

Western Kentucky University

TopSCHOLAR®

Mahurin Honors College Capstone Experience/
Thesis Projects

Mahurin Honors College

2021

Public Perceptions of Language Education in Taiwan: English in a Multilingual Context

Isabel Eliassen

Western Kentucky University, isabel.eliassen119@topper.wku.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/stu_hon_theses



Part of the [Language and Literacy Education Commons](#), [Other Education Commons](#), and the [Other Linguistics Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Eliassen, Isabel, "Public Perceptions of Language Education in Taiwan: English in a Multilingual Context" (2021). *Mahurin Honors College Capstone Experience/Thesis Projects*. Paper 907.
https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/stu_hon_theses/907

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by TopSCHOLAR®. It has been accepted for inclusion in Mahurin Honors College Capstone Experience/Thesis Projects by an authorized administrator of TopSCHOLAR®. For more information, please contact topscholar@wku.edu.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN TAIWAN:
ENGLISH IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT

A Capstone Experience/Thesis Project Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree Bachelor of Arts
with Mahurin Honors College Graduate Distinction
at Western Kentucky University

By

Isabel R. H. Eliassen

May 2021

CE/T Committee:

Dr. Timothy Rich, Chair

Dr. Elizabeth Winkler

Ms. Lindsey Houchin

Copyright by
Isabel R. H. Eliassen
2021

ABSTRACT

Language policy in Taiwan has been a focus of the government since the days of the Kuomintang (KMT) dictatorship, when languages other than Mandarin were ruthlessly suppressed. After democratization, local languages were allowed again, but soon English became Taiwan's top language education priority. However, not all Taiwanese agree with the decision to prioritize English. Despite claims that English is important for economic and diplomatic reasons, my survey found that most Taiwanese did not support English education when it threatened local Taiwanese languages. The survey also found that despite a significant amount of debate in academic literature about the role of native English speakers as teachers in foreign classrooms, few Taiwanese have ever had a native English speaker as a teacher. This suggests that despite rhetoric emphasizing the value of foreign English speakers, improving the performance of local English teachers should be prioritized.

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, James Eliassen and Ruth Hemmer, both of whom
love science, though they prefer the less “social” varieties.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank each of my committee members for their help throughout this process. Dr. Timothy Rich has worked with me since my first year at WKU. His enthusiasm for Taiwan and research alike were two of the most important factors in making this thesis possible. His generosity with his time and ability to encourage creativity allowed me to write a thesis that engages with all three of my majors. My thanks also go to Dr. Elizabeth Winkler, who is not only an amazing linguist and teacher but also has a sense of humor that helps me keep life in perspective and whose down-to-earth discussions drive me to continue learning outside the classroom. Next, I am eternally grateful for the ability Lindsey Houchin has to see something worthwhile amidst the jumbled first drafts of research proposals I have sent her. Without her support, I would be much less certain of my future goals.

I would also like to thank Dr. Trini Stickle, who, though not formally involved in my thesis process, was an invaluable source of inspiration and advice.

Thank you to WKU for providing me with funding to do research and study abroad, in particular through the Faculty Undergraduate Student Engagement Grant and the Lifetime Experience Grant.

Finally, thank you to my family and friends for their support and positivity year in and year out.

VITA

EDUCATION

Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY
B.A. in International Affairs, Chinese, and Linguistics—
Mahurin Honors College Graduate
Honors CE/T: *Public Perceptions of Language Education
in Taiwan: English in a Multilingual Context* May 2021

Covington Latin School, Covington, KY May 2016

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Global Taiwan Institute
Research Intern Jan. 2021-
April 2021

International Public Opinion Lab, WKU
Student Researcher Jan. 2019-
Jan. 2021

AWARDS & HONORS

FUSE Research Grant, Summer 2018
Lifetime Experience Grant, WKU, Summer 2020

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan
TUSA Ambassador Scholarship Program June 2019-
Aug. 2019

Curso e Colégio Seletivo, Tupã, SP, Brazil
Rotary Youth Exchange Aug. 2016-
May 2017

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

“Proximity, Contact and Tolerance of Homosexuals in Korea: Evidence from an Experimental Survey.” Timothy Rich and Isabel Eliassen. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 28 (3). November 2020.

“Historical Views of Homosexuality: Asia.” Timothy Rich, Andi Dahmer, and Isabel Eliassen. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. October 2020.

CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Vita.....	v
List of Figures.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	4
History of Language Politics in Taiwan.....	4
History of English Education in Taiwan.....	10
Comparisons to Other Countries.....	15
Singapore.....	17
Japan.....	20
South Korea.....	24
English as a National Language in East Asia.....	27
Debates Concerning Teaching English as a Foreign Language.....	30
The Role of Native English-Speaking Teachers.....	31
Student Perceptions of Teachers.....	37
Standard English and World Englishes.....	39
Public Opinion.....	42
Research Design and Survey Results.....	45
Conclusion.....	62
References.....	66

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Summary of English Curriculum Changes in Taiwan.....	10
Figure 2: Social and Education Indicators in Select East Asian Countries	16
Figure 3: English Self-Assessment	46
Figure 4: Frequency of English Use	48
Figure 5: Respondents' Teacher Type.....	49
Figure 6: Teacher Type Preference.....	51
Figure 7: Preference for Language of Instruction in English Classes	52
Figure 8: Preference for Content of English Classes	53
Figure 9: Support for Increasing English Language Education in Taiwan by Version	55
Figure 10: OLS Regressions on Support for Increasing English Language Education in Taiwan.....	57

INTRODUCTION

Taiwan has been interested in the strategic benefits of English for years and considered making it a national language as early as 2002 (Chang, 2008). More recently, under leadership from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Taiwan has become determined to step out of the shadow of China. As a part of this strategy, Taiwan actively seeks ways to connect itself to other countries. Due to the prestige English affords, its economic importance, and this desire to strengthen external connections, particularly with the United States, English education has become a focus of the government. Two years ago, Taiwan's Cabinet unveiled a plan to transform Taiwan into a Chinese-English bilingual nation by 2030 (Hsu, 2018). This plan included a push to make English a co-national language, and although this plan was abandoned due to the cost of translating all government documents into English, that such a policy change was even considered is important.

However, the aspects of the plan that remain are not without their own challenges. Three of the major goals of the policy include conducting English classes exclusively in English starting in elementary school, using English to teach content classes (as opposed to language-only classes) in technical schools, and increasing the number of Taiwanese qualified to teach English (Hsu, 2018). This curriculum is even more focused on verbal skills than those in the past, which the government hopes will encourage Taiwanese to speak English with less apprehension (Hsu, 2018). The new policies represent a drastic change for Taiwan, and the plan's educational aspects in particular put high pressure on

the Taiwanese educational system, requiring significantly higher standards for Taiwanese English teachers. But the debates about how best to improve a language education system are old, having plagued educators and linguists for decades. In light of this new policy, it is important for Taiwanese lawmakers to understand where Taiwanese public opinion falls compared to new policy goals and academic discourse on language education.

As these debates about approaches to language education have progressed within and across administrations, little attention has fallen on overarching public opinion. Without public approval, or at least acceptance, successfully enacting the policies and securing the necessary funding will be challenging. Many previous studies have interviewed small groups of students, parents, or teachers (e.g., Chang, 2014; Kung, 2015), but few have looked at the whole population. Although students, parents, and teachers are closest to the issue, they are not the only voters, and it is important for the Taiwanese policymakers to understand a broader set of the public's expectations in terms of education. For instance, despite media and government emphasis on the importance of learning English from native speakers, many students find that both local English teachers and foreign native English speakers add value to the classroom (Kung, 2015; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014; Wu & Ke, 2009). This study is one step toward improving understanding of general public opinion on language policy.

This thesis will first summarize the role of English education in Taiwan, including the historical, cultural, and political contexts, as well as looking at the major controversies within English education scholarship. Taiwan is then presented in comparison with other nearby countries for a broader perspective of the English language education environment. Next, I will present the results of my original public opinion survey on issues of English

language education, which was conducted in Taiwan and in Mandarin. Despite an emphasis in academic literature on the roles of foreign English teachers, few Taiwanese have been taught by foreign teachers. Finally, I use OLS regressions to examine how demographic and attitudinal factors affect perceptions of language policy in Taiwan. Although most demographic and attitudinal factors were not strong predictors, a statistically significant opposition to favoring English over local languages was found, which suggests that there are concerns associated with English education policy. The conclusion will address what this means for the future of language policy in Taiwan.

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of Language Politics in Taiwan

To understand the significance of the current changes, a discussion of the history of language planning and policy in Taiwan is necessary. Indigenous Taiwanese have likely lived on the island for thousands of years and are of Austro-Polynesian descent (Ryan, Chang, & Huan, 2007). Groups of Southern Min coming from China began moving to Taiwan around the fall of the Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty in 1644, and the Hakka began moving there in the 1700s (Chen, 2010; Lee, 2014; Wang, 2007). After the Qing Dynasty lost the First Sino-Japanese War, they ceded control of Taiwan to Japan (Lee, 2014). Following World War II, Taiwan was returned to China, and the government of the Republic of China (ROC) took control (Heylen, 2005). At this time, the Kuomintang (KMT), the political party running the ROC, were at war with the Chinese communists. After the KMT lost the civil war in 1949, they fled to Taiwan and established a dictatorship (Heylen, 2005). Over time, Taiwan underwent a process of democratization. In 1986, opposition parties such as the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) were legalized, and local languages were allowed in schools again (Sandel, 2003).

Since the days of the KMT, those ruling Taiwan have utilized language policy to accomplish a variety of goals.¹ When the KMT arrived in Taiwan in 1945, it implemented a Mandarin-only language policy (Heylen, 2005). They banned Japanese,

¹ This is also true of the days before KMT rule (during the Japanese colonization, etc.), but this thesis will not cover that period.

which had been spread widely in Taiwan as a colony of Japan and was spoken by about 40% of the population in 1945 (Sandel, 2003). The KMT cited a need for linguistic unity (Klötter, 2004) and used the “shared commonality of Chinese culture and heritage” as the basis for suppressing Japanese, Taiwanese, and other languages (Heylen, 2005, p. 506). Despite these claims, it must be acknowledged that Taiwanese languages and Mandarin are not mutually intelligible, and each language is associated with only one ethnic group. However, the KMT emphasized Taiwanese use of characters as well as the fact that Taiwanese people (excluding the Indigenous groups) had emigrated from China, arguing that this constituted an ethnic identity shared with other Chinese, including those from the mainland (Heylen, 2005). At this time, because the KMT still believed they would return as the rightful rulers of all China, they claimed it was important for Taiwanese to learn the national language of their country (Sandel, 2003).

During this period, Mandarin was the only language allowed in schools; other local languages were prohibited, and those caught speaking local languages received fines or physical punishment (Wu, 2011). The KMT’s restrictions against local languages stemmed from fear that if local languages flourished, it would discourage locals from viewing themselves as Chinese and encourage dissent toward the government (Wu, 2011). Most Taiwanese could not speak Mandarin, so the KMT’s Mandarin-only policy created many disadvantages for them, likely one of the KMT’s intentions when implementing this policy (Scott & Tiun, 2007). The linguistic influence of the KMT extended even into the realm of entertainment, where Mandarin was the preferred language, and actors and actresses speaking languages such as Taiwanese and Hakka played characters of lower socioeconomic status—street vendors, for instance (Wu,

2011). The KMT saw Taiwan's ethnic diversity as a threat, and their language policy was intended to mitigate that threat (Heylen, 2005).

When Taiwan began to democratize in the 1980s, language laws gradually became more accepting as well (Klöter, 2004). In 1987, Taiwanese was allowed on television and was used for debate in the Legislative Yuan (Klöter, 2004). In the early 1990s, the first language classes for Taiwanese, Hakka, and Indigenous languages were established. In 1996, Taiwan held its first democratic presidential election (Sandel, 2003). Lee Teng-hui, who won the election, spoke Taiwanese and Hakka in addition to Mandarin when campaigning (Sandel, 2003). Despite the fact that he represented the KMT, he was able to gain votes from many ethnic groups in Taiwan using his language skills (Sandel, 2003).

When the first DPP president, Chen Shui-bian was elected in 2000, it signaled further changes for language policy. The next year, local languages were a mandatory subject. Schools could offer Taiwanese, Hakka, or an Indigenous language, but most schools offered Taiwanese due to the greater number of available resources (Klöter, 2004; Wu, 2011). Because a large portion of the population is ethnically Taiwanese, Taiwanese language classes also may have received greater public support. Various attempts have been made over the years to make mother tongue language classes more successful, but the rates of Taiwanese speaking these languages (especially Hakka and Indigenous languages) continue to fall (Scott & Tiun, 2007).

Mandarin is currently the primary language in work and education environments of Taiwan, though this does not necessarily represent the ethnic makeup of Taiwan: in the

2000 Taiwan Census, Mainland Chinese² made up approximately 13% of the population, while the Hoklo represented 73%, the Hakka 12%, and Indigenous peoples 2% (Chen, 2010, p. 82). In 2014, these proportions remained comparable (Executive Yuan, 2014), but most English-language materials distinguish only between Han Chinese (including the Mainland, Hoklo, and Hakka groups) and Indigenous peoples, so exact recent numbers are difficult to find.³ Aside from very different histories and cultures, mainland Chinese typically speak Mandarin as a first language, the Hoklo speak Taiwanese (also known as Hoklo, Tai-yu, or Hokkien), and the Hakka, Hakka. However, Mandarin and Taiwanese are the most widely-spoken languages, so they are the ones passed to future generations. Mandarin is spoken by nearly all Taiwanese, and 68% of Taiwanese consider themselves fluent speakers of Taiwanese (Chen, 2010, p. 93).⁴ Eighty-five percent of those with Taiwanese as a mother tongue consider themselves fluent, but for those with Hakka as a mother tongue, only 52% say they speak it fluently (Chen, 2010, p. 94).

Each Indigenous group has its own language, but the small number of speakers and lack of written materials means these languages are dying out: in 2010, only 50% of Indigenous individuals living in Taiwan said they spoke their Indigenous language fluently (Chen, 2010, p. 94). More concerning, less than 1% of people living in Taiwan under 18 say they speak an Indigenous language fluently, so use of these languages is likely to decline sharply in coming years (Chen, 2010, p. 94). Taiwan officially

² Here, mainland Chinese refers to those who came to Taiwan from the mainland starting from 1945.

³ This lack of distinction in even government document may be a result of political aims, as Hsieh (2005) argues that “the major difference among the three (Mainlanders, Hoklo, and Hakka) communities is the mother tongue” (p. 14). By refusing to give exact statistics, these groups appear to be essentially the same, when in fact they are not.

⁴ The Chen (2010) study did not specify what “fluent” meant in this survey or if a more specific definition was provided to respondents.

recognizes 16 Indigenous groups with 16 different languages and a total of 42 dialects (Zeldin, 2017). Before the Indigenous Languages Development Act in 2017, recognition was more limited (Zeldin, 2017), but several Indigenous groups still remain unrecognized (Adawai, 2020). With so many languages shared by just 571,816 people combined with the low number of native or fluent speakers of Indigenous languages, it seems likely these languages will struggle to survive despite government efforts to counter their decline (Adawai, 2020).

Languages in Taiwan have been divided into two categories in modern Taiwanese education policy: Mandarin and mother tongues. Mandarin is used in most educational environments; it is also necessary for most business and public functions in Taiwan. The government also considers Mandarin one of the unifying factors in Taiwan (Chen, 2010). Local languages (that is, Hoklo, Hakka, Taiwan Sign Language, and all the Indigenous languages) were also granted national language status in 2018 (Taiwan Today, 2018). Some schools already offer classes for these languages, but following the 2018 passage of the National Languages Development Act, the availability of such classes is predicted to become more widespread and more standardized, with a new curriculum being prepared for implementation in 2022 (Ministry of Culture, 2018).

Some scholars argue that after the mother tongue language policy was implemented in 2001, Taiwanese was the primary focus of language education (Dupre, 2014). Because Taiwanese speakers are the largest ethnolinguistic group in Taiwan, the Taiwanese language is in less danger than Hakka and Indigenous languages, so preservation efforts have now shifted to focus on those languages (Dupre, 2011 in Dupre, 2014). However, with a growing emphasis on English education, the already-limited time

for teaching local languages in school may be reduced even more. Local languages are losing their places in some homes as well: widespread use of Mandarin in Taiwan, especially in schools and at work, means that Mandarin is increasingly spoken at home (Dupre, 2014).

Dupre (2014) suggests that in countries where multilingual education has been a longstanding tradition, integrating local languages into the curriculum is more straightforward than in countries like Taiwan, where Mandarin has dominated education for decades. Additionally, because of the multiple languages all needing restoration or preservation efforts, Taiwan faces a bigger challenge than places such as Wales or Catalonia, both of which have only two languages competing and succeeded in creating educational programs to preserve their local languages (Dupre, 2014).

In recent years, another language has come into play in Taiwan: English. Unlike Mandarin, which is important at the national level, or the other languages of Taiwan, which are important to local communities, English serves primarily as a language for business, tourism, and foreign study or travel (Chen, 2010). The current government, led by Taiwan's pro-independence party, also likely hopes that if Taiwanese are known to have excellent English skills, Taiwan will become more closely tied to Western allies and less dependent on China. For instance, Oh, Selmier, and Lien (2011) find that in countries where English is widely spoken, transaction costs are reduced, enabling these countries to have stronger international economic relationships, both in foreign direct investment and in bilateral trade relationships. Overall, English can serve many functions in Taiwan, but it does not have historical or cultural ties to Taiwan, while the other languages discussed here are connected more closely to the identities of people in Taiwan.

History of English Education in Taiwan

The following section examines Taiwan’s English education policy since 1945. A brief table of the major changes is provided below to help visualize the timeline.

Figure 1: Summary of English Curriculum Changes in Taiwan

	Primary School	High School	University
1945		English required	English required for first year students
1954			English on entrance exam
1993			Any foreign language technically acceptable but few are offered
1995		Curriculum change to communicative focus rather than correct grammar for tests	
Pre-2001	English required starting in 7 th grade; experimental English programs and cram schools (private) for other levels		
2001	English required from 5 th grade		
2005	English required from 3 rd grade		English proficiency test recommended as a graduation requirement
2018	English as the medium of communication in English classes		Vocational schools teach courses in English
Sources: Butler, 2015; Chang, 2008; Chern, 2002; Chu and Yeh, 2017; Hsu, 2018; Shih, 2018; Wu, 2011			

English became a required subject for fifth graders by 2001 as part of an overhaul of the broader primary school curriculum (Butler, 2015; Chern, 2002). Under this new

curriculum, Mandarin, Taiwanese, other local languages, and English were all placed under one umbrella category of languages (Chern, 2002). Prior to the curriculum overhaul, students had studied English mainly through private companies teaching English, and thus, there was a significant gap between the English abilities of wealthy and poor students (Wu, 2011). Before 2001, many experimental programs taught English in Taiwanese primary schools (Dai, 1998 in Chern, 2002), but required English classes did not begin until 5th grade (Chang, 2008). The experimental programs were initially implemented because private tutoring costs were so high (Butler, 2015), but even after experimental programs were allowed, gaps in students' English language performance were evident along socioeconomic lines, so English education was mandated to improve equality between students (Wu, 2011). In 2005, English became a requirement for Taiwanese in the 3rd grade and up (Chang, 2008). The most recent curriculum change, announced as part of the 2018 policy, is that English alone, rather than Chinese, will be the medium of communication in English classes in Taiwan's primary and junior high schools (Shih, 2018). This change will entail training a large number of teachers to have higher oral proficiency in English.

Beyond the primary level, English has been a staple subject in Taiwanese high schools since 1945 (Chang, 2008), though it underwent curriculum overhauls in 1983 and 1995, and the 1995 curriculum change focused on teaching methods and attitudes toward English that would be helpful in self-study (Chern, 2002). This curriculum was more communication-centered and involved students' interests rather than focusing exclusively on grammar (Chern, 2002). However, cram schools⁵ and private English tutoring still

⁵ Afterschool classes designed to help improve test scores, common in many East Asian countries.

remain popular methods of English study for those who can afford them, evidence that many parents are still dissatisfied with the pace or quality of English in traditional schools (Chang, 2008). "For students and parents, English proficiency is less a 'choice' than a necessity for success in education and employment" (Price, 2014, p. 567). Whether or not students will use English skills in their jobs, English is still necessary for them to compete in the job market.

English was required for first-year college students in 1945 and was a subject on the college entrance exam in Taiwan as early as 1954 (Chang, 2008; Wu, 2011). Over the next few decades, most English classes focused on teaching grammar rules and other patterns on the college entrance exam, resulting in high levels of rote memorization and low oral proficiency (Chang, 2008; Wu, 2011). This policy, based on old language teaching principles, focused on correct spelling and grammar, and was intended to help students develop reading and writing academic proficiency in English (Chang, 2008).

After 1993, the Ministry of Education (MOE) declared any foreign language, not just English, could fulfill the first-year language requirement (Chern, 2002). However, this attempt to diversify foreign language options for college students was largely unsuccessful, as many universities only offer English or offer other languages to limited groups of students (Chern, 2002). Additionally, in 2005, the MOE recommended that universities include an English proficiency test as a graduation requirement, suggesting that students to reach A2 or B1 levels in English according to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), a widely used scale of language proficiency (Chu and Yeh, 2017). However, this recommendation largely failed to create meaningful change in

college language education practices, and thus had minimal impact on actual proficiency outcomes.

Now, the government plans to introduce a curriculum even more focused on verbal skills in the hopes that learning English as a communication skill with lower emphasis on grammatical perfection may encourage Taiwanese to speak English with less apprehension (Hsu, 2018). Whereas accuracy was emphasized as a critical language skill in the past, scholars today have come to understand that fluency of communication is also an essential skill (Huang & Yang, 2018). Because too much emphasis on accuracy can hinder fluency, many educational systems have transitioned to stressing other aspects of language education that support fluent (if not perfectly accurate) communication (Sun, 2017). The aforementioned plan to conduct English classes exclusively is another aspect of the emphasis on language for communication (Hsu, 2018). If English classes are conducted in English, students will be forced to practice speaking and listening more. Also, vocational schools will begin using English to teach some of their other subjects (Hsu, 2018). Both of these curriculum changes, along with the necessary training of teachers to implement them, should help bring spoken English into classrooms, matching the MOE's goals of encouraging Taiwanese to see English as a communicative tool.

Some of Taiwan's new language planning policies are more strategic, aiming to increase Taiwan's international economic ties. To encourage Taiwanese businesses to establish English-speaking customer bases abroad, the government also plans to introduce incentives for businesses that agree to translate products and advertisements into English (Hsu, 2018). In an interview, the National Development Council Minister argued that "Taiwan will prove a more attractive foreign investment destination if people

can demonstrate English communication skills,” additionally commenting that because most Taiwanese also speak Mandarin, having two widely used languages at their command would be a particularly strong combination (Hsu, 2018, para 14). English is also useful in Taiwan’s New Southbound Policy, which seeks to develop stronger ties between Taiwan and its South and Southeast Asian neighbors (Kobayashi, 2020). This strategy too is part of the DPP’s larger goal of decreasing Taiwan's economic dependency on China.

Additional aspects of the policy explicitly target improving overall government communication and accessibility in English with the goal of attracting foreign companies in diverse fields to Taiwan. As of November 2018, the government planned to translate at least half of the official documents, licensure exams, laws, and regulations relating to foreigners by the end of 2019 (Hsu, 2018). The government also hopes to improve translations of the English versions of its websites to make them more accessible to foreigners (Hatch, 2019). Many Taiwanese government websites already offer full English translations while remaining easy to navigate, even providing government data in English, unlike many other East Asian countries. Additionally, government agencies are supposed to provide opportunities for English enhancement for their employees and should make more government services available in English to make these services more accessible to foreigners (Hsu, 2018). Some offices, such as the National Tax Bureau, already offer many services in English (Hatch, 2019). Hatch (2019) notes that banking is one area where foreigners would seriously benefit from improved English services. In the past, Taiwan’s other English-related policies intended to help foreigners were primarily related to translating signs for roads, buildings, and tourist attractions (Hsu, 2018), so this

new approach is much more involved and will help people who are intending to settle in Taiwan long-term rather than just short-term tourists.

Comparisons to Other Countries

To put Taiwan’s approach to English language policy into perspective, it is useful to compare it to other countries. This chapter looks at three other countries in East Asia that have well established English language programs: Singapore, Japan, and South Korea. This comparison will briefly outline the history of English in each country, then determine similarities and differences between current government policies and programs, the strengths and weaknesses of each, and what aspects could be applicable to Taiwan.

Firstly, some major differences between the countries must be acknowledged. Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan are all democracies, whereas Singapore is semi-democratic. Populations, GDP, GDP per capita, Freedom House scores,⁶ urbanization, and PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) reading scores,⁷ and English Proficiency Index rankings can all be found in the table below. Taiwan has the second-smallest population, the second-largest GDP per capita, and the lowest urbanization rate. Among the four countries, Singapore stands out for its high GDP per capita, Freedom House Ranking, PISA reading score, and EPI rank. According to Freedom House (2021), Singapore is the least free of these four countries. Singapore’s English ranks 5th globally and is the only country of these four to achieve the categorization “very high,” the

⁶ Freedom House evaluates the political rights and civil liberties available in a country to determine the level of freedom in that country. Higher scores indicate greater freedom.

⁷ PISA “measures 15-year-olds’ ability to use their reading, mathematics and science knowledge and skills to meet real-life challenges” using their PISA test (PISA, 2018). The reading score was chosen instead of math or science due to the connection between first and second language development (Cummins, 1979). All countries in the table attained reading score above the OECD average of 487.

equivalent of a B2 in the CEFR. Due to its strong English skills, Singapore is often a point of comparison for the language education systems of other East Asian countries (e.g., Morita, 2010). From 2018 to 2019, Taiwan had the greatest improvement of all surveyed countries in Asia (EPI, 2019). However, this improvement is too soon to be attributed to the policy proposals of 2018.

Figure 2: Social and Education Indicators in Select East Asian Countries

	Population	GDP (in billions) ⁸	GDP per capita ⁹	Freedom House Ranking ¹⁰
Taiwan	23,578,705 ¹¹	\$1,189	\$50,500	94 (Free)
Singapore	5,703,600 ¹²	\$528.1	\$94,100	54 (Partly free)
South Korea	51,780,579 ¹³	\$2,035	\$39,500	83 (Free)
Japan	125,962, 000 ¹⁴	\$5,443	\$42,900	96 (Free)

	Percent Urbanized ¹⁵	PISA Reading Score ¹⁶	EPI Rank (Category)	CEFR Equivalent ¹⁷
Taiwan	78.9	503	38 (moderate)	B1
Singapore	100	549	5 (very high)	B2
South Korea	81.4	514	37 (moderate)	B1
Japan	91.8	504	53 (low)	B2

⁸ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/fields/208rank.html>

⁹ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/fields/211rank.html>

¹⁰ <https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores>

¹¹ <https://eng.stat.gov.tw/point.asp?index=9>

¹² <https://www.singstat.gov.sg/find-data/search-by-theme/population/population-and-population-structure/latest-data>

¹³

http://kosis.kr/conts/nsportalStats/nsportalStats_0102Body.jsp?menuId=10&NUM=1010&searchKeyword=&freq=&cntUpdate=Y

¹⁴ <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/jinsui/tsuki/index.html>

¹⁵ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/349.html>

¹⁶ <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/publications/pisa-2018-results.htm>

¹⁷ At the B1 level, the student can “understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters” and “produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest.” At the B2 level, the student can “understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics” and “produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects” (Council of Europe, 2020).

EF's English Proficiency Index (2019) or EPI, ranks the average communicative English skills of students in 100 countries. Scores are calculated with EF's Standard English Test, the scores of which correlate strongly with TOEFL and IELTS, two well-known tests of English proficiency. The EPI uses the scores of 2,300,000 test takers to create these rankings. EF indicates the sample population is quite young (full-time students age 13-22) and choose to take the test because of their interest in learning English, so the samples are not representative of the country's entire population. Still, the EPI is one of the few ways to quickly compare English proficiency transnationally and has been referenced in peer-reviewed research (e.g., Chung & Choi, 2016)

There are some additional differences between these countries and Taiwan that must be addressed. Unlike Singapore, Japan, and South Korea, Taiwan's diplomatic situation is unusual: it is officially recognized as a country by only 15 other countries (Clarke, 2019). The United States does not recognize Taiwan, for instance. An additional underlying factor is that Singapore, Japan, and South Korea may simply have more international recognition, owing to trends such as anime and K-pop, whereas Taiwan lacks such renown in pop culture. Thus, compared to these three countries, Taiwan may struggle to bring NES teachers (see "The Role of Native English-speaking Teachers" below for more). Due to these differences, comparisons between the countries will not be faultless, but they still provide valuable points of comparison.

Singapore

Singapore, an island country located off the tip of the Malay Peninsula, is far smaller than Taiwan. Due to its status as a former British colony, it also has a much longer tradition of English language study (Low & Pakir, 2018). Despite that, the

Taiwanese government regularly cites Singapore as the example it wishes to follow regarding English language education (Hsu, 2018). This may be due to Singapore's international reputation as an English language education powerhouse. Since 1966, Singapore has required citizens to learn both English and their mother tongue based on ethnicity—Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil for those of Chinese, Malay, and Indian descent respectively (Chua, 2010). English has been an official language of Singapore since 1956, a policy Taiwan has considered and previously, first in 2002 (Gopinathan, 1980 in Farrell & Kun, 2008; Shih 2018). Now, although the Singaporean government requires students to pass exams on their mother tongues, academically weak students are exempted from this requirement (Low, 2010).

Since 1987, English has been the medium of instruction in all Singaporean schools (Morita, 2010). Before that, some schools taught in English, but others used mother tongues (Silver, 2002). Rubdy (2007) notes that teachers generally avoid using “Singlish”¹⁸ in the classroom in accordance with government policy, but they may use it on occasion when it aids the student's understanding of class content or helps the teacher connect with a student—especially for younger students. Students, on the other hand, believed teachers' use of Singlish sets a bad example and could hurt students' academic performance, even though teachers often used Singlish to explain confusing material. The government prefers the use of Standard Singaporean English (SSE), which is similar to other forms of Standard English around the world (Leimgruber, 2011). Because English is used ubiquitously in Singaporean schools, teachers there already have good spoken English skills. Thus Singapore, unlike Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea, does not feel

¹⁸ The nickname given to the colloquial English spoken outside of formal settings, which the government considers grammatically incorrect (Low, 2010).

pressured to recruit foreign native English speakers to serve as models of fluency in the classroom.

The government also worried that, as English was a second language for Singaporeans, exposure to both the SSE and Singlish forms of English would be confusing for them and cause language development issues (Lazar, 2010). After government officials decided Singaporean English needed to match international grammatical standards of formal English, they launched the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM) (Low, 2010). This policy included re-training teachers to teach grammar explicitly and focus on grammatical accuracy rather than emphasizing the fluency and communicative ability common in communicative language teaching, which was used in classrooms at the time (Low, 2010). This policy contrasts linguistic research, which has begun to emphasize the importance of practicing oral fluency as an essential language skill and says that too much emphasis on accuracy can hinder communication (Sun, 2017). As of 2010, despite running for ten years, the movement had seen little success (Low, 2010).

Interestingly, despite aspirations to emulate Singapore, the SGEM does not fall in line with Taiwan's current policy goals: the Taiwanese government has recently talked about the importance of communicative fluency over grammatical precision (Hsu, 2018). However, this may be attributed to the fact that Taiwan's overall English fluency is far lower than Singapore's, so their current policies differ even though Taiwan eventually wants its English proficiency to closely reflect Singapore's.

Another important point of comparison is that at the time English was declared an official language, Singapore was very ethnically diverse, and even those who shared an

ethnicity did not always share a language, especially considering the multitude of Chinese dialects present (Wee, 2004). Because English rather than a single Singaporean language was elevated to national status, conflict with origins in ethnolinguistic identity was prevented to some extent (Chua, 2010; Sai, 2013). English was selected as the lingua franca as a politically neutral option (Sai, 2013), an argument the KMT tried to make for Mandarin in Taiwan in the 2000s (Dupre, 2016). Although English is not a completely neutral language in Singapore (Sai, 2013), it can at least be argued that it was not the language of the ruling group, as was the case in Taiwan. When Singapore implemented its English policy, it was still forging a national identity, whereas Taiwan's national identity does not rely on English.

Japan

Unlike Taiwan and Singapore, Japan's two minority languages, spoken by the Ainu and Okinawa Indigenous groups, are so small they are likely to die out within a few decades (Hagerman, 2009). Japan generally places emphasis on the uniformity of the population, and little work has been done to preserve these Indigenous languages (Cheung, 2005). Like Singapore, Japan does have dialects of Japanese in several regions, but these dialects are not always mutually intelligible. Therefore, Standard Japanese is still taught through twelfth grade as a school subject (Iino, 2002).

Compared to Singapore, Japan has a much shorter history of widespread English use and teaching. English first became important in Japan at the beginning of Japan's Meiji period in the late 1860s (Iino, 2002). During this time, Japan was opening up and interacting with Western powers, so English became important for communication with the outside world. By the 1890s, English was the primary foreign language taught in

Japanese schools (Iino, 2002), but it was not until 2002 that English became mandatory for junior high school (Morita, 2010). For the 90% or more of Japanese who complete high school, they have studied English for six years in total (Morita, 2010). Since 2002, English has also been widely studied in elementary schools, where the emphasis is on speaking skills (Iino, 2002). Although schools can choose a foreign language other than English to fill this requirement, this is rare (Iino, 2002).

In 2013, the Japanese government attempted to mandate that high school English classes would be taught entirely in English, but many teachers were apprehensive about this due to limited spoken English proficiency (Sakamoto, 2012). However, elementary school teachers in Japan do not receive any training on teaching of English and may not have studied English themselves for years (Sakamoto, 2012). This can create problems for both students and teachers. Despite the “continuous modification and revision of the policy for English education in Japan,” students are not meeting the outlined benchmarks, and a shortage of qualified teachers exacerbates this issue (Steele & Zhang, 2016; The Japan Times, 2015).

Japan’s education and work systems emphasize international competition and consider English a key part of that strategy despite the fact that few Japanese need English in their daily lives (Morita 2010). English examinations are required for high school and university acceptance, and major or international companies may mandate an English test for employment (Ishikawa 2017; Morita, 2010). Because of this emphasis on written testing, teachers often use the grammar-translation method of teaching, which is not conducive to learning spoken communication (Steele & Zhang, 2016). Sakamoto (2012) names the exam format as the single largest problem to address before Japanese

English teaching classrooms can successfully transition to a more communicative style. This is a problem the Taiwanese government sees in Taiwan as well (Wu, 2011), and their current goals seek to address this concern (Chern, 2002).

While Singaporean students often take a certain amount of pride in speaking Singlish (Rubdy, 2007), Tokumoto and Shibata (2011) point out that this can vary by country. In their study of self-perceptions of accents, they found that the Malaysian group of respondents perceived their variety of English positively, but “the Korean group evaluated their own accented English less negatively compared to the Japanese” (p. 403). Japanese students tend to be less accepting of Japanese-accented English than South Koreans and Malaysians are of their own local varieties, and students tend to focus on producing native-sounding speech. Part of the reason for this may be that students lack experience using their English outside of the classroom, so they are unaware that their English is already sufficient for communication and continue to aspire to the native speaker standard imposed by social pressure (Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011).

Japan’s program to attract native English-speaking (NES) teachers may be one of the best known such programs in the world. Since 1987, the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program has hired native English speakers to come to Japan to teach English (Iino, 2002). Because some Japanese English teachers do not speak English well enough to communicate easily in it, policymakers hoped having a native English speaker in the classroom would help students improve their oral communication abilities (Steele & Zhang, 2016). The program also aimed to “to raise the awareness of the Japanese teachers of the need to communicate in English and to cooperate actively with the ALTs [Assistant Language Teachers],” as teams of teachers composed of local English teachers

(LETs) and foreign native English speakers would provide LETs with more opportunities to have meaningful communication in English (Steele & Zhang, 2016, p.18).

However, there have been many issues with this program over the years. One common complaint regarding JET volunteers is that they do not know how to teach effectively in teams (Turnbull, 2018), which is a common strategy when LETs are paired with foreign native English speakers (NESs) that do not speak the local language. NES teachers are also not required to have any sort of English teaching training before they enter the program, nor are they provided any training after being accepted (Turnbull, 2018).¹⁹ A 2018 study of NES teachers participating in JET found that the NES teachers still felt that communicative teaching strategies were not prioritized over the grammar-translation method, despite MEXT's (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) curricular emphasis on communication starting in 1989 (O'Donnell, 2005, in Steele & Zhang, 2016; Turnbull, 2018). It is possible that in some cases, teachers may not fully understand the goals of a communicative approach to teaching and remain too focused on accuracy (Ramasivama & Nair, 2019).

There also appear to be communication gaps between NESs and LETs. Many NESs have complained that the LETs do not want their input on classroom planning or do not inform them of the lessons with enough time to prepare meaningful activities (Turnbull, 2018). However, this may not be purposeful on the part of the LETs—one survey found that nearly 40% of LETs considered lack of time to meet NES teachers a major problem (Benesse, 2010 in Sakamoto, 2012). Some NES teachers also noted that

¹⁹ Although JET is now a competitive program with an application and interview process that (theoretically) eliminates extremely underqualified candidates, the JET website lists only citizenship, possession of a bachelor's degree, "native-level English speaking proficiency," and length of time lived in Japan as the basic eligibility requirements (JET, 2019).

they were utilized far more frequently in elementary school classes than junior and senior high school (Turnbull, 2018). While this is logical if the goal is immersion for young children, it still remains problematic that older students have less exposure to a NES teacher when they should have a better grasp of English than elementary students. Additionally, NESs often teach at multiple schools per week, and such sparse contact prevents students from building a strong relationship with the NES (Hasegawa, 2008, in Turnbull 2018).

In 2003, Taiwan tried to implement a program similar to the JET and the English Program in Korea (EPIK) to attract foreign teachers, but after a few years, this program was ended due to shortage of teachers (Chen, 2013). Part of the failure was likely because foreign teachers did not want to be placed in rural areas, but rural schools were the focus of the program, as they needed the most help (Chen, 2013). For instance, in 2005, the MOE wanted to hire 1,000 foreign teachers but only managed five (Price, 2014, p.584).

South Korea

English education in South Korea began toward the end of the Joseon Dynasty, between 1883 and 1910 (Choi, 2007 in Park & Kim, 2014). After receiving support from the United States while rebuilding after World War II and the Korean War, South Korea began to see English as a critical instrument (Chung & Choi, 2016), and English was included in the curriculum starting in 1954 (Lee, 2012 in Moodie & Nam, 2015). By 1995, NES teachers were included in English education policy through EPIK (Choi, Lee, & Jeon 2016), and by 1997, when the seventh iteration of the national curriculum was introduced, the importance of teaching English for communicative purposes was acknowledged (Chung & Choi, 2016).

Chung and Choi (2016) briefly outline the English language curriculum in South Korean schools. Nearly all children begin learning English in preschool, and both private and public preschools include English. However, English is not technically mandatory until third grade. Students must take English through the first year of senior high school, but second- and third-year high school students almost always elect to continue learning English (Chung & Choi, 2016). Many students also attend extracurricular English lessons in addition to classes at school, and the government has encouraged establishing affordable programs for low-income families (Chung & Choi, 2016). Still, wealthy families often choose to send their children to study abroad when possible (Chung & Choi, 2016). Although students from other countries including Japan and China study abroad as well, it is disproportionately popular in South Korea (Hu & McKay, 2012). For instance, 35,000 South Korean high school and elementary school students studied abroad for an entire school year in 2006, and even more students went to shorter programs (MOE and Human Resources Development report, in Hu & McKay, 2012, 350). In 2009, a plan to teach English in English was instituted in Seoul with the goal of using English for communication in the classroom (Chung & Choi, 2016). In general, teachers appear to approve of such policies, but they do not always implement the policies when teaching classes (Choi & Lee, 2008 in Hu & McKay, 2012).

Like Japan and Taiwan, English is studied ferociously in South Korea because it is important for university admissions, making up 20% of the entrance exam (Moodie & Nam, 2015). However, the exam focuses on grammar, not speech or communication, which complicates a classroom emphasis on communicative abilities (Moodie & Nam, 2015). Some teachers who want to use a communicative style in the classroom face

pressure from their students to teach exam content instead (Chung & Choi, 2016).

Alternate testing methods have been proposed but are limited in implementation due to higher costs (Chung & Choi 2016).

Teachers in South Korea must attend either a four-year program at a college of education or complete a minor, second major, or an MA in pedagogy or an education-related subject in addition to their primary bachelor's degree (Chung & Choi, 2016). After this, to teach English in Korean public schools, teachers undergo a certification process specific to English, including writing an essay and interviewing in English (Chung & Choi, 2016). Private schools, on the other hand, may administer their own test or allow the teacher to apply directly to certain schools (Chung & Choi, 2016).

Like Taiwan, South Korea has also considered the idea of instituting English as a national language. This idea was widely met with public resentment and accusations of ignoring the real situation in South Korea: “the proposal for EOL in South Korea is an extreme case that focuses only on the need for international communications without critical consideration of its potential effects on domestic language situations” (Yoo, 2005, p. 1). Taiwan is more multilingual than South Korea, but this concern is nonetheless applicable to Taiwan, as Taiwan's emphasis on English also stems from a desire to increase international communication, not an internal communication necessity (Hsu, 2018). However, unlike in South Korea, the proposal in Taiwan was not met with outrage from the general population (Huang, 2018). Korea's past as a colony of China and Japan has helped create a strong sense of linguistic nationalism and attach Korean identity to the Korean language, which no doubt contributes to the backlash against the suggestion of English as a national language (Coulmas, 1999 in Yoo, 2005).

South Korea's EPIK is comparable to Japan's JET Program, as both exist to recruit foreign native English speakers to teach in local schools. In South Korea, an additional program, called Teach and Learn in Korea (TALK) is specifically geared toward rural students. Like NES teachers in JET, NES teachers in EPIK do not need prior English teacher training or experience (Garton, Copland, & Mann, 2018). This leads EPIK to have many of the same problems that exist in JET, particularly a lack of training on TEFL for NESs and difficulty with team teaching, as both LETs and NESs lack training for it (Park, J., 2008 and Park et al., 2010 in Park & Kim, 2014). Nonetheless, Choi, Lee, and Jeon (2016) argue that programs bringing NESs to South Korea provide low-income students with the opportunity to interact with NESs and use English communicatively, an opportunity they would not have otherwise. For this reason, they do not advocate for the complete removal of NESs from the English education system in Korea.

English as a National Language in East Asia

Despite the challenges, 2018 was not the first time a leader of Taiwan has suggested making English a national language. In 2002, Taiwanese Premier You Si-kun also suggested this, hoping that English would become an official language of Taiwan within 6-10 years (Chang, 2008). Significant opposition to this proposal arose, and it did not succeed. However, a change has evidently occurred since 2002. There are a number of reasons the proposal may have been better-received this time. Firstly, rising tensions with China mean Taiwan may be seeking ways to improve relations with the United States and other Western countries. Those in favor of seeking distance from China may also see the need to establish a new identity. Also, Taiwan may be looking for ways to

compete economically with other countries in the region and is hoping that higher levels of English will draw in both foreigners and foreign companies. Finally, the government may hope that improved English proficiency will help individual Taiwanese find jobs or have more successful careers.

When the South Korean and Japanese governments considered elevating the status of English (South Korea in 1998 and Japan in 2000), both were met with high levels of public outcry (Hashimoto, 2002; Song, 2011). Taiwanese did not exhibit such opposition—in fact, in a 2018 survey, 87% of Taiwanese supported adding English as an official language (Huang, 2018). As a unique example in the region, Taiwanese public opinion on this matter warrants further investigation.

Success in nationwide use of English, however, is not entirely without precedent among East Asian countries. Singapore, for instance, uses English as a working language. However, Singapore needed twenty years in order to achieve its English education goals, and many Singaporeans had a background in English due to British colonialism (Chua, 2010; Hsu, 2018). The strict nature of the Singaporean government and the strength of its economy may also have contributed to its English education accomplishments.

Additionally, since 1966, Singapore has had a policy of bilingualism, requiring citizens to learn both English and their mother tongue based on ethnicity—Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil for those of Chinese, Malay, and Indian descent, respectively—but citizens did not develop bilingual language skills overnight (Chua, 2010). English was chosen as an official language in Singapore despite its lack of historical or cultural connection to encourage harmony between the different ethnic groups and because of its global economic importance.

Though Taiwan has a similar rationale for its English policy, Singapore-style success is not guaranteed due to the considerable historical differences between the two places. Not only do Taiwan and Singapore play very different roles globally, English has not been used so widely as a business language in Taiwan, so the rates of English proficiency are much lower. This means Taiwan's plan to become fully bilingual by 2030 may be overly ambitious, something the Taiwanese government has acknowledged (Hsu, 2018). Hong Kong also has high rates of English proficiency, but like in Singapore, this may be attributed somewhat to its former colonial status (Bolton, 2011). Hong Kong was a British colony from 1842 to 1997, and during this time English was used widely in education, especially among the upper classes, though now there has largely been a shift toward widespread trilingualism in English, Cantonese, and Mandarin (Bolton, 2011). Again, despite Hong Kong's and Singapore's success with English, neither of these are examples Taiwan can emulate due to historical differences.

While Singapore has achieved a high level of English proficiency (EPI, 2019), Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea still fall short of their language goals. However, many of the factors that allowed Singapore to achieve this success (e.g., several extra decades of time, strict educational requirements, and the necessity of establishing a shared language) do not offer much in the way of a blueprint for Taiwan or other countries. While striving to emulate the current state of English proficiency is an admirable goal, other countries must be realistic about the possibilities. The Singaporean example does suggest that having native speakers of English is unnecessary as local teachers who are highly qualified can be very effective (Leimgruber, 2011). The examples of South Korea and Japan also suggest that emphasizing English through test scores does not necessarily help

with spoken proficiency (Chung & Choi, 2016; Moodie & Nam, 2015; Sakamoto, 2012; Wu, 2011). These debates, central to language teaching in East Asia, are also essential topics of discussion among language educators and linguists.

Debates Concerning Teaching English as a Foreign Language

A wide body of literature discusses the role of English as the language of globalization or as an international business language (e.g., Gilmore, 2007; Jenkins, 2009; Kobayashi, 2013; Ricento, 2012). Because of English's role in the international economy, many countries have concluded that increased English proficiency will attract foreign businesses, helping the economy grow (e.g., Oh, Selmier, & Lien, 2011). However, some scholars argue that economic performance has little to do with English proficiency and is rarely worth the effort. For instance, Kobayashi (2013) argues that Japan's economic boom after World War II had little to do with its English education (which was of low quality at the time) despite close trade relations with the United States. Kobayashi further argues that JET is costly and rarely worth the substantial funds the government spends on it. Ricento (2012) argues that rather than benefiting nations, English skills benefit a few individuals, but the majority of benefits remain with the international corporations for which they work. On the other hand, Azam et al. (2013) find that in India, those with good English skills generally earn more than those with only a little English proficiency, and those with only some English skills still earn more than those with none, so from an individual standpoint rather than a national one, English education may have direct benefits. Whether increased English proficiency will truly benefit Taiwan in the long run requires further research—research that the government

may find worthwhile, as it is evident that many of Taiwan's English goals are economic rather than educational.

The Role of Native English-Speaking Teachers

A discussion of English teaching in East Asia would not be complete without mention of the effect of foreign NES teachers. The pressure to use English for spoken communication—central to Taiwan's new policy—might cause greater demand for hiring native speakers, who require no additional oral training in the language. Furthermore, there is precedent that this policy change may cause such demand: after implementing the new 2001 curriculum, which also encouraged spoken English, Taiwan experienced a similar strain on its English teaching resources due to the sudden need for English teachers in elementary schools (Chang, 2008). Finally, public opinion about English education is highly intertwined with perceptions of teachers' language and pedagogical abilities, so beliefs about the importance of native and non-native English speakers in classrooms may affect support for the new policy.

NES teachers are a tool popular in Taiwan and other East Asian countries such as Japan and South Korea used to help students develop oral English that sounds native-like. Native English speakers are desirable in foreign language classrooms because their English is considered authentic and their accents are considered standard, even though linguists argue that perfect "standard" English is not spoken by anyone (Rose & Galloway, 2017) (see the section "Standard English and World Englishes" below for more). This is especially desirable if the local English teacher's oral English proficiency is low (Butler, 2015). Widespread public preference for NESs permeates the English language market globally. In Taiwan, cram schools and other private English-teaching

institutions will emphasize employing native English speakers in order to attract students (Wu and Ke, 2009). In some cases, students' tuition and teachers' salaries may differ based on the accent, nationality, or race of the teacher (Price, 2014; discussed in detail below). Rivers and Ross (2013) found that Japanese college students strongly preferred native English-speaking teachers to those who were listed as fluent in English but were not native speakers. Aside from the image of authenticity native speaker status brings to a classroom, Rivers and Ross (2013) mention that for some (in particular, white) English teachers in Asia, their race marks them as "other," which may make their English knowledge appear even more legitimate. Additional preference from students for NES teachers may stem from the assumption that these teachers will rarely assign tests or homework (Ke & Wu, 2009).

Unfortunately, the misconception that native speakers of a language are universally the best teachers of that language is common (Lowe & Pinner, 2016). In ESL literature, this is referred to as the native speaker fallacy, as considerable research (discussed below) has established that NES teachers often create other obstacles in the language classroom. However, among groups such as parents, students, and policymakers, a belief persists that native speakers of English have both the best English language ability and the best English teaching skills due to their Western cultural backgrounds (Holliday, 2006 in Lowe & Pinner, 2016). In fact, even some Korean, Chinese, and Taiwanese English teachers have fallen victim to the belief that their accented English means that despite holding degrees in English education, their English is not sufficient for teaching (Kim, 2011). Phillipson (1992, in Ruecker & Ives, 2014) suggested that this native speaker fallacy was created by English-speaking countries in

order to control the global ESL industry, which is very lucrative. By perpetuating the belief that other English speakers are unfit to teach, these countries stand not only to profit but also to continue asserting global cultural dominance.

From a linguistic standpoint, native speakerism has another especially notable failing: It assumes the existence of a standard English accent. Despite common misconceptions among non-linguists, research across many different languages finds there are few, if any, speakers with a true standard accent (Kramsch, 1997 in Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014). The concept of a standard version of English is also problematic because it implies other versions of English are less valuable. In reality, all varieties of English are useful in communication and important for identity, but society has assigned greater value to certain types of English (typically the types spoken by white upper classes) (O'Neal & Ringler, 2010). In some cases, a country's immigration requirements (in Taiwan and South Korea, for instance) force schools to accept only candidates from a limited list of countries, typically countries whose forms of English are perceived as standard or desirable (Ruecker & Ives, 2014). On the other hand, these same requirements often only allow applicants with bachelor's degrees to apply, which to some extent helps ensure more educated teachers (Ruecker & Ives, 2014).

Despite widespread beliefs about the importance of native English speakers and their accents, little empirical evidence exists as to whether there are tangible impacts of native versus non-native speakers teaching English. Most research consists of student interviews and talks about the benefits of both types of teachers (e.g., Ma, 2012; Chang, 2014; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014; Kung, 2015). Understandably, few studies have

looked beyond student perceptions due to the challenge of controlling all the variables, so there is a lack of concrete evidence upon which to prove or disprove these claims.

One 1991 study found that having a native English speaker as a teacher was the second strongest positive influence on a student's TOEFL score, after only extracurricular reading (Gradman & Hanania, 1991). This study used students TOEFL scores²⁰ as the dependent variable and did in-depth interviews with students to gain a thorough understanding of the student's language education background. Nonetheless, one study that relies on student self-reporting for the majority of its data must be treated with skepticism. Overall, the only real conclusion to be drawn is that more research is needed on this issue.

As Wang and Lin (2013) argue, few studies or reports exist that demonstrate employing NES teachers in schools is particularly effective as a language education tool, so programs employing NES teachers may represent a waste of government funds that could be used to improve LETs' language skills. This ineffectiveness may stem from the fact that many NES teachers have no pedagogical knowledge about language teaching (Wang & Lin, 2013). A study analyzing online job ads for EFL teaching²¹ found requirements listed in job ads for English teachers were related to native language, not professional qualifications such as teaching experience or related degrees (Ruecker & Ives, 2014). Some sites even emphasized that no prior teaching experience was necessary (Ruecker & Ives, 2014). This total lack of teaching experience and pedagogical knowledge can severely hurt students' education (Wang & Lin, 2013). In contrast, many schools in Taiwan employ LETs who do not speak English natively but who are trained

²⁰ Scores obtained prior to entering the affiliated university's English language program

²¹ Some job sites were specific to East Asian countries, including Taiwan, and others were global

in English pedagogy, and thus have been trained in language teaching pedagogy. These teachers also likely have the same first language (L1) as their students, meaning that they can easily explain nuanced grammar rules, though the students will likely not be fully immersed in English.

Due to different requirements for foreign versus local teachers, educational institutions often must choose between a non-native speaker who understands how to teach a language and can communicate easily with students or a native speaker whose primary worth lies in apparent authenticity and fluency of language. While some teachers are naturals in the classroom without training and other teachers struggle after even certification and experience, at least some training is often helpful. Unfortunately, many “governments have sacrificed teacher professionalism by yielding to the myth that untrained and inexperienced NESs can still be competent teachers,” which can pose a threat to current students’ foreign language education (Wang & Lin, 2013, p. 13). This perception may be aggravated when governments pay foreign teachers more than LETs, which implies to LETs that they are worth less because of their accents, even if they have extensive pedagogical knowledge and experience (Wang & Lin, 2013). Again, despite widespread beliefs about the importance of native English speakers and their accents, few studies or reports exist that demonstrate employing NES teachers in schools is particularly effective as a language education tool, so programs employing NES teachers may simply represent a waste of government funds (Wang & Lin, 2013).

Of course, not all NES teachers are put in a classroom with no training and expected to teach English competently. Some NES teachers have received training in teaching English as a second language (TESL). In other cases, school districts and

educational organizations have sought to address the issues of untrained NES teachers through the implementation of team teaching, wherein a NES is paired with a LET, and the two work together in the classroom. However, this method also presents issues. For instance, NES teachers' complete lack of pedagogical knowledge can cause miscommunications with co-teachers, which is a source of frustration between some pairs of teachers (Ohtani, 2010 in Wang & Lin, 2013).

Race further affects perceptions of the ideal English teacher. In Japan, for instance, Kubota and McKay (2009) see a preference for white native speakers. Rivers and Ross (2013) argue that NESs are often assumed to be white, which results in discrimination and exclusion for people of other racial groups, as they may be seen as different from the norm. Although Ross and Rivers (2013) did see an overall preference for white teachers, when white teachers with non-preferred countries of origin and non-preferred English language ability were rated against Asian and Black teachers with preferred attributes, Asian and Black teachers were preferred. This suggests that while race is important to some extent, it does not outweigh other attributes or at least the combined influence of those attributes. When studying teachers' perspectives on this situation, Chen and Cheng (2010) found that of three South African teachers in Taiwan they observed, one had serious concerns that her students' misbehavior was related to the fact that she was Black, but all three of the teachers (one of whom was white) faced serious problems stemming from their South African accents. Wu and Ke (2009) found that not all students care about accent—of the students they surveyed, 21%, said they had no preferred accent, assuming they could still understand the teacher—but nonetheless, 28% did expect native English-speaking teachers to speak with a standard accent (p.

47).²² However, while interviewing students, Wu and Ke (2009) also found that as students met more English speakers, they began to understand that most speakers have an accent of some kind and became more accepting of such accents.

Despite these conflicts, NESs have remained popular throughout East Asia and many other countries as well. In line with such policies, public opinion in Taiwan clearly demonstrates a continued desire for native speakers of English in Taiwanese classrooms. However, this may be changing slowly, as more Taiwanese realize that Standard English is more of an imagined construct than a reality (Wu & Ke, 2009). Additionally, the 2018 policy announcement did not include mention of foreign English teachers. In fact, it emphasized the training of LETs for the new roles in classrooms. As Wu and Ke (2009) argue, training LETs is a much more effective policy mechanism than relying on untrained foreign teachers.

Student Perceptions of Teachers

One factor in developing successful classrooms is students' perceptions of their teachers, and language classrooms are no different (Chen & Cheng, 2010). Oladejo (2006) says that most Taiwanese have a significant preference for native English speakers (NESs), particularly Americans and Canadians. Todd and Pojanapunya (2008, in Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014) looked at students' explicit and implicit biases toward native and non-native English teachers, finding that students explicitly preferred native speakers but implicitly preferred non-native local teachers.

²² English learners often initially believe that native English speakers speak Standard English, but as students become more aware of the English language ecosystem, they begin to realize that English has many different varieties, all of which are valid (Wu & Ke, 2009; Rose & Galloway, 2017).

Regarding student perceptions of both native and non-native English teachers, studies have found fairly consistent results. In general, students initially assume foreign NESs are superior teachers in every way, but over time, they begin to recognize that LETs have some advantages (Wu & Ke, 2009). Students may prefer NESs due to an assumed or actual difference in teaching style and the assumption of a standard accent (Wu & Ke, 2009). When this expectation is not met, students may not have such a strong preference for NESs (Wu & Ke, 2009). LETs often have a better grasp of English grammar rules and can easily explain them to students using the students' first language (Ma, 2012; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014). Other students felt that they could relate to LETs more easily—their past English learning experiences were particularly valuable to students (Kung, 2015).

Students view native speakers' verbal and auditory skills favorably, and they are considered good models of "correct" pronunciation and fluent verbal input (Kung, 2015; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014). NESs also expose students to casual English closer to what they will hear in the real world (Wu & Ke, 2009). At the same time, they may be harder for students to understand (Chang, 2014). For example, a student interviewed by Wu and Ke (2009) complained that one NES teacher's accent made him harder to understand. While a valid complaint, when students use English in the real world, they will certainly be forced to communicate with English speakers who use accented or otherwise non-standard English, so becoming accustomed to a variety of accents may prove useful for students in the long run.

The two types of teachers also tended to have very different types of teaching methodology and classroom environments, according to students (Ma, 2012). NES

teachers' classes are generally seen as more relaxed (Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014). Those who preferred LETs did so because the LETs were more willing to state explicit course requirements and expectations (such as the page length of a paper), whereas NESs tended to avoid direct answers to such questions (Kung, 2015). LETs had definite course outlines and schedules, but NESs often had only general course schedules and adjusted them over the course of the semester (Kung, 2015). Students generally found the lack of structure in NES teachers' classes frustrating. However, others appreciated the more interactive environment in classrooms with NESs, saying they prepared for class and paid more attention in case they were called on (Kung, 2015).

Cultural barriers were another common theme in these studies. Students said they often noticed cultural barriers when interacting with the NES teachers (Kung, 2015). When interacting with LETs, there was no such barrier, which made talking to them less stressful (Kung 2015; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014). On the other hand, non-native speakers had difficulty answering questions about Western culture, which meant students could not learn all the cultural nuances of English (Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014). Thus, overall, there seems to be a consensus that because both types of teachers have different advantages, policymakers and educational institutions should consider that a mix of native and non-native English speakers may provide the best resources for students to learn.

Standard English and World Englishes

One way to begin combating the effects of native speakerism is the concept of World Englishes. World Englishes refers to the many varieties of English used in the world today, including those used at work, at school, and socially, in countries that have

many native English speakers as well as those that have few. As Matsuda and Matsuda (2010) argue, “The English language is not a monolith but a catchall category for all its varieties” (p. 370). Even hundreds of years ago, many varieties of English existed, and as the use of English has expanded around the world, varieties of English have become more diverse. English does not “belong” only to those who speak it natively (Bolton, 2006). This is especially important when studying the types of English present in former colonies of English-speaking countries (Bolton, 2006).

Unfortunately, despite the prevalence of World Englishes in linguistics research, it is often overlooked in classrooms, including in Taiwan (Chang, 2014). However, when students are introduced to the concept of World Englishes and the many varieties of English, they begin to understand that different varieties of English all have value and the “standard” form of English is not only relative to different countries but also is not a well-defined concept in the way they previously imagined (Chang, 2014; Rose & Galloway, 2017). As Wu and Ke (2009) suggest, more Taiwanese have begun to realize that Standard English is more of an imagined construct than a reality. They propose that this is due primarily to an increasing number of foreigners in Taiwan and the subsequent realization that essentially all native speakers have an “accent” that differs from the “standard.” After students realize that Standard English does not exist in the sense they initially assumed, they may also better understand that learning English from a native English speaker in no way equates to learning Standard English and that learning from their local teachers is enough to help them be competent English speakers.

In a study of 22 Taiwanese college students majoring in English, Chang (2014) found that exposure to World Englishes and related concepts changed the students’

perception of English. Over the course of a semester, the students studied topics like accents, standardization, and language preservation, and by the end of the semester, the students understood that social value placed on different varieties of English was power rather than a true inherent difference in the values of these varieties. While teaching an entire semester-long course on World Englishes is not a feasible option in all ESL programs, ESL students may benefit from a smaller scale of the same concept. For instance, a teacher could spend one to two classes talking about World Englishes and then regularly refer back to the concept throughout the semester.

Teaching English for Globalized Communication (TEGCOM) is a concept somewhat comparable to World Englishes (Kubota, 2001 in Chang, 2014). Rather than presenting a student's variety of English as a valid variety of English no matter the accent, teachers may find it easier to emphasize that they are teaching a kind of English that their students can use to communicate with other English speakers all around the world, not just in one country. This goal is quite similar to Taiwan's emphasis on teaching English for verbal communication (Chen, 2010), so this strategy may be easy to implement in Taiwanese classrooms.

In some cases, despite knowledge of World Englishes, preferences for native speakers may persist. This can happen when students aspire to achieve native-sounding British or American accents, which they believe are preferred (Chang, 2014). In order to combat this, teachers may find it helpful to talk to students about the difficulty in eliminating accents from their speech. The phonetic system of a foreign language is one of the hardest aspects to fully acquire, as human brains begin developing a method to categorize sounds even from the time we are infants (Dobel et al., 2009). Even speakers

who have been speaking a second language for decades may have a strong accent, and a strong accent does not equate to being incomprehensible. Therefore, teachers may want to encourage students to focus on aspects of a language like syntax or morphology that will yield greater benefits than worrying about the existence of an accent.

Public Opinion

Public opinion is an important factor in language planning decisions. If the public is completely opposed to changes in the use of languages, language policies are likely to fail (Cooper, 1989). Even in 1998, the Taiwanese government was cognizant that parents were beginning to demand increased English education, which was one stimulus for the change in English curriculum in 2001 (Chern, 2002). Unfortunately, this policy backfired to some extent, as introducing English in schools at a younger age simply drove up demand for English cram schools for young students rather than decreasing it, something that might occur again with the implementation of the new policy (Chang, 2008).

The new policy also may be linked to a shift in public opinion. In 2002, over 55% of Taiwanese wanted English education to start in the fourth grade or later (Price, 2014, 581, citing United Daily News poll data from J. Chang 2004). However, by 2008, 41.3% wanted English education to start in kindergarten and an additional 36.3% wanted it to start by second grade (Chang, 2008, 427). During this time, more bilingual kindergartens and cram schools for elementary and middle schoolers were established (Price, 2014). Although it is possible the shift in policy occurred due to changing pressures from the public (Chen, 2013), the timing suggests another explanation is possible: both policy and public opinion had a role in shaping the other (Price, 2014).

Even in Chang's (2008) survey, respondents were unwilling to wait for their children to enter third grade before studying English, enrolling their children in English lessons outside of school, and over 65% of the families had enrolled their children in English lessons starting in kindergarten (p. 427). English is seen as a means with which one can become more competitive and find greater professional success (Chang, 2014; Chen, 2010). Additionally, English represents a connection with the rest of the world and a way to become more internationally conscious (Chang, 2014; Chen, 2010). On the other hand, some Taiwanese consider English a colonial language and have concerns about the political ramifications of English's global dominance (Chang, 2014).

According to Butler (2015), Taiwan, along with other East Asian countries, has employed native English speakers due to pressure from the public, while Chang (2008) found that 57.9% of parents preferred well-educated Taiwanese teachers of English to NES teachers with a bachelor's degree in English or a relevant subject (p. 430). However, in the same survey, Chang found that 80% of parents wanted English classes in primary schools to be taught in English, which some LETs may find challenging (p. 429). As previously noted, the advantages of absolutely prohibiting Mandarin in the classroom is debatable because research shows that strategic use of the mother tongue can be pedagogically useful (see Littlewood & Yu, 2011), but the government appears to be trying to meet parents' demands, as English classes in English starting at the primary level are a major aspect of the new policy. This suggests that the government is at least somewhat aware of public opinion on this issue.

Nonetheless, most studies of English language education focus only on the perspectives of parents and young learners. Similarly, most studies investigating students'

attitudes toward teachers rely on interviews or questionnaires filled out by a small group of students or parents all attending a small number of schools (e.g., Chang, 2014; Kung, 2015). Few studies looked at learners' experiences after high school or the opinions of the wider public. Current students and parents are doubtless affected most immediately by policy changes, but it is important for the Taiwanese policymakers to keep the long-term view in mind and understand all voters' expectations in terms of education. Thus far, studies using large sample sizes representative of the population of Taiwan are severely lacking, and this study is one step toward closing the gap.

Based on this literature review, I developed the following research questions:

1. Have past government policies achieved their stated goals?
2. How do Taiwanese beliefs about English language teaching compare with the policies currently in place?
3. What demographic and attitudinal factors affect how Taiwanese perceive English language education?

RESEARCH DESIGN AND SURVEY RESULTS

To address my research questions, I conducted a web survey in Taiwan through PollcracyLab at National Chengchi University's (NCCU) Election Study Center. In September 2020, 507 Taiwanese respondents completed a 30-question survey in Mandarin. The survey included demographic questions, questions pertaining to the respondent's history with English, and questions regarding the respondent's opinion on English language education. Male respondents made up 57.6% of respondents and female 42.4%. The median age was 41 with a standard deviation of 9.3. Eleven percent of respondents had a high school degree, 51.7% had a college degree, and 37.3% had graduate-level education. According to the government of Taiwan (Taiwan.gov, 2017), 46.5% of Taiwanese have a college or higher degree, so this survey skews toward the views of the more highly educated. Income likewise skewed much higher than the Taiwanese average of US \$22,762 per year (Everington, 2020).

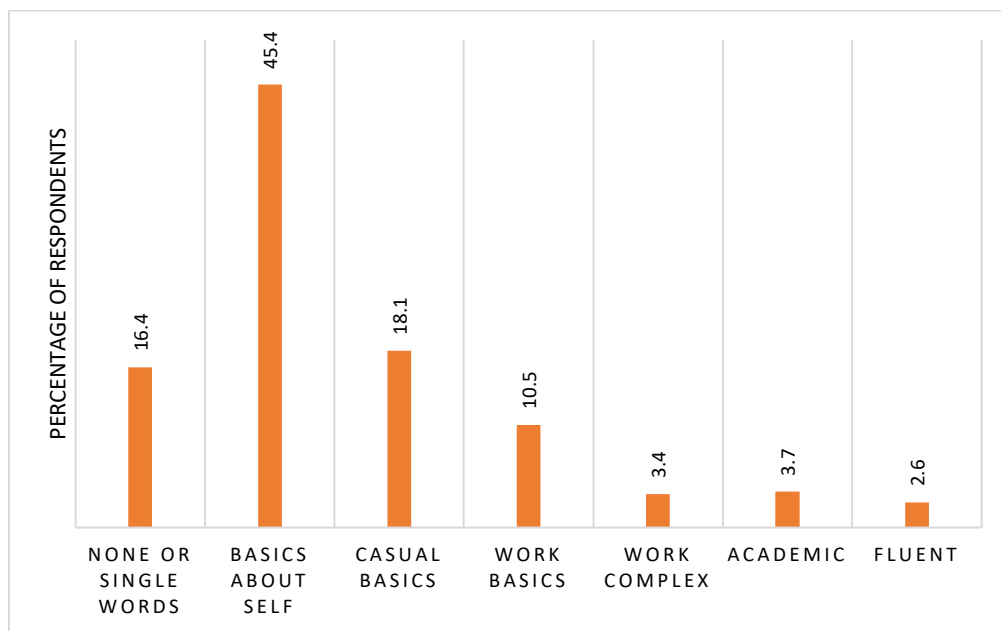
First, I will discuss the results of several questions on individuals' personal education experiences and language use, beginning with the language skill self-assessment question. The answer options were measured on a seven-point scale, ranging from no English or single words only to fluent.²³ Although people tend to rate their

²³The full answer options were:

1. I speak no English or only a few basic words.
2. I can communicate basic information about myself (name, preferences, family)
3. I communicate easily in most casual settings
4. I communicate easily in casual settings and in most workplace conversations
5. I can have complex workplace conversations
6. I can communicate easily in academic or university settings
7. I am bilingual or very fluent in English

language skills lower than where a proficiency test would place them (Ma & Winke, 2019), answer options (based on State Department proficiency categories) were phrased to mitigate this problem. As shown in Figure 3, a near-majority Taiwanese in this sample claim they have only very basic English skills, such as introducing their name, family, and hobbies, and another 16.4% says they have no English or know only a few single words. This begs the question, why is the government spending so much money on English education yet achieving so little? How can these programs be adjusted to make sure this money is well-spent rather than wasted on ineffective programs?

Figure 3: English Self-Assessment



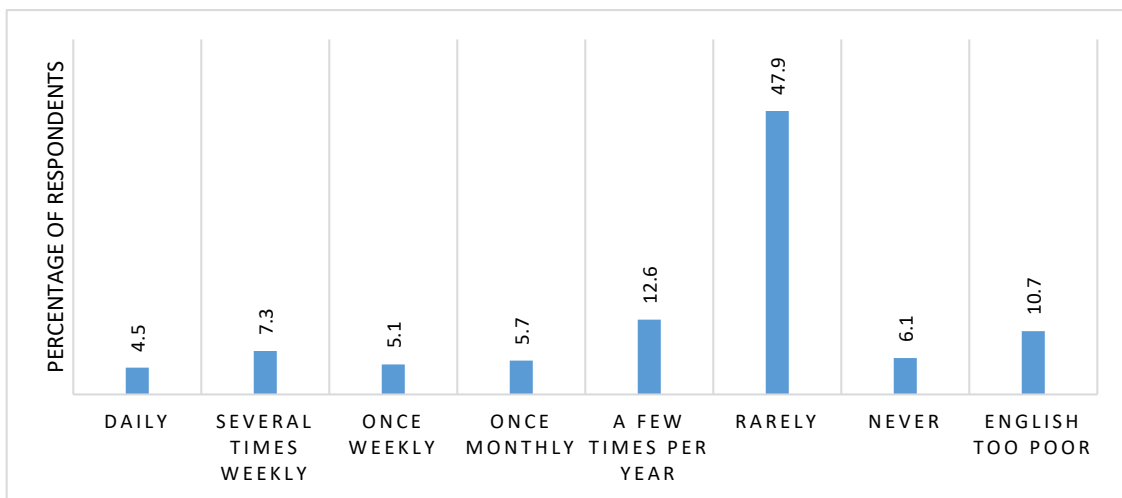
Breaking down the results of this question by age cohort shows that only minimal improvements have occurred over time, mostly among the youngest respondents. Over a quarter (25.9%) of respondents in their 20s considered themselves able to easily communicate in most casual situations (“casual basics”), up from just 17.5% of respondents in their 30s, 18.9% in their 40s, and 14.7% in their 50s.

Younger respondents may have given higher self-assessments for a number of reasons. First, there may have been concrete improvements to the quality of teaching and learning over time. In coming years, it would be promising to find that more young respondents placed themselves in the “casual basics” category or higher, as this would support the hypothesis that the effectiveness of English language education has improved overall. It may also be related to younger students having more opportunities to hear or use English due to the effects of globalization and the prevalence of English media. Such a change could possibly correlate to push over time for a more communicative approach. Because younger respondents are closer chronologically to the time period when they studied English, they may remember it better. They may also feel more confidence or feel the need to assert their competence as they do not have established careers.

Still, English has been in the high school curriculum since 1945, so Taiwanese graduating high school after then should still have some knowledge of English. However, before 2005, focusing on the communicative aspects of language was less common. Because this question focused on communicative skills rather than written or grammatical abilities, it is possible that if these questions had reflected the type of content seen on Taiwanese entrance examinations, older adults would have given themselves a higher self-assessment. Inherent issues in reliance on self-reporting may also come into play. For instance, those who can communicate effectively but feel that their English is poor nonetheless may underrepresent their abilities. Cultural emphasis on modesty could also affect responses (Han, 2011; Kung, 2017). Still, the minimal improvements over time suggest there are lasting issues with the language education program.

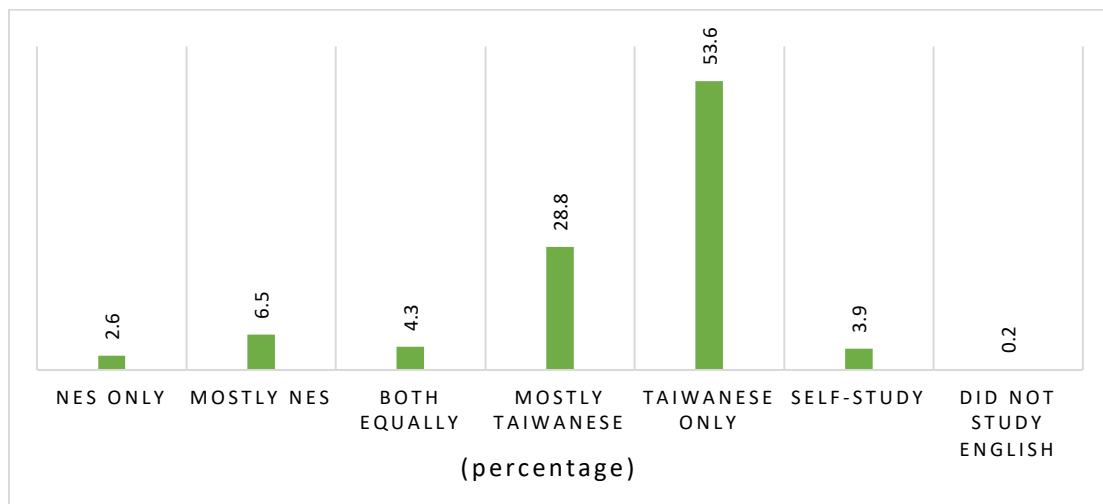
The next question from the survey was intended to assess the practical utility of English language skills among Taiwanese, asking how frequently they hold a conversation lasting one minute or more in English (see Figure 4 below). The time limit was included so respondents would not include short one-word or one-sentence interactions. Only 16.9% of respondents said they had interactions of this sort at least once per week. On the other end of the scale, far more respondents—a total of 64.7%—reported using their English rarely (less than a few times per year), never, or cited too little English knowledge to hold a conversation. Frequency is likely correlated with knowledge of English. Of course, some respondents may use written English to communicate, so these responses do not fully represent all types of English communication. Still, that many Taiwanese spend years learning a skill with little practical application for most is something policymakers must take into account. If language skills lack practical value, serving only as a gatekeeper for jobs or education, it is of limited use to most citizens and does not help the government accomplish its goals.

Figure 4: Frequency of English Use



Finally, respondents were asked about the distribution of native English speakers versus Taiwanese teachers in their English education history. Of course, these results indicate only respondents' perceptions and memories, but the findings still suggest what types of teachers are likely most prevalent in Taiwan. Figure 5 makes clear that a majority of Taiwanese, 53.7%, believe they have never had an NES teacher, and almost a quarter have had primarily Taiwanese teachers. This means that despite the focus on the role of NESs in literature on Taiwanese English education, NESs actually do not impact a majority of Taiwanese. This may be due to the small number of NES teachers present in Taiwan or the difficulties some families face in affording extra English education. Of course, the number of NESs in Taiwan may be greater among students in elementary school and high school, who were not included in this survey. Also, as the government ramps up its English education efforts, the number of NESs in the country may increase. Still, it is important to keep in mind the apparently minor role NESs have in practice despite an incommensurate representation in discussions of EFL education efforts in Taiwan.

Figure 5: Respondents' Teacher Type



Looking at the results of this broken down by age cohort shows that those in their 30s were more likely than those in their 40s to have had at least a few NESs, and those in their 20s were more likely to have had NES teachers than any other group, as only 25.9% of respondents in this group reported having only Taiwanese teachers. Among those in their 30s, 49.2% had never had a NES teacher, and for those in their 40s, the number increases to 67.4%. Still, the prevalence of NESs remains low overall (16.7% of respondents in their 20s selected the Only/Mostly NES categories, 11.3% in their 30s, and 5.7% in their 40s). This suggests that even after both government and public demand for more NES teachers, policies have failed to make a substantial impact for students. Thus, rather than focusing on the role of NES teachers, more studies should examine the qualifications of Taiwanese teachers and how to improve their teaching ability. Previous studies have found that Taiwanese teachers (and LETs in other countries) often fail to meet standard qualifications for teaching English (Butler, 2004; Oladejo, 2006; Steele & Zhang, 2016), and in an environment where most students have all or mostly Taiwanese teachers, the lack of proficiency among teachers will hinder the development of their language skills.

Next, respondents were asked several questions about how language education should be conducted. First, they were asked whether they prefer LETs or NESs to be teachers. The question indicated respondents should assume both types of teachers met the minimum government standards. Figure 6 below shows that a plurality (40.2%) said they prefer both types to teach equally, while nearly a third (31.4%) said they preferred mostly NESs with a few Taiwanese teachers. Age did not appear to play an obvious role in these preferences. This represents a serious contrast from the reality presented above,

where a majority of respondents indicated they had never had any NES teachers. However, it must be acknowledged that if the respondents were not told to assume the teachers met relevant government qualifications—as is the case with both many NES teachers and many LETs in Taiwan (Oladejo, 2006)—responses may have been different.

Figure 6: Teacher Type Preference

Who Should Teach English? (Percentage)	
Native Speakers	10.3
Mostly Native, Some Taiwanese	31.4
Both Equally	40.2
Mostly Taiwanese, Some Native	16.2
Taiwanese	2

This question is also significant because of the native speaker standard that exists in much of the messaging for English language education. Often, the importance of having native speakers teach English is emphasized in advertising from English cram schools or other English education businesses (Ruecker & Ives, 2014). Despite the messaging of English cram schools, a plurality of Taiwanese clearly believes that NESs and LETs should teach in equal proportion. A cross-tabulation was performed to see if responses to the previous question about more Taiwanese or foreign English teachers in a respondent’s personal education history affected responses to this question, but no relationship was found. Thus, having more Taiwanese or foreign English teachers does not appear to affect a person’s preference for teacher type.

Respondents were also asked about whether they believed English classes should be conducted fully in English or in a mix of English and Chinese (see Figure 7 below). This question is significant because it relates to the practice of teaching through immersion, which many cram schools tout (Wu & Ke, 2009). Academic studies generally

find that while immersion is a useful tool for language learning, for most learners, especially those older than about five years of age, explicit grammar instruction is also a key component of language learning (Cummins, 2007; Littlewood & Yu, 2011). Therefore, many linguists advocate for the use of the learner’s L1 to explain concepts in the L2 that are too difficult to convey through immersion. Survey respondents generally seemed in line with academic teaching on this subject, with 46.7% of respondents indicating they believed English classes should occur mostly in English with some Chinese. This indicates that the emphasis on immersion has not totally been accepted by the Taiwanese population. It may even relate to their past experiences as students, because when asked to compare NESs and LETs, many students find that both types of teachers bring advantages and disadvantages to the classroom (Chang, 2014).

Figure 7: Preference for Language of Instruction in English Classes

How do you think English classes should be taught? (Percentage)	
Only English	22.5
Mostly English	46.7
English and Chinese equally	27.4
Mostly Chinese	2.4

The preferred focus for English classes (grammar, reading and writing, pronunciation, speaking and communication, or business English) was also addressed in the survey. Of the five options, respondents were asked to rank three. In Figure 8 below, the Weighted Ranking was calculated by multiplying the Rank 1 response percentage by 3, the Rank 2 response percentage by 2, and the Rank 3 percentage by 1, then adding the totals. The option for speaking and casual communication was by far the most common response, with reading and writing second-most preferred, and pronunciation a close

third. Grammar and Business English were rarely selected as preferred areas of emphasis. This suggests that government and business messaging regarding the importance of communicative language skills has become widely accepted among Taiwanese. While written accuracy and rote memorization of individual concepts were preferred in the past, EFL theory has now transitioned to supporting a more communicative approach (Huang & Yang, 2018). That reading and writing are important may relate to their importance on tests for education and careers. Pronunciation is related to accent, which can be a source of shame for many language learners—even those who can communicate successfully—because of the emphasis placed on the native speaker standard (Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011). Grammar may have ranked so low because, while it is still taught, it is often seen as a hindrance to the fluency targeted in communicative teaching (Huang & Yang, 2018). Considering the importance of English in the international business context, it might appear somewhat surprising business English received such a low score, but it is not a traditional area of focus, which may have impacted its score.

Figure 8: Preference for Content of English Classes

What should be the focus of English classes?					
	Grammar	Reading & Writing	Pronunciation	Speaking & Communication	Business English
Rank 1	10.5	13.8	20.7	50.7	4.3
Rank 2	16.2	30.6	21.9	19.9	11.4
Rank 3	22.1	28.8	15.2	13	20.1
Weighted Ranking	86	131.4	121.1	204.9	55.8

Next, I included an experimental design question regarding the teaching of English versus local Taiwanese languages. The question had four versions, as shown below, with responses measured on a five-point Likert scale of strongly disagree to strongly agree. Each respondent received only one version of the question.

Please respond to the following statement:

V1: I support increasing English language education in Taiwan.

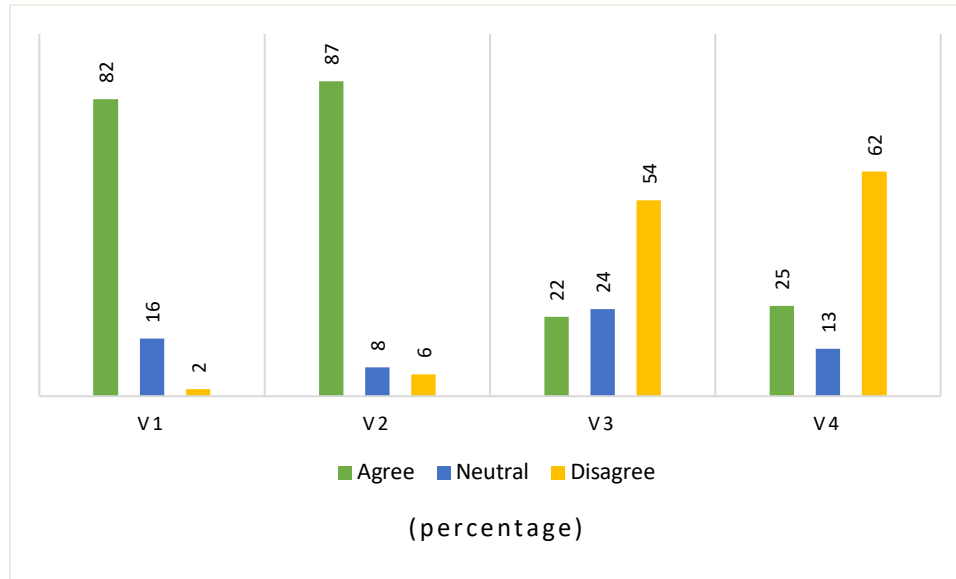
V2: I support increasing English language education in Taiwan because it will help Taiwan become internationally competitive.

V3: I support increasing English language education in Taiwan, even at the expense of local languages.

V4: I support increasing English language education in Taiwan, even at the expense of local languages because it will help Taiwan become internationally competitive.

As Figure 9 shows below, the results of the experimental question strongly indicate that Taiwanese do not consider the loss of local languages an acceptable outcome. Far more people chose “disagree” in V3 and V4, which mention the potential loss of local languages, than in V1 and V2. V1, which was value-neutral, and V2, which presented raising Taiwan’s international competitiveness as a positive aspect of English education, received extremely high rates of support. V2 saw only an 8% increase in support, indicating that emphasizing this benefit has little impact on how Taiwanese view English language education. This may be because Taiwanese already widely consider this a benefit of English language education. This result also demonstrates that unless primed, respondents are not immediately concerned with English crowding other languages out of the curriculum. However, crowding other languages out of the curriculum with more time dedicated to English is a legitimate concern and something policymakers and schools may be held accountable for if they ignore the potential issues now.

Figure 9: Support for Increasing English Language Education in Taiwan by Version



While V3 and V4 do not see levels of disagreement as high as the agreement in V1 and V2, a majority in both cases disagreed with the statement. Particularly in V4, 62% of respondents do not believe that the international competitiveness gained from English is worth the cost of letting local languages decline. Still, it is interesting to note that in V4, around a quarter of Taiwanese do still disregard local languages, agreeing that international competitiveness is more valuable than local languages.

In order to further examine what factors affected responses to this question, I performed several ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions, using support for English language education as the dependent variable. The table below displays the results of the three models. Model 1 includes only dummy variables for V2, V3, and V4 as independent variables, while V1 serves as the baseline. Model 2 includes basic demographic variables. Of the demographic variables, age and age at which the respondent started learning English were continuous variables, and male, KMT, DPP, and the three ethnicity measurements (Hoklo, Hakka, and Indigenous languages) were

dummy variables, with Mainlander thus the baseline category. Income was measured on a 10-point scale where respondents selected the monthly income of their household from a range of ten options. Education was measured based on the highest level of completed education, with 1=completed elementary school and 5=completed graduate school. The lowest education level any respondent selected was high school graduate, so options 1 and 2 (middle school) were not used by any respondents. Political spectrum was measured with a seven-point Likert scale of very liberal (1) to very conservative (7).

Many attitudinal variables were included in the survey because other scholars suggested these factors might affect perceptions of language education. As previous surveys including only demographic variables did not sufficiently explain language attitudes, I included five attitudinal questions on the survey. I selected these variables based on recommendations from linguists and the slim literature available on what affects attitudes toward English language education. Among the available studies, Kim (2010) found that attitude toward Americans affected respondents' attitudes toward learning English in South Korea, and Cho (2013) found that learners' self-assessments of their English skills also play a role.

Model 3 includes five attitudinal measures. English Useful was coded with a five-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).²⁴ English Self-Assessment was coded with a seven-point scale as in the graph above, with none or single words=1 and fluent=7. Frequency of English Use was coded as displayed in the graphs above, with Frequency of English Use on a seven-point scale from daily (1) to never (7) and with

²⁴ The exact wording of the question was, "Please respond to the following statement: I believe English language skills are useful."

those who reported their English was too poor to use (n=11) excluded.²⁵ Attitude toward Americans was a five-point scale from having a very negative attitude toward Americans (1) to a very positive one (5). Increase Government Funding was measured using the response to the statement “I support an increase in government funding for English education” on a five-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).

Figure 10: OLS Regressions on Support for Increasing English Language Education in Taiwan

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE	Coeff	SE
Constant	4.079****	0.089	4.067****	0.441	0.897	0.573
V2	-0.016	0.126	0.027	0.126	-0.051	0.118
V3	-1.498****	0.125	-1.476****	0.126	-1.400****	0.12
V4	-1.587****	0.126	-1.567****	0.126	-1.767****	0.118
Male			-0.054	0.092	0.007	0.087
Age			0.012**	0.005	0.009	0.006
Income			0.016	0.017	-0.009	0.017
Education			-0.096	0.073	-0.042	0.071
DPP			0.021	0.107	-0.090	0.101
KMT			0.089	0.125	0.217*	0.118
Political Spectrum			-0.074*	0.038	-0.060*	0.036
Hoklo			0.123	0.100	0.168*	0.095
Hakka			-0.034	0.141	0.039	0.133
Indigenous			0.170	0.501	-0.433	0.512
English Useful					0.201**	0.087
Age Start English					0.014	0.018
English Self-Assessment					-0.07*	0.039
Frequency of English Use					-0.055*	0.031
Attitude toward Americans					0.133**	0.055
Increase Gov't Funding					0.526****	0.072
N	506		506		444	
Adjusted R ²	0.371		0.380		0.526	
DV: Agreement Scale						
****p < 0.001, ***p < 0.01, **p < 0.05, *p < .10.						

²⁵ I also ran a version of the regression where those who said their English was too poor were recoded as 7 with those who never use their English, but this had little effect on the model.

The results of Model 1 make clear the impact of receiving V3 or V4 of the statement, and throughout all three models, the dummy variables for V3 and V4 remain the most significant factors on the table. Thus, as the graphs above also suggested, Taiwanese are strongly opposed to developing English at the cost of local languages even when reminded of the great international benefits of English. Support was measured on a five-point Likert scale, and receiving Version 3 or Version 4 resulted in a drop of 1.5 points compared to the baseline. This means many of those who responded neutrally or positively when receiving V1 or V2 would likely have responded negatively to V3 or V4. This trend remains present in all three models. Even after controlling for a range of demographic and attitudinal variables, the statistics show that the public retains a negative response to the loss of local languages. For politicians who wish to include the promotion of English or protection of local languages in their campaign platforms, awareness of this public response is essential.

Much like my previous research indicates, the standard demographic factors used to predict political opinions are less helpful in predicting attitudes toward language policy. Only two demographic variables are significant in Model 2: age and political spectrum. Political spectrum has a negative effect relationship with the dependent variable, indicating that those who identified as more liberal are more likely to disagree with the statement they received. Age loses its significance in Model 3, making political spectrum the only demographic variable to remain significant in both Model 2 and Model 3. In Model 3, two additional demographic variables attain weak significance: KMT and Hoklo ethnicity. Both variables had a positive relationship with the agreement scale,

indicating that respondents were supportive of English language education regardless of the version they received.

Only some attitudinal and English experience factors proved significant. These include whether the respondent considers English useful, their ESA, the frequency of their English use, their attitude toward Americans, and whether they believe the government should increase its funding for language education. Support for funding is by far the strongest of the attitudinal variables. Unsurprisingly, those who support increased language education also support increased funding for it. The next strongest attitudinal variables were English Useful and Attitude toward Americans, respectively. Both respondents who found English useful and viewed Americans positively were more likely to support increasing English language education across versions. The ESA measure reveals that those who view their own English poorly are less likely to support greater English language education. Somewhat surprisingly, the frequency measure reveals that those who use their English more frequently are less likely to support greater English education. These individuals may be looking to create low levels of competition for themselves in the English language skills market. Alternate models show that frequency measure becomes slightly more significant when the funding variable is removed from the equation. This may be an effect of a close relationship between frequency and funding.

Additional models looked at other attitudinal factors, including international travel, frequency of communication in a language other than Mandarin, and whether respondents had children or children under the age of 18. However, these variables were not statistically significant and were excluded from the final model.

It is important to consider the strength of the response to V3 and V4 across all three models. The government needs to treat concerns about maintaining local languages seriously, as Taiwanese do not consider the loss of local languages an acceptable outcome. Politicians need to adopt language planning practices that take into account this desire to preserve local languages. Proponents of increasing English language education must avoid any policies with the potential to crowd out local languages, while opponents should emphasize the inevitability of such a crowding out.

Also interesting is the fact that ethnicity did not play a larger role in shaping opinions. Language is extremely hard for many Indigenous groups in particular to preserve because few young children know the language (Chen, 2010). However, only one ethnic group proved significant in any of the models, and only very weakly (Hoklo in Model 3). It seems that Taiwanese are widely supportive of preserving local languages, even if they do not personally speak any minority languages. Respondents may also have been concerned about appearing politically correct, influencing them to give the answers they believed were most socially acceptable.

Overall, there are several major findings to take away from this survey. First, Taiwanese generally do not use their English language skills on a frequent basis. Because this survey skews toward more educated and higher-income Taiwanese, it is possible a survey better representing the average population of Taiwan would show even lower use of English. Next, local Taiwanese language teachers are by far the most prevalent. This is important because much of the academic and business discourse on language education centers on the role of foreign native English speakers in the classroom, but in reality, it appears that foreign native English speakers have an impact on the education of only a

small number of students. Finally, Taiwanese care about the preservation of local languages. Although the government has also enacted policies to protect local languages, their emphasis appears to remain on English, which may not be a popular move with many Taiwanese.

CONCLUSION

The study of English is important in Taiwan because of the potential economic and strategic benefits English could bring (Hsu, 2018). Taiwan's schools have been teaching English for decades but have still struggled to meet the nation's language education goals. Issues such as difficulties in altering the testing system embedded in Taiwanese education further hinder these attempts (Turton, 2020). Therefore, it is important to explore where the expectations and reality of language policy fail to align.

One major conclusion from this study is that despite the amount of academic literature discussing the role of NES teachers and their positive and negative effects on classrooms, few Taiwanese have had NES teachers. Even among respondents in their 20s, just over a quarter had any NES teachers at all. Although this number may have recently increased among Taiwanese who are still in school (and were too young to partake in the survey), a disproportionate number of studies still focus on the impacts of NES teachers. In the future, more researchers may want to examine teacher training programs for LETs in Taiwan, because these clearly have a much broader impact on English education. It may even be more cost effective to train locals, who will likely teach for longer than a foreigner, providing a better return on investment (Wu & Ke, 2009). When evaluating the costs and benefits of the JET program, for instance, experts suggested that its low educational impacts were not worth the high costs (Kobayashi, 2013). Studying and evaluating these programs can help politicians and educators improve them over time and can lead to increased proficiency among Taiwanese LETs.

Another important finding is that Taiwanese generally display protective attitudes toward their local languages. However, it must be acknowledged that despite these attitudes, Taiwan has struggled to meaningfully revitalize the majority of endangered languages, especially Hakka and Indigenous languages, which are now spoken by only about half of those for whom they are a mother tongue (Chen, 2010). Many Hakka consider language one of the most important parts of their identity (Wang, 2007). Likewise, language is also important to many aspects of Indigenous culture and identity (Lin, 2007; Liu & Tsung, 2007). However, numbers are not improving, so despite the best intentions behind laws such as the National Languages Development Act, Indigenous Languages Development Act, and Hakka Basic Act (Taiwan Today, 2018), a disconnect between policy aims and outcomes remains.

From the outside, English appears to offer important advantages economically and internationally, but my findings suggest that these advantages do not outweigh the Taiwanese desire to preserve their local languages, even after controlling for other factors. Dupre (2014) submits that politicians have avoided deeper discussions on language issues due to concerns about public backlash and attempts to downplay identity politics, but politicians may also benefit from using these findings to their advantage when campaigning. Providing an example of what not to do, Lee Chia-fen, the wife of the KMT's 2020 presidential candidate, came under fire during her husband's campaign for stating that studying local languages in schools is unnecessary because they are just used at home (Yang, Chun, & Cheng, 2019). Lee Chia-fen herself speaks Taiwanese but clearly does not believe it contributes value to education in Taiwan. Local politicians may benefit from keeping the DPP's rebuttals to this comment in mind when designing the education policy

aspects of their platforms. Politicians across the political spectrum should consider how best to protect local languages so their loss does not become a greater point of political contention.

For lawmakers, it will be useful to know that Taiwanese lack of experience with foreign NES teachers detected in this survey aligns with the 2018 policy goal of increasing the number of local Taiwanese English teachers (Hsu, 2018). This goal is likely to be a better long-term solution and may be less expensive than attracting an adequate number of foreign teachers. However, keeping county and city governments in line with this goal may be a challenge: in the case of Pingtung County, the local government is still focusing its efforts and funding on hiring foreign teachers rather than local teachers (Huang, 2020). Although foreign teachers provide some benefits in the classroom, hiring them should not be the sole focus of school districts.

This study has several limitations. Firstly, the respondents compose a more highly educated and higher-income group than the average Taiwanese. The survey also relies on self-reports from the participants. Although questions were designed to minimize disparities between self-reports and reality, it is impossible to eliminate this problem entirely. Next, because this study included only adults, recent changes in the educational system are not represented in the survey. It is possible that if younger respondents were included, they would have reported knowing more NES teachers, have given higher self-assessment scores, and had different perceptions of local and NES teachers. Including younger respondents might also make the age-related trends from the ESA and teacher type questions more apparent. Also, many of the adults in the survey have not been in school for years, so it is possible their English skills have declined over time. If this is the case,

their ESAs do not represent what they learned in school, only what they managed to remember over time. Therefore, while these results may suggest what language abilities students retain over time, they may not show the full extent of language learning in schools.

In the future, one interesting area to research would be the experiences of high school and college graduates recently hired or in the job market. This group has the benefit of having studied English in a formal classroom setting more recently than other adults, and they know what qualifications employers advertise. Those who have been recently hired can also provide estimations of how important English is for their jobs and whether it was a hiring requirement. Another area of research to consider would be a closer investigation of English education in rural and low-income areas of Taiwan. Many papers mention these as factors that hinder English education (Butler, 2015; Li & Tan, 2016), but few appear to have researched what can be done to mitigate the issue. Surveys or other research that include elementary and high school students would help uncover age-related trends and show the most recent effects of education policy changes. Finally, interviewing or surveying lawmakers directly about their goals and perspectives on English education may help pinpoint where the disconnect between policy goals and measured outcomes arises.

REFERENCES

- Adawai, J. P. (2020). *Indigenous world 2020: Taiwan*. International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. <https://www.iwgia.org/en/taiwan/3609-iw-2020-taiwan.html>
- Azam, M., Chin, A., & Prakash, N. (2013). The returns to English-language skills in India. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 61(2), 335-367.
- Bolton, K. (2006). Varieties of World Englishes. In B. B. Kachru, Y. Kachru & C. L. Nelson (Eds.), *The handbook of World Englishes* (pp. 289-312). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Bolton, K. (2011). Language policy and planning in Hong Kong: Colonial and post-colonial perspectives. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2, 51-74.
- Butler, Y. G. (2015). English language education among young learners in East Asia: A review of current research (2004–2014). *Language Teaching*, 48(3), 303-342.
- Butler, Y. G. (2004). What level of English proficiency do elementary school teachers need to attain to teach EFL? Case studies from Korea, Taiwan, and Japan. *TESOL Quarterly*, 38(2), 245-278.
- Chang, Y.F. (2008). Parents' attitudes toward the English education policy in Taiwan. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 9(4), 423-425.
- Chang, Y. J. (2014). Learning English today: What can World Englishes teach college students in Taiwan? How do World Englishes enlighten, empower, and influence Taiwanese college students' understanding, learning, and use of English? *English Today*, 30(1), 21-27.
- Chen, A. H. (2013). An evaluation on primary English education in Taiwan: From the perspective of language policy. *English Language Teaching*, 6(10), 158-165.
- Chen, S. C. (2010). Multilingualism in Taiwan. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 205(2010), 79-104.
- Chen, C. W. Y., & Cheng, Y. S. (2010). A case study on foreign English teachers' challenges in Taiwanese elementary schools. *System*, 38(1), 41-49.
- Chern, C. L. (2002). English language teaching in Taiwan today. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 22(2), 97-105.
- Cho, Y. G. (2013). L2 learning motivation and its relationship to proficiency: A Causal Analysis of university students' EIL discourses. *English Teaching*, 68(1), 37-68.

- Choi, K., Lee, J. B., & Jeon, Y. J. (2016). Critical review and creative suggestions for the native English speaking teacher policy in South Korea. *International Journal of Knowledge and Learning*, 11(2/3), 190-203.
- Chu, H. Y., & Yeh, H. N. (2017). English benchmark policy for graduation in Taiwan's higher education: Investigation and reflection. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 8(6), 1063-1072.
- Chua, S. K. C. (2010). Singapore's language policy and its globalised concept of Bi (tri) lingualism. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 11(4), 413-429.
- Chung, J., & Choi, T. (2016). English education policies in South Korea: Planned and enacted. In R. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *English language education policy in Asia* (pp. 281-299). Springer.
- Clarke, M. (2019, September 20). Kiribati cuts ties with Taiwan to switch to China, days after Solomon Islands. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*.
<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-09-20/kiribati-to-switch-diplomatic-ties-from-taiwan-to-china/11532192>
- Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Council of Europe. (2020). *Global scale - Table 1 (CEFR 3.3): Common reference levels*.
<https://www.coe.int/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/table-1-cefr-3.3-common-reference-levels-global-scale>
- Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 49(2), 222-251.
- Cummins, J. (2007). Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms. *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics/Revue Canadienne de Linguistique Appliquée*, 10(2), 221-240.
- Dobel, C., Lagemann, L., & Zwitserlood, P. (2009). Non-native phonemes in adult word learning: evidence from the N400m. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 364(1536), 3697-3709.
- Dupré, J. F. (2014). The mother tongues as second languages: Nationalism, democracy and multilingual education in Taiwan. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 15(4), 393-408.
- Dupré, J. F. (2016). Legislating language in Taiwan: from equality to development to status quo. *Language Policy* 15, 415–432.
- Everington, K. (2020, November 11). Average yearly salary in Taiwan rises to NT\$641,000 despite pandemic. *Taiwan News*.

<https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/4051145#:~:text=On%20Tuesday%20Nov.,NT%245%2C000%20over%20last%20year.>

- Executive Yuan. (2014). *The Republic of China yearbook*. Retrieved from <http://www.ey.gov.tw/Upload/UserFiles/YB%202014%20all%20100dpi.pdf>
- Farrell, T. S., & Kun, S. T. K. (2008). Language policy, language teachers' beliefs, and classroom practices. *Applied Linguistics*, 29(3), 381-403.
- Freedom House (2021). Countries and territories. <https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores>
- Garton, S., Copland, F., & Mann, S. (2018). Native English Speaker Teacher (NEST) Schemes around the World. In J. I. Lontas (Ed.), *The TESOL encyclopedia of English language teaching*, (pp. 1-6). John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Gradman, H. L., and Hanania, E. (1991). Language Learning Background Factors and ESL Proficiency. *The Modern Language Journal*, 75(1), 39-51.
- Gilmore, A. (2007). Authentic materials and authenticity in foreign language learning. *Language Teaching*, 40(2), 97-118.
- Hagerman, C. (2009). English language policy and practice in Japan. *Oosaka Jogakuin Daigaku Kiyou* [Journal of Osaka Jogakuin 4 Year College] 6, 47-64.
- Han, K. H. (2011). The self-enhancing function of Chinese modesty: From a perspective of social script. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 14(4), 258–268.
- Hashimoto, K. (2002). Implications of the recommendation that English become the second official language in Japan. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *Englishes in Asia: Communication, identity, power and education*, (pp. 63-74). Language Australia Ltd.
- Hatch, A. (2019). How Can We Transform Taiwan Into a Bilingual Country?. *The News Lens*. <https://international.thenewslens.com/article/124664>
- Heylen, A. (2005). The legacy of literacy practices in colonial Taiwan. Japanese–Taiwanese–Chinese: Language interaction and identity formation. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 26(6), 496-511.
- Hsieh, J. F. S. (2005). Ethnicity, national identity, and domestic politics in Taiwan. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 40(1-2), 13-28.
- Hsu, C. (2018). Interview: Minister outlines blueprint for bilingual nation. *Taipei Times*. <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/biz/archives/2018/12/17/2003706240/1>

- Hu, G., & McKay, S. L. (2012). English language education in East Asia: Some recent developments. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(4), 345-362.
- Huang, T. T. (2018). 87% of Taiwanese support making English the second official language: survey. *Taiwan News*. Retrieved from <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3602589>
- Huang, T. T. (2020, November 9). Taiwan's Pingtung on English teacher hiring spree. *Taiwan News*. Retrieved from: <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/4049135>
- Huang, S. H., & Yang, L. C. (2018). Teachers' Needs in the Advancement of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in Taiwan. *TESOL International Journal*, 13(1), 100-117.
- Iino, M. 2002. Japan Country Report: Language and English Education in Japan. In R. E. Silver, G. Hu, & M. Iino (Eds.), *English language education in China, Japan, and Singapore* (pp. 79-98). Nanyang Technological University.
- Ishikawa, T. (2017). Japanese university students' attitudes towards their English and the possibility of ELF awareness. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, 6(2), 237-263.
- Jenkins J. (2009). English as a lingua franca: Interpretations and attitudes. *World Englishes*, 28(2), 200–207.
- JET. (2019). Frequently asked questions (general). *Japan Exchange and Teaching Program*. <https://jetprogramusa.org/faq/>
- Kim, H. K. (2011). Native speakerism affecting nonnative English teachers' identity formation: A critical perspective. *English Teaching*, 66(4), 53-71.
- Kim, T. Y. (2010). Socio-political influences on EFL motivation and attitudes: comparative surveys of Korean high school students. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 11, 211–222. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-010-9071-7>
- Klötter, H. (2004). Language Policy in the KMT and DPP Eras. *China Perspectives*, 56.
- Kobayashi, Y. (2013). Global English capital and the domestic economy: The case of Japan from the 1970s to early 2012. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34(1), 1-13.
- Kobayashi, P. I. (2020). English in Taiwan. In K. Bolton, W. Botha, & A. Kirkpatrick (Eds.), *The handbook of Asian Englishes* (pp. 547-567). John Wiley & Sons.
- Kubota, R., & McKay, S. (2009). Globalization and language learning in rural Japan: The role of English in the local linguistic ecology. *TESOL Quarterly*, 43(4), 593-619.

- Kung, F. W. (2017). Teaching and learning English as a foreign language in Taiwan: A socio-cultural analysis. *TESL-EJ*, 21(2): 1-15.
- Kung, F. W. (2015). Reexamining the NS and NNS dichotomy in Taiwanese higher EFL education. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 24(1), 27-34.
- Lee, F. L. (2014). An Introduction to the History of Taiwan. *Gdańskie Studia Azji Wschodniej*, 5, 95-105.
- Leimgruber, J. R. (2011). Singapore English. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 5(1), 47-62.
- Li, L., & Tan, C. L. (2016). Home literacy environment and its influence on Singaporean children's Chinese oral and written language abilities. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 44(4), 381-387.
- Lin, Chun-Wen. (2007). "e-Learning strategies for aboriginal children in Taiwan." *International Journal of Learning* 14(6), 153-160.
- Littlewood, W., & Yu, B. (2011). First language and target language in the foreign language classroom. *Language teaching*, 44(1), 64-77.
- Liu, K., & Tseng, W. K. L. (2007). Cultivating aboriginal cultures and educating aboriginal children in Taiwan. *Childhood Education*, 83(5): 282-287.
- Low, E. L. (2010). English in Singapore and Malaysia: Differences and similarities. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of World Englishes* (pp. 229-246). Routledge.
- Low, E. L., & Pakir, A. (2018). English in Singapore: striking a new balance for future-readiness. *Asian Englishes*, 20(1), 41-53.
- Lowe, R. J., & Pinner, R. (2016). Finding the connections between native-speakerism and authenticity. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 7(1), 27-52.
- Ma, L. P. F. (2012). Advantages and disadvantages of native-and nonnative-English-speaking teachers: Student perceptions in Hong Kong. *TESOL Quarterly*, 46(2), 280-305.
- Ma, W., & Winke, P. (2019). Self-assessment: How reliable is it in assessing oral proficiency over time? *Foreign Language Annals*, 52(1), 66-86.
- Matsuda, A., & Matsuda, P. K. (2010). World Englishes and the teaching of writing. *TESOL Quarterly*, 44(2), 369-374.
- Ministry of Culture. (2018, December 25). *National Languages Development Act clears Legislative Yuan*. https://www.moc.gov.tw/en/information_196_96138.html

- Moodie, I., & Nam, H. J. (2015). English language teaching research in South Korea: A review of recent studies (2009–2014). *Language Teaching*, 49(1), 63–98.
- Morita, L. (2010). The sociolinguistic context of English language education in Japan and Singapore. *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies, discussion papers* (5).
- Oh, C. H., Selmier, W. T., & Lien, D. (2011). International trade, foreign direct investment, and transaction costs in languages. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 40(6), 732-735.
- Oladejo, J. (2006). Parents' attitudes towards bilingual education policy in Taiwan. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 30(1), 147-170.
- O'Neal, D., & Ringler, M. (2010). Broadening our view of linguistic diversity. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 91(7), 48-52.
- Park, J. K., & Kim, M. K. (2014). Teaching and learning of EIL in Korean culture and context. In R. Marlina & R. A. Giri (Eds.) *The pedagogy of English as an international language* (English Language Education, Vol. 1) (pp. 47-61). Springer.
- PISA. 2018. *What is Pisa?* OECD.org. <https://www.oecd.org/pisa/>
- Price, G. (2014). English for all? Neoliberalism, globalization, and language policy in Taiwan. *Language in Society*, 43(5), 567-589.
- Ramasivama, N. D., & Nair, S. M. (2019). Challenges faced by teachers in adopting Communicative Language Teaching. *City University eJournal of Academic Research*, 1(2), 149-162.
- Ricento, T. (2012). Political economy and English as a 'global' language. *Critical Multilingualism Studies*, 1(1), 31-56.
- Rivers, D. J., & Ross, A. S. (2013). Idealized English teachers: The implicit influence of race in Japan. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 12(5), 321-339.
- Rose, H., & Galloway, N. (2017). Debating standard language ideology in the classroom: Using the 'Speak Good English Movement' to raise awareness of global Englishes. *RELC Journal*, 48(3), 294-301.
- Rubdy, R. (2007). Singlish in the school: An impediment or a resource? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 28(4), 308-324.
- Ruecker, T., & Ives, L. (2015). White native English speakers needed: The rhetorical construction of privilege in online teacher recruitment spaces. *TESOL Quarterly*, 49(4), 733-756.

- Ryan, C., Chang, J., & Huan, T. C. (2007). The Aboriginal people of Taiwan: discourse and silence. In R. Butler & T. Hinch (Eds.), in *Tourism and Indigenous peoples: Issues and implications* (pp. 188-202). Elsevier.
- Sai, S. M. (2013). Educating multicultural citizens: Colonial nationalism, imperial citizenship and education in late colonial Singapore. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 44(1), 49-73.
- Sakamoto, M. (2012). Moving towards effective English language teaching in Japan: Issues and challenges. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(4), 409-420.
- Sandel, T. L. (2003). Linguistic capital in Taiwan: The KMT's Mandarin language policy and its perceived impact on language practices of bilingual Mandarin and Tai-gi speakers. *Language in Society*, 32(4), 523-551.
- Scott, M., & Tiun, H. K. (2007). Mandarin-only to Mandarin-plus: Taiwan. *Language Policy*, 6(1), 53-72.
- Shih, H. C. (2018). English-language instruction key to bilingual policy: Cabinet. *Focus Taiwan*. <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201812060022.aspx>
- Silver, R. E. (2002). Singapore Country Report: Policies on English Language Education and Economic Development. In R. E. Silver, G. Hu, & M. Iino (Eds.), *English language education in China, Japan, and Singapore* (pp. 99-169). Nanyang Technological University.
- Song, J. J. (2011). English as an official language in South Korea: Global English or social malady? *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 35(1), 35-55.
- Steele, D., & Zhang, R. (2016). Enhancement of teacher training: Key to improvement of English education in Japan. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 217, 16-25.
- Sun, Y. C. (2017). Following the heart or the crowd: Epistemological beliefs and actual practices of in-service language teachers in Taiwan. *Taiwan Journal of TESOL*, 14(1), 119-144.
- Taiwan Today*. (2018, December 26). National languages development act passed by Legislature. <https://taiwantoday.tw/news.php?unit=2,6,10,15,18&post=147829>
- Taiwan.gov. (2017). *Education: Fact Focus*. https://www.taiwan.gov.tw/content_9.php
- The Japan Times* (2015, March 28). Disappointing levels of English. Accessed on July 18, 2020. http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/03/28/editorials/disappointing-levels-english/#.VXErt7kw_hA.

- Tokumoto, M., & Shibata, M. (2011). Asian varieties of English: Attitudes towards pronunciation. *World Englishes*, 30(3), 392-408.
- Turnbull, B. (2018). Perceptions of value in Japanese English education: Self-reflections of ALTs on the JET Programme. *Asian Journal of English Language Teaching*, 27, 83-111.
- Turton, M. (2020, December 7). Bilingual nation, modern nation: is it 2030 yet? *Taipei Times*. <https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/feat/archives/2020/12/07/2003748255>
- Walkinshaw, I., & Oanh, D. H. (2014). Native and non-native English language teachers: Student perceptions in Vietnam and Japan. *Sage Open*, 4(2), 1-9.
- Wang, Lijung (2007). Diaspora, identity and cultural citizenship: The Hakkas in 'multicultural Taiwan'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(5), 875–895.
- Wang, L. Y., & Lin, T. B. (2013). The representation of professionalism in native English-speaking teachers recruitment policies: A comparative study of Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique*, 12(3), 5-22. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1017167.pdf>
- Wee, L. (2004). Singapore English: Phonology. In E.W. Schneider, K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie, & C. Upton (Eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English: A multimedia reference tool* (Vol. 1) (pp. 1058-1072). Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co.
- Wei, K. (2020, August 27). Govt plan to make Taiwan bilingual by raising English proficiency by 2030 too ambitious, say teachers. *Straits Times*. <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/govt-plan-to-make-taiwan-bilingual-by-2030-too-ambitious-teachers>
- Wu, M. H. (2011). Language planning and policy in Taiwan: Past, present, and future. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 35(1), 15-34.
- Wu, K. H., & Ke, C. (2009). Haunting native speakerism? Students' perceptions toward native speaking English teachers in Taiwan. *English Language Teaching*, 2(3), 44-52.
- Yang, C. H., Chen, Y., & Chung, J. (2019, November 6). DPP, KMT trade barbs over language. *Taipei Times*. <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2019/11/06/2003725330>
- Yoo, O. K. (2005). Discourses of English as an official language in a monolingual society: The case of South Korea. *University of Hawai'i Second Language Studies*, paper 2.

Zeldin, Wendy. (2017, June 21). *Taiwan: New Indigenous Languages Act*. Library of Congress: Global Legal Monitor. <https://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/taiwan-new-indigenous-languages-act/>