with particular ethnic groups. Language has often played a central part in the origin of political tensions and conflicts which have arisen, despite the fact that Taiwan has in recent years officially moved towards 'multilingualism'. For example, official documents suggest that ethnic dialects are equally celebrated. Critics of Taiwan's historic, linguistic hierarchy, have argued that the promotion of 'Mandarin' as the national language, as well as being the 'high status language', has created deep schisms and tensions among different ethnic groups that undermine national cohesiveness. English, which has become a new form of high status language, has appeared to have further muddied the already troubled waters of political conflict among various language groups within Taiwanese society, evoking new worries about how language competition and pressure to learn English invokes further inequalities between groups in society.

1.3 Review of the Literature

In this review, I will start with a brief description of cognitive dominant theories before Vygotsky's work began to influence the theories of learning in the 1980s, and followed by the depiction of Vygotsky's move in challenging Cartesian dualism. Neo-Vygotskian studies which underpin the assumptions of social formation of mind, and the discussion of the recent move of socio-cultural approaches to the study of 'second language acquisition' (SLA) since the 1990s are included.

1.3.1 The cognitive revolution

Cognitive psychologists have relatively strong interests in searching for 'precise, elegant answers to questions generated within the information processing paradigm' (Hirst and Manier, 1995: 92). The tendency to focus efforts on understanding a fixed and isolated human information processing system, generally termed cognitive 'machinery', has had an immense impact not only on the study of human cognition (mind) but also on theories of language acquisition. Chomsky, the leading figure of the 'cognitive revolution' era, was interested foremost in the study of problems of language and mind. He developed a rationalist psychology that had its origins in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Chomsky, 1968). As opposed to 'the first cognitive revolution' of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Chomsky (2000: 5-6) set out to switch investigation 'from the study of behaviour and its products [...] to the inner mechanisms that enter into thought and action.' Given his belief in the existence of inner mechanisms, he viewed language as individualistic and internal to the human mind/brain. The notion of 'I-language' (internal property of individuals) is the central tenet of his linguistic theory which attempted to theorise the innate, logical structure (i.e., language acquisition device-LAD) of human language as abstract, universal categories and organisation. Viewing language from an 'internalist' perspective, he argued that human beings come into the world with a 'language capacity' that 'constitute the innate organisation that determines what counts as linguistic experience' (Chomsky, 1968: 27). Language use was therefore, viewed by Chomsky as rule-governed behaviour, rather than being built through repetition or reinforcement, as proposed by behaviourist psychology.

Chomsky set the stage for challenging the 'mind/body problem' raised by rationalist psychology more than three centuries ago. He set out to move psychology away from positivist notion of radical behaviourism. However, the revolution itself seemed to generate new controversies in the study of language and mind. In his more recent work, *New Horizons in the Study of Language and Mind*, Chomsky (2000) continued to defend his view:

'The cognitive perspective regards behaviour [...] as data that may provide evidence about the inner mechanisms of mind [...] It is concerned with "mental aspects of the world," [...] It undertakes to study a real object in the natural world – the brain [...] and thus to move the study of mind towards eventual integration with the biological sciences.' (Chomsky, 2000: 6)

Some argued that Chomsky's view of language is not a 'public construct of which individuals have partial knowledge' (Smith, 2000: vii). Chomsky's model of LAD, a 'language organ', rooted language in biology. By reducing language to a closed system, Chomsky created new problems. Socio-cultural theorists among others have challenged Chomsky's view of the mind as internal mechanism.

1.3.2 Challenge of the individualistic mind

Cognitive approaches in psychology tend to rely on experimental methods rather than on interpretive methods. Psychologists associated with the 'cognitive revolution' viewed the mind as a self-sufficient organ, functioning independently of socio-cultural environment. Accordingly such language development was thought to rely on chemical and biological functions. The mind was, therefore, treated as a 'central processor', and psychologists viewed stimuli as interfering noise in experimental studies that needed eliminated (Shweder, 1990: 14). Growing criticism over this interpretation of the mind mounted during the 1980s from, for example, developmental or cross-cultural studies. The challenge, amongst others, was nicely captured by Shweder's (1990) insightful remarks in his dedication distinguishing 'cultural psychology' from 'cognitive psychology':

'The cognitive revolution of the 1960s actually goes off to a promising start [...] as the obvious and necessary corrective to the radical behaviourism. [...] Unfortunately, the cognitive revolution turned out to be far less than the rediscovery of intentionality and mental representations [...] Along with the cognitive revolution came an uninvited [...] ancient fascination with formal, mathematical, structural models and an inherent central processing mechanism.'

(Shweder, 1990: 18)

In Shweder's words, the cognitive revolution appeared to invoke 'an inherent central processing mechanism' that tended to deny any relations with the socio-cultural environment and specifically neglect the irreducible, fluid, and intentional nature of the human mind by suggesting a discrete, individualistic model of mind/brain. Shweder (1990) reminded us that:

'Cultural psychology is premised on human existential uncertainty (the search for meaning) and [...] intentional concept of "constituted" worlds. The principle of existential uncertainty asserts that human beings [...] are highly motivated to seize meanings and resources out of a sociocultural environment that has been arranged to provide them with meanings and resources to seize and to use. The principle of intentional (or constituted) worlds asserts that subjects and objects, practitioners and practices, human beings and sociocultural environments interpenetrate each other's identity and cannot be analytically disjoined into independent and dependent variables.'

(Shweder, 1990: 1)

Central to Shweder's argument was the notion of 'intentionality' as more than a mechanical process. Instead he drew attention to what he called the 'intentional world', highlighting the dynamic nature of human interaction with socio-cultural environments and the human search for meaning.

In contrast, Chomsky's notion of 'I-language' and LAD posited an 'external reality' independent of the human mind. The word-world relation which entails the intimate mutuality of subject matter (e.g., mind, self or emotion) and its socio-cultural environment is missing from Chomsky's 'internalist' interpretation of the human mind and language faculty. In the field of language acquisition

Tomasello (2003: 328) called into question Chomsky's 'generative grammar' and suggested that a language acquisition theory needed to invoke 'a variety of cognitive and social-cognitive processes that originate from outside the domain of language per se'. Other, particularly neo-Vygotskian studies, also presented major challenges to Chomsky's individualistic approach to the study of mind. It could be argued that Vygotsky is one of the psychologists who challenged Cartesian dualism and the notion of an internal cognitive mechanism. Vygotsky sought to understand the relations between language, mind and culture by starting with the social world rather than the individual.

1.3.3 Vygotsky's move: challenge the Cartesian dualism

Before presenting Vygotsky's account of human cognition, it is helpful here to briefly examine the problem of Cartesian dualism concerning mind. The seventeenth century French philosopher, Rene Descartes, declared that the mind is a thing that thinks, yet does not take up space, whereas the body occupies space and does not think. The argument implied that mind and body are two separate ontological realms. Cartesian dualism, known as the century-old 'mind-body problem', was challenged by Vygotsky and other contemporary, developmental psychologists, predominantly on the ground that such dualism failed to provide a coherent account of the relation of mind and the lived-in world. Both Cartesianism and the notion of a cognitive mechanism fail to provide a unified account of the mind as an irreducible whole. Vygotsky's move from cognitive psychology to cultural psychology offered profound critique of Cartesian dualism.

1.3.3.1 The social dimension of human mind

Vygotsky's formulation, generally agreed upon in the research literature (e.g., Kozulin, 1990, 2003; Wertsch, 1991), may be summarised in terms of the following basic themes: a reliance on genetic (or developmental) analysis; the assertion that higher mental functioning in the individual derives from social life; and the claim that human activity (on both social and individual planes) is mediated by tools and signs. These interlocking themes suggest that his underlying approach to a theory of mind shifted from an individualistic to a

socio-cultural perspective (Kozulin, 2003). The shift towards the social origin of human mind is captured by Vygotsky's (1981) 'general genetic law of cultural development':

'Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First, it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First, it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category [...] It goes without saying that internalisation transforms the process itself and changes its structure and functions. Social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships.'
(Vygotsky, 1981:163)

Children's cultural development, in Vygotsky's terms, is a process that takes place 'between people as an interpsychological category'. This social dimension of the human mind is not only 'radical' but also 'positive' because it points out that 'psychology should focus its attention on uniquely human higher mental processes' (Kozulin, 1990). This 'positive psychological program' reshaped the disputable Cartesian dualism by bringing what cognitive psychologists viewed as 'noise' back into the picture.

According to Vygotsky, 'higher mental functioning processes' rely on 'mediation' or 'psychological tools'. Vygotsky (1981: 137) stated that 'by being included in the process of behavior, the psychological tool alters the entire flow and structure of mental functions'. Wertsch (1985) interpreted this as meaning that such tool-using behaviour both fundamentally and qualitatively transformed human mental functioning. Psychological tools, such as language or mathematic symbol systems were considered by Vygotsky to be social in nature. In a broad sense, he viewed tools as products of socio-cultural life, rather than individual inventions.

1.3.3.2 Language as mediational means

Language, in Vygotsky's approach, was considered to be the most important psychological tool. He suggested that 'the primary function of speech, both for the adult and for the child, is the function of communication, social contact, influencing surrounding individuals' (Wertsch, 1985: 81). Language as a psychological tool or as mediational means was understood by Vygotsky as speech. As Daniels (1993) put it:

'For Vygotsky, speech was an important psychological tool, which was at one time a social and cultural element but also served to mediate social processes in the process of internalisation. Such psychological tools not only function externally/socially, they mediate or regulate internally the action of mental processes.'
(Daniels, 1993: 53)

Wertsch (1985) similarly argued that psychological tools are social and have important implications for Vygotsky's theory of human mental processes. If we accept Vygotsky's notion that language provides psychological tools that 'regulate internally the action of mental processes', their essential property is that they are culturally, historically and institutionally situated (Wertsch, 1998). The socio-cultural situatedness of 'mediational means' which alter human mental processes, therefore questions individualistic approaches and the discrete, inner mechanism of human mind.

Though Vygotsky brought us to recognise the role of language as meaningful tools which alter mental functions, he did not provide a consolidated, theoretical framework concerning language use (Hassan, 2002; Wertsch, 1985, 1991). In other words, the theory of language used by Vygostky lacked adequate, empirical support. Contemporary first or second language learning research seems to have recognised this, responding by tending to formulate theories of language aimed at investigation of the detail of different modalities (e.g., written or spoken) and formal systems of language (e.g., grammar, syntax and vocabulary). However, such language learning theories that are underpinned by a notion of mind as a cognitive mechanism involved in information processing, do not require researchers to move beyond a consideration of the individual. Indeed Vygotsky was one of the first psychologists to start with the social.

1.3.3.3 Vygotsky on pedagogy

Vygotsky's notion of language as mediational tools that alter higher mental process is not a simple extension of language based on human biology. Rather, language is viewed as 'a function of socially meaningful activity' (Kozulin, 1990: 113). Such meaningful social activity, in Moll's (1990) view, was Vygotsky's major contribution and brought educational pedagogy into theories of psychological development:

'Vygotsky's primary contribution was in developing a general approach that brought education, as a fundamental human activity, fully into a theory of psychological development. Human pedagogy, in all its forms, is the defining characteristic of his approach, the central concept in his system.' (Moll, 1990: 15)

In the opening chapter in his recent book, *Vygotsky and Pedagogy*, Daniels (2001: 2) explored in depth Vygotsky's writings concerning pedagogy and mediation, and suggested that, through a wide range of extensions and interpretations of Vygotsky's work, 'new and important possibilities for practices of teaching and learning in schools and beyond' have been created. Vygotsky (1997) provided an emergent, sociological account of pedagogy underlining not only its importance as socially meaningful, but also pointing out the value-laden nature of pedagogy:

'Pedagogics is never and was never politically indifferent, since, willingly or unwillingly, through its own work on the psyche, it has always adopted a particular social pattern, political line, in accordance with the dominant social class that has guided its interests.' (Vygotsky, 1997, cited in Daniels, 2001: 5)

Vygotsky's approach drew the 'value' inherent with pedagogic instruction to our attention. English language teachers, like those of other subjects, bringing different cultural experiences and mediational means to their pedagogic practice. Students, like teachers, also bring with them various sets of knowledges and values into the classroom that regulates their learning. Vygotsky was clear that the values of the dominant social class cannot be

neglected in the socio-cultural process of pedagogy. As Davies (1994) pointed out:

'Pedagogy involves a vision (theory, set of beliefs) about society, human nature, knowledge and production, in relation to educational ends, with terms and rules inserted as to the practical and mundane means of their realisation.' (Davies, 1994: 26)

In Davies' account the 'practical and mundane' nature of pedagogy reminds us of the everyday, situated practice of classroom teaching and learning. In other words, if we are to pay attention to pedagogic practice or use, the specific ways that teachers instruct students in, for example, English language classrooms, have to be taken into consideration. In addition, broader levels of political issues that regulate pedagogic practice have also to be considered, ranging from the objects that 'school visions' privilege (see Section 5.1.2), to national curriculum requirements and the outworking of notions of economic, social and cultural 'driving forces' embedded in notions of 'national interest'. It is commonly agreed among neo-Vygotskian scholars (e.g., Daniels, 2001; Moll, 1990; Wertsch, 1985) that such broader levels of investigation or discussion concerning classroom, pedagogic practice were not present in Vygotsky's writings. As Daniels (2001) put it, Vygotsky has pointed out the 'social' aspect of pedagogy but only in terms of a limited level of the 'social' in his investigations of individual development. Such work has, however, provided wonderfully fertile ground for the growth of ideas in collaboration, for example with those of Bernstein and Moscovici.

From this necessarily limited discussion of Vygotsky's main ideas, it could be argued that his intention was to develop an account of human beings seen as 'making themselves from outside' (Daniels, 2001: 56), whereby 'mind is in society' (Rogoff, 1990: 36). Vygotsky's ideas constituted a radical shift away from the world view of Cartesian philosophy which had stressed the isolated individual. His ideas set the stage for a broader understanding of the importance and the connection between social, cultural and historical forces involved in the development of human mind. However, a problem solved in social science almost inevitably means a new problem raised. Drawing on Vygotsky, we need a situated practice approach to language learning to supplement contemporary accounts of second language acquisition if we wish

to pay more attention to actual experiences, practices and uses involved in processes of language teaching and learning. In some measure these may be found in neo-Vygotskian studies.

1.3.4 Neo-Vygotskian studies

Over the past three decades, building on Vygotsky's heritage, there has been rapid growth in the number of approaches attempting to investigate the development of cognition in actual contexts which challenge early, cognitivist approaches to mind. Relevant researches have examined issues, such as how cognition is situated in everyday social contexts (Rogoff and Lave, 1984), how cognitive processes may be socially distributed (Salomon, 1993) and how certain forms of social interaction (e.g., mother-child dyads) may be appropriated to organise individual mental process (e.g., Rogoff, 1990, 2003). Perhaps more radically, there have been explorations of how cognition may be studied by shifting the analytic focus to the 'individual-operating-with-mediational-means'. This kind of approach recognises that human agency is mediated by cultural tools (e.g., language) and 'extends beyond the skin' (Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom, 1993: 352).

Amongst these efforts a few strands can be broadly characterised as, for example, cultural-historical activity theory (Cole, Engeström, and Vasquez, 1997), socio-cultural approaches (Wertsch, 1991, 1998), situated learning models (Lave, 1988; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Lave, 1996) and distributed cognition approaches (Salomon, 1993). These neo-Vygotskian (or 'post-Vygotskian') studies all share a common view in seeking to investigate or attempt to understand processes involved in the social formation of mind. The common thread running through these strands is the attempt to shift away from an emphasis on discrete and individualistic cognitive schemata to the connectedness of the social world, challenging traditional cognitivist notions of knowledge, pedagogy and the learner. Within neo-Vygotskian approaches socio-cultural accounts of learning or development are viewed as socio-cultural processes that recognise historical, political, economic and institutional forces that influence learning.

As a way of concretising arguments over language learning inspired by Vygotsky's formulation, I will turn to a review of Scribner and Cole's (1981) empirical cross-cultural study of Vai literacy and provide theoretical examination of contemporary 'situated learning theory' (Lave, 1988, 1996; Lave and Wenger, 1991), including Wenger's (1998) recent work on 'communities of practice' and Heath's (1983) ethnographic study of English language learning and culture. This conceptualisation of neo-Vygotskian endeavours in investigating mind (or cognition), culture (or society) and language will, hopefully, shed light on English language learning in Taiwan.

1.3.4.1 Practice approach to literacy: the Vai study

Speculation on 'literacy' and 'thought' has caught philosophers' attention since post-Homeric Greece, particularly in Plato, and have retained a pivotal role in contemporary theorising about the psychological impact of literacy (Scribner and Cole, 1981). An age-old debate on relationships between 'mind' and 'writing' can be seen to stretch back to the Greek philosophers. Scribner (1997: 272) contended that these 'great thinkers failed to reach consensus'. However, contemporary historical, anthropological or linguistic studies (e.g., Goody, 1968, 1977, cited in Scribner and Cole, 1981) have brought ancient philosophical speculation back into view. Generally empirical studies have suggested that there is a positive effect of written language in promoting thinking skills. However, as Scribner and Cole have argued, these scholars' claims failed to provide evidence about specific cognitive differences in individuals between literate and non-literate societies.

Conventional psychological theories of cognitive development have tended to be more concerned with universal structure of mind than cultural variation. They have tended historically to account for behaviour and mental development through a dualistic mind/society schism. Vygotsky's mode of overcoming Cartesian dualism revealed higher mental functioning as available through language as cultural mediation in processes of human-environment interaction. The conception of a tripartite system of organism: mind, environment and cultural mediator fundamentally shifted the interpretation of human behaviour and cognition (Davydov and Radzikhovsky, 1985). Scribner and Cole, standing on Vygotsky's shoulders, recognised that in order to support the assumption

that literacy makes a difference in mental processes, 'psychological analysis has to be joined with cultural analysis' (1981: 8). With the notion of 'language as cultural mediator' in mind, their choice of literacy as a domain for testing a socio-cultural approach to cognition proved to be useful.

A brief depiction of the background and process of the Vai study is helpful for conceptualising the significance of its contribution to contemporary understanding of the social origin of literacy. The Vai study comprised a research design of within-culture comparison where different languages used by literate and non-literate people provided an ideal research project. The study was carried out in Liberia and investigated the speculation that literacy learning (reading and writing) fosters the development of higher intellectual skills. The Vai are one of the few peoples in the world with an original writing system, invented some 180 years ago. The system is a syllabary with approximate 200 characters representing the structure of the Vai language. The reading and writing of Vai are diffused from one villager to another through individual tutoring rather than through schooling. Possible school effects are, for this reason, irrelevant to the Vai study allowing investigators to examine cognitive implications of literacy impossible in most modern societies where it is intimately related to schooling. Three literacies are commonly used in Vai society, English, Arabic and Vai script. English, used as official language, is predominately learned in government-run schools for the purpose of reading English information or knowledge from newspaper or government announcements. Qur'anic literacy (Arabic writing) is learned predominately for religious functions, where reading is for remembering. Vai script is different in that it is used exclusively in secular, pragmatic and personal domains where the purpose of reading is related to actions in practical activities such as letter writing.

Scribner and Cole's initial work with traditional psychological methods found no difference between Vai and Arabic literates and non-literates in cognitive task performance. However they found that schooling improved cognitive skills in line with previous research, though on verbal tasks only. This weight of empirical evidence and their intention to test out a Vygotskian socio-cultural approach to cognition led them to shift their research strategy to take into account the cultural circumstances relating to specific learning activities of literacies. After undertaking a functional analysis of skills they found activities

that seemed to invoke links between 'literacy practice' and specific, cognitive skills. Vai script effects, for example, were the most significant for literates who reported the most extensive letter-writing experiences. Such empirical findings challenged classic theories of cognitive development concerned more with 'studying universal structures of intelligence than variations in function associated with cultural conditions' (Scribner and Cole, 1981: 8). Research evidence found that Vai literacy remained close to everyday 'give-and-take' activities. Scribner and Cole argued that the effects of literacy need not necessarily push forward cognitive skills in general but, that cognitive effects existed in the specific functions such as letter writing or diary keeping around which literacy was actually practiced. In addition, the hegemony of English in government beyond the regional level appeared to restrict the utility of Vai script. The work suggested that literacy involved a set of socially organised practices that involved power relations and values, though these were not actually elaborated in their discussion. Scribner and Cole (1981) declared that:

'we approach literacy as a set of socially organised practices which make use of a symbol system and a technology for producing and disseminating it. Literacy is not simply knowing how to read and write a particular script but applying this knowledge for specific purpose in specific contexts of use. The nature of these practices, including, of course, their technological aspects, will determine the kinds of skills ('consequences') associated with literacy.' (Scribner and Cole, 1981: 236)

The Vai study had several implications both for general, contemporary understanding of linkages between literacy and cognitive skills and the specific nature of our study of English language learning within Taiwanese society. It provided a broader framework for understanding interrelationships between socio-cultural activities and psychological processes involved in literacy which were described as a 'practice account of literacy' (1981: 236). Literacy practices are embedded in a given society, going hand in hand with its history and structure. School and non-school literacy practices are significant in what people do in their everyday life. Scribner (1997) suggested that the 'social origin of literacy' cannot be ignored:

'wherever there is a reader, there is an individual involved in the use of a social technology and socially created knowledge for purposes which have a social origin [...] ignoring the socially embedded nature of reading and reading skills limits the scope of this research, and undermines its applicability to educational programs [...] Failure to take into account the social nature of literacy practices also leads to an underestimation of the many learning opportunities for acquiring skills that arise outside of the classroom.' (Scribner, 1997:203)

Wertsch (1991: 46) argued that Vygotsky failed to provide a genuinely socio-cultural approach to mind that spelled out 'how specific historical, cultural, and institutional settings are tied to various forms of mediated action', although a connection between intramental and wider, intermental functioning was evident in his later writings. Building on Vygotsky's formulation, the Vai study appeared to test out unresolved hypothesis or problems that Vygotsky left by providing evidence that literacies not only promote cognitive skills but were also embedded in cultural practices that are intimately connected with their social functions in goal-directed activities. The notion of a 'practice account of literacy' or 'practice approach to literacy' (Scribner, 1997: 202) is significant here because it not only deepened the scope of existing theories about literacy and cognitive skills but also helped to inform our investigation of English language learning in Taiwan, particularly in taking the research design 'outside of the classroom' in order to examine language learning within historical, cultural, and institutional settings.

1.3.4.2 Situated learning theory

Vygotsky-inspired studies compatible with Scribner and Cole's Vai study have been carried out elsewhere. The cognitive anthropologist Jean Lave (1988, 1996), among others, has been at the forefront of contributing to the formation of 'situated learning theory' that has both furthered our understanding of learning as a situated practice and shed light relevant to design and conduct of this study. Everyday situated theory has its roots in 'practice theory' and psychological accounts predominately rooted in the Vygotskian tradition. Its development can be traced through a succession of works and books published

over the past two decades (e.g., Rogoff and Lave, 1984; Lave, 1988; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Chaiklin and Lave, 1996). A common thread runs through them which we loosely term 'situated learning theory' challenges conventional assumptions of cognition, implying a social construction of mind and its implications for learning which takes place in ubiquitous, everyday practices. As Lave (1988) pointed out:

'Practice theory has eclectic roots in the work of Marx, Bourdieu [...] and might be described as a cluster of theories about the nature of practice which agree about the importance of a broader range of issues and levels of analysis embodied in the focal concept. This work emphasizes the dialectical character of relations fundamental to the socially constituted world – dialectics provides an obvious relational model for synthesis. And it is focused in part on experience in the lived-in world.' (Lave, 1988: 15)

Situated learning refers to the idea that learning does not take place in a vacuum but in 'ubiquitous' contexts with 'cultural specificity', emphasising 'persons-acting-in-setting' as its unit of analysis. Situated learning can be viewed as a general, theoretical perspective on the 'relational character of knowledge and learning' and the 'negotiated character of meaning' of learning activity for people participating in it. The fundamental tenet of situated learning lies in that fact that 'there is no activity that is not situated', the whole person is actively involved in learning, such that 'agent, activity, and the world mutually constitute each other' (Lave and Wenger, 1991: 33).

Conventional cognitivist theories regarded knowledge as an internalisation of what has been taught, involving what Freire colourfully termed a 'banking model' of education in which 'deposits' of prepackaged knowledge are made in the heads of students (Watson-Gegeo, 2004: 338). Situated learning theory challenges cognitivist theories for failing to either recognise the heterogeneity of knowledge or take into account its situated character, preferring to refer to knowing and learning as 'engagement in changing processes of human activity' (Lave, 1996: 12). Students' learning activity is seen as constituted in relation to the socio-cultural structuring resources (e.g., family or ethnic groups) that regulate learning processes. This argument has reshaped contemporary models for understanding knowledge acquisition or learning from that of

individualistic and de-contextualised learning in classrooms to activity in the everyday, lived-in world. Moreover, 'the complex structure of ongoing activity [...] is generated in their dialectical articulation' (Lave, 1988: 143). It could be argued that activity, such as language learning does not take place in a vacuum but, rather, in a dialectical relationship with its surrounding settings because the learning process:

'is integral to the cultural fashioning of everyday life [...] Such processes are generated in the complex structure of lived situations, rather than in the underdevelopment of the human mind' (Lave, 1988: 141).

Drawing on a model of situated learning, Wenger (1998: 5) proposed a social theory of learning that invoked 'meaning, practice, community and identity' as the components of a wider, socio-cultural setting. Specifically, Lave and Wenger (1991) proposed that learning was not a discrete and isolated activity but an integral aspect of active participation in a broader 'community of practice.' Wenger developed the concept to define the meaning of practice as 'doing, but not just doing in and of itself. It is doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do' (ibid: 47). 'Communities of practice' look into the way in which groups of people use their abilities to share past experience and create joint understanding of new knowledge. As Wenger noted, this is a broadened theory, seeking a balance between the wider community and personal identity levels, as a 'middle entry'. It could be argued that this concept is significant in that it not only echoes various notions such as 'the practice account of literacy' (Scribner and Cole, 1981), 'everyday cognition' (Rogoff and Lave, 1984) and 'intersubjectivity' (Rogoff, 1990), but also sheds light on our Taiwanese project, suggesting insightful theoretical perspectives with which to view English language learning in terms of issues involving meaning negotiation and identity formation in the language learning communities of practice.

Given the notion of a practice approach of literacy, situated learning models and an extended concept of communities of practice, we move away from individualistic approaches to human cognition toward understanding learning, or language learning as socio-cultural processes situated in everyday, lived-in worlds. Language is viewed as an open-structure-in-practice, such that

investigation of language learning has to be studied in actual contexts of persons-in-acting.

1.3.4.3 Bridging language and culture

Drawing on our argument that language is perceived as an open-structure-in-practice, we may now turn to Heath's (1983) seminal work on literacy learning in North America where English, as the first language, was learned in classrooms, yet engendered language learning outside of classrooms. Her ethnographic and socio-historical study, among others, exemplified how language learning takes place among the home, school and community contexts of children of different social groups and class backgrounds that bear some similarities with those of our Taiwanese project. Heath's work explored children's English literacy learning at home and school in three communities in the United States: 'Roadville', a White working-class and 'Trackton', a Black working-class community, alongside that of 'Maintown', inhabited by mainstream Black and White townspeople who held the power in the schools and workplaces of the region. Her findings suggested a 'discontinuity' between children's home and school learning experiences leading to school failure of children from working-class backgrounds. Children's literacy was embedded in how they practiced language with their parents at home and, hence, was culturally situated. In her conclusion, she noted:

'The school is not a neutral objective arena [...] Long before reaching school, children of the townspeople have made the transition from home to the larger societal institutions which share the values, skills, and knowledge bases of the school [...] Long before school, their language and culture at home has structured for them the meanings which will give shape to their experiences in classrooms and beyond.' (Heath, 1983: 367-368)

She proposed that, in order to successfully achieve larger changes in the reconstruction of such an educational system, past patterns of language and schooling required a kind of 'cultural bridging' between communities and classrooms:

'In any case, unless the boundaries between classrooms and communities can be broken, and the flow of cultural patterns between them encouraged, the schools will continue to legitimate and reproduce communities of townspeople who control and limit the potential progress of other communities and who themselves remain untouched by other values and ways of life.' (Heath, 1983: 369)

Heath's empirical findings further our understanding of the mutual embeddedness of language and culture, suggesting that language learning has to take into account home and community values that are closely related to learners' class and ethnicity. Her study shed light not only on contemporary understanding of relationships between first and second languages and culture but contexts involving students from various class and ethnic background which characterised the backgrounds of those involved in our examination of English language learning within Taiwanese society.

1.3.5 SLA research

Having addressed the epistemological and thus methodological problems of Cartesian philosophy, Chomsky's cognitive mechanism and neo-Vygotskian studies that challenge individualistic approaches to human mind, I will now turn to contemporary second language acquisition (SLA) research, including a brief review of its conventional cognitive approach and introduce socio-cultural approaches that were adopted in this study.

1.3.5.1 Conventional SLA research

In the history of SLA studies tension has always existed in relation to 'nature-nurture' debates. Should language learning be regarded as a question of innate predispositions that involve some form of genetic pre-programming, predominately informed by Chomskyan inner mechanism of the LAD? (see Section 1.3.1) or should language be regarded as deriving from social and cultural experience? (Mitchell and Myles, 2001) Traditional, cognitive-oriented theories of language acquisition rooted in Cartesian philosophy have used experimental modes of inquiry that neglect cultural and socio-political contexts.

Among these cognitive-oriented theories, the Chomskyian perspective on language appears to have been the most controversial, asserting that language was the most distinctive cognitive skill of human beings, the study of whose origin should be the centrepiece of cognitive science in order to provide insights into the investigation of human mind. However, according to Pinker (1984), such progress has not been seen over the past two decades though, despite his disappointment with Chomskyian theories' ability to shed light on our understanding of children's use of natural language, he has appeared intent on defending or reinventing them (Tomasello, 2003; Watson-Gegeo, 2004).

In her advocacy of a 'language socialization paradigm' for SLA, Watson-Gegeo (2004: 331) provided a thorough critique on Chomskyian theory of language acquisition, calling for a 'new synthesis' that involved 'the reconsideration of mind, language, and epistemology, and a recognition that cognition originates in social interaction and is shaped by cultural and socio-political processes'. The inadequacy of traditional cognitive-oriented language learning theories are encapsulated in her criticism of conventional SLA since the late 1970s, particularly 'its exclusive reliance on Cartesian, positivistic assumptions about reality', 'its experimental modes of inquiry that cannot incorporate cultural and socio-political context into its modes' and 'its basis in structuralist or other problematic linguistic theories' (ibid: 332)

Our central argument is that, if we follow insights from neo-Vygotskian studies, we may well perceive the human mind as open-structure-in-practice, mediated by languages as psychological/cultural tools or mediational means, whereby an inherent property of these languages is that they are culturally, historically and institutionally situated. The persistently neglected realm of socio-historical, socio-cultural, and socio-political processes in SLA research was not challenged until developmental studies in the 1980s by cognitive anthropologists using 'situated learning theory' (Rogoff and Lave, 1984; Lave and Wenger, 1991), and more recently the advocacy of 'socio-cultural theories of second language learning and development' (Donato, 2000; Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf and Thorne, 2006; Thorne, 2000). Collectively, these studies suggest that conventional SLA models of language acquisition require new, theoretical perspectives with different planes of analysis that take into account the socio-historical, socio-cultural and socio-political contexts that shape language learning.

1.3.5.2 Socio-cultural approach to SLA research

The convergent effect of neo-Vygotskian scholarship and the growing recognition of cultural practices in the process of language learning have shifted the individualistic orientation of its study to take into more account social and cultural forces (Breen, 2001; Johnson, 1992; Kramsch, 1998; Lantolf, 2000; Donato, 2000; Mitchell and Myles, 2001). For example, Johnson (1992) pointed out that studies that include social contexts and personal factors clearly depart from the 1970s tradition of linguistic acquisition. In the last two decades, major advances in research have attempted to explain the complex interactions between the social contexts of SLA and the characteristics of learners per se. Mitchell and Myles (2001) sounded a similar note in claiming that, in the last two decades there has been a more critical examination of social and cultural forces. Roberts (2001) called into question conventional SLA's failure to address the 'whole social person' and called for a holistic approach that takes into account socio-cultural processes in second language development, echoing Bourdieu's insight that 'what speaks is not utterance, the language, but the whole social person' (1977: 653). Kramsch (1998: 3) also recognised the intimate relationship of language and culture by suggesting 'language is the principal means whereby we conduct our social lives [...] it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways'.

Informed by neo-Vygotskian studies in the 1980s, the beginning of the 1990s appeared to be the time when many SLA researchers in North America started to carry out Vygotsky-inspired work involving what they often termed 'socio-cultural theory' (SCT). Lantolf (1994, 2000), among others, has been at the forefront of advocacy of socio-cultural theory in this field. In the last twenty years, alongside the development of situated social theories (e.g., Lave, 1988, 1996; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), SLA research has given greater emphasis to socio-cultural contexts, so that emerging cultural issues concerning gender, identity and representations are now investigated (e.g., Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000; Kramsch, 2000). Broader socio-cultural forces are now widely recognised in the SLA research. Relationships between language and identity, such as individual learning identity in a narrow sense and ethnic identity in a broader sense, are also being investigated.

In her examination of a SLA research paradigm shift Watson-Gegeo (2004: 334) pointed to growing a recognition of language as a political issue (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1995), arguing that 'the political nature of language learning and use is increasingly a focus of research in complex first language and second language situations, from a variety of critical perspectives.' It could be argued that in literature and among nations, language is often regarded in practice as an important marker of group membership. Within nations certain ethnic languages or dialects are preserved as attributes of ethnic identity. In countries like Wales where the historical first language was long abandoned by its elite and where a highly predominantly English monoglot population is prepared to witness such voluntary change, monolingual Welsh medium education is now available on demand to those who choose it. Bilingualism (Welsh and English) remains far from a reality, particularly as the teaching of second language Welsh is starved of talent and resources and resistance to its compulsory introduction would be considerable. Welsh language learning as a means of promoting a newly complex Welsh identity, as Baker (1998) has put it, may have been aided in children, though there is little research evidence as to this or any other aspect of Welsh medium education, which consists, for a small majority of its students, of long-term, immersive SLA, or peripheral Welsh SLA in English medium schools delivered to almost ninety per cent of its school population. Taiwan, as another example has, in recent years, celebrated its various ethnic group identities through relatively weak and sometimes non-compulsory forms of mother-tongue education (Taiwanese, Hakka or tribal dialects) taught alongside official language (Mandarin Chinese). Political tension exists, however, over distinguishing these 'ethnic speech markers' (Giles and Johnson, 1981), triggering antagonism among ethnic groups. English as a foreign, global language is held to be vital economically in Taiwan and valued accordingly as the mainstream foreign language at various levels throughout the state, community, school and home. Tensions exist for students from different ethnic groups where socio-cultural resources vary by regional, class and family background. English Language learning becomes not only an educational issue involving individual development, identity and learning but also a broader, social, cultural and political issue. Unfortunately, as in the rather different circumstances of Welsh in Wales, little attention has been paid to these broader issues concerning English language learning in the research literature within

Taiwanese society. Research is far from exempt from the power and politics of language dominance.

In this section I have sought to conceptualise and problematise relations between mind, language and culture, from the 'cognitive revolution' to new trends in socio-cultural approaches to SLA study. I have acknowledged that social and cultural forces have gained growing attention in the SLA research literature, including increasing focus on research in complex first and second language situations. However, most attention continues to be paid either to the individual level of learning identities or to pedagogic issues at the micro-interactive plane within classroom settings, or political issues at broader community levels. Little has been done to incorporate and relate various planes of analysis in order to capture holistic pictures of English language learning. Moreover, little research has been carried out to investigate an even broader plane of political as well as economic issues. Most importantly, from the point of view of this project, little research on language learning has been carried out from socio-cultural perspectives in Taiwan. This study may help to understand or at least locate the various socio-historical, socio-cultural and socio-political processes embedded in English language learning.

1.4 Research questions

Socio-cultural theory poses challenges to contemporary theories of learning by questioning deeply held, yet controversial, views about individual cognition, recognising that thinking and learning take place between people and between people and tools in situated settings. It requires a shift from the 'individual human mind' as the sole unit of analysis for understanding human thought to recognition of socio-culturally constituted practice where human thinking and behaviour develop (Scribner, 1997). Drawing from Vygotsky's formulation as a point of departure and inspired by Scribner and Cole's (1981) notion of the 'practice approach to literacy', this study used socio-cultural approaches to learning in order to investigate differential achievement in English language and the relationship between English language learning and ethnic culture, as well as a broader level of state economy and historico-political forces. The research design has drawn on the work of Scribner and Cole (1981), Lave and Wenger

(1991), Wenger (1998), Rogoff (1990), Rogoff and Lave (1984), Stafford (1995) and Wertsch (1991, 1995, 1998) in a multi-disciplinary investigation.

This study's intent has been to broaden the focus to view English language learning as everyday practice influenced by socio-cultural forces including political, economic, family, institutional and personal settings, circumstances and values. I attempt to challenge the problematic assumptions that English benefits all students equally, as a neutral language tool with no connection to unequal distribution of power along lines of race, class, religion, and ethnicity. It was also my intention to explore the phenomena of 'value asymmetry' between home and school settings that might reveal why some students learn well and others fall behind in learning English. It was hoped to highlight that English language practices that take account of the socio-cultural backgrounds of students both reflect and affect the learning milieu in educational settings. The study sought to investigate the following research aims:

- What motivates students in different locales in Taiwan to learn English?
- Are there any differences between ethnic groups' situated experiences of, and access to, English?
- Is the pressure to speak English contributing to inequalities between groups in the society?

In order to address these research questions, specially designed socio-cultural research instruments were developed. The study employed multiple methods, including questionnaires, classroom observation and semi-structured interviews, which yielded both quantitative and qualitative analysis that will be described in the following chapter.

1.5 An outline of the thesis

The thesis contains seven chapters. Chapter Two discusses methodologies at ontological, epistemological, methodological and theoretical levels, describes the four research sites at Urbany, Suburbany, Hakka Rural and Mountainside Schools on which the empirical study is based, and delineates the research process at the practical level. Chapter Three describes the historical contexts of different ethnic social groups, including their geographical, historical and political backgrounds and recent curriculum reform of English language education at a broader state level. Chapter Four focuses on the community plane of analysis, and presents the main questionnaire findings of the study, seeking to reveal students' access to English in their everyday settings including in their communities, homes and schools. Chapter Five focuses on the interpersonal plane of analysis, and describes the main classroom observational findings including daily micro-interactional processes of teacher-student interaction in English language classrooms. Chapter Six focuses on the personal plane of analysis, depicts the main interview findings of the study, and provides in-depth personal accounts related to students' language learning, social gender and ethnic identities in their English learning communities of practice. Chapter Seven reflects upon the findings of the study and presents several suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two

Methodology

In Chapter One three research questions were posed: (1) what motivates students in different locales in Taiwan to learn English? (2) are there any differences between ethnic groups' situated experiences of, and access to, English? (3) does pressure to speak English contribute to inequalities between social groups? This chapter provides an account and discussion of methodologies at a theoretical level and a description of the development of the research design and research instruments employed in this study, including ethical issues that emerged. A reflexive account on the process of carrying out the study is included.

2.1 Choosing between methodologies

Tension exists between natural and social scientists, the former privileging description and theorisation of how the physical world functions, some tending even to denigrate the latter, who set their agenda mainly in terms of the issues related to a complex, 'meaningful' human world. Following Lincoln and Guba's (2000) descriptions of axioms for various paradigms, including positivism, postpositivism and constructivism, it will be useful to examine briefly the paradigmatic controversies conventionally depicted among them by reflecting on key aspects of their orientations toward ontology, epistemology and methodology. While Lincoln and Guba (2000) claim that mixed methodologies exist between positivism and postpositivism, indicating their somewhat blurred boundary, I follow Shweder's (1990) critique of general psychology:

'The cognitive revolution of the 1960s actually goes off to a promising start [...] as the obvious and necessary corrective to the radical behaviourism that preceded it [...] Unfortunately, the cognitive revolution turned out to be far less than the rediscovery of intentionality and mental representations, and far more than just the displacement of behaviourism.' (Shweder, 1990: 18)

Given this, we can describe the history of mainstream psychology from the early twentieth century in terms of broad, successive approaches comprising positivism dating from the 1920s embodied in 'experimental psychology', postpositivism dating from the 1960s characterised by 'cognitive psychology' and a third phase which Shweder claims constitutes 'cultural psychology.' The latter can be characterised as a new paradigm, suggestive of Harré and Gillet's (1994) prediction of the second cognitive revolution which introduced the idea of the discursive mind. As is characteristic of all social science, approaches do not neatly or completely supersede their predecessors but cohabit, often in states of mutual denial. On this basis, I intend to employ a socio-cultural approach that falls within cultural psychology, located within a constructivist paradigm.

2.1.1 Ontology

Perhaps the most disputable contention of positivists is their claim to universal laws amenable to discovery by the use of scientific method. Since B. F. Skinner (1938) published his widely known conditioning experiments as the foundation of operant psychology, psychology has continued to be dominated by experimental method, particularly in the United States. This pursuit of discoverability rests on belief that the world is real, rational, and regular, and that is possible to find out how it works. Criticising positivist notion of psychology, Shweder argued that its knowledge was 'the attempt to imagine and characterise the form or shape of an inherent central processing mechanism for psychological functions' (1990: 7). While postpositivism modified the notion of reality as only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable, constructivists, in contrast, claimed not to expect reality to be independent of human mind's participation. Bruner (1996) spoke of 'cultural amplifiers' as meaningful tools through which the human mind could understand the world.

2.1.2 Epistemology

Epistemological differences exist between conflicting paradigms. Lincoln and Guba (2000) contended that, although postpositivism differs from positivism ontologically, there was commensurability between their epistemological worldviews. Disputing positivistic notions of objectivity, May (2001) argued that objectivity defined in terms of researchers' detachment from their social worlds rests upon a highly disputed, contentious and problematic requirement to maintain a 'correspondence theory of reality'. Objectivity in the positivistic sense is never attainable because people's perceptions of the world tend to be shaped by the understandings they bring into situations. Constructivists refuse to accede to any standards by which truth can be achieved without subjects' interaction with them. They interpret truth as partial and fluid, believing that the 'intentional' world interacts with 'intentional' minds (Shweder, 1990), that agreement as to truth is the subject of community negotiation concerning what will be accepted as such.

2.1.3 Methodological debates

Twentieth-century mainstream psychology had its roots in behaviourism and its philosophical approach was backed by key aspects of the positivism of the 1920s (Harré and Gillett, 1994). Positivists' ontological and epistemological worldviews still lead them to employ experimental methods involving chiefly quantitative approaches, which postpositivists tend also to undertake in a modified manner. However, a growing number of constructivists assert that the principal features of 'intentional' or 'constituted' worlds are subjects and objects, human beings and socio-cultural milieu interpenetrating each other's identities which cannot be analytically separated into independent and dependent variables. They claim that this constitutes a new paradigm in which the socio-cultural psychology became an interpretive discipline which claimed different notions of 'causality' and 'validity' to those of positivism and postpositivism. Though, as McBurney (1994: 170) argued, '(C)ausality is more difficult to determine in correlational research', such as characterises experimental modalities, seeking causation as a way of understanding human behaviour has long become hegemonic in positivist, scientific traditions. As a result, constructivists try to see their hermeneutical approaches as attempts to

discover interpretations of behaviour, rather than its causes. Concerning validity, positivism and postpositivism assume an inexorable objectivity, while constructivists consider truth as partial and fluid, such that some methods are more appropriate than others in research on human construction of social realities, though Lincoln and Guba (2000) argued that no one would claim that any single method would be the best road to ultimate knowledge and certainly not for reflexive constructivists.

Guba and Lincoln (1981) regard 'reflexivity' as the process of reflecting critically on oneself as a researcher, the 'human as instrument' (cited in Lincoln and Guba, 2000: 183). Atkinson and Coffey (2002) state more generally that, rather than trying to privilege one method, reflexivity helps researchers to keep abreast of contemporary epistemology. In ontological, epistemological and methodological terms, the notion of a single social reality is controversial and never unequivocal. Given the nature of the empirical world that I had chosen to explore, adopting of a constructive and reflexive position in designing appropriate research instruments appeared to be highly appropriate. Developing them for sociological and socio-cultural analytic purposes, I was drawn to the notion of Rogoff's (1995) three planes of analysis as a general analytical guideline in which different planes called for specific methods. Rogoff (1995) proposed that:

'a sociocultural approach that involves observation of development in three planes of analysis corresponding to personal, interpersonal, and community processes....These are inseparable, mutually constituting planes comprising activities that can become the focus of analysis..., but with the others necessarily remaining in the background of the analysis.' (Rogoff, 1995:139)

Accepting such considerations, a multi-method approach including both qualitative and quantitative methods was adopted in pursuit of answers to our research questions. Among the methods deemed appropriate was first of all, historical analysis, used to investigate broad political, economic and historico-cultural issues relating to English learning at state or community levels. Secondly, questionnaires adapted from Scribner and Cole's (1981) study were employed with students, teachers and parents to interrogate personal English learning histories, everyday use of English language and demographic details,

at the community plane of analysis. Thirdly, classroom observations, on the interpersonal plane, were used to map pedagogic practice in classroom settings in terms of teacher-student interaction, for which typological frameworks were constructed. Finally, interviews, on the personal plane, were undertaken with students, teachers and parents to provide greater depth of understanding of a range of social, biographical and career aspirations of students in order to chart the socio-cultural influences that motivated their English language practices.

2.2 The research design

The study investigated Year 8 (aged 13) English classrooms in four schools with students with Hakka, indigenous, Chinese Mainlander and Hokkien socio-cultural identities chosen to represent a range of groups according to their ethnic and social class background within Taiwanese society. Each school had two parallel English classrooms taught by different teachers who agreed to take part in this study.

2.2.1 The sites

Research sites were chosen to represent different ethnic groups, heeding Scribner and Cole's (1981: 48) reminder that seeking representativeness in drawing a sample in traditional village-based society is 'a process of continuous compromise between methodological niceties and pragmatic realities'. Since the criteria for school selection emphasised ethnic and geographical diversity, similar compromises between 'methodological niceties' and 'pragmatic realities' occurred in this study. It was decided that access to each school from where I lived in suburban Kaohsiung should involve travel times between sites of no more than approximately an hour's driving. The design also required inclusion of schools located in city centre, suburban, rural and remote areas for analytical comparison. Special effort was made to include rural villages with clusters of social groups composed of Hakka and indigenous people as well as a bilingual, urban site.

2.2.1.1 Institutional access

Four schools were purposefully chosen, Urbany, Suburbany, Hakka Rural and Mountainside School. School and individual participant names were changed to maintain anonymity. I was not required to seek permission from local education authorities since decisions as to my entry to the field rested predominantly with school heads. However, as I was fortunate enough to know the chair of one local educational authority (the Education Bureau of Kaohsiung City) as my former postgraduate course teacher at National Sun Yat-sen University in Kaohsiung between 2000 and 2002, I consulted him about the entry into Urbany bilingual school, which he facilitated. My personal relationship with a head teacher, Mr. Chang (also pseudonomised) of a junior high school in Kaohsiung County, was particularly important in facilitating initial, institutional access to the two schools in that authority which participated. Mr. Chang's professional standing and acquaintance with the Suburbany and Hakka Rural school heads enabled him to accompany me when I made initial visits to them in February 2004. This was pivotal in ensuring institutional access. Institutional access to Mountainside School was also made possible through similar social networking. The head teachers of the four schools were re-contacted in February 2004 either by email or by revisit in order to further negotiate access to teachers and students. Though I did not have to seek further permission from school staff or parents, both oral and written informed consent (specifying my intentions) was carried out with participant teachers, students and parents (written) in order to gain access and create a rapport with the participants (see Section 2.3).

2.2.1.2 Geographic features

Some geographic or locational features of the four sites are provided in Table 2.1. More details concerning school contexts, such as demographic features, school vision (or mission statement) and daily schedules are provided in Chapter Five (see Table 5.1).

Table 2.1: Geographical features of the four schools

Locales	Region	Distances from Kaohsiung city centre
A. Urbany	Kaohsiung City	3 miles (10 minutes drive)
B. Suburbany	Kaohsiung County	8 miles (10 minutes drive)
C. Hakka Rural	Meinung Township, Kaohsiung County	20 miles (30 minutes drive)
D. Mountainside	Pintung County	45 miles (50 minutes drive)

Urbany School: Urbany School was located in urban Kaohsiung City, the largest southern city in Taiwan, with a population of some 1,500,000. Urbany was a new, municipal, junior high school established in 2000. It was chosen as a bilingual school where the learning and teaching of English had led to the creation of what appeared to be unique features of classroom life and school ethos. Students were mainly Hokkien (70%) and Mainlanders (19%). As a young school, Urbany focussed on promoting a bilingual environment, most noticeably by the use of bilingual notice boards and classroom signs. This bilingualism was supported by parents and had led to the school receiving a merit award for establishing a bilingual environment from the Ministry of the Executive Yuan in 2003. Students tended to speak either Mandarin, the instructional language of the school, or Hokkien, as their everyday life, home language (see Table 2.2 below).

Suburbany School: Suburbany School was located in a suburban region of Kaohsiung County, established in the 1970s, and was the largest junior high in the region. It was chosen to represent a typical secondary school setting, where teacher-centred pedagogy and peer-competitive classroom life were the norm. Its students were mainly Hokkien (74%) and Mainlanders (26%) and the school was typical of most junior highs in Taiwan where traditional cognitive competence was its main focus. Its intake favoured high-ability students from the school catchment area and beyond. As Suburbany was geographically close to urban Kaohsiung, it has been broadly classified as an 'urban' school for comparative purposes in this study. Students again tended to speak either Mandarin as their instructional language at school, or Hokkien in daily life (see Table 2.2 below).

Hakka Rural School: Hakka Rural School, established in the 1940s, was located in a rural area of Kaohsiung county in the township of Meinung (with population of some 45,000). It was chosen to represent an ethnic Hakka school in a Hakka village where 88 per cent of pupils were Hakka in ethnicity (see Table 2.2). Meinung Hakka are known for their unique attachment to agriculture, education and intimate kinship relations between family members. The Hakka language is generically preserved but spoken mainly by the older generation as an everyday language. Young Hakka people like to speak Hakka with family members as their home language or within their Hakka community but tend to speak Mandarin in public, when at school or outside the Hakka community (see Table 2.2 below).

Mountainside School: Mountainside School was located in an indigenous village, with a total population of some 8,000, in Pintung County, adjacent to Kaohsiung County. It was a unique indigenous boarding school, with 58 per cent of pupils boarded. The junior high school was established in the 1960s, with a new senior department added in 2001. Mountainside students were mainly indigenous Paiwan (97%), known for their gifted singing, dancing and athletic prowess whose tribal culture, customs and sculptures are a source of pride. However social deprivation associated with poor regional employment leads to dysfunctional family structures, often characterised by single parenthood and alcoholism. Students tend to be underachieved in education. The Paiwan tribal language is spoken by the older generation of grandparents as their everyday language. Younger Paiwan parents and students tend to speak Mandarin with each other in everyday life, including at school (see Table 2.2 below).

Table 2.2: Predominant language and ethnicity in the four schools

Locales	Languages	Students' ethnicity	
<i>Urbany</i>	Mandarin & Hokkien	Hokkien	(70%)
		Mainlander	(19%)
		Hakka	(10%)
<i>Suburbany</i>	Mandarin & Hokkien	Hokkien	(74%)
		Mainlander	(26%)
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	Mandarin & Hakka	Hakka	(88%)
		Non-Hakka	(12%)
<i>Mountainside</i>	Mandarin & Paiwan	Indigenous Paiwan	(97%)

The location of the four schools is given in Figure 2.1.

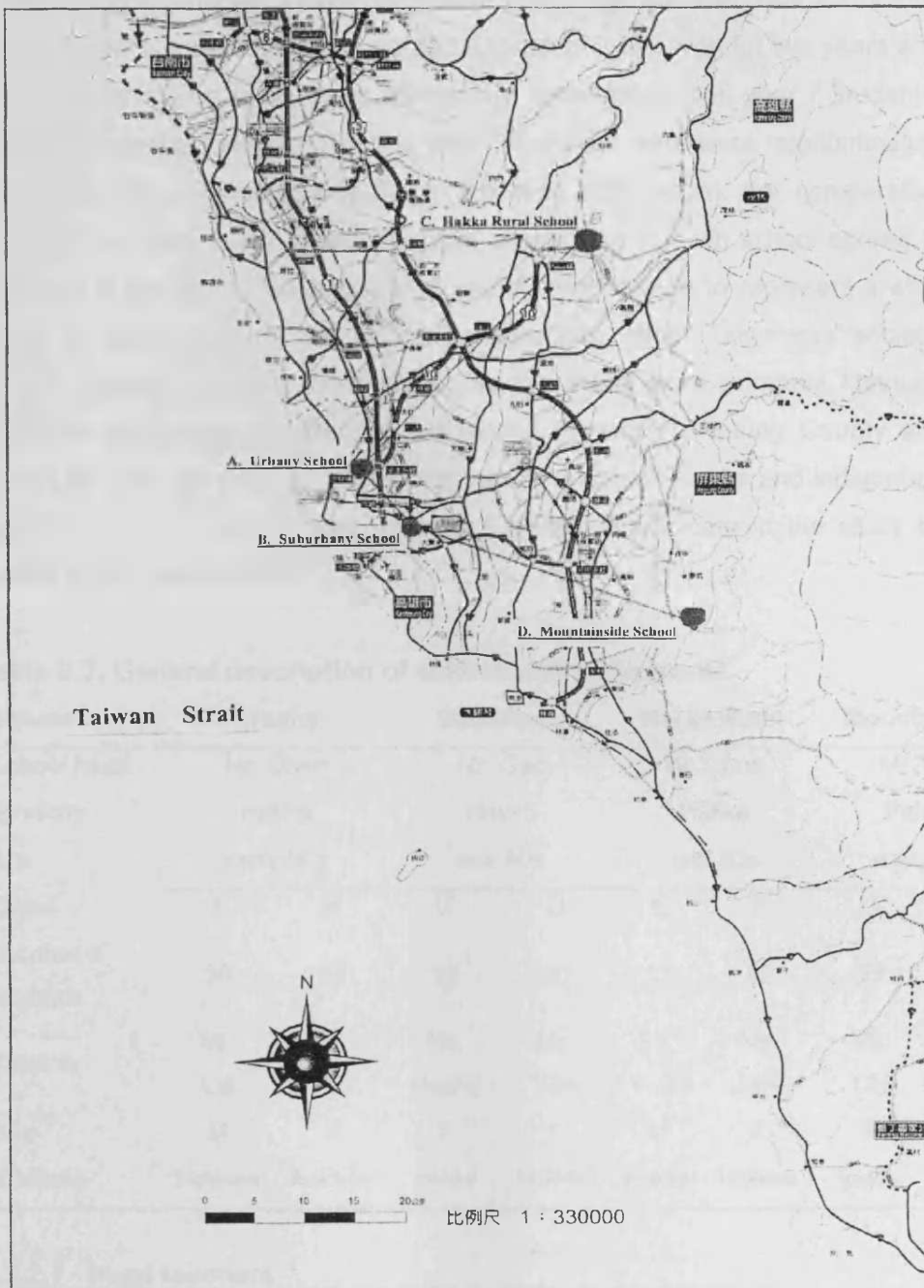


Figure 2.1: Geographical relations of the four schools

2.2.2 The participants

As can be seen in Table 2.3 the investigation was confined to 268 Year 8 students, aged between 13 and 14, in four junior high schools. Year 8 students were chosen because they had learned English in junior high for two years and so were considered to be more appropriate participants than year 7 students. Year 9 students were in the last year of school and were predominately engaged in the preparation of the forthcoming NBC exam. For comparative purpose, teachers in two parallel English classrooms in each school agreed to take part in the study. Schools and students were chosen to represent a wide range of social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds within Taiwanese society, though samples of the latter included in this study were primarily Meinung Hakka in Kaohsiung County and indigenous Paiwan in Pingtung County and cannot be considered to be representative of the overall Hakka and indigenous populations. All students' parents were invited to participate in the study by means of a questionnaire.

Table 2.3: General description of school staff participants

School	Urbany		Suburbany		Hakka Rural		Mountainside	
School head	Mr. Chen		Mr. Gao		Mr. Deng		Mr. Liao	
Ethnicity	Hakka		Hakka		Hakka		Paiwan	
Age	early 50s		late 40s		late 50s		early 50s	
Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Number of students	36	36	30	40	37	32	28	29
Teacher	Mr. Lin	Ms. Wu	Ms. Huang	Ms. Sun	Mr. Yuan	Ms. Mei	Ms. Lin	Ms. Lu
Sex	M	F	F	F	M	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Hokkien	Hokkien	Hakka	Hokkien	Hakka	Hokkien	Hokkien	Paiwan

2.2.2.1 Head teachers

As can be seen from Table 2.3, Mr. Chen, the founding school head of Urbany School, was himself an ethnic Meinung Hakka, as were two other head teachers, Mr. Gao and Mr. Deng. Mr. Chen was devoted to improving students' English ability through the promotion of a bilingual school environment and demonstrated enormous interest in understanding how his students learned

English. Mr. Gao, the head teacher of the elite Suburbany School was also an ethnic Hakka and local PhD specialist in Chinese literature. Mr. Deng was the third ethnic Hakka head teacher who eventually retired in 2005, the year following my fieldwork in Hakka Rural. Apart from my talk at initial field entry, I had little contact with him, my relations with the school being conducted through his colleague, Mr. Zhao, a senior Hakka English teacher and chief administrator in the Students' Academic Office. He provided valuable insider knowledge in relation to Hakka students' ethnic identity and English language learning. Mr. Liao, the head teacher of Mountainside, was himself an indigenous Paiwan concerned with the promotion of Paiwan young people's education, ethnic identity and future career aspirations. Formal interviews and informal conversations were undertaken with each head teacher concerning general school ethos and school visions.

2.2.2.2 Participant English teachers

Twelve English teachers eventually took part in the study. Eight who taught classes A to H during the observation phase of the study, one more from each school who took part in the subsequent interview phase, both school administrators at Urbany and Hakka Rural and senior English teachers at Suburbany and Mountainside. A brief depiction of their gender, ethnicity, further specialisms and years of teaching experience are given in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Demographic characteristics of participant English teachers

Locales	Class	Teacher	Ethnicity	Age	Years T.	Further Sp.
<i>Urbany</i>	A	Mr. Lin	Hokkien	mid 20	2	Homeroom
	B	Ms Wu	Hokkien	early 30	8	Administrator
		Ms Fan	Hokkien	early 30	10	
<i>Suburbany</i>	C	Ms Huang	Hakka	mid 40	15	
	D	Ms Sun	Hokkien	late 20	2	Homeroom
		Mr. Wang	Hokkien	early 50	30	
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	E	Mr. Yuan	Hakka	early 30	2	Administrator
	F	Ms Mei	Hokkien	late 30	14	
		Mr. Zhao	Hakka	early 50	30	
<i>Mountainside</i>	G	Ms Lin	Hokkien	late 20	5	
	H	Ms Lu	Paiwan	late 20	4	
		Ms Yang	Paiwan	early 30	5	

At Urbany School Mr. Lin, a young, ethnic Hokkien with only two years' teaching experience, was the English and homeroom teacher to Class A. In the latter capacity he dealt with issues ranging from students' behaviour in all class sessions, academic attainments and 'housekeeping' chores. Ms. Wu, English teacher to Class B, was a Hokkien teacher with eight years' teaching experience who had also played an important administrative role as the school English Environment Coordinator since 2004. She was often kept extremely busy in this pivotal post, taking responsibility for Urbany's bilingual education scheme and its implementation, the school's core, working vision. Like many other colleagues in 'young' Urbany, these two English teachers could also both be characterised as youthful and worked with the dedicated school head teacher to create a cohesive, bilingual school vision. Ms. Fan, the third English teacher, had been the school's first English Coordinator between 2002 and 2003. She had assisted Mr. Cheng in the initial implementation of the school's bilingual policy before handing the job over to Ms. Wu in 2004. Ms. Fan remained highly interested in this study throughout and was particularly keen to know to what extent Urbany students reported positively on access to their school English environment. Like most teachers she wanted to know if her previous efforts had been in vain or borne fruit.

At Suburbany School Ms. Huang, an ethnic Hakka, was the English teacher of the high-ability Class C. Moreover, she had been my former classmate in the English Department at a prestigious teacher training university in Taiwan. My prior acquaintance with her had made it possible for me to 'slide in' through Suburbany's bureaucratic system and, with her assistance, to access Ms. Sun's class. She also arranged for my one-month substitute teaching in Class C in the summer of 2004 which contributed greatly to my initial understanding of the underlying culture of this elite school. Ms. Huang could be characterised as both senior and competent, regarded as one of the 'famous teachers' (*ming-shi*) in Suburbany, with 15 years experience and even more importantly, a humorous interactional style. Ms. Sun, English and homeroom teacher to Class D, was a young Hokkien with only two years' teaching experience. She was a former Suburbany graduate and currently worked alongside some of her former English teachers. As a young colleague allocated to teach one high-ability class in Year 7 she was allowed to observe some English classes taught by '*ming-shi*', including Mr. Wang's class (the third English teacher). Such 'in-service training' was unique to Suburbany. Young colleagues like Ms. Sun could benefit

from observing more able colleagues' pedagogic skills. Mr. Wang, the third participant English teacher, was senior and scheduled to retire in 2005. He had taught English at Suburbany for nearly 30 years, especially in high-ability classes. Mr. Wang was chosen because he was a reputed '*ming-shi*' at Suburbany and was the mentor to young Ms. Sun. His insider knowledge in relation to elite education in this school setting for nearly three decades provided me with important insights.

At Hakka Rural School Mr. Yuan, English teacher to Class E, was a young Hakka, also with only two years' teaching experience. Apart from teaching English Mr. Yuan worked as an administrator in the Students' Academic Office. The dual roles seemed to create tensions between his administrative duties and his classroom duties. Ms. Mei, English teacher to Class F, was Hokkien with some fourteen years' teaching experience. She had taught at a rural junior high school in Taipei County for ten years before moving to Hakka Rural. This experience seemed to have contributed greatly to her understanding of Hakka students' English learning. Her marriage to a Hakka husband was particularly significant because it had enabled her to learn Hakka language and culture. Mr. Zhao, the third participant, was a senior English teacher and chief of Student Academic Affairs Office whose ethnic background and nearly 30 years' teaching experience provided invaluable, insider knowledge concerning the characteristics of Hakka identity and the socio-political constraints that challenged Hakka students in the process of learning English.

At Mountainside School Ms. Lin, English teacher to Class G, was a Hokkien with five years' teaching experience. She had taught in a non-indigenous junior high school in a nearby township. This pedagogic experience had enabled her to recognise useful aspects of indigenous students' learning. Ms. Lin was undertaking postgraduate study in a local teachers' training university during the course of my fieldwork, transferring to another, non-indigenous junior high school in 2005. Ms. Lu, English teacher to Class H, was an indigenous Paiwan born in this village. She had lived with her mother in the suburban Kaohsiung area from her primary school days because of her parents' divorce. Her Paiwanese identity enabled Ms. Lu to use her mother tongue with Class H and enabled her to refer to Paiwan cultural customs in some lessons. Ms. Yang, the third English teacher, worked in the senior high department at Mountainside. My substitute teaching in her class in the summer of 2004 contributed to our

later acquaintance in the field. Her Paiwanese identity and humble family background afforded invaluable insider knowledge in relation to why many Paiwan students encounter difficulties in learning English.

2.2.2.3 Students

As shown in Table 2.3, a total of 268 students, aged between 13 and 14, from eight classes in four participant schools took part in this study. 253 students returned completed questionnaires (15 classified invalid). 51% of the respondents were girls and 49% were boys. Participating students had been learning English since primary school for at least 4 years in the formal school system. Some of them, however, had either started learning English as early as in their pre-school years or had various learning experiences in cram schools¹ or with private tutors.

2.2.2.3.1 Ethnicity

According to Chinese tradition, ethnicity refers to the origin of male heads of the household, even in present day mixed marriages. Students' ethnicity was classified on this basis. As can be seen in Table 2.5, around 40 per cent of respondent pupils were Hokkien, while 12 per cent were Mainlanders, 26 per cent Hakka and 22 per cent indigenous. In Urbany and Suburbany they were mostly Hokkien and Mainlanders, though 10% of students at the former were 'urban Hakka'. There was a Hokkien minority (13%) among the 88 per cent Hakka student body at Hakka Rural School, while as many as 97 per cent of pupils at Mountainside School were indigenous.

¹ Cram schools are popular sites for students' after-school learning activities in Taiwan. Most secondary students attend cram schools in order to improve their academic competence.

Table 2.5: School students' ethnicity

School	Urbany (n=65)	Suburbany (n=69)	Hakka Rural (n=64)	Mountainside (n=55)	All pupils (n=253)
<i>Hokkien</i>	70%	74%	13%	0%	40%
<i>Mainlander</i>	19%	26%	0%	0%	12%
<i>Hakka</i>	10%	0%	88%	4%	26%
<i>Indigenous</i>	0%	0%	0%	97%	22%

Note: Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to missing values and rounding up.

2.2.2.3.2 Student interviewees

All 268 students completed questionnaires and were subject to observation. A small number (9 girls and 8 boys), listed in Table 2.6, participated in interviews.

Table 2.6: Participant student interviewees

Schools	Class	Teacher	Students	Ethnicity	Scores
<i>Urbany</i>	A	Mr. Lin	Helen	Mainlander	99
			Ken	Hokkien	99
	B	Ms. Wu	Carol	Hokkien	100
			Howard	Mainlander	30
<i>Suburbany</i>	C	Ms. Huang	Yvonne	Mainlander	N/A
			Eddie	Hokkien	N/A
	D	Ms. Sun	Julia	Mainlander	88
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	E	Mr. Yuan	Wendy	Hakka	99
			Chris	Hakka	96
			Fay	Hakka	29
	F	Ms. Mei	Sharon	Hakka	99
			Mark	Hakka	36
<i>Mountainside</i>	G	Ms. Lin	Vincent	Paiwan	97
			Jake	Paiwan	24
	H	Ms. Lu	Dave	Paiwan	18
			Vanessa	Paiwan	99
			Amy	Paiwan	61

A multistage procedure for selecting student interviewees was employed which involved taking into account teachers' knowledge, my classroom observations, students' questionnaire responses and academic attainment. After one month

of observation, each of the eight English teachers was asked to provide a list of those who they considered to be high or low achievers in their classrooms based on their academic attainments in monthly school exam. Four students in each class as either high or low achievers were provided by their teachers which comprised 32 potential student interviewees. Additional criteria such as information from questionnaires (both student and parent) was also taken into consideration in order to choose appropriate student interviewees.

All participant students' academic attainments were accessed in terms of their English scores (1~100) from their first monthly school exam in 2004, except Yvonne and Eddie in Suburbany's high-ability class. Yvonne and Eddie, and other high achievers in English included Julia (88) and Helen (99), Ken (99) and Carol (100) at Urbany, Wendy (99), Chris (96) and Sharon (99) at Hakka Rural and Vincent (97) and Vanessa (99) at Mountainside, making eleven in total, with scores of 88 or above. Five underachievers, Howard (30) at Urbany, Fay (29) and Mark (36) at Hakka Rural, and Jake (24) and Dave (18) at Mountainside, achieved scores of less than 40, suggesting that they were either having difficulty with or had 'given up' learning English (see Table 2.6). This sample selection process that covered an imbalance between high and low achievers would inform our analysis of why some students learn English well, but some do not.

2.2.2.4 Parents

All 268 participant students were given parents' questionnaires to take home the day after they filled in their own questionnaire at school. While it was beyond my control as to who would fill in the parents' questionnaire at home, students were encouraged to return the completed schedule from whichever parent was available to fill it in. The eight participant English teachers were asked to remind their classes to return them, 177 parents eventually responding, a return rate of 66 per cent. Due to time limitations, parents' questionnaires were not coded or entered into the database but were used to triangulate student interview accounts and to select parent interviewees.

The procedure of choosing parent interviewees was simpler than for students. I encouraged student interviewees to ask their parents if they were interested in taking part in the further phase of this study. Table 2.7 indicates the parents who provided full responses to the questionnaire. Seven parents of six pupils across the four schools eventually participated in formal, recorded interviews, slightly more mothers than fathers, with both Eddie's parents participating.

Table 2.7: Participant parent interviewees

Locales	Class	Students	Parents
<i>Urbany</i>	B	Carol	Father
<i>Suburbany</i>	C	Yvonne	Father
		Eddie	Mother/Father
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	E	Wendy	Mother
<i>Mountainside</i>	G	Vincent	Mother
	H	Vanessa	Mother

2.2.3 Research instruments

This section describes how research instruments were designed and fashioned, including methods of historical analysis, questionnaire and interview schedules and classroom observation protocols. Historical analysis involved documentary analysis and informal visits to local people in the communities. Questionnaires and interviews were administered to students, teachers and parents. Classroom observation was guided by a typology of teacher-student classroom interaction.

2.2.3.1 Historical analysis

Scribner (1997: 269) reminded us that all meaning-systems in the form of human language, belief or knowledge are products of human culture; 'they are invented and transmitted through the social process and institutions by which succeeding generations reproduce and change their cultural heritage'. Reproduction and change characterises the history of human cultural development. Investigating and analysing changes over time is, therefore, essential to understanding why a contemporary text or practice takes place in the way it does. Historical analysis was used to understand English learning as

socio-culturally constituted practice. In order to map out the broader picture of a political, economic and historico-cultural context of English learning in Taiwan, investigation of library sources and texts and local community visits were undertaken.

2.2.3.1.1 Library work

Library work was the major tool in exploring documents, such as accounts of English learning in Taiwan according to class, and ethnicity. The majority of historical accounts were in Mandarin Chinese and relevant documents were collected in local university libraries in Taiwan during the pilot and major study phases from May to December 2004. Electronic journal sources relating to Taiwanese economic, political and cultural development and relevant official documents, such as updated governmental statistics concerning economic developments and English language education policies were accessed regularly on-line.

2.2.3.1.2 Informal community visits

Informal visits to people living in local communities were considered crucial in gaining insider knowledge. As an ethnic Hokkien I had lived in urban areas for more than two decades and Hokkien and Mainlander cultures were familiar to me, while those of the two rural, ethnic groups, Hakka and indigenous Paiwan, were unfamiliar to me as a researcher. Several visits to these two communities in the initial phase of field entry, as well as during the course of the major study were of great benefit in enabling me to understand and chart ethnic values, religious beliefs, and educational and occupation backgrounds. Informants included teachers, parents and individuals from both younger and older generations living in these local communities.

2.2.3.2 Questionnaires

Oppenheim (1992: 47) argued that '(Q)uestionnaires do not emerge fully-fledged; they have to be created or adapted, fashioned and developed to maturity after many abortive test flights.' The schedules employed in this study with students, teachers and parents were composed and tried out, modified and

tried out again, before reaching their maturity. The basic instruments were modified from Scribner and Cole's (1981: 274-286) 'Questionnaires From Major Survey' used in their seminal socio-cultural research in Liberia. Scribner and Cole's questionnaires were in three parts: 'Demographic Questionnaires' (Part I: 69 questions) concerning individual demographic detail; 'Learning Vai / Arabic / English Scripts' (Part II: 22 questions) on how each script was learned; and 'Use of Literacy (in Vai, Arabic and English Scripts)' (Part III: 20 questions) on the uses of each scripts. All of their questions were open-ended and attempted to arrive at purposes of 'description and prediction', serving to 'make general statements about the social basis and functions of literacy in Vai society' (op. cit: 48).

Questionnaires development for this study were adapted and plotted numerous times. As can be seen in Table 2.8, the first stage before December 2003 was to adapt Scribner and Cole's (1981) questions. The second stage in February 2004 employed initial questions to devise appropriate questions. The final stage was the major piloting phase carried out in May 2004.

Table 2.8: Stages of questionnaire development

Stages	Methods	Time
<i>First</i>	Adaptation	Before December 2003
<i>Second</i>	Initial questions	February 2004
<i>Final</i>	Piloting work	May 2004

The instruments adapted Scribner and Cole's (1981) questions and fell into three major parts. The student questionnaire was designed first, followed with some modifications, by the teachers' and the parents' questionnaires. Each comprised three parts, 'learning the language' (Part I), 'use of the language' (Part II) and 'demographic details' (Part III). Whereas 'demographic details' was placed first in Scribner and Cole's questionnaires, in this study it was moved to the end, aiming to avoid asking for potentially off putting, sensitive, demographic details at the beginning (Oppenheim, 1992). There were inevitably contextual differences between Scribner and Cole's questions and those appropriate to this study. Therefore many questions had to be modified or added. Some further English learning related questions needed to be designed for local junior high students to probe 'localised' or 'contextualised' issues.

In February 2004, a draft of the questionnaire was piloted with a group of students, teachers and parents from my old junior high school in suburban Kaohsiung. The responses led to further modifications of questions and, in particular, appropriate wording concerning linguistic clarity because students had misunderstood a few words in the initial draft.

Further piloting of questionnaires was carried out with students, teachers and parents in May 2004. As a result some changes were made to the final student schedule including some rearrangement of question order. For example, the question 'What makes a good student?' was moved from Question 11 to 14 in Part I, given its open character (see Appendix 5). Others were deleted or added, in light of piloting. For example, a question relating to students' experience of being taught by foreign English teachers was added to Part I (question 10). In Part II, while some further order changing and regrouping were made in the first part of the item on listening practice, for example, 'CD-Music' and 'Audio tapes-Music' were merged together 'CD/ Audio tapes- Music' because of their similar nature. In Part III, items relating to parents' ethnicity and career types were added to Questions 1 and 3. The last two questions (9 and 10), seeking comment on English learning and feelings concerning completing the questionnaire, were added, aimed at capturing students' further comment and feedback.

As shown in Appendix 5, the final student questionnaire comprised three major parts: Part I: 'Learning English' (14 questions); Part II: 'Use of English in Everyday Life' (50 questions); and Part III: 'Demographic Questionnaire' (8 questions). The first part started with five 'w' questions, aiming to investigate students' historical background of learning English. Then certain questions relating to whether there were 'important others' from their family, school or peer networks were posed to interrogate the resources provided by students' locales. The second part started with closed questions on listening, speaking, reading and writing practices, aiming to explore students' use of English in everyday life. Further questions were employed to explore access to written English in their towns, homes and schools. The last part began by seeking to elicit demographic details, particularly with respect of ethnicity, then further questions relating to foreign teacher or foreign culture experiences were explored. The final student questionnaires were translated into Chinese (see Appendix 8).

As shown in Appendix 6, the final teacher questionnaire was fashioned from the student version, also in three parts but with different numbers of questions and slightly different foci. Part I (10 questions) focused on exploring teachers' past English learning histories, Part II (56 questions) had a similar closed question format to that employed in the student questionnaire, while Part III (14 questions) had additional focus on teachers' knowledge of languages other than English (Question 8), their attitudes toward gender differences in students' English learning involving (question 9 and 10) and their classroom pedagogy (question 12). The final teacher questionnaire was not translated into Chinese because all eight teachers had no difficulty in comprehending English. The final parent version (see Appendix 7) again included three major parts and was fashioned from the teacher version. Part I (11 questions) focused on exploring parents' past English learning history, Part II (50 questions) had virtually the same closed questions and Part III (15 questions) had a similar focus on attitudes toward children's English learning, involving gender differences. The final parent schedule, like the student version, was translated into Chinese.

2.2.3.3 Interviews

In order to provide information in greater depth an interview phase of the study was conducted, aimed at mapping out on the personal plane how individual students learned English in various settings. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with students, teachers and parents focusing upon their English learning histories, interactions and practices in classrooms and parents' perceptions of their children's English learning and resources at home, in the locality and schools. Interviews were carried out after questionnaire administration as the second phase of this study. Descriptive questions were predominately built on the three research questions and insights emerging from prior study phases including questionnaire administration and classroom observation, both in the pilot phase and the major study, for elaboration and triangulation.

A general, funnel structure was employed in semi-structured interviews, using prompts in response to interviewees' answers that appeared significant to the study. As is illustrated in Table 2.9 below, the first question put to most student and teacher informants probed their English learning history in terms of when,

how and where they started learn English. These 'descriptive questions' were used to encourage informants to talk more about their personal cultural scenes because 'expanding the length of the question tends to expand the length of the response' (Spradley, 1979: 85). Subsequent questions related to family and school resources, classroom interaction, foreign teacher and cultural experiences, each with appropriate, further prompts. In the case of Yvonne's (Class C, Suburbany) interview, carried out in Mandarin Chinese, 14 questions were asked in a period of 50 minutes.

Table 2.9 Selection of questions for student interviewee (Yvonne)

Categories	Interview questions	Sources
Personal learning history	Q1: Would you like to describe your English learning history in terms of when, how or where you started learning it?	Drawn from Questionnaire for elaboration
Family resources	Q2: Would you talk about the encouragement from your parents? Could you explain why you ticked 'mother' only, not both parents?	Drawn from Questionnaire for elaboration
School resources	Q3: What do you think of Suburbany's school ethos in terms of learning English?	
Classroom interaction	Q4: Would you describe how you feel about Ms Huang's classroom interaction with students?	Triangulate classroom observation
Foreign teacher experience	Q5: Could you describe the learning from foreign English teachers and how you feel about it?	Drawn from Questionnaire for elaboration
Foreign culture experience	Q6: Could you elaborate your experiences of travelling abroad and why you want to study abroad in the future?	Drawn from Questionnaire
Prompt question(s)	Q7: What are the influences that have affected your English learning so far, either contributory or disadvantage forces? Q8: Would you describe how you feel while studying in a high-ability class where lots of your classmates are high achievers in English?	

Teachers' interview questions generally followed the structure of students' questions, with additional foci on their personal English learning history, school ethos, classroom instructional pedagogy (for observed teachers only) and their comment on students' access to English at school or in the community. Prompt questions depended on the interviewing context. Parents' interview questions were intended to elaborate and triangulate their student interviewee children's questionnaire responses and interview accounts and to probe issues relating to ethnic cultures, particularly Hakka and indigenous Paiwan, that might impact on students' English learning.

2.2.3.4 Classroom observation

While student, parent and teacher questionnaire responses and interview accounts were explored in order to probe perceptions of teacher-student interaction on the interpersonal plane of analysis, non-participant classroom observation was employed to unfold description of what was taking place in the real-life milieu of classroom settings. Though it was not my initial intention to structure classroom observation, certain 'sensitising categories' or 'coding schemes' were developed as general guidelines in order to avoid being overwhelmed by all that was to be seen in the process of observation.

The classroom observation categories used were initially derived from Bernstein's *Class, Codes and Control – The structuring of pedagogic discourse* (1990), Edwards and Mercer's *Common Knowledge* (1987) and Mercer's *The Guided Construction of Knowledge* (1995), aiming to develop guidelines to inform analysis. In the light of Bernstein's notions of regulative and instructional discourse, 'teacher's pedagogical discourse' was viewed as a means of clarifying relations between power and morality played out in classrooms, displayed in different types of teacher's 'regulative' and 'instructional' discourse. Developing Vygotsky's notions of ZPD and socio-cultural theoretical frameworks, Edwards and Mercer considered teacher-student discourse to be the centre of instructional processes where 'common knowledge' emerged through dialectic interaction. The notion of common knowledge was hence employed to investigate how far teachers and students might construct shared understandings about what was learned and how far that joint knowledge was 'handed over' to students.

As can be seen in table 2.10 below, a hybrid typology, with an associated coding scheme was developed as a guide in identifying key features of interaction. It involved teachers' modes of questioning and response across 'regulative' and 'instructional' categories and joint-knowledge markers designed to explore how they bridged knowledge by sharing mental contexts with students.

Table 2.10 A typology of teachers' classroom instruction modalities

Teachers' Questioning Type	
<i>Regulative</i>	<i>Instructional</i>
Housekeeping (e.g., T: Do you bring your books?) Rhetorical (No answer expected)	I.R.E Direct elicitation Cued elicitation (scaffold/ ZPD)
Teachers' Response Type	
<i>Regulative</i>	<i>Instructional</i>
Ignoring Rejection	Confirmation (e.g., T: Very good) Repetition Elaboration
Teachers' Joint-Knowledge Markers	
Royal plurals ('We' statements) Continuity (connect past and now) Appeal to shared experience (e.g., T: Do you go to 'cram school'?) Recaps	
Significance Markers	
Enunciation (intonation / loudness /rate) Pause (silence)	

Within 'regulative' question types, 'housekeeping' was used to denote teachers' classroom management in terms of class control. The term 'rhetorical' indicated teachers' expectation of no answer from students (Long and Sato, 1983), Edwards and Mercer (1987) arguing that such questions are part of teachers' 'discursive weaponry' for controlling discussion, directing pupils' thought and action and establishing the extent of shared attention, joint activity and common knowledge. 'Instructional' question types were regarded as being composed of IRF (initiation-response-feedback) or IRE (initiation-response-evaluation),

'direct elicitation' and 'cued elicitation' (where teachers apply scaffolding or ZPD). Response types also comprised both 'regulative' (ignoring and rejection) and 'instructional' categories (conformation, repetition, elaboration and reformulation).

Joint-knowledge markers comprised 'we' statements or 'royal plurals', a powerful form of discourse in closing gaps between teachers and students; 'continuity', signifying teachers trying to represent past experience as relevant to present activities, aiming to bridge a shared mental context; 'appeal to shared experience', sentences that teachers employed to bridge experiences to joint-knowledge; and 'recaps', the way teachers reconstructed what students had just said to construct higher level or refined knowledge. Finally, significance markers comprised 'enunciation', indicating the change of teacher's intonation, loudness and speech rate and 'pause', denoting a sudden silence from teacher.

Teacher-student interactions were audio recorded and fieldnotes were made both during the course of, and after observation. When taking fieldnotes a number of issues were noted, written down or described, including features of classroom material culture, teachers' pedagogic actions and students' behaviour. The former included the location of classrooms, arrangement of seats, blackboard location and availability of teaching equipment and materials, such as TV sets or overheads. Teachers' pedagogic instruction included the versions of textbooks used, lesson content taught and the instructional languages used or other languages such as ethnic dialects. Pedagogic regulation included 'direct' or 'indirect' forms of classroom control. Pedagogic styles included, for example, the degree of humorous interaction with students or more discipline oriented discourse. Students' classroom behaviour included their attention and gestures, for example, whether they took notes autonomously or not, whether they maintained or lost attention, whether they played in their seats with classmates and the ways in which they responded to teachers.

2.3 Ethical matters

Before undertaking this study ethical issues germane to all social science researchers, such as informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity and power relations in the field were taken into consideration. In compliance with British Sociological Association (BSA) ethical guidelines serious consideration was given to each throughout the study. As a classroom research project carried out in secondary schools in Taiwan several ethical concerns emerged in relation to the use of questionnaires, classroom observation and interviewing. An oral briefing on the study was given to all school participants including eight observed English teachers and their classes before an informed consent letter (written in Mandarin Chinese) (see Appendix 1-4) outlining research aims and objectives, methods, benefits, confidentiality and ways of participation was delivered to the school head, participant English teachers and parents. My contact details were included in order to offer participants opportunity to ask for further information or express concerns about the project.

All participants were asked to confirm consent to questionnaires, classroom observation and interviews in which they were involved and were assured that all information obtained would remain anonymous and confidential throughout. All institutional and personal names were pseudonomised. They were asked also to confirm consent to observations and interviews being recorded before each session started. Achieving the explicit consent of students was more problematic, as is referred to below and in Sections 2.4.1.2 and 2.6.2. Recordings were transcribed and additional care taken with data storage and protection of. Interview questions were specially scrutinised so as to obviate questions and formulations related to the vulnerability of ethnic minority participants.

In conducting classroom observation tensions concerning power relations exist between observers and the observed in the field. As Bouma (2000) argued researchers may sometimes be in a position of power over participants in social research. School students are potentially more accessible and controllable than adults (Verma and Mallick, 1999). Asymmetrical power relations tend to be highly evident in Taiwanese secondary classrooms, given traditional respect in Chinese culture for teachers and young students' matching conformity. For

researchers to avoid exploiting participant students' formal learning time and space at school has to be taken into consideration. For example, questionnaires and interviews were predominately carried out in the 'Morning Session' or 'Class Meeting' in order not to impede students' formal subject learning (e.g., see Section 2.4.2.2 below).

2.4 Carrying out the study

This section provides actual procedures of field access to participant schools, teachers and students which entailed ongoing negotiation and some bitter-sweet 'trade-offs'. Research timetables for pilot and main study are presented, followed by descriptions of actual procedures of administering questionnaire, doing classroom observations and conducting interviews synchronically between sites.

2.4.1 Gaining access

Delamont (2002: 105) argued that 'the general procedure, down the hierarchy to the pupils, is reasonably typical' in gaining field access. To approach the 'lower' with the support of the 'higher' level in a hierarchical system tends to be a usual and effective way of gaining access to student participants. A general 'top-down' access strategy was, hence, employed in this study. It could be argued, however, that without using my personal social contacts, as noted in Section 2.2.1.1, access might have proved difficult. For example, the following fieldnote delineated Suburbany school head's initial reservations. Initial entry might have been denied had I not been accompanied by another head teacher.

[Fieldnote: At the outset, the school head indicated that Suburbany might not be suitable [...] because some students were, indeed, from urban areas. They attend Suburbany because of its good academic reputation in the National Basic Competence Test for junior high school students [...] The school head seemed to worry that Suburbany's predominantly 'grammar-based pedagogy' might not provide anything useful to the study. [...] He also tried, implicitly, to reject me by recommending another rural school (i.e., Hakka Rural), but I told him that Hakka Rural has already been considered as one of the sites.] (16th February, 2004)

2.4.1.1 Access to teachers

The higher-to-lower level hierarchic structure of schools was also utilised as general procedure in getting access to teachers and students. On head teachers' recommendation, 'contact teachers', at 'mid-level' in the hierarchy, were provided (see Table 2.11 below). These were either senior school administrators or 'English coordinators'. However, access to the English teachers who were to be observed at the lower end of schools' staff hierarchies was not always straightforward and most challenging at Suburbany. The following fieldnote delineated a 'not-so-supportive' 'mid-level' hierarchy in Suburbany that sought to deter access.

[Fieldnote: My second visit to Suburbany was a little frustrating. The school administrator (chief of Students' Academic Affairs' Office) revealed that she has not yet appointed any English teachers though she was notified by the school head about this study in February [...] She expressed the fear that teachers might feel uneasy with a stranger observing in the corner of the classroom. A sense of reluctance could be felt from her doubt, even though I assured this would be non-participant observation which did not judge teacher's pedagogic skills [...] Having sensed her reservations, I mentioned an acquaintance with Ms. Huang (Class C), my former university classmate, who was luckily teaching a grade 8 high-ability class [...] Eventually, I was told to contact Ms. Huang myself which might 'make things easier'. Through Ms. Huang's assistance, successful access to the other English teacher (Ms. Sun) was hence made possible.] (13th May, 2004)

Having to use a top-down, hierarchical system generated implicit pressure on observed teachers, though informing those at higher levels of my needs and intentions was a necessary ethical and procedural consideration. For example, Ms. Mei (Class F) from Hakka Rural, appeared to 'dislike' such a system. Though I knew nothing of her previous relationships with the school administration, she expressed her concern on my second visit in May 2004 that she preferred to be contacted directly rather than through the 'mid-level' hierarchy. This may have been a function of her autonomous interest in this study, as revealed in informal conversation, or that she did not like being assigned to involvement in the study as an 'official task'. Ms. Huang in Suburbany provided another example of the problematic nature of top-down field access in hierarchical systems. A form of 'trade-off' (Miles and Huberman, 1994) or 'promised contribution' became necessary, despite of our former relationship as university classmates twenty years earlier. Ms. Huang had expressed initial unease at someone observing her teaching but eventually agreed after my reiterated explanation that my research purposes did not aim to judge teachers' pedagogy. Meanwhile, my promise to teach her class in the summer session of 2004 was agreed upon as a happy 'trade'. I undertook two weekly hours of paid teaching over two months which greatly benefited field rapport and informed the study. A general comparison of the institutional means of field access to observing the English teachers involved in the study is shown in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11: Access to participant English teachers

Locales	Access to observed English teachers
<i>Urbany</i>	Assigned directly by head teacher
<i>Suburbany</i>	Suggested by mid-level hierarchy yet required personal contact
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	Assigned directly by mid-level hierarchy
<i>Mountainside</i>	Assigned directly by mid-level hierarchy

The problematic nature of field access dependent upon moving between levels in a hierarchical system made ongoing negotiation for genuine field rapport inevitable. Such negotiation started right after initial visits to school heads in February 2004. Regular contact with them and 'mid-level' administrators by email was maintained until May 2004 when one or another had assigned all eight teachers to be observed. Spradley (1979: 78) argued that 'rapport' meant 'a harmonious relationship between ethnographer and informant (until) a basic

sense of trust has developed that allows for the free flow of information'. Though this study may not be characterised as typical ethnographic research, a quest for harmonious field relationships was paramount. To nurture field rapport all eight observed teachers were either visited or contacted by email between May and July 2004 prior to observational fieldwork which started in September, 2004 (see Table 2.12 below). Some contacts were rather encouraging, a number of teachers, including Ms. Wu from Urbany and Ms. Mei from Hakka Rural, demonstrating great interest in the study. In general, those currently undertaking postgraduate study, which included not only Ms. Wu but Ms. Lin at Mountainside, as well as her additional English teacher, Ms. Yang, became particularly engaged throughout the observational period. Building up initial familiarity with these was beneficial, contributing to not only to better mutual understanding but reaffirming informed consent through ongoing communication.

Miles and Huberman (1994) contended that ethical dilemmas involving 'compromises', 'trade-offs' or 'unhappy choices' were always inevitable in balancing responsibilities to and the interests of different parties in social science research, requiring forms of ongoing negotiation, such as those to which we have already adverted (de Laine, 2000). 'Trade-offs' or having to promise to contribute to teaching occurred many times in this study. Such 'contributions' often led serendipitously to early field access and chances of enhanced understanding of particular cultures in the field. In Mountainside for example, I was invited by the school head to be a substitute English teacher in Ms. Yang's grade 11th class in the senior high department in the summer of 2004, involving four weekly hours of paid teaching, even before I had been invited to teach Ms. Huang's high-ability class in Suburbany in July and August. These two moments of early access to the field not only validated my credentials as 'an English teacher', as well as intended researcher but also afforded direct access to students and their classroom cultures that gave me an invaluable, background 'feel' that informed the study greatly.

2.4.1.2 Access to students

Successful access to English teachers' classrooms entailed access to their students, given the obedience to and respect for teachers in Chinese cultural tradition. All eight participant English teachers were asked to recommend one of their current Year 8 classes for observation and as study informants. Though certain criteria for selection of classes to be observed, such as that they had better contain both outstanding high achievers and disillusioned students, were made clear, decisions as to which one to make available were left to individual teachers, respecting their individual circumstances, convenience and judgment. However, Ms. Huang's high ability class (Class C) in Suburbany, which I taught in the summer, was strongly recommended due to my early entry. In other words, in this study, as in the vast majority of others involving classroom observation, directly delivered 'informed consent' of neither students nor parents was neither sought nor gained for lesson observation, though it was explicit in request for them to complete questionnaires or undergo interview. However, consideration of how to establish harmonious relationships and field rapport with them was always uppermost in my mind. The classroom observer always has a persona to establish in students' eyes on a continuum of teacher-like to student-like demeanour (so far as is possible as an adult in a particular culture). Interaction as a part-time teacher with indigenous students in Mountainside and high-ability students in Suburbany contributed to early understanding of participant schools and classroom cultures, providing an important basis of confidence as a researcher based on insight to existing classroom procedures, control modalities and student attitudes and behaviours. It became the basis of a stance which I strove to maintain as an interested visitor, concerned to understand how students did things in and felt about their classrooms, curriculum and teachers. This early understanding was helpful but I tried to remain non-judgmental.

2.4.2 Fieldwork timetable

The pilot phase of this study started in my old school in Kaohsiung County in May and June 2004. Next I undertook substitute teaching in Class C in Suburbany and a Year 11 class in Mountainside School in July and August 2004. The main study took place between September and December over a

period of 17 weeks involving a complex timetable of visits across the four schools but in each following a sequence of seeking formal consent, administering teacher questionnaires, undertaking four observation periods with each class, then interviewing heads, teachers, parents and students. Weeks 4, 6 and 11 were fieldwork free and enabled some pause for breath and catching up on record keeping and reflection in an otherwise highly intense schedule (see Table 2.12 below).

Table 2.12: Fieldwork timetable (September ~ December 2004)

School	Urbany		Suburbany		Hakka Rural		Mountainside	
Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
<i>Jul.</i>			ST				ST in year 11	
<i>Aug.</i>			ST				ST in year 11	
<i>Sep.</i>	Commenced the main study (2nd Sep. 2004)							
<i>Week 1</i>							IC QT/ C1	IC QT/ C1
<i>Week 2</i>	IC QT/ C1	IC QT/ C1	IC QT/ C1	IC QT/ C1	IC QT/ C1	IC QT/ C1		
<i>Week 3</i>			C2 / C3					
<i>Week 4</i>								
<i>Week 5</i>			C2 C3/ C4	C2 C3/ C4	C2 C3/ C4			
<i>Week 6</i>	No observation – approaching school exam							
<i>Week 7</i>	1st School Monthly Exam (10th ~16th Oct. 2004)							
<i>Week 8</i>	QS/P C2/ C3	QS/P C2	QS/P	QS/P			QS/P	QS/P
<i>Week 9</i>					QS/P	QS/P	C2/ C3	C2/ C3
<i>Week10</i>		C3/ C4				WT	WT	WT
<i>Week11</i>								
<i>Week12</i>	WT				WT			
<i>Week13</i>		WT	WT	WT				
<i>Week14</i>	2nd School Monthly Exam (28th Nov. ~ 04th Dec. 2004)							
<i>Week15</i>	WH/ WS/ WP		WH/ WP		WS		WH/ WS/ WP	
<i>Week16</i>	WS		WS					
<i>Week17</i>					WP (27 th Dec)		WP	
	Left the field (27th Dec. 2004)							

Notes: ST = substitute teaching. IC = seeking informed consent.
 C = classroom observations, 1-4
 Q = questionnaire administration (S students, T teachers, P parents).
 W = interviews (S students, P parents, T teachers, H heads).

2.4.2.1 Classroom observation

As indicated in Table 2.12, the main study started in Mountainside School on 2 September 2004. The first two weeks were predominantly concerned with securing informed consent from students and providing written briefing for head teachers, teachers, students and parents. As some of the teachers to be observed had expressed initial concerns, either verbally or non-verbally, about the prospect of being uncomfortable with my presence in the back corner of their classrooms, even as a non-participant, initial or first class observations were regarded as a 'trial' without sound recording. I took fieldnotes and annotated activity in terms of the typology outlined in Table 2.10, making it easier for teachers and students to get used gradually to my presence. Questionnaires were also given out to English teachers who were observed. During weeks 3 to 5 formal and audio-recorded observations were made 11 times in four classrooms and were resumed and completed between weeks 8 and 10, making a total of 28. None were made in weeks 6 and 7 when intensive test review lessons took place prior to the School Monthly Exam (see Table 2.12).

Table 2.13: Scheduled observation timetable

Locales	Class	Dates				Total
<i>Urbany</i>	A	7 th Sep	18 th Oct	19 th Oct		3
	B	7 th Sep	18 th Oct	1 st Nov	2 nd Nov	4
<i>Suburbany</i>	C	10 th Sep	15 th Sep	17 th Sep		4
	D	10 th Sep	30 th Sep	1 st Oct		3
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	E	7 th Sep	29 th Sep	30 th Sep	1 st Oct	4
	F	7 th Sep	29 th Sep	30 th Sep	1 st Oct	4
<i>Mountainside</i>	G	2 nd Sep	25 th Oct	26 th Oct		3
	H	3 rd Sep	27 th Oct	27 th Oct		3
Total						28 hours

2.4.2.2 Questionnaire administration

Whereas teacher questionnaires were administered in weeks 1 and 2 before observation began, student questionnaires were completed in weeks 8 and 9, right after the first School Monthly Exam in the belief that they were likely to be more willing to do so carefully on the basis of rapport built up during my classroom presence over the previous month. Most were completed in Class Meetings or Morning Sessions in order to minimise interference with formal, subject learning (see Table 2.14 below). All questionnaires in the four schools were given out and supervised by me in the belief that I could timely respond to students' queries. Meanwhile, parents' questionnaires were distributed to students who were encouraged to invite their parents to complete. Participant English teachers were encouraged to remind their classes to return them.

Table 2.14: Carried out students' questionnaires

Locales	Class	Date	Time	Session
<i>Urbany</i>	A	18 th October	0820~0900	Class Meeting
	B	18 th October	0915~0955	Class Meeting
<i>Suburbany</i>	C	22 nd October	1515~1555	Class Meeting
	D	22 nd October	1620~1700	English
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	E	29 th October	0810~0850	Class Meeting
	F	29 th October	0730~0810	Morning Session
<i>Mountainside</i>	G	19 th October	1515~1555	English
	H	19 th October	1315~1355	Class Meeting

2.4.2.3 Interviews

Interviews were carried out mainly between weeks 10 and 17, with teachers between weeks 10 to 13 before the second School Monthly Exam and with school heads, 17 students and six parents from week 15 to 17 (see Table 2.15). Although the last parent interview, on 27th December 2004 in Hakka Rural School symbolised an official ending of the fieldwork, several on-going email contacts with student and teacher interviewees took place subsequently. These allowed me to follow up the progress of some of the central participants' English learning.

Table 2.15: Interview timetable

	Urbany	Suburbany	Hakka Rural	Mountainside	Total
<i>Head teachers</i>	1	informal	N/A	informal	3
<i>English teachers</i>	3	3	3	3	12
<i>Students</i>	4	3	5	5	17
<i>Parents</i>	1	2	1	2	6

Synchronising interview times and their management was, indeed, complex. For example, most teacher interviews had to be arranged in periods when they were free from teaching while, for students, available time was limited, given their tight, daily timetables. Most of students' interviews were carried out in Class Meetings, Morning Sessions or Extra Curriculum periods, again avoiding interference to their formal subject learning.

2.5 Data analysis

This study relied on four forms of data collection investigate different planes of analysis (Rogoff, 1995). Given its constructivist stance, a fundamentally qualitative design was combined with some quantitative instruments such as questionnaires and with historical analysis. This was in keeping with the socio-cultural approach to learning that is seen as 'situated' within successive 'planes of analysis'. Analysis of classroom events aimed to present actual processes of classroom life at the interpersonal level, while analysis of interview material, particularly for students, helped to reveal their personal English learning histories and identities.

2.5.1 Historical analysis

Among library sources and texts, four anthropological accounts concerning the developmental history of Taiwan in terms of class, ethnicity and English learning were of particular importance. These comprised a number of journal articles in *The China Quarterly*, *Anthropology of Taiwanese Society* (Ahern and Gate, 1981), *Guest People: Hakka Identity in China and Abroad* (Constable, 1996) and *The report of Indigenous cultural customs: Paiwan tribe* (Volume 5) (Chiang, 2004). The first three sources were published in English, the last in

Chinese by the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica in Taiwan. The first two were particularly fruitful sources of ethnic history of migration and conflict within Taiwanese society and their geographical and political referents, while the anthropological accounts of the latter two provided in-depth, cultural interpretation of relevant issues concerning Hakka and indigenous Paiwan ethnic groups.

Informal visits were made to the communities of the two rural ethnic groups, Hakka and indigenous Paiwan. As my sister-in-law was an ethnic Hakka who grew up in the Meniung Hakka community and graduated from Hakka Rural School, my regular visits to the community were not only facilitated but rendered rather natural. One visit took place in my sister-in-law's family front yard where her parents, both in their mid- 60s and relatives, including a young, newly graduated PhD, sat around chatting freely while chewing domestic grown sugar cane on a summer afternoon in 2004. Our informal talk centred on my upcoming study on English learning in the village and touched on issues relating to the cultural focus of academic study and its relation to students' cram schooling and the tendency of many Hakka parents to work outside the community, passing children to the care of their grandparents. In addition, in the initial phase of field entry into the Paiwan community, I had an informal talk with a Paiwan woman and her Pakistani husband who sold traditional home-made Paiwan earthenware and craft items next to Moutainside's school gate. After purchasing a tiny souvenir (a key chain with wild pig tooth) I asked a few general questions about Paiwan students' after-school learning experiences, English speaking opportunities at home and church going activities. During another visit to a high achieving student's mother during my substitute teaching in the summer of 2004, we talked informally in the family-run barbershop while she cut my hair. She revealed her values toward education as a Paiwan mother and why her daughter stood out as an outstanding, high academic achiever, unlike the majority of her disillusioned peers in the senior high class. All accounts of such encounters were recorded as fieldnotes on the day that they occurred.

2.5.2 Questionnaire analysis

While all eight teachers completed questionnaires, as can be seen in Table 2.16, the 268 participant students in the four schools completed 253 valid returns, while 177 parents questionnaires were collected, a return rate of 66 per cent.

Table 2.16: Responded student and parent questionnaires

Locales	Class	Students	Valid Students	Parents
<i>Urbany</i>	A	36	34	25
	B	36	31	18
<i>Suburbany</i>	C	30	29	21
	D	40	40	27
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	E	37	34	23
	F	32	30	25
<i>Mountainside</i>	G	28	28	15
	H	29	27	23
Total		268	253	177
		Returning rate	94%	66%

Among the 15 invalid student questionnaires, some were from disengaged students who appeared to have lost interest in the course of completing the task (see Research Diary below). Others were found to have either missing values or revealed inconsistency, predominantly on closed questions in Part II.

[Research Diary: During the course of data coding, I found that on certain items some students had not been patient or sincere enough in filling in their questionnaire [...] they were taken out as invalid ones. Interestingly, these impatient informants were the ones who suffered from learning English, judging from their test scores and negative messages or attitudes revealed in certain questions [...] students who seemed to have misinterpreted certain questions leading to ambiguous answers or inconsistency were characterised as making invalid returns. However, some of them were still counted as valid if I could find interior consistency from other, related responses.] (21st April, 2005)

Student returns were coded into an SPSS data base for analysis, while those of teachers and parents were handled manually, those of teachers mainly used to form the basis of interview questions and for description and elaboration of their classroom practices. Parents' questionnaires were used as the basis for selecting student and parent interviewees. For those SPSS coded, a descriptive, statistical analysis involving frequencies was carried out on both closed and open questions. Closed questions predominating in Part II, 1-43, were directly put into the SPSS data base, while open questions required prior application of further coding schemes. While closed questions were coded with simple, numeric values (e.g., '1' for 'Yes' and '0' for 'NO'), open questions were initially conceptualised and coded into more elaborate categories based on informants' original meaning before coding into the SPSS data base. Table 2.17 exemplifies this procedure with respect of Question 3. For example, in answering why they wanted to learn English, 'get good scores' or 'attend better school' was categorised as 'schooling' whilst 'international language' or 'making foreign friends' as 'communication'. Each category was then coded numerically and entered into the SPSS data base. Acknowledging the fact that informant's original answers or meanings might become invisible in a later phase of the study following coding into categories, 'analytical lay-outs', as in Table 2.17, for coding open questions were made, in an attempt to keep informants' actual meanings available throughout. Reflections on coding processes were kept in a research diary to assist future interpretation. Students' questionnaires yielded 269 variables which were analysed using simple, descriptive statistics.

Table 2.17: Example coding scheme: Question 3

3. (a3) Did you yourself want to learn it (English)? (1) Yes (0) No

(a3.1) (If yes) Why?

(a3.1) Why	(1) Schooling	Get good scores (majority)
		Easier than other subject /easy to recite
		Attend better school
		Can teach others
		Important school subject
		Study abroad
	(2) Job /career	Browse on foreign website
		Better Job Opportunity
	(3) Communication	International language
		Communication /Making foreign friends
		Connect with the world
(4) Obligated to	Able to communicate with Americans	
	Boring (forced by parents)	
	Everyone's learning it/ they go, so I go (to cram school)	
	Got to learn it anyhow, so just learn it	
(5) Important/ helpful	No reason given/ for nothing	
	Important (majority)	
	Useful	
(6) Parental expectation	Future Benefit	
	Improve knowledge	
(7) Personal desire /interest /fun	Match Mum's expectation	
	Interesting / fun (majority)	
	Traveling	
	Want to learn it since childhood	
	Want to know more foreign language	
	Singing English songs	
	Interested in western culture	
	Like foreigners	
	For watching cartoon on TV	
	Envy foreigners who have good ENG ability	
(8) Peer pressure	Catch up with classmates who have good ENG ability (peer pressure)	
	Make me look knowledgeable	
(9) High Status	To show off	
(10) don't know	Not knowing why	
(11) other	Like ENG Teacher's teaching style	

2.5.3 Interview analysis

In analysing interview data, part of the pre-existing or structured questions were used to triangulate questionnaire or observational findings and to illustrate in-depth personal accounts concerning English learning. All interview data, collected predominantly in Mandarin Chinese, were transcribed in English. In order to keep significant, original Chinese meanings, certain elements were transcribed with attached Chinese meaning in brackets. 'Thematic analysis' drawing on questions already foreshadowed in the research literature was employed as a gradual process of developing interpretation through the 'hermeneutic circle' (Boyatzis, 1998).

Students' interview data were used to map how those from different ethnic groups appeared to learn English differently. Both higher and lower achieving participants provided insightful knowledge as to how they got access to English in various everyday settings, such as in local communities, at home, school or cram schools. Students' social identities concerning learning, gender and language were investigated to map their dynamic trajectories in learning English language in their communities of practice. Discourse analysis was also employed in investigating lower achievers' interview data, mostly Hakka or indigenous Paiwan, who were found to be less eloquent than their urban participant peers, particularly in articulating their seemingly 'patchy' English learning experiences. Such interviews took place on a largely 'turn-taking' basis involving rather short responses. It could be argued that the fact that interviews was carried out in Mandarin Chinese rather than mother tongues (i.e., Hakka or Paiwan dialects) by an English specialist, ethnic Hokkien, outsider, adult researcher with multiple field roles led to or exacerbated their ineloquence.

Head teacher and teacher interview data was predominately used to chart school ethos and students' general English learning behaviour within school campuses. Some English teachers who were ethnic Hakka or indigenous Paiwan insiders provided particularly insightful accounts pertaining to advantages or constraints of students from different ethnic groups learning English. In addition, descriptions of teachers' personal English learning and teaching histories were used to interpret their pedagogical interactions with students. Parents' accounts served to inform different planes of analysis, especially the personal, as will be indicated in Chapter Six.

2.5.4 Classroom observation analysis

Observational data gained from 28-hour sessions in the eight classrooms was analysed using the typology outlined in Section 2.1.2.4. The typology, which had provided general guidelines for data collection, was further developed as the process of analysis progressed. Initial analysis involved roughly filling in relevant analytical categories on the coding sheets alongside descriptive fieldnotes. This preliminary step helped in selection of particular class sessions for further analysis, using transcriptions. Some 'indigenous' or 'folk' terms recorded in fieldnotes were analysed to represent the world of classroom culture. At the second stage, though not all 28 class hours observed were transcribed, all audio-recordings were listened to over and over again, alongside coding sheets and fieldnotes. In terms of the research questions under study, at least one class session in each classroom was identified as significant, then transcribed for further analysis. Transcription conventions (see Appendix 11) used to identify pauses, gaps, explanatory asides and untranscribable words were taken from Silverman (1993) in helping to present raw data. A third stage of manually based discourse analysis was then employed on the typologically encoded raw data. Initially the two classrooms in the same school were compared using contrastive analysis, followed by general comparison across all eight classrooms in an attempt to identify differences and similarities in teachers' pedagogic, as well as teacher-student interactional, styles.

An example of how one aspect of the typological scheme was applied to classroom discourse may be taken using the category 'Joint-Knowledge Markers', focused on the sub-category 'appealing to shared experience', used to identify teachers' interactional styles in sharing everyday culture. In Extract 5.7 below Ms. Mei at Hakka Rural School 'appealed to shared experience' in relating Hakka students' everyday culture to their English learning.

Extract 5.7:

(see Chapter Five, Section 5.3.2.1.2 Sharing everyday Hakka culture)

- 1 T: After the dialogue about wearing school uniform, Coco changed
- 2 the topic by asking 'Do you go to cram school?'
- 3 ((writes on board and reads)) 'Do you go to cram school?'
- 4 (Coco changed a topic by asking what?-M)=
- 5 Ss: ((answer promptly)) = ('Do you go to cram school?'-M)
- 6 T: Cram school. 'Cram' is a new word. Read after me. 'Cram' =
- 7 Ss: ((repeat)) =Cram
- [...]
- 12 T: Wow... 'schools'. We have plural 's' here, meaning lots of them.
- 13 Do you go to cram schools? [...] seem like a lot of you do. Please
- 14 raise your hands if you go to cram schools.
- 15 Ss: ((Raise hands and make a little noise.))

The term 'Do you go to cram schools?' appeared to be significant as a joint-knowledge marker, initially coded as 'E-3' (see Appendix 10), then further analysed, using discourse analysis. In this vein, this analytical strategy allowed me to assess the extent to which teacher drew on students' ethnic culture and mother tongue to 'bridge' (Rogoff, 1990) their access to English language learning.

2.6 Carrying out the research: a reflexive comment

This study employed a socio-cultural approach to learning in seeking to investigate differential achievement in English and relationships between ethnic culture and English language learning in particular classroom cultures. This entailed adoption of cross-disciplinary approaches involving areas of psychological, sociological, anthropological and linguistic investigation, using multiple methods, including questionnaires, classroom observation and semi-structured interviews, yielding both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Complexity of analytical approach and the design and use of a variety of research instruments in four schools was labour-intensive for a sole researcher. This made it particularly important that both theoretical and empirical issues and their relation received reflexive attention.

2.6.1 Analytical approaches

Only student questionnaires (253 valid returns) were coded into the SPSS data base which eventually comprised 269 variables. Ideally, responses of parents (117) and teachers (8) were to be coded alongside them. However, limits on my time as a sole researcher made this impossible, though they served invaluable associated purposes and will provide useful sources for future research. In the analytical phase, given that items were mostly open in Parts I and III of the questionnaires, the development of coding schemes and the processes of using them were both laborious and problematic. In describing their actual learning circumstances, students were encouraged to specify answers in great detail. Their responses might involve or refer to several variables and coding these answers into relevant categories in the initial, analytical phase was necessary as a qualitative research process of 'data reduction' (Miles and Huberman, 1994). But Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 108) remind us that data analysis is not simply a question of coding or categorising but is researchers' 'representation or reconstruction of social phenomena.' There are limitations as well as strengths to such analytical approaches, given that categories and relationships are 'powerful' matrices that enable analysts to reconstruct social meanings and that analysts suffer the temptation of imposing their own symbols and categories upon them. That the reflexive sole researcher should strive to 'stay

true' to data collected and be 'consistent' while coding was something of which I sought to remain constantly aware throughout coding and reporting processes.

Using even a partial typological approach in carrying out classroom observations was useful but also problematic. Sensitising categories act as 'a powerful grid' based on prior categorisation help in organising data. Patton (2002) cautioned against allowing such matrices to lead an entire analysis rather than treating them as guides to ongoing exploration. In practice, as both classroom observer and analyst, I found it inevitable that I constructed my own versions of classroom events, especially as the lenses I wore were implicitly 'contaminated' by my former experience as a qualified, experienced English teacher. For this reason I was aware of the importance of keeping an open relationship between analytic-coding, imposition of my own meanings and categories and those of my informants, which I often found were contained in 'indigenous' or 'folk' terms requiring careful noting in fieldnotes in representing their classroom cultural worlds. However, the use of pre-existing categories in observation, informed by the study research questions, kept my observations focused throughout.

Acknowledging these characteristics and limits of data analysis, combining quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (observation and interview) analysis in this study may be seen as nothing more than a 'craft' that carries ongoing thinking about what has been said, represented and reconstructed.

2.6.2 Access and doing the right things

Without appropriate access, work of this sort cannot even begin. But gaining formal access is merely the first step, for access is nothing without rapport. I found that there were major issues to be confronted as to how field rapport was to be gained, subjects' willingness promoted and both accomplished without violating ethical principles, particularly with respect of students. Given the asymmetry of power relations between teachers and students, particularly in traditional, respectful, Taiwanese culture, the fact that successful access to teachers ensures access to their classes tends to be taken for granted. However, as a former teacher, I held strongly to the view that such access to should neither be taken advantage of nor taken for granted. Ethical issues

concerning 'informed consent' and 'debriefing' (BSA, 2002) to participant students were, therefore, prioritised as an essential part of this study.

Indeed, fieldwork roles and relations are so complex that they deserve great attention. The actualities of fieldwork require researchers to be 'flexible' and 'inventive' (de Laine, 2000) suggested that they might take either outsider or insider perspectives in capturing different data. In general, the literature now strongly suggests that no 'one size fits all' in fieldwork and my roles went beyond the simple dualism of outsider and insider. The variety of my 'selves' in the field included my position as a researcher from a prestigious UK university, a former local English teacher (including a brief appearance in the summer session in Suburbany) and an ethnic Hokkien. I found I referred to myself (or was referred to) in different ways throughout the fieldwork as my different selves became salient over time and across school contexts. Being a member of the Hokkien majority inevitably invoked my implicit sensibilities concerning existing, asymmetrical power relations among ethnic groups, especially when I was among minority ethnic groups at Hakka Rural and Mountainside Schools. Sharing the common 'historical memory' of ethnic feuding among Hokkien, Hakka and indigenous social groups in Taiwan (see Chapter Three), I found physical field access imbued with mental awareness and caution, particularly during interviews. In compliance with BSA ethical guidelines interview questions were scrutinised so as to obviate questions and formulations related to the possible vulnerability of ethnic minority participants, avoiding overt, sensitive questions, such as those relating to language behaviour and ethnic identity.

Scribner and Cole (1981) highlighted the necessity of role flexibility in their fieldwork in Liberia where they confronted initial suspicion but gradually got rapport by offering help to the local communities under study. In an effort to shift my 'outsider' role, I managed to create new ones as an English language 'helper', 'consultant' or 'problem solver' with participant school heads, teachers, students and parents alongside the 'trade-offs' or 'compromised contributions', noted earlier, aimed at gaining field rapport. As Atkison and Delamont (2006) argued, fieldwork entails many variations in selfhood and interpersonal relations, such that one cannot assume which personal characteristics will be significant in the course of field research. Their assertion helps to challenge superficial assumptions about becoming an 'insider' and establishing 'rapport'. Drawing on my background as a privileged English teacher and researcher from abroad, my

many situationally created 'selves' to the field were, hopefully, ultimately justified both by the production of new and useful insights, appropriately theorised, that may reflect back into the life of those who allowed me to work among them.

Chapter Three

History in context

This chapter provides an account of ethnic groups within Taiwan against which processes of learning English can be discussed. A historical description of them is linked to their geographic, political and cultural features. In the next section, the socio-political importance of English as an economic issue is discussed. The final section describes public schooling and its curriculum. Such an overview of the historico-political context of social groups is integral to a socio-cultural approach to learning involving multiple planes of analysis where various settings, such as local communities, the historico-cultural legacies of ethnic groups, schools, homes, and personal characteristics have to be taken into consideration. Rogoff's (1995) three planes of analysis, community, interpersonal and personal are addressed in turn in the following three chapters.

3.1 Ethnic hybridity in Taiwan

Taiwan is an island with an ethnically mixed population composed mainly of Hokkien, Chinese Mainlander, Hakka and indigenous people. Tension exists among these social groups concerning language discrimination and oppression creating socio-cultural, political and identity problems (Huang, 2000). Ethnic cultural variations are particularly pivotal for our understanding the valences attached to English language learning.

3.1.1 Historical divisions

Before the seventeenth century the culture of Taiwan had barely been influenced by those of China, India or the Arabic and Christian worlds. Following the establishment of a Dutch colony in southern Taiwan in 1624 a series of colonial incidents occurred, eventually leading to the official claim that Taiwan was part of Qing territory in 1684 (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Taiwan 1624 ~1684

Regimes	Year	Event
Dutch	1624	Dutch East India Company established a colony in Tainan (southern Taiwan).
Spanish	1626	Spanish built a fort but were driven out by Dutch force in 1642
Dutch	1640	The Dutch attacked the aboriginal population. Hundreds were sold as slaves.
Ming dynasty	1661	After the Manchurian (Qing) took over of mainland China, the last Ming dynasty army, led by Cheng-gong Zheng, retreated to Taiwan, landing near Tainan.
Qing dynasty	1684	Official claim of Taiwan as part of Qing territory.

Historically, from the beginning of the 17th century, the majority of migrants who arrived in Taiwan from China were Han Chinese but with sub-ethnic differences. Most were fleeing from social turmoil or hardship in southern Fujian and eastern Guangdong provinces (see Figure 3.1). The descendants of these two migratory groups now make up by far the two largest population groups (69% and 15%, respectively) (see Figure 3.2 below).



Figure 3.1: History of migration

(Accessed from BBC News, 2004: Printed with permission)

1. First known settlers arrive from South East Asia.
2. 17th Century: Migration from Fujian and Guangdong provinces.
3. Chinese Nationalist government flee Communist advance.

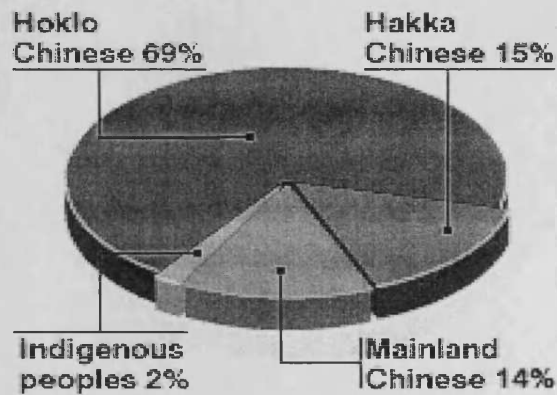


Figure 3.2: Ethnic mix in Taiwan

The majority of the early 'Hoklo Chinese' (hereafter called Hokkien) immigrants (also known as the Southern Fujianese or the Minnanese) were from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou in southern Fujian. They settled in locations which they found to be similar to their home towns in China. Hakka Chinese (literally 'guest people') arrived at Taiwan a little later than those early Hokkien immigrants, settling predominately in hilly areas. Most were from Huizhou, Chaozhou and Jiayingzhou in eastern Guangdong Province. Taiwan became a colony of Japan following the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and remained so until its fall in 1945. In the post war era, mainly in 1949, an influx of Chinese Mainlanders, fleeing from Communist advance in Mainland China, replaced Taiwan's Japanese colonial government and now comprises some 14 per cent of its population (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Political history of modern Taiwan

Regimes	Period	Years	Dominant language(s)
Qing dynasty	1684-1895	211	Ethnic dialects
Japanese	1895-1945	50	Japanese
Nationalist (KMT), Martial Law	1949-1987	38	Mandarin
Nationalist, Transitional period	1987-1996	9	Mandarin
Full electoral period (KMT)	1996-2000	4	Mandarin & English
Democratic Progressive Party(DPP)	2000-present		Mandarin, Hokkien & English

Long before Han Chinese migration footprints of aboriginal occupation for thousands of years can be found all over Taiwan. Based on recent statistics twelve indigenous tribes now officially make up roughly two per cent of its population, the Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kavalan, Paiwan, Pinuyumayan (also known as Puyuma or Punuyumayan), Rukai, Saisiyat, Thao, Truku, Tsou, and Yami (also known as the Tao) (see Figure 3.3). In 2005, the total indigenous population was about 465,000 (GIO, 2007), although the exact population of each ethnic group is still in dispute.



Figure 3.3: Distribution of indigenous tribes

3.1.2 Geographical divisions

Geographically, Hokkien people settled on the plains and developed seaports and river ports, providing good living conditions and close networks for trade with the 'mother' country, China (see Figure 3.4 below). Taipei (in the north) and Kaohsiung city (in the south) have developed as the largest two seaports in Taiwan (Council for Cultural Affairs-CCA, 2004). Hakka people inhabited more marginal areas than the Hokkien, living on rather tough and less lucrative farm land. Mainlanders, primarily soldiers and Chinese Nationalist government officials lived mainly in military camps and urban areas, 'the larger the city, the higher the proportion of mainlanders' (Greenhalgh 1984: 537).

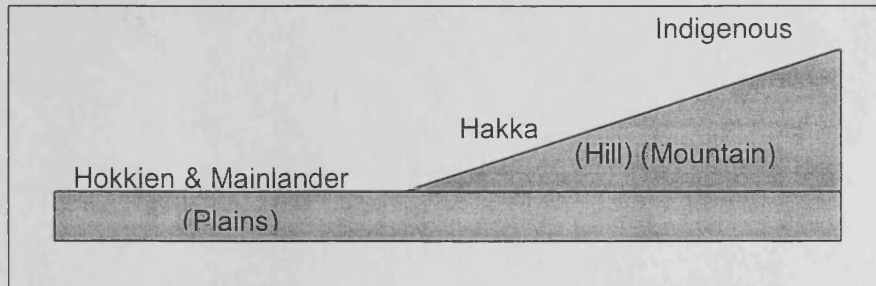


Figure 3.4: Geographical distribution of ethnic groups

Though many indigenous people were originally plains dwellers, as Chinese immigrants inched their way forward, opening up Taiwan's grassland for agriculture, they were forced to withdraw from the plains and head towards the rugged mountains to lead their hunting and farming lifestyles and were labelled 'mountain people' (*shan-di-ren*) by Han Chinese migrants (Thompson, 1984), 'high mountain people' during Japanese rule from 1895 and, after Japan's withdrawal from the island, they were again termed 'mountain people' by the Chinese Nationalist government which settled in Taiwan in 1949 (see Table 3.2 above). The current term 'aborigine' or 'indigenous people' was not officially used until 1995.

3.1.3 Political tension and oppression

The four ethnic groups speak dialects that have very different linguistic roots. Those from Fujian province, who constituted the major part of pre-1895 immigrants before Japanese colonialism, spoke the Hokkien dialect, nowadays termed '*tai-yü*' or 'Taiwanese' or 'Southern Min', while those from Guangdong province spoke Hakka. Mainlanders mainly spoke Mandarin Chinese, officially called '*guo-yü*', which became the national language in Taiwan and which is identical to the official language in China. Indigenous people have individual tribal languages whose characteristics are Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) according to anthropological and linguistic research (Thompson, 1984).

Historically, political tension has existed among groups over the past two hundred years (see Table 3.1 above) centring primarily on limited land resources. Before the arrival of the Chinese National Government in 1949 feuds between Hokkien land occupants and later Hakka incomers were widely

documented, the latter tending to cluster together for self-protection in the foothills or allying themselves with other Hakka communities 'against the numerically superior Hokkien-speakers and, occasionally, against the aborigines located further into the mountains' thus giving rise to the stereotyped notion of the Hakka people's 'ethnic cliquishness' (Thompson, 1984: 555).

Political rivalry between Mainlanders and other native Taiwanese in the post-war era also led to a language hierarchy and ethnic conflict although, in recent years, multiculturalism has become official policy. To ensure national monolingualism and to justify its perceived role as legally representing China, the Chinese Nationalist government promoted Mandarin as Taiwan's 'national language', from 1949 until 1987, enforcing a Mandarin Language Policy in schools, whereby pupils were not permitted to speak their mother tongues (Sandel, 2003). This declaration of Mandarin as the national language gave it 'high language' political status (Huang, 1993), ostensibly denying the legitimacy of other ethnic languages, undergirding a language hierarchy, which Giles and Johnson term 'ethnic speech markers' (1981), which has been a constant source of antagonism among social groups within Taiwanese society for decades. Language suppression has impaired ethnic identity within minority groups, inducing the death of 'low languages', such as Hakka. English has emerged as a new form of 'high language' in ways that may further contribute to social inequality, as will be further addressed in the following chapters.

3.1.4 Portraits of ethnic cultures

Ethnic cultural variations are particularly pivotal for our understanding of how value is attached to English language learning. The four social groups, which will be considered in turn, have both specific cultural roots and intimate relations with each other.

The Hokkien people, as has been noted, settled in the plains and developed seaports and river ports which provided good living conditions and close trade networks with the 'mother' country, China. Being a Hokkien, as Greenhalgh (1984) suggested, has meant aiming to move from small to large-scale entrepreneurship and climbing the commercial ladder. For three hundred years

the 'business Hokkien', arguably, with their historico-cultural legacy of business trading and contribution to economic growth and success, has become one of our most distinctive ethnic characters. As the largest business trading and social group in Taiwan, the Hokkien have tightly connected with English as a key foreign language. Taiwan's entry into the World Trade Organisation (hereafter termed WTO) in 2002 symbolised the depth of its engagement in global business.

When the Chinese Nationalist government settled in Taiwan in 1949 it brought with it about 1.2 million people, the majority in the military, civil service and education (GIO, 2007). They lived mainly in cities in unique clusters called 'residential military communities' (*juan-cun*). Many second generation Mainlanders were brought up in '*juan-cun*' and were labelled '*wai-sheng-ren*' in contrast to local Taiwanese '*ban-sheng-ren*'. They brought with them their own customs, traditions and political influences, their cultural influence evidenced in art, food, literature and what rapidly became the widespread use of Mandarin. Their lifestyles as predominantly urbanites working either in the military or the civil service gave them what was generally considered to be relatively high political and social status. 'White-collar Mainlanders' (Greenhalgh, 1984) became distinctive ethnic characters differentiated from other social groups, whose second generation characteristically sought social mobility by move from low to higher-responsibility salaried public sector jobs, affording them more access than others to English as a foreign language.

Hakka history and culture in Taiwan was nicely captured by a Hakka historian some eighty decades ago:

'They are a strong, hardy, energetic, fearless race [...] Self-reliant and active, their rapid expansion and fondness of property have often brought them into conflict with their neighbors [...] Fundamentally the Hakka is a farmer, forced by poverty to struggle with the unproductive soil [...] They usually occupy the hilly and less fertile districts, while the Punti (bendi) (earlier Han Chinese inhabitants) remain in possession of the fertile deltas and plains [...] The women folk are strong and energetic, and have never adopted foot-binding as a custom.' (Hsieh, 1929, cited in Constable, 1996: 10)

Hakka women's dual gender roles in Meinung have been unique in Chinese history, active in both domestic and farming work in contrast to those in other Chinese social groups where sexes were 'strictly separated in domestic life', women tending to work inside and men outside the home. Hakka people have remained 'proud of the literary accomplishments of their ancestors' and are known for their traditional emphasis on 'academic study'. *Jing-zi Pavilion*, seen in Figure 3.5, built in 1769 to burn papers with written words on them in order to promote the custom of cherishing them, represents traditional Meinung people's respect for literature since ancient times.



Figure 3.5: 'Jing-zi' Pavilion
(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)

The resounding reputation of the 'town of PhDs' in the Hakka Meinung community strongly exemplifies this cultural legacy of emphasis on 'academic study'. Inspired by the old Hakka saying 'we would sell ancestor's farm lands rather than forget their words' (*ning-mei-zu-zhung-tian bu-wang-zu-zhung-yan*), hundreds of PhDs and thousands of Masters' and Bachelors' degrees have been produced in Meinung over the past three decades. Many students have achieved doctorates in education and work in professional educational positions outside the community. Encouraged by this cultural legacy, the gradual expansion of its cram school provision has related not only to economic opportunities but also the popularity of English and academic study in general.

Tension has existed between Hakka and other, dominant social groups in terms of ethnic identity and spoken language rooted in conflict over scarce land resources. 'Invisible Hakka identity' characterises many of their urban migrants, Mandarin Chinese as the existing 'high language' and the recent rising tide of both local Hokkien and foreign English languages having become threats to Hakka mother tongue and leading them to abandon it both as a means of obscuring their humble ethnic origins and privileging highly sought after academic success. Official 'multiculturalism' has done little to sustain many other endangered, minority dialects in Taiwan and Hakka language is dying out rapidly. Mr. Zhao, a senior Hakka English teacher and administrator at Hakka Rural School expressed concern that Hakka dialect had moved to the stage of 'ICU' (Intensive Care Unit in hospital) in face of the enormous influence of 'Mandarin Chinese'. Hakka students' choice of songs in school singing contests well exemplified the influence of such language discrimination on Hakka mother tongue, as Mr. Zhao said:

'Students were enormously influenced by 'Mandarin Chinese' (kuo-yü). When we held a singing contest at school, [...] the first choice of students was Mandarin, followed by Hokkien songs, the choice of Hakka songs were "relatively rare" (hen-shao).'

This unpopularity of Hakka songs might have symptomatised language value asymmetry, such as will be explored further in Chapter Six.

As Figure 3.4 shows there are officially twelve indigenous tribes distributed around the central and eastern regions of Taiwan. The Paiwan tribe located in its most southern regions around Pin-tong and Tai-tong counties is the third largest with a population of some 78,000 (GIO, 2007). Among its many distinctive cultural features are beliefs in sun and snake totems and a social hierarchy consisting of nobility and commoners, under which the nobility leased land to commoners for farming, while some members of the community concentrated on the arts. In terms of religion, though some 30 per cent of modern Paiwan people believe in Western religions, particularly what they refer to as Christian and Catholic (detailed in Section 4.2.2), they also believe that their ancestral spirits, dwelling on Da-wu Mountain, come down every five years to visit to their descendants. The Five-Year Ceremony, '*Maleveq*' in the Paiwan language, is their most important ritual, celebrating reunion with returned of

gods and ancestors, celebrated in Hu's (1984) anthropological film *The Return of Gods and Ancestors: The Five-Year Ceremony* (cited in Graves, 1987). As became apparent during classroom observation, some attempt was made to refer to the rite in English teaching (see Section 5.3.3). Though many indigenous cultural practices appear to be in decline in the wake of widespread social and economic change the *Maleveq*, which normally lasts for 3~5 days, is still celebrated, most recently in October, 2003 during the course of the fieldwork for this study. According to local legend, the gods and ancestors bring fortune as well as misfortune. In the key rite of *Maleveq*, individual families have to compete for gods' gifts, represented symbolically by ten small 'balls' woven of bamboo stripes, called '*qapudrung*' in Paiwan language. Five of the balls are said to represent good fortune and five others misfortune. According to Graves (1987), the key rite of the *Maleveq* takes place after the gods and ancestors have arrived. This rite clearly reveals the essentially competitive nature of *Maleveq*. In 2003, the competition was held on flat ground on a hill adjacent to Mountainside School. Each family put forward a champion equipped with a long 'bamboo pole' (*djuljat*) who sat on elevated stands arranged in a circle with other competitors hold long poles in a vertical position (see Figure 3.6). At their centre key, religious figures stood while balls are tossed skyward, one after another, while competitors swayed their poles in a rhythmic effort to catch one of them on their sharpened tips. The rite continued until all ten balls had been spiked, ending in gains for some families and losses for others.

The Paiwan group are particularly distinguished in terms of artistic, for example, manufacture of earthenware pots, glass beads and woodcarving, participated in by men only and weaving, participated in by women only. Sing and dancing are favourite everyday, leisure activities transmitted between generations: 'Paiwan young people are able to sing and dance because they have seen and imitated these practices since childhood' (Chiang, 2004: 336). A junior high school team from the Bunun tribe who won the national English drama competition in 2004, the first ever indigenous competitors and champions in the four years since the competition began, amply exemplified indigenous people's talent for performance.

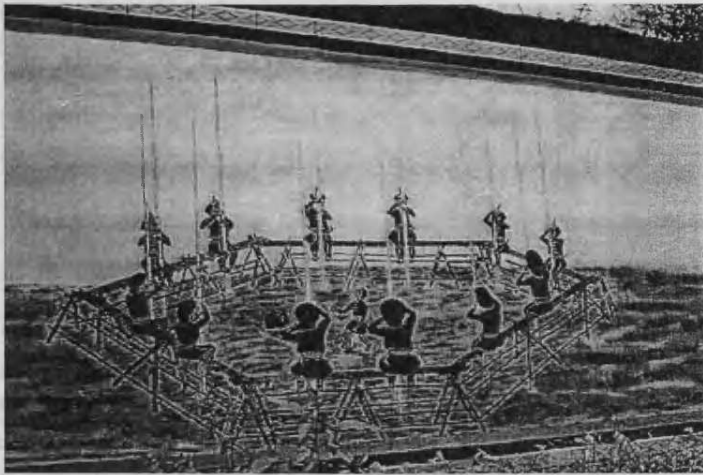


Figure 3.6: The key rite of *Maleveq*, ball-spiking

(Wall painting in the community; Photo by Wen-Chuan Lin)

Indigenous Paiwan, as well as other tribes, share a powerful cultural legacy of athletic prowess cannot be over-emphasised. Figure 3.7 represents the physical fitness and athletic agility traditionally celebrated and highly valued in the Paiwan annual athletic contest held each year.

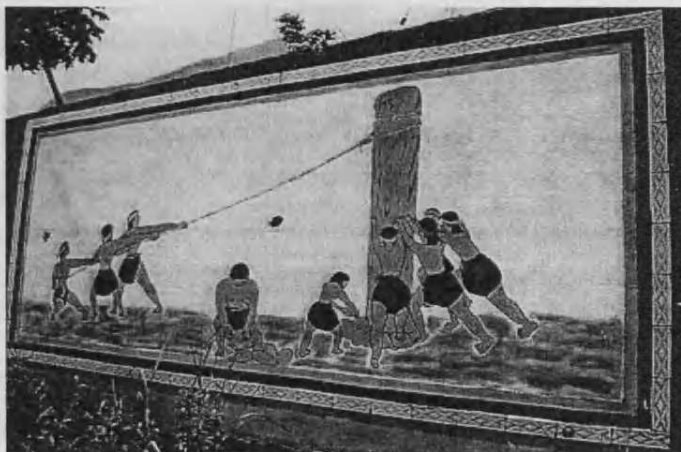


Figure 3.7: Celebration of athletic prowess

(Wall painting in the community; Photo by Wen-Chuan Lin)

Successful models of international, athletic performance inspire young Paiwan people, most notably Mr. Chuan-Guang Yang (1933-2007) of the indigenous Ami tribe, known as the 'Iron Man of Asia', winning gold for Taiwan in the decathlon at the 1954 and 1958 Asian Games and setting a new world record in 1963. His most memorable competition was the duel with his fellow UCLA schoolmate, Mr. Rafer Johnson, at the 1960 Summer Olympics in Rome, where Mr. Yang was awarded silver (see Figure 3.8). Mr. Yang's athletic prowess and achievement inspired thousands of his fellow indigenous youngsters to develop their athletic potential, as at Mountainside as will be seen in Chapter Five.



Figure 3.8: 'Iron Man of Asia', Mr. Chuan-Guang Yang (right)
 (Accessed from Central News Agency, 2007: Printed with permission)

Students from these four groups tend to be positioned differently in terms of access to English in their everyday lives at very basic levels, such as environment provision of many visual reminders. For example, Table 3.3 shows that while 64 per cent of Hokkien and over 80 per cent of Mainlander students reported seeing things in their towns written in English, rural groups reported lower incidences.

Table 3.3: Things in town written in English

	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Street objects (Yes)	64 %	82 %	53 %	42 %	60 %
Store Sign	46 %	50 %	42 %	14 %	38 %
Road/Traffic Sign	34 %	47 %	20 %	15 %	29 %

Note: Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to missing values.

3.2 The context of learning English in Taiwan

The following section indicates the political framing of English language learning in Taiwan, including an overview of its school system and national curriculum. What has come to be known in Taiwan as the 'urban-rural divide' in learning English suggests that a complex historical, cultural and political perspective is needed in order to understand the disparities that exist between social groups in learning English.

3.2.1 The political framing of English language learning

The history of teaching English in China extends for 150 years since the opening of the first English language school (*tong-wen-guang*) in 1861 in the Qing dynasty because of concern over shortage of diplomatic specialists. English has since played a pivotal role in the education history of Taiwan (Huang, 1993). In 1912, following its overthrow of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, the Republic of China government, led by Sun-Yat Sen, announced that English was the temporary foreign language in secondary education (*guo-min jiao-yu*). Following Japanese invasion in 1937 English language was made non-compulsory in the secondary curriculum though, when the Chinese Nationalist government (KMT) retreated to Taiwan in 1949, English was still its major foreign language. A number of steps were taken during the 1950s and 1960s to attempt pedagogic reform in terms of diminishing the dominance of grammar-translation methods (GTM) and increasing the salience of oral approaches in English teaching (Huang, 1993).

Taiwanese society has been subjected to far reaching, rapid economic change, particularly since the 1980s, becoming the world's fifteenth largest trading country in 2004 (BFT, Taiwan, 2004). Learning English as an international language has become vital to its economy in terms of providing access to the world community, viewed as one of the keys to success in Taiwan's economic globalisation and modernisation. Crystal (2003) described English as a 'global language', given its geographical-historical and socio-cultural influences and people in Taiwan tend to assume that anything involving English must be good. Being able to speak English carries considerable prestige and it is generally

believed that speaking better English fuels upward occupational and social mobility. Taiwan's entry into WTO in 2002 has led to increased economic cooperation and trade exchange between Taiwan and the other 145 countries in the world community (WTO News, 2001), market liberalisation inducing dramatic growth in demand for and supply of English language education in both private and public sectors. Knowledge of and skill in English is seen as affording a 'survival kit' for economic success, learning it has become so popular as to trigger a 'national movement' for its acquisition.

Accelerated by need to communicate with the outside world of business, diplomacy, and scholarship, English has become a dominant foreign language in public sector, job markets and in schools in Taiwan. In the public sector official action was taken in 2002 to create an English-friendly environment in Taiwan as part of an effort to align with global trends and attract more foreign visitors. A plan to establish a bilingual environment was incorporated in the Challenge 2008 National Development Plan (*tiao-zhan* 2008). The Research, Development, and Evaluation Commission (RDEC) of the Executive Yuan compiled an English translation glossary containing the names of government agencies and signs posted in public places in 2003 (GIO, Taiwan, 2007). A Chinese-English signage system was placed in roadways, public places and tourist sites in order to boost a bilingual environment helpful to foreign visitors. Bilingual websites were created, English news programs produced, and laws and regulations translated into English. Incentives were provided for academic institutions and the private sector to establish a more extensive bilingual environment Urbany School, for example, becoming the first junior high school in Taiwan to claim this award for its bilingual endeavour in 2004.

To further encourage the study of English, the Ministry of Education (MOE) commissioned the Language Training and Testing Centre (LTTC) to develop the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) for English learners at all levels of proficiency. The GEPT, composed of listening, speaking, reading and writing sections, was launched in 2000 at five levels, Elementary, Intermediate, High Intermediate, Advanced, and Superior. Successful candidates are awarded certificates of achievement which have rapidly become one of the most important basic admission and graduation criteria in both senior secondary and higher education (see Figure 3.9). A record high number of participants entered the GEPT Elementary Level test of June, 2005, exemplifying the explosion of

interest in learning English. Pressure to develop better English ability is fierce among learners at each school level. At pre-school and kindergarten stages, common slogans, such as 'do not fail your children at the starting point in learning English' and 'the earlier your children learn English the better they will succeed' have fuelled growth in 'bilingual' or 'whole English' kindergartens and cram schools. The Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School Education (Grade 1-9) required by the MOE in Taiwan in 2001 legitimised English learning as early as grade 5 (age 10) at the primary level (MOE, Taiwan, 2005a). In 2005 English was even added to Years 3 and 4 primary school curriculum and many schools have extended it further to Years 1 and 2 curriculum in order to meet parental expectation and pressure.

3.2.2 Portrait of the school system in Taiwan

The Elementary and Junior High School Education Curriculum, normally termed the Grade 1-9 national curriculum was introduced by the MOE in 2001, legitimising English learning as early as at least grade 5 primary level. Description of the national curriculum is set against a brief portrait of the school system in Taiwan. As Figure 3.9 shows there are four phases of schooling in Taiwan: three years of 'pre-school education' (*xie-qian jiao-yu*); nine years of 'compulsory education' (*yi-wu jiao-yu*) (six years primary and three years junior high school); three years of 'senior secondary education' (*gao-ji zhong-deng jiao-yu*); and four years of 'higher education' (*gao-deng jiao-yu*). Pre-school education is normally termed 'kindergarten'. Most kindergartens are private while public kindergartens are mostly affiliated with primary schools. Pupils aged 4-6 are admitted for 1-3 years of schooling.

Category		Established Body	Qualifications of Admission	Period of Study	Conditions of Graduation
Pre-school Education	Kindergarten	National, Municipal, City/County, Private	Age 4 to 6	1 or 2 years	
Compulsory Education	Primary School	National, Municipal, City/County, Private	Age 6 to 15	6 years	Satisfactorily completed 6 years of schooling
	Junior High School			3 years	Satisfactorily completed 5 years of schooling
Senior Secondary Education	Senior High School	National, Municipal, City/County, Private	Graduated from junior high school, taking two basic achievement exams in junior high school; going through multi-admissions: a. By applying, b. By meeting requirements and passing the entrance exam for special subjects of the individual school, c. By registering and then being assigned.	3 years	Satisfactorily completed 3 years of schooling
	Senior Vocational School			3 years	Same as Senior High School
Higher Education	Junior College	5-Year	National, Municipal, Private	5 years	Satisfactorily completed at least 220 credits
		2-Year		2 years	Having earned at least 60 credits
	Institute of Technology (University of Technology)	4-Year	National, Private	4 years	Having earned at least 126 credits

Figure 3.9 School patterns in Taiwan (MOE, Taiwan, 2004a: 22)

As a way of focusing our discussion, I will foreground the levels of compulsory education and senior secondary education, and briefly overview higher education. Mandatory or compulsory education was limited to six years of primary schooling when the Chinese Nationalist Government (KMT) first moved from China to Taiwan. Following it, the fiercely competitive Taiwanese National Examination for Junior High School might be taken which deterred many from continuing with secondary education before 1968. To remove such pressure on students aspiring to junior high school and in recognition of the importance of education to national development, nine years of mandatory education policy was introduced in 1968, known, as Compulsory Education for Primary and Junior High School Students (MOE, Taiwan, 2006). Students aged at least six enter primary school without test, graduating with a diploma after six and moving, aged at least 12, to junior high schools under the jurisdiction of county or city municipal governments.

Senior secondary education remains divided between six types of public or private schools, senior high, senior vocational, comprehensive, single-discipline, experimental and combined high schools. Students are required to take the National Basic Competence (NBC) Test, administered in May and July, selecting their better result before admission, as well as meeting other requirements, including those of specific subjects required by individual schools. The most demanding subject standard requested is for English in terms of GEPT, at least at elementary or intermediate level. Students with passing grades after three years' are granted a High School diploma.

Various types of schools and institutions make up higher education, including five year and two year junior colleges, four year or two year institutes of technology/universities, universities and independent colleges and graduate schools. Universities and independent colleges are run either by government or private bodies. High school graduates are selected through a variety of means, including passing entrance examinations, submitting personal applications and high school recommendation. Thanks to the recent 'open-door policy' for higher education, as high as some 85 per cent of high school graduates each year attended universities. Those completing course requirements within designated time are granted bachelors' degrees.

3.2.3 The Grade 1-9 national curriculum

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

The Grade 1-9 national curriculum comprises ten core competences (see Table 3.4) and seven major Learning Areas (see Table 3.5 below). According to the MOE (2005a), its design emphasises the needs and experiences of students and aims at developing core competences appropriate to a modern citizenry. The ten core competences are categorised as follows:

Table 3.4: Core competences of the Grade 1-9 Curriculum

1. Self-understanding and exploration of potential
2. Appreciation, representation, and creativity
3. Career planning and lifelong learning
4. Expression, communication, and sharing
5. Respect, care and team work
6. Cultural learning and international understanding
7. Planning, organizing and putting plans into practice
8. Utilisation of technology and information
9. Active exploration and study
10. Independent thinking and problem solving

So as to foster the core competences of citizens, the curriculum officially emphasises three dimensions, individual development, community and culture and the natural environment (MOE, Taiwan, 2005a) and encompasses seven major learning areas, Language Arts, Health and Physical Education, Social Studies, Arts and Humanities, Mathematics, Science and Technology and Integrative Activities, as can be seen in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: The structure of Learning Areas in the Grade 1-9 Curriculum

Learning Area	One & Two	Three & Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine
Language Arts	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin English	Mandarin English	Mandarin English	Mandarin English	Mandarin English
Health & Physical Education	Health & Physical Education	Health & Physical Education	Health & Physical Education	Health & Physical Education	Health & Physical Education	Health & Physical Education	Health & Physical Education
Social Studies		Social Studies	Social Studies	Social Studies	Social Studies	Social Studies	Social Studies
Arts & Humanities	Life Curriculum	Arts & Humanities	Arts & Humanities	Arts & Humanities	Arts & Humanities	Arts & Humanities	Arts & Humanities
Science & Technology		Science & Technology	Science & Technology	Science & Technology	Science & Technology	Science & Technology	Science & Technology
Math	Math	Math	Math	Math	Math	Math	Math
Integrative Activities	Integrative Activities	Integrative Activities	Integrative Activities	Integrative Activities	Integrative Activities	Integrative Activities	Integrative Activities

'Language Arts' is composed of Mandarin Chinese and English, focusing on the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing, developing basic communicating competences and knowledge of culture and social customs. Guided by the seven 'Learning Areas' within the framework of 'Grade 1-9' curriculum, various subjects and the weekly teaching hours allocated to them in primary and junior high school levels are listed, as in Figure 3.10. Language Arts, containing the two major languages, Mandarin Chinese and English, share their weekly teaching hours. At the primary level more hours are assigned to Mandarin Chinese and fewer hours (approximately 1-2 hours weekly) are given to learning English. In junior high school at least 6-8 hours weekly are normally equally divided between Mandarin Chinese and English.

School		Primary School			Junior High School	
Subject	Grade	I, II	III, IV	V, VI	I, II	III
Language		4-6	5-8	5-8	6-8	6-9
Mathematics		2-3	3-4	3-4	3-4	3-5
Health and Physical Education		2-3	3-4	3-4	3-4	3-5
Life Curriculum		6-9	0	0	0	0
Social Studies		0	3-4	3-4	3-4	3-5
Arts and Humanities		0	3-4	3-4	3-4	3-5
Science and Technology		0	3-4	3-4	3-4	3-5
Integrative Actives		2-3	3-4	3-4	3-4	3-5
Flexible Learning		2-4	3-6	3-6	4-6	3-5
Total Number of Classes		22-24	28-31	30-33	32-34	33-35

Figure 3.10: Subjects and weekly teaching hours (MOE, Taiwan, 2004a: 30)

Table 3.6: Content of Seven Learning Areas in the Grade 1-9 Curriculum

Learning areas	Content
1. Language Arts	Including Mandarin and English focusing on listening, speaking, reading and writing, developing basic communicative competences, understanding culture and social customs.
2. Health & Physical Education	Focusing on mental and physical development and health management, and motor skills, fitness and lifestyle choices.
3. Social Studies	Including learning about history and culture, the geographical environment, politics, the economy, interpersonal interactions, civic responsibilities, and incorporation in daily life.
4. Arts and Humanities	Including music instruction, instruction in the visual and performing arts to promote abilities such as imagination, creativity, appreciation of the arts and other abilities.
5. Natural Science & Living Technology	Including learning about materials and the nature of energy, the environment, ecological conservation and information technology. Focusing on knowledge and skills of science and research and developing such attitudes as respect for all forms of life.
6. Mathematics	Including comprehending of the principles of reasoning and problem solving, ability to elaborate clearly math-related concepts and making appropriate connections among materials and contents of this and other Learning Areas.
7. Integrative Activities	Including activities which guide learners to practice and reflect upon their learning process, understand and apply what has been learned to real situations. Courses include; e.g., Scout Activities, Counseling Activities, and Group Activities.

Note: Reference (MOE, Taiwan, 2005b)

This average of 3-4 weekly hours for learning English includes one Supplementary Slot (for exemplification see Table 5.6, Chapter Five), an official, after-school revision class. Given the strongly rising tide of learning English, most junior high schools are desperate to increase hours further, somewhat compromising sessions deemed 'not so important'. Some schools, such as Urbany, in order to meet its bilingual vision, have created new class sessions, such as Daily Life English, while others may have replaced extracurricular activities with English sessions or even created Saturday classes for high-ability students, as in Suburbany School (see Chapter Five for greater detail). By such means, 4-5 weekly hours tend to be devoted by students to learning English in junior high school.

Though English was only officially added to the third and fourth-grade primary school curriculum in 2005, some schools have already extended it further downward to second or first-grades in order to meet public expectation. Meanwhile, the introduction of foreign nationals in English language teaching in primary and junior high schools in Taiwan since 2004 has become an important milestone highlighting growing awareness of its importance. More importantly, these foreign English teachers will be deployed predominantly to primary schools in remote areas, attempting to tackle an already well-marked urban-rural disparity or 'English divide'. For example, the first cohort of five Canadian English language teachers were introduced to Taiwan on 24th October, 2004, followed by another 14 (12 Canadian and 2 British) on 14th February in the following year (MOE, Taiwan, 2004b). In 2005, the MOE signed a Cooperation Memo with state governments in Indiana and Ohio respectively to facilitate educational and cultural exchange, especially introduction of English teachers to primary and junior high schools in Taiwan.

As allocation of time for learning English language increases from 1-2 hours weekly in primary school to 4-5 in junior high, problems seem to be posed for many students. While for some the increase in hours does not seem to be welcome, what lies behind this, importantly, tends to be issues concerning their different pedagogic approaches to English teaching and learning. Whereas in primary schools they are interactively oriented, focussing on oral expression and incorporating activities, such as language games and songs in seeking pupils' interest, at secondary level they become textbook and grammar-based. In general pedagogic approaches favour heavy reliance on grammar and sentence structure, entailing endless, mechanical drills and tests. School cultures at junior high level tend to devalue oral communication, while over-valuing recitation and grammar, making students feel that the process is tedious and learning English more difficult than at primary level. As a result and in prospect of the importance of English proficiency for Senior High school entry, engagement in after-school revision classes in cram schools has become very widespread among junior high school students. Cram school attendance is useful for many as a collective cultural tool for dealing with the growing 'complexity and difficulty' of English as a subject in junior high school though it does not guarantee students' academic improvement, particularly given the reluctance of attending because most of them are pushed by parents, and

perhaps the passivity of pedagogic treatment in cram schools that deters their full participation.

It could be argued that this emerging curriculum 'gap' has triggered a certain form of 'chain reaction' that gives rise to an issue of social inequality, given that cram school attending tends to favour groups of students within society from family backgrounds of higher social and economic status (Chang, 2002a), those who live in urban or suburban regions where cram schools, unlike rural areas, are available and those from certain social groups which value cram school going, such as the Hakka. As Lee (2002) has pointed out, students who have not already engaged in cram schooling tend to 'give up' on learning English soon after beginning junior high school. They tend to belong quite disproportionately not only to current 'disadvantaged groups' (*ruo-shi tuan-ti*) but also those of the future. Though more empirical evidence is needed to account for the correlation between cram schooling and English learning outcomes, Lee's argument highlights a daunting reality that some students from certain groups are socially discriminated against in processes of learning English, entailing a phenomenon which may be termed an 'English divide'.

3.2.4 The English divide: statistical evidence

The first NBC test for Junior High school students in 2002 indicated that English was the only subject that had statistically bimodal or 'double skewed distribution' (*shuang-feng xian-xiang*) of scale scores (see Figure 3.11), bringing local scholars and educators to recognise that approximately half of junior high students, out of a total number of 299,714 nationwide, participating in the test were either low achievers or appeared to have given up learning English (Chang, 2002a).

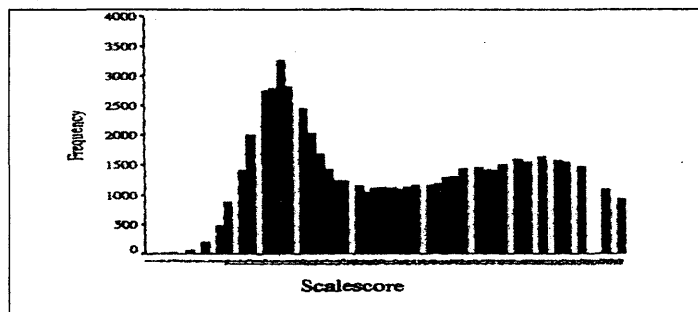


Figure 3.11: The Distribution of Scale scores in the first NBC test, 2002

(Chang, 2002a: 6)

Indeed, this 'double skewed' phenomenon had existed since the start of the Taiwanese National Joint Examination for Senior and Vocational School in 1982, and had probably persisted throughout the intervening two decades. (Chang, 2002a; Chou, 2003; Tse, 2002). In his examination of the two NBC tests for junior high students in 2002, Chou (2003) certainly pointed out that it was a long-standing problem. For English has always been the only school subject among all five subjects (Chinese, English, Math, Social and Natural Sciences) that revealed '*shuang-feng xian-xiang*' in statistical distribution in the last 20 years regardless of region or gender differences.

Chou's (2003) interpretation of this phenomenon was that the lower achieving half of the cohort (average score 20~30) were generally those who 'gave up' learning English, a view echoed by many other local scholars (Lee, 2002; Tse, 2002). However, the distributions in 1982 and 2002 were different, with more students in the lower achieving half of the latter, indicating further growth in the already huge number of disillusioned junior high students (Chang, 2002a; Tse, 2002). Chang (2002a), whose research was sponsored by the MOE, concluded that: the phenomenon was a long-standing problem marked by regional, urban-rural difference in attainment evident within schools and classrooms. Students' attainments correlated with their time investment and practice in English as a foreign language (EFL) within or outside classrooms and their family and community resources. In terms of an 'urban-rural divide' Chang (2002b) argued that urban students enjoyed better environments and more resources in accessing English than their rural counterparts. 'Higher family income, more family encouragement and abundant community resources appear to correlate with higher academic attainment in the NBC test' (Chang, 2002a: 50). Moreover, even within urban areas, disadvantaged groups of students were facing similar quandaries in learning English.



Pursuit of 'educational equality' is held out as a supreme goal of educational policy across nations, yet Taiwan is not alone in confronting urban-rural differences in achievement. Abundant resources in many locales, for example, cram schooling as soon as first-grade primary, make possible some students' early access to English as a foreign language, while relatively high family incomes and greater family encouragement and resource provision make possible some young people's travel or study abroad during holidays, aimed at improving access to English language (Chang, 2002a). Children of parents from lower socio-economic groups, in contrast, have tended only to start English at seventh grade in junior high level and lack such supplementary resources.

In the historical context of ethnic hybridity in Taiwan, the four social groups whose backgrounds have been delineated demonstrate a variety of life styles and everyday activity that tend to be closely related to their historico-cultural legacies and customs. English language learning as a socio-cultural process influenced by state policies, ethnic cultures and national curriculum is inseparable from students' experiences of English practices in wider settings. Historically, the social antecedents and geographical location of different social groups has differentiated their material cultures and regulated differential access to English. Each social group exhibits more or less specific cultural traits that permeate generations and influences such access. 'Business Hokkien' people have tended to engage in business trading while 'White-collar Mainlanders' have tended disproportionately to become civil servants, particularly in the military and the teaching professions, securing intergenerational transmission of their middle and upper class background. These two groups are predominately urban or suburban dwellers with higher economic and socio-political status permitting relatively easy access to English as a foreign language for their children. The cultures of the two rural groups have impinged quite differently upon learning English. Hakka Meinung, the 'Town of PhDs', has a historico-cultural legacy emphasising academic study where expanded cram school provision has related to pursuit of economic opportunity and the popularity of English and academic study in general. Indigenous Paiwan culture, privileging singing, dancing, various other art forms and rites and athletic prowess, exhibiting forms of curiosity and openness not entirely well served by established Taiwanese pedagogic discourse, has tended to engage students' hopes of preferment through athletic sports rather than lives of locally constrained economic opportunity, rather to the detriment of

academic study in general and English in particular, which is not valued in community or school. Cram schools are not locally available and attendance at them requires extraordinary effort.

Though English language has been privileged in the curriculum with an extension of its starting point from junior high, successively, to the fifth-grade, then third-grade of primary school, its position is embroiled in tension between the somewhat contradictory impulses toward localisation and globalisation, between political indigenisation and global economic competition (Mao and Chang, 2005) that drive Taiwanese curriculum discourse. The downward extension of starting years of learning English in the primary school was itself professionally problematic. In an examination of the implementation of Grade 1-9 Curriculum, Hwang (2005) pointed to lacks of: consistency as to when it should start; officially sanctioned versions of textbooks; a theoretical basis for downward extension to third-grade and insufficient heed to the warnings of linguistic experts; well-rounded planning of teaching hours, teachers' qualification and pedagogic materials; establishment of teachers' training, accreditation and evaluation; and qualified English teachers. Each of these deficiencies appears to contribute to widening of the long-standing 'English divide'. For example, lack of unification of the start year across regions has led to urban primary schools tending to start earlier than rural.

The political conflict between 'home soil' education and learning English as a foreign language has aroused great public attention. As Bernstein (1996) has long argued, all school knowledge is recontextualised through an elaborate sequence of stages and agents to become 'thinkable' school knowledge. The 'official culture' of the school, as Apple (1988: 196) put it, filters national curriculum whereby 'only a limited portion is [...] "worthy" of being passed on to the future generations'. The suspension or 'reconceptualisation' of Hakka 'home soil' education in attempting to compromise English learning in Hakka Rural School addressed in Chapter Six, serves as a good exemplification of such processes. Chang (2002a) contended that both 'English' and 'urban-rural divides' hide many complexities that requires nuanced examination. An investigation using multiple planes of analysis which address these issues from broad historical, cultural and political perspectives, such as those employed in this study will, hopefully, take us some way to understanding the disparities that exist between social groups in learning English.

Chapter Four

Getting access to English: the community plane

In Chapter Three the historical context of ethnic hybridity, the socio-cultural context of learning English and the national curriculum for English as a school subject in Taiwan were described. A socio-cultural approach entails that what students do in learning English cannot be divided from their experiences of English practices in other settings, such as their local communities, schools, homes and the historico-cultural legacies of their ethnic groups. This community plane of analysis highlights students' participation in everyday English learning practices in terms of a broader concept of 'apprenticeship' (Rogoff, 1995) characterised by dynamic relations between students' activity in the community and institutions in which it occurs.

This chapter presents empirical findings involving students' everyday participation in culturally organised activities within and beyond school settings. Mapping their English practices in everyday life permits presentation of a broader picture of their access to English in community, family, cram school and ordinary school settings. Delineation of regional and cultural differences in students' everyday use of English reveals the existence of an 'urban-rural divide'. Family resources and affordances are characterised by ethnic cultural varieties of disparate and unequal kinds. Getting access to English in everyday settings seems to encourage language familiarity and academic achievement that helps to explain why some students from certain social groups learn English better than others.

4.1 Getting access to English

This section reports students' access to English in their everyday community, home, cram school and school settings, drawing upon their questionnaire responses. Student questionnaires contained three sections on: learning English; use of English in every life; and demographic characteristics. The first contained questions, for example, concerning when they first started learning English and who encouraged them to do so. The second presented items

relating to their access to English in everyday settings in terms of listening, speaking, reading and writing, while the third focused on demographic details, including religion, ethnicity, parental education and career and experience of travelling abroad.

4.1.1 English in everyday life

Data concerning students' experiences of English in everyday life in terms of listening, speaking, reading and writing were predominately drawn from questions in the second section of the questionnaire. These 'forty-three categories' (see Tables 4.1 to 4.4) were first modified from Scribner and Cole's (1981) questions entitled 'Reading Tests and Questionnaires' and refashioned through questionnaire piloting phase. This account of them not only provides a broader picture of students' access to English in everyday life but also forms the basis for our discussion in the next section.

Table 4.1: Everyday English listening practices

Categories of listening practice	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
1. Radio	38 %	39 %	38 %	40 %	39 %
2. TV	56 %	70 %	48 %	62 %	59 %
3. Video films	20 %	29 %	19 %	23 %	23 %
4. Desktop	54 %	57 %	45 %	36 %	48 %
5. CD/Audio music	61 %	71 %	58 %	57 %	62 %
6. CD-stories/Lessons	32 %	46 %	31 %	34 %	36 %
7. Movie theatre	54 %	57 %	25 %	25 %	40 %
8. Live concerts	11 %	11 %	3 %	8 %	8 %
9. Live opera-Drama	5 %	21 %	3 %	8 %	9 %
10. Friends speaking	35 %	29 %	20 %	24 %	27 %
11. Schoolteacher	86 %	90 %	88 %	83 %	87 %
12. Cram schoolteacher	68 %	75 %	47 %	17 %	52 %

Note: All categories were identical to those in the questionnaire (see Appendix 5).

Listening practices: as can be seen in Table 4.1, when students were asked in what circumstances they would hear or listen to English, 87 per cent reported access through listening to 'schoolteachers'. More than 50 per cent across all categories listened to English from 'CD/audio music' (average 62%) and all except Hakka from 'TV' (average 59%). While 52 per cent on average also heard it from 'cram schoolteachers', this masked large differences between groups, only 17 per cent of indigenous respondents doing so, in contrast to 75 per cent of Mainlanders. Almost without exception, Hokkien and Mainlander respondents reported higher incidences across all categories. There were relatively smaller differences between social groups concerning access to a number of modern technologies or learning facilities, such as 'desktop' (48%) or 'CD-stories/lessons' (32%).

Speaking practices: as shown in Table 4.2, when students were asked in what circumstances they spoke English, most reported 'in class' (average 70%, indigenous students 80%) or 'in cram school' (average 48%, indigenous students 21%), as with their listening practice. Mainlanders spoke markedly more English at home, while Indigenous students did markedly less so 'on desktop' (22%), annotating a well-documented 'digital divide' between urban and rural regions within Taiwanese society, indigenous students tending to be less well provided with Internet-mediated English practice in their locales, including Mountainside boarding school, though there might pay to access it from a nearby Cyber café.

Table 4.2: Everyday English speaking practices

Categories of speaking practice	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
13. At home	33 %	50 %	33 %	36 %	38 %
14. In class	66 %	77 %	58 %	80 %	70 %
15. In cram school	64 %	64 %	44 %	21 %	48 %
16. In church	3 %	4 %	3 %	9 %	5 %
17. On the Phone	17 %	25 %	16 %	13 %	18 %
18. On desktop	43 %	42 %	36 %	22 %	36 %
19. On the street	9 %	18 %	13 %	15 %	14 %

Note: All categories were identical to those in the questionnaire (see Appendix 5).

Reading practices: as shown in Table 4.3, when students were asked in what circumstances they would read English, most reported through 'school lessons' (average 78%) in the textbook oriented school culture in Taiwan. Nearly 50 per cent of them read English from 'TV programs' (48%) or 'websites' (47%). Once again, however, the main general feature of these distributions was relative lack of access (except to newspapers) among indigenous and, to a lesser degree, Hakka respondents, than their urban, particularly Mainlander, counterparts.

Table 4.3: Everyday English reading practices

Categories of reading practice	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
20. Newspapers	19 %	23 %	19 %	35 %	24 %
21. TV programs	42 %	64 %	47 %	40 %	48 %
22. Home video	21 %	25 %	23 %	17 %	22 %
23. Story book/Novel	31 %	57 %	28 %	28 %	36 %
24. House objects	31 %	57 %	25 %	28 %	35 %
25. School lessons	74 %	83 %	67 %	87 %	78 %
26. Film in theatre	36 %	50 %	22 %	23 %	33 %
27. Letters	26 %	36 %	17 %	19 %	25 %
28. E-mail	49 %	46 %	41 %	21 %	39 %
29. Websites	60 %	46 %	47 %	34 %	47 %
30. Road Signs	26 %	39 %	19 %	15 %	25 %
31. Street Ads	35 %	54 %	31 %	11 %	33 %
32. Shopping	39 %	50 %	36 %	28 %	38 %

Note: All categories were identical to those in the questionnaire (see Appendix 5).

Writing practices: as indicated in Table 4.4, when students were asked in what circumstances they would write English, most reported 'schoolwork' (average 86%) and 'taking school notes' (83%). While the Mainlander group again scored most highly across all but one category, group differences were generally much smaller and of less surface significance than for other practices

Table 4.4: Everyday English writing practices

Categories of writing practice	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
33. Taking school notes	72 %	96 %	80 %	82 %	83 %
34. Schoolwork	85 %	97 %	77 %	84 %	86 %
35. Keep Diaries	20 %	32 %	13 %	32 %	24 %
36. Birthday Cards	65 %	75 %	53 %	51 %	61 %
37. Keep any records	10 %	18 %	11 %	9 %	12 %
38. Letters	21 %	39 %	19 %	28 %	27 %
39. E-mail	36 %	39 %	30 %	28 %	33 %
40. Chat Room	35 %	29 %	36 %	21 %	30 %
41. Ordering goods	3 %	11 %	6 %	8 %	7 %
42. Shopping Memos	5 %	14 %	5 %	8 %	8 %
43. Signature	13 %	14 %	5 %	15 %	12 %

Note: All categories were identical to those in the questionnaire (see Appendix 5).

Visible signs of English: having been asked about listening, speaking, reading and writing, students were probed as to the existence of visible signs of English in their house, school or town as follow-up questions (see Appendix 5). As shown in Table 4.5, more than half (average 53%) reported the existence of house objects written in English, with almost twice the proportion of Mainlander than indigenous students doing so (71:37%). Differences in seeing 'electronic products' at home written in English were even greater with respect of urban and rural categories.

Table 4.5: House objects written in English

House objects	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
(Yes)	62 %	71 %	41 %	37 %	53 %
Electronic Products	41 %	90 %	27 %	23 %	43 %
Computer	30 %	31 %	13 %	8 %	21 %

As shown in Table 4.6 more than half (average 52%) by school categories reported that they saw English in everyday school life, again, less in rural than urban/suburban contexts. However, an average low percentage of them could identify items in the questionnaire. For example, only 15 per cent of them identified objects in the 'classrooms' such as the bilingual class plate and timetable displayed on the wall.

Table 4.6: School objects written in English

School objects	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Urbany (n=65)	Suburbany (n=69)	Hakka (n=64)	Mountainside (n=55)	
(Yes)	57 %	66 %	44 %	39 %	52 %
Classrooms	22 %	23 %	2 %	11 %	15 %
Notice boards	20 %	19 %	8 %	4 %	13 %

Note: 1. Schools are used as unit of comparison in this table, not ethnic groups.

2. 'Classrooms' included bilingual class plates and timetables displayed on the wall.

As shown in Table 4.7, 60 per cent on average of students reported they saw things in town written in English, again, almost twice as many mainlanders as indigenous. 'Store signs' (50%) and 'road/traffic signs' (47%) are more likely to be bilingual in urban rather than rural areas.

Table 4.7: Things in town written in English

Street objects	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
(Yes)	64 %	82 %	53 %	42 %	60 %
Store Sign	46 %	50 %	42 %	14 %	38 %
Road/Traffic Sign	34 %	47 %	20 %	15 %	29 %

Help from/helping others: students were asked if they had ever asked anyone who could speak, read, or write English to help them, an average of 50 per cent of them reporting, as Table 4.8 indicates, that they did so with friends/classmates, school teachers or family members. An average of 43 percent also reported having taught someone how to speak, read, or write English, urban groups respondents again outnumbering their rural counterparts in both respects. Very few Hakka or indigenous students taught others.

Table 4.8: Help from/helping others

Categories of services	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Help from others	47 %	71 %	37 %	45 %	50 %
To teach others	64 %	82 %	15 %	10 %	43 %

Comparison between social groups: given this broader picture of students' access to English in everyday life, two particularly salient points seemed to emerge. Overwhelmingly, 'institutional' (school-based) practice appeared to count as students' major form of access to English in everyday life. Moreover, differences between social groups demonstrated that Mainlander students had a consistently highest range and incidence of everyday English practices, in certain respects related to availability of facilities in their towns and homes, as well as learning within school and cram school settings. Before proceeding to our main discussion, it is important to further investigate how students get access to English in their families, cram schools and classrooms as part of the relevant influences that contribute to the discrepancies between social groups.

4.1.2 English in families

This section presents data initially drawn from Questions 2 and 4 in the first section of the questionnaire (see Appendix 5) relating to whether anyone encouraged respondents to learn English and whether family members' knowledge of English had influenced their English learning. It also presents data drawn from Questions 7 and 8 in the third, demographic section of the questionnaire concerning travel abroad. It suggests that parental encouragement and engagement or arrangements are pivotal influences on children's everyday English practices in families.

Parental encouragement: more than 70 per cent of students on average reported being encouraged to learn English, as indicated in Table 4.9, slightly more by parents than undisclosed others, with mothers on average almost four times more likely to encourage their children's English learning than fathers (30:8%). This familial resource of maternal encouragement seems to suggest mothers' overriding responsibility for children's schoolwork at home within Taiwanese society, raising gender issues which will be examined in the next section.

Table 4.9: Encouragement from others

	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
(Yes)	72 %	75 %	72 %	67 %	72 %
Mother	31 %	32 %	33 %	25 %	30 %
Father	11 %	4 %	11 %	6 %	8 %

A further question asked if specific family members with knowledge of English had influenced their English learning, showing in Table 4.10 that those from urban groups were nearly twice as likely to have been influence to learn English in this way than those of rural groups (44%, 46% versus 25%, 21%). Hokkien fathers were unusual in being twice as likely to be the source of influence as mothers and four times less likely in indigenous families. Whereas more than two in five urban families provide some influence, barely one in five rural ones did so. Undoubtedly, parental education and career background play parts in valuing English at home and making available encouragement and help for children.

Table 4.10: Familial influence on learning English

	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
(Yes)	44 %	46 %	25 %	21 %	34 %
Mother	19 %	46 %	31 %	36 %	33 %
Father	37 %	46 %	13 %	9 %	26 %

Travel abroad: foreign travel has long been valued by Taiwanese parents as a key to learning English well. Travelling abroad for cultural immersion, whether for sight seeing or study tours, is a strategy supported and endorsed by students and parents alike but with very different access by different social groups. More than half of Mainlander pupils (52%) reported foreign travel and cultural experience but only 4 per cent of indigenous pupils (Table 4.11). Moreover, 11 per cent of Mainlander students, in complete contrast to other groups, reported they had lived abroad at some time or the past.

Table 4.11: Students' foreign culture experience

	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Foreign culture					
Been abroad	34 %	52 %	22 %	4 %	28 %
Lived abroad	1 %	11 %	0 %	0 %	3 %

As to reasons for trips abroad, Table 4.12 indicates that Mainlander students were three times more likely to travel for sightseeing than to visit relatives and Hokkien students were eight times more likely to do so whilst almost no indigenous students did so. Provision for Mainlander young people seems to relate to the different level of education and occupation of their parents from those of other student groups which requires further investigation.

Table 4.12: Students' reasons for going abroad

Reasons	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Sight seeing	30 %	33 %	17 %	0 %	14 %
Visit relatives	4 %	11 %	3 %	0 %	5 %
Study tour	1 %	7 %	2 %	4 %	4 %

4.1.3 English in cram schools

This section presents data predominately drawn from Question 5 in the first section of the questionnaire (see Appendix 5) which asked where students studied when they first started to learn English. It revealed a high percentage of students engaging every day in after-school revision lessons either in 'cram school' or 'private language school' settings. It is worth noting that private language schools, commonly known as 'children's American English institutes' (*er-tong mei-yu-ban*), tend to focus on oral expression with the help of foreign English teachers and are popular with primary school pupils. Traditional cram schools, in contrast, focus more on cognitive competence on school subjects and are popular with junior high school students. Here we use the term 'cram school' to cover both.

Table 4.1 revealed that more than 50 per cent of students on average gained access to English through listening to cram school teachers. The popularity and availability of cram schools in urban arenas (see Figure 4.1) and the Hakka township (see Figure 4.2) made them important social settings outside homes and normal schools in regulating English learning activities. Their availability in only one, tiny, nearby establishment in the local Paiwan community seemed to constrain indigenous students' access to English (see Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.1: Modern cram schools in Kaohsiung city

(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)

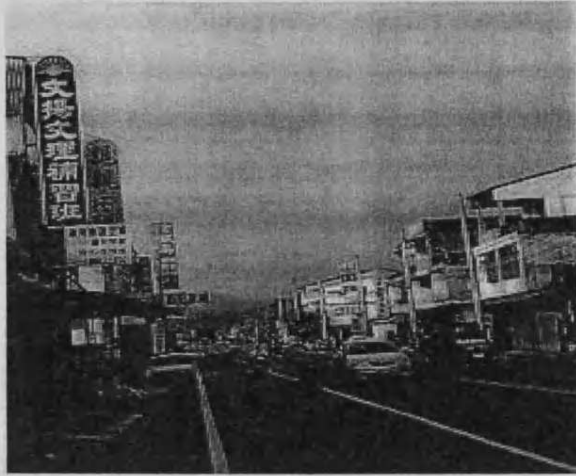


Figure 4.2: Modern cram schools in the Hakka community

(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)



Figure 4.3: The only cram school in Paiwan community

(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)

In the context of the changing policy of extending English to primary school level (Year 5), noted in Chapter Three, when students were asked when and where they first started to learn to study English, more than half (52%) (see Table 4.13) reported they first started learning English from a 'private language school', predominately in their primary school years. Many pupils were 'taken' (*dai*) by parents to enrol in private English language schools prior to formal school learning of English. A strikingly higher proportion of Hokkien and Mainlanders (both 89%) had been given opportunity to learn English from cram schools than the two rural groups (Hakka 61%, indigenous 27%).

Table 4.13: Commenced learning English in cram schools

Practices	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Traditional cram school	20 %	18 %	14 %	8 %	15 %
Private language school	69 %	71 %	47 %	19 %	52 %

These findings are consonant with those of a recent survey of cram school culture in Taiwan. Cram schools have multiplied sixfold in recent decade, with nearly 70 per cent of primary children (Years 4 to 6) attending them right after their formal school day for one to three hours. Some are even obliged to attend at weekends, though half express dislike of doing so (Ho, 2005). The popularity of cram schooling for learning English tends to be attributed to the highly urban, competitive culture within Taiwanese society. As Greenhalgh (1984) put it, the unique Taiwanese social phenomenon of the 'swarm of bees' (*yi-wo-fong*), drawing on a traditional Chinese idiom, leads to many young students being encouraged by their parents to go to cram schools for major, after-school learning practice.

Cram schooling culture in Hakka Meinung was nearer to urban than indigenous, rural levels, 61 per cent (14% and 47%) of Hakka students reporting they first commenced learning English in cram schools, even though Hakka Meinung is geographically a rural township (see Table 4.13). As noted in Chapter Three, Hakka people are known for traditional emphasis on 'academic study', group solidarity and hard work. Inspired by the resounding cultural legacy of the 'Town of PhDs', Hakka students here were encouraged to undertake evening revision activities in cram schools even though, sometimes, their efforts were futile. Ms. Mei, one of the participant English teachers from Hakka Rural, depicted this cram school-going trend as follows:

'Cram schools can be viewed as the most lucrative business in Meinung. The pushy Hakka parents send their children to cram schools even though it is sometimes unnecessary [...] two kinds of pupils who should not really be there. Those labelled as completely left behind (hopeless). They are forced [...] by parents and simply hang around with friends [...] The others are high achievement students who go there because of parental encouragement.'

Cram school-going is becoming a '*lucrative business*' in Hakka communities, foreshadowing our later discussion of emerging issues of students' cram school learning identities as part of English learning communities of practice which will be addressed in relation to the personal plane of analysis in Chapter Six.

4.1.4 English in the classroom

In Question 7, in the first section of the questionnaire (see Appendix 5), students were asked at which school level they first started learning English, pre-school, kindergarten, primary or junior high and whether they enjoyed it. Question 10 pertained to students' learning from foreign specialist teachers and whether they enjoyed and their first impression of it. Responses revealed more opportunity for English practice with foreign specialist teachers for urban students, contributing to differences in learning between social groups.

Experience of English in the classroom: Table 4.14 revealed that more than 80 per cent of students on average started to learn English in primary classrooms, indigenous students starting from primary level rather than kindergarten or even pre-school, as did more than one in five urban students.

Table 4.14: Starting level of learning English

Education levels	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Pre-School	2 %	7 %	0 %	0 %	2 %
Kindergarten	19 %	29 %	3 %	0 %	13 %
Primary School	79 %	64 %	95 %	100 %	85 %

Note: Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to missing values.

Similar percentages of students reported that they 'enjoyed it' (average 41%) or 'found it difficult' (average 46%) across ethnic groups, indigenous students showing slightly higher values for both, under predominately 'whole class' teaching methods (average 64%), as shown in Tables 4.15 and 4.16 below.

Table 4.15: Reports of experience of learning English in primary school

Experiences	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Enjoy it	43 %	39 %	34 %	47 %	41 %
Found it difficult	41 %	32 %	55 %	57 %	46 %

Table 4.16: Reports of experienced method in primary school

Methods	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Whole class	63 %	68 %	59 %	64 %	64 %

At junior high school (see Table 4.17 below) one third of all respondents reported they 'enjoyed learning English' or 'found it difficult', indigenous and Hakka students 'enjoying it' (45 and 33% respectively), nearly as much as they had at primary level and having greater difficulty in learning it (42% and 58%) than urban scholars.

Table 4.17: Reports of experiences of learning English in junior high

Experiences	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Enjoy it	29 %	21 %	33 %	45 %	33 %
Found it difficult	26 %	18 %	58 %	42 %	36 %

Experience of foreign teachers: foreign English teachers, generally called '*lao-wa*' (literally, 'old outsider'), worked in both cram and formal school settings, particularly in urban settings. Given their native accents and more interactive pedagogic orientation than local teachers in providing a window on a foreign culture they were usually perceived as 'better English teachers' and were very popular with students and parents. Despite the fact that some of them were merely travellers without formal teaching qualifications, many parents still regarded them as much better than Taiwanese teachers of English, with their choices of language cram school influenced by their presence or absence.

Most foreign English teachers choose to live and work in urban city areas for convenience and, among other things, more lucrative working conditions so that an 'urban-rural divide' inevitably existed in pupils' experience of them. For example, our two urban groups were three times more likely to have been taught by foreign English teachers than the two rural groups (90, 93, 33 and 13% respectively), as can be seen in Table 4.18. An average of 70 per cent of students who had been instructed by foreign teachers reported enjoying it. Regarding their first impression of their teaching, all four groups described them as 'funny and playful', as well as 'passionate', 'employing interactive pedagogy', able to 'share a foreign culture' and, of course, having 'native English pronunciation'.

Table 4.18: Learning English from foreign teachers

	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Experiences (Yes)	90 %	93 %	33 %	13 %	57 %
Enjoy the teaching	66 %	58 %	71 %	86 %	70 %

Student informants revealed some of the reasons for foreign teachers' popularity. Foreign teachers were reported to be less tied to the chronic school culture of grammar-based and test-oriented English teaching and learning, experiencing less school board pressure regarding enhancement of students' language skills and abilities than local teachers. One informant from Suburbany School claimed that she liked the foreign teacher's class '*because there is no test*'. Some students still received corporal punishment for unsatisfactory test performance, although the practice has now been officially banned (January 2007), another student indicating that he liked his foreign teacher's classroom simply '*because it is a safer place to learn English*'. Such revelations of the advantages of being taught English by foreign teachers, including increased appreciation of foreign cultures, contrasted sharply with the mounting pressure students disclosed in learning English in traditional classroom settings.

4.2 Regional and cultural differences

Drawn from students' experiences of English in various settings in everyday life, this section provides further discussion of the 'whys' of regional and cultural differences, particularly urban-rural and ethnic cultural variations, including family resources and income power and how such differences may lead to resource disparity, hence social inequality in learning English across various social groups within Taiwanese society.

4.2.1 The general urban-rural divide

Regional differences prevailing across students' experiences of English in various settings in everyday life are reflected in the long-standing 'urban-rural divide' in attainment in the annual NBC exam, (see Chapter Three). In a broader sense, if we conceptualise English language as a 'cultural carrier', regional discrepancy can be understood by perceiving urban cities as modern cultural 'beachheads' (Coombs, 1985) whereby urbanites naturally have easier access to it than their rural counterparts. As Coombs (1985) puts it, interbreeding of cultural infusions in developing countries since World War II has been vast and penetrating. The infusion of American culture and its English language into Taiwan has been among its best examples. English language, alongside its cultural importations and influences, has had enormous effects, especially in urban contexts. These heavily westernised, modern, cultural 'beachheads' have made it possible for English, as a powerful foreign language, to be available to urbanites in various settings, including family, school, cram school and town, exemplified in students' differential access to it through engagement in modern leisure activity (e.g., via movie theatres) (see Table 4.1), perceiving signs of English 'at home' (e.g. through use of electronic products) (see Table 4.5) and 'in town' (e.g., through road/traffic signs) (see Table 4.7).

Apart from these broad regional differences in students' everyday English practices, a careful look at those existing between ethnic groups reveals complex socio-historical roots. Within the ethnic hybridity of Taiwan, as noted in Chapter Three, historico-cultural legacies of each ethnic group account for many differences in students' experience of English in everyday life. For

example, Mainlander students have greatest accessibility to English in various settings, including speaking English 'at home' (50%) (see Table 4.2), perceiving 'house objects' written in English (71%) (see Table 4.5) or things 'in town' (82%) (see Table 4.7) and 'getting help from others' (71%) or 'teaching others' English (82%) (see Table 4.8). The historical roots of Chinese Mainlanders seem to play a pivotal part in this regard. Retrieved from Mainland China in 1948, first generation Mainlanders were predominately urban dwellers who have, in large measure, produced succeeding generations (our students counting as the third) more adapted to greater modernisation and exposure to English material culture in urban arenas than those of other social groups. Higher social and political status as soldiers, military officials and civil servants have made possible forms of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1997) which bestow superior social position upon Mainlander students, including getting access to English.

Indigenous students, as members of one of our rural groups, are positioned in an inferior social status with respect of access to English. Their lower percentage usage of information technology (hereafter termed IT), including listening, speaking, reading and writing on 'desktop' (see Tables 4.1 to 4.4) exemplifies an existing urban/rural 'digital divide' (RDECE, Taiwan, 2006) within Taiwanese society, as can be seen in Table 4.19, though overall percentage of using computers in English learning was low (13%).

Table 4.19: Learning English through computers

	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
(Yes)	18 %	21 %	9 %	2 %	13 %
CD-ROM	13 %	11%	2 %	0%	7%
On-line learning	5 %	0 %	3 %	0 %	2 %

In relation to use of IT, representing access to modern technology, urban groups appeared to have greater, indeed, considerable opportunity. However, less than 50 per cent of urban students reported using them including, for example, 'speaking' on desktop (43% and 36%), 'reading' e-mail (49% and 46%) and 'writing' in chat room (35% and 29%) (see Tables 4.1-4.4) in English learning related ways. It would be interesting to further examine what might have stood in the way of these urban junior high students from using what are

commonly regarded as effective IT tools for learning English. Time investment in schoolwork related activities, including cram schooling, in a context of highly stressed academic competition within urban culture, may count as a major cause. In addition, growing parental worry concerning unsafe Internet environments may, arguably, in some families, inhibit use of IT for English learning. The following parental account exemplified this dilemma as to whether to use the Internet as an English learning tool. A father of a high-ability student (Eddie), a senior computer engineer, confessed that:

'I do not think Eddie has much time using computer [...] he has been kept busy by schoolwork [...] he is not encouraged to because getting access to pornography from website is notoriously easy [...] To be honest [...] I even intended to keep our home Broadband at lower level of speed without upgrading [...] hope that Eddie will feel bored awaiting downloading files, and eventually he would dismiss using the Internet.'

Eddie's case highlights the fact that urban students tend to be *'kept busy by schoolwork'*, including daily cram school practice. Moreover, fear of easy *'access to pornography'* in an unsafe Internet environment for teenagers apparently deterred many parents.

At the same time, we earlier noted that indigenous students had similar proportions to other social groups in watching/listening to 'TV' (62%) or 'radio' (40%) (see Table 4.1) and speaking 'in class' (80%) (see Table 4.2). It could be argued that their practices of listening to 'TV' or 'radio' and the relatively high percentage of speaking 'in class', in particular, somehow reflected their apparent propensity of favouring 'oral expression' or learning English 'out of curiosity' which will be further addressed in the interactional and personal planes of analysis in the following chapters.

4.2.2 Familial resources and affordances

According to students parental encouragement, engagement and arrangements appear to play pivotal roles in contributing to the nature and extent of everyday English practices in their homes, depending upon their education and occupational backgrounds. Certain ethnic cultural formations, for example, indigenous peoples' attachment to Western religions (classified, somewhat confusingly, as 'Christian' and 'Catholic), or the resounding Hakka cultural legacy emphasising academic study, appeared to help explain the behaviours, the 'whys', that differentiated students' access to everyday English.

Parental education and occupation: students' family backgrounds, including parental education, occupation, and involvement, have been generally recognised as contributory influences upon students' educational achievement. In his anthropological observation of a fishing village in rural Taiwan, Stafford (1995) pointed out that the pressure driving the educational system came from parents, rather than school or state. Indeed, this account also applies to urban Taiwan where, mediated by urban, competitive culture, anxious parents 'swarm' to engage their children in learning English as early as possible.

As can be seen in Tables 4.20 and Table 4.21, urbanite Hokkien and Mainlander parents had higher, overall educational levels than others. More parents with college or above education levels were found in Mainlander groups, while lowest parental educational levels were found in the indigenous group, most being educated only at or below junior high school level. Mothers were generally as well educated as fathers across all ethnic groups, except at postgraduate level, though less than a third of all indigenous mothers and a quarter of fathers had education beyond junior high, in contrast with over 80 percent of Hokkien, nearly all mainlander and over three quarters of Hakka mothers and even higher percentages of fathers.

Table 4.20: Highest educational level of students' mothers

Mother's education	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Primary school	6 %	0 %	2 %	42 %	12 %
Junior high	14 %	4 %	15 %	28 %	15 %
Senior high	37 %	36 %	42 %	21 %	34 %
College	29 %	43 %	33 %	6 %	28 %
University	14 %	18 %	8 %	4 %	11 %
Post graduate	1 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0.3 %

Note: Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to missing values.

Table 4.21: Highest educational level of students' fathers

Father's education	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Primary school	1 %	0 %	3 %	40 %	11 %
Junior high	11 %	0 %	12 %	35 %	14 %
Senior high	35 %	19 %	38 %	14 %	26 %
College	25 %	41 %	39 %	12 %	29 %
University	26 %	26 %	8 %	0 %	15 %
Post graduate	3 %	15 %	0 %	0 %	5 %

Note: Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to missing values.

Parental occupation appeared to bear close correlation with parental education level, Table 4.22 and Table 4.23 below indicating that while mothers' occupations were dominated by domestic and unskilled employment, they were remarkably similar across ethnic groups, with the exception of government employment and business, appearing to echo a common sense belief that 'men work outside and women work at home' within Taiwanese society that gives rise to the sort of social gender identity which will be addressed in Chapter Six. Indigenous (65%) and Hakka (49%) males disproportionately occupied unskilled labour positions and were severely under represented in business, government and police/military categories. In his study of Taiwanese rural society in the 1980s Thompson (1984) found large numbers of the rural population had gone to work in cities, impelled by the relative unprofitability of agriculture. This remains true in modern Taiwan and applies particularly to rural

Meinung and Paiwan parents. Many of them, mostly fathers, tend to migrate to urban cities to engage in comparatively lucrative off-farm or full-time employment. In contrast, as can be seen in Table 4.23, almost half of Hokkien fathers worked in 'business' (48%) while Mainlander fathers were at least twice as likely as those of any other group to work as 'government officials' (30%), the realities which give rise to the phenomena of 'Business Hokkien' and 'White-collar Mainlanders', discussed further below.

Table 4.22: Occupations of students' mothers

Mother's occupation	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Domestic	23 %	27 %	23 %	24 %	24 %
Labour (unskilled)	9 %	4 %	19 %	28 %	15 %
Business	35 %	35 %	35 %	8 %	28 %
*Government official	19 %	23 %	4 %	2 %	12 %
Temporary work	8 %	0 %	9 %	20 %	9 %
*Military / police	0 %	8 %	0 %	2 %	3 %

Notes: 1. 'Government official' includes teachers.

2. Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to missing values.

Table 4.23: Occupations of students' fathers

Father's occupation	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Labour (unskilled)	24 %	11 %	49 %	65 %	37 %
Business	48 %	37 %	22 %	6 %	28 %
*Government official	14 %	30 %	11 %	6 %	15 %
Military / police	1 %	15 %	2 %	6 %	6 %
Temporary work	1 %	0 %	2 %	6 %	2 %
*Domestic	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %

Note: 1. 'Government official' includes teachers.

2. Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to missing values.

Looking at the distribution of male parental occupations from a historical perspective, the phenomena of 'Business Hokkien' and 'White-collar Mainlander' seem to remain alive, our distributions tending to confirm Greenhalgh's (1984) anthropological account of two generically different routes followed by these groups in climbing to the top of the commercial and social ladders. 'Being a Hokkien' has meant going through small to large-scale entrepreneurship and 'being a Mainlander' moving from low to higher responsibility, salaried jobs. Our data suggest that better educated Mainlanders tend to secure civil servant or teaching jobs, in what are widely known as 'iron rice bowls' (*tie-fan-wan*), which not only contribute to their higher social status and politico-economic power but also provide familial resources and affordances for their children's English learning.

Rural parents' educational and occupational styles seemed to impede involvement in their children's education and, in turn, access to English in everyday life. Following the economic boom in the 1970s, indigenous people started flowing into urban cities in search of employment, primarily in poorly paid manual labour positions, like construction and heavy industry. National statistics demonstrated that 16 per cent of indigenous people are engaged in construction work. The proportions of indigenous people worked in the agriculture, factory, fishing, animal husbandry and construction were higher than those of the general population in Taiwan (CIP, Taiwan, 2005). Some indigenous parents, therefore, can be seen as waiting or 'hunting' for temporary jobs on urban street corners with new building projects, travelling back to their rural homes on a weekly basis or only for festive occasions. As a result, a grandparent child-rearing style prevailed in Hakka Meinung township and the indigenous Paiwan village, leading to lack of parental involvement in children's education. In talking about the scarce parental engagement of some low achieving classmates, one Mountainside student in Ms. Lin's class (Vanessa) reported that:

'Those who live with grandparents cannot get any help from there [...] Some of my classmates are from single-parent families, some of them are living with their grandparents. I even have a classmate who lives "alone" which is "really scary" (hao-kong-bu)! [...] It is quite common for parents working outside of the community.'

This grandparent child-rearing style posed another challenge for students from the two rural groups to speaking English 'at home'. The fact that most Meinung grandparents could only speak Hakka dialect, while Paiwan grandparents spoke either their tribal language or some Japanese, made any English speaking practice at home difficult or impossible for students from these two social groups. For example, during my substitute teaching in Ms. Yang's class (Mountainside School) in the summer 2004, one Paiwan student complained:

'When I am trying to speak English with my grandparents, it ends in recrimination, for one thing, they do not understand this language at all, and for another, they tend to question me why I choose to speak a foreign language rather than our mother tongue.' (Informal conversation: 3rd August, 2004)

The 'social blocking out' consequent upon these intergenerational relations between these two rural groups was reminiscent of the influences of ethnic identity and the value asymmetry of various languages (ethnic mother tongues, official/national language and foreign languages) used within Taiwanese society which will be addressed in Chapter Six.

Historico-cultural legacies: The historico-cultural legacies of both Hakka and indigenous social groups must loom large in any attempt to map students' familial resources and affordances in getting access to English. One historico-cultural legacy in the Hakka Meinung community was its resounding reputation as the 'Town of PhDs' arising from historic emphasis on academic study, as delineated in Chapter Three. Religious belief, primarily of family origin, seemed to provide another example of regulation of students' access to English, especially among indigenous students. According to Greenhalgh (1984: 537), the majority of Taiwanese historically 'identified themselves as Buddhists or folk religionists'. Having ancestral altars in their homes, they tended to 'worship' (*bai-bai*) their ancestors through burning incense or paper money and contributing to local religious festivals on an occasional basis. This anthropological account reported two decades ago still matches the scene in contemporary Taiwan.

Table 4.24: Students' religious belief

Religion	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
(Yes)	60 %	50 %	36 %	67 %	53 %
Buddhism	35 %	18 %	29 %	0 %	21 %
Taoism	21 %	25 %	7 %	0 %	13 %
Christian	2 %	7 %	0 %	39 %	12 %
Catholic	2 %	0 %	0 %	28 %	8 %

Note: Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to missing values.

As can be seen in Table 4.24, more than half of Hokkien (60%) and Mainlander (50%) reported that they held either Buddhist or Taoist religious beliefs. Indigenous students, in contrast, claimed to hold Western religious beliefs, nearly 40 per cent Christian (39%) and almost 30 per cent Catholic (28%). Western religions are, then, important historico-cultural legacies for indigenous people within Taiwanese society. Following Han immigration the footprints of foreign missionaries (mainly Christian) brought Western customs to the mountains, alongside religious doctrine, which interweaved with tribal culture. It might be expected that such a historico-cultural legacy of Western religion might implicitly incline indigenous Paiwan students to value foreign culture. Ms. Yang (the indigenous teacher in Mountainside School) certainly described herself as a 'xenophile', saying that '*most Paiwan students, including myself, are churchgoers [...] We tend to recognise Western culture rather than Han Chinese culture*'.

4.2.3 Emerging social inequality

Table 4.25: Resource disparity among four social groups

Resources	Urban		Rural	
	Hokkien	Mainlander	Hakka	Indigenous
Encouragement	✓	✓	✓	
Parental education (high)	✓	✓		
Parental occupation (high)	✓	✓		
Cram schooling	✓	✓	✓	
Foreign culture experience	✓	✓		
Foreign teacher experience	✓	✓		
*Western religion			✓	✓

Note: 1. Comparison was based on students' questionnaire report.
 2. Western religion includes Christian and Catholic.

Resource disparity exists across social groups, giving rise to social inequality. Summarising those conditions that are relatively conducive to success in English language learning, albeit rather crudely, as in Table 4.25, suggests that an 'urban-rural divide' exists, though careful analysis is needed to account for differences between social groups and social inequality.

Reasons for learning English: It is important to conceptualise how resource disparity among the four social groups which have been delineated may empower or constraint students' English learning. Among their 'reasons' for learning English students reported overall that it was as a 'school requirement' (average 73%), followed by 'travel abroad' (58%), as shown in Table 4.26. Hokkien and Mainland students disproportionately reported studying English because it could be used 'for future jobs' (62 and 61%, respectively). In contrast to other social groups, 'White-collar Mainlanders' demonstrated the highest percentages in all categories, except 'school requirement', where Hakka students, in line with the historico-cultural imperatives of their culture, exceeded them in this respect and 'enjoy studying languages', which indigenous respondents rated most highly, arguably bearing close relation to their Western cultural and religious identities, though more evidence would need to be taken into account in sustaining such a conjecture. However, the latter's relatively low rating of to 'achieve a qualification' (23%) or for 'use for future jobs' (32%), in common with Hakka respondents, while standing alongside relative lack of

parental encouragement and engagement as familial resources, no doubt also and, perhaps, more importantly reflected their accurate perceptions of their relation to labour market structures.

Table 4.26: Students' reasons for learning English

Reasons	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	indigenous (n=53)	
School requirement	77 %	75 %	81 %	57 %	73 %
Achieve a qualification	30 %	57 %	21 %	23 %	33 %
Study abroad	25 %	50 %	26 %	38 %	35 %
Travel abroad	59 %	68 %	49 %	57 %	58 %
Use for future jobs	62 %	61 %	37 %	32 %	48 %
Make foreign friends	40 %	54 %	26 %	45 %	41 %
Enjoy studying languages	31 %	39 %	27 %	47 %	36 %

Besides the match between 'resource disparity' and 'reasons of learning English', students' academic attainments also appear to reflect such social inequality. As can be seen in Table 4.27, over 60 per cent of both Mainlander (64%) and Hokkien (63%) students achieved high ability scores in English, while almost half of Hakka (44%) and indigenous (49%) students were in the low ability level based on the attainment results of the first school monthly exam of the semester in 2004. Last but not least, the Elementary GEPT level of Mainlanders (39%) (see Table 4.28) indicating basic ability to understand and use rudimentary English needed in daily life was more than two and a half times higher than Hokkien (15%) and vastly superior to the low rankings of rural groups.

Table 4.27: Students' English ability in school monthly exam

English ability	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
High (80-100)	63 %	64 %	36 %	21 %	46 %
Intermediate (60-79)	16 %	25 %	20 %	30 %	23 %
Low (0-59)	20 %	11 %	44 %	49 %	31 %

Note: Data accessed from the first school monthly exam in October in 2004.

Table 4.28: Students' GEPT level

GEPT Level	Urban		Rural		All pupils (n=253)
	Hokkien (n=98)	Mainlander (n=28)	Hakka (n=64)	Indigenous (n=53)	
Elementary	15 %	39 %	5 %	2 %	15 %
Intermediate	4 %	0	0	0	1 %

Note: Data accessed in December 2004.

Emerging social inequality: Examination of how socio-cultural contexts, such as locale, region, political, economic and family background and religion influenced the values that each group attached to learning English showed that they seemed to regulate access to English as culturally organised activities. In ethnicity-mixed Taiwan resources like family affordances are embedded within ethnic group cultures and family values. Family background, including parental encouragement and emphasis on education as a cultural value appear to play crucial roles in student investment in learning English. Rural students appear to be impeded by lower parental involvement in their education with respect of academic achievement in English. Certain forms of 'guided participation' (Rogoff, 1995) emerge as socio-cultural values serving to direct mutual participation between students and parents in learning activities within family settings. Involvement of students' parents as crucial 'social partners', providing engagements and arrangements, shapes the directions in which students are encouraged to go or are discouraged from going. Mainlander parents, for example, provide more opportunities, for example, in terms of foreign cultural experiences via travelling or living abroad and foreign teacher tutoring that, in turn, engender children's English learning motivation. Such guided engagements and arrangements may be meant to instruct or simply provide serendipitous, unintended outcomes as one of the many ethnic historico-cultural and class legacies that drive one group to learn English better than others.

Chapter Five

Classroom interaction: the interpersonal plane

The broader locale of socio-cultural settings of learning English in Taiwan has been described as the community plane in the preceding chapter. In this chapter how learning English takes place within classroom settings is investigated, in particular, pedagogic interaction between teachers and students. As Rogoff (1995: 146) pointed out 'guided participation' applies to the interpersonal plane of socio-cultural analysis which 'stresses the mutual involvement of individuals and their social partners, communicating and coordinating their involvement as they participate in socio-culturally structured collective activity'. Classroom teachers, therefore, are considered to be students' key social partners in everyday activities of learning English in school. Although micro-interactional processes of teacher-student reciprocal engagements are foregrounded as one plane of focus, broader, socio-cultural contexts beyond classroom walls are not neglected in attempting to chart the wholeness of students' English learning processes.

This chapter provides empirical findings at the level of 'interpersonal plane' as related to classroom interactions between students and their classroom teachers. Depiction of school contexts includes their locales, demographic features, school visions and daily schedules in terms of class timetables. The material culture in each of the eight classrooms across the four schools studied is described and portraits of teachers, textbooks and students' academic attainments provided. Focus on pedagogic interaction sought to delineate general patterns of micro-interactional processes within classrooms, as well as interactional discrepancies across them. Contrastive analysis revealed micro-interactional process of 'guided participation' in learning English within classrooms. Similarities and differences of interactional styles between schools in each locale suggest that learning takes place not only in classrooms but is also embedded within broader school locales and ethnic cultures.

5.1 The contexts of the four schools

This section delineates school locales, including demographic features, school visions and school daily schedules. Demographic features included class size, students' gender, population and ethnicity. School visions were employed to guide joint effort among school members which defined cultural activities within school settings. Daily schedules structured members' everyday, school activities. Since learning does not take place in a social vacuum but is always embedded within particular contextual levels, these school features were pivotal to consideration of analyses of classroom interactional detail.

5.1.1 School locales

Table 5.1: Demographic features of the four schools

Locales	Classes	Gender	Population	Ethnicity (%)
<i>Urbany</i>	62	B: 1316	2521	Hokkien: 70
		G: 1205		Mainlander: 19
<i>Suburbany</i>	105	B: 1737	3329	Hakka: 10
		G: 1592		Hokkien: 74
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	15	B: 225	486	Mainlander: 26
		G: 261		Hakka: 88
<i>Mountainside</i>	Senior: 11	B: 159	Indigenous: 269	Indigenous: 97
		G: 130	Non-indigenous: 20	
	Junior: 13	B: 210	Indigenous: 403	Non-indigenous: 3
		G: 201	Non-indigenous: 8	

Note: 1.B =boys, G =girls, numbers estimated for the school year of 2005.

2. Ethnicity refers to fathers.

5.1.1.1 Urbany School

Urbany School was located in the urban area of Kaohsiung, the largest city in southern Taiwan, adjacent to its north western suburban region, established in 2000 as a new, municipal, junior high school with five-storey schoolrooms and appropriate modern facilities, such as lifts for the benefit of disabled people and inbuilt teaching visual aids, particularly TV, in each classroom (see Figure 5.1).

In 2005 it comprised 62 classes with some 2521 students, mainly ethnic Hokkien (70%), Mainlanders (19%) and a small number of urban Hakka (10%) from the school catchment area, as shown in Table 5.1. Apart from the seemingly elegant appearance of its schoolrooms, the school compound had been carefully designed and maintained for bilingual purposes, according to the school principal. Figure 5.2 demonstrates that the school aimed at a delicately designed bilingual environment, including ubiquitous bilingual notice boards and classroom signs which claimed solid support from parents and was welcomed by the local educational authority, meaning that Urbany continued to take in its full allowance of pupils while the dropping birth rate in Taiwan was leading to falling rolls in most secondary schools.



Figure 5.1: Modern schoolrooms

(Accessed from Urbany School website: Printed with permission)



Figure 5.2: Bilingual signs

(Accessed from Urbany School website: Printed with permission)

5.1.1.2 Suburbany School

Suburbany School was located in a suburban region of Kaohsiung, approximately eight miles from downtown Kaohsiung. Suburbany was established in 1970 and was composed of 105 classes, with a massive number of 3329 students, predominately ethnic Hokkien (74%) and Mainlanders (26%), as shown in Table 5.1. The relatively 'giant' size of Suburbany's population existed for good reason; it had been famous for its unique Experimental High-ability Classes (*tsu-yo-ban*) for high-ability students, selectively recruited. Although a non-academic selection policy was the norm for most secondary schools, Suburbany was exempted from this rule by its local educational authority and had built up considerable prestige. Popular belief in the slogan that 'enrolling children in elite schools was prerequisite for future success' within Taiwanese society, as well as individual parental ambition, guaranteed Suburbany's flow of superior ability applicants, not only from within its catchment area but beyond, making it one of the largest junior high schools in Kaohsiung county.

In contrast to its large student population, Suburbany's school campus seemed tiny yet, at the time of my first entry there in 2004, there were a number of new schoolroom buildings under construction designed to meet application trends. Its schoolrooms were of three types, traditional, modern and unfinished. It was intriguing to see its high-ability classes, including the one observed, Class D, allocated to modern classrooms situated centrally on the campus adjacent to staff offices so that, according to the school principal, noise from outside traffic and potential interruption from other, normal classes might be avoided. In contrast, Class C, the other 'normal' one observed, was situated in the row of traditional, three storey classroom buildings that can be seen in Figure 5.3.



Figure 5.3: Traditional classrooms

(Accessed from Suburbany School website: Printed with permission)

5.1.1.3 Hakka Rural School

Hakka Rural School was situated in Meinung township in rural Kaohsiung county, near craggy foothill terrain, surrounded by rice farm landscape, about 20 miles away from downtown Kaohsiung (see Figure 5.4). A new highway system built some five years ago allowed local, Meinung people to travel easily to downtown Kaohsiung within an hour. Hakka Rural was an old, junior high school established in 1946, composed of 15 classes, with some 486 students who were predominately ethnic Hakka (88%) coming from a cluster Hakka villages. As can be seen in Figure 5.5, at nearly 60 years of age, Hakka Rural looked old and traditional. Like Suburbany, however, it had a number of newly built schoolrooms mixed with traditional ones. Grade seven and eight students were allocated to the new settings, while their grade nine elders were still taught in old ones adjacent to the main staff offices. Like most secondary schools in Taiwan, student population in Hakka Rural had been in decline, the effects of dropping birth rate accentuated by the growing popularity of a newly built, competing school which attracted more high potential applicants.



Figure 5.4: Rice farm and foothill landscape of Hakka community
(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)



Figure 5.5: Old style schoolrooms facing school front gate
(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)

5.1.1.4 Mountainside School

Mountainside School was located in an indigenous Paiwan village in Pintung county, 45 miles away from downtown Kaohsiung. It was a junior high school established in 1968 extended to become a comprehensive junior-senior school in 2002 as part of Taiwanese government's recent focus on the educational rights of minority groups. The junior department was composed of 13, the senior department of 11 classes with a total student population is about 700 students. Mountainside was a unique, indigenous boarding school (58% boarded) with 97 percent of its indigenous pupils coming from the local Paiwan village and other, remote, inner-mountain tribal communities.

The same recent governmental focus on the educational rights of indigenous people had led Mountainside to be financed to construct modern school compounds, including brand new schoolrooms (see Figure 5.6) and, in particular, a distinctive, multi-purpose gymnasium and a standard 400 metre track and field for development of athletic sports (see Figure 5.11 below). Recent government funding has also made possible introduction of subsidies for part of the student tuition and boarding fees for indigenous students at the level of secondary education. Enchanting sculptures and paintings representing Paiwan's tribal customs are ubiquitous both on the school campus (see Figure 5.6) and in the community, ranging from the three Paiwan warriors in the central village square to the distinctive twin Paiwan warriors atop of school gate and the paintings of Paiwan cultural customs and historical legacies on the school walls, celebrating ethnic and culture identities that play a vital role in Mountainside's hidden curriculum.



Figure 5.6: Modern schoolrooms and cultural symbols
(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)

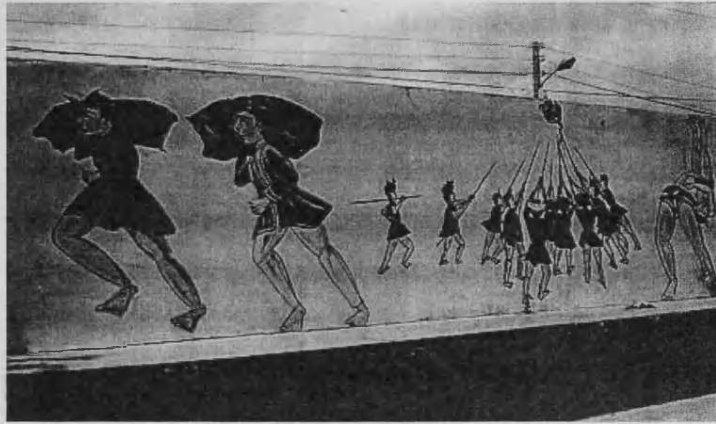


Figure 5.7: Mountainside School walls: rich in Paiwan culture
(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)

5.1.2 School visions

A school ethos or 'vision' is recognised in Taiwan as integral to establishing purposes and goals for teaching and learning. In the context of Taiwanese schools, principals are expected to develop their 'school vision' to be shared by all members of the school community, providing guidelines and directions throughout all stages of school and educational development, planning, implementation and evaluation. Each school in the present study had its unique 'vision' whose aim was to ensure that its members pulled in the same direction, all having common features found in traditional educational values, such as underlying 'morality' (*de*), 'intellectuality' (*zhi*), 'health' (*ti*), 'cooperation' (*qun*) and 'art' (*mei*) representing the emphases of holistic education. School visions are regarded as playing crucial roles in shaping school cultures. Investigation of such putative, shared beliefs may lead us toward broad understanding of what is commonly valued in most schools, including what aspects of English teaching and learning may be regarded as of most worth.

5.1.2.1 Urbany School

Being a young school, Urbany had developed five elements of school vision, erudition (*bo-xue*), cooperation (*ai-qun*), capability (*duo-neng*), innovation (*chuang-xin*) and excellence (*zhuo-yue*), regarded as firm school commitments (see Table 5.2). As indicated in Table 5.2 students were expected to acquire self-esteem and respect for others, to learn and grow up through cooperation

with peers, to learn in multiple ways and act on the basis of independent thought and to love their school, home town, community and country. These expectations encompassed not only students' intellectual growth but affective attributes as moral values. They were devised by Mr. Chen, the founding principal, who claimed to dedicate himself to operationalising them in everyday practice. As he pointed out, *'no visions means no goals. We may not achieve them all but we will grow up and develop along the way as we try to actualise the vision'*.

Emphasis on English teaching and learning as part of a bilingual education was the distinguishing characteristic of Urbany School. Certain everyday English activities, such as lunchtime English broadcasts with an English DJ and regularly issued bilingual publications, as shown in Figure 5.8, were aimed at reinforcing students' English competence. The recent award to the school of a mark of 'Merit in Establishing a Bilingual Environment' (see Chapter Three, section 3.2.1) by the Ministry of the Executive Yuan in 2003 seemed to have not only fuelled its further dedication to bilingual education but, through national recognition, to have drawn the attention of its secondary school counterparts. On 19th November, 2004 a National English Environment Symposium was hosted by Urbany where school heads and representatives of local education authorities nationwide were invited to consider a range of issues in relation to how Urbany had put its bilingual vision into practice and what obstacles were met. A young school, Urbany had engendered remarkable cohesion, involvement and support for bilingualism.

Table 5.2: Urbany School visions

School visions	Expectations	Characteristics
<i>1.Erudition</i>	Students can have full-scale development with self-esteem and respect others	Emphasise on bilingual education and developing standard courses for a bilingual school.
<i>2.Cooperation</i>	Students can learn and grow up through cooperation with peers	
<i>3.Capability</i>	Students can develop multi-culture and multiple intelligence, and act with independent thinking	
<i>4.Innovation</i>	Students can love their school, hometown,	
<i>5.Excellence</i>	community and country	

慶祝教師節

Happy Teacher's Day

Confucius is a sage teacher whose birthday is on September 28. He taught all who came to him with an earnest desire to learn, and never rejected a student because of class or background. For this reason, his birthday is also observed as Teachers' Day.

We honor all our teachers for everything they have done for students. With patience and understanding they have taught students not only knowledge but wisdom.

We have a lot to thank our teachers for.

九月二十八日是至聖先師孔子誕辰紀念日。他誨人不倦，有教無類，因此他的生日也就訂為教師節。

我們感謝老師為學生所做的一切，他們用耐心和愛心，不只教導學生知識也教導學生智慧。我們衷心的感謝老師們。



至聖先師——孔子

第一週-第五週

智慧財產權師資及人力資料庫

• www.edu.tw/displ/index.htm

Figure 5.8: Urbany's monthly publication on students' affairs
(Accessed from Urbany School website: Printed with permission)

5.1.2.2 Suburbany School

Suburbany had developed a general school vision of 'holistic education' that sought to incorporate a spirit of humanism, an international perspective, emphasis on integrated competencies, democratic thinking and concepts and life long learning to achieve three education emphases, on 'humanity', 'actuality' (sincerity) and 'precision', as can be seen in Figure 5.9. Being a popular, elite school with a group of students labelled 'talented' ('*tsu-yo-sheng*'), Suburbany aimed to build a unique working vision committed to fostering students' cognitive competence within a school ethos where all members and parents felt involved and engaged.

Academic excellence, being regarded as high-quality education, was claimed to be Suburbany's distinctive characteristic, mediating students' everyday actions. Equating 'high-quality' education with cognitive competence met both parental expectation and the imperatives of competitive culture within Taiwanese society. As can be seen in Figure 5.10, the motto (*biao-yü*) located right next to the school's main entrance, which read 'running high-quality education in the modern era; creating a high-tech innovative world' (*jing-ying da-shi-ji you-zhi jiao-yu; kai-chuang gao-ke-ji chuan-hsin tian-di*) appeared to be intended to serve as a cultural tool or artefact mediating students' thoughts and actions. In this vein, academic eminence defined what counted as 'high-quality' education and explicitly directed Suburbany School's endeavours and sense of direction.

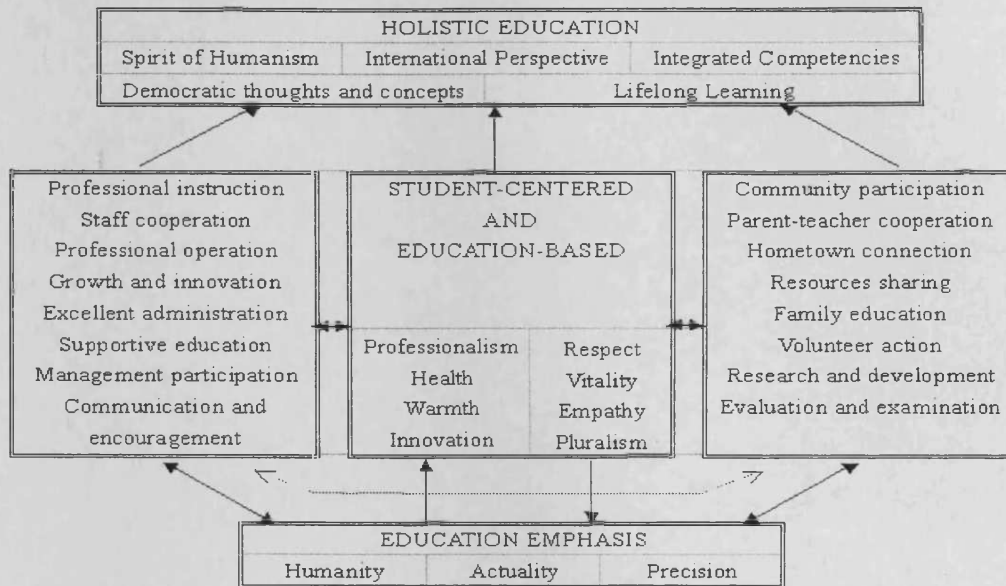


Figure 5.9: The Suburbany School visions
 (Accessed from Suburbany School website: Printed with permission)



Figure 5.10: Education slogan at school gate
 (Accessed from Suburbany School website: Printed with permission)

5.1.2.3 Hakka Rural School

Hakka Rural was an old school with nearly 60 years of history and was situated in a Hakka community. The school had developed visions that aimed to enhance students' core competence, moral values and, in particular, understanding of Hakka culture (see Table 5.3). Hakka people in Meinung are traditionally known for their unique attachment to agriculture and intimacy of kinship between family members, as illustrated in Chapter Three. A pervasive working vision emphasising enhancement of students' core competences in order to achieve school excellence seemed to echo the Hakka cultural legacy of valuing 'academic study'. Education, somewhat narrowly interpreted as cognitive competence, was generally viewed by local people as the ticket out of poverty and a laborious agricultural life style. The booming cram schools in the village appeared to best exemplify this impulse.

Given recent emphases on local identity within Taiwanese society, implementation of a 'home soil' (*xiang-tu*) curriculum for one hour a week has engaged public attention as a means of preserving or promoting ethnic culture. However, it is worth noting that, despite Hakka Rural's third school vision of 'developing Hakka cultural characteristics', this hour long cultural lesson, classified as optional, was not actually implemented in the school because of its overt focus of enhancing academic competence and, in particular, the humble status of Hakka language, which we will address in detail in the next chapter. Strengthening relationships between the school and its community, its final school vision, seemed to mirror the lack of teacher-parent cooperation that perturbed school staff. As in many rural communities, grandparent child-rearing appeared to impede academic attainment. Grandparents, schools and cram schools had become the de facto agents responsible for children's schooling and homework. As one of the teachers (Ms. Mei) complained:

'It happens when school staff contacts students' parents for the purpose of dealing with students' behaviour problems, chances are very likely that grandparents, rather than parents, will come to school for negotiation. But the difficulty is communication [...] most grandparents cannot speak Mandarin and some staff do not speak Hakka.'

As such, Hakka Rural sought to cope with intricate issues that encompassed not only academic competence but disparities in familial resources that affected students' education in general and learning English in particular.

Table 5.3: Hakka Rural School visions

School visions	Implementation
1. Enhancing students' core competence	Provide career counselling for multiple development and achieving individual potential
2. Implementing students affairs work for students' everyday life education	Formulate responsibility, courtesy and discipline for democratic life styles
3. Developing Hakka cultural characteristics	Understand and love the essence of Hakka culture
4. Acquiring school excellence, accountability and quality culture	Promote humanity, professional instruction, effective pedagogy, and teacher and parental participation
5. Cultivating school ethos with friendliness, excellence and humanism	Create warm teacher-student relationships and friendly learning environments
6. Strengthening relationship between school and communities	Create co-membership of school, community, teacher-parent cooperation

5.1.2.4 Mountainside School

As with Hakka Rural, Mountainside School was rural, situated in a culturally distinctive Paiwan community. As the island's minority group, with a population of slightly more than 40,000 (2% of overall population), its celebration of indigenous identity was implicitly embedded in everyday school life as its hidden curriculum. Mr. Kuo, the school principal, himself a Paiwan tribal chief, representing a high social status in Paiwan village, had drafted seven core school visions which, as Table 5.4 shows, apart from the goal of holistic education, incorporating intellectuality and humanity, sought to privilege cultivation of indigenous students' full potential by means of improving their skills in career planning, motivation for life-long learning and a healthy learning environment. It might be said that these seemed to highlight indigenous people's existing social and cultural deficiencies, if not stereotyped problems. As Section 4.2.2 revealed, Paiwan parents had experienced relatively little in

terms of education and enjoyed disproportionately humble occupational backgrounds. Intentional career planning alongside motivation to life-long learning might have been cast as the solution to such problems. Alcoholism and associated domestic violence, high divorce rates and accidental death, all contributing to a 'single-parent syndrome', were salient in the Paiwan village. Such dysfunctional family features served as socio-cultural constraints hampering Paiwan students' academic attainments and future ambitions, as detailed in Chapter Six. Perhaps it was because Mr. Kuo, tribal chief as well as school principal, had insider knowledge of the community that he was committed to deterring such social and cultural reproduction by aiming to cultivate a healthy learning environment. Moreover, as Mr. Kuo confessed, *'Mountainside has been lacking professional teachers with enough enthusiastic and caring disposition to work with Paiwan students.'* Many young teachers tended to be 'lured' away into urban regions for lucrative, additional, part-time jobs, such as cram school teaching. High teacher mobility made continuity in teaching and learning at Mountainside difficult. As such, recruitment of young, enthusiastic, creative, caring, professional teachers seemed to be crucial to any positive vision of the future.

Indigenous people in Taiwan have been known for gifted singing, dancing and, in particular, athletic prowess. The annual athletic meeting in the Paiwan community provided the best space for local people, young and old, to demonstrate such gifts. For these reasons, athletic sports and their shared values were regarded as crucial to the achievement of indigenous students' full potential. In Mountainside, therefore, modern school sports facilities, 'athletic high-ability classes' (*ti-yu tsu-yo-ban*) and incentive bursaries were created in the hope of inspiring students' athletic potential. Sports ranging from boxing, wrestling and judo to athletics and football were intended to provide shared values and activities that guided students' everyday actions. The school football team pictured in Figure 5.12 was one of the many practicing on the field every afternoon. Through sport, a number of students in Mountainside strove for futures as professional athletes or coaches, some being sent to departments of physical education in universities without entrance examination and little by way of academic qualification to match their athletic potential. Inspired by their indigenous precursor, Mr. Chuan-Guang Yang, the 'Asian Iron Man', as noted in Chapter Three (see Figure 3.8), athletic prowess was, without doubt, collectively considered as their ticket out of poverty, toward dignity.

Table 5.4: Mountainside School visions

School visions

1. Implementing holistic education to cultivate elitist indigenous students.
2. Providing multiple ways of learning to achieve indigenous students' full potential.
3. Normalising teaching, regulating everyday living to cultivate Indigenous students with modern technology and humanity.
4. Developing indigenous cultural artistic and occupational skills to improve indigenous students' ability in career planning.
5. Implementing information technology education and cultivating indigenous students' reading habits to ensure chances of life long learning.
6. Building an open, safe, free and healthy learning environment to cultivate modern indigenous citizens.
7. Recruiting young, enthusiastic, creative, caring and professional teachers to help the growth of indigenous students.



Figure 5.11: Standard 400 metres running field
(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)



Figure 5.12: School football team
(Accessed from Mountainside School website: Printed with permission)

5.1.3 School comparisons

As can be seen from Table 5.5, the most distinctive similarity lies in the fact that all of the four schools celebrated versions of 'holistic education' as their shared motto which encompassed intellectual competence and moral education. Intellectual competence was embedded in the daily pedagogic practice of all school subjects. The status of moral education is somewhat unique within Taiwanese school contexts, less visible in Western school life where individualism overwhelms. In these four schools, moral education was undertaken through activities both in their explicit and 'hidden' curricula, the former exemplified in school class timetables (see Table 5.6 below) and activities such as daily 'Morning Assembly', where official announcements were made, weekly 'School Assembly', where school heads addressed students in highly moralistic terms, 'Class Meetings' and 'Civics' where democratic and civil practices were taught through activities. Implicit or (not so) 'hidden' curricular practices were exemplified in daily, afternoon, classroom cleaning chores where students were assigned by their home-room teachers to share responsibility for cleaning and tidying places within and beyond their own classrooms.

Perhaps more interesting were the differences in school vision among the four schools. Urbany School was the only institution to highlight bilingual education, placing English learning and teaching in the centre of school life. Suburbany was the only school that stressed elite education by setting up a number of high-ability classes. The two rural schools, Hakka Rural and Mountainside, both celebrated their ethnic culture in the hidden and overt curriculum, in line with recent government policy emphasising 'locality' – local ethnic cultural identities and encouraging the revival of ethnic language and specific, cultural customs. However, Hakka Rural did not seem to be particularly enthusiastic about preserving Hakka mother tongue (see Section 6.2.3.3), privileging 'academic study' in compliance with traditional cultural values. Mountainside in contrast, listed Paiwan mother tongue on its 'menu', proficiency in ethnic dialect having become one of the fundamental criteria for securing some indigenous bursaries for school education. In addition, Mountainside was also the only school that placed athletic prowess, entailing daily training practice, at its core. One observed class taught by Ms. Lin illustrated the case, where approximately one third of students were 'missing' on official absence because they undertook

regular athletic training drills after 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Such activities affected some students' normal lessons, including English, as we will see below.

Table 5.5: Characteristics of the four schools' visions

School visions	Urban		Rural	
	Urbany	Suburbany	Hakka Rural	Mountainside
Holistic education	✓	✓	✓	✓
Elite education		✓		
Bilingual education	✓			
Athletic education				✓
Ethnic culture education			✓	✓
*Maintain ethnic dialect			✓	✓

Note: Both Hakka Rural and Mountainside have specific class for learning ethnic dialect that was not compulsory.

5.1.4 Class timetables as daily schedules

The class timetable served school disciplinary functions and regulated students' everyday, recurrent activities. In Taiwanese junior high schools, schools' routinised schedules are structured by uniform guidelines for curriculum, instructional material and equipment prescribed by the MOE which sets down national curriculum standards for elementary and junior high schools as the 'Grade 1-9 Curriculum'. It regulates and structures the time-space framework of the school day throughout the school year, from 1st September to the end of the following June, though slight changes in class timetables may occur in the second semester (from February 1st to June), if necessary. In a generic sense, each class has an individual, fixed timetable as its formal schedule, in accordance with the Seven Learning Areas of the Grade 1-9 Curriculum, as explicated in Chapter Three, Section 3.2.3.

The generic structure of daily school timetables across the four schools is illustrated in Table 5.6. Almost every Taiwanese junior high student has to arrive at school before half past seven every school day. Some may arrive nearer to seven to carry out cleaning chores inside and outside classrooms and in some public areas of the school campus and beyond, such as sidewalks surrounding the school walls. These cleaning chores are assessed by weekly

competition between classes and are valued as an important part of moral education. The following half hour Morning Session (*zao-zi-xi*) is regarded as an important starter of the school day. Supervised by homeroom teachers, the first twenty-minute slot is usually used as a student self-regulated reading session. It may sometimes be used by homeroom teachers to review certain lessons or be 'borrowed' by core subject teachers (i.e. of Mandarin, Math, Science and English) if they find themselves being behind the schedule and need to 'catch it up' (*gan-ke*) prior to monthly exams. Sometimes it is used to test, for example, English vocabulary, especially when monthly exams draw near. The latter part of Morning Session is a ten-minute or so Morning Assembly (*sheng-qi*), valued as another important means of moral education where students sing the national anthem and salute the national flag in the playground. This ritual is always followed by staff announcements related to student academic or disciplinary matters and, most importantly, the school heads' short address. A similar, one-hour, morally oriented ritual termed School Assembly (*zho-huei*) is carried out weekly (see Table 5.7) where results of the weekly cleaning chore competition may be revealed, with winners regaled by banners, followed by a longer speech either by heads or guest speakers.

Following Morning Assembly students start formal class sessions, four in the morning and three in the afternoon, with a supplementary slot of one evening class session (*fu-dao-ke*). It is worth noting that, as Taiwan is located in a sub-tropical region where average daily temperature may run as high as 20~25 Celsius, a thirty-minute siesta (*wu-xou*) is required immediately after Lunch Time (*wu-fan*), when students lie with their face downwards on their desk for a nap, which is believed to benefit concentration during afternoon lessons. Morning Sessions, like siesta periods, are supervised by homeroom teachers so as to maintain classroom order. A 'dizzy syndrome' is often at issue during the course of the first afternoon class session, particularly in summer, as students tend to feel sleepy following their short siesta. For this reason, most core subjects are usually not allocated to this time slot, tending to be confined to morning sessions.

A supplementary slot of one evening class session, predominately for year 8 and 9, indexes heightening academic pressure upon junior high students. Core subjects are predominately taught in this time slot for supplementary purposes though, on occasions, tests for reviewing lessons are given, especially before

school monthly exams. Some students are still not entitled to call it a day even after supplementary classes. Approximately half of each class (except in Mountainside) continue in private cram schools for core subjects (see Section 4.1.3). Some may have only one subject with which they have to engage, so need to go for cram school only two days a week. Others, however, may pursue more than one subject, attending on a daily basis.

Table 5.6: Standardised structure of everyday school timetable

07:30~08:00	Morning Session (reading time & Morning Assembly)
08:10~11:50	Morning class sessions (4 class sessions)
12:00~13:00	Lunch Time & 'Siesta' (30 minutes each)
13:10~16:00	Afternoon class sessions (3 class sessions)
16:05~16:50	Supplementary Slot (Evening class session)

Note: Each class session is 45 minutes with 10 minutes break in-between.

Given the general structure of school timetables, the four examples of class timetables which follow (one for each school) demonstrate certain similarities and discrepancies that are both inconsistent with national curriculum standards and reflect aspects of specific school visions.

5.1.4.1 Urbany School

In Urbany School, as can be seen in Table 5.7 below, students, like many others in Taiwanese junior highs, have to arrive at school before half past seven every school day. Early in the morning one may encounter young boys and girls dressed in Urbany school uniforms walking or biking by the side of the road with their seemingly heavy bookbags hanging on their shoulders. Many of them are bus commuters or sent by parents by car. Upon arrival, some may start carrying on with cleaning chores around their classrooms, others may sit in their seats in readiness for the school day. A Morning Session, supervised by a homeroom teacher and the remaining time up to the start of the first lesson is used very much as in the generic description above.

Table 5.7: Urbany School timetable

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
07:30~08:00	Morning Session (reading time & morning assembly)				
08:20~09:05	Mandarin	Class Meeting	Math	English	Daily Life English
09:15~10:00	Domestic Culture	School Assembly	Counselling	Civics	PE
10:10~10:55	Math	Science & Technology	Science & Technology	Geography	Mandarin
11:05~11:50	English	Health Education	Science & Technology	Math	Mandarin
12:00~13:00	Lunch Time (English broadcast) & 'Siesta'				
13:10~13:55	Science observation	Math	English	Science & Technology	Art
14:05~14:50	Integrative Activities	Mandarin	Study Time	Music	Performing
15:10~15:55	Integrative Activities	PE	Extra Curriculum	Mandarin	History
Supplementary Slot					
16:05~16:50	Mandarin	Science & Technology	English	Math	Flexible Session

Note: Weekly classes are 40 hours in total.

Urbany has five English classes in a week including the one in supplementary slot every weekday afternoon. The 'Daily Life English' is the time when students can learn colloquial English through listening to the school magazine: *'Life ABC'*. School Assembly every Tuesday is unique because the school head, Mr. Chen, is keen to make an English speech in order to inspire students, albeit it is usually articulated in the local Taiwanese accent which sounds *'weird'*, as one student (Helen) complained at interview (see Section 6.1.2.1.1). He seems to acknowledge that and tends to encourage students by saying *'Do not mimic my pronunciation but follow my dedication to learning English'*. In addition, the Lunch Time session is also unique in providing students with opportunities to practice English. English DJs, chosen from students with marked English proficiency, undertake bilingual broadcasts every lunchtime break. Their 'talk show' style and interactive character seem to be popular with students. Mr.

Chen's weekly English speech and the lunchtime broadcast represent some of the many cultural resources in Urbany that mediate students' actions in an English learning community of practice.

Urbany students normally end their school day at four o'clock in the afternoon. One may encounter a huge crowd of students holding their bikes, queuing up in orderly fashion, ready to head out of the school gate, where student wardens and duty staff help watch the traffic. Outside the school gate is also crowded with vehicles with parents waiting for their children. Year 8 and 9 students have to stay in school for another one-hour 'Supplementary Slot' session.

5.1.4.2 Suburbany

Suburbany students also start their school day as early as half past seven, so that, as at Urbany, in the early morning one may encounter students dressed in Suburbany school uniforms walking or cycling, or arriving by car or rental mini-buses, as some of elite students are from Kaohsiung downtown areas. However, in contrast to Urbany, given Suburbany's larger student population and, more importantly, its elite school status, a huge crowd of students can be seen hanging around rather than going straight home, mostly waiting to go to neighbouring cram schools either after four o'clock (Year 7) or after the 'Supplementary Slot' (Years 8 and 9). Suburbany has five English classes a week, including the supplementary slot. English, like other core subjects, tends to be allocated morning slots when students are expected to have better concentration.

Table 5.8: Suburbany School timetable: High-Ability Class

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
07:30~08:00	Morning Session (reading time & morning assembly)					
08:10~08:55	Math	Geography	English	Counseling	School Assembly	Mandarin (Literature)
09:10~09:55	Mandarin	Natural Science	Math	Mandarin	Independent Research	Mandarin (Literature)
10:10~10:55	Mandarin	English	Mandarin	Natural Science	Math	Math (English)
11:10~11:55	English	Independent Research	English	Flexible Session	Health Education	Math (English)
12:00~13:00	Lunch Time & 'Siesta'					
13:15~14:00	Scout Activities	Flexible Session	Art	Music	Computer	
14:15~15:00	Natural Science	Home Economics	PE	Civics	Living Technology	
15:15~16:00	Class Meeting	Mandarin	PE	Math	History	
	Supplementary Slot					
16:20~17:10	English	Mandarin	Flexible Session	Math	Natural Science	

Note:1. Weekly classes are 40 hours in total for normal classes.

2. High-ability classes have 44 hours due to additional Saturday classes.

Suburbany also has unique Saturday sessions for 'high-ability' classes when core subjects are taught, on a fortnightly basis. As such, Ms. Huang's Class C, as the 'English Experimental' class (see Table 5.8), has at least two more English sessions fortnightly on their unique timetable. In addition, the unique course of 'Independent Research' (on Tuesday) represents Suburbany's emphasis on academic competence where high-ability students may opt for one of their favourite, core subjects for advanced research training. Suburbany's school head is himself a PhD scholar who tends to place central importance on research skills so that high ability students are encouraged to work on different research themes with specialist teachers. Students are expected to present research findings or participate in relevant, local competitions at the end of each school year.

The use of 'Flexible Sessions' (Thursday) also marks Suburbany's distinction from other schools. This two hour weekly session makes it possible for core subject teachers to strengthen students' academic competence, whether in high ability or normal classes. Some foreign English language teachers may be paid to teach within these sessions. Given all these devices, Suburbany students, especially in high-ability classes, are provided with rich cultural resources aimed at strengthening their cognitive competences. However, the downside is that such overt and extended academic emphasis appears, inevitably, to squeeze out other, non-academic activities. There is no 'Extra Curriculum' session in Suburbany (see Table 5.11 below).

5.1.4.3 Hakka Rural School

As in other schools in Taiwan, Hakka Rural students start their school day as early as half past seven in the morning. Most Hakka Rural students can be seen dressed in light-pink school uniforms walking or biking alone the side of the country road early in the morning. Unlike their urban counterparts however, very few of them are brought to school by parents. The structure of their day is very much as in the urban schools described above. Moreover, despite its rural nature, many Hakka Rural students tend to go to cram schools, given the strength of focus on academic study within Hakka culture. Hakka Rural has five English classes in a week, including one supplementary slot, the remainder usually in the mornings (see Table 5.9 below). No foreign English language teachers are available. As Mr. Zhao, the senior English teacher and chief administrator of the Student Academic Affairs office admitted:

'It is daunting to see that foreign teachers would rather stay in lucrative urban areas than rural ones like Meinung [...] I used to try inviting a foreign priest from local church to come for a help with either English lessons or a bit translation service, but in vain.'

Attempts to supplement this lack of foreign English teacher expertise seems to take the form of high cram school attendance. Indeed, the extreme valuing of high scores and 'grammar-based' learning in both Hakka Rural and cram schools would be likely to make it impossible for students to learn from foreign English teachers. These considerations are returned to in Section 6.1.1.

Table 5.9: Hakka Rural School timetable

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
07:30~08:00	Morning Session (reading time & morning assembly)				
08:10~08:55	Life education	Science & Technology	Science & Technology	Geography	Mandarin
09:10~09:55	Math	Science & Technology	Math	English	Mandarin
10:10~10:55	English	Math	PE	Scout Activities	Computer
11:10~11:55	Mandarin	English	English	History	Math
12:00~13:00	Lunch Time & 'Siesta'				
13:15~14:00	Performing	Civics	Health Education	Mandarin	PE
14:15~15:00	Geography	Counselling	Extra Curriculum	Math	Arts
15:15~16:00	Music	Mandarin	Class Meeting	Science & Technology	Home Economics
Supplementary Slot					
16:20~17:10	Mandarin	Science & Technology	English	Math	

Note: Weekly classes are 39 hours in total.

5.1.4.4 Mountainside School

Mountainside students also start their school day as early as half past seven, and have to carry on cleaning chores at school. However, one encounters few students walking by the side of the road, given Mountainside's boarding school system. As in the other three schools, similar academic activities involving reading or tests are carried out in the 'Morning Session' before morning assembly, as shown in Table 5.10. As noted earlier, what distinguishes Mountainside from other schools is its devotion to athletic emphasis. Though most students end their school day normally at four in the afternoon, those who take part in athletic training sessions tend to leave classrooms with official permission as early as 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mountainside also has five English classes in a week including one in the supplementary slot. Unlike other schools, core subjects are not predominately allocated to morning sessions but spread evenly throughout each school day. In Mountainside, as in Hakka Rural, no specific lessons were tutored by foreign teachers. The 'Indigenous Culture' (Wednesday) learning session was unique, where Paiwan students could learn either knowledge of Paiwan mother tongue or cultural skills, such as singing, dancing and crafting. However, it was probably the two-hour 'Extra Curriculum' (Friday) session, encompassing various, sports, that most characteristically exemplified Mountainside's school vision. Few students were interested in going for cram school and none were available within the Paiwan community. Academic study did not seem to be valued within the local community.

Table 5.10: Mountainside School timetable

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
07:30~08:00	Morning session (reading time & morning assembly)				
08:10~08:55	School Assembly	Geography	Health Education	Mandarin	Math
09:10~09:55	Natural Science	Mandarin	English	Math	Civics
10:10~10:55	PE	Counselling	Math	Performing	English
11:10~11:55	Home Economics	English	PE	Class Meeting	Arts
12:00~13:00	Lunch Time & 'Siesta'				
13:15~14:00	Scout Activities	Math	Indigenous Culture	Natural Science	Mandarin
14:15~15:00	English	Study Time	Mandarin	Natural Science	Extra Curriculum
15:15~16:00	History	Living Technology	Mandarin	Music	Extra Curriculum
Supplementary Slot					
16:20~17:10	Math	Natural Science	English	Geography	Mandarin

Note: Weekly classes are 40 hours in total.

5.1.5 School comparisons

Each class in the four school settings had a fixed class timetable, a formalised schedule complying with Grade 1-9 Curriculum guidelines. However, flexibility existed across the schools, mirroring their individual 'visions' and related commitments. As can be seen in Table 5.11, all four schools had the same number of English classes in a week in terms of formal and supplementary sessions. Suburbany, however, had unique, fortnightly, weekend English classes for high-ability students, highlighting its distinguishing characteristic. In contrast, Mountainside was the only school emphasising ethnic culture as subject matter but devoted only one optional hour weekly to it, including tribal language, performing (e.g., singing or dancing) and craftwork. It also devoted two more hours per week to extracurricular activities, as well as providing for athletic training practice every afternoon underlining its commitment to a full school day of culturally organised activities. Hakka Rural, in further contrast, did not provide lessons on ethnic cultural matters, despite the strength of Hakka historico-cultural legacy involving, for example, singing 'mountain songs' (*shan-ge*) and crafting 'oil-paper umbrellas' (*you-zhi-can*). The uniquely Hakka 'low status identity' in relation to mother tongue and culture seemed to be linked to this 'absence' of ethnic cultural subject material at school, a matter to be further addressed in Chapter Six.

Table 5.11: Comparison of school class timetable.

	Urbany	Suburbany	Hakka Rural	Mountainside
English classes per week	4	4 + *(2)	4	4
English supplementary class per week	1	1	1	1
Weekend English classes	0	*(2)	0	0
Extracurricular activities	1	0	1	2
Ethnic culture learning	0	0	0	1

Note: *Suburbany's weekend English classes are taught fortnightly.

In addition, there were two important differences involving availability of specialist teachers and cram schools worth noting, the first relating to the overt, 'urban-rural divide' in the availability of foreign English language teachers from which Hakka Rural and Mountainside evidently suffered while the urban

schools enjoyed such specialist teachers as crucial, cultural resources. The other was the availability of cram school learning as a cultural resource, which cut across urban-rural divisions, given Hakka cultural emphasis on academic study. This left students from Mountainside as the only group without access to such an after school learning resource, with possible, consequent effect upon their very different English learning trajectories.

5.2 The eight classroom contexts

Work within a socio-cultural framework requires a strong description of the classroom contexts in which student-teacher interactions were observed. This will be done by outlining the material culture of each and common interactional tools found in classrooms and through reporting students' academic attainment in monthly exams.

5.2.1 The material culture of classrooms

The physical structures of classroom locales in the four schools were slightly different in terms of size and location (see Table 5.12). Whereas Class B was situated on a 2nd floor, others were either first or ground floor. Class D in Suburbany was the only one situated in a more than 10-year-old building, the others mostly in more modern classroom settings. Class C was the largest at forty students, Class G and H in Mountainside the smallest at twenty-eight and twenty-seven.

Table 5.12: Physical structures of the classrooms

School	Urban				Rural			
	Urbany	Suburbany	Hakka	Rural	Mountainside			
Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Teachers	Mr. Lin	Ms. Wu	Ms. Huang	Ms. Sun	Mr. Yuan	Ms. Mei	Ms. Lin	Ms. Lu
Building*	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	2
Size	34	31	29	40	34	30	28	27

Note: Building* 1 = built within 5 years; 2 = built in 5~10 years; 3 = + than 10 years.

Interior physical structures of classroom settings were quite similar. As shown in Figure 5.13, there were students' tables with drawers arranged in rows in the centre of the classroom, a teacher's table, a podium upon which teachers stood and a wide piece of blackboard hanging on the front wall where they gave whole-class written instructions. The blackboard also functioned as the space where 'duty students' (*zhi-zu-shen*) numbers or names (two per day) were marked to identify who would be responsible for daily classroom routine, such as helping to fetch teaching aids, if any, or teacher's drinking water from the staff offices before each class session, erasing blackboard contents after class and locking the classroom after school. On the back wall a wide piece of bulletin board was used to place decorations, school notes and students' work. A decoration competition was held by most schools each semester to encourage student creativity and active participation in school affairs. Some differences also existed in each classroom.

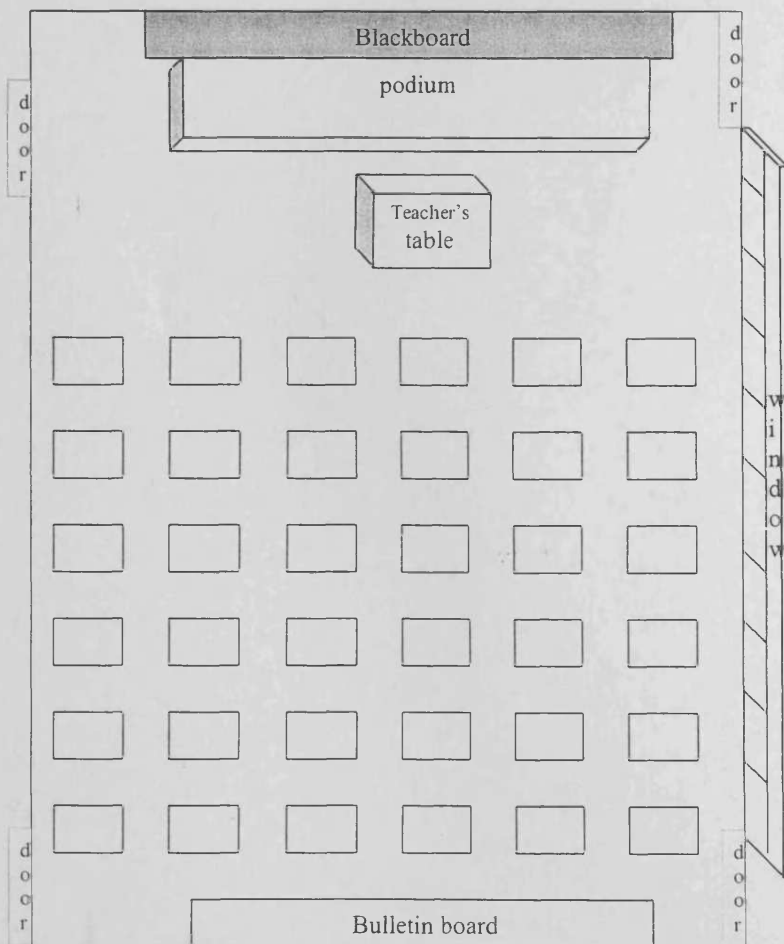


Figure 5.13: General physical classroom arrangement

In Urbany School Mr. Lin's class (Class A) had thirty-four tables arranged in rows in the centre of the classroom, a teacher's table, a podium and a wide piece of blackboard hanging on the front wall. Being a young, bilingual school, a TV set, as can be seen in Figure 5.14, was positioned next to the blackboard for audiovisual and other teaching purposes. A loudspeaker sat atop the blackboard for daily staff announcements and the lunchtime English broadcast. Underneath the blackboard was a microphone plug, amplification being widely used by teachers. A unique space at the front right of the classroom was provided for teachers to mark school work. Urbany's new structure provided double corridors, providing students with more activity space. The smaller one faced outside and functioned as an ideal place for storing all sorts of tools for morning cleaning chores including mops, brooms and bins.



Figure 5.14: Audiovisual facility in an Urbany classroom
(Accessed from Urbany School website: Printed with permission)

In Suburbany School Ms. Sun's class (Class D) had forty tables arranged in rows in the centre of the classroom, a teacher's table, a podium, and a wide piece of blackboard hanging on the front wall, with microphone facility beneath. Being a popular school with a large student population, tables were squeezed into a tiny space, with tools for morning chores leaning against the back wall, against which students sat.

In Hakka Rural, Mr. Yuan's class (Class E) had thirty-four tables arranged in rows in the centre of the classroom, as well as other, familiar pedagogic accoutrements, including a loudspeaker set atop the blackboard. Like Urbany's new classroom design with double corridors, Class E also used an outside facing corridor as a space for storing tools. The classroom, though newly built, was smaller than that at Urbany, students sitting in the last row having even less space.

In Mountainside, Ms. Lin's class (Class G), with twenty-eight student tables was, again, not dissimilar, as can be seen in Figure 5.15. Two wardrobes were put next to the blackboard in which some reference books or teaching aids were stored and in the back of the classroom there was another teacher's table and chair suitable for supervision and an ideal place for observation during my field research. Some back wall notices, in particular, caught my attention, particularly newspaper cuttings and guidelines and criteria for indigenous students' scholarships, clearly intended as incentives encourage students' learning.

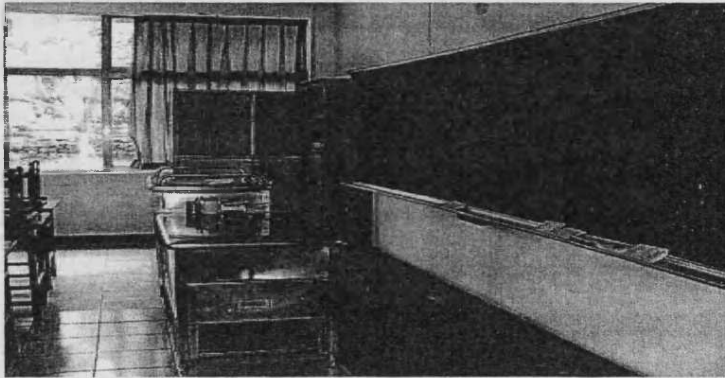


Figure 5.15: One front corner of Mountainside's classroom
(Photo: Wen-Chuan Lin)

5.2.2 Portrait of the eight English teachers

Eight teachers took part in the observational phase of the study, bringing with them values informed by their previous English learning history. This may shed light on their current dialogical interaction with students within classroom settings, making it crucial to briefly depict teachers' biographical characteristics such as gender, sex, ethnicity and years of teaching experience (see Table 5.13) before proceeding to the discussion of actual classroom interaction.

Table 5.13: Some characteristics of the eight English teachers

School	Urban				Rural			
	Urbany		Suburbany		Hakka Rural		Mountainside	
Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Teacher	Mr. Lin	Ms. Wu	Ms. Huang	Ms. Sun	Mr. Yuan	Ms. Mei	Ms. Lin	Ms. Lu
Ethnicity	Hokkien	Hokkien	Hakka	Hokkien	Hakka	Hokkien	Hokkien	Paiwan
Sex	M	F	F	F	M	F	F	F
Age	mid 20	early 30	early 40	late 20	early 30	late 30	late 20	late 20
Year / teach	2	8	15	2	2	14	5	4
Home-room teacher	✓			✓				
School administrator		✓			✓			

Note: Females dominate English teaching in Taiwanese junior high schools.

Urbany School: at Urbany School Mr. Lin was both English and homeroom teacher to Class A, a young, ethnic Hokkien with only two years' teaching experience. As a homeroom teacher, he dealt with issues ranging from students' classroom behaviour in all class sessions to academic attainments that might raise concern across subjects. Such 'housekeeping' chores were predominately undertaken in Morning Sessions and Class Meetings, yet sometimes mingled with his regular English teaching sessions, like many other junior high school homeroom teachers in Taiwan. Ms. Wu, English teacher to Class B, was a Hokkien teacher with eight years' teaching experience who had also played an important administrative role as the school 'English Environment Coordinator' since 2004. She was always kept extremely busy in this pivotal post, taking most responsibility for Urbany's bilingual education scheme and its implementation, the school's core, working vision. Such pressure seemed to have impoverished her regular teaching, as we will address in Chapter Five. Like many other colleagues in 'young' Urbany, these English teachers could also both be characterised as 'young', working with a dedicated school head teacher toward a cohesive, bilingual school vision.

Suburbany School: at Suburbany School Ms. Huang, an ethnic Hakka, was the English teacher of high-ability Class C. Moreover, she had been my former classmate in the English Department at a prestigious teacher training university in Taiwan. My prior acquaintance with Ms. Huang had made it possible for me to 'slide in' through Suburbany's bureaucratic system and, with her assistance, to access Ms. Sun's class. She also arranged my one-month substitute teaching in Class C in the summer of 2004 which contributed greatly to my initial understanding of the underlying culture of this elite school. Ms. Huang could be characterised as both senior and competent, regarded as one of the 'famous teachers' (*ming-shi*) in Suburbany, with her fifteen years experience and, even more important, humorous interactional style.

Ms. Huang's past English learning history seemed to be important as accounting for her competence in teaching and humorous interactional style. A brief description of her past may be help here. She graduated in a Taiwanese Teacher's College where teachers were trained to teach in primary level. English was not particularly emphasised in Teacher's Colleges because English was not taught in primary school level until the implementation of a new national curriculum in 2001. As she put it, *'I totally knew nothing about grammar whereby the only learning was to recite everything I learned from school'*. Following many of her classmates' steps, she intended to attend universities for higher degree, attempting to teach at junior high level as commonly regarded as 'upward job mobility'. She eventually enrolled in English department becoming my classmate in 1987 though Music department was her real priority.

Thanks to her incompetent English ability, attending English department in a top university meant inevitable hard times and sometimes even humiliation. She recalled:

'I felt I was lagging behind when I attended the English department [...] My problem was rather serious in English composition class [...] I remembered the teacher said something "serious" and "hurting" (zhong-hua) addressing my low English ability. Seven students in class, including me, were "humiliated" (xiu-ru) in public by the teacher, saying "you will feel easier if you attend other department". I was also told by the teacher that "I will fail you if you ever write English like this!"'

This painful humiliation drove her to undertake series of steps for intensive self learning including keeping English diary everyday and long hours of study in the library. As I recalled Ms. Huang, alongside other 6 more mature classmates like her background, were all working diligently unlike the rest of us, young and innocent students busy enjoying university life. Her English eventually improved so much that surprised the same teacher who did the humiliation.

Her struggling journey of learning English and the experience of being humiliated seemed to have led her to develop a thoughtful and humorous interactional style. She described her approach to teaching as follows:

'Some of my former students have become English teachers at normal schools or cram schools. [...] I think I have a great deal of influence on students. [...] I teach them to let them keep a "life-long interest in English" rather than for getting "high scores" (cheng-ji). [...] Many of my students are taking advantages in having good command at English such as applying for senior high schools or top universities.'

Ms. Sun was English and homeroom teacher to Class D and was a young Hokkien with only two years' teaching experience. As a young colleague, Ms. Sun was allowed to observe some English classes taught by '*ming-shi*', including her own former English teacher. Such 'in-service training' or 'co-teaching' was unique to Suburbany, whereby young colleagues like Ms. Sun could benefit from such 'scaffolding' (Wood, Bruner and Ross, 1976) or 'guided participation' (Rogoff, 1995) through appropriation of more able colleagues' pedagogic skills. This enculturation however, might not always represent something positive, particularly given the 'cognitive values' (Goodnow, 1990) privileging 'grammar-based' pedagogy in Suburbany.

Hakka Rural School: at Hakka Rural School Mr. Yuan, English teacher to Class E, was a young Hakka teacher, also with only two years' teaching experience. Apart from teaching English Mr. Yuan worked as an administrator in the Students' Academic Office at Hakka Rural. As was the case with Ms. Wu (the English Environment Coordinator) at Urbany, Mr. Yuan's administrative working schedule seemed to create implicit tension between himself and Class E, especially when he had to swap his teaching sessions for job-related school

or out-of-school meetings. Mr. Yuan seemed to suffer from his less than smooth relationship with Class E, complaining there were 'three big wigs' in this class who gave up learning English and required constant disciplinary attention, impairing his classroom interaction with students. In the sense of having been brought up by his grandparents and experience of cram school, he appeared to mirror the specific life style and English learning activities of contemporary Hakka young people. He described his early schooling as follows:

'I lived in Meinung up to Year 4 because my grandfather was a local primary school teacher. It was a "grandparents' up-bringing" [He chuckles] because my parents were working in Kaohsiung. They took me "out" (chu-qu) in year 4. So I undertook my schooling in Kaohsiung city after that. But I would come back to Meinung on weekends or holidays.'

For many Hakka students, being brought up by grandparents was not uncommon, many of them working in Kaohsiung city in lucrative jobs and passing responsibility for supervising children's schoolwork to grandparents. Such a shift in responsibility appeared to render English speaking practice at home difficult as few Hakka grandparents understood Mandarin, let alone English. Cram school attendance had rendered Mr. Yuan's competitive, urban school life after Year 4 'very busy'. As he recalled:

'I felt very "busy" (mang) because I had to go to cram school for "composition" (zuo-wen) and then rush to another cram school for English. Though I felt very busy, I was among the lowest achieving students in that English class.'

Ms. Mei, English teacher to Class F, was Hokkien with some fourteen years' teaching experience. She had been teaching at a rural junior high school in Taipei county for ten years before moving to Hakka Rural. This experience seemed to have contributed to her understanding of Hakka students' English learning. Her marriage to a Hakka husband was particularly significant because it had made possible her recognition of and determination to learn Hakka language and culture. She spoke of 'getting entry' into a Hakka family and community through learning its language:

'I came here in 1999. I [...] tried hard to listen to Hakka which was a totally new language for me [...] I asked students to help me by speaking Hakka in class [...] they were willing to speak for me [...] When I got married and lived with my mother-in-law I had to speak Hakka with her because she can not speak any Chinese or Taiwanese. I could comprehend some basic words in Hakka for the first three months [...] and gradually picked up through constant practice with her, my husband and students.'

Ms. Mei's intentional Hakka language learning had helped her to use the knowledge of Hakka traditions to achieve much shared understanding with her students. She made use of Hakka mother tongue in her class as a mediational tool, alongside Mandarin, the predominant instructional language. As she put it:

'I can learn some Hakka from students while teaching English [...] I can feel the way and the difficulty they may encounter in learning English from my experience of learning Hakka language.'

Perhaps it was because of her personal experience of learning Hakka that she seemed to be able to build an intimate relationship with students, even though she was reputed to be strict.

Mountainside School: at Mountainside School Ms. Lin, English teacher to Class G, was a Hokkien with five years' teaching experience. She had taught in a non-indigenous junior high school in a nearby township, a somewhat different pedagogic experience that enabled her to take a contrastive but not over-critical view of indigenous students' learning. Our informal talk before the questionnaire survey in Class G on 25th of October 2004 may exemplify her hesitation. She reminded me, in a slightly warning tone, that *'these indigenous students may not understand your questions well even though they are written in plain Mandarin'*. At interview she further identified her daunting experience of Paiwan students' learning styles:

'I taught English in Pintung county for three years [...] I am also teaching in a cram school [...] I can make some comparisons between students from urban and rural regions [...] they prefer "interactive" (hu-dong) learning style but they tend to be reluctant when it takes 'brain work' (dong-nao-jin). They tend to feel "troublesome" (ma-fan) and "boredom" (pi-lao). Their learning attitude is not as proactive as their urban counterparts [...] there is an "enormous gap" (tian-rang-zhi-bie).'

Ms. Lin tended to privilege a cognitive 'brain work' rather than interactive style with her students. Tension, therefore, existed between her and the class whenever students were verbally aggressive in responding to her pedagogic practice. The fact that Ms. Lin transferred to another, non-indigenous junior high school in 2005 might have been related to this tension, though other reasons would also have contributed to her move.

Ms. Lü, English teacher to Class H, was herself an indigenous Paiwan born in this village. She had lived with her relative in the suburban Kaohsiung area since primary school year because of her parents' divorce. Like many other urban students she commenced her initial English learning at a summer cram school called a 'summer pre-session class' (*shu-qi xian-xiu-ban*) right before attending junior high school. It was her 'good' English pronunciation that made her a popular candidate whenever teachers needed someone to read for the class. As she put it *'At that time, I was encouraged by the way my teacher valued my English'*. The account of why she liked learning English, even in the absence of parental encouragement, reported drawing on other motivations:

'I like it [English] out of my own interest and the "fantasy" (xiang-wan) of visiting foreign countries [...] I like to watch foreign TV programs which makes me want to encounter with foreign things.'

In terms of pedagogic practice, as with Ms. Mei's use of Hakka language in class, Ms. Lu employed her Paiwan mother tongue with Class H and was able to refer to Paiwan cultural customs in relevant lessons. Perhaps it was her 'co-membership' (Cazden, 1988) with the indigenous community that allowed her to build intimate relationships with her class.

5.2.3 Texts as mediational tools

The education system of Taiwan can be characterised as 'textbook-oriented', similar to that of United States. As can be seen in Table 5.14, a variety of texts involving textbooks, workbooks, reference books and notes were discovered in the course of classroom observations, used by both teachers and students as 'mediational tools (Wertsch, 1991, 1995, 1998). While textbooks and affiliated workbooks were similar across schools, reference books and note-taking behaviour were more discrepant. Textbooks (Book One to Six for the three junior high school years) were and are used by Taiwanese teachers as their main pedagogic guides and learning sources. Since 1968, the National Institute for Compilation and Translation, Taiwan (hereafter termed NICT), directly under the MOE, has annually edited unified versions of primary, junior and senior high school textbooks as national standards. In 1997, textbook writing and editing became open to private publishers, though still supervised by the Institute (NICT, 2006). Based on the recently formulated Grade 1-9 National Curriculum, a number of private publishers have produced different versions of textbooks for commercial marketing. Decisions as to which to use are predominately left to teachers of the same grade year as a group, based on their judgement of pedagogic need. With respect of English as a subject, final decisions are normally made through committee meetings of English teachers at the same grade level, leading to the possibility that versions of text or reference books may be discrepant across the three grade levels.

Table 5.14: Texts and other classroom tools

School	Urban				Rural			
	Urbany		Suburbany		Hakka Rural		Mountainside	
Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Textbook/ workbook	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Reference book	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Notetaking	✓		V*	✓	✓	✓		V*

Note:1. Different versions of textbooks were used in all classes.

2. *Students from class C and H take notes autonomously.

The six classes in Urbany, Suburbany and Hakka Rural used the 'nan-yi' textbook version (see Table 5.15 below) considered by local English teachers to be more grammar-focused and rich in content, though rather more difficult for students than others. Class G and H in Mountainside used an easier 'kang-shian' textbook version which was more conversation-oriented, with sections of dialogue or articles, sentence patterns and listening practice each lesson. However, lesson contents in both versions complied with national curriculum guidelines that stressed the development of students' knowledge of and skills in English language. The workbooks which accompanied textbooks were mainly used for homework assignments, given at the end of each lesson. They were checked, marked and returned to students within a few days of being handed in. Sometimes workbooks were used as tests to monitor students' progress and scores taken as a record of academic attainment.

Table 5.15: Contents of the two textbooks (Book Three)

Lesson	'nan-yi'	'kang-shian'
Lesson 1	Why Do You Like Math?	Peter And Sam Had A Good Summer Vacation
Lesson 2	What Your Favourite Holidays?	Mike Started His New Way Of Life
Lesson 3	I Have To Wear It Review I	Amy Visited Taiwan Happily Review I
Lesson 4	Learning English	Amanda Was Waiting For Ted
Lesson 5	Why Don't You Get On The Internet?	Amanda's Cell Phone
Lesson 6	I'll Send You An E-mail Review II	Thanksgiving Review II
Lesson 7	I Should Do Some Exercise	Holidays
Lesson 8	What Time Is It Showing?	A White Christmas
Lesson 9	I'm Going To Take A Trip Review III	Will You Go By Plane Or By Bus? Review III

All English teachers in the same grade have an agreed schedule at the outset of each semester. Normally all twelve lessons, including three Review sections, will be completed. Review sections exactly match the schedule of three monthly school exams (*yue-kao*) each semester. Each exam (at actual intervals of one month and a half) serves as a milestone that marks the end of a learning period and leads either to a 'rewarding season' or 'toll-paying' (*suan-zhang*), the latter, until recently, possibly involving physical punishment for students whose attainment is, in some way, unconvincing.

Teachers' everyday pedagogical instruction progresses at an average speed of one textbook lesson per week, the first hour of each normally spent on vocabulary building, followed by introduction of a section of reading or dialogue, alongside a test on vocabulary, for the second hour. Tests are predominately used by teachers as tools to monitor students' progress and to keep attainment records. In the third hour an audio CD may be used for tailoring students' listening. Sentence patterns and grammatical structures, in particular, are tackled at this moment, alongside drill practice from reference books, if time permits. The last hour is often used for more practice, such as with exercises embedded in the end of each lesson in the textbook, followed by a homework assignment from workbooks or reference books. Within this tight schedule, 'interruptions', such as routine tests, extra drill practices or revision using workbooks or reference books, are undertaken. However, they induce a feeling of haste among both students and teachers, such that the practice of 'catching up with the schedule' (*gan-jin-du*) has become something of a nightmare for most English teachers whereby, as noted in Section 5.1.4, 'borrowing classes' (*jie-ke*) becomes a remedial mechanism pervasive in most junior high schools.

考題演練

▲文法與對話

() 1. It's ten fifteen. = It's _____.

(A) a quarter to ten (B) a quarter to eleven
(C) a quarter after ten (D) fifteen to ten

() 2. It's half after four. = It's _____.

(A) four fifteen (B) four thirty (C) five thirty (D) five fifteen

() 3. We have a game _____ 4:00 p.m.

(A) on (B) in (C) at (D) for

() 4. Steve: What time is it? Kevin: _____.

(A) Two o'clock. (B) At two o'clock. (C) I have no time. (D) Maybe next time.

() 5. Anna: May I speak to Jane? Jill: _____.

(A) Who are you? (B) I'm not Jane.
(C) Is this 3375981? (D) Hold on, please.

Figure 5.16: Exemplary reference book, '*nan-yi*' version (Book One)

Reference books are optional but particularly popular in urban schools. Most are edited by private publishers attempting to provide students with drill practice alongside textbook learning. They are expensive (some two or three pounds per volume) and cost ten times more than the national version edited by the NICT before 1997. Given this, some students, especially in rural regions, do not use reference books for financial reasons. As may be seen in Table 5.14 rural students from both Rural Hakka and Mountainside do not access such resources. For teachers, reference books are regarded as pedagogically beneficial, though costly and grammar-based. Their ready-made drills on sentence patterns or translation practices appear to save teachers' time and energy and fit students' need in preparation for school monthly exams (see Figures 5.16 and 5.17). With the growing popularity of GEPT in recent years, audio CDs are now usually attached to reference books for practice on listening tests. It could be argued however, these audio CDs, while invaluable for enhancing listening comprehension seem to be devalued by certain aspects of Taiwanese learning culture, which will be addressed below.

閱讀解析

【閱讀情境】現在的手機功能越來越多樣，體積又小，深受大家的喜愛，但也因為體積太小，許多人很容易就隨處遺忘了它們。你有好好愛惜你的手機嗎？

Cell phones are very popular now. Many young people use them. They talk to their friends, send messages, listen to music, play games, and even surf the net with them. Some people collect cell phones. Cell phones are like their new clothes and new shoes.

Many people are not careful about their cell phones. Cell phones are small. Sometimes their owners forget about them. In Taiwan, many thousand cell phones can't find their owners every year.

Do you have a cell phone? Do you take good care of it?

現在手機非常流行，很多年輕人用它們。他們用手機跟朋友談話、傳送訊息、聽音樂、玩遊戲、甚至於上網瀏覽。有些人收集手機，手機就像是他們的新衣服和新鞋子一樣。

很多人沒有很小心地保管他們的手機。手機很小，有時候它們的主人忘了它們。在臺灣，每年有數以千計的手機找不到它們的主人。

你有手機嗎？你有好好的照顧它嗎？



Figure 5.17: Exemplary reference book, 'kang-shian' version (Book Three)

Taking notes was another interactional tool observed in classrooms. Students were encouraged, sometimes requested, by their teachers to jot down relevant grammatical rules and sentence patterns written on the blackboard. Like tests, note-taking was considered by some teachers to be a tool either for regulating students' classroom behaviour or monitoring their progress by collecting notebooks for marking and reinforcement. As indicated in Table 5.13, students from six of the observed classes took notes, though only in two, Ms Huang's high-ability Class C in and Ms. Lu's Class H in Mountainside, generally did so autonomously. In the other four, note-taking modalities were somewhat mixed, sometimes autonomous, at other times requested by the teachers. Two classes (B and G), which had 'tougher' student-teacher interactions, took no notes, as will be addressed below.

5.2.4 Students' academic attainments

As we have seen there are normally three formal monthly school exams each school semester, constituting formal assessments serving to monitor students' academic progress. Each school had different examination schedules and contents but all constituted a dominant focus for teachers, students and parents to whom result were always made public.

As shown in Table 5.16, data were collected first in October, 2004, covering Lesson One to Review I, as indicated earlier in Table 5.15. Class A in Urbany scored an average of 79, Class B achieving a slightly lower score of 74. In Suburbany, data were unfortunately not collected for Class C whose high-ability students were normally capable of achieving higher scores than those of other classes and more than six of whom had passed at least the Elementary Level of GEPT in 2004, exemplifying their overall, high English achievement. Its other, mixed-ability class (Class D) scored an average of 70. In the rural regions Class E in Hakka Rural had a mean score of only 58, nine lower than Class F at 67. In Mountainside, Class G and H, almost identically to Class E at Hakkas, both had mean scores of 57 which, at under 60, is traditionally classified at 'under-qualified' (*bu-ji-ge*). A close look at micro-interactional processes in these Hakka and Paiwan classrooms ought to reveal something of significance as to such differential achievement.

The two urban schools, then, appeared to do far better than their rural counterparts, with the exception of one class at Hakka, rather reminiscent of the 'urban-rural divide' in English learning revealed by the national BC exam (see Section 3.2.4) However, many influences, including students' everyday access to English at community level and variations in ethnic culture, seem to interact with learning school English, as noted in Chapter Four. These considerations made analyses of micro-interactional classroom processes all the more necessary in transcending simplistic versions of 'urban-rural divides'.

Table 5.16: Students' English attainments, first monthly exam, 2004

School	Class	T	N	Min.	Max.	Mean
<i>Urbany</i>	A	Mr. Lin	34	24	100	79
	B	Ms. Wu	31	15	100	74
<i>Suburbany</i>	C*	Ms. Huang	29	*	*	*
	D	Ms. Sun	40	20	93	70
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	E	Mr. Yuan	34	9	99	58
	F	Ms. Mei	30	22	99	67
<i>Mountainside</i>	G	Ms. Lin	28	12	99	57
	H	Ms. Lu	27	8	97	57

5.3 Contrastive analysis of classroom interactions

This section provides an overview of classroom interactional styles across the four schools involved in the study. As noted in Chapter Two, observational data were drawn from non-participant observations of approximately twenty-eight hours in the eight classrooms over a period of four months from September to December in 2004. At the outset, the general pattern of instructional practice will be discussed. Differences in pedagogic instruction across the classroom will be discussed next by focussing on how teachers used students' everyday culture in their interactions.

5.3.1 Instructional forms

As shown in Appendix 9, a general instructional process in Taiwanese English classrooms indicates a textbook and grammar-oriented teaching and learning. Four interactional patterns were detected that were common to all eight classes, as follows:

- grammar-oriented pedagogy,
- Mandarin Chinese as the dominant language,
- classic question-response-evaluation (IRE) structures of interaction,
- direct and indirect interactional patterns of classroom control.

5.3.1.1 Grammar-oriented pedagogy: the case of Ms. Sun

A grammar-oriented pedagogy was observed in all classes. In Ms. Sun's class (Class D) at 13:30~14:15 pm of 30th September, 2004, the teacher was at the blackboard and students were in their seats facing her. At the outset, she asked some sleepy students to go to wash their faces before beginning the lesson, the first afternoon class after lunchtime siesta. In this lesson (Lesson Three: I Have To Wear It), Ms. Sun was teaching vocabulary items, such as 'right' and 'best' while students were jotting down what had been written on the blackboard. Most of the teacher's grammatical delineation and explanation was done in Mandarin (hereafter termed 'M' in the following extracts).

Extract 5.1:

- 1 T: (Besides being a noun meaning 'right hand side', 'right' can be an
2 adjective meaning 'correct'. [...] or an adverb meaning 'right there'-M)
3 ((Writing on board)) Right here/ right there.
((Teacher was lecturing by pointing to what has been written on board
while some students are still taking notes silently.))
4 T: (Finished?-M)...(Are you all ready now?-M)
5 Ss: Unintelligible ((Some students are still taking notes.))

((The next few turns are spent in lecturing about the word 'best' by the
teacher.))

- 6 T: (It's an adverb meaning 'tzuei' 'tzuei'. Write it down! It's an adjective
7 meaning 'tzuei-hao-de'- M) 'the best'. Like 'the best students' or 'the
8 best class.' So, 'best' (has two properties -M)
((Teacher turns to the board writing and talking without microphone))
9 (The first kind- adjective: best means 'tzuei-hao-de' 'the best'. But be
10 aware that a prefixal 'the' has to be attached to 'best.'...What does it
mean by- M) 'the best'?
11 Ss: Unintelligible ((Some students are still taking notes.))
12 T: I am the best. We are the best. 'the' (must be added to-M) best.
13 (Moreover, 'best' is an adverb in the text which means something is
14 someone's favourite. -M)
((Teacher turns to the board writing and talking simultaneously with
ascending voice.))
15 T: I like baseball best. I like basketball best.
16 ((Waiting for note-taking)) (Have you all done?-M)
17 You are the best student. So, the best (can be added with a noun-M).

The teacher was intent on explicitly instructing the class on points of grammar and illustrating them well by writing patterns and examples on the board. As can be seen in lines 1 and 2 of Extract 5.1 the grammatical properties of the new word '*right*' were elaborated and written on the board for students. The class then moved on to another new word '*best*'. Beside points of grammar regarding the new word '*best*', as shown in lines 6, and 7,, the phrase '*the best*' was also underlined with exemplary sentences (line 12). Ms. Sun then

elaborated further by stating a 'noun' could be added (line 17). The entire teaching process was carried out by the teacher's providing explicit instruction about grammatical rules along with students' note-taking. This can be viewed as a form of rote learning aimed no doubt at gaining better scores in exams.

As in Ms. Sun's classroom, grammar-based pedagogy was found across the four schools. As noted earlier, high scores were valued in language exams and this appeared to encourage the grammar-oriented pedagogy observed. The grammatical explanation was predominately given in Mandarin and was usually accompanied by teachers writing on boards and students taking notes.

5.3.1.2 Mandarin Chinese as the dominant language: the case of Ms. Wu

Mandarin Chinese was the dominant language in classrooms, used by most of the eight teachers most of the time to support students' understanding of new linguistic and grammatical rules. In Urbany School in Ms. Wu's class (Class B), Mandarin was used to tackle house chores in the classroom at the outset and then to guide students' learning of new vocabulary and sentence patterns. The lesson referred to below was conducted on the morning (10:10~10:55 am) of 1st November, 2004. Ms. Wu was at the blackboard, students in their seats facing her. It was the first hour of this new lesson (Lesson Five: Why Don't You Get On The Internet?). At the outset, Ms. Wu reminded students of what they had learned in the lesson that would be tested on the following day. After classroom house chores in Mandarin, she started to introduce new vocabulary.

Extract 5.2:

- 1 T: (Ok, let's start from the first vocabulary-M): 'information'=
2 Ss: ((repeat after teacher)) ='information'
((About ten vocabulary items are repeated by students.))
3 T: ([...] Seems that we have talked about two words last time- M) 'take'
4 and 'convenient', right?
5 Ss: 'mei-you' (No)
6 T: (No, fine. Let's start from 'take'.... What is the meaning of 'take'? -M)
7 S1: 'jau-shang'(Take pictures)
8 T: (How do you say 'jau-shang' in English? -M)
9 Ss: 'Take pictures'.
10 T: [...] 'da-gong-che' (right?-M) - take a bus to... school. (And? -M)
11 S2: Take care.
12 T: Yeah, take care of yourself. (What else? -M)
13 Ss: ((guessing)) Unintelligible.
14 T: Take a...? Take a ..? Sometimes we take a trip to some place, right?
15 (Right? Sometimes you will take a trip to some place. -M)

((The following turns are spent on grammatical explanation of the word 'take'.))

- 16 T: ((writes on board)) [...] It 'takes' someone some time.
17 It takes 'ren' (person) time to + Verb (take someone some time-M)
18 (How to say 'it takes ten minutes to walk to school? -M)
19 It takes me (.) How many minutes? How many minutes?
20 Ss: Ten minutes

Grammar-Translation Method is a dominant pedagogy in English teaching prevailing in Taiwanese secondary schools. As shown in Extract 5.2, Mandarin Chinese was predominantly used as the instructional language to assist students' comprehension of new vocabulary, phrases and sentences (line1, 8 and 9). Chinese translation was also used to repeat questions spoken in English in order to ensure that students followed what was asked. For example, when asking '*Sometimes we take a trip to some place*' (line 14) in English, Ms. Wu repeated with Chinese translations (line 15). Conversely, Chinese questions might be initiated in order to request English translation from students, especially after a new sentence pattern was introduced, as indicated in line 18.

As in Ms. Wu's classroom, Māndarin Chinese was found to be the dominant language in other classrooms, regarded an effective tool for incorporating students' understanding of new linguistic and grammatical rules. The fact that all eight English teachers reported in their questionnaire responses that they tended to speak more Mandarin than English in class also supported this observation. It could be argued that emphasis on reading ability, rather than a combination of the listening, speaking, reading and writing in the current NBC test in English, contributes to this imbalance of English learning and teaching. Given this, oral expression in English is not valued while Mandarin, on the contrary, is spoken comfortably and effectively by both interlocutors in the classroom. Well-rounded English abilities have become the focus of more attention since year 2000 with the introduction of local GEPT accreditation. This trend however, does not genuinely motivate local English teachers to speak more English in class. Their daily curriculum schedules and practices are still constrained by a culture of valuing high scores in language exams, leaving Mandarin the dominant language of the classroom.

5.3.1.3 The IRE sequence of interaction: the case of Mr. Lin

The classic question-response-evaluation sequence (IRE) that Mehan (1979) documented as characterising teacher-student classroom interactional discourse was found to be another prevailing pattern across these eight classrooms. In Urbany School Mr. Lin's initiated serial questions in order to call students' attention and trigger relevant responses from Class A. The lesson was conducted on the morning (08:20~09:05 am) of 14th September, 2004. The teacher was at the blackboard and the students were in their seats facing him. At the outset he worked from the workbook on Lesson One. He crosschecked each question item with the class by providing correct answers. The class then proceeded to a new lesson (Lesson Two: What's Your Favourite Holidays?) which tackled several Taiwanese holidays, such as Teacher's Day, Mother's Day and Moon Festival.

Extract 5.3:

- 1 T: Take out you book. (What are we going to learn today?-M)
- 2 S1: 'dan-tz'(vocabulary)
- 3 T: We are going to learn vocabulary in Lesson Two. ((repeat in Mandarin))
- 4 (Turn to page 15 if you have finished your workbook.-M) ((waits))
- 5 Ss: ((Some still working on workbook.))
- 6 T: Ok, let's look at the picture. There are many holidays in a year, right?
- 7 (You can see there are lots of holidays, right? The one: September
- 8 28th -M) What is it? ((Teacher points to the pictures on the text book.))
- 9 S2: Teacher's Day =
- 10 T: =Teacher's Day, ok. Teacher's Day and Moon Festival are on the same
- 11 day this year. ((repeat in Mandarin))
- 12 (Do we have a day off on Teacher's Day? -M)
- 13 Ss: 'mei-you' (No)
- 14 T: (Alright, let's look at the one on the upper left corner. What is it? Do you
- 15 see the flower?...it's Carnation. So it is ?- M)
- 16 Ss: Mother's Day =
- 17 T: = Mother's Day. Then what date is Mother's Day?
- 18 Ss: The second Sunday of May =
- 19 T: =The second Sunday of May. ((repeat in Mandarin))

((The next few turns are spent in learning other forthcoming local holidays.))

- 20 T: (Next one. The coming holiday is...-M) ((expects answer))
- 21 S3: 'shuang-sh-jie' (Double-Tenth Day)
- 22 T: (No. Look here, see a lady and a rabbit? What is it? -M)
- 23 Ss: Moon Festival =
- 24 T: =Moon Festival. (Correct.-M) Moon Festival is coming.

Extract 5.3 indicated that at least seven turns were identified as IR or IRE types (lines 1, 8, 12, 14, 17, 20 and 22). This turn-taking sequence shows that teacher and students engage in 'turn-allocation machinery' that achieves the orderly progression of interaction in lessons, as Mehan (1979) puts it. Such machinery was also identified as 'guessing game' question-and-answer sessions described by Edwards and Mercer (1987) as an apparently shared teachers' ideological tenet as to what constituted good teaching practice,

though no more a disputable belief or assumption. These IRE or IRF structures though controversial in function, have been revealed by research literature as remarkably dominant in classroom discourse (Edwards and Mercer, 1987; Mehan, 1979).

As in Mr. Lin's classroom, IRE turn-taking patterns prevailed in other classrooms observed, their interactional patterns fitting well with the assumption that the 'two-thirds rule' which 'assigns most of classroom talk to teachers, and much of that talk to asking questions' (Edwards and Mercer, 1987: 46). Some questions, however, went beyond such machinery, whereby no answers from students were genuinely expected. This 'rhetorical' question type was observed as affording a kind of 'instructional control', similar to IRE structures, to prevail across all eight classrooms. As can be seen in line 14, the inquiry '*Do you see the flower?*' was not actually initiated to trigger students' response; the answer was given immediately by the teacher, serving to direct students' thoughts and to expedite the lesson.

5.3.1.4 Interactional patterns of classroom control

The final general finding concerned the character of classroom control exercised by teachers. The research literature indicated that 'classroom control', expressing the authoritative social role of teachers in terms of both epistemic and behaviour control, has been well documented by early classroom studies (e.g., Mehan, 1979). While IRE structures and the 'rhetorical' question type may be regarded as epistemic control, characteristic forms of behaviour control over social and communicative process was also discovered to prevail across the eight classrooms. As Edwards and Mercer (1987: 156) reported teachers' roles were 'crucial throughout, both in shaping the general pattern and content of the lesson, and in producing the fine-grained definition of what was done, said and understood.' Such an asymmetrical relation of power and control between teachers and learners was exercised by the teachers observed with in attempting to warrant their agenda.

Table 5.17: Comparison of classroom control

School	Urban				Rural			
	Urbany		Suburbany		Hakka Rural		Mountainside	
Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Teacher	Mr. Lin	Ms. Wu	Ms. Huang	Ms. Sun	Mr. Yuan	Ms. Mei	Ms. Lin	Ms. Lu
Direct	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	
Indirect			✓			✓		✓

The degree and kinds of classroom control varied across classrooms. As Kleine (1982) put it, what we call ‘teaching styles’ represent points on a continuum between dichotomous variables, like ‘directive’ versus ‘indirect’, ‘authoritative’ versus ‘democratic’ and ‘teacher-oriented’ versus ‘student-oriented’. These dichotomous terms, although imprecise, provide general markers as to how classroom interactions take place. Two crude type of classroom control were identified, direct and indirect, in terms of which our eight teachers are roughly characterised. Table 5.17 shows that five teachers can be characterised as direct although degrees of both types of classroom control were found in the practice in each classroom.

5.3.1.4.1 Direct classroom control: the case of Mr. Yuan

Disciplinary discourse such as ‘*zuo-hao*’ (sit well), ‘*bi-zu*’ (shut up), ‘*kuai-yi-dian*’ (hurry up) and ‘*bu-yao pa-zhe*’ (wake up) were generally used by teachers to remind students of proper behaviour. In Hakka Rural School in Ms. Yuan’s class (Class E) direct disciplinary discourse was frequently used. A flavour of life in this classroom is given by my fieldnotes, written after the third visit in October 2004, where some low-achieving students fooled around outside the classroom even after the school bell had gone.

[**Fieldnote:** There were still a few students playing outside [...] It was like an episode of ‘chasing ducks’ [...] to settle them into the classroom. During the course of a 10 minute test, the ‘3 big wigs’ (the most notable, underachieving troublemakers in this class) face prostrated on their desks throughout the whole session.] (1st October, 2004)

At the outset, students were given a written test on vocabulary learned in the previous lesson (Lesson Three: I Have To Wear It) soon after they were called to settle down. About ten new vocabulary items from it were written in Chinese on a sheet typed by the teacher. Most of the disciplinary discourse, like grammatical explanation, was predominately uttered in Mandarin.

Extract 5.4:

- 1 Ss: ((Noises around))
- 2 T: (Hurry up, switch on the light and sit down...-M)
- 3 (Can we have the test now? -M)
- 4 (Hurry up, let's wait for other classmates coming inside.-M)
- ((Some students are slowly walking into the classroom whilst others are chatting.))
- 5 T: ((a bit angry)) Hello, (shut up your mouth- Mandarin)
- 6 (Why you guys not coming into the classroom when the bell rings?-M)
- 7 (Alright, close your book. Let's have the test first.-M)
- 8 ((Delivers test sheets)) (I have typed Chinese meanings on the sheet-M)
- ((The class spent 10 minutes on the test.))
- ((The following turns are spent in learning vocabulary.))
- 9 T: (Ok, let's learn the last word-Mandarin) 'free'— (It's an adjective-M).
- ((Teacher explains two Chinese meanings of 'free' and writes on board.))
- 10 (Please write it down, hurry up. - M)
- 11 (Have you written it, either on your book or notebook-M)
- 12 (Hurry up, grasp your pen write it down...-M)
- 13 Ss: ((Taking notes silently except one is sleeping at his seat.))
- 14 T: ((Addresses the sleeping student)) (Sit well. I told you never prostrate face
- 15 on the desk unless you are not feeling well-M)
- ((The next few turns are spent in discussing teacher's agenda for the test for the following week.))
- 16 T: (Let's have a test next week. I'll borrow one hour from your homeroom
- 17 teacher.-M)
- 18 Ss: ((complaining)) No!
- 19 T: (I need to swap class session for I will be busy a week Wednesday.- M)
- 20 Ss: (Oh, not again!!-M)
- 21 T: (Then, let's have a test on vocabulary a week Wednesday. Give me your
- 22 imposition on the double if you have done it, or you will be
- 23 punished for being late. Come to me if you want to do make-up test.-M)

Directive classroom control was the disciplinary discourse and form of control in overwhelming use by Mr. Yuan to direct students' thoughts and actions. As can be seen in lines 2, 4, 10 and 12 of Extract 5.4, his use of '*hurry up*' signalled 'stop wandering now' and 'get back on track immediately' represented a directive message encapsulating a strong sense of teacher's authority. Moreover, Mr. Yuan tended to manipulate certain authoritative strategies to regulate students' behaviour and learning. The use of '*kao-shi*' (test) (line 3, 7, 16 and 21) and '*bu-ke*' (make-up test) (line 23), as in other classes, became discursive weaponry to both monitor students' progress and exert power and epistemic control over the class.

Certain forms of punishment, both verbal and physical warning, could be identified as further forms of his authoritative power and control. Teachers are often regarded primarily as sources of punishment (Hood, McDermott and Cole, 1980). In line 22 and 23, '*fa-xie*' (imposition) and '*xiou-li-ren*' (corporal punishment) revealed punitive practices still salient in Taiwanese secondary schools. This culturally embedded custom of punishment within schools could be assigned to the overall competition which is still enforced by some teachers and, mostly, approved of by parents, despite recent cries for it to be banned by human rights groups.

Moreover, the fact that Mr. Yuan was working as an administrator in the school Academic Affairs Office, as well as at his regular English teaching seemed to create tension between him and the class (line 16 and 18). Like Ms. Wu in bilingual Urbany, who worked as an English coordinator, Mr. Yuan tended to be kept busy tackling administrative tasks or attending official meetings that would hinder his teaching on occasions. As shown in line 19, he had to exchange one class session or replace it with a test as a technique to address students' progress. Given that, distance, rather than intimacy, became an interactional style in Mr. Yuan's class.

As in Mr. Yuan's class, other four classes (A, B, D, and G) were characterised as having directive form of classroom control of students' thoughts and actions. Among them, Ms. Wu (class B in Urbany) and Ms. Lin (class G in Mountainside) were found to have the most directive form of classroom control or disciplinary discourse. Apart from her additional administrative role in Urbany which kept her busy, Ms. Wu had to cope with some disillusioned 'black sheep' in class B,

in her view, rendering directive classroom control inevitable. Ms. Lin, in turn, encountered a cohort of verbally aggressive indigenous young people in Mountainside, as will be described below.

5.3.1.4.2 Indirect classroom control: the case of Ms. Huang

In contrast to those who employed predominantly direct classroom control, three teachers, Ms. Huang (class C), Ms. Mei (class F) and Ms. Lu (class H) relied mainly on indirect modalities. Ms. Huang was sophisticated in maintaining the flow of her pedagogy in face of her high-ability students' somewhat aggressive responses. My fieldnote, written after the second visit to her class on the afternoon (15:20~16:05 pm) of 17th September, 2004 conveyed the impression of an English classroom with high-ability students actively engaged in learning activities with a teacher very adept at exercising emollient classroom control.

[Fieldnote: This high-ability class was labelled 'talented student' (*zi-yu-sheng*) recruited through academic selection. They were active participants in class in many ways, such as taking notes simultaneously and having quality peer/ teacher-student interaction in learning English that differentiated them to a great extent from those in other classes observed. According to Ms. Huang's narrative account and my observations, this class was keen to create or aggressively respond to any innuendo or jokingly risqué reference to juvenile relationships, forming an unique classroom culture among those studied. Ms Huang was not embarrassed by such 'witty', if unsubtle, banter but, rather, recognised the 'sub-culture' from which they sprang in her humorous responses.] (17th September, 2004)

At the outset, she was at the blackboard writing sentence patterns from the lesson (Lesson Three) while students walked around the classroom looking for their partners for pair practice. After this practice, an everyday activity, unlike other classrooms, Ms. Huang led students to tackle the sentence 'I am so happy to be here' and then oriented students to practice extending the pattern 'I am so happy to + Verb'.

Extract 5.5:

- 1 T: I'm happy to be here. I'm so happy to --- (followed by an action-M)
2 For example, [I'm so happy to 'see' you.]
3 S1: [I'm so happy to 'hit' you.] ((other students chuckling))
4 T: 'hit'? (Then your Mum must compensate later. And what else?- M)
5 S2: ((Chuckling)) I'm so happy to 'beat' you.
6 T: This is not 'Health Education' class. (Do you know the very first words
7 I told your foreign teacher when he came here was- M)
8 The students here will never give you the correct answer.
9 S3: ((Excitingly)) (Mam, Jack said -M) 'sleep'
10 T: (Jack, stand up, please. Do you think it is the correct grammar? - M)
11 J: Sleep 'on' you!
12 S4: (No, it's- M) 'under!' ((Students are getting more excited.))
13 T: ((with a grin)) (They are both wrong. It's 'with.' OK, stay here later
14 during the break. I'll teach you Health Education, ok? -M)

Apart from the ubiquitous IRE sequences identified as forms of control, as in other, observed classes, Ms. Huang presented an indirect and humorous demeanour in maintaining classroom control. Upon encountering students' attempts at 'cunning' answers, she tended to ignore the potential naughtiness of their discourse and diverted turns out of troubled water back to her agenda. In her attempt to elaborate the sentence pattern '*I am happy to ...*' in line 2 of Extract 5.5, she was using verbs (i.e., '*hit*', '*beat*' and then '*sleep*') carrying obvious double entendre, as shown in lines 3, 5 and 9. These turns, however, ended happily with Ms. Huang providing students with several humorous responses (lines 4, 6 and 14), thus exerting her emollient classroom control and providing students with an appropriate preposition '*with*' (line 13), without being embarrassed or rephending students.

The other two teachers who displayed similar, indirect classroom control, though in slightly different ways, were Ms. Mei and Ms. Lu. The former, as we noted in Section 5.2.2.3, was a Hakka daughter-in-law who employed a discursive dualism that encompassed 'sympathy' and 'authority' to engage both students' emotions (e.g., when they were looking tired) and pedagogic flow in maintaining an intimate, teacher-student relationship. In particular, her frequent use of Hakka language during pedagogic instruction seemed to forge good

relationships, as detailed below in Section 5.3.2.1.3. Ms. Lu, like Ms. Mei, also made use of her indigenous, Paiwan identity as a form of social connectedness. More 'sympathy' and a sense of 'co-membership' (Cazden, 1988) seemed to be available in her class. In contrast to Ms. Lin's class at the same school, direct disciplinary discourse was absent during the observational period which will be discussed in Section 5.3.2.2.

In sum, comparison of all eight classrooms revealed similarities in instructional style driven by the need to maintain high examination scores that is typical in Taiwanese school culture. Pedagogic practice was dominated by the four patterns outlined above: grammar-oriented pedagogy, Mandarin Chinese as the dominant language; and question-response-evaluation (IRE) interactional structure. The interactional patterns characterising classroom control intended to ensure that students undertook 'teacher's agenda' (Mehan, 1979) revealed direct and indirect forms, the former involving rather additional disciplinary discourse, especially in classes with 'big wigs' or 'black sheep'. In contrast, the latter tended to involve discursive dualism that encompassed 'sympathy' and 'authority' as indirect classroom control. It is worth noting that two of the three teachers (Ms. Mei and Ms. Lu) identified as employing indirect classroom control modalities were found to incorporate students' everyday culture within their instructional discourse.

5.3.2 Pedagogic instruction: using students' everyday culture

Although at times each teacher used illustrations from students' everyday experience, such as referring to going to a Taiwanese restaurant or night market, there were two in the study who used them rather frequently. As illustrated in Table 5.18, Ms. Mei from Hakka Rural was found to refer to both Taiwanese and ethnic Hakka everyday culture while Hakka language was also used by Ms. Mei, though she was not an ethnic Hakka teacher. As an indigenous Paiwan, Ms. Lu from Mountainside demonstrated similar interactional styles as Ms. Mei's, drawing frequently on everyday Paiwan culture involving the use of Paiwan mother tongue. The following extracts illustrate typical features of their interactional styles.

Table 5.18: Interactional styles of sharing everyday culture

Class	Hakka Rural		Mountainside	
	F		H	
Teacher	Ms. Mei		Ms. Lu	
Languages used	Using Mandarin or English	Using ethnic language	Using Mandarin or English	Using ethnic language
Sharing Taiwanese culture	✓			
Sharing ethnic culture	✓	✓	✓	✓

5.3.2.1 Ms. Mei, the Hakka daughter-in-law

As can be seen from Table 5.18 Ms. Mei at Hakka Rural was able to incorporate everyday Taiwanese culture and, in particular, explicitly share both her students' Hakka ethnicity and mother tongue in classroom teaching, drawing on this joint cultural understanding to bridge between students' school and outside school knowledge.

5.3.2.1.1 Sharing everyday Taiwanese culture

Ms. Mei's class conducted on the morning (8:15~9:00 am) of 30th September, 2004 was my third observation of her teaching. She was at the blackboard while students were in their seats facing her. In this lesson (Dialogue One in Lesson Three), Ms Mei and her students were tackling a conversation related to different foods in Taiwan. The dialogue was carried out between two boys (Tom and Ben) in a Chinese restaurant. Tom came from America and was visiting Ben who lived in Taiwan. At the outset of the lesson, Ms. Mei asked students to read the dialogue together. She carried out a little review on what has been taught about the dialogue the previous day. After following up illustrations and practice of sentence patterns, she asked students to answer questions about Taiwanese food that might interest foreigners most.

Extract 5.6:

- 1 T: (What is the foreigners most favourite drink in Taiwan?-M)
2 I have mentioned last time.
3 S1: 'jen-ju-nai-cha'? ((pearl-milk tea))
4 T: Hello? (What is their favourite? –M) ((not satisfied))
5 S2: 'ban-tiau'? ((Hakka noodles))
6 T: (If so, they must be visiting Hakka village.– M) It's true, (but what if
7 they come to Taiwan? –M)
8 S3: ((excitingly)) 'mai-dang-lau'?(Macdonald)
9 T: ((a suspicious looking)) (You think it is Macdonald? Is that so? – M)
10 Or maybe beef noodles in the night market? What else?
11 S4: 'chou-dou-fu'(stinking tofu)
12 T: It's one of their favorite food. (So, you can treat foreign friends to the
13 night market for 'stinking tofu'. They might be feeling... – M) 'Uh~~~!'
((Teacher frowned humorously.))

Ms. Mei was using 'cued elicitation' instructional patterns in asking students about food or drink in Taiwan. Her pre-planned goal was to lead students to think of common Taiwanese popular foods that might interest foreigners. As can be seen in lines 3, 5 and 8 of Extract 5.6, she did not accept the answers offered by students as relevant. However, '*stinking tofu in traditional night market*' (line 11), popular with both local people and foreigners, was finally welcomed. Her concluding remark; '*you can treat foreign friends to the night market for stinking tofu*' (line 12 and 13) and a little humorous facial expression highlighting this popular, smelly but delicious Taiwanese tofu revealed her efforts to bridge between students' in- and outside school knowledge. Her guidance of knowledge construction and epistemic control were both carried out in a rather implicit way. Students' initial answers of '*pearl-milk tea*', '*Hakka noodles*' and '*Macdonald*', all appealing food in Taiwan, were not welcomed but neither were they explicitly rejected. The final response of 'stinking tofu', which seemed to fit her agenda, was then agreed and used to create a point of continuity connecting school and non-school experiences. A joint understanding of '*what is the foreigners' most favourite food in Taiwan?*' as an element of everyday Taiwanese culture was, by such means, shared by both parties through the use of both Mandarin and English language.

5.3.2.1.2 Sharing everyday Hakka culture

In the afternoon (13:20~14:05 pm) of 1st October, 2004 I made my fourth observation in Ms. Mei's class. She was again at the blackboard and students were in their seats facing her. In this lesson (Dialogue Two in Lesson Three), Ms. Mei and the students were talking about the dialogue between June and Coco. June was a high school girl from America talking to her Taiwanese friend, Coco, about their different experiences of schooling, including cram school. At the outset of the lesson, Ms. Mei asked students to listen to a CD about Dialogue Two, followed by some related questions. While dealing the new term 'cram school' in the dialogue, she initiated a series of questions concerning Hakka students' everyday cram school experience.

Extract 5.7:

- 1 T: After the dialogue about wearing school uniform, Coco changed the
- 2 topic by asking 'Do you go to cram school?'
- 3 ((writes on board and reads)) 'Do you go to cram school?'
- 4 (Coco changed a topic by asking what?-M)=
- 5 Ss: ((answer promptly)) = ('Do you go to cram school?'-M)
- 6 T: Cram school. 'Cram' is a new word. Read after me. 'Cram' =
- 7 Ss: ((repeat)) =Cram

((The next few turns are spent in reading and repeating the words 'cram' and 'cram school' between teacher and students.))

- 8 T: What's cram school? ((expects Chinese translation))
- 9 Ss: '*bu-shi-ban*'(Cram school)
- 10 T: Ok, 'go to cram schools' is... [*chi-bu-shi-ban*']
- 11 Ss: [*chi-bu-shi-ban*']
- 12 T: Wow... 'schools'. We have plural 's' here, meaning lots of them.
- 13 Do you go to cram schools? [...] seem like lots of you do. Please
- 14 raise your hands if you go to cram schools.
- 15 Ss: ((Raise hands and make a little noise.))
- 16 T: Wow, (half of you do-M). Ok, put down your hands.
- 17 Ss: ((Some complain about going more than twice a week.))
- 18 T: So 'lucky' or so 'poor'! You can imagine it for yourselves.

Hakka culture which emphasises academic study ensures that many Hakka students are 'cram school goers'. In the course of learning the new sentence pattern: '*go to cram schools*' (line 2), she was discovering the extent of these students' cram school experience, asking '*do you go to cram schools*' (line 13) with an attempt to bridge school and out of school knowledge. In response to some students' complaints about being tired of going to cram school (line 17), she tended to avoid value judgment, simply responding: '*you can imagine it for yourselves*' (line 18), highlighting her understanding of and involvement in local culture. Such local knowledge of everyday ethnic culture and her intention to share it with students in the classroom seemed to help achieve intersubjective meaning between Ms. Mei and her students.

5.3.2.1.3 Sharing Hakka language

Before these turns focussed upon a series questions regarding Hakka students' cram school experience, Ms. Mei and her students were dealing with the dialogue between June and Coco whose focal topic was their different experiences of wearing school uniforms, as in Extract 5.8 from the same lesson. At the outset, a few turns were spent on how cute these two girls looked in school uniforms. Ms. Mei then initiated questions in Hakka dialect.

Extract 5.8:

- 1 T: Coco and June are in Coco's school. Hello! Where are they?
- 2 Ss: (In Coco's school.-M) =
- 3 T: = They are in Coco's school. ((Teacher repeats in Mandarin.))
- 4 Very good. June says first. (They start to talk-M) You look so cu::te!
- 5 (How does she look?-M)
- 6 S1: 'ke-ai'. ((Cute.)) =
- 7 T: ((repeats)) = 'hao-ke-ai'. (So very cu::te.)
- 8 ((Hakka dialect)) '*yi-tzuo-yi-lai-ho-kan-mo?*' (How does she look?)
- 9 Ss: ((repeat in Hakka dialect)) '*hen-ke-ai*' (So very cute!)=
- 10 T: ((echoes in Hakka)) = '*hen-ke-ai*' (So very cu::te!)
- 11 Ss: ((Respond with laughter when hearing their mother tongue.))
- 12 T: (Looks very cute-M) ((Teacher reads and writes on board.))
- 13 Ok, read together. You look so cute=
- 14 Ss: =You look so cute.

Ms. Mei's active involvement in acquisition of Hakka culture and dialect led her to tend to speak Hakka on occasions or to ask students intentionally what the Hakka translation of newly learned English vocabulary was during the course of teaching. As shown in line 8 of Extract 5.8, Ms. Mei took advantage of her acquired Hakka dialect in asking the question again: '*yi-tzuo-yi-lai-ho-kan-mo?*' (How does she look?) which triggered a few turn-takings between the two interlocutors in Hakka, students' mother tongue (lines 9 and 10). According to Ms. Mei, this pedagogical strategy helped empower students to a certain extent as they thought themselves capable of giving her new linguistic knowledge rather than merely being receivers in learning English. The emerging empowerment or 'co-membership' (Cazden, 1988) resulting from their teacher sharing with students' understanding and experience of the Hakka language, arguably, made possible co-constitution of intersubjective meanings between interlocutors.

5.3.2.2 Ms. Lu, the Paiwan teacher

Unlike Ms. Mei, an ethnic Hokkien who married a Hakka villager, Ms. Lu was a native Paiwan teacher who had first language capacity in sharing students' mother tongue and relevant cultural customs. She used such shared knowledge and identity at Mountainside in classroom instruction that draw on joint cultural understanding to bridge between students' school and outside school knowledge, as can be seen in Table 5.18.

5.3.2.2.1 Sharing ethnic culture

The lesson conducted on the morning (10:10~11:00 am) of 8th September, 2004 was my second in Ms. Lu's class. she was at the blackboard and students were in their seats facing her. In this lesson (Lesson One: Peter And Sam Had A Good Summer Vacation), Ms. Lu and students were tackling new vocabulary. At the outset Ms. Lu asked students to read all the vocabulary items together, then reviewed some new words learned in the previous lesson. While introducing the word 'family' she led students to connect the previously learned word 'reunion', thus generating the phrase 'family reunion'. She then initiated the question: '*When do we indigenous people have family reunion?*' (see below).

Extract 5.9:

- 1 T: Family reunion=
2 Ss: =Family reunion ((Students repeat loudly together three times.))
3 T: (How do you translate it?-M)
4 Ss: '*jia-ting-tuan-jiu*' (family reunion) =
5 T: =Ok, '*jia-ting-tuan-jiu*' ((repeats while writing on board))
6 Ok, when do we indigenous people have family reunion?
7 S1: (On the wedding day.-M)
8 S2: (And on the day they get engaged.-M)
9 T: (On wedding day, the day they get engaged and what else?-M)
10 S3: On '*ching-min-jie*' (Chinese Tomb-sweeping Day²)
11 T: What about our '*wu-nian-ji*'? ('Paiwan Five-Year Ceremony'³)
12 Ss: (Yes, we do. -M)
13 T: (None of the villagers are sober, right!-M)
14 Ss: ((Students smile with apparent understanding.))
15 T: (What about our 'Community Athletic Competition⁴'? -M)
16 Ss: (Yes.-M)
17 T: So we have 'family reunion' on these events.

((The next few turns are spent in learning another vocabulary; 'rice'.))

- 18 T: Next one, 'Rice'=
19 Ss: =Rice. ((Students repeat together three times.))
20 T: (Does anyone of you plant 'rice' at home? -M)
21 Ss: No
22 T: You are right. (We don't grow rice here. We only eat millet. -M)
23 Ss: ((Students are hilariously chatting over home plants and food.))

As can be seen in line 6 of Extract 5.9, the powerful 'we' statement, the 'royal plural' (Edwards and Mercer, 1987), seemed to set the scene in initiating common ground upon which teacher and students could comfortably interact. In lines 11 and 15, two specific, Paiwan, cultural events, the '*Paiwan Five-Year*

² Chinese Tomb-sweeping Day falls on 5th April where people tend to make use of it as a family reunion.

³ See Chapter Three, Section 3.1.4.

⁴ The annual 'Community Athletic Competition' is also regarded as another day for family reunion.

Ceremony and *Community Sport Competition*, were both evoked as joint-knowledge that allowed students to reflect upon and conceptualise the new phrase 'family reunion'. The invocation of the *Paiwan Five-Year Ceremony* as an example of cultural activity of the Paiwan tribe, led me to write in my fieldnotes after this observation that I had gained the impression that Ms. Lu had hit upon a highly valued, cultural activity in which Paiwan family members returned home for family reunions and religious purposes.

[**Fieldnote:** Paiwan's Five-Year Ceremony (*'Maleveq'* in Paiwan dialect) is a unique cultural event in Paiwan. It's the most important ritual held every five years during which families will get together celebrating the Return of Gods and Ancestors while, at the same time, drinking their home-brewed millet spirit (*xiao-mi-jiu*) to their heart's content. As this ceremony will be held this year, Ms. Lu seems to have raised a timely issue in the right season.] (8th September, 2004)

'Community Sport Competition', another Paiwan cultural event, was also used by Ms. Lu to bring together students' understanding of their home community in which sporting prowess was highly valued. For decades this has been an important, annual cultural occasion when family members come home. Both were used by the teacher to arrive at a point of 'intersubjectivity' (Rogoff, 1990; Rommetveit, 1979; Wertsch, 1998) whereby students effectively reflected upon and conceptualised the new phrase, 'family reunion'. Growing 'rice' at home which followed not only introduced the term but enabled Ms. Lu to ask: *'Do any of you plant rice at home?* (line 20). Following students' *'No'* response, Ms. Lu immediately elaborated such shared cultural knowledge by saying: *'We don't grow rice here'* (line 22), again bridging students' home and school experiences.

5.3.2.2.2 Sharing Paiwan language

Besides sharing her students' culture in classroom interaction, Ms. Lu used Paiwan dialect, as in introducing the vocabulary item 'grow', thus initiating another question trying to connect students' home and school experiences.

Extract 5.10:

- 1 T: 'grow' =
- 2 Ss: = 'grow' ((Students repeat together three times including its past tense.))
- 3 T: (For example, what do you 'grow' at home now?-M)
- 4 S1: ((speak Paiwan dialect)) 'Vasa'...
- 5 S2: 'Vaqu'. ((Other students utter different plants in Paiwan dialect.))
- 6 T: So 'vasa' is carrot. ((Teacher repeats in Paiwan dialect and
- 7 elaborates it.))

As can be seen in line 3 of Extract 5.10, Ms. Lu initiated the question: '*What do you grow at home now?*' To my surprise, one student automatically replied 'Vasa' (carrot) in Paiwan dialect (line 4). As indicated in line 6, Ms. Lu immediately took advantage of her Paiwan identity by elaborating '*vasa is carrot*' using Paiwan dialect. In relating how she felt while using Paiwan language in teaching English, Ms. Lu said:

'I tend to use our mother tongue quite often [...] just to make my class relax. It seems that "a sense of intimacy" (qin-qie-gan) could be created by using our shared Paiwan language although I am not definitely sure if this strategy helps in any sense may help to promote their English learning.'

Though Ms. Lu did not intend to use their shared mother tongue to enhance students' cognitive development, improvisation of this kind and its appeal to shared understanding and experience of Paiwan language seemed to connect students' home and school knowledge effectively. It could be argued that achieving '*a sense of intimacy*' entails not only a sense of 'co-membership' (Cazden, 1988) but also a state of 'intersubjectivity' (Rogoff, 1990; Rommetveit, 1979) which will be further addressed below.

In sum, comparison of Ms. Mei's and Ms. Lu's classroom interactions revealed similarities of interactional styles in sharing students' everyday culture, the former incorporating both everyday Taiwanese culture and Hakka mother tongue and ethnic culture, the latter exercising her Paiwan mother tongue and cultural knowledge in order to achieve 'a sense of intimacy' with students within their pedagogic practice marked by indirect classroom control. Access to students' ethnic knowledge and minority dialect were found to be important socio-cultural resources that aided English learning even when the dominant school language was Mandarin Chinese. It could be argued that teachers in such contexts without this shared cultural knowledge and language may have some difficulties in achieving intersubjective meanings with their students, even when both parties spoke Mandarin Chinese. Indeed, the following extract may exemplify such 'mismatch' or 'value asymmetry' between teacher and students within classroom settings.

5.3.3 Contrast within Mountainside School

In the following episode we can see how Ms. Lin, the Hokkien English teacher in Mountainside, had difficulty achieving intersubjective meanings with indigenous students, particularly in contrast to Ms. Lu's ability to appeal to 'common knowledge' (Edwards and Mercer, 1987). Before proceeding to our discussion, it is worth noting that it is not our intention to imply that it was Ms. Lin's 'unique' Hokkien ethnicity that constituted the source of her difficulty in getting access to students' home culture, but, rather, an imbalance in the values that were responsible for the underlying 'mismatch'.

5.3.3.1 Value asymmetry: the case of Ms. Lin

The lesson conducted on the morning (11:15~12:00 am) of 25th October, 2004 was my second observation in Class G in Mountainside School. Ms. Lin, was at the blackboard and students were in their seats facing her. In this lesson (Lesson Five: Amanda's Cell Phone) the class were tackling new vocabulary. Ms. Lin distributed three English work sheets of her own design whose theme relating to Paiwan people's 'Five-Year Ceremony' which would take place the next day. She insisted that students listened very carefully to her instructions in

order to avoid misunderstanding. The whole of the following episode was carried out in Mandarin Chinese.

Extract 5.11:

- 1 T: Now I have work sheets for you. Listen to me and take a look at it.
2 ((Teacher holds the sheet high and asks students to look at it.))
3 Raise your hands if you have not got it!
4 Ss: ((chatting noisily))
5 T: Keep your mouth shut! How can I talk if you guys keep chatting!
6 (.) It's for you because you will visit the site of 'Five-Year Ceremony'
7 from eight to ten tomorrow morning. ((Students calm down a little.))
((The next few lines are spent on reading and explaining three major tasks
on the work sheet alongside students' occasional verbal responses.))
8 T: Question 1: 'What kinds of sacrifices are offered in the ceremony?'
9 Please draw them on the blank space [...] (0.5) We'll talk about
10 Question 2 after tackling the dialogue [...] Question 3:
11 'Do the elders wear special decorations in the ceremony?'
12 Watch carefully tomorrow. Observe your chiefs and your elders.
13 See what they wear for the ceremony. Write them down and draw.
((Teacher raises voice pitch to put off students' aggressive verbal
response.))
14 T: ((repeats how to do the task again))
15 S1: Question one... what is question one?
16 T: I will not explain further.
17 S2: What about question two?
18 T: ((impatient)) You don't have to do it! Just one and three! [...]
19 Don't act like fools misunderstanding my points even after my
20 repetition for ten times!
((Teacher repeats the explanation again.))
21 T: The main reason [...] is to let you observe these two things.
22 ((warning)) Don't tell me you do not see anything tomorrow!
23 Take out your textbook and turn to page 54. Put away other stuff.
24 Ss: ((Some students seem to be not listening.))
25 T: ((Addresses one of the students.)) Put them away!
26 Don't let me find out you are writing other homework!

Ms. Lin's class was the one in which 'one-third' of the class had authorised absence for athletic training during afternoon class sessions (see Section 5.1.2.4). At a superficial level the students' verbally aggressive behaviour (e.g., as in lines 13 to 17) could be seen as evoking the teacher's directive classroom control. However, there are possible, other interpretations. Firstly, as can be seen in lines 5 and 25, teacher may be regarded as using extensive disciplinary discourse to ensure that her students follow what apparently seemed to be simple tasks at hand. Phrases such as '*Keep your mouth shut*' and '*Put them away! Don't let me find out you are writing other homework!*' were used ostensibly to keep the class in control. Secondly, statements like, '*Don't act like fools misunderstanding my points*' (line 19) and '*Don't tell me you do not see anything tomorrow*' (line 22) reinforced the message that Ms. Lin doubted students' ability to undertake the task at hand, such that they needed to be told exactly what to do in terms of overt directives delivered in a somewhat humiliating tone. Thirdly and, perhaps, most importantly there appeared to be value asymmetry between teacher's and students' understanding and recognition of indigenous culture. While many observations revealed teachers' use of apparently powerful 'we' statements as joint-knowledge markers, Ms. Lin tended to use 'you' instead, as in saying, '*Observe those of your chiefs and your elders*' (line 12). Perhaps Ms. Lin's identity as a Hokkien teacher inhibited her capacity to recognise and value local culture as an insider might do.

Broadly it could also be argued that imbalance between school and home culture may contribute to processes of mismatch in classroom interaction. The 'cognitive values' (Goodnow, 1990: 259) of school culture appear to determine 'what problems are considered worth solving and what counts as an elegant rather than simply an acceptable solution'. What is valued and assigned high status in most Taiwanese junior high schools is academic competence, whereas ethnic home culture is held in low status. Ms. Lin's work sheet appeared to be perceived by students as something 'meaningless', engendering feelings close to 'hatred' when it was given as 'homework'. It would be very difficult to disentangle their collective discontent of this particular teacher from their perception of and resistance to a cultural tool which seemed to further her epistemic purpose rather than recognising the collective understanding of the students' cultural legacy.

5.3.3.2 Value symmetry: the case of Ms. Lu

Discourses referring to Paiwan people's 'Five-Year Ceremony' was played out in a somewhat different way in Ms. Lu's Class H at Mountainside. Her approach set out to demonstrate explicitly her sharing understanding of students' cultural legacy. This lesson was conducted on the morning (10:15~11:00 am) of 27th October, 2004, the day after the 'Five-Year Ceremony'. At the outset of the lesson Ms. Lu asked students what their experience of the ceremony had been. The whole discourse took place in Mandarin Chinese.

Extract 5.12:

- 1 T: Did you go there? Up the hill? (.) Where was it? On the hill, right?
- 2 What did you see there?
- 3 S1: Stabbing the ball.
- 4 T: For how long?
- 5 Ss: Two hours.
- 6 S3: ((a little complaint)) We are standing there all the time.
- 7 S4: The ball has never been stabbed⁵!
- 8 S5: We still have it today...it runs everyday.
- 9 T: Was it fun?
- 10 S6: No, (.) very boring!
- 11 T: Can you join in the stabbing?
- 12 Ss: No. ((chatting about who were eligible for the ritual))
- 13 T: ((changes topic)) Oh, (.) do you have to write things you spotted
- 14 yesterday on the work sheets?
- 15 Ss: Yes.
- 16 T: Oh, I think I have to give you work sheets about this ceremony.
- 17 S7: ((complains)) Oh, no more. We have five or six pages!
- 18 T: Does it matter? Don't worry, just like before. ((comfort students))
- 19 S8: We have to hand them in next week!
- 20 T: Ok, (.) then, I'll give them to you before Friday.
- 21 S7: ((inaudible)) ((seems like complaining))
- 22 T: Ms. Lin designed it. [...] Just do it. It's really not that troublesome!

⁵ The major event carried out in the Five Year Ceremony (see Chapter Three, section 3.1.4).

The episode commenced with the teacher attempting to invite the class to discuss what had happened the previous day. She initiated a few questions as a kind of 'guessing game' in the preparatory phase of the lesson. In asking, '*Did you go there...Up the hill, right?*' in line 1, she became an ethnic Paiwan insider who knew the answer well, seeking to elicit students' understanding of an event that took place on a hilltop only three minutes walk from school. In line 13 she shifted from discussion of students' real experience to work on the focal topic of the work sheets and, despite some students' mumbled complaints about such laborious homework, sought 'continuity' with statements like, '*Don't worry, just like before*' (line 18) to remind them of similar work done in the past. However, while the interactional tone and cultural understandings implicit in this episode were far 'easier' and more indirect than in Ms. Lin's class, Ms. Lu was not only here covering her tracks in not having distributed the work sheet in more timely manner but was also straightforwardly reinforcing the message that English practice through this means as 'homework' was a requirement of what mattered most, school academic culture.

While treating these episodes with caution, in full recognition of the complexity of the interpenetration of regulation or control modalities and instructional and cognitive intentions, in Ms. Lin's classroom episode, issues of 'mismatch' did seem to emerge in terms of Lave's (1996) notion of situated learning. As Mehan (1996) put it, meaning is bound to be negotiated in everyday discourse. Ms. Lin's overt definition of meaning seemed to impede students' opportunities for negotiating and sharing meaning during the course of classroom interaction. In the context of situated learning, Lave (1996: 16) argues that an alternative view of non-learning or 'failure' identities has to be placed and interpreted within the scope of 'active normal social locations and processes' rather than being 'commonly assumed to result from the inability or refusal on the part of an individual.' In a similar vein, the underlying conception of non-learning or mis-learning has to be socially and historically situated. These contrasting Mountainside episodes give rise to questions of 'mismatch' in classroom interaction which need further investigation in terms of the 'personal' plane of analysis, that seek to understand students' 'success' and 'failure' identities within the scope of 'active normal social locations and processes', as Lave suggested.

Such similarities and differences of classroom interactional styles are always embedded within the culture contexts of school locales and their classroom settings. Locales vary demographically, in terms of working 'visions' and the particulars of their daily schedules in structuring students' access to English in daily school life. Classrooms have material cultures, including students' seating, teaching materials (e.g., textbooks) and variation in teachers' duties (e.g., whether subject, homeroom or administrator) which, to some degree, account for patterns of interactional styles. At the same time, within all classrooms, questions like how students, as active learners, conceptualise classroom interaction, whether and in what ways they are aware of the importance of English and whether they motivated to or are ready to learn are also key to our concerns. In pursuing these questions, Chapter Six turns to students' personal accounts of their learning.

Chapter Six

Language learning and identity: the personal plane

Investigation of broader locales as socio-cultural settings of learning English in Taiwan has been undertaken on what has been referred to as the plane of 'community activity' in Chapter Four and teacher-student interactions in classroom settings on the 'interpersonal plane' in Chapter Five. Patterns of classroom pedagogic behaviour have been explored and the pivotal roles that ethnic language and cultural legacies may play in the construction of intersubjective meanings through bridging school and out-of school knowledge within classroom walls have been noted. In this chapter empirical findings concerning Rogoff's (1990) third plane of analysis in the investigation of how learning takes place within socio-cultural settings, the 'personal plane' are presented, highlighting what Rogoff (1995) termed 'participatory appropriation', seeking to explore individual students' active social positioning involving membership identities emerging both within English learning communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) and other social groups. Within the former, individual students' learning trajectories are characterised as 'central' or 'peripheral'. Membership of various social groups may entail value conflicts between social identities, such as gender and language, affecting students' English learning.

6.1 Mapping English learning trajectories

Learning is a socio-cultural process involving 'mutuality' (Rogoff, 1990, 1995) of its individual and social aspects. The following discussion foregrounds the mapping of individual learning trajectories, seeking to answer fundamental questions of why students achieve learning differently even though they attend the same school, are taught by the same teacher or have access to similar cultural resources or, in other terms, why some become central and others peripheral participants in learning English. In answering such questions these learning trajectories are firmly located within broader English learning communities within Taiwanese society. As 'central' or 'peripheral' participants in the English learning communities of practice individual students may

appropriate cultural resources provided either by various features of their locales or classroom interactions.

Table 6.1: Characteristics of students interviewed in the four schools

School	Students	Gender	Ethnicity	Teacher	Encouragement	Participation
<i>Urbany</i>	Helen	F	Mainlander	Mr. Lin	Mum/Dad	central
	Ken	M	Hokkien	Mr. Lin	Mum/Dad	central
	Carol	F	Hokkien	Ms. Wu	Mum/Dad	central
	Howard	M	Mainlander	Ms. Wu	N/A	peripheral
<i>Sub-urbany</i>	Yvonne	F	Mainlander	Ms. Huang	Mum/Dad	central
	Eddie	M	Hokkien	Ms. Huang	Mum/Dad	central
	Julia	F	Mainlander	Ms. Sun	Mum	central
<i>Hakka Rural</i>	Wendy	F	Hakka	Ms. Mei	Mum	central
	Chris	M	Hakka	Ms. Mei	Mum/Dad	central
	Fay	F	Hakka	Ms. Mei	N/A	peripheral
	Sharon	F	Hakka	Mr. Yuan	Mum/Dad	central
	Mark	M	Hakka	Mr. Yuan	Mum	peripheral
<i>Mountainside</i>	Vincent	M	Paiwan	Ms. Lu	Mum	central
	Jake	M	Paiwan	Ms. Lu	N/A	peripheral
	Dave	M	Paiwan	Ms. Lu	N/A	peripheral
	Vanessa	F	Paiwan	Ms. Lin	Mum/Uncle	central
	Amy	F	Paiwan	Ms. Lin	Aunty	middle

During the course of fieldwork, already extensively referred to in the preceding chapters, 17 students (9 girls and 8 boys) were interviewed (see Table 6.1), all first encountered during the course of classroom observation. After a period of one month each of the eight classroom teachers provided a list of those who they considered to be central and peripheral participants in their classrooms. Demographic information was also accessed from students' personal and parents' questionnaires, attainment in English at the first school monthly exam providing evidence of their academic performance. The process of selecting and accessing students to be interviewed, then, involved taking into account teachers' knowledge, my observations, students' questionnaire responses and their academic attainment. Of the 17 eventually interviewed, 11 (7 girls, 4 boys) were central and 5 (4 boys, 1 girl) peripheral participants. It is worth noting that Amy at Mountainside was characterised as 'middle' rather than central or peripheral because she scored 61 (1~100) in the first monthly exam of the

school semester in 2004. She was chosen as interviewee student due to the fact that she expressed her future plan as becoming a judo athlete in her questionnaire.

6.1.1 Learning English in communities of practice

In Chapter Two it was argued that socio-cultural and situated theories of cognition pose challenges to traditional views of learning theory. Learning does not take place in a social vacuum but within socio-cultural processes. Mapping such human, mental processes of learning entails recognition of 'the essential relationship between these processes and their cultural, historical and institutional settings' (Wertsch, 1991: 6). This notion of learning in situ is nicely captured by Lave and Wenger (1991) and, in particular, Wenger's (1998) notion of 'communities of practice'. Students may be viewed as acting-members within English learning communities of practice where they constantly negotiate the meanings of their experiences on a continuum at whose extremes they may either move toward full participation or non-participation. Those who are able to build a membership identity through meaning negotiations within such communities of practice will be empowered and become central participants.

In this study an even broader scope of communities of practice that account for the relationship between students' mental processes and their cultural, historical and institutional settings is called for. For example, in the light of Scribner and Cole's (1981) 'practice account of literacy' (see Section 1.3.4.1) a functional and context-sensitive approach is needed to investigate English learning within Taiwanese society. In a similar vein, learning English in Taiwan has to be conceptualised as 'communities of practice' not limited to concrete social settings, such as classrooms, schools or cram schools but involving practices in various kinds of material circumstances or in relation to 'cultural artefacts' (Cole, 1996) such as street English signs, computers and TV.

Accordingly, it might be expected that those who appropriate resources offered by their locales in the four schools might be characterised as central participants in English learning communities of practice. Through continuous processes of negotiation of meaning, these students learn knowledge or skills within these communities that empower them to become competent members.

Others who fail to get access to such cultural resources tend to position themselves or be positioned as less than full participants in English learning communities of practice. This 'marginality' (in Wenger's sense) or non-participation may emerge as an outbound trajectory to peripheral participation. Among our 17 student interviewees 11 were characterised as central participants, five as peripheral and one of mixed attachment. The character of their different English learning trajectories is outlined in the remainder of this chapter.

Urbany School: the distinctive school vision of Urbany School concerning the promotion of bilingual education ran alongside its more generic goal, shared with many other urban schools, of helping students to achieve academic success. Within it, as can be seen in Table 6.1, Helen, Ken and Carol were viewed as central participants achieving high attainment in English, while Howard was peripheral, not only rejecting learning English in class but also resisting English by, for example, confessing to ripping off the school's bilingual signs on occasions. A comparison of the three central participants revealed that all were from affluent families. Table 6.2 indicates that, in terms of parents' education level, Helen's father was college educated and Ken's a university graduate, as were both Carol's parents. Helen's father was in business as an employer, Ken's was also in the business line and used English in daily at work and Carol's father was a computer engineer. All were aware of the future importance of English and encouraged their children by, for example, arranging for them to attend cram schools and practice English at home. Howard's parents had also achieved high educational levels, his father was a business manager who was good at English and like Ken's father, had considerable foreign travel experiences, according to Howard. However, in contrast to Ken's intensive English practice at home with his father, the lack of parental encouragement appeared to contribute to Howard's non-participation in English.

An overwhelmingly urban culture, characterised by cram schooling and competition, seemed to cut across ethnic lines in guiding students' learning. Differences in students' access to English in everyday life appeared to contribute to the 'urban-rural' divide referred to in Chapter Four (see Section 4.2.1). In particular, ethnic variation induced by both Hakka and indigenous cultural legacies appeared to constitute a form of 'leading activity' influencing English learning. Among urban groups, Mainlander students demonstrated

higher propensities than their Hokkien peers to access English learning through various cultural resources. It could be argued, however, that ethnic variations did not seem to stand out in the urban groups. Inter-marriage between Mainlander (predominately men moving in 1949) and Hokkien (Taiwanese women) social groups has been common in the post-War era in urban areas. As illustrated in Table 6.2 and 6.3, the parents of Helen, Howard, and Julia in Suburbany clearly exemplified this particular inter-marriage pattern. In these cases urban culture cut across ethnic lines and seemed to minimise ethnic difference, at least in respect to the influence of ethnic culture on English learning.

Table 6.2: Familial characteristics of Urbany School interviewees

School	Student	Parents	Ethnicity	Education	Occupation	Engage- ment
<i>Urbany</i>	Helen	Father	Mainlander	University	Business	✓
		Mother	Hokkien	Senior High	Business	✓
	Ken	Father	Hokkien	University	Business	✓
		Mother	Hokkien	College	Teacher	✓
	Carol	Father	Hokkien	University	Engineer	✓
		Mother	Hokkien	University	Employee	✓
	Howard	Father	Mainlander	University	Business	
		Mother	Hokkien	Vocational	Domesticity	

Helen and Ken were in Mr. Lin's class, Carol and Howard in Ms. Wu's. Both teachers' classroom control (see Table 5.16) has been characterised as 'directive', with similar interactional patterns involving grammar-oriented pedagogy, Mandarin Chinese as the dominant language and a question-response-evaluation (IRE) structure of interaction. Given this similarity in dialogic interaction between the two classroom settings in bilingual Urbany School, students' participatory appropriation of various familial opportunities appeared to play key roles in defining who became central and peripheral participants in English.

Suburbany School: Suburbany School promoted elite education and high academic success. As can be seen in Table 6.3, Yvonne, Eddie and Julia were viewed as high attaining, central participants in English, while James, initially selected, but not finally interviewed because of shortage of time, rejected learning English, though competent in other school subjects. He was far from alone as a peripheral participant at Suburbany. Eddie was the highest achieving boy among all those interviewed, having passed the Intermediate Level of GEPT in 2005, equivalent to senior high student level. Again, crude comparison of the three central participants revealed them to come from affluent families with considerable educational capital. Yvonne's and Eddie's parents had achieved the highest education level as university graduates, the former both working as civil servants, giving them relatively high social status. Julia's parents were both college educated, while James' parents' had not gone beyond high school level. All of the three central participants enjoyed parental encouragement and the opportunities afforded by family affluence involving, for example, home practice, cram schooling and foreign teachers. Yvonne had rich, foreign, cultural experiences which her father's education level and, more importantly, military career as a navy officer, made possible. Indeed, her early encounter with English through foreign teachers and cultural experiences may have created tensions between her past learning history and observed classroom behaviour, addressed in more detail below. James, a peripheral participant, experienced little exposure to English at home and lacked parental encouragement. As revealed in his mother's questionnaire, her rather short encounter with English, only in junior high school, went with her rather low valuation of the importance of English for children. As with Howard at Urbany, James' only contact with English was in the classroom listening to his teacher, writing schoolwork and taking notes. English was being learned only because it was a 'school subject' not for its importance for academic study or future career. His only English practice outside the classroom appeared to be asking for help from these high achievers in order to solve problems in school 'exams'.

Table 6.3: Familial affordances in Suburbany School

School	Student	Parents	Ethnicity	Education	Occupation	Engagement
<i>Sub-urbany</i>	Yvonne	Father	Mainlander	Post G.	Navy Officer	✓
		Mother	Mainlander	University	Teacher	✓
	Eddie	Father	Hokkien	University	Engineer	✓
		Mother	Hokkien	University	Employee	✓
	Julia	Father	Mainlander	College	Employee	
		Mother	Hokkien	University	Business	✓

Yvonne's and Eddie's ethnic background indicated distinctive differences between 'pure' Mandarin and Hokkien families, both affluent, reflecting the classic anthropological differences between 'political' Mandarin and 'business' Hokkien outlined in Chapter Three. Yvonne's family exemplifying the case of second generation Mainlander families as Mandarin, urban dwellers engaged in either military or civil servant careers, which bestowed middle class socio-economic status on them and ensured that their children had access to many cultural resources in learning English. The family backgrounds of Eddie and Julia (whose mother was predominately engaged in her schooling), in contrast, exemplified the 'business' Hokkien model reflecting historical interest in trading and business of the past three hundred years since immigration from south-eastern China. Economic realities related to competing in global commerce have undoubtedly, accelerated the rising tide of learning English among Hokkien people engaged in business, while tending to bypass parents, such as James', both Hokkien but with lower, high school education levels.

On the interpersonal plane, Yvonne and Eddie were both in Ms. Huang's class and Julia in Ms. Sun's class. Ms. Huang's pedagogic style involved indirect form of control whilst Ms. Sun's direct as referred to in Chapter Five. Given her relatively experienced pedagogic practice and the high-ability nature of her class, Ms. Huang appeared to be able to establish an English learning community of practice for her elite students that contributed positively to Yvonne and Eddie's central participation. Ms. Huang's sympathetic pedagogic style provided Yvonne with everyday encouragement which helped her to gain a learning identity characterised by an 'in-bound trajectory' (Wenger, 1998), addressed in Section 6.1.2.2.1.

As with both teachers at Urbany, Ms. Sun displayed 'directive' classroom control, her 'grammar-based' pedagogy particularly matching the dominant culture of valuing high scores in elite Suburbany. Her style created tension for Julia's early involvement in learning English, caught between her past foreign teacher experience and the current grammar-translation method. A specific form of 'teacher-student' intersubjectivity, discussed below, alongside her home practice with her mother, as noted earlier, seemed to contribute to Julia's central participation.

Hakka Rural School: Hakka Rural was located within a cluster Hakka village, the 'town of PhDs' with an intake of nearly 90 per cent Hakka ethnic students. The school vision focussed cultivating 'cognitive competence'. In this school Wendy, Chris and Sharon were high achieving, central participants in English, and Fay and Mark were peripherals who failed to learn English well. Like other central participants in urban groups, crude comparison suggested that the three here were also 'haves' in terms of familial resources, though not as affluent as their urban peers. Table 6.4 indicates that, in terms of parental education level, Sharen's parents were both college graduates. She was the school's highest achieving student in Year 8. Mark had parental encouragement and familial resources, and parental education levels (college fathers and senior high school mothers) as rich as those of Wendy. Both Mark's parents, however, worked in urban Kaohsiung during weekdays so that he lived with his grandmother, which appeared to pose certain constraints that contributed to his peripheral participation. The major distinction between these two students' English performance appeared to lie in their differential access to cultural resources. Wendy's 'mother-daughter' intersubjectivity, in contrast to Mark's grandparent child-rearing style, appeared to be important influences in defining their participation. Crude comparison of the parental encouragement and engagement afforded to Wendy, Chris and Sharon revealed similarity of maternal care over their schoolwork at home. The strong gender roles of traditional Hakka women in both domestic and agricultural labour (see Section 3.1.4) appeared to be reproduced in new contexts, as will be seen below in Wendy's account of her interaction with her mother. Mark's mother was not ethnic Hakka but she provided him with encouragement and cram school learning although he still failed to do well. He stated that he did not know his parents' educational level and their careers were not stated.

Table 6.4: Family characteristics of interviewees in Hakka Rural School

School	Student	Parents	Ethnicity	Education	Occupation	Engage- ment
Hakka Rural	Wendy	Father	Hakka	College	Business	
		Mother	Hakka	Senior High	Business	✓
	Chris	Father	Hakka	Senior High	Business	
		Mother	Hakka	Senior High	Domesticity	✓
	Fay	Father	Hakka	Senior High	N/A	
		Mother	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Sharon	Father	Hakka	College	Employee	
		Mother	Hakka	College	Employee	✓
	Mark	Father	Hakka	N/A	N/A	
		Mother	Hokkien	N/A	N/A	✓

Wendy, Chris and Fay were in Ms. Mei's class, Sharon and Mark in Mr. Yuan's. As indicated in Table 5.16, Ms. Mei demonstrated indirect classroom control and was able to access students' mother tongue and Hakka culture to achieve intersubjective meaning with her students. Wendy, the local English speaking contest champion, appeared to benefit from such student-teacher intersubjectivity, as will be seen below. Fay, a peripheral participant from a single-parent family, stated she did not know her mother's demographical information.

Mr. Yuan exercised direct classroom control and his disciplinary discourse reminded students, particularly the 'three big wigs', about proper classroom behaviour. It was probably because of this modality of classroom control that Sharon, the highest achieving girl in school, remained 'silent' for most of her interview concerning Mr. Yuan's classroom interaction. Her silence raised some doubt as to how far classroom learning alone accounted for students' academic performance in such a class. When asked 'what makes you learn English well so far?' Sharon said:

'Practice [...] going to cram school. It does not mean going to cram school is better than other methods. It is because I can get more "practice" (lian-xi). So I can listen to the school lesson twice from cram school teacher [...] The cram school teacher will help me with 'test items' (ti-mu) on the paper.'

It could be argued that such cram school 'practice', mirroring Hakka collective culture's emphasis on academic study, which may have contributed to Sharon's central participation in learning English, albeit decontextualised, as practices in most Hakka cram schools were far from the 'practice account of literacy learning' proposed by Scribner and Cole (1981).

Mountainside School: Mountainside's distinctive school vision, aiming to nurture 'body' (*ti-neng*) for athleticism and sport rather than academic success, stood in contrast to intentions and practices in the two urban schools and Hakka Rural, which aimed to cultivate 'mind' (*xin-zhi*) for academic success. As can be seen from Table 6.5, Vincent and Vanessa were characterised as high achieving central participants in English, while Jake and Dave were peripheral students who failed to learn well. As in other schools, the former pair were 'haves' in terms of familial resources, although, again, not as affluent as their urban counterparts and both Vincent's and Vanessa's mothers were merely senior high graduates but had secured relatively affluent careers as a clinic cleaner and crèche caretaker, respectively, which played pivotal parts in helping their children to get access to English. Moreover, Vanessa's father was a vocational school graduate, equivalent to senior high school level. Both of the peripheral participants and mid-ability Amy's parents had no more than primary or junior high school education. Jake's and Amy's parents worked as temporary labourers, while Dave's father worked at home as a car mechanic. Jake, who enjoyed parental encouragement even though they had little experience or contact with English themselves. Jake and Amy claimed that they wanted to participate in the national athletic team in the future.

In terms of ethnicity, the parents of all students' interviewed at Mountainside were indigenous Paiwan. In comparison with other social groups within Taiwanese society, the interplay of their indigenous culture and their emphasis on athletic prowess, alongside problems engendered by a widespread pattern of grandparent child-rearing' and the 'alcoholism' arising from a drinking culture, contributed to a devaluing of education. Such a cultural ensemble played a part in shaping students' learning, creating a younger generation disillusioned with learning English and other academic work. Vincent's and Vanessa's parental encouragement and engagement were particularly exceptional within this community, as was their valuing of English learning.

Table 6.5: Familial characteristics of interviewees at Mountainside School

School	Student	Parents	Ethnicity	Education	Occupation	Engage- -ment
Mounta in-side	Vincent	Father	Paiwan	Junior High	Peasant	
		Mother	Paiwan	Senior High	Clinic cleaner	✓
	Jake	Father	Paiwan	Junior High	Labour worker	
		Mother	Paiwan	Primary	Domesticity	
	Dave	Father	Paiwan	Primary	Mechanic	
		Mother	Paiwan	Junior High	Domesticity	
	Vanessa	Father	Paiwan	Vocational	Military	
		Mother	Paiwan	Senior High	Caretaker	✓
	Amy	Father	Paiwan	Junior High	Labour worker	
		Mother	Paiwan	Junior High	Labour worker	

Vincent, Jake and Dave were in Ms. Lu's class. Vanessa and Amy were in Ms. Lin's class. Ms. Lu, the Paiwan teacher relied on an indirect classroom control and her ability to access students' mother tongue and Paiwan culture helped her to achieve intersubjective meanings with her students. In interview, when asked how he felt about Ms. Lu's classroom interaction and the use of Paiwan mother tongue Vincent indicated that *'I think I can comprehend better when Ms. Lu used Paiwan mother tongue in her teaching'*. Ms. Lin, the Hokkien teacher, employed direct classroom control, particularly when annoyed by students' overtly aggressive verbal behaviour in class, as illustrated by Extract 5.12. As Vanessa pointed out in her account of Ms. Lin's classroom interaction with students, *'I just take notes. I think she follows the textbook mostly'*. With her seeming lack of intersubjectivity with students and her inability to value the specificity of indigenous culture Ms. Lin seemed to have difficulty achieving a rapport with her students.

It could be argued however, that Ms. Lu's ability to achieve intersubjective meanings might not alone account for her success. Various planes of analysis are needed here to understand the agencies and processes involved, including the resources provided by the locale and whether and how far students are able to find socio-cultural tools that would help them to access English. For example, cram school attendance appeared to contribute to Vincent and Vanessa's central participation in learning English, while Jake's and Amy's inability to

engage in cram school learning because it was unavailable locally together with their parents' lack of aspiration seemed to contribute to their relative disengagement.

6.1.2 Central participants

Hopefully, the preceding, crude comparisons have provided a picture of similarities and differences in the resources available to help students access English. More detailed investigation and explanation is needed to explore who became central or peripheral participants, even though they may attend the same school, interact with the same English teacher or are provided with similar cultural resources.

In keeping with socio-cultural perspectives, students are viewed as social actors within English learning communities of practice within which they constantly negotiate the meanings. Those capable of building membership identities through negotiation within such communities of practice became central participants. Their in-depth personal accounts illuminate our understanding of meaning negotiation processes as they participated and appropriated cultural resources provided in their locales. We will contrast the pairs of central participants in each school by foregrounding one of them. Those in each pair (i.e., Helen/Ken in Urbany, Yvonne/Eddie in Suburbany, and Wendy/Chris in Hakka Rural) were both in the same class, except for Vincent and Vanessa who were in different classes in Mountainside.

6.1.2.1 Urbany School: Helen and Ken

In Mr. Lin's class Helen and Ken, who enjoyed somewhat similar familial opportunities and resources, were among those students who always concentrated. While sharing the same Taiwanese, urban, competitive culture and school bilingual ethos, Ken achieved more highly than Helen in English, though both were central participants. Helen experienced a more 'winding' trajectory than Ken, caught by a tension between her past, English learning history, including experiences of foreign teachers and her present, decontextualised school and cram school learning, leading to a value conflict.

Ken, in contrast, enjoyed an exceptional father-son relationship that appeared to encourage his participation in English.

6.1.2.1.1 An English-lover

Helen, a third generation Chinese Mainlander and elder of two children, demonstrated enormous interest in learning English in comparison with her peers. During my fieldwork in Urbany she was particularly interested in my English learning experience in Taiwan and study abroad. When asked why she liked English so much, she said:

'I do not know exactly why I particularly like English since childhood. Seems like I am very "close" (qin) to English [...] Perhaps it is because English is important for communication and the way to know different people around the world.'

Following my briefing on the study and explanation of informed consent on my first field visit to her class, Helen came to greet me saying 'hello' with a gleaming smile of welcome. The following fieldnote illustrates some of the questions she raised on that day which seemed to indicate her desire to study abroad in the future.

[Fieldnote: Helen is very interested in why and how I learned English well. She asked me if I received family support before going abroad for advanced academic study [...] relevant queries involving the process of how I went abroad, the approximate expenditure and why I chose to study in the UK not other countries, such as the USA in particular. She also asked me [...] if English would still be an international language in the near future. She appears to be very keen to know everything from me about learning English.] (23rd November, 2004)

Her initial interest in my presence foreshadowed her becoming an interviewee. Her apparently fluent daily use of English, both in and out of school, was evident from her questionnaire responses. For example, when asked if she had helped anyone because she knew English, she wrote *'I helped my mum with reading some English instruction on the medication because she did not comprehend it'*. Helen appeared to be proud of being able to help family

members, contending that *'it is more convenient to read objects written in English'*, indicating somewhat 'practice approach' to literacy (Scribner and Cole, 1981).

Parental support: as shown in Table 6.2, Helen's parents were both working in business and encouraged her to learn English which they regarded as important for future career and beneficial when going abroad. Helen encountered English in her kindergarten year, known as a 'nursery English class' (*yo-yo ban*), an affiliate class in kindergarten where children interact with foreign teachers through language games for a few hours per week. Such arrangements are gaining popularity among urban, Taiwanese parents, who accept the adage that 'learning English, the earlier the better.' Helen became an 'early bird' in learning English, though she did not seem to recall much of what she learned at this stage. Her formal English learning started at an American language institute in Year 4 of primary school and built on her initial 'early bird' interest. She recounted an episode of providing help with English to others for the first time in Year 5, describing her excitement as follows:

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

This early out-of-school English learning with foreign teachers had both engendered her growing interest in learning English and foreshadowed her value conflict with it that emerged soon after beginning at Urbany School.

With not dissimilar familial resources to Helen, Ken, a Hokkien student and elder of two children, was the highest achieving boy in his class. He was, indeed, provided with even more parental engagement in terms of home practice than Helen, as well as having an early encounter with learning English in Year 1 of primary school (English summer camp) and a specific relationship at home with his father, whose business career involved competent English usage in daily interaction with customers. Ken was inspired by his father's verbal encouragement and home practice which together generated what was tantamount to a domestic community of practice. As he said of his father:

'English is one of his best subjects. I remember he listened to the English magazine Studio Classroom when I was little. He said "English is an international language therefore English is very important. We need to use it all our life" [...] My father has to use English to communicate with foreigners as his business career [...] sometimes his colleagues will ask him for help with translation because of his good English.'

Home practice began in Year 4 when Ken's father bought him Kenyon and Knott (KK) phonetic symbols and videos, recognised by Taiwanese parents and teachers as the first and crucial stage of learning English, though many students are defeated by the abstraction of the phonetic symbols before really learning any English. This is not helped by the rote learning approach encountered in schools. Ken's father had been one of this sequence's victims, claiming to have suffered from not learning KK phonetic symbols well. Ken reported that:

'My daddy told me to learn KK phonetic symbols in order to recite vocabulary "easier" (qing-song-yi-dian) because he used to use "Chinese phonetic symbols" (zhu-yin) which was very tiring.'

Apparently, because of this somewhat unhappy learning history, Ken's father was keen to scaffold his son with KK phonetic symbols and teach him how to pronounce words. After learning KK, as the second phase of his home practice, Ken learned to recite vocabulary, his mother, a primary school teacher, joining in by Years 5 and 6: *'Mum cut off those vocabulary memory cards from reference books in order to let me recite'*. Sometimes his father would copy additional words for him to memorise, such home practice making it possible for Ken to accumulate about a 500 English word bank by Year 6 through rote learning. It was not easy but, with such parental resources, Ken went on learning, even though he felt the 'difficulty' of reciting vocabulary and 'hated' English at the outset.

In Year 7 in Urbany School Ken started to learn from the English magazine 'Live ABC' as part of Urbany's bilingual policy. He felt it a little 'tough' (*chi-li*) to read this magazine at first. English learning in primary had been easier and more relaxed than at junior high level. Familial support again helped Ken

through hard times: *'my father accompanied me reading and explaining words and sentences page by page at the outset'*. Ken was initially able to follow it in a slow but steady manner and started to gain more interest:

'My English has been getting better [...] English is not as hard a I imagined. The summer after Year 7, my father asked me to recite the basic 1000 words for junior high students. So currently I have finished the 1000 and am ready to recite another 2000 words.'

With such systematic home practice Ken became a central participant in English learning communities of practice, both at home and school. Though Ken's home English practice was predominately based on reciting vocabulary in his primary school years, comprehension of the school English magazine in junior high was made possible through daily interaction with his father. Processes of home 'apprenticeship' and 'guided participation' facilitated Ken's active 'participatory appropriation' (Rogoff, 1995), leading to his central participation without the cram school.

Appropriation of school bilingualism: Urbany's bilingualism enabled Ken to get access to the English magazine, and practice at home with his father contributed to his further comprehension and consequent growing interest in learning English. In contrast Helen's learning trajectory appeared to be more winding and imbued with value conflict at junior high school. While Urbany's bilingual vision aimed to provide students with a strong environment for learning English, it deterred Helen who felt that English was no longer 'real' and 'fun' because there were no foreign teachers and no real-life English conversations in class. What was taught was predominately grammar-oriented, both at school and the traditional cram school. Helen expressed her dissatisfaction as follows:

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

A 'participatory appropriation' perspective (Rogoff, 1995) suggests that present actions are not isolated events but extend through past and future. Helen's experience of 'real-life' English learning with a foreign teacher in her early childhood left her caught in tensions between her past learning history and present school discourse. One of the tensions resided in her understanding of the inevitable constraints and limitations of Urbany's bilingual practice. Its discontinuity with her personal, foreign teacher experience appears to be at the heart of her conflict. Her early English learning experience had been interesting. In contrast with her active and reciprocal engagement with foreign teachers, Helen did not consider Urbany's bilingualism to be something 'authentic' or to provide a 'wholistic' English environment. The bilingual approach seemed to her to be aimed at promoting school's reputation and furthering annual recruitment rather than providing meaningful ways to accelerate learning. The English signs posted around school campus seemed to her to be decorations serving as propaganda. Though not without complaint, Helen recognised the advantages to be gained from reading them, confessing that *'I can learn something about how to say some technical terms about playing basketball in English'*. Her understanding of 'authentic' was linked to her desire for a more active participation. In her view *'We have English signs but they do not talk'*, revealing her longing for a 'wholistic' English spoken environment which was not possible in Urbany, despite its daily bilingual broadcast, half English and half Mandarin.

A closer look at Helen's interaction with Mr. Lin indicated similar tension within the classroom. In talking about her classroom learning in relation to how much English her teacher spoke in class, she said:

'He [Mr. Lin] uses more English when you are in our classroom [...] I had better go to cram school following foreign teachers because they cannot speak Mandarin therefore I have no choice but to speak English'.

All of our participant English teachers confessed that they spoke more Mandarin than English in the course of their pedagogic practice. The culture of valuing high scores and what was regarded as prerequisite to attaining them, grammar-based teaching, made Mandarin the instructional language of their classrooms. It seemed that my appearance in at least one classroom incited teacher to speak more, though still rather limited, English.

Cram school learning: Ken, backed by plentiful parental resources, was among the three highest achieving students who did not attend cram school. Others, like Helen, had to engage in it in order to secure what they sought as appropriate academic attainment. Despite its grammar-based pedagogy, cram school practice could be viewed as invaluable after-school activity whereby students accessed a particular form of English. However, not everyone who attended cram school became a central participant. Some were positioned or positioned themselves as moving away from the centre of the community towards the periphery. Helen described how some students became disillusioned and formed identities of non-membership that demonstrated resistance and repulsion:

'Many classmates go to cram schools, [...] Most students are asked by parents to go for cram school learning. Some of them go there because their parents are "tough" (hsiung)[...] they will not go home until the cram school closed at 10 or 11 pm. Some of them are inattentive at all'

Because many students were forced to engage in non-voluntary after school learning activity, they became disengaged and viewed cram schools as 'shelters' for getting away from demanding parents. Identity as non-participant in cram school marks an outbound trajectory from English as a community of practice and, arguably, encouraged students to become 'inattentive'. Helen, however, was able to build a membership identity through negotiating meaning within cram schools. Her attendance allowed her to imagine her future as an active English speaker and this may have accounted for her academic competence.

Recent e-mail correspondence with Helen indicates that she is working on her English in order to pass Intermediate Level of GEPT in 2007. She wrote:

'Now in senior high school, I join an English club and is (am) ready to take part in an English competition [...] I am (was) interested in "English" before. But now, I am interested in their (foreigners) culture, and English can help me to know them more.' (20th September, 2006; e-mail correspondence)

6.1.2.2 Suburbany School: Yvonne and Eddie

In Ms. Huang's high-ability class in Suburbany School Yvonne and Eddie are among those elite students who were central participants in learning English, both had affluent family backgrounds, albeit of different kinds. Although they experienced the same elite education and Ms. Huang's indirect classroom control pedagogy (see Table 5.16), Eddie achieved more highly than Yvonne in English. As with her peer discussed in the foregoing section in Urbany, Yvonne's forward trajectory in English was less straightforward than Eddie's. Yvonne was caught in tensions and struggles between her past learning history, present discourse and the imagined future that implicitly guided her present learning actions. Eddie, a single child, had been provided with elite education since primary school and became a central participant in English and had a clear view of his future success.

6.1.2.2.1 Yvonne, a library-goer

Yvonne was a third generation Chinese Mainlander and second child in her family. I came to know her because I worked at the same school as her mother, a pre-military establishment only ten minutes away from Suburbany. As a boarding school it was equipped with various facilities, including an ample library where students and many teachers spent time both for leisure purposes and academic study. A unique staff dormitory with some one hundred families adjacent to the school campus was particularly distinctive and was where Yvonne's family and mine lived. As colleagues as well as neighbours, I came to know Yvonne's family well, making it possible for Yvonne to become one of my interviewees. During the course of my fieldwork I was particularly impressed with Yvonne's hard work and the engagement of her parents in arranging their children's education. I frequently encountered her in the pre-military school library, finding her either reading 'text books' alone or accompanied, sometimes tutored, by both or one of her parents.

In contrast to Yvonne Eddie was a Hokkien student and the highest achieving of all central participants in the four schools, passing the Higher-Intermediate Level of GEPT in 2005, roughly equivalent to non-English major university graduate level in Taiwan. I was particularly impressed with his brave and adept use of English in his oral report during my English teaching of his class in the

summer of 2004, prior to my formal fieldwork. His English pronunciation was not as good as other top students but sounded relatively knowledgeable in terms of phraseology and the way he delivered ideas. In contrast to his peers, most of whose reports were copied from the web, Eddie's appeared to be original and resourceful.

Parental support: as can be seen in Table 6.3, both Yvonne's and Eddie's parents were university graduates. Yvonne's father, a Navy military officer, indeed, held a higher degree and, more importantly, had been living abroad in many countries in the course of his military career training and postgraduate study. Such extensive, foreign, cultural experience had led him to view English as an important tool in job mobility, travel, self-actualisation and assisting children's learning. Both he and his wife were 'civil servants' (*jing-gong-jiao*) with middle-class incomes and social status. In our regular meetings in the library or school campus he liked to refer to Eddie and other high English achievers in Yvonne's class, and how their familial resources had contributed to their success. Commenting on family impacts on children's English achievement, he said:

'I think parents play a crucial role in children's English learning and academic achievement. [...] Parents have to "create" (ying-zao) an environment by sending their children to study abroad (e.g., in summer vacation) on a regular basis or engage children in learning English from foreign tutors [...] Parents have to make such efforts "intentionally" in order to help children learn English.'

He believed that sending children to study abroad on a regular basis to obtain foreign cultural experience or having them learn from foreign tutors was effective. He hoped that some day Yvonne would reach an equivalent level to her high ability peers, such as Eddie. As Yvonne put it, *'Dad likes to tell me who are really sharp in my class and asks me to work harder in order to catch up with them'*. She complained that her father tended to push her to 'compete' with high achieving peers and asked her to 'desperately' (*pin-ming*) 'recite' vocabulary daily. Regardless of such complaints, Yvonne's was aware that the support offered by her parents was strong in contrast to her non-elite peers. She had encountered English through living abroad at the age of three during her father's postgraduate study in New York. She started her first English

learning in Taiwan in Year 2 at primary school and had been abroad more than ten times to fifteen countries. Both parents encouraged Yvonne to do well in English because of its importance to career and travel opportunities. Given this, Yvonne regarded English learning as not only a required school subject but also a way of actualising her intention to study abroad.

In contrast to Yvonne's abundant foreign cultural experience Eddie appeared to be much shyer. He had neither been abroad nor had his parents, though they intended in future to do so. As the highest English achiever, however, Eddie demonstrated an exceptional autonomy and competence in English. As with Yvonne, Eddie had encountered English at a relatively early age at kindergarten, albeit not happily due to his resistance to learn. As a gifted student in a high-ability class in primary school, Eddie has been brilliant at achieving academic success in all his schoolwork except English. He became concerned about his relatively poor English in class and decided to spend more time improving it:

'In year 5, I found my classmates were very "strong" (qiang) in English in contrast to me. So I would say it was my "classmates" who raised my aspirations to improve my English ability.'

In addition to his self motivation, Eddie received considerably family support and resources. For example, Eddie was often taken by his parents to bookstores as one of their major, family, leisure activities. Constant exposure to libraries helped him to acquire easy access to books, making reading an important pastime. In interview Eddie's father described their family reading ethos as follows:

'We provide lots of books for him at home [...] children are like "sponge". Parents provide 'water' ready for them to take in. [...] I like to take him to the bookstore and encourage him to purchase any book he likes, as the old saying goes "opening books benefits you" (kai-juan-you-yi).'

In Eddie's family, 'books' were used by his parents to encourage intellectual development. His enculturation into the family reading culture seemed to contribute to his progress in achieving higher levels of English.

Appropriation of school elitism: The motto at Suburbany School's gate emphasised its elite character which we have suggested generated enormous academic pressure. Yvonne and Eddie both went through a highly competitive process of academic selection involving only a 2.5 per cent pass rate before reaching Ms. Huang's high-ability class, as had most of their classmates. In terms of English, more than ten had passed Elementary Level of GEPT and about six the Intermediate Level. These students were highly competent in the listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in English. For them, academic competition and mounting pressure to achieve were inevitable facets of school life. Yvonne described her emotional state as follows:

'We were asked to write down our self-introduction [...] a classmate handed in hers which was a few pages long [...] I found myself unable to comprehend some of the words when she read them aloud for the class [...] I was indeed shocked by her "sophistication" (jing-lian) using English.'

The shock of being comparatively incompetent in English led her to work hard evidenced through classroom observations and her presence in 'our' school library. As well as her personal perception of the gulf between herself and others, she also felt she lagged behind in her English reading skills. In Year 7 she had initial difficulties in reading the 'Let's talk in English' magazine, a compulsory, basic level English language learning text used in Suburbany. To her dismay some of her classmates were already reading 'Studio Classroom', an advanced level English magazine issued by the same publisher. Yvonne confessed that 'I felt a little bit scared' by such a discrepancy between herself and those high achievers. Yvonne's emotional perturbation served to motivate her even more to achieve.

Appropriation of dialogic interaction: among the prestigious resources afforded to high-ability classes in Suburbany were 'famous teachers' (*ming-shi*) and extra learning sessions on Saturdays taught by foreign English teachers. Access to these resources appeared to assist Yvonne and Eddie in becoming central participants. A grammar-based pedagogy characterised a generally decontextualised English learning experience in the classroom seemed to have been counter balanced by the presence of foreign English teachers in Suburbany School. Given her past learning history, Yvonne was particularly

interested in attending foreign teacher's classes and appreciated the more interactive pedagogic modalities. However, she was not satisfied with the whole-class teaching method employed by her current foreign teacher. Six of the highest English achievers, including Eddie, with Intermediate Level GEPT accreditation were allocated to a different classroom for advanced lessons with another foreign English teacher who had higher pedagogic qualifications. Formation of this group, of which Yvonne was not a member, reinforced her perception of her relatively 'low' social situation and exacerbated her discontent with whole-class teaching and pedagogic style.

Yvonne's perceived 'lower' social position and, hence, dissatisfaction led her to attend a much smaller class of four students taught by a new foreign English tutor paid by the four on a weekly basis. She felt more comfortable with this because it provided greater opportunities to practice speaking and more opportunity to write in English. Moreover, Yvonne's participatory in Ms. Huang's daily English class appeared to be pivotal in shaping her learning identity. Ms. Huang's indirect and humorous manner, emollient classroom control and her verbal encouragement particularly inspired Yvonne who said:

'She always "encourages" (gu-li) students. She amplifies every student's "merits" (you-dian) [...] whenever Ms. Huang asked me to read in front of the class, she would praise me by saying "your English pronunciation is very good".'

Such praise made it possible for Yvonne to acquire a more positive self-identity and to start to imagine her future academic success in English. Yvonne felt that she had made much progress in writing and reading English. She recalled that she used to be able to read only 'simple and small' novels. Now she could manage reading 'thicker ones'. The growing sense of competence allowed her to imagine future success in learning English. Such image of the future arguably, served to organise her own thoughts, manage her own feelings and direct her own actions to fit in with this imagined, 'becoming' self (Holland et al., 1998).

6.1.2.3 Hakka Rural School: Wendy and Chris

Wendy and Chris were central participants in Ms. Mei's class in Hakka Rural School. They had similar learning trajectories and had been encouraged by their mothers, been sent to cram school and were supported by their Hakka culture which emphasised academic study. Ms. Mei used indirect classroom control techniques in lessons. Wendy achieved slightly higher than Chris and enjoyed a high level of interaction with Ms. Mei and her mother.

6.1.2.3.1 Wendy, a local champion

Wendy, an ethnic Hakka and elder child, was among the most diligent students in Ms. Mei's class. On her recommendation I came to know Wendy and learned that she has been very enthusiastic in participating in English competitions within and outside Hakka Rural. During the course of classroom observation, I was particularly impressed with her diligence, especially in taking notes, as many good 'Chinese students' tend to do in class. Wendy had participated in the local English speaking contest in 2004 and was entitled rural, regional champion. Unfortunately, she was defeated in the suburban, Kaohsiung county competition, though she had spent some time rehearsing her scripts with Ms. Mei during class breaks. She delineated her dismay as follows:

'I went to join an English speaking contest [...] I felt their English was "beautiful" (piao-liang) and more native-like [...] Most of the competitors were from Fengshan area (i.e. suburban Kaohsiung). The champion spoke very "beautiful" English in particular.'

When she entered suburban regional levels of competition she became aware of a limitation common to rural students. In comparison with those students who spoke 'beautiful' and native-sounding English, she regarded her accent as 'weird' (*guai-guai-de*). Rural students had little access to foreign English language teachers and therefore did not hear native English accents. Wendy expressed disappointment and 'envy' with respect to her urban peers.

Chris also started his English learning in a local cram school in Year 3 and then moved to a nearby suburban township cram school where foreign teachers were available in Year 4. Encouraged by cram school, he took part in the

Elementary Level of GEPT. He failed by one point and expressed his determination to *'try again next January (in 2005)'*. However, many peripheral participants were also cram school goers, like Mark in Mr. Yuan's class, in Hakka Rural, so that a closer look at students' appropriation of various types of familial resources or cram school experience is required.

Parental support: Wendy and Chris experienced similar learning experiences in cram school. Wendy's parents were both Hakka and worked together at home running a frozen food company as a small-scale, family business. Compared to urban students whose parents were able to provide ample resources, such as foreign travel (e.g., Yvonne in Suburbany) and foreign teacher experience (e.g., Helen in Urbany), Wendy's familial resources were relatively moderate:

'They did not "push" (yiao-qiu) me to study English. [...] They did not ask me to go to cram school until school started teaching English (in Year 3) [...] They told me that English will be very "important" (zhong-yiao) in the future [...] I did not "hate" (tao-yian) English, so I went to a cram school.'

In Helen's account the word *'push'* highlights the fact that many Hakka parents tend to engage children to go to cram school. Some may do so only to secure 'peace of mind' (*xin-an*) rather than consider their children's best interests. Wendy's parents clearly articulated the importance of learning English and, according to Wendy, checked daily on her school and cram school work. To encourage Wendy to work hard, her parents reminded her of the importance of learning for the sake of her own future prospects rather than for them. As Wendy's mother said, *'if you work harder now, you will not have to live a tough life in the future'*.

Wendy was particularly encouraged by her mother to become a schoolteacher, collectively recognised as one of the best careers for girls in Taiwanese society and especially within Hakka community. Wendy's interaction with her mother was an important resource. Her mother, for example, *'helped me order English magazines [...] told me to try my best and see how far I can go (i.e., taking GEPT)'*. This was exceptional because not many high achieving Hakka students, including Sharon in Class F, aspired to take the GEPT exam. Wendy's mother typified the unique dual gender roles of Hakka women (see

Section 3.1.4). Three times as many Hakka mothers (33%) were likely to encourage children to learn English than fathers (11%) (see Table 4.6). This 'mother-child' interaction exemplified not only a unique Taiwanese cultural trait of 'men exterior and women interior' but mirrored the continuing roles of Hakka women in taking multiple responsibility for domesticity, children's schoolwork and assisting with family businesses, the modern counterpart of traditional agricultural work.

Cram school learning: Like many of their Hakka counterparts Wendy and Chris had gone to cram schools every day after school since their primary years. Wendy had begun in Year 5 and reported that English had been taught predominately through grammar-based texts and placed emphasis on getting ahead of the lessons scheduled in the textbook. This gave a certain competitive advantage to the pedagogy and fitted well within local Hakka culture, pleasing many parents:

'We were asked to learn vocabulary and tackled school textbook content. We started to learn Year 7 textbook content in Year 5 [...] I did not "encounter" (jie-chu) listening practice until attending Year 7 in Hakka Rural because it would be evaluated in school exams.'

However, due to this competitive spirit Wendy had to learn 'Year 7 textbook content in Year 5', which was exactly two years ahead of the schedule. Under such conditions, it would be interesting to speculate how many Hakka students became 'inattentive' (Helen's word) because of the fast pace of lessons.

6.1.2.4 Mountainside School: Vincent and Vanessa

Mountainside students had no cram schools within their local community. Some central participants with appropriate family resources accessed those in a nearby township, like Vincent and Vanessa, both indigenous Paiwan students, with similar English learning trajectories. They were hard working, concentrated in class and had the highest English attainments. Both also had exceptional parental encouragement and engagement in learning English. In Mountainside terms they were 'haves', though on quite a different scale to students elsewhere, such as Helen, Yvonne and Eddie. Moreover, their learning experiences were embedded in a broader, athletically oriented indigenous culture, which seemed to influence the very different trajectories from those of central participants from other social groups.

6.1.2.4.1. Vincent, a timid boy

Vincent, a single child in a Christian family, was the quietest boy in Ms. Lu's class. During the course of my classroom observation, I found Vincent unusual not only because of his academic performance but because of his relative timidity as an indigenous boy. Unlike others known for their athletic prowess, he was not particularly conversational and talked slowly in interview and in our field encounters. His personal disposition seems to be reflected in his English learning processes which were 'slow but steady', a learning style nicely captured by his claim that *'while learning new things, I tend to get used to it slowly (man-man shi-ying)'*. Vincent was not particularly interested in learning English when he started it in Year 3 in a cram school located in a township 30 minutes away from Mountainside. He recalled experiencing *'a little rejection perhaps'* because he was too timid to study with other strangers. Out of curiosity, however, he gradually found interest and wanted to progress. Vincent's mother commented on his development as follows:

'He has the tendency to feel "timid" (bu-hao-yi-si) at anything at the first try [...] indigenous kids mostly belong to "restless" (hao-dong) and "agile" types. I think his classmates are far more agile than him. But Vincent is working harder than any other peers.'

Given Vincent's timidity and limited conversation his mother's description is useful here for mapping Vincent's learning trajectory. According to her while Vincent tended to be 'shy' when encountering new tasks, he would not give up once familiar with them. His initial reluctance over cram school attendance suggested that he was not used to encountering non-indigenous children outside the Paiwan community. Vincent was not used to those 'plainers' (*pindi*) because he said the Hokkien kids had a slightly different complexion. Her mother's encouragement in saying '*just give yourself a go and have fun!*' eventually enabled him to progress.

Vanessa was another high achieving girl student in Ms. Lin's class. In comparison with her 'verbally aggressive' peers, she was rather diligent and concentrated. Consistent with the indigenous propensity for singing, dancing and athletic prowess, Vanessa liked singing English songs very much: '*I like listening to English songs [...] I also learn English from listening to songs*'. Vanessa believed that singing English songs helped her to improve her listening ability and contributed to her successful accreditation at the Elementary Level of Cambridge ESOL Examination earlier and the Elementary Level of GEPT in 2005. Vanessa longed to go abroad and her 'curiosity' combined with her determination to get regular access to English songs provided her with aspirations, as she explained:

'I have a "strong aspiration" (hen-xiang-wan) (i.e. going abroad). I feel the scenery in foreign countries is more beautiful than Taiwan. I want to go for a look, perhaps it is partly out of my "curiosity" [...] English is an international language and it is better to use English to communicate with foreigners.'

Vanessa recognised that English was 'an international language', and a tool to communicate with people around the world. However, her personal aspirations did not seem to entirely account for her central participation in the English communities of practice. The local Paiwan community placed enormous constraints upon individual students' English learning. The support that she and Vincent gained from their families appeared pivotal in shaping their English learning trajectories.

Parental support: Vincent's and Vanessa's mothers, both senior high graduates, provided their children with encouragement and were actively engaged in their learning. Both were interested and helpful in responding to the questionnaire survey and in interviews. Vincent's father and Vanessa's mother were high school classmates and both families were well acquainted with each other. Vincent's mother worked as a cleaner in a clinic in a nearby Hokkien township which made it possible for her to give Vincent a routine ride to cram school. *'We hope he can learn one more language so we let him learn English as early as in Year 3'*, his mother suggested. Her dedication to the cram school routine ride by motorcycle lasted for five years until Vincent began at Mountainside, and only stopped because Vincent became exhausted as she explained:

'We have no cram schools particularly for English learning [...] the only way is to send them to Chao-zhou (the nearby Hokkien township) [...] some parents tend to regard it a "waste of time" sending children around.'

Most other Paiwan parents could not take their children to cram school because there was no bus. In comparison with other indigenous parents Vincent's mother's involvement with her children's education was exceptional. Most Paiwan people had little access to English in daily life in contrast to the heavily westernised, modern, Taiwanese urban, cultural 'beachheads'. Very little opportunity was available for Vincent to practice English either at home or in the community. However, Vincent watched English TV programs and read at home, in addition to his cram and formal school work. He was provided with English storybooks or magazines for reading at home, though sometimes his mother did feel like sending him out to do a little sport, like other boys. With no one at home with whom to practice English, watching English TV programs become Vincent's next best option. As his mother admitted:

'Sometimes we will block the Chinese subtitles when we are watching English films on TV together (she chuckles with a little guilt). Sometimes we feel "sorry" (ke-lian) for him because he has to learn something even when watching TV at leisure.'

The action of blocking 'the Chinese subtitles' could mean very different things in different social contexts. For some groups it provided an effective way of helping children's learning, but for indigenous groups, an unusual, somewhat arbitrary action clashing with a comparatively 'easy-going' lifestyle. Vincent's mother's guilty chuckle indicated her determination to work against the indigenous attitude in order to facilitate her child's learning and as she said, he would normally translate happily upon request.

Mother-child intersubjectivity: Vanessa's mother worked as a caretaker in a local crèche. She was herself interested in learning English and knew that it was important for children's future. The following fieldnote indicates this and the natural 'curiosity' of indigenous children.

[**Fieldnote:** It is a hilly kindergarten ten minutes walk away from Mountainside school [...] Vanessa's mother reveals that, for marketing reason, they have invited a local Taiwanese English teacher to teach English on a weekly basis. As a caretaker she has opportunities to learn with children which suits her interest in learning English. During the break all the children ran out playing in the tiny yard [...] She introduced me to some curious kids telling them about my role as an English teacher. To say hello, I asked 'How are you?' and 'What's your name?' respectively. To my surprise, they could response fluently with natural pronunciation (in such young age) and gleaming smiles.] (21st November, 2004)

Given her mother's personal interest in learning English and recognition of its importance Vanessa was encouraged to attend a cram school for English as early as Year 3. In another cram school from Year 4, Vanessa followed its interior English accreditation system, starting at level A. However, her experience was not all plain sailing. Tuition cost 100 pounds per three month term, engendering financial strain which her father worried about and used to oppose her attendance when she reached level B in Year 4. She poignantly remembered:

'My father is a somewhat "traditional" (chuan-tong) man who takes money very seriously, but my mother values my schooling [...] (she chuckles) So I have been stopped from going to cram school for a while. But my mum helps me move on.'

Vanessa eventually continued her cram school learning following her mother's successful negotiation with her father, though tension about it continued to exist within the family. Her desire to learn English out of curiosity helped her to get through difficult times at home, as she said firmly: *'For me, I think English is interesting as a foreign language. I am so curious about this language that I like it very much. I think I should move on.'* With this aspiration Vanessa reached level F in cram school and was entitled to take part in the Elementary Level of GEPT in 2004, eventually gaining it in January, 2005.

6.1.3 Peripheral participants

In contrast to the the individual learning trajectories of central participants in the four schools examined in the preceding section, attention is now turned to peripheral participants in continuing to try to clarify why some students achieve differently from others with whom they attend the same school, interact with the same English teachers or have access to similar cultural tools. We see these peripheral participants as positioning themselves or being positioned as moving away from the 'centre' of their English communities of practice. Some became disillusioned and disengaged from English.

The experiences of peripheral participants, such as Howard (Urbany), Mark (Hakka Rural), Jake and Dave (Mountainside) contrasted greatly with central participants. These accounts reveal gender differences in attitudes towards English. Though the sample of students interviewed was small and therefore findings are limited, it is interesting to note that the peripheral group contained five boys and only one girl, as well as dividing urban-rural by 2:4 (see Table 6.6).

Data is drawn from personal questionnaire, teacher's comment, classroom observation and school attainment records. English scores (1~100) were accessed from the first monthly school exam in 2004, each school using different test sheets yet following similar curriculum schedules. James at Suburbany was not interviewed but other available data on him is deployed for comparison purposes.

Table 6.6 Peripheral interviewee participants in four schools

School	Student	Gender	Ethnicity	Teacher	Scores	Participation
<i>Urbany</i>	Howard	M	Mainlander	Ms Wu	30	peripheral
<i>Suburbany</i>	James	M	Hokkien	Ms Sun	20	peripheral
<i>Hakka</i>	Mark	M	Hakka	Mr. Yuan	36	peripheral
<i>Rural</i>	Fay	F	Hakka	Ms Mei	29	peripheral
<i>Mountain</i>	Jake	M	Paiwan	Ms Lu	24	peripheral
<i>-side</i>	Dave	M	Paiwan	Ms Lu	18	peripheral

6.1.3.1 Howard, the black sheep

Howard was one of the many 'black sheep' put off by English in Ms. Wu's class in bilingual Urbany School and perhaps the most striking peripheral participant. He was a third generation Mainlander and the eldest child in a family of three, a 'have' from an affluent family background. His parents had relatively high education levels. There was a striking similarity between his and Ken's father because they were both university graduates in business careers. Both were competent in English as managers who frequently travelled abroad. However, unlike Ken, Howard did not seem to have been given opportunities to actively benefit from foreign travel. He also did not attend cram school.

Besides familial resources, bilingual Urbany School sought to provide rich cultural resources available and a strong English learning environment. For Howard, however, English at Urbany and other aspects of the school setting seemed to contradict the value system he inherited from previous primary schooling and home practice. During observation Howard's attention either wandered or he dozed off, whereupon Ms. Wu usually tried desperately to remind him to sit properly and pay more attention. There were even times when she was nearly 'driven crazy' by Howard and other 'black sheep' as when they playfully sat in the wrong seats in class. As Carol, high achieving classmate, put it, *'Howard does not like Ms. Wu because he does not like English'*. In the following interview (see Chapter Two for detail of the method of discourse analysis employed) Howard's brief description of his learning experience revealed his deeply-held beliefs that informed his actions in school. Most peripheral participants were not as eloquent as their central counterparts in

articulating their seemingly poor English learning experiences, though Howard was their most eloquent representative. In cases, such as Mark (Hakka Rural), Jake and Dave (Mountainside), interviews predominantly took place on a 'turn-taking' basis involving rather short responses, their lack of eloquence was compounded by the fact that interviews were carried out in Mandarin Chinese, their everyday language both at home and school, rather than their mother tongue (e.g., Paiwan dialect).

Extract 6.1:

- 1 Interviewer: Could you describe your English learning history?
- 2 Howard: In Year 4, I started learning English [...] taught in school.
- 3 I felt 'bored' (*wu-liao*) because I did not understand it.
- 4 I felt it was troublesome to recite things ((i.e., alphabetical
- 5 letters and vocabulary))
- 6 Interviewer: Is there anyone at home encouraging you to learn English?
- 7 Howard: No. They just said to me 'English has to be learned well'.
- 8 They did not push me.
- 9 Interviewer: What about now in Ms Wu's class?
- 10 Howard: I still fail to comprehend English. I do not follow what she
- 11 says in class. So I do not like to listen to her.
- 12 Interviewer: So, have you thought of why you learn English [...]?
- 13 Howard: I don't know. Perhaps it is used at school...or school subject.
- 14 People say it is more convenient to use [English].
- 15 But I feel it is 'very troublesome' (*hao-ma-fan*).
- 16 Interviewer: But do you know people also say it is because English is an
- 17 'international language'.
- 18 Howard: Yes, Father says so because he is a business manager...
- 19 He often travels abroad [...] so he is good at English.
- 20 Interviewer: I know parents who are good at English tend to help their
- 21 children with English [...] Maybe Father has been too busy.
- 22 Howard: I don't know. He is good [...] but he does not teach me.
- 23 He is going abroad again tomorrow.

Howard seemed to have a very specific view of learning English. For him, English was not perceived as something important or helpful in terms of future benefits but as a 'school subject' (lines 2 and 13). In contrast to Ken's abundant English home practice and clear explanation of its future importance, Howard seemed to be provided less with encouragement than an abstract order, even mere lip-service: '*English has to be learned well*' (line 7), without follow-up activities. Lack of home practice in English and cram school attendance dominated the free time of many of his urban peers, suggested the fact that English is not particularly valued at home.

Howard had developed a deeply-rooted belief, with associated frustration, from his primary school years that English had to be learned by rote (lines 3 and 4). He expressed his frustration when he said it was '*very troublesome*' (lines 4 and 15). In the classroom Howard's rejection of learning English was clear. He said '*So I do not like to listen to her*' (line 11). He complained:

'I cannot recite vocabulary [...] even after someone tells me how to memorise words by using a phonic-based approach, I still cannot do [...] English is so difficult for me!'

When asked if he wanted to learn English provided he were given the opportunity, he said:

'No [...] because I cannot learn it well. I used to try reciting vocabulary but in vain even after writing down that word for a hundred fifty times! [...] I did so as some people told me but I still could not make it through reciting.'

Rote learning English, which dominates pedagogic approaches in Taiwan, was clearer problematic to him. Howard's frustration and rejection of English learning gave rise to his deviant behaviour:

'I feel it is "meaningless" (mei-yi-yi) [...] I fail to learn it by rote. I was allocated here in this school only because I live within this school catchment (he was not attending Urbany voluntarily) [...] When I feel "all English again" (a feeling of hatred), I will rip those bilingual signs off and dump them into the bin.'

Howard's '*marginality*' (Wenger, 1998) (italics in original) as a member of bilingual Urbany's English learning communities of practice was maintained as an active resistance to the rote learning pedagogy he experienced. He was not alone in Urbany School. His English and home-teacher, Mr. Lin, pointed out how some other students perceived the bilingual signs:

'I think it is helpful for high achievers if they see and learn [...] But for many, the English environment appears to have no "connection" (xiang-guan) with them. Take my class for example, the signs next to the toilet are immediately torn down when posted.'

To those peripheral participants in Urbany, the bilingual environment tended to represent something 'imposed' or privileged institutionally that contradicted their home values or personal beliefs. Mr. Lin's delineation of such anti-English behaviour helped to explain Howard's attitude and revealed conflicts between home and school and between aspects of the school system.

Howard's experience of rote learning also contradicted Urbany's stated emphasis on promoting an interactive English learning environment. Howard was so caught up by his past learning history that he still strove to 'memorise' rather than 'practice' English in terms of the opportunities afforded by his school. The overt signs of bilingualism and practice seemed to enrage him. Moreover, Howard attended Urbany not because of its bilingual environment but '*only because I live within this school catchment*'. These words highlighted his involuntary enrollment into Urbany and added to his alienation. Howard, as a peripheral participant, was positioned and also positioned himself as moving away from the 'centre' of the English learning community of practice. His repulsion of learning English and the meaningless bilingual environment made his peripheral participation somewhat legitimate.

6.1.3.2 Mark, the trapped sheep

Mark, a peripheral participant in Mr. Yuan's class in Hakka Rural School, was one of the many 'trapped sheep' willing but failing to learn English. In contrast to Howard or the 'Three Big Wigs' in his class, Mark demonstrated initial interest in English, possibly because of his mother's encouragement. With such encouragement he was sent to cram school for English, like many other Hakka students. In his questionnaire responses Mark reported some everyday English practice at home when playing with his computer (using email and chat-rooms), listening to music and perceiving some things written in English at home, in school and on the street. This differed from many other peripheral participants in the four schools who not only demonstrated school failure academically but also claimed to lack of everyday English practice at home and community activity level.

Even with maternal encouragement, cram school learning resources and relevant everyday English practice, Mark eventually 'fails to comprehend' (*ting-bu-dong*) English and withdrew from the cram school after six months. The following interview highlights Mark's dismay and portrays his learning identity as a trapped sheep, still trying to find a way out of his quandary.

Extract 6.2:

- 1 Interviewer: Could you briefly describe your English learning history?
- 2 Mark: I started learning English in Year 6...We were all playing
- 3 most of the time... so I could not follow the lesson when I
- 4 attended Year 7 in junior high school.
- 5 Interviewer: Which part did you fail to understand?
- 6 Mark: I could listen...but failed to write it out. ((i.e., in exams))
- 7 Interviewer: In Year 6, did you learn anything like alphabetic letters?
- 8 Mark: Yes, only English letters.
- 9 Interviewer: Anything else, such as spelling or ...
- 10 Mark: No.
- 11 Interviewer: Was it a foreign English teacher or local one?
- 12 Mark: Local.
- [...]
- 13 Interviewer: So you did not follow...as long as you were in year 7!
- 14 Mark: Yeah...I went to cram school, but still 'did not comprehend'
- 15 (ting-bu-dong).
- 16 Interviewer: Did your parents encourage you to learning English?
- 17 Mark: My mother did so, but I still 'ting-bu-dong' ((chuckles!)) [...]
- 18 My mother was bothered and did not know how to 'solve'
- 19 (jie-jue) this problem.
- 20 Interviewer: Do you know if your parents know English?
- 21 Mark: [...] I don't know. ((chuckles!))
- 22 Interviewer: Have you ever practiced English ((for fun)) with friends?
- 23 Mark: No. ((chuckles!))
- 24 Interviewer: ...with your family members?
- 25 Mark: I guess not.
- 26 Interviewer: Do you have any relatives who know English?
- 27 Mark: Yes, but they seldom come back here...

Mark seemed to point to a fundamental curriculum gap between primary and junior high school level (see Section 3.2.3). As he says, '*We were all playing most of the time [...] so I could not follow the lesson when I attended Year 7*' (lines 2 and 3). Consistent with the 'Grade 1-9' national curriculum, '*playing*' is highly valued in primary schools. However, this is not the case in junior high. As

Mark pointed out, he could 'listen' but 'failed to write it out' (line 6), representing his prior knowledge of 'play' and 'audio-lingual' English practice as being denied by junior high school teachers and school culture.

The low status of oral (audio-lingual) activity in junior high was nicely captured by Abreu's (1995) word 'taboo', referring to teachers in her Brazilian sugarcane farming study who devalued children's home mathematics as inferior to that of the school. Oral English seems to be devalued as written English (e.g., grammar-translation methods and written exams) is distinctively privileged in junior high school. As illustrated in the preceding chapters, 'grammar rules' involving discrete linguistic patterns are predominately taught and highly valued in junior high classrooms. Given little time for oral practice, students learned English by rote and were constantly evaluated in order to test out their 'knowledge' and 'competence' in English. The following account exemplified the inferior status of oral English, as perceived by students, not their teacher. Dismayed by her students' reluctance, Ms. Mei complained that:

'I am often provided with free sample GEPT magazines with CD-ROMs from publishers which I like to give out to students as gifts [...] I told them not to feel "under pressure" [...] just "give yourself a go." Some mid-ability level students will try it for fun but some high achieving students will not because they fear the difficulty.'

In fact, Ms. Mei perceived the importance of both of 'oral and written' English practice and had tried to bridge the gap between them. As she says, '*I tried very hard indeed*', even stating their market value: '*They cost two hundred dollars [...] take them if you are willing to try*'. Students' passive response and hesitation usually disappointed her, inducing her to speculate that maybe English was viewed by Hakka students as synonymous with written 'test' (*kao-shi*), leading to such rejection of free audio-lingual English practice. This speculation exactly mirrored Fay's quandary as another peripheral participant in Hakka Rural, as she confessed '*When I think of English, I think of test, followed by hatred and then leave it alone*'.

In Mark's interview, it is worth noting that he was provided with opportunity to engage in traditional, predominately grammar-based cram school practice though non-traditional (mixed with audio-lingual approach) cram schools exist. In the Hakka 'town of PhDs', excessive emphasis on 'academic study' (*du-shu*) and, predominantly traditional, cram school going seems to intensify value asymmetry between the two kinds of approaches as social organisations of practice. Mark's participation in traditional cram school justified his non-participative membership identity: *'I went to cram school, but still did not comprehend'* (line 14). Moreover the declaration, *'I do not understand grammar and all other stuff [...] even after I have asked questions from former English teachers'* revealed in his questionnaire response also mirrored his troubled situation arising from grammar-based learning. The lack of interaction with friends or family members (lines 20 to 27) concerning everyday English practice did nothing to assuage, indeed contributed to the circumstance of his learning problem that remained unresolved (lines 18 and 19).

6.1.3.3 Jake, the athletic dreamer

Jake, a peripheral participant in Ms. Lu's class in Mountainside School, was one of the many 'athletic dreamers' who were hoping to become future athletes perhaps as a way out of poverty. Like many other indigenous students he demonstrated initial interest in learning English in 'open-minded' and 'curious' manner, like Vincent and Vanessa, in terms of the audio-lingual approach valued in primary school. Jake also shared their dream of going abroad, albeit through different endeavour. However, in comparison with Vincent and Vanessa's family resources Jake appeared to be staggering, neither engaged in cram school learning nor demonstrating everyday English practice at home or community level. The following interview may provide a schematic picture as to why he became a peripheral participant. As with Vincent, his relative inarticulacy concerning English learning experience made it more than incumbent upon me to ensure that I did not over-direct his response.

Extract 6.3:

- 1 Interviewer: Could you briefly describe your English learning history?
- 2 Jake: I started in Year 5 in primary school...
- 3 Interviewer: How do you feel your learning at that time?
- 4 Jake: Very happy!
- 5 Interviewer: Can you describe what you were learning?
- 6 Jake: I cannot remember [...] it was a long time ago.
- 7 Interviewer: It's fine. Did you have some games or interactive teaching?
- 8 Jake: Yes, we did.
- 9 Interviewer: Did you like such learning at that time?
- 10 Jake: Yeah.
- 11 Interviewer: ...any difference between when you start learning and now?
- 12 Jake: I started to dislike it when I got to Year 7.
- 13 Interviewer: Why is that?
- 14 Jake: [...] because I did not understand... what is 'verb' (*dong-ci*)...
- 15 Interviewer: You mean grammar and sentence patterns.
- 16 Jake: Yes.
- 17 Interviewer: Do you have any idea about grammar such as verbs?
- 18 Jake: They are more difficult to recite (*bu-hao-ji*) [...]
- 19 I can recite it today but will forget it tomorrow...
[...]
- 20 Interviewer: Do you have any opportunity practicing English at home?
- 21 Jake: A little writing...few days before the school exam, I will start
22 writing and 'reciting hard' (*meng-bai*)!
- 23 Interviewer: Recite vocabulary, sentence patterns and grammars...?
- 24 Jake: More or less [...] predominately vocabulary...
- 25 Interviewer: Do you know the importance of learning English?
- 26 Jake: Going abroad [...] to USA.
- 27 Interviewer: So do you hope to go abroad in the future?
- 28 Jake: I don't think I will unless I become a 'national basketball
29 player'!
- 30 Interviewer: Do you joined the school team at this moment?
- 31 Jake: No...but I like playing it.
- 32 Interviewer: So you want to be 'Yao-Min' playing NBA, practicing English
33 at the same time [...] as your dream?
- 34 Jake: Yeah. ((weak voice))

As shown in Extract 6.3 Jake appeared to have a *'very happy'* (line 4) time learning English in primary school years and enjoyed learning (lines 9 and 10). The *'asymmetrical relationship'* (Abreu, 1995) of primary and junior high school practices emerged that when he attended the latter; *'I started to dislike it when I got to Year 7'* (line 12) due to more grammar-based learning (lines 15 and 16). Like Howard, Urbany's *'black sheep'*, who felt chained to but failed to learn vocabulary by rote, Jake appeared to feel a similar quandary; English grammar *'are more difficult to recite'* (line 18). His only English practice at home was to recite *'vocabulary'* (line 24) a few days before the school exam by *'writing and reciting hard'* (line 22) as a basic effort to secure minimum scores from the vocabulary test. When asked if he perceived the importance of learning English, Jake pointed out his dream of *'Going abroad [...] to USA'* (line 26), yet immediately reflects upon his own constraints and regards such dream as impossible. He knew there was a way out of this impasse, saying, *'I don't think I have the chance unless I become a national basketball player'* (lines 28 and 29). Based on his interest in playing basketball and the school cultural system of promoting athletic performances, with various bursaries as encouragement, Jake had been provided with a form of *'cultural scaffolding'*, such that he could project himself as being a future national basketball player. It could be argued that, if *'going abroad'* was Jake's ultimate goal, being a sporty athlete was probably the most effective way of realising it rather than changing his peripheral participation trajectory in English learning.

A closer look at this *'cultural scaffolding'* of sport and athleticism within the Paiwan community indicated that Jake was not alone in being inspired in such a direction. Amy, the girl with mid-level ability interviewed in Ms. Lin's class in Mountainside (see Table 6.1) was one of the many with similar aspirations to make their lives different. The following interview illustrates how such cultural aspiration mediated her thought and action.

Extract 6.4:

- 1 Interviewer: Could you tell me what English means to you?
- 2 Amy: [...] (Not answering, still pondering)
- 3 Interviewer: [...] what is English important to your future?
- 4 Amy: Aunty wants me to try military school.
- 5 Interviewer: Which aunty?
- 6 Amy: Mother's elder sister...
- 7 Interviewer: Be a female soldier...do you yourself want to try?
- 8 Amy: Yes, [...] and I can join 'judo' club...and be recommended to
- 9 Police Academy [...] if I win in the contest at a national level.
- 10 Interviewer: So, are you practicing judo now?
- 11 Amy: No. I will start from the following semester.
- 12 Interviewer: Are you confident?
- 13 Amy: Yes.
- 14 Interviewer: So, you will be recommended to the Police Academy or
- 15 military school if you win in the national contest?
- 16 Amy: Yes.

As can be seen in Extract 6.4 it was suggested by her aunt that Amy enrol in a 'military school' (line 4), as many indigenous students did. Enrolment criteria concerning physical fitness, especially good eyesight, appeared to favour and encourage indigenous students, those from other social groups often suffering from poor vision due to long hours of academic study. Moreover, military careers with stable incomes encouraged upward social mobility. As Amy pointed out 'I can join judo club [...] I can be recommended to the Police Academy' (lines 8 and 9), a route equivalent to a military career. More importantly, these could be made possible through participation in school 'judo' club and future competitions. As such, Amy was ready to participate in a series of training drills commencing in the following semester (line 11). Jake's and Amy's aspirations which echoed many of those of their indigenous peers, symptomatised overt, athletic, rather than academic, let alone, English, learning communities of practice.

6.1.3.4 Dave, the disillusioned wanderer

Dave, a peripheral participant in Ms. Lu's class in Mountainside School was a disillusioned student who tended to doze off in class most of the time, the lowest achieving student among those interviewed in terms of his first monthly school attainment record. He was the eldest in a family of seven children. His parents' primary and junior high education levels made English practice at home impossible. There was no computer at home so that the only possible encounters with English would have been to watch English programs on TV while listening in English alongside Mandarin subtitles. His interview responses could be categorised as minimalist.

Extract 6.5:

- 1 Interviewer: Do you yourself know why you are learning English?
- 2 Dave: [...] ((Silence))
- 3 Interviewer: Ok [...] do your parents encourage you to learn English?
- 4 Dave: No.
- 5 Interviewer: Does your father know English?
- 6 Dave: No.
- 7 Interviewer: No, [...] what about Mother?
- 8 Dave: ((He shakes head.))
- 9 Interviewer: Did your English teacher tell you why you learn English?
- 10 Dave: [...] I don't know.
- 11 Interviewer: Did you like it or not when you first learn English?
- 12 Dave: No.
- 13 Interviewer: I was told you usually doze off in Ms. Lu's class. Really?
- 14 Dave: Yeah.
- 15 Interviewer: Did Ms. Lu wake you up?
- 16 Dave: Yes.
- [...]
- 17 Interviewer: What does English mean to you [...] ?
- 18 Dave: Something 'very difficult'! (*hen-nan*)
- 19 Interviewer: Will you feel hatred due to its difficulty?
- 20 Dave: A little. [...] a little dislike English.
- [...]
- 21 Interviewer: Could you do English alphabetic letters?
- 22 Dave: Yes.
- 23 Interviewer: What about vocabulary?
- 24 Dave: I can only 'recite' those short ones!
- 25 Interviewer: For example... ?
- 26 Dave: The word 'message' (*xin-xi*).
- 27 Interviewer: That is amazing...it is not a short one!
- 28 Dave: Because I keep reading it so I can do it now.
- 29 Interviewer: Why do you keep reading it?
- 30 Dave: Our teacher will 'test' it.
- 31 Interviewer: Could you spell it for me?
- 32 Dave: 'm-e-s-s-a-g-e'.
- 33 Interviewer: Brilliant, isn't it? It is a long enough word!

As can be seen in Extract 6.5, the long 'silence' in line 2 appears to indicate the fact that Dave does not know why he has to learn English. Slightly differently to his Paiwan peers, who tended to enjoy learning English in primary school, Dave did not, perhaps because of his familial circumstances (lines 11 and 12). In Ms. Lu's class, either his attention tended to wander or he dozed off. English meant something '*very difficult*' (line 18) to him and, when asked if he could do English vocabulary, which seem to trouble many Paiwan students, his terse reply was '*I can only recite those short ones*' (line 24). As with many other peripheral participants from the four schools, such as Howard, Mark and Jake, 'learning by rote' in order to participate in '*tests*' (line 30) appeared to be the only English practice for Dave, both at home and school. He was completely unconfident even after that, though able to spell a word, such as '*message*' (line 32).

Various imbalances of value between home and school can be seen from Dave's and, for example, Howard's circumstances. Both were positioned in home where English was not valued, though Howard was better provided with 'objective' familial resources of some kinds and confronted with the high status of English in the social organisation of his school's practice. However, this stood in opposition to what he brought to school from home, leading to his rejection and anti-English syndrome. Dave lived in a different school culture where English was held in low status in the social organisation of school practice, generating symmetry between those of home and school. Though English meant something '*very difficult*' for Dave, he felt only '*a little*' hatred (lines 19 and 20) toward it, rather than severe repulsion, like Howard. On the interpersonal plane Ms Lu's indirect classroom control and her capacity for 'bridging' (Rogoff, 1990) intersubjective meaning between students and teacher that may have somewhat decelerated Dave's rejection of English, whereas Howard's animus as to both the person and pedagogy of his teacher sent his hostile trajectory spinning almost out of control.

At a general level, resource disparity or inequality seems to be taken for granted in the research literature as a determinant of idiosyncratic participation by students from various locales or social groups. In specific cases and contexts identity formation or projections that guided English learning appeared to be as crucial. Indigenous students' peripheral participation in learning English, for example, where many Paiwan students perceived following parents' footsteps doing menial jobs as factory hands or casual labourers was a

possible and reasonable way of conducting their future lives, was a rational rather than irrational choice. Students such as Dave will hardly project themselves into an imagined, possible future of studying abroad like their urban counterparts, such as Julia at Suburbany. Given limited cultural resources and non-valuing of English learning at home, Dave's peripheral trajectory was itself legitimate, his disillusion nicely captured by Jake's description, '*I know Dave gives up English [...] he tends to doze-off even during the test*'.

6.2 Identity, value and learning English

Certain issues appear to emerge from our investigation of the interplay between these central or peripheral participants' mental processes and their cultural, historical and institutional milieux. The following discussion will first take up the issue of students' identity formation in relation to imagined futures and current actions and trajectories in learning English. Emerging 'gender gap' issues revealed in participant students' English academic performance, in particular, the different socialisation processes experienced by girls and boys, and different, value asymmetric social expectations of gender roles within Taiwanese society that are entailed, will then be considered. Finally, a close look will be taken at Hakka students' unique linguistic behaviour, linked to discussion of emerging language competition and concomitant social inequality within Taiwanese society.

6.2.1 Identity as imagined futures

A common theme of 'studying abroad' as an imagined future (Holland et al, 1998) of some kind has emerged from the data, particularly among relative 'haves', in contrast to locally bounded, 'have-not' worlds. Provided with rich resources by their locales, some participants seemed able to envision a self-identity, such as Julia's at Suburbany, of studying abroad, an ambition in value symmetry with social organisation of practices of her home and school.

6.2.1.1 The xenophile

Julia, one of the central participants in Ms. Sun's mixed-ability class in Suburbany, was a third generation Mainlander and the elder child of two. Though her academic achievement was not as high as the other elite students, Yvonne and Eddie, in Ms. Huang's class, Julia was high achieving and showed exceptional interest in learning English from foreign teachers. I observed Julia to be active and verbally responsive in class. She enjoyed Ms. Sun's instruction, liking English so much that she tended to seize every chance to participate in dialogic interaction with her. Like some other central participants, such as Helen (Urbany) and Yvonne (Suburbany), she did not particularly enjoy grammar and textbook-based school learning which appeared to contradict her previous experience with foreign English language teachers who had used colloquial expression rather than grammar based styles of interaction. Julia was provided with early English learning resources, encountering English in Year 2 at a 'crèche' (*an-qin-ban*), a popular after-school setting for primary school pupils. Her formal and cram school English learning both started in Year 3 in primary school and she first encountered foreign English teachers in the latter. Julia particularly enjoyed audio-lingual approaches to learning English, claiming that *'I feel like speaking English with foreigners which is a lot of fun...I still attend class (in a non-traditional cram school) with foreign teachers where we can undertake open dialogue.'*

On-going foreign teacher experience: Julia's experience with foreign English language teachers was striking and positive. An English outing held by her cram school in Year 3 probably accounted for Julia's initial explosion of interest in learning English. She retold her first experience speaking English with excitement:

'There were many foreigners and we had to speak English in order to buy what we wanted [...] So I spoke the first English word in my life, asking for "a cup of coke" [...] I made it which really excited me. So I feel like speaking English with foreigners which is a lot of fun.'

Julia still attended a non-traditional cram school class with a foreign teacher where she could continue with 'open dialogue'. The following interview extract described the tension of the value asymmetry between her personal beliefs and Surburbany school culture:

'I prefer "real-life" (sheng-huo-hua) English to "textbook" learning. The textbook is too "tedious" (tai-si-le)! (repeats twice) I do not like learning from the textbook [...] I remembered when Ms. Liu asked if we want to learn English with a foreign teacher. I feel it "valuable" (hao-bu-rong-yi) [...] but the idea was "rejected" (pai-chi) by the majority of the class because they complain about the tuition [...] I like a foreign teacher's class. I felt it was lots of fun.'

Julia's longing for 'real-life' English was highlighted by her disappointment at the rejection of paying for foreign teachers by her classmates. She was evidently caught in a tension between her past learning history of through audio-lingual approaches and the current, 'grammar-based' learning at school. As in Mark's case as a peripheral participant in Hakka Rural who could 'listen' but 'failed to write it out', and Ms. Mei's complaint about her Hakka students' rejection of her offer of audio CD-ROMs, her preferred audio-lingual approach to English learning activities claimed only low status in junior high school. However, Julia still enjoyed greeting foreign teachers in English during break in the school corridor: *'I get excited when seeing foreign teachers and want to greet them in English [...] I feel it is natural to greet foreigners.'*

Julia seemed to have developed coping strategies to balance her current school learning and her preferred way of enjoying English. She understood the importance of following lessons in Ms. Sun's class. A few more lines however, may have to be said about Julia's appropriation of her cultural resources as empowering tools for her identity formation and mediated action. Penuel and Wertsch's (1995) 'mediated-action approach' to identity provides a useful framework as the point of departure in exploring Julia's identity development and how such identity may inform her adjustment as coping strategies.

Appropriation of intersubjectivity: Julia's negotiation of subjective meaning and identity formation rested on cultural resources involving dialogical interaction with both Ms. Sun at school and her mother at home which facilitated English learning through semiotic intersubjectivity with both. Ms. Sun, as a young female teacher who had graduated from Suburbany, saw Julia as her 'shadow/reflection' of her past in terms of learning English, a ready aspect of Suburbany alumni 'co-membership' (Cazden, 1988). While revealing that Julia was not among the highest English achievers in her class, she claimed that she maintained enormous interest in English, just as she had done in the past:

'Julia is like me when I was in junior high school because I was also interested in English [...] Though she is not on the top list, she used to express to me that she wanted to take GEPT. She did maintain her interest throughout [...] I did not focus on school materials but on "listening" to the English TV programs [...] Julia also likes to watch such English TV programmes.'

This dialogically constructed intersubjectivity between them, arguably, played a pivotal role in Julia's subjective construction of 'becoming' a girl at least not rejecting English, as Ms. Sun used to be. Through their semiotic mediation in everyday classroom activities and through media like the 'communicating book' Julia was gaining something implicit from extended common understanding of shared learning activities. As she put it in her interview, *'I will not reject what I have to learn from the teacher.'* At home her mother's unique engagement and encouragement in her English learning appeared to be just as crucial:

'Mum said to me that my English sounds very "charming" (hao-ting) (chuckles) [...] When she is watching TV for learning Japanese, she will ask me to repeat that Japanese and reply by saying "why do you pick up so fast." Mum feels that my English and Japanese pronunciations are both charming.'

Julia was evidently delighted that her foreign language 'talent' was highly valued at home, where her mother's verbal approbation exactly paralleled Ms. Lu's, an indigenous Paiwan teacher, when she had attended cram school. As Ms. Lu recalled:

'I found I could do better and easier than my friends because my English pronunciation sounded better [...] teachers tended to compliment my pronunciation [...] that was why I had much interest in learning English.'

It is intriguing to discover such similarity between Julia and Ms. Lu which helped explain how Julia was empowered in the process of imagined 'becoming' through dialogically constructed intersubjectivity. Besides receiving verbal approbation, Julia would sometimes be consulted by her mum on English vocabulary; *'We will tease each other in simple English [...] though not lengthy words'*. Mother also subscribed to and read the same magazine, *'Let's Talk in English'*. Since Julia's English was generally better than her mum's, she said *'we will ask each other some questions'* regularly in learning English at home, further, distinctive reinforcement in sustaining her English learning interest.

A dream of 'becoming': While Julia revealed that *'Mum thinks my English is good and deserves making more efforts to keep it moving forward'*, she also said that she suggested that *'we can travel abroad and have fun if we have the chance'*. Studying abroad was exactly Julia's dream, knowing very well that it took good English to do so. She claimed that *'I will still major in English if I study abroad [...] I can learn English well, so I will try hard to make it better'*. With such an imagined future world in mind, she incorporated events that might facilitate it in her daily activities, particularly watching TV programs:

'I feel that the DJs of the "tourist programs" on TV are particularly good in English and are "lucky" enough to travel around different countries [...] Playing and learning at the same time (bian-wuan bian-xue) would be a great idea. I want to go for it because I feel it is fantastic to study and enjoy exotic views (simultaneously).'

Though she had never been abroad she was confident in saying, *'I feel like learning English well and have the chance to go abroad'*, positioning herself in an imagined future, serving to organise her own thoughts, manage her own feelings, and direct her own actions to fit the self she hoped to become. As she said in a more assertive tone, *'now I feel English is fine for me [...] I know I will take part in GEPT [...] so I need to move on'*. Indeed, according to her recent

email message to me in English, Julia is now attending a local public high school and has been working hard on her English. Most importantly, she still remembers her 'dream':

'I have just attended the Intermediate test of the GEPT. I hope I would pass the test. (Good luck to me!) I am studying hard in English, and I am a student of [...] Do not worry about me. I'll study harder for myself and my dream.' (e-mail received on 25th February, 2007)

When considering Julia as a central participant in English language learning, 'studying abroad' seemed to be a supreme goal directing her mediated actions and efforts. This imaginary future trajectory was one shared by other 'central participants', while those students not identified as 'central participants' imagined very different futures for themselves, for example, at Mountainside, as 'sporting coaches' or 'studying in Athletic Academies' instead. Jake's imagined future of becoming a 'national basketball player' exemplified peripheral participants' discrepant routes to English language. For those who did not have cultural resources as mediational tools, such as Julia did, simply projecting themselves forward as English language speakers was not possible. Moreover, the low or even 'zero' value of English at home for someone like Dave made it impossible for him to project his future identity in relation to English in a similar way to Julia.

In terms of value imbalance between home and school culture, education (including English learning) in the Paiwan community was not as valued as in other social groups, given its historico-cultural legacy and current employment opportunities. Paiwan students may deny school English not because they do not know about its existence but because they position the practice as low status at home. Following parents' footsteps as casual labourers or factory hands in urban areas was, concomitantly, positioned as high status within their peer sub-culture. The high status bestowed by the broader community upon athletic prowess further widened the value gap. It was rather difficult for Paiwan students to project themselves into different future from where they were, as Vincent (making foreign friends) and Vanessa (going abroad) might.

6.2.2 Social gender identities

Though nothing is claimed, apart from illustration, from the gender imbalance among our interviewees (see Table 6.1), seven girls and four boys among our central and four boys and one girl among peripheral participants, our data suggests emerging gender issues in participant students' English academic performance related to different socialisation processes experienced by girls and boys both at home and school and social expectation of gender roles within Taiwanese society.

There is much research into differential socialisation processes in early childhood. Research on pre-school children's role-play has suggested that children pay attention to diverse activities from a very early age and that the development of divergent interests and related achievements continue with age (Murphy, 1999; Murphy and Elwood, 1998). From a socio-cultural perspective, learning is viewed as a social practice taking place within various social settings involving home and school milieux, involving 'understanding and participation in on-going activity' (Lave, 1996: 9). The different socialisation processes experienced by girls and boys from early childhood carry forward into formal schooling, entailing 'gendered experience, choices and achievement' (Murphy and Elwood, 1998) in school settings. As Murphy (1999: 260) put it, 'parental and societal expectations influence the activities, pastimes and interests that young children pursue'. Murphy's arguments about the 'social expectations' of gender roles appear to shed light on our discussion of 'gendered experience, choices and achievement' as issues emerging among central and peripheral participants in English learning communities of practice.

6.2.2.1 Social expectation of gender roles in Taiwan

The common sense belief that 'men work outside and women work at home' within Taiwanese society has been amply evident in our findings as to parental encouragement of students' English learning. The underlying masculine legacy embedded within Taiwanese society can be nicely captured by the following exemplary Chinese idioms which traditionally place female in subordinate roles in everyday activities.

- '*lang-cai nu-mao*' (Intellectual husband and beautiful wife. - Marriage)
- '*fu-cheng fu-su*' (Husbands sing whilst wives follow. - Family)
- '*nan-geng nu-zhi*' (Men farming whilst women weaving. - Career)
- '*nu-zi-wu-cai-bian-shi-de*' (It is virtue of women to be non-intellectual.- Education)

A common thread running through these idioms is the asymmetric status of 'men superior and women inferior' across various circumstances involving everyday family life, career choices and education. It could be argued that these traditionally gendered idioms as cultural legacies reinforce masculinity and perpetuate its influence. Social expectations of gendered roles influence 'gendered experience, choices and achievement' within institutional settings. Historically school subjects in Taiwanese secondary education level are characterised as two major domains, '*li-ke*' (natural sciences e.g., mathematics, physics and chemistry) and '*wen-ke*' (social sciences e.g. language, geography and history). These two subject areas carry with them distinctive social values that entail masculine/feminine asymmetry that guides parental expectation that influence and may perturb young people's choices of or achievement in subjects. The generic norm '*nu-wen nan-li*' (girls social and boys natural science) echoes a common sense belief in 'girls soft while boys hard'. Such polarisation of cultural beliefs leads girls, encouraged by parents, relatives and school teachers, to engage in subjects, such as English as a foreign language, history and geography when they are required to select learning domains in the second year (year 11) of senior high school. At a deeper level of local meanings associated with Taiwanese learning culture, 'soft' subjects are held generically to demand much 'rote learning' and long-term concentration and dedication in order to achieve high attainment. Such long-term concentration and dedication is regarded as 'female territory'. Importantly, girls are expected to be 'quiet' (*an-jing*) and 'compliant' (*shun-cong*), female virtues in traditional Chinese culture. Those who can sit calmly indoors and engage in learning 'soft' subjects by rote best fit the moral code of being 'good' (*guai*) girls. Boys, in contrast, are expected to undertake 'hard' subjects, which have high status within society and activities related to them are valued as practical and beneficial for their successful, future careers. Most boys, therefore, are encouraged to be, for example, out-going, engaging in scientific discovery or physical fitness for athletic prowess. This broader socio-cultural background, the feminine legacy of

soft school subjects, may well have played a part in explain why more girls (7) than boys (4) as central participants and more boys (5) than girls (1) as peripheral participants in learning English. The values attached to English language learning certainly deserve further investigation, particularly with respect of low or 'underachieving boys' who seem to have to make considerable effort to manage their precarious positions through negotiating crossings into 'alien gender territory' (Iverson and Murphy, forthcoming).

6.2.2.2 The boundary crosser

Vincent, a timid boy, was one of the very few central participants in learning English at Mountainside who provided an important example of crossing into 'alien female territory'. Vincent's crossing has to be interpreted within the broader 'soft-hard' distinction between subjects commonly held within Taiwanese society, rather than from any specifically 'feminine legacy of English', as is well-documented in Iverson and Murphy's (forthcoming) research into school boys' outsider identity in learning English. The rising tide of learning English in Taiwan has been so overwhelming that it might be expected to cut across gender lines so as to eclipse the influence of a 'feminine legacy of English', such as has been employed in tackling boys' 'underperformance' in English, well-documented in many Western studies (e.g., QCA, 1998). In Vincent's case a dominant ethnic culture which valued athletic prowess for boys also has to be addressed when understanding his social gender identity in the process of learning English as he stayed indoors reading or watching TV, keeping away from the assumed 'male territory' of outdoor sports. What was at stake was how he experienced balancing between membership identity with male peers and his subjective interest in learning English, while keeping a coherent, gender identity. Jake, the athletic dreamer and Vincent's classmate, one of the many boys who could not do English well and who claimed that no one in his class went to cram school, including Vincent, assuming that no Paiwan student would ever do so, described Vincent as *'the only boy who can sit at the table reading for three hours at home'*, attributing Vincent's good academic work to this ability to *'sit at the table reading'* for long hours, an activity alien to boys like him. It could be argued that it was Vincent's parents who made possible his central participation, though the process whereby they did so was not without conflict. Though Vincent's mother did not particularly

address gendered differences in doing sport, her account revealed a worrying struggle about Vincent not being sporty, though it advantaged his schoolwork:

'I used to ponder why Vincent does not like sports [...] we try to encourage him to be "outstanding" in schoolwork. [...] But sometimes we will still encourage him to walk out after staying home for the whole day reading or watching TV. I will send him "out of the door" (gan-chu-men) for some exercise [...] Indigenous kids are usually "restless" (hao-dong) and "agile" (min-jia). I think his classmates are far more agile than him.'

It could be argued that Vincent's mother experienced, implicitly or explicitly, tension between masculine/feminine asymmetry played out in indigenous culture, even though she knew the importance of academic study. His crossing into 'alien female territory' by staying home for long hours reading or watching TV again seemed to against the masculinity of athletic prowess embedded within Mountainside school culture. That he was unusual in doing so attested to the relevance of issues of gender identity to why more boys than girls became peripheral participants in English in learning communities, such as those at Mountainside.

6.2.3 Language identity and competition

In discussion of classroom interaction in Chapter Five, five different languages, the predominant one of instruction (Mandarin), the target language (English) and three ethnic mother tongues (Hakka, Paiwan and Hokkien), were seen to be used. In Hakka Rural some high-ability students were found to reject speaking their mother tongue because of its low status and seemingly inferior associated cultural valence. At the same time, given the rising tide of learning Hokkien alongside English for economic success encouraged by the recent political climate in Taiwan, asymmetry and competition among these five languages appears inevitable. Asymmetrical values attached to languages make it possible for ethnic languages (Hakka and indigenous Paiwan) to be 'jammed' between English and other high status languages (Mandarin and Hokkien) with consequences both for language in practice and emerging social identities in learning English.

6.2.3.1 Invisible Hakka identity

Compelling anthropological studies support the fact that a common language has been particularly pivotal in the definition of Hakka identity (Cohen, 1996; Martin, 1996). Initially the phenomenon of 'invisible Hakka' (*yin-xing ke-jia*) arose from historical tension between ethnic groups, particularly Hakka and its Hokkien neighbors on the western plains, leading to 'suppressed' Hakka identity. This social phenomenon has been accelerated by 'natural extinction' as 'spoken Hakka has accepted a great number of loan words and is losing place to Hokkien and Mandarin' (Yang, 1991, cited in Martin, 1996: 192). As noted in Chapter Three, notions of an apparently collective 'invisible Hakka identity' crystallised following well documented riots between social groups, predominantly over scarce land resources. Recent political influences on the value of languages spoken by different social groups have appeared to engender further deterioration in Hakka identity.

The dying Hakka language appears to co-constitute the existence of 'invisible Hakka'. Evidence suggests that urban Hakka migrants have tended to conceal their ethnic identity, speaking Mandarin and Hokkien languages for cultural recognition from urbanite Mainlanders and Hokkien. Mr. Yuan's early, urban school life may help here to picture such relationships between Hakka language and identity. The Class E English teacher at Hakka Rural School, he was a genetic Hakka born in a Hakka community, brought up by grandparents and schooled in urban Kaohsiung for over 18 years from Year 4. He related his experience urban life regarding Hakka speaking and identity as follows:

'People liked to ask me to speak a few lines of Hakka as long as they acknowledged my Hakka identity. I have grown up like this [...] So, in the past, when they (i.e., urban Hakka) grew up and did not speak Hakka. They tended to become "invisible Hakka" because lots of them chose to become "invisible" due to their humble status within Taiwanese society.'

Mr. Yuan further pointed out that Hakka students tended to believe the 'myth' (*mi-shi*) that they were not Hakka as long as they do not speak Hakka language. The prevailing 'invisible Hakka' identity seems to invoke another issue of language choice within school settings due to value asymmetry attached to Hakka language.

6.2.3.2 Language behaviour and identity

The linguistic hierarchy documented in the history of Taiwan in Chapter Three seems to have played an important part in Hakka people's failure to recognise their own ethnicity. Mandarin, promoted as the national language, has become 'high language' while Hakka and other minority dialects have become 'low languages', such asymmetrical language status, together with 'invisible Hakka identity', found to be associated with Hakka students' pursuit of status through academic achievement. Based on her classroom experience of nearly six years, Ms. Mei, English teacher of Class F at Hakka Rural contended that:

'Speaking Hakka seems to represent "low achievers". There used to be high and low ability classes five years ago [...] (now mixed-ability classes) I found those low achievers tended to speak Hakka, but students from the high-ability class were not willing to speak Hakka with me. They said (an-shia) (Hakka dialect) which meant "very shameful" (hen-diu-lian). They felt it was shameful to speak Hakka [...] very "lousy" (nan-ting) which did not sound like a "high-class" (gao-ji) language.'

It was intriguing to discover that high ability students tended to denigrate their mother tongue as something 'very shameful', 'lousy', not sounding like a 'high-class' language. Hakka language was being used as to define not only ethnic boundary and social group boundaries but also social status categories within Hakka. Asymmetrical values attached to speaking Hakka, Mandarin and English entailed language choices and identities.

Ms. Mei painstakingly tried to 'rebuild' students' self-esteem and her personal learning purposes through encouraging Hakka speaking. She intended to learn this 'lovely' but nearly 'extinct' language which sounded especially 'delicate for girls to speak'. She even attempted to persuade her students by saying 'it is not

lousy to speak Hakka [...] it sounds lovely [...] I even want to learn it and hope you could teach me.' Her own interpretation was that her non-Hakka ethnicity contributed to her initial exclusion by students, among whom she had more chance speaking Hakka with low achievers. Her constant effort to get access to students' culture and ethnic dialect in her pedagogy enabled Ms. Mei eventually to gain Hakka membership identity:

'I can now get along easily with them because I speak Hakka [...] I am even able to interfere with their smoking behaviour successfully [...] They accept me because I recognise their mother tongue.'

In terms of the interpersonal plane, Ms. Mei's account demonstrates that a teacher's access to students' mother tongue and ethnic culture had significant pedagogic implications, as discussed in Section 5.3.2.1. On the personal plane, however, what was intriguing was that Hakka mother tongue was labelled 'low language' in high-ability students' everyday discursive practices. In terms of language identity, Hakka students' language behaviour and identity from within the social sub-groups to which they belonged was nicely captured by Tajfel and his colleagues' (1984: 5) argument:

'In our judgment of other people, in forming stereotypes, in learning a second language [...] we do not act as isolated individuals but as social beings who derive an important part of our identity from the human groups and social categories we belong to; and we act in accordance with this awareness.'

Penuel and Wertsch's (1995) 'mediated-action approach' to identity that places learning as inseparable from issues of practice, community and meaning, highlighting the notion of 'identity in practice', also helps in conceptualising identity as a continuous process of on-going development of agency operating with mediational means. In the case of Hakka community, identity represents negotiating the meanings of the experience of membership in social communities through speaking or not speaking Hakka language.

Table 6.7 indicates that Mandarin has the highest, historically situated social status. To speak or not to speak Mandarin in Hakka Rural entailed a social claim. By articulating Mandarin with peer classmates or classroom teachers,

high-ability students were claiming higher social position to match the superior academic status to which they aspired. Hakka high-ability students' specific language choices conveyed signs of speakers' claims to certain social positions, while Hakka language indexed low-status Hakka identity. Hakka high-ability students' Mandarin speaking could be interpreted as 'speech camouflage' used to hide their true ethnic 'colour' of 'low-status identity'. Such identity was mediated, co-constructed and, perhaps, reinforced, by certain non-Hakka teachers' classroom practice when, according to Ms. Mei, they proscribed Hakka speaking in class:

'They would warn students not to speak Hakka. Those who speak Hakka in class will be punished (chuckles) [...] because they think students who speak Hakka are doing that "on purpose" (ke-yi-de) (a naughty behaviour).'

In contrast to Ms. Mei's use Hakka mother tongue seeking common ground for bridging home and school knowledge in everyday pedagogic practice, some teachers' negation of Hakka symbolic resources within classroom settings apparently not only denigrated the already humble Hakka identity but also gave rise to potential linguistic (and perhaps ethnic) discrimination. It could be argued that the issue of Hakka identity did not seem to have direct linkage with learning English as a foreign language. However, given the asymmetric value attached to different languages, issues of Hakka language and 'identity in practice' do have strong implication here, especially as English has become a new form of 'high language'. Emerging competition among the five languages within Taiwanese society and resulting social inequality should not be underestimated.

6.2.3.3 Language identity and competition

The ethnic hybridity of Taiwan, composed of four major ethnic groups, each with its own mother tongue (i.e., Mandarin, Hokkien, Hakka, Paiwan tribal dialect), makes possible a multilingual social reality not only across geographical regions but even within school walls. Though it has been governments' intention to pursue 'multilingualism' for social equality over the past two decades, turning that effort into reality has been anything but straightforward. It is a history riddled with cultural, political, economic, ethnical and linguistic prejudice. In recent years, following Taiwan's economic growth

and dedication to competition in global commerce, English language has been reinforced and recognised by governments and most private business sectors as the key to success. As a new form of 'high language' it muddies the water of local 'multilingualism', provoking further language identity clash, conflict and competition. Following DPP victory in two presidential elections after 2000, Hokkien language has also gained prestige as a new form of high language. A schematic comparison of the five languages spoken in Taiwanese society outlined in Table 6.7 highlights a hierarchical linguistic order beneath which there are growing tensions. The values 1-4 represent a rank order based not on empirical research but may be taken as a widely shared common sense viewpoint.

Table 6.7: Ranking of languages among Taiwanese social groups

Language	Hokkien	Mainlander	Hakka	Indigenous	Feature
<i>English</i>	2	2	2	2	International
<i>Mandarin</i>	1	1	1	1	Official/National
<i>Hokkien</i>	3	3	3	3	Neo-political
<i>Hakka</i>	N/A	N/A	4	N/A	Ethnic dialect
<i>Paiwan</i>	N/A	N/A	N/A	4	Ethnic dialect

Although over-simplified, this ranking points to a reality that learning English for some students from certain social groups may not be a straightforward journey. Learning English is a socio-cultural process imbued with value asymmetry and identity formation which a socio-cultural approach allows us to delineate. Two issues may be identified at the outset. Students from two ethnic minority groups (Hakka and indigenous Paiwan) are being encouraged to learn their nearly died-out mother tongues, as well as compulsory English. Given a similar amount of hours devoted to English learning across schools, based on a standardised curriculum, those minority students may be positioned unequally in learning at least two languages (i.e., English and mother tongue). The complexity of multilingual learning engenders imbalance of language identities and hence potential conflicts. Importantly, it reveals individual persons' identity formation as it moves through embodiment of linguistic behaviour and conflicting value positions in socio-cultural milieux. Among those four ethnic languages spoken by specific social groups, Hakka language stands out as a distinctive example, Hakka students' invisible identity appearing to be historically-culturally rooted in Hakka language as an 'ethnic speech marker' (Giles and

Johnson, 1981), carrying within itself the possibility of polarisation of linguistic behaviours, such that high achievers tend to speak Mandarin at school whilst low performers speak Hakka.

6.2.3.4 The rising tide of learning Hokkien

If we perceive learning Mandarin Chinese as politically-driven and English as economically-driven, the current rising tide of learning Hokkien could be characterised a 'neo-political' force. As soon as the DPP, the biggest local Taiwanese political party, took over from the KMT as the ruling party in 2000, local Taiwanese identity became enormously celebrated, learning ethnic Hokkien language regarded as representing 'Taiwanese identity' in contrast to the old 'Chinese identity'. In this regard, Hokkien language is on the rise well above the other two ethnic languages. After English, learning Hokkien has become a resource both within the political register and the economic order in gaining entrance into the Taiwanese labour market.

However, the rising tide of learning Hokkien, alongside English, poses problems to the two minority groups in terms of language learning within school settings. It could be argued that the shift of political power from Mainlanders to local Taiwanese somehow complies with implicit trends of cultural and political localisation. On such a view, the recovering and preservation of ethnic minority languages (mother tongues or 'home-soil') has been recognised by governments as a means to regenerate local identities. Following the implications of the 'home-soil' (*xiang-tu*) language policy, ethnic culture and history was introduced in the primary school curriculum after 1997. 'Mother-tongue education' at both primary and secondary school level has been encouraged in an attempt to stem decline in the use of ethnic minority languages. Though whether learning more languages synchronically means worse remains disputable as an open question and has not been dealt with in this study, it is widely believed that language learning is not a value-free practice.

Tension, therefore, exists among Mandarin, English, Taiwanese and mother-tongues that places students from certain social groups in a quandary about how to allocate their language priorities. English is the lingua franca of global commerce, increasingly essential for achievement of business success and

symbolising high aspiration. In particular, it has become a minimum requirement for applicants who plan to attend Senior High Schools or take University degree courses. On the other hand, mother-tongue education carries the missions to bridge the linguistic gulf that has gradually arisen between grandparents and grandchildren which has arisen from the considerable shift of the younger generation from their mother tongues to Mandarin, and to save Hakka and indigenous tribal languages because they are to be in an immediate danger of extinction.

6.2.3.5 Emerging social inequality

As Huang (2000: 146) pointed out, in Taiwan 'local languages are facing stiff competition on two fronts', Hakka and indigenous dialects having to compete with Mandarin as official/national language, and English, a robust competitor, especially as Taiwan moves toward further engagement in international trade and politics. As Fishman (1989: 126) put it:

'the tension between the requirements of modernization and those of authentication. The one [...] is constantly straining toward newer, more rational, more efficient solutions to the problems of today and tomorrow. The other [...] is constantly straining toward purer, more genuine expression of the heritage of yesterday and of long ago.'

Fishman's delineation of such a linguistic dilemma reminds us the potentially conflicting themes of language and localisation (purer) or globalisation (newer), suggesting the inevitability of emerging 'language competition', which is taking place in many countries in the world, like Wales, Canada and Australia. However, it could be argued that with the increasing political status of Hokkien people and its Taiwanese language, the two minority languages in Taiwan are encountering 'three fronts' of competition, rather than merely two. Though mother-tongue education embedded in the school curriculum aims to celebrate ethnic identities and the preservation of minority languages from extinction, 'the heritage of yesterday' still elicits less attention from students than others, especially English. It could be argued that an emerging inequality is at issue as long as mother-tongue education policy is to be enforced, for only students from minority groups have to spend time learning mother tongues which they may not value on a personal level or deem unworthy of speaking because no longer

practiced in socially organised activities with which they wish to be associated. In comparison with their urban counterparts there is a case for arguing that these minority students are positioned unequally by policymakers encouraging or forcing them to save endangered languages, regardless of their existing low performance in learning English. This new and worrying divide is opening up a bigger gulf not only between urban and rural regions than we have had for many decades but also among other social groups within Taiwanese society.

Given this, it is little wonder that institutional settings have responded to mother-tongue education policy with mixtures of indifference and resistance. As Mr. Zhao, the senior English teacher and chief administrator of the Student's Academic Office in Hakka Rural put it:

'mother-tongue education policy is optional, so we do not enforce this policy (followed by a few seconds in silence) They [Hakka students] still learn Hakka mother tongue at primary school level.'

It is evident that the reconceptualisation of this policy in Hakka Rural School exemplified how school ethos or vision mediates global-political and individual planes as practical action in responding to the quandary of language competition where, imperceptibly, global and political influences are at work in the way students draw upon and speak various languages as they manage their social identities at home, with friends and at school.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: English as situated practice

Learning English in Taiwan has become a primary economic concern as industry has recognised the need to compete within global markets in which trade is carried out predominantly in English. However, national, longitudinal achievement data on English language learning has consistently demonstrated a worrying urban-rural divide. The thesis has tried to throw light on this national achievement 'gap' between candidates living in urban (i.e., Hokkien and Chinese Mainlander) and rural locales (i.e., Hakka and indigenous ethnic groups). Its purpose has been to investigate how Year 8 students (aged 13 or 14) from different ethnic groups learn English in four secondary schools representing different social groups within Taiwanese society. As a socio-cultural study it has aimed to explore processes of learning English as a foreign language by focusing successively on state, community, institutional and individual aspects of everyday language learning practices. Research questions related to students' learning motivation, the relationships between ethnic groups and achievements in English language and potentially widening inequalities between social groups arising from heightened political pressure to learn English.

This study claims to have used an innovative research design based on socio-cultural theoretical approaches to learning that drew on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991), Rogoff and Lave (1984), Stafford (1995), Wenger (1998) and Wertsch (1991, 1995, 1998). In order to explore differential achievement in English and the interweaving of relationships between ethnic culture and English language learning in schools, at home and in the community, a complex research design using multiple methods and analytical tools for multi-layered analysis was needed. Questionnaires adapted from Scribner and Cole's (1981) work were used to assess students' engagement in English in everyday, informal and formal institutional contexts, teachers' pedagogic orientation and parental activity and attitudes toward English learning. Semi-structured interviews were also undertaken with students, teachers and parents focusing both on interaction and practice in classrooms and parents' perceptions of their children's English learning and resources at home, in locales and schools. The third method employed was classroom observation whose construction and

analysis involved developing a typology of classroom interaction in order to investigate whether or not the cultures, languages and practices of ethnic groups were used by teachers to bridge students' cultures and English language learning. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of questionnaire and interview data was used to investigate socio-cultural resources, such as access to native English speakers, cram schools and foreign travel available to different ethnic groups.

This chapter draws together and discusses key research findings and their implications, as well as suggestions for future research.

7.1 Discussion and synthesis of key findings

Building on Rogoff's three planes of analysis as general guidelines for exploration of socio-cultural processes of students' English language learning, this study's conceptual framework ranged from broader global and political planes to individual planes of analysis. Recognition of the mutuality of individual and socio-cultural environments requiring analysis at any one plane needs to be seen within others and it is to the possibilities of such a process of synthesis that we now turn.

7.1.1 Global and political framing

Chapter Three demonstrated an intimate interaction between 'global' and 'political' planes of analysis. Part of Taiwan's political reality resides in language divisions and oppression having historical roots among its differing ethnic groups. Economic imperatives have dominated the last half century of national existence. Learning English as an international language has become vital to its economy in terms of providing access to the world community, viewed as one of the keys to success in Taiwan's economic globalisation and modernisation. This has raised awareness across the population of the need to learn English and the linkage of doing so to career trajectories. People have come to recognise that English proficiency is intimately linked to economic and personal earning potential.

Explosion of interest in and pressure to learn English has underpinned social policy changes which have included the introduction of new curriculum, downward extension of the starting age for learning English in the public school system and introduction of a national English proficiency accreditation system. For example, the 'Grade 1-9 Curriculum' required by the MOE in Taiwan since 2001 institutionalised English learning as early as primary level grade 5 (age 10) and extended it to Years 3 and 4 in 2005, with many schools using their autonomy to extend it even further to Years 1 and 2 to meet parental expectations. To further encourage the study of English, the official GEPT accreditation system for learners at all levels of proficiency was introduced in 2000. Successful candidates are awarded certificates of achievement which have rapidly become one of the most important basic admission and graduation criteria for both senior secondary and higher education. Record numbers of participants have entered the GEPT each year and developing better English ability has become an overt pressure upon young people in Taiwan at every school level (see Section 3.2.1).

Given the explicitly heightened political pressure to learn English to ensure Taiwan's place in the global economy and its impact on and relations with localities, regions and ethnic cultures, this study has the potential to make a major contribution to understanding the politics of educational and economic inclusion which begin at the interface between national politics and such variations.

7.1.2 The interface between politics and localities

The major findings of Chapter Four demonstrated that everyday access to English and informal out-of-school resources varied substantially between ethnic groups. This variation positioned students differentially with respect to formal school English learning and explains in some measure the consistent, urban-rural, achievement 'divide'. Although Hokkien, Chinese Mainlander and Hakka parents tended to value English language learning highly, different out-of-school resources were available to students in these groups. The findings suggested that ethnic groups orient to the world, making sense of and having values that reflect the historical legacies of their ethnic communities. As such, values embedded in ethnic cultural legacies, implicitly or explicitly, inform family

values and regulate students' English learning activities. For example, Chinese mainlanders, traditionally workers within the public sector as civil servants and Hokkien association with entrepreneurial, business employment typify the career routes of the two, major urban groups who recognise formal education at higher levels as the expected pathway for their children (see Section 4.2.2). The values embedded within the culture of the indigenous Paiwan group, in contrast, meant that athletic prowess and physical labour had high status, to which parents tended to guided their children rather than school based practices.

Section 4.2.1 showed that regional differences that prevail across students' experiences of English in various settings appear to be reflected in annual NBC exam attainment scores. The 'urban-rural divide' which they reveal cannot be simply interpreted as an issue of geography, except in the sense that different ethnic groups experiencing resource disparity have traditionally resided in specific locales. It has complex socio-historical roots that have led to the values, norms, beliefs and cultural resources of these groups positioning students differentially with respect to learning English. At the extremes, in terms of our data, these were exhibited in the devotion of Chinese mainlanders to high level, formal education for their children and indigenous Paiwan lack of aspiration to extended education as a route to upward mobility. Differences in wealth, relations to job-markets, life-styles, child-rearing and other family arrangements undergirded cultural traditions ensuring that urban-rural difference were never a single issue of geography but of socio-cultural resources available in locales arising from ethnic historical legacies and current ruling group realities.

7.1.3 The interface between localities and institutions

Examination of how socio-cultural contexts influenced the values that each group attached to learning English showed that they tended to regulate access to English as culturally organised activities. What families can afford and are inclined to supply is embedded within ethnic group cultures and values (see Chapter Four). School cultures and 'visions' were found to respond to national curriculum change reflecting central government political pressure to learn English. School visions also tended to be informed by ethnic values, especially among rural groups (see Chapter Five). Differences of ethnic, home and school

values regulated everyday access to English, informal out-of-school resources and formal school practices.

Although Hokkien, Chinese Mainlander and Hakka parents valued English language learning highly, differential out-of-school resources were available to students of these groups, of which cram school attendance was the most important. It was particularly valued in Hakka ethnic culture, although predominately parent-pressured rather than student-motivated. Indigenous groups were the only ones to which cram schooling was unavailable in mountain areas, commonly interpreted as a resource disparity but within our socio-cultural approach regarded as a lack of socio-cultural tools for facilitating English learning in the locality. The two Paiwan central participants, Vanessa and Vincent, (see Section 6.1.2.4), for example, although constrained by public lack of socio-cultural tools, including cram schools, in the region, had the benefit of parental, long-term dedication to help them access such tools.

School institutional values reflected both broader political forces concerning national curriculum, bilingualism and elitism and ethnic culture. For example, indigenous athletic prowess at Mountainside, without doubt, collectively considered as a ticket out of poverty, toward dignity, to which classroom time could be sacrificed and framed students' everyday participation in learning activities, while the bilingual policy of Urbany aimed at engendering a degree of students English language immersion on school campus. Value symmetry between home and school cultures were also found to be an important social forces regulating English learning. Home values, in particular, greatly differentiated students' learning motivation and academic performance. Parental involvement in and provision of time and opportunity for students' language learning significantly shaped directions in which they were encouraged to go, particularly with respect of higher education entry. Mainlander parents, for example, provided most opportunities, such as foreign cultural experiences via travel or residence abroad and foreign teacher tutoring that, in turn, engendered children's English learning motivation. In contrast, rural students appeared to be relatively impeded by lower parental involvement in their education with respect of academic achievement in English, though Hakka groups have historically focused upon and valued education, though rural dwellers (see Section 3.1.4). We should also note that although, for most indigenous students, mismatch between what was going on in their everyday

lives outside school (e.g., poverty, alcoholism, modern migration of parents) and inside school (e.g., education, English lessons) could plausibly be taken to account for their lowest English achievement among the four groups, the cases of Vanessa and Vincent exemplified symmetric match between home and school values on education and concomitant high English achievement.

7.1.4 The interface between school and individuals

The major findings concerning pedagogic instruction in Chapter Five revealed that, as students' pivotal social partners in school settings, teachers who shared students' ethnicity and dialect (Hakka or Paiwan) could draw on joint cultural understanding to bridge their worlds and the academic one of learning English as formal, institutional practice. Teachers without this shared cultural knowledge and language had more difficulty in achieving intersubjective meanings with their students. Access to students' ethnic knowledge and minority dialect, therefore, appeared likely to be an important socio-cultural resource aiding English learning. For example, Ms. Lu, the Paiwan English teacher in Mountainside, improvised the use of mother tongue to enhance students' cognitive development. Her appeal to shared understanding and experience of Paiwan language appeared to bridge students' home and school knowledge effectively (see Section 5.3.2.2). Ms. Lin, her Hokkien colleague, appeared to have difficulty sharing students' cultural understanding and language, her identity inhibiting her capacity to recognise and value local culture in ways available to an insider (see Section 5.3.3.1), such as might assuage the 'mismatch' of her own and her students' priorities.

Such within-school comparison threw light to our understanding of how some teachers were able to achieve 'a sense of intimacy' using ethnic, cultural tools, entailing both a sense of 'co-membership' and a state of 'intersubjectivity' that aids English learning, while others produced 'mismatch' or 'value asymmetry' between themselves and students within classroom settings. The impact of match or mismatch between school and out-of-school knowledge has, therefore, particularly caught our attention. Western, decontextualised school learning has been widely challenged in the research literature (e.g., Lave, 1988, 1993). The 'match' that connects what is going on in students' lives outside school and teacher's pedagogy has both cognitive functions and affective significance.

Such 'bridging' means that students' decontextualised school learning is brought alive through contexts in their everyday lived-in world, if a situated learning model is followed (see Section 1.2.4.2).

It could be further argued that 'mismatch' may have more consequences for some groups' access to English and less for others. For example, if teachers fail to draw on the everyday cultures of urban, Chinese Mandarin speakers who already have many socio-cultural tools to help them access English, including outside school practice within cram school settings, we should not expect them to be particularly disadvantaged. However, for rural students with fewer local, socio-cultural resources, such instructional 'mismatch' may serve to alienate them further from English as formal, institutional practice.

7.1.5 Individual pathways

Drawing from all planes of analysis this study has suggested that individual students' access to English followed complex trajectories that often reflected tensions relating to broader ethnic, gender and social class backgrounds (see Chapter Six). Their social identities as English language learners developed through experience of conflicting value positions in English language learning communities of practice. Learning English, therefore, was found to be a value-laden practice exacerbated by heightened political pressure to do so to ensure Taiwan's place in the global economy. For example, Yvonne (see Section 6.1.2.2.1), the library-goer and a central participant in a high-ability class at Suburbany, was an ethnic Mainlander whose parents were civil servants. Their high educational aspirations and considerable familial resources, including strong parental encouragement and frequent foreign travel, that aided English learning made it possible for her to attend and enjoy life in a high-ability class. Yvonne was provided with institutional school pedagogic practice resources which included positive teacher-student intersubjectivity and abundant experience of foreign teachers. The mutual embeddedness of various planes of analysis, including community, school and home practices, interconnected with her personal identity and led to her academic competence. Yvonne's ability to envision a positive self-identity through positioning herself in an 'imagined future' of academic success was, therefore, not a result of any single contributory factor, such as might be understood from a single plane of analysis.

In contrast, Howard, the black sheep at Urbany (see Section 6.1.2.2), a peripheral participant who had 'given up' learning English, had a totally different English learning trajectory to Yvonne. Though he had similar urban socio-cultural (including bilingual school experience) and familial resources (including high parental education background), he failed to enjoy them at all due to value asymmetry between home and school. While he neither enjoyed Ms. Wu's pedagogic instruction, nor shared his school's bilingual vision, Howard's repulsion from English was a result of interweaving relationships between various planes of analysis.

Among rural students, both Vincent (see Section 6.1.2.4.1) and Jake (see Section 6.1.3.3) were indigenous attendees at Mountainside, but also with very distinctively divergent English learning trajectories. Vincent, a timid boy, had none of Yvonne's hands-on, urban, socio-cultural resources at the interface between locale and institutions. However, he was well-provided with familial encouragement and arrangements for English learning, such as cram schooling. At the interface between institutions and individuals, he appropriated Ms. Lu's pedagogic instruction where Paiwan cultural tools were used to bridge school and out-of-school knowledge. At the personal level, however, his academic competence seemed to be in conflict with the broader, ethnic culture and values informed by privileged athletic prowess and physical labour to which parents guided children rather than school based learning. At the same time, his lack of attachment to 'male territory', social gender identities of outdoor sports and the perceived 'feminine legacy of English' (see Section 6.2.2.1.1) positioned him in a difficult situation. Jake, in contrast, was impelled by his ethnic culture toward the hope of becoming a future athlete as a way out of poverty. English was not a major concern in realising his athletic dream. It could be argued that his and the other student paths instanced here and in the text more generally illustrate the complex mutuality of different planes of socio-cultural forces which have to be taken into account if we want to chart the full range of processes and individual trajectories in learning English.

7.2 Learning English as situated practice

As noted in Chapter One, situated learning theory challenges cognitivist theories as failing to either recognise the heterogeneity of knowledge or take into account its situated character (see Section 1.3.4.2). This study, inspired by Vygotsky's ideas concerning the social formation of mind, draws on Scribner and Cole's (1981) notion of a 'practice account of literacy' and situated learning models in order to investigate English language learning in Taiwan. It has sought to do so in terms of broad, inter-connected planes of analysis, from the global and political, locale/region/ethnic culture, school as institutions to the individual. As a way of concentrating our argument, I will recapitulate the import of a neo-Vygotskian, situated, theoretical framework to this study and estimate its contribution to the research literature on situated learning theory.

7.2.1 Situated learning models

Scribner and Cole's (1981) study has brought us to understand a 'practice account of literacy' (see Section 1.3.4.1). The socially organised practice of literacy reminds us that learning a language is not merely knowing how to use (e.g., read or write a particular script) but applying this knowledge in specific, goal-directed activities. This understanding brought us to recognise the pivotal role of contexts of learning English and took our research design outside the classroom and school in order to examine language learning within historical, cultural and institutional settings. Through this lens, this study was able to see the mutual embeddedness of language and culture and the sets of values that make possible students', asymmetrical, everyday access to English. However, it has been contended here that we need to explore issues of English language learning from even broader perspectives.

Meanwhile, Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) have proposed that learning is not a discrete and isolated activity, but an integral aspect of active participation in broader 'communities of practice' which challenges 'individualistic problem-solving approaches' in school learning. They challenge the individualistic, decontextualised approaches to school learning generally revealed in this study which were often coupled with comparatively low,

everyday access to out-of-school milieux, apart from cram school attendance, which might easily be accepted as explaining why some students fail to learn English well. However, this explanation is too simple to explain the complex circumstances of English language learning within Taiwanese society. This study extended this with further broader level of investigation to consider the global political planes of analysis. In this vein, how school curriculum was reshaped by the Taiwanese government in response to global market pressure was also investigated in this study.

7.2.2 Using socio-cultural approaches

A situated learning model has allowed us to understand that learning English does not simply take place in isolated classrooms, as cognitivist theories or other conventional language acquisition theory tend to assume, but in complex and dynamic socio-cultural processes in which it is embedded in everyday socio-cultural, historico-political and economic worlds. Neo-Vygotskian studies have taken us thus far in seeing learning in general and literacy learning in particular as situated practice. However, a broader scope of investigation invoking multiple, as well as inter-connected, planes of analysis is still needed if we are to capture a sufficiently complex picture of language learning, such as a socio-cultural approach affords.

Socio-cultural theory poses particular challenges to conventional theories of learning because it questions deeply held, orthodox views about individualistic cognition by demonstrating that thinking takes place between people and between people and tools in situated settings. Socio-cultural research requires multiple methods and a multidisciplinary approach involving areas of psychological, sociological, anthropological and linguistic investigation. It overcomes methodological individualism rooted in traditional psychology and returns to recognise the dynamic relations of human mind, language and culture. It has opened the door for this study to search for innovative models in investigating language learning as situated practices in everyday, lived-in worlds, accomplished by viewing English learning from the broadest perspective and through various planes of analysis. Such an approach has afforded a viable explanation of our long-standing urban-rural divide in national, annual English achievement among junior high school students and by showing why some students but not others learn English language relatively well.

7.3 Limitations of the study

Every piece of research work occurs in a particular place, at a particular time and under particular circumstances, such that certain factors may render it atypical. This socio-cultural study used multi-method research design and well-developed research methods. However, certain limitations concerning research design, data collection and analysis are freely acknowledged.

As a sole researcher, constrained by the temporal limits of doctoral research, I am aware that limited length of time spent in the field in this study imposed major limitation on data collection. The cross-school comparative study design proved to be fruitful, allowing insightful comparison concerning learning ethos, cultural legacies and pedagogic patterns between schools and classrooms. This advantage, however, was gained at the cost of confining the length of stay in each school so that it potentially disadvantaged thick descriptions of students' change or development over longer periods. This limitation also made impossible the employment of cross-age comparison, longitudinal or ethnographic investigation, although I sought to produce a longitudinal-like method by mapping some student informants' change through e-mail contact (see Section 6.2.1.1.3).

I am also aware that the interpersonal level of analysis may comprise not only teacher-student but peer interactions, Vygotsky's (1978: 86) concept of the 'zone of proximal development' (ZPD) depicts students undertaking tasks 'through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers'. However, the study aimed only to explore teachers' pedagogic instruction as its major focus in terms of a specially designed typology. It is generally accepted in the research literature that teachers talk most in classrooms (i.e., the 'two-thirds' law) and most classroom studies have drawn upon teachers' pedagogic instruction rather than peer interaction. Peer interactions in group work sessions did take place in the classrooms which I observed, especially in the high-ability class in Suburbany School and the importance of peer interaction and collaboration should not be neglected in socio-cultural research (e.g., Forman and McPhail, 1993). My sin is one of omission induced by time and resource pressure; the study would surely be the richer had I been able to encompass them.

During the course of my fieldwork in the Hakka community it became clear that there was an intriguing, interlocking relation between ethnic identity and language choice. However, I was unable to elicit directly much by way of Hakka students' own accounts of their linguistic behaviour and identity in using Hakka dialect in school (see Chapter Six, Section 6.2.3.2). Although exploration of its relation to collective 'Hakka humble identity' appeared to be helpful in mapping their participation trajectories in learning English, most of the relevant data on this issue were drawn from teachers' voices rather than students' subjective accounts. Though it would have been fruitful to access the latter, it might not have been an easy task to 'dig' out such a highly sensitive issue from vulnerable informants, an ethnic and ethical dilemma which I would have liked to have solved as a researcher.

However, perhaps my greatest regret is that I failed to find the time to use more advanced statistical software in analysing questionnaire responses and possible relations between interview, observational and test score datasets. As noted in Chapter Two, questionnaire schedules were modified versions of Scribner and Cole's (1981) instruments which proved to be very fruitful, yielding 269 variables for analysis in the SPSS database for the students' questionnaire alone. Time limitations made it possible for me to indulge in analysis using other than descriptive analysis (i.e., frequencies) alongside clarifying time consuming interpretive insights. Moreover, parent and teacher questionnaires have even yet not been encoded into the SPSS database, though their use was instrumental in selecting student and parent interviewees. I have become acutely aware that research is always 'work in progress', fraught with exigency at the level of fieldwork relations and full of hard conceptual, as well as procedural, choices. Doctoral work is training process as well presentational event and much of what has been imperfectly completed to date requires further progress to be made in terms of both ideas and findings at my next, post-doctoral stage.

7.4 Implications of the study

Foreign trade has been the lifeline of Taiwan's economic development. Knowledge of and skill in English is, in large measure, equivalent to economic and academic success. This study has provided significant understanding of concerns arising in attempting to deal with socio-cultural aspects of learning English, both in the realms of research design and empirical findings. It has implications both within the academic community and beyond in policy arenas and professional institutions.

7.4.1 Academic implications

Socio-cultural research has historical roots inspired by Vygotsky's challenge to individualistic approaches to human mind and requires multiple methods, within multidisciplinary approaches involving areas of psychological, sociological, anthropological and linguistic investigation, to the understanding of human learning. Within the academic community, this socio-cultural investigation into English language learning in Taiwan has the potential to make a major contribution to international research on the pedagogy of English language learning. It informs theories of learning by highlighting how classroom activities are embedded within multiple settings involving ethnic cultures, family and community resources and school 'visions' or goals and underlining the integral need for cross-disciplinary integration in attempts to understand human learning.

7.4.2 Political and practical implications

Given the emphasis that Taiwanese governments have placed on English language learning as contributing to economic development within global markets, this study has the potential to make a major contribution to the politics of educational and economic inclusion. It is the first socio-cultural investigation of learning English as a foreign language in Taiwan, illuminating how different ethnic groups recognise, access and value English language and pointing out why some achieve less well than others in doing so. It suggests that teachers' capacity to share students' ethnic culture and mother tongue in pedagogical

practice facilitates their intersubjective meanings (Rogoff, 1990). Its findings illuminate why some socio-ethnic groups are relatively highly motivated to learn English and are able to gain privileged economic positions in job market. These insights can form the basis of recommendations to Taiwanese education practitioners, parents and policy makers concerned to improve young people's English language capabilities. Its major, practical implications can be disseminated through research and more directly practitioner-oriented publication and contact in Taiwan and abroad. In Taiwan, for example, its findings may be of benefit to: the individuals who have been directly concerned in their making, including parents and other, relevant contributors; those in formal school settings, particularly English teachers, administrators and principals, cram schools and local Supplementary Education Associations; and official, quango-like local and central state agencies, such as the Bilingual Living Environment Service System of the Executive Yuan, the Council for Hakka Affairs of the Executive Yuan and the Council of Indigenous Affairs of the Executive Yuan. Very specifically, statistical findings from questionnaire analysis highlighting urban-rural differences in the English language environments can be used in a further report (in Chinese) targeted at the three Taiwanese local Supplementary Education Associations located within the regions within which the research was undertaken (i.e., Kaohsiung city, Kaohsiung county and Pingtung county) to engender better understanding of their cram school education. A further report (in Chinese) can be aimed at policy makers from Taiwanese local and national education bureau, especially to the Bilingual Living Environment Service System (BLESS) of the Executive Yuan in Taiwan, the key agency pursuing the integrated establishment of a bilingual environment nationwide. Moreover, substantial insights into conflict of political and ethnic values attached to languages can be provided to target Hakka and indigenous ethnic groups through governmental institutions which exist to further discussion of differential problems of English language acquisition. It is hoped that such reports will form the basis of reflexive in-service training of key participants in the study and practitioners from other institutions in Taiwan.

7.5 Suggestions for future investigations

This study has provided significant findings for a better understanding of the concerns arising in attempting to deal with the broader historico-political and economic aspects of learning English as a foreign language. Further research could usefully follow up on issues that are clearly acknowledged as its limitations and implications. The first of these involves further work on the existing data base generated in this study, where the 269 variables yielded will be analysed using advanced statistical software and test. Interpretive insights gained in a study such as this could be usefully combined with more advanced quantitative analysis such as ANOVA and ANACOVA, and possible extensions of new analysis to factor analysis or logistic regression. Future socio-cultural research in the field of SLA or EFL may be well served by large-size investigation and comparison at a macro level of analysis charting how factors at this level may influence micro processes of language learning. Use of such advanced, quantitative technology may well deepen understanding of some issues and afford more generalised findings, particularly of the type that move policy makers' conceptions. If this is the case, it will be important for future researchers to train themselves in the use of statistical analytical options that are available specifically for use with socio-cultural design and data.

'History' or 'change' over time properly occupies centre stage within developmental studies concerning mind, language and culture. As Scribner (1997: 270) put it, 'social practice and activities change over time, and so do symbolic mediational means. Such transformations are to be understood as constructed historically through human action.' Therefore, history is the 'dominant motor of cognitive change'. It would be fruitful to take into account analysis of changing social practice which has become integral to an inquiry into language learning and development. This study has only explored students' English language learning in one single age group and further research should pay more attention to cross-age comparison or longitudinal designs as, for example, is the recent trend of SLA research, whether framed within Vygotskian socio-cultural theory (e.g., Lantolf and Thorn, 2006) or language socialisation theory (e.g., Watson-Gegeo, 2004), gradually accumulating in the literature. Further socio-cultural longitudinal research in SLA investigating the historical processes of students' language learning

practice, with focus on 'at what stage' (timing) and 'for how long' (time), as Ortega and Ibarra-Shea's (2005: 27) work has suggested, would contribute to mapping the developmental picture of learning a second or foreign language.

The limited length of time spent in the field in this study has potentially hindered thick descriptions of students' change or development in language learning. Further research should, through ethnographic investigation, where prolonged engagement may generate more convincing evidence for conceptualising, as well as contextualising, change or growth, pay attention to the impact of change or development of language learning over a long period of time, as presaged by Heath (1983) and, most recently, Vavrus (2002).

This study has managed only partially to describe teacher-student interactional patterns, with particular emphasis on teachers' pedagogic instructions. Our findings suggest that teachers who shared students' ethnicity and dialect were able to draw on this joint, cultural understanding to bridge school and outside school knowledge in learning English. Teachers who failed to share such cultural knowledge and language had more difficulty in achieving intersubjective meanings with their students. Further research could fruitfully pay more attention to the impact of such 'intersubjectivity' in learning English as a second or foreign language in terms of both affect and academic achievement. In a similar vein, further research should also pay greater attention to the impact of 'English-only' or 'English-plus' assumptions (e.g., Levine, 1993; Kenner, 2007), or 'code switching' functions (e.g., Adendorff, 1996; Cleghorn and Rollnick, 2002; Eastman, 1992) within bilingual or multilingual classrooms in order to explore if students' mother tongue used as a mediational means alters their higher mental functions.

While this study has provided initial evidence that broader, political issues concerning the state, economy, ethnic conflict and national curriculum had impact on language learning and identity, it has not focussed on the impact of emerging 'language competition' (see Chapter Six, Section 6.2.3.3) between the five languages used within Taiwanese society. A growing body of recent research has shown interest in exploring the political nature of language learning and use in complex first language or second language situations (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.5.2). Few studies, however, reflect upon the broader macro political impact on meso and micro levels of language learning

processes. Further research may pay more attention to and inform language policy on the impact of political issues in language, mind, culture and learning, rather than treating them as peripheral, in order to chart the whole range of language learning processes.

Evaluation, as a valid realisation of school knowledge (Bernstein, 1971, 1996), is an important feature of pedagogical processes. I am aware that socio-cultural researchers tend to reject 'cause-effect' and 'stimulus-response' explanatory science, emphasising 'the emergent nature of mind in activity', as Cole (1996) put it (cited in John-Steiner and Mahn, 1996: 195). This study has only used students, summative academic achievement among its criteria for selecting student interviewees. Further research may pay more attention to exploring the dynamic assessment potential indicated by Vygotsky's notion of the zone of proximal development. 'Formative' assessment, such as Lantolf and Poehner's (2004) 'dynamic assessment' (DA) should, arguably, be the focus in interactionist perspectives that foreground future development and possibilities rather than 'summative' or 'static' assessment emphasising past development. If this is the case, it will be important for future researchers to bear in mind that 'formative' assessment should not be taken for granted as a major source of interpretation or causation. Other planes of analysis have to be taken into consideration in order to account for the whole range of language learning processes in the lived-in world.

7.6 Closing remarks

This is probably the first socio-cultural study of English language learning in Taiwan where neo-Vygotskian approaches are gaining recognition within the field of education. It illuminates how different ethnic groups recognised, accessed and valued English language and points to why some ethnic groups achieve less well than others in learning English. It suggests that teachers' capacity to share students' ethnic culture and mother tongue in pedagogical practice facilitates intersubjective meanings. Findings illuminate why some socio-ethnic groups are motivated to learn English and are able to gain a privileged economic positions in job markets. These insights can be used to make recommendations to Taiwanese education practitioners, parents and policy makers who are concerned to improve young people's English language capabilities.

This situated learning account broadened our conceptions or relevant levels of socio-cultural processes of English language learning in Taiwan and widened the scope of their investigation. Its findings transcend existing understanding of the 'English divide' in Taiwan, shifting reliance on an over-simplified model of 'urban-rural divide' to a more nuanced modality that takes into account broader issues involving political, historical, economic and ethnic variations. Through this socio-cultural lens we may speculate that learning English in Taiwan may move towards a 'bigger gulf' between urban and rural schools and social groups than we have had for many decades if decontextualised school learning persists. Toward this end, we may be at risk of creating an 'educational apartheid' in secondary schools in the process of learning English, invoking renewed forms of social inequality within classroom settings and beyond.

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Appendix 1

Informed consent: Schools

Study Information Sheet – Schools

AIMS, OBJECTIVES and METHODS

This is a classroom-based study whose focus is on learning English as a foreign language as 'situated' practice. Classroom interaction between English teachers and pupils will be observed to explore some of the different cultural and social values and expectations embedded in family background that pupils from different ethnic groups bring with them into their classrooms. Eight teachers and approximately 300 families across four schools will be invited to complete questionnaires designed to help increase understanding of some of these underlying, background forces which influence learning English. This will take about 30 minutes. At a later stage, I will be inviting participating teachers and a few pupils for 30-minute interviews, the latter with their parents' permission. I will also seek to interview as many of these pupils' parents as possible. The results of this study will be used to provide the schools, their classroom teachers and pupils with better understanding of the socio-cultural forces influencing learning English.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The name of all those who help and their schools will be anonymised and any information they provide kept strictly confidential. Pseudonyms will be used to prevent identification of schools, teachers, pupils and families. The final report will be sent to Cardiff University, UK and used for academic purposes only.

PARTICIPATION

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and individuals are free to withdraw from it at any time. If participants decide to do so before completion of data collection, information about them will be destroyed and will not be presented in the report.

CONTACT

If you have any enquiries at any time concerning this study or its conduct, you are very welcome to contact me, Wen-Chuan Lin, at <17-1, Alley 10, Lane 3, Kaihsuan Road, Fongshan city 830>, at (07)-7459320 or by email at LWC55410@hotmail.com.

CONSENT

I have read and understood this information and am willingly to participate in this study.

Appendix 2

Informed consent: Teachers

Study Information Sheet – Teachers

AIMS, OBJECTIVES and METHODS

This is a classroom-based study whose focus is on learning English as a foreign language as 'situated' practice. Classroom interaction between English teachers and pupils will be observed to explore some of the different cultural and social values and expectations embedded in family background that pupils from different ethnic groups bring with them into their classrooms. Eight teachers and approximately 300 families across four schools will be invited to complete questionnaires designed to help increase understanding of some of these underlying, background forces which influence learning English. This will take about 30 minutes. At a later stage, I will be inviting participating teachers and a few pupils for 30-minute interviews, the latter with their parents' permission. I will also seek to interview as many of these same parents as possible. The results of this study will be used to provide your schools, their classroom teachers, pupils and parents with better understanding of the socio-cultural forces influencing learning English.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The name of all those who help and their schools will be anonymised and any information they provide kept strictly confidential. Pseudonyms will be used to prevent identification of schools, teachers, pupils and families. The final report will be sent to Cardiff University, UK and used for academic purposes only.

PARTICIPATION

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and individuals are free to withdraw from it at any time. If you decide to withdraw do so before completion of data collection, information about you will be destroyed and will not be presented in my report.

CONTACT

If you have any enquiries at any time concerning this study or its procedures, you are very welcome to contact me, Wen-Chuan Lin, at <17-1, Alley 10, Lane 3, Kaihsuan Road, Fongshan city 830>, at (07)-7459320 or by email at LWC55410@hotmail.com.

CONSENT

I have read and understood this information sheet and am willing to participate in this study.

Appendix 3

Informed consent: Students and parents

Study Information Sheet – Students and Parents

AIMS, OBJECTIVES and METHODS

This is a classroom-based study whose focus is on learning English as a foreign language as 'situated' practice. Classroom interaction between English teachers and pupils will be observed to explore some of the different cultural and social values and expectations embedded in family background that pupils from different ethnic groups bring with them into the classroom. Along with the teachers whose classes will be observed, you and your child are among approximately 300 families being invited to complete a questionnaire designed to help increase understanding of some of these underlying, background forces which influence learning English. This will take about 30 minutes. At a later stage, I will be inviting a few pupils and their parents for 30-minute interviews with but only with their permission. Interviews will be audio-taped, when convenient, during recess periods. The results of this study will be used to provide the schools, their classroom teachers, pupils and parents with better understanding of the social forces influencing learning English.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The name of all those who help and their schools will be anonymised and any information they provide kept strictly confidential. Pseudonyms will be used to prevent identification of schools, teachers, pupils and families. The final report will be sent to Cardiff University, UK and used for academic purposes only.

PARTICIPATION

You and your child's participation in this study are absolutely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from it at any time. If you decide to do so before completion of data collection, information about you will be destroyed and will not be presented in the report.

CONTACT

If you have any enquiries at any time concerning this study or its conduct, you are very welcome to contact me, Wen-Chuan Lin, at <17-1, Alley 10, Lane 3, Kaihsuan Road, Fongshan city 830>, at (07)-7459320 or by email at LWC55410@hotmail.com.

CONSENT

I have read and understood this information and am willing to participate in this study.

Appendix 4

Informed consent: Students and parents - Chinese version

英國(威爾斯)卡地夫大學 研究訊息說明 – 學生與家長

背景與動機

個人擔任國中英語教師 12 年，深感學生的英語學習關鍵並不侷限於教室之中，學生的社會文化背景層面亦經常影響學生學習。根據 Vygotsky 與其他學者的理論，語言的發展與社會文化環境是密切交互作用的。因此，研究學生對學習英語語言的信念、動機以及相關背景因素將能有助於瞭解學生如何有效學習英語。

研究方法

本研究以質量並行的方式，採多元研究方法來探討學生學習英語的相關影響因素，從教室觀察探討教室師生互動，問卷調查學生(老師與家長)的「社會文化」背景因素，再以深度訪談追蹤成因。

益處

這項研究將藉由教室中言談類型的分析結果，分享您在教室中的師生互動類型，以及可能對學生產生的學習影響。此外，透過學生的問卷調查，將協助您深入瞭解學生各項的英語學習背景因素，進而提供您在教學上的重要參考。

隱密性

您的學校、學生與您本人，在報告中都將以匿名或假名的方式處理，任何可能會被指認出為您的訊息也將不會在報告中出現。研究結果論文報告將直接存放於英國卡地夫大學。

參與方式

參與本研究屬自願性質，您將可以在任何時間退出本研究。假如您在資料蒐集完成前退出研究，您的資料將被銷毀而不會在研究報告中呈現。

聯絡方式

如果您對本研究有任何疑問，您可以隨時來信至 高雄縣鳳山市凱旋路三巷十弄十七之一號。或來電 (07) 7459320，或以電子郵件 LWC55410@hotmail.com 聯絡本人。

Appendix 5

Questionnaires for Students

Class: _____ Name: _____ No: _____

Dear XXX:

This questionnaire is from a doctoral student at the School of Social Sciences in Cardiff University. I am currently researching how junior high students from different social groups in Taiwan learn English differently. I would be grateful if you could take a few moments to answer this confidential questionnaire.

The questionnaire should take about 25-30 minutes to complete. You will be asked to tick a box or write down your answer. Please be assured that all information provided by you will remain strictly confidential and anonymous. Thanks for your time and valuable feedback!

Wen-Chuan Lin
Cardiff University, U.K.

Part I. Learning English

1. At what age did you begin to learn English? _____
For how many years have you been learning it? _____
2. Did someone encourage you to learn it? Yes No
(If yes) Who? (Specify your relationship.) _____
Why? _____
3. Did you yourself want to learn it? Yes No
(If yes) Why? _____
4. Did anyone of your family know English? Yes No
(If yes, please fill in the following.)

Name	Exact genealogical relationship to you
------	--

- A.
- B.
- C.
- D.

5. When you first started to learn English, where did you study?

Yes No

- | | Yes | No |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. Cram school | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Private language school | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Private lesson (Tutorial) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. Self-help (e.g. cassettes, CDs) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. Computers software | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If the answer in E is yes, please specify: _____

6. Why are you studying English? Please tick as many boxes as appropriate.

Please tick here

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| A. It is a school requirement | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Because I wish to achieve a qualification | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. I enjoy this subject | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. I wish to study English at university | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. I want to study abroad | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F. I want to be able to travel abroad | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| G. I will use it for my future jobs | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| H. I want to make friends with foreigners | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I. I have relatives abroad who speak English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| J. I have friends abroad who speak English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| K. I enjoy studying languages | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. Learning English in school

7.1 Did you start learning English at...

Yes No

- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. Pre school, if yes please fill in the following. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Did you enjoy learning English? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Did you have a preferred method? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. Was learning English difficult? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. What methods have you experienced? | | |
| a. Whole class teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Group work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7.2 Did you start learning English at....	Yes	No
A. Kindergarten, if yes please fill in the following.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Did you enjoy learning English?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Did you have a preferred method?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Was learning English difficult?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. What methods have you experienced?		
a. Whole class teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Group work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.3 Did you start learning English at....	Yes	No
A. Primary school, if yes please fill in the following.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Did you enjoy learning English?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Did you have a preferred method?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Was learning English difficult?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. What methods have you experienced?		
a. Whole class teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Group work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.4 Did you start learning English at....	Yes	No
A. Junior high school, if yes please fill in the following.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Did you enjoy learning English?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Did you have a preferred method?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Was learning English difficult?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. What methods have you experienced?		
a. Whole class teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Group work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Do you now or did you ever using self-help materials to help learn English? (e.g. magazines, cassettes or text-books) Yes No
 If yes, which practice do you think most helpful? _____

9. Did you learn English through computers? Yes No
 A. If yes, please fill in the following.

What kind of practice	Specific description	Hours or classes a day/week
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.	Others, please specify	

B. Which practice on the computer did you think most helpful?

10. Have you ever learned English from foreign teachers? Yes No
 A. If yes, what are their nationalities? USA UK
 Canada Australia New Zealand Other
 B. Do you like their teaching? Yes No
 C. If yes, what is your impression of their teaching? _____

11. Have you ever returned to former English teacher(s) to help with English problem now? Yes No
 If yes, what problems? _____

12. Have you ever taken any English Proficiency test? Yes No
 If yes, what are these?
- | | Yes | No | scores |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------|
| A. GEPT (If yes, which level? _____) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| B. TOFEL | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| C. Others, please specify | | | |

13. Are any other school subjects that you think are important for pupils?

Please circle the following as appropriate.	All pupils	Boys	Girls
A. Chinese	1	2	3
B. Math	1	2	3
C. Science	1	2	3
D. Music	1	2	3
E. Geography	1	2	3
F. History	1	2	3
G. Physical Education	1	2	3
H. Sewing	1	2	3
I. Cooking	1	2	3
J. All subjects	1	2	3

14. What makes a good student? _____

.....Well doneKeep trying!.....

Part II. Use of English Literacy Everyday

Listening Practice

In what situations do you hear or listen to English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
1. Radio	1	2	3	4
2. TV	1	2	3	4
3. Video Films	1	2	3	4
4. Desk top	1	2	3	4
5. CD / Audio tapes Music	1	2	3	4
6. CD- Stories / Lessons	1	2	3	4
7. Movie theater	1	2	3	4
8. Live concerts	1	2	3	4
9. Live opera - Drama	1	2	3	4
10. Friends speaking	1	2	3	4
11. School teacher	1	2	3	4
12. Cram school teacher	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify _____				

Speaking Practice

In what circumstances do you speak English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
13. At home	1	2	3	4
14. In class	1	2	3	4
15. In cram school	1	2	3	4
16. In church	1	2	3	4
17. On the phone	1	2	3	4
18. On desktop	1	2	3	4
19. On the street	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify _____				

Reading Practice

In what circumstances do you read English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
20. Newspaper	1	2	3	4
21. TV Program	1	2	3	4
22. Home video	1	2	3	4
23. Story book / Novel	1	2	3	4
24. House object	1	2	3	4
25. School lesson	1	2	3	4
26. Film in theater	1	2	3	4
27. Letter	1	2	3	4
28. E-mail	1	2	3	4
29. Web-site	1	2	3	4
30. Road sign	1	2	3	4
31. Street Advertisement	1	2	3	4
32. Shopping	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify				

Writing Practice

In what circumstances do you write English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
33. Take notes in class	1	2	3	4
34. School work	1	2	3	4
35. Keep diaries	1	2	3	4
36. Birthday card	1	2	3	4
37. Keep any record	1	2	3	4
38. Letter	1	2	3	4
39. E-mail	1	2	3	4
40. Chat room	1	2	3	4
41. Ordering goods	1	2	3	4
42. Shopping memos	1	2	3	4
43. Signature	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify _____				

44. Is there anything in your house written in English? Yes No

If yes, please describe in the following.

A.

B.

C.

D.

45. Is there anything in your school written in English? Yes No

If yes, please describe in the following.

A.

B.

C.

D.

46. Have you seen anything in the town written in English? Yes No

If yes, please describe in the following.

A.

B.

C.

D.

47. Have you ever been asked to do something special because you know English? Yes No

If yes, please describe _____

48. Have you ever asked anyone else to do something for you because they could speak, read, or write English? Yes No

A. If yes, please describe what this was for? _____

B. What is her/his relationship to you? _____

49. Have you taught anyone how to speak, read, or write English? Yes No

A. If yes, what's her/his relationship to you? _____

B. How do you teach? _____

50. Has knowing English helped you in any way? Yes No

If yes, how? _____

Part III. Demographic Questionnaire

1. A. Age: _____
B. Sex: F M
C. Ethnicity: Chinese mainlander Fukienese
 Hakka Indigenous (Tribe: _____)
D. Do your parents come from different ethnic background?
 Yes No
If yes, please specify their ethnicity:
Father: Mainlander Fukienese Hakka Indigenous
Mother: Mainlander Fukienese Hakka Indigenous
E. Religion: Buddhism Daoism Christian
 Catholic None

2. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
____ Brothers ; ____ Sisters
3. We would like to know your parents' schooling.
Please tick the following boxes as appropriate.

- 3.1 What was your father's last grade attended? Please tick here
-
- A. No school
- B. Primary school
- C. Junior high school
- D. Senior high school
- E. College
- F. University
- G. Post graduate school

- 3.2 What was your mother's last grade attended? Please tick here
-
- A. No school
- B. Primary school
- C. Junior high school
- D. Senior high school
- E. College
- F. University
- G. Post graduate school

4. Where were you born? (town and city) _____
How long have you lived in this town? _____

5. Where do you live now? Same as the birth place.
If different, please specify where you live. _____

6. We would like to know your traveling experience.

6.1 What is the farthest place you have traveled in Taiwan? _____

A. What was the purpose for your trip?

B. How long did you stay?

6.2 What is the farthest place, if any, that you have traveled outside
Taiwan? _____

A. What was the purpose for your trip?

B. How long did you stay?

7. Have you lived abroad? Yes No
If yes, please specify place and how long you have lived there.

8. How many times have you been abroad?
Please specify _____

9. Should there be anything that you would like to add on concerning
English learning, please feel free filling in the following blank.

10. Please use this space to add any comments about this questionnaire.

.....**Amazingly! You've done it all!**

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for taking the
time to complete this questionnaire. Once again, please be assured that
the answers you have given will be kept anonymous and remain
confidential.

Appendix 6

Questionnaires for Teachers

Dear XXX:

This questionnaire is from a doctoral student at the School of Social Sciences in Cardiff University. I am currently researching how junior high students from different social groups in Taiwan learn English differently. I would be grateful if you could take a few moments to answer this confidential questionnaire.

The questionnaire should take about 25-30 minutes to complete. You will be asked to tick a box or write down your answer. Please be assured that all information provided by you will remain strictly confidential and anonymous. Thanks for your time and valuable feedback!

Wen-Chuan Lin
Cardiff University, U.K.

Part I. Learning English

1. At what age did you begin to learn English? _____
2. Did someone encourage you to learn it? Yes No
(If yes) Who? (Specify your relationship.) _____
Why? _____
3. Did you yourself want to learn it? Yes No
(If yes) Why? _____
4. When you first started to learn English, where did you study?

	Yes	No
A. Normal school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Cram school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Private language institute	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Private lesson (Tutorial)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. Self-help (e.g. cassettes, CDs)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. Computers software	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If the answer in F is yes, please specify: _____

Motivation to Learn English

5. What motivated you to learn English? Please tick as many boxes as appropriate.	Please tick here
A. My parents encouraged me	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Because I like teaching English	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. It is a global language	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. I will use it for my future wealth	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. I enjoy learning languages	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. I want to be able to travel abroad	<input type="checkbox"/>

Learning English in school.

6.1 Did you start learning English at....	Yes	No
A. <i>Pre school</i> , if yes please fill in the following.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Did you enjoy learning English?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Did you have a preferred method?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Was learning English difficult?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. What methods have you experienced?		
a. Whole class teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Group work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6.2 Did you start learning English at....	Yes	No
A. <i>Kindergarten</i> , if yes please fill in the following.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Did you enjoy learning English?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Did you have a preferred method?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Was learning English difficult?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. What methods have you experienced?		
a. Whole class teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Group work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6.3 Did you start learning English at....	Yes	No
A. <i>Primary school</i> , if yes please fill in the following.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Did you enjoy learning English?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Did you have a preferred method?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Was learning English difficult?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. What methods have you experienced?		
a. Whole class teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Group work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6.4 Did you start learning English at...

Yes No

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. <i>Junior high school</i> , if yes please fill in the following. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Did you enjoy learning English? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Did you have a preferred method? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. Was learning English difficult? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. What methods have you experienced? | | |
| a. Whole class teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Group work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. Do you now or did you ever using self-help materials to help learn English? (e.g. magazines, cassettes or text-books) Yes No
If yes, which practice do you think most helpful?

8. Have you ever taken any English Proficiency test? Yes No

If yes, what are these?

Yes No scores

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| A. TOFEL | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| B. GRE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| C. GMAT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| D. IELTS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| E. GEPT (If yes, which level? _____) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| F. Others, please specify | | | |

9. For how many years have you been teaching English? _____

10. What makes a good student? _____

.....Well done, and keep trying!.....

Part II. Use of English Literacy Everyday

Listening Practice

In what situations do you hear or listen to English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
1. Radio	1	2	3	4
2. TV	1	2	3	4
3. Desk top	1	2	3	4
4. Video Films	1	2	3	4
5. CD - Music	1	2	3	4
6. CD- Stories / Lessons	1	2	3	4
7. Audio tapes-Music	1	2	3	4
8. Movie theater	1	2	3	4
9. Live concerts	1	2	3	4
10. Live opera - Drama	1	2	3	4
11. Friends speaking	1	2	3	4
12. School teaching	1	2	3	4
13. Others, please specify				

Speaking Practice

In what circumstances do you speak English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
14. At home	1	2	3	4
15. At school	1	2	3	4
16. In church	1	2	3	4
17. On the phone at home	1	2	3	4
18. On desktop at home	1	2	3	4
19. On the street	1	2	3	4
20. Others, please specify				

Reading Practice

In what circumstances do you read English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
21. Newspaper	1	2	3	4
22. TV Program	1	2	3	4
23. Story book	1	2	3	4
24. Novel	1	2	3	4
25. Home video	1	2	3	4
26. House object	1	2	3	4
27. School lesson	1	2	3	4
28. Film in theater	1	2	3	4
29. Letter	1	2	3	4
30. E-mail	1	2	3	4
31. Web-site	1	2	3	4
32. Road sign	1	2	3	4
33. Street Advertisement	1	2	3	4
34. Shopping	1	2	3	4
35. Others, please specify				

Writing Practice

In what circumstances do you write English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
36. Take notes	1	2	3	4
37. Keep any record	1	2	3	4
38. Keep diaries	1	2	3	4
39. Birthday card	1	2	3	4
40. Marking pupils' work	1	2	3	4
41. Letter	1	2	3	4
42. E-mail	1	2	3	4
43. Chat room	1	2	3	4
44. Shopping memos	1	2	3	4
45. Signature	1	2	3	4
46. Others, please specify				

English Literacy Practice at Work (School)

In what circumstances do you use English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
47. Talk to pupils	1	2	3	4
48. Talk to colleagues	1	2	3	4
49. School meeting	1	2	3	4
50. Marking pupils' work	1	2	3	4
51. Take notes	1	2	3	4
52. E-mail	1	2	3	4
53. Chat room	1	2	3	4
54. Signature	1	2	3	4
55. Others, please specify				

Motivation to Use English

56. If you use English, why is it important to you? Please tick as many boxes as appropriate.	Please tick here
A. For teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. For help my children	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. For travel	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. For self-improvement	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. For social - status	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. For modernity	<input type="checkbox"/>
G. Because I enjoy languages	<input type="checkbox"/>

.....Great job! You're approaching the final part!.....

Part III. Demographic Questionnaire

1. Age: ____ Sex: F M

Ethnicity: Mainlander Fukienese Hakka Indigenous

Religion: Buddhism Daoism Christian Catholic None

2. Which one do you think is most important for the future of this country?

Please tick the following boxes as appropriate.	Please tick here
A. The hard work of the people	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Good planning and policy on the part of government	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. God's help	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Good luck	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. For people to know English	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. For people to know computer	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Where were you born? (town and city) _____

4. How long have you lived in this town? _____

5. Have you lived anywhere else? Yes No

If yes, please specify place and how long you have lived there.

6. What is the farthest place, if any, that you have traveled outside Taiwan? _____

A. What was the purpose for your trip?

B. How long did you stay?

7. How many times have you been abroad?

Please specify _____

8. Do you know any other languages? Yes No

If yes, please answer the following.	Listen	Speak	Read	Write
A. Taiwanese	1	2	3	4
B. Hakka	1	2	3	4
C. Tribal language	1	2	3	4
D. French	1	2	3	4
E. Spanish	1	2	3	4
F. Others, please specify				

9. Do you consider it important for your pupils to learn English?

Yes No

If yes, why is it important?	All pupils	Boys	Girls
A. For their future job / profession	1	2	3
B. For academic performance	1	2	3
C. For social - status	1	2	3
D. For good wealth	1	2	3

10. Did you ever encourage pupils to learn English at any places or practices?

Yes No

If yes, please circle the following.	All pupils	Boys	Girls
A. Cram school	1	2	3
B. Private language institute	1	2	3
C. Private lesson (Tutorial)	1	2	3
D. Self-help (e.g. magazines, CDs)	1	2	3
E. Computers software	1	2	3
F. Others, please specify			

11. Are there any other school subjects important for pupils?

Please circle the following as appropriate.	All pupils	Boys	Girls
A. Chinese	1	2	3
B. Math	1	2	3
C. Science	1	2	3
D. Music	1	2	3
E. Geography	1	2	3
F. History	1	2	3
G. Physical Education	1	2	3
H. Sewing	1	2	3
I. Cooking	1	2	3
J. All subjects	1	2	3

12. English Teaching At School

<u>We would like to know how you teach English.</u>	Yes	No
A. Do you speak English more than Chinese in class? If yes, please specify (speech ratio)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Do you encourage pupils to use English at home? If yes, please specify how?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Do you have any preferred method? If yes, please specify	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Do pupils find English difficult? If yes, please specify why?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. Do you suggest any solutions to this difficulty? If yes, please specify what are they?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. Should there be anything that you would like to add on concerning English learning or teaching, please feel free filling in the following blank.

14. Please use this space to add any comments about this questionnaire.

.....**Thank you very much indeed!**

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Once again, please be assured that the answers you have given will be kept anonymous and remain confidential.

Appendix 7

Questionnaires for Parents

Class: _____ Student's Name: _____ No: _____

Dear XXX:

This questionnaire is from a doctoral student at the School of Social Sciences in Cardiff University. I am currently researching how junior high students from different social groups in Taiwan learn English differently. I would be grateful if you could take a few moments to answer this confidential questionnaire.

The questionnaire should take about 25-30 minutes to complete. You will be asked to tick a box or write down your answer. Please be assured that all information provided by you will remain strictly confidential and anonymous. Thanks for your time and valuable feedback!

Wen-Chuan Lin
Cardiff University, U.K.

Part I. Learning English

1. At what age did you begin to learn English? _____
For how many years have you been learning it? _____
2. Did someone encourage you to learn it? Yes No
(If yes) Who? (Specify your relationship.) _____
Why? _____
3. Did you yourself want to learn it? Yes No
(If yes) Why? _____
4. When you first started to learn English, where did you study?

	Yes	No
A. Cram school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Private language institute	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Private lesson (Tutorial)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Self-help (e.g. cassettes, CDs)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. Computers software	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If the answer in E is yes, please specify: _____

Motivation to Learn English

5. Why are you learning English? Please tick as many boxes as appropriate.

Please tick here

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| B. Because I wish to help my children learn English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. It is a job requirement | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. I will use it for my job promotion | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. I enjoy studying languages | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. I want to be able to travel abroad | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Learning English in school.

6.1 Did you start learning English at....

Yes No

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. <i>Pre school</i> , if yes please fill in the following. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Did you enjoy learning English? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Did you have a preferred method? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. Was learning English difficult? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. What methods have you experienced? | | |
| a. Whole class teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Group work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6.2 Did you start learning English at....

Yes No

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. <i>Kindergarten</i> , if yes please fill in the following. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Did you enjoy learning English? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Did you have a preferred method? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. Was learning English difficult? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. What methods have you experienced? | | |
| a. Whole class teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Group work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6.3 Did you start learning English at....

Yes No

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. <i>Primary school</i> , if yes please fill in the following. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Did you enjoy learning English? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Did you have a preferred method? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. Was learning English difficult? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. What methods have you experienced? | | |
| a. Whole class teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Group work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6.4 Did you start learning English at....

Yes No

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. <i>Junior high school</i> , if yes please fill in the following. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. Did you enjoy learning English? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. Did you have a preferred method? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. Was learning English difficult? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E. What methods have you experienced? | | |
| a. Whole class teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Group work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. Do you now or did you ever using self-help materials to help learn English? (e.g. magazines, cassettes or text-books) Yes No
If yes, which practice do you think most helpful?

8. Did you learn English through computers? Yes No
A. If yes, please fill in the following.

What kind of practice	Specific description	Hours or classes a day/week
-----------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------

- a.
- b.

Others, please specify

B. Which practice did you think most useful? _____

9. Did you ever consult other person known to be good in English?
If so, please fill in the following. Yes No

Relationship, if any	Specify the problems
----------------------	----------------------

- A.
- B.

Others, please specify

10. Have you ever taken any English Proficiency test? Yes No

If yes, what are these?

Yes	No	scores
-----	----	--------

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| A. GEPT (If yes, which level? _____) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| D. TOFEL | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| E. IELTS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| F. Others, please specify | | | |

11. What makes a good student? _____

.....Well doneKeep Trying!.....

Part II. Use of English Literacy Everyday

Listening Practice

In what situations do you hear or listen to English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
1. Radio	1	2	3	4
2. TV	1	2	3	4
3. Video Films	1	2	3	4
4. Desk top	1	2	3	4
5. CD / Audio tapes-Music	1	2	3	4
6. CD- Stories / Lessons	1	2	3	4
7. Movie theatre	1	2	3	4
8. Live concerts	1	2	3	4
9. Live opera - Drama	1	2	3	4
10. Friends speaking	1	2	3	4
11. Language school teacher	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify _____				

Speaking Practice

In what circumstances do you speak English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
12. At home	1	2	3	4
13. In language class	1	2	3	4
14. In church	1	2	3	4
15. On the phone at home	1	2	3	4
16. On desktop at home	1	2	3	4
17. On the street	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify _____				

Reading Practice

In what circumstances do you read English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
18. Newspaper	1	2	3	4
19. TV Program	1	2	3	4
20. Home video	1	2	3	4
21. Story book / Novel	1	2	3	4
22. House object	1	2	3	4
23. School lesson	1	2	3	4
24. Film in theatre	1	2	3	4
25. Letter	1	2	3	4
26. E-mail	1	2	3	4
27. Web-site	1	2	3	4
28. Road sign	1	2	3	4
29. Street Advertisement	1	2	3	4
30. Shopping	1	2	3	4
31. Ordering food	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify				

Writing Practice

In what circumstances do you write English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
32. Take notes	1	2	3	4
33. Keep any record	1	2	3	4
34. Keep diaries	1	2	3	4
35. Birthday card	1	2	3	4
36. Letter	1	2	3	4
37. E-mail	1	2	3	4
38. Chat room	1	2	3	4
39. Ordering goods	1	2	3	4
40. Shopping memos	1	2	3	4
41. Signature	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify _____				

English Literacy Practice at Work

In what circumstances do you use English? (If yes, please circle the following number.)	At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least once a year
42. Talk on the telephone	1	2	3	4
43. Business meeting	1	2	3	4
44. Write business letter	1	2	3	4
45. Take notes	1	2	3	4
46. Keep business record	1	2	3	4
47. E-mail	1	2	3	4
48. Chat room	1	2	3	4
49. Signature	1	2	3	4
Others, please specify _____				

Motivation to Use English

50. If you use English, why is it important to you? Please tick as many boxes as appropriate.	Please tick here
A. For job mobility	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. For travel	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. For help my children	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. For self-improvement	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. For social - status	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. For modernity	<input type="checkbox"/>
G. Because I enjoy languages	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others, please specify _____	

.....**Great Job!****You're approaching the final part!**.....

Part III. Demographic Questionnaire

1. Age: ____ Sex: F M

Ethnicity: Mainlander Fukienese Hakka Indigenous
(Tribe:____)

Spouse: Mainlander Fukienese Hakka Indigenous
(Tribe:____)

Religion: Buddhism Daoism Christian Catholic None

2. Education: Please tick the following boxes as appropriate.

What is your last grade attended?	Please tick here
A. Primary school	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Junior high school	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Senior high school	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Vocational school or college	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. University	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. Post graduate	<input type="checkbox"/>
G. Doctoral degree	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Job Profession: Please tick the following boxes as appropriate.

What is your job category? Job title, if any: _____	Please tick here
A. Labour (unskilled)	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Peasant	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Business	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Government official	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. Military / police	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. Temporary work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others, please specify _____	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Where were you born? (town and city) _____

5. How long have you lived in this town? _____

6. Have you lived abroad? Yes No

If yes, please specify place and how long you have lived there.

7. What is the farthest place, if any, that you have travelled outside Taiwan? _____

A. What was the purpose for your trip? _____

B. How long did you stay? _____

8. How many times have you been abroad?

Please specify _____

9. Do you know any other languages? Yes No

If yes, please answer the following.

	Listen	Speak	Read	Write
A. Taiwanese	1	2	3	4
B. Hakka	1	2	3	4
C. Tribal language	1	2	3	4
D. French	1	2	3	4
E. Spanish	1	2	3	4
F. Others, please specify _____				

10. How many children do you have? _____

Age	Sex
A.	
B.	
C.	

11. Do you consider it important for your children to learn English?

Yes No

11.1 If yes, who do they think is more important?

A. All of them	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. The boys	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. The girls	<input type="checkbox"/>

11.2 If yes, why is it important?

	All children	Boys	Girls
A. For their future job / profession	1	2	3
B. For academic performance	1	2	3
C. For social - status	1	2	3
D. For good wealth	1	2	3

12. Did you ever encourage them to learn English at any place?

Yes No

If yes, please circle the following.	All children	Boys	Girls
B. Cram school	1	2	3
B. Private language institute	1	2	3
C. Private lesson (Tutorial)	1	2	3
D. Self-help (e.g. magazines, CDs)	1	2	3
E. Computers software	1	2	3

13. Are there any other school subjects important for your children?

Please circle the following as appropriate.	All children	Boys	Girls
A. Chinese	1	2	3
B. Math	1	2	3
C. Science	1	2	3
D. Music	1	2	3
E. Geography	1	2	3
F. History	1	2	3
G. Physical Education	1	2	3
H. Sewing	1	2	3
I. Cooking	1	2	3
J. All subjects	1	2	3

14. Which one do you think is most important for the future of this country?

Please tick the following boxes as appropriate.	Please tick here
A. The hard work of the people	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. Good planning and policy on the part of government	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. God's help	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Good luck	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. For people to know English	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. For people to know computer	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. Please use this space to add any comments about this questionnaire.

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Once again, please be assured that the answers you have given will be kept anonymous and remain confidential.

- A. 家教班 -----
- B. 美語補習班 -----
- 若是，請說明是哪一家補習班： _____
- C. 請個別家教 (一對一) -----
- D. 自修 (例如：聽 CD/錄音帶/電腦教學軟體) -----
- E. 其它，請描述 _____

6. 你為何學英語：請勾選下列任何可能的答案。(可複選) 請勾選

- A. 是學校課程的要求-----
- B. 因為我想獲得英語檢定資格 -----
- C. 我喜歡英語學科 -----
- D. 我希望將來大學讀英語系 -----
- E. 我希望將來出國留學 -----
- F. 我希望將來能出國旅遊 -----
- G. 我未來的職業上將用得上英語 -----
- H. 我想要結交外國朋友 -----
- I. 我在外國有會說英語的親戚 -----
- J. 我在外國有會說英語的朋友 -----
- K. 我喜歡學習語言 -----

7. [學校] 的英語學習

7.1 你在何時開始學英語： 是 否

- 學齡前(幼幼班)，若 [是]，請繼續勾選下列問題。 ---
- A. 當時你喜歡學英語嗎： -----
- B. 你有偏愛的 (老師) 教學法嗎： -----
- C. 你認為學英語困難嗎： -----
- D. 你曾經歷過何種教學法： -----
- a. 傳統大班級教學 (大部分時間由老師講解) -----
- b. 分組討論的互動式教學活動 -----
- c. 兩者皆有 -----

7.2 你在何時開始學英語： 是 否

- 幼稚園，若 [是]，請繼續勾選下列問題。 -----
- A. 當時你喜歡學英語嗎： -----
- B. 你有偏愛的 (老師) 教學法嗎： -----
- C. 你認為學英語困難嗎： -----
- D. 你曾經歷過何種教學法： 是 否
- a. 傳統大班級教學 (大部分時間由老師講解) -----

- b. 分組討論的互動式教學活動 -----
- c. 兩者皆有 -----

7.3 你在何時開始學英語：

是 否

小學，若 [是]，請繼續勾選下列問題。-----

- A. 當時你喜歡學英語嗎：-----
- B. 你有偏愛的 (老師) 教學法嗎：-----
- C. 你認為學英語困難嗎：-----
- D. 你曾經歷過何種教學法：
- a. 傳統大班級教學 (大部分時間由老師講解) -----
- b. 分組討論的互動式教學活動 -----
- c. 兩者皆有 -----

7.4 你在何時開始學英語：

是 否

國中，若 [是]，請繼續勾選下列問題。-----

- A. 你喜歡學英語嗎：-----
- B. 你有偏愛的 (老師) 教學法嗎：-----
- C. 你認為學英語困難嗎：-----
- D. 你曾經歷過何種教學法：
- a. 傳統大班級教學 (大部分時間由老師講解) -----
- b. 分組討論的互動式教學活動 -----
- c. 兩者皆有 -----

8. 你曾經藉由英語雜誌或錄音帶等，來自修學習英語嗎： 是 否
若 [是]，你認為哪一類的學習對你最有幫助： _____

9. 你曾經透過電腦學英語嗎： 是 否

A. 若 [是]，請填寫下列問題。

哪一類型的電腦學習	特性描述	每日/週大約幾小時
a. _____	_____	_____
b. _____	_____	_____
c. _____	_____	_____

B. 你認為哪一類的電腦學習最有幫助： _____

10. A. 你曾經上過外籍老師的英文課嗎： 是 否

若[是]，國籍是：美國 英國 加拿大
澳洲 紐西蘭 其它，請描述 _____

B. 你是否喜歡外籍老師的教學：是 否

若[是]，對外籍老師的教學，印象最深刻的是：_____

11. 你曾經求助以前的英文老師以解決現在的英語學習困難嗎：是 否

若[是]，是哪些困難：_____

12. 你參加過任何英語能力檢定考試嗎：是 否

若[是]，有哪些：

是 否 分數

A. 全民英檢 (若[是]，哪一級：_____ 級) _____

B. 托福 _____

C. 其它，請描述 _____

13. 你認為除了英文以外，還有其它學校科目對學生很重要嗎：(可複選)

(請先勾選認為重要的科目，再圈選適合的性別並請填寫認為的重要性順序)

	是	女生	男生	全體學生	重要性順序
A. 國文 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	_____
B. 數學 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	_____
C. 自然 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	_____
D. 音樂 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	_____
E. 地理 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	_____
F. 歷史 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	_____
G. 體育 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	_____
H. 家政 (針織、烹飪) -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	_____
I. 所有科目 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	X

14. 你覺得好學生應具備哪些條件：

----- 加油! 請繼續第二部分 -----

第二部分：日常英語素養

【聽】

你在何種情況下會聽到或收聽英語：
(若 [是]，請同時圈選大概的使用頻率)

	是	至少 一天 一次	至少 一週 一次	至少 一月 一次	至少 一年 一次
1. 聽收音機 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
2. 看電視新聞或節目 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
3. 看錄影帶 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
4. 打電腦 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
5. 聽音樂錄音帶或 CD -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
6. 聽故事或課程 CD -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
7. 上電影院 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
8. 參加現場音樂會 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
9. 觀賞現場戲劇或歌劇 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
10. 與朋友聊天 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
11. 聽學校老師上課 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
12. 聽家教、補習班老師上課 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
其它，請描述 _____					

【說】

你在何種情況下會使用英語會話：
(若 [是]，請同時圈選大概的使用頻率)

	是	至少 一天 一次	至少 一週 一次	至少 一月 一次	至少 一年 一次
13. 在家裡 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
14. 在教室 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
15. 在補習班 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
16. 在教會 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
17. 電話中 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
18. 電腦上 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
19. 在街上 -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
其它，請描述 _____					

【讀】

你在何種情況下會閱讀英文：
(若[是]，請同時圈選大概的使用頻率)

20. 看報紙	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
21. 看電視新聞或節目	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
22. 看錄影帶	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
23. 閱讀小說或故事書	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
24. 使用家中物品	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
25. 上學校課程	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
26. 看電影院影片	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
27. 收信件	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
28. 收電子郵件	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
29. 上網際網路	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
30. 看道路標誌	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
31. 看街道廣告	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
32. 去購物、飲食	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4

其它，請描述

是

至少一天一次
至少一週一次
至少一月一次
至少一年一次

【寫】

你在何種情況下會書寫英文：
(若[是]，請同時圈選大概的使用頻率)

33. 寫上課筆記	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
34. 寫學校作業	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
35. 寫日記	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
36. 寫生日卡片	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
37. 紀錄日常事務	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
38. 寫信	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
39. 寫電子郵件	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
40. 上電腦聊天室	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
41. 點餐、訂貨	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
42. 寫購物清單	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4
43. 簽名(如信用卡)	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2	3	4

其它，請描述

44. 你家中有用英文標註的生活器具或用品嗎： 是 否

若 [是]，請儘量寫出有哪些物品名稱。

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

45. 你學校中有用英文標註的物品或標示嗎： 是 否

若 [是]，請寫出有哪些物品名稱。

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

46. 你見過街上有用英文標註的物品或標示嗎： 是 否

若 [是]，請寫出有哪些物品名稱。

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

47. 你曾經請求熟練英語的人幫助過你嗎： 是 否

A. 若 [是]，請描述是爲了甚麼事： _____

B. 你們的關係是： _____

48. 你曾經因爲懂英文而幫他人服務嗎： 是 否

若 [是]，請具體描述： _____

49. 你曾經教過任何人英語嗎： 是 否

A. 若 [是]，你們的關係是： _____

B. 你如何教她/他(們)： _____

50. 你是否因爲熟練英語而獲益良多： 是 否

若 [是]，請描述是哪些方面： _____

----- 加油! 請繼續最後一部分 -----

第三部分：個人基本資料

1. A. 年齡：_____
- B. 性別：女 男
- C. 族群：閩南 客家 外省第二(三)代 原住民(族別: _____ 族)
- D. 父母親是否屬不同族群的婚姻結構：是 否
若是，請描述他們各屬於哪一個族群：
父：閩南 客家 外省第二代 原住民(族別: _____ 族)
母：閩南 客家 外省第二代 原住民(族別: _____ 族)
- E. 宗教信仰：佛教 道教 基督教 天主教 無

2. 除了你本人以外，家中兄弟姊妹：兄弟_____人；姊妹_____人

3. 父母親教育程度：(請勾選適當的空格)

3.1 父親最高學歷為：

請勾選

- A. 小學 -----
- B. 國中 -----
- C. 高中 -----
- D. 職校或專科學校 -----
- E. 大學 -----
- F. 碩士 -----
- G. 博士 -----

3.2 母親最高學歷為：

請勾選

- A. 小學 -----
- B. 國中 -----
- C. 高中 -----
- D. 職校或專科學校 -----
- E. 大學 -----
- F. 碩士 -----
- G. 博士 -----

4. 出生地：_____縣 _____市 _____鄉 _____鎮 _____村

在出生地已居住多久：約_____年

5. 現在居住地：同上述出生地

若不同，現在居住地是：_____縣 _____市 _____鄉 _____鎮 _____村

太棒了！你已經完成全部的問卷，謝謝你的耐心與專注。所填寫的資料都將受到保密，不會移作他用，敬請安心。謝謝你的協助！.....

10. 最後，請分享你對於填這份問卷的看法，請寫在下列空格內：辛苦了！

9. 如果你覺得還有地方可以補充你個人學習英語的經驗，請寫在下列空格內：

8. 你出國大概有幾次了：請列舉地點與主要出國原因：

7. 是否曾經長期住過國外其它地方：
若 [是]，請說明地點以及居住多久：
 是 否

A. 你出國最遠到過哪個地方：
B. 旅行的目的是： 純觀光旅遊 探親 遊學
C. 在那裡待了多久：
其它，請描述：

6.2 是否曾經出國：
若 [是]，請填下列問題...
 是 否

A. 旅行的目的是：
B. 在那裡待了多久：

6.1 你在台灣最遠到過哪個地方：
6. 有關你的個人旅遊經驗

Appendix 9

A typical lesson structure:

year 8 class in secondary school in Taiwan

Content	Time (approx.)	Process	Text	Note
<i>Warm up</i>	10	Oral or written test on vocabulary or review of previous lesson.	Textbook	
<i>Vocabulary building</i>	10	Teacher reads aloud, students repeat.	Textbook	
<i>Reading</i>	10	Teacher reads aloud, students repeat. CD-ROM is often used for listening practice.	Textbook	
<i>Sentence pattern</i>	5	Oral explanation with detail elaborated and written on board. Students are requested to take notes.	Textbook/ reference book	
<i>Oral practice</i>	5	'Pair practice' or 'group work' undertaken occasionally.	Textbook	
<i>Written Exercise</i>	5	Students undertake written practice on textbook or reference book material. Some will be left as homework.	Textbook/ reference book	

Appendix 10

Typology for classroom observation

Question Type (Elicit knowledge from pupils)	
(A) Regulative	(B) Instructional
<p>(A-1) Housekeeping (e.g. Do you bring books...?)</p> <p>(A-2) Rhetorical (No answer expected from Pupils)</p>	<p>(B-1) I.R.F (or IRE)</p> <p>(B-2) Direct elicitation</p> <p>(B-3) Cued elicitation (scaffold/ ZPD)</p>
Responding Type (T respond to pupils)	
(C) Regulative	(D) Instructional
<p>(C-1) Ignoring</p> <p>(C-2) Rejection</p>	<p>(D-1) Conformation (right / good)</p> <p>(D-2) Repetition (simultaneous)</p> <p>(D-3) Repetition (tailing or parroting)</p> <p>(D-4) Elaboration (paraphrasing)</p> <p>(D-5) Reformulation</p>
(E) Joint-Knowledge Markers	
<p>(E-1) Royal plurals ('We' statements)</p> <p>(E-2) Continuity (past-joint-now)</p> <p>(E-3) Appeal to shared experience (everyday culture)</p> <p>(E-4) Recaps (Reconstruction)</p>	
(F) Significance Markers	
<p>(F-1) Enunciation (Intonation/ loudness/ rate)</p> <p>(F-2) Pause (silence)</p>	

Appendix 11

Transcription Conventions

Transcription Conventions

Speakers

T Teacher

S Student (Ss indicates more than one students)
(S1~5 indicates different single student)

Transcription Conventions: Modified from Silverman (1993)

1. [] Square brackets indicate overlapping talk
2. [...] Indicates gaps between talks
3. = Equal signs, at the end of one line and the beginning of the next indicate no pause between the two lines.
4. (1.0) Numbers in parentheses indicate a tiny pause.
5. (.) A full stop in parentheses indicates a tiny pause.
6. _____ Underscoring shows stress on a word through a change in the speaker's pitch and/or amplitude.
7. :: Colons indicate that the preceding sound is lengthened.
More colons show a greater degree of prolongation.
8. (()) Double brackets indicate the author's own descriptions.
9. ? Change in intonation indicating a question.

