

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION PLANING AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION  
AT THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN TAIWAN

by

Chen-Cheng Chun

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation

prepared by Chen-Cheng Chun

entitled Language-in-Education Planning and Bilingual Education at the  
Elementary School in Taiwan

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Richard Ruiz Date: 4/7/06

Iliana Reyes Date: 4/7/06

Kathy G. Short Date: 4/7/06

Yetta M. Goodman Date: 4/7/06

\_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirements.

Richard Ruiz Date: 4/28/06  
Dissertation Director:

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**SIGNED:** \_\_\_\_\_ Chen-Cheng Chun \_\_\_\_\_

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## DEDICATION

To

My wife  
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My parents  
鍾森松校長 and 劉滿娣老師

My family  
桓桓, 惠暖, 芸芸, and 正行

For all your support and faith in me.

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## ABSTRACT

Language issues, often linked with ideas of history, sentiment, identity, ideology, maintenance, revitalization, minority, and indigenous peoples, are raised constantly in Taiwan. This study focused on examining issues related to language planning and bilingual education at the elementary school level in Taiwan. The research purposes were: 1) to examine the current language education practices in the elementary school by employing perspectives of language planning and bilingual education in Taiwan; and 2) to make recommendations about the current language planning and policy of Taiwan with respect to elementary school language education.

There were 123 participants involved in this study. They were elementary school language teachers, language professionals, and parents. Data collection began in the winter of 2004 and continued through the summer of 2005. The research context was elementary school language education. Transcripts and questionnaires were the primary sources for data analysis. Five major phenomena with respect to elementary school language education in Taiwan were found.

First, there was no systematic language planning for the present elementary school language education in Taiwan. Second, the three language subjects, Mandarin, English, and Dialects, within the Language Arts area were seen as independent courses without any interdisciplinary integration. Third, parental decisions about the prior order of language learning were structured upon a profound process related to language ideology and instrumentalism. Fourth, the elementary school language curriculum was guided by the concept of Han-centrism. Fifth, because of the phenomenon of language

shift, Mandarin has become most children's mother tongue rather than the local languages.

Based on the five findings, I suggest that first, team teaching is helpful for elementary school language teachers to integrate children's learning of different languages. Second, parents, language professionals, and language teachers should have more opportunities to communicate with each other about children's language learning. Third, language planners should bear the Han-centric phenomenon in mind, especially when considering issues of educational resources and opportunities and social justice. Fourth, the definition of mother tongues needs to be redefined. Fifth, it is important for every elementary school to develop its own school-based language policy.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

#### **Introduction**

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2003) takes the position that,

Language and in particular the choice of language of instruction in education is one such concern and often invokes contrasting and deeply felt positions. Questions of identity, nationhood and power are closely linked to the use of specific languages in the classroom. Language itself, moreover, possesses its own dynamics and is constantly undergoing processes of both continuity and change, impacting upon the communication modes of different societies as it evolves. Educational policy makers have difficult decisions to make with regard to languages, schooling and the curriculum in which the technical and the political often overlap. (p. 1)

Following this statement, a great emphasis on finding a balance of language learning between local (mother) and global languages was made.

The UNESCO statement presents several facts. First, language is always associated with human activity. In other words, it is humans who create, use, and elaborate languages, and make choices of languages. Second, languages should be maintained because of a variety of physical and psychological reasons. Third, language involves multiple layers of consideration and conflicts that need to be negotiated carefully.

The UNESCO statement keeps an objective and neutral position regarding languages and their related issues. On the one hand, the UNESCO statement reflects an awareness that language education varies from region to region because of cultural and environmental differences. On the other hand, this statement implicates the flexibility and

difficulties involving language planning and education. Languages in Taiwan reflect the above UNESCO statement and the dilemma.

Language issues in Taiwan are raised constantly in society and in the public media, which are often linked with ideas of history, sentiment, revitalization, identity, ideology, minority, maintenance, and indigenous peoples. From the governmental view, language status in the society and language-in-education planning (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997) are the priorities of the Taiwan government. From the parental view, when and why children should learn which languages and how they should learn them are the vital important concerns awaiting more critical reflection and examination. From the teachers' perspective, the methods of instruction, implementation, assessment, teaching resources, teacher training, and human sources are what are taken into serious consideration.

Language issues in Taiwan can generally be deconstructed by two facets. First, language satisfies the function of sentimentality, which stands for a symbol of attachment (Ager, 2001; Huang, 2001; Ruiz, 1990); second, language works as a channel, which meets most people's instrumental needs. What needs to be paid attention to is that the two facets are not dichotomized. Instead, governmental agency usually employs the idea of instrumentality as a means in schooling. School is also expected to be a place to shape and influence people's identity, ideology, and attitude in terms of language. This interrelationship between instrumentality and sentimentality further complicates the examination regarding language issues. For language planners, the balance and facilitation between both facets is a difficult task, which represents a variety and

multiplicity in terms of thinking of language planning and school education. These complex situations manifested in Taiwan are examined and clarified in this study.

### **Research Foci and Purposes**

In this study, I mainly focus on the current language education practice and issues at the elementary school level in Taiwan. What I expect to explore from this study are the following in Taiwan:

- The present issues related to language education at the elementary school level revealed by parents, language teachers, and professionals;
- The interrelationship among language subjects of Mandarin, Dialects, and English in the category of Language Arts;
- The process regarding language implementation at the elementary school;
- The bilingual teaching and utilization of students' bilingual abilities in the elementary school classroom.

Basically, the four foci aim to discover the elements that form, influence, and promote the current elementary school language education in Taiwan. My research purposes are to:

- Examine the current language education practices in the elementary school by employing perspectives of language planning and bilingual education in Taiwan;
- Make recommendations about the current language planning and policy of Taiwan with respect to elementary school language education.

### **Research Questions**

Six research questions were designed to guide my research direction. They are:

1. What do the language teachers at the elementary school of Taiwan think about the current elementary school language education?
2. What considerations do language education decision makers at the elementary school level take into account to make language education policies in Taiwan?
3. How do language education policy makers in Taiwan view the practice of language education at the elementary school level?
4. What are the ideas and expectations of students' parents for the current practice of language education at the elementary school level in Taiwan?
5. What are the differences between Han (Holo, Hakka, and Mainlanders) and indigenous peoples in Taiwan in terms of their opinions with relation to language and elementary school language education?
6. What are the perspectives toward bilingual education in elementary school language education in Taiwan?

### **Rationale of This Study**

Currently, elementary school students are required to take three language subjects, Mandarin, Dialects, and English, in the Language Arts curriculum (Department of Elementary Education, 2006). Except for English taught from the third grade, the other two language subjects are both taught from the first grade.

Though language as an educational issue has drawn people's attention, most prior studies (Cai, 1998; Chang, 2005; Chiang, 1995; Chun, 2006; Nieh, 2003) have focused only on one of the fields of Mandarin, Dialects, or English. Interdisciplinary studies covering all of the three fields were not found. This study is important because Mandarin, Dialects, and English are viewed as a whole language teaching framework instead of being isolated. This suggests that when considering or planning language education at the elementary school, people must think of the interrelationship among the different language subjects.

In addition, language planning as a field is developing in Taiwan. Not only is the government trying to engage in complete planning, schools and families also are seriously considering this issue. This study examines issues, ideas, and concepts that are concerns of different social groups, and then develops a theoretical framework that may be helpful for professionals and the lay public who care about language education issues at the elementary school in Taiwan.

Further, though bilingual education as a teaching strategy was practiced since the beginning of the Japanese-colonized period as well as under other governing groups (Chen, 1998), it was employed more likely because of political concerns than the learning needs of students. Though the formal term, bilingual education, which benefits learners' development of two languages, appeared in 1970s (Cheng, 1996), it was not defined until the 1980s. At present, most of the comments and research deal with surface issues, e.g., introducing models and programs of bilingual education from other countries (Cia, 1998; Lo, 1997). Concerns with contextual differences, methods of bringing bilingual education

into classroom teaching and of dealing with bilingual students, research on bilingualism, and so on seem to be waiting for further investigation and research. This study addresses the latter concerns and explains these aspects to provide valuable insights.

To people who are interested in knowing international cases of language planning and education, this study of Taiwan situated in East Asia presents its conflicts and dilemmas of decision-making in language policy and planning at the elementary school level.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Normally, bilingual education is categorized under language planning (Eastman, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997). However, in this study, bilingual education helps me in examining not only the interrelationships among languages but also their relation to culture and ethnicity. Therefore, bilingual education is also expanded to bi-cultural and bi-ethnic education within this study. Language planning is considered the framework which serves as the basic foundation while applying the approach of bilingual education to practice in Taiwan. That is, the application of bilingual education depends on the contents, situation, and results of language planning. There are three primary theoretical perspectives that guide this study:

The first is Ruiz's perspective of Language Orientations (1984). Ruiz classifies three orientations while considering language planning, which are language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. The language-as-problem orientation centers on the activities of problem-solving. The language-as-right orientation is a “. . .

consideration of language as a basic human right” (Ruiz, 1984, p. 9). The language-as-resource orientation brings people a perspective that regards language, especially minority languages, and their related community and culture, as important resources. This theory is helpful to me for analyzing the hidden ideology of language planning and explaining how teachers and students see the role of languages or language status in the school and society (Ruiz, 1990).

The second perspective I draw on is Freire’s (2000) Critical pedagogy. “Critical pedagogy involves problem posing, reflective thinking, knowledge gathering, and collaborative decision making” (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003, p. 101). Freire’s ideas of the oppressed versus the oppressor and power relationships provide a reasonable interpretation toward the relationship between language, environment, and people. His critical perspective is helpful in examining the dynamics of varied linguistic influences found in history, politics, culture, and education related to identity, ideology, and attitude in Taiwan (Darder, 1991; Freire, 2000; Gutek, 1997). This investigation benefits my understanding of language and its relationship to people. The development of language planning and bilingual education is also based on a critical perspective of language education.

The third is an historical perspective, which emphasizes a critical examination of the past and the present (Freire & Macedo, 1987). When people deal with language planning, they “. . . must consider the facts of language within the fuller social context” (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971, p. xvi). The reason is that “The roots of many language planning problems lie in the role and historical development of language usage in a

particular policy or location” (Kaplan & Baldaug, Jr., 1997, p. 88). Language planners have to realize the role and function of the language in the entire society and daily life in order to make a proper decision about the implementation of that language. Cooper (1989) says, “Language planning cannot be understood apart from its social context or apart from the history which produced that context” (p. 183). By applying an historical perspective, I have a better understanding of the contexts of languages and their association with people, events, and time.

Language Orientations theory, Critical pedagogy, and the historical perspective all work together to help me develop a praxis process, which combines reflection and action (Freire, 2000; Nieto, 2002) to review Taiwan’s linguistic history and language policy, and later to define how bilingual education enhances teachers’ and students’ cultural and linguistic awareness.

### **Definition of Key Terms**

In conducting this study, the use of some ethnolinguistic terms of Taiwan need to be unified. I use the following terms to describe the current ethnolinguistic situation in Taiwan through this study. In addition, words in parentheses “( )” refer to explanation of the phrases or words before the parentheses. Words in brackets “[ ]” are my additions in order to make the sentences more readable. The bracket symbol is usually used in translated sentences from Chinese to English.

**Dialects**

Dialects is an unified term of English translation published by the Ministry of Education (2003). In Taiwan, it is one of the language subjects in the Language Arts area. It is normally called Homeland Languages (鄉土語言) in the elementary and junior high schools in Taiwan. Some people also call it Mother Tongues teaching. Dialects class offers students an opportunity to learn local languages, such as Holo, Hakka, and indigenous languages, depending upon students' and their parents' language choice (Department of Elementary Education, 2005, 2006).

**Hakka**

Hakka is one of the minority groups in Taiwan. It is also one of the Han group. The language that Hakka people speak is called Hakka. Hakka people moved from Mainland to Taiwan later than Holo people. Therefore, most Hakka communities in Taiwan are scattered in the valley and mountain areas (Shui, 2002). Hakka is one of the local languages taught in Dialects class.

**Han**

Han people are the majority and dominant group in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Singapore. In Taiwan, this group is composed of three ethnic groups, Hakka, Holo, and Mainlanders. Han language (Hanyu) usually refers to Mandarin. The use of Gouyu (national language) in Taiwan and Pu-ton-hua (common language) in China is its equivalent. The society and education in Taiwan is dominated by the Han culture.

**Holo**

Holo is the dominant and majority ethnic group in Taiwan. It is one of the Han group. It is also called Minnan (Southern Min). Literally, Minnan in Mandarin refers to the southern area in the Fujian province in the southeastern part of Mainland China. Most ancestors of Holo people immigrated from Minnan to Taiwan. The language that Holo people speak is called Holo, Minnan (Southern Min), or Taiyu (Taiwanese).

**Indigenous Peoples**

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan are composed of 12 main groups (United Daily News, 2004). These 12 groups can be divided into 40 subgroups and have around 40 kinds of language variation (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2005). In contrast to the Han people's dominant status in education and the society, they are the minority groups in Taiwan.

**Mainlanders**

Following arrival of the Kuomintang troops, millions of people moved from the Mainland to Taiwan in the late 1950s. These people are called mainlanders in Taiwan. They speak Mandarin as their lingua franca.

**Phonetic Symbols (*zhuyin fuhao*, 注音符號)**

Phonetic symbols were published in Mainland China by the Republic of China (Kuomintang ) government in 1918 (National Languages Committee, 2000). After the Kuomintang government moved to Taiwan in 1949, this system was applied to teach children Mandarin in the elementary school until today.

**Pinyin (拼音)**

Pinyin, a “Romanized spelling of Chinese” (Wang, 2006, p. 59) and of other languages, is an alphabetic system used to represent the sound of Chinese characters and some languages in Taiwan and China. One should note that pinyin is a pronunciation assistance system (a spelling system), instead of a writing system (Ingulsrud & Allen, 1999; Zhou, 2003).

**Taiwaner**

The term Taiwaner refers to the inhabitants in Taiwan. Taiwaner is used to substitute for the term Taiwanese, because of the latter’s derogatory status with the –ese suffix (Chun, 2005; Oxford American Dictionary and Thesaurus, 2003; The New Oxford American Dictionary, 2001).

**Overview of Chapters**

This chapter presents the research purposes and questions, the rationale of this study, and three theories which helped to frame this study. The section, **Definition of Key Terms**, introduces the key terms that are consistently used to describe and discuss the current context in Taiwan.

In chapter 2, I first introduce the social and historical contexts in terms of governance, ethnic groups, and language and education chronologically based on the history of Taiwan. Next, in chapter 3, I review literature regarding the theories of language planning and bilingual education, key issues related to language planning and bilingual education, and the studies of language identity, bilingual education, and

language planning in Taiwan. In chapter 4, I introduce my methodology of this study. In chapter 5, I report the findings from elementary school language teachers, language professionals, and parents in relation to their opinions about elementary school language education. In chapter 6, I discuss my findings by answering the six research questions that guide this study. Implications of my findings are also included in this chapter. In chapter 7, I address my conclusion based on the perspectives of the three theoretical frameworks and bilingual education and my understanding of elementary school language education from language teachers, professionals, and parents in Taiwan.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXTS

Some researchers may describe events to introduce the historical context; some may interpret whole periods of governing groups. Here, I generate my introduction based on eventful correlation, periods, and governance chronologically. This introduction begins in 1624, because before this time there was no central government or powerful governing group. There is also little historical record prior to 1624.

In each historical section, I address three key points, related to the governance, ethnic groups, and language and education. The purpose of using this format is to present a clear view of what happened in each period and how events and policies in each period were related. In addition, not only did the social context change enormously after 1987 but also this study focuses on the present language planning and education in Taiwan; therefore, the discussions of events after 1987 are addressed more thoroughly than other historical sections.

#### **Initial Stages (1624-1683)**

##### *Governance*

In the 17th century, Taiwan experienced four different regimes. In the beginning, the country was colonized at the same time by Holland in the south from 1624 to 1662 and by Spain in the north from 1626 to 1642 (Huang, 2000; Li, 2003). Like most colonizers, both Holland and Spain wanted to govern Taiwan because of its commercial

benefits and its geographical importance to shipping routes. In the competition for resources, the Spanish were defeated by the Dutch in 1642, and then the Dutch took control of southern and northern Taiwan. However, in 1662, Zheng, Cheng-Kong of the Ming dynasty landed at Tainan, which was the most prosperous city in Taiwan. Zheng and his troops were Han people. They defeated the troops of Holland and chose Tainan as a site for the Ming-Zheng dynasty's capital in order to sustain the Ming dynasty's governmental legitimacy as well as for a base to counter-attack the forces of the Qing dynasty, the last dynasty in Chinese history. After the Min-Zheng dynasty ruled for 22 years, the Qing dynasty defeated Zheng's troops and mapped Taiwan into its territory.

### *Ethnic Group*

In the 17th century, the Han people were beginning to emigrate from the Southeastern coast of Mainland China to Taiwan. They are the ancestors of the Holo and Hakka people in Taiwan today. In contrast to the Han people's immigration, the original people who are now so-called indigenous peoples had lived in Taiwan for thousands of years. Based on archeological evidence, most anthropologists and researchers believe that the indigenous peoples have lived in Taiwan for more than 15,000 years. In the field of anthropology, Taiwan's indigenous peoples are the same ethnicity as most of Indonesians, Malaysians, Filipinos, and Polynesians, who belong to the Austronesians (Huang, 2001; Li, 2003; Wang, 2003). The indigenous peoples are generally divided into two categories, the Plain Group (Pin-Pu-Chu) and Mountain Group (Kuo-Shan-Chu). It is worth mentioning that these categories were not developed by the indigenous peoples

themselves (Wang, 2003). Rather they were named by Han settlers and Dutch colonizers (Shih, 2005).

In the meantime, the areas that Han, Dutch, and Spanish peoples occupied were several shoreline cities that were close to sea harbors. The indigenous peoples were at that time the dominant group in the society (Huang, 2001), comprising the majority population of Taiwan in the 17th century.

### *Language and Education*

During the Dutch colonial period, in order to preach their religion, the Dutch missionaries employed the language spoken in Shin-Kon as the common language. They helped the Plain Group in developing a Romanized writing system based on the Shin-Kon language spoken by these indigenous people. Evidence of the creation of such a writing system can be seen on some land contracts. Today, the Romanized writing system not only is used by some indigenous peoples, but some Hakka and Holo people use it as a means to express their native languages through writing. Since it has been so many years, the original system no longer exists; it was reinvented by missionaries (Chang, 1974; Li, 2003).

Ming-Zheng dynasty's development gradually brought the Han people's culture to its dominant status. The Chinese writing system began to be implemented, and the school education and curriculum were based on Confucianism, the core of Han culture. This implementation of Han culture policy was further deepened and practiced in the Qing dynasty in 18th and 19th centuries.

## **Qing Dynasty (1683-1895)**

### *Governance*

The Qing dynasty of Mainland China ruled Taiwan from 1683 to 1895. During that time, Taiwan was treated as a less-valued place and province because it was far from the political center, Beijing. Some emperors thought that taking over the territory of Taiwan would not benefit the whole dynasty; losing it would cause no damage either (Li, 2003). Therefore, it was not surprising that after the failure of the Sino War with Japan in 1895, the Qing dynasty accepted Japan's treaty that ceded Taiwan to Japan as one of the indemnifications.

### *Ethnic Group*

Throughout the Qing dynasty, immigration policy mostly forbade people living on the Mainland to immigrate to Taiwan, although waves of immigration kept occurring. More and more settlers came to Taiwan and married the indigenous people. Today, the Pin-Pu people have almost disappeared in Taiwan. Only a few hundred Kavalan people, who are one of the Pin-Pu groups and have been recognized by Taiwan government, live on the eastern side of Taiwan (Huang, 2001). People believe that they have been Hanized by the dominant Han culture. The Han people expanded their influence almost in every aspect of life. The indigenous people gradually lost their properties, lands, and advantage in terms of numbers of population. This was the key period that Han people dominated the society and culture, especially the Holo people (Wang, 2003).

### *Language and Education*

The school system in Taiwan was similar to the Mainland during the Qing dynasty. Like the Ming-Zheng dynasty, it promoted the Chinese writing system and Confucianism. Students might attend public or private schools. The language of instruction was mainly Mandarin, which was declared by the Qing government as the official language. Teaching basically was led by Kuh-Ju (National Exam for selecting officers). That is, the school taught students about what the Qing government determined to be the required curriculum for standards of testing methods and contents.

As for the indigenous peoples, the Qing dynasty divided them into two groups according to their acquisition of the Chinese language.

People who are not educated, not living with Han people, and not proficient in Chinese are called uncivilized barbarians; people who are living in the plain and willing to obey laws and take services, and can speak Chinese are called civilized barbarians. (Chen, p. 10, 1998)

The language class in barbarian schools, which was only for “civilized barbarians,” taught the Chinese writing system, official language (Mandarin), and Holo (Chen, 1998). In the meanwhile, Holo was the most popular language. Mandarin was used only by a small number of people. Most of them were officers. Therefore, the Holo language was used as a means to bridge the gap between the indigenous peoples and Han people instead of Mandarin because the Holo people and their language had become dominant. People thought that teaching Holo would be helpful to increase understanding and friendship between Han and indigenous peoples (Chang, 1974). However, this idea represented the perspective of the Han people, not that of the indigenous peoples, in that

the Han people consciously or unconsciously thought that Han culture was more civilized and advanced than that of indigenous peoples.

### **Japanese Colonization (1895-1945)**

#### *Governance*

Taiwan was controlled by Japan from 1895 to 1945. Under the governing of Japan, the schooling and governmental policy was initiated by way of ideological control, which socialized Taiwanese to become second-class citizens of Japan. Under Japanese colonization, Taiwan was developed to serve Japan. The Japanese ruling principle centered on assimilation (Huang, 2001). In order to achieve this goal as well as to stabilize their governance, Japanese officers and researchers researched the entirety of Taiwan in terms of peoples and land so that they could have better success in assimilating Taiwanese.

In 1945, after the end of War World II, Taiwan was returned to China. The Japanese announced their unconditional surrender to the United Nations of the Chinese War Area, including Mainland and Western Pacific areas of America. Therefore, some of the people who explain the idea that Taiwan is an independent country use this fact as one of the justifications for Taiwan's right to independence (Li, 2003). In other words, at that time, the Japanese announced their unconditional surrender to the United Nations instead of the government in mainland China. Therefore, the control of the colony, Taiwan, was given to the United Nations instead of China. Three years later, the government of the Republic of China, which was dominated by the Chinese Nationalist Party (so-called Kuomintang),

moved from the Mainland to Taiwan because of its failure to control the Mainland and its defeat by the Communist regime.

### *Ethnic Group*

One of the most important influences of the Japanese was that “Japan broke off ties with China and cut off Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. This separated Taiwan from Chinese political and cultural developments” (Huang, 2000, pp. 140-141). Therefore, immigration from mainland China did not occur as before.

Under Japanese control, the society evolved into a strict status difference. As previously mentioned, Taiwaners were treated like second-class citizens. This situation became even worse for indigenous people after 1930. In 1930, some indigenous peoples stood up and rebelled against Japanese governance in the tribe of Xu-Shi, located in the central area of Taiwan. Sheh (1987) said, after this event, the indigenous people completely lost their rights to self-determination (as cited in Wang, 2003).

### *Language and Education*

During this colonized period, school education was strictly controlled by Japanese. Japanese imposed their national language, Japanese, and educational policy step by step. Access to education and political systems were different for the Japanese residents and Taiwaners. The Japanese in Taiwan received many more resources than Taiwaners and could enter better schools that forbade Taiwaners' entrance. The primary school education was developed into a triple level system (Huang, 2001). The first level was for Japanese;

the second level was for Han people; the third level was for indigenous people. Students attending each different level of schooling received a different curriculum and years of education.

Initially, the language education implemented the so-called transitional bilingual program common in the U.S. today (Crawford, 1999; Ovando & Collier, 1985; Peregoy & Boyle, 2001). The aim of this subtractive model (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003) was to transfer students' language use from their native languages to the targeted language, Japanese. Also, following the step-by-step assimilation policy, Chinese education was one of the required courses. At the beginning stage, Japanese took a tolerant position to treat language use in the society and school. Chinese education and native languages were not abandoned until 1927, when the Japanese government removed Chinese courses and forbade students to speak their native languages (Chang, 1974).

### **Republic of China (1945-1987)**

#### ***Governance***

Taiwan was returned from Japan to the Republic of China in 1945. However, the assigned governor, Chen-I, did not understand nor recognize Taiwan's colonial history. Local people were unhappy with a series of his policy implementations. Many miscommunications and misunderstandings occurred between officers and local people. Later, Chen-I took military actions to suppress the local people's points of views and protests on February 28, 1947. These actions led to the death of thousands of people.

From this time on, the ethnic divisions between local people and the outside regime and its followers, especially the so-called Mainlanders, became tense and conflicted. This was called the 228 Event in the history of Taiwan.

In 1949, the government of the Republic of China was defeated by the communist regime, the People's Republic of China; as a result the Republic of China moved to Taiwan in order to reclaim the legitimacy of its government. Because the government of the Republic of China was dominated by Kuomintang, it was also named the Kuomintang regime.

From 1949 to 1987, Taiwan had a totalitarian Kuomintang government. People's freedoms of marching, speech, publishing, traveling, and instruction were strictly regulated based on the Martial Law imposed by the Kuomintang government in 1949. In terms of its international relationships, the Kuomintang government was also recognized by most countries in the world from 1949 to 1970. However, international attention toward East Asia took a dramatic turn in the 1970s. In 1971, Taiwan was driven out of the United Nations because the People's Republic of China had joined and replaced the original position of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in the United Nations. Later, in 1975 the government of the United States declared an end to formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan. From that time on, internationally, more and more countries recognized the government of the People's Republic of China as the only China in the world instead of Taiwan. Taiwan started facing a crisis of international and diplomatic relationship. Today, Taiwan is still in this difficult diplomatic situation. Now, internationally, only about 20

countries recognize Taiwan as a separate country instead of a province of People's Republic of China.

### *Ethnic Group*

The last major immigrant wave happened between 1948 and 1950. Millions of people moved to Taiwan from Mainland China. These people included the troops of Kuomintang, its followers and believers, and people who did not like the Communist regime. These people were generally called Mainlanders later in the society of Taiwan.

Since the 1950s, the composition of Taiwan's ethnic groups could basically be categorized into four groups, Mainlanders, Holo, Hakka, and indigenous peoples. However, as Wang (2003) argues, the ethnic relationship was just some kind of ethnic imagination. In other words, these categories were built upon the concepts of imagination and comparison. For instance, the Han group, including Mainlanders, Holo, and Hakka, is a category in contrast with the category of indigenous groups. The Mainlanders, as outsiders from mainland, were another category in contrast to the local people, including Holo, Hakka, and indigenous people.

It is important to understand that this form of four-group-categorization, Mainlanders, Holo, Hakka, and indigenous peoples, is inclined to the Han people's centrism, in which Han people define their ethnic variation as Holo, Hakka, and Mainlanders, all of the indigenous peoples, however, are grouped into the same category, regardless of their linguistic and cultural differences. In this study, I still employ these categories because it is easier for people to understand my statements as well as for me to

analyze the present language educational context. However, I am conscious of its hidden ideology and limits.

### *Language and Education*

With respect to the Republic of China government, it began implementing compulsory education from first grade to sixth grade at the elementary school level and from first to third grade at the junior high school level in 1968. Language, which was considered a symbol of national identity and loyalty, was a vitally important point in the curriculum of the compulsory education system (Ager, 2001; Chen, 1998; Huang, 2001; Ruiz, 1990).

The government promoted Guoyu, so-called Mandarin, as the only national language. According to Tse (1986), language standardization policy started in China in the early 1900s. The government of the Republic of China adopted it and implemented it in Taiwan. In the early 1950s, whether to employ native languages as a means to teach and help students to learn Mandarin was a key argument among educators and policy-makers (Chen, 1998). This National Language (Guoyu) Only Movement was not strictly implemented until 1970.

Since 1970, Mandarin became the only language that was encouraged to be spoken in school and public domains, although it was only spoken by a small population who were mainly Mainlanders and government officers, who were mostly Mainlanders as well. This policy limited the development and use of other languages. Except for Mandarin, other local languages were viewed as problems that needed to be wiped out (Ruiz, 1984).

In 1985, the Ministry of Education drafted a Language Law. This was different from the Language Equality Law (LEL) in 2003. In a later section of this chapter, I explain the LEL in greater depth. This draft of Language Law aimed to distinguish other local languages' existence in Taiwan (Wu, 2004). However, because it was opposed by many scholars and legislators, it was not passed on to the Legislation Yuan (Congress) for discussion. The Mandarin-only movement reached its peak and then decreased due to frustration with this draft of the language law. Then the next era began turning to recognition of multilingual society and education because of the lifting of Martial Law in 1987.

### **Republic of China (1987- )**

#### *Governance*

Since the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, the political sphere has been changed from KMT (Kuomintang) autocracy to democratic entity. People truly had freedom of speech and were free to organize any political party. More and more governmental policies were designed on the basis of the orientation of “bottom-to-top” instead of “top-to-bottom.” Citizen’s rights in relation to referendum and self-determination were explicitly and implicitly encouraged in the society.

In addition, compared to their social status and the population of Holo people and Mainlanders, the indigenous and Hakka Peoples were definitely the subordinate groups in terms of language and culture in Taiwan. From the early 1980s, Hakka and indigenous peoples began asking for justice and fairness in terms of policy reconsideration and

participation in politics. The indigenous peoples employed a series of social movements against the mainstream social values in order to obtain human rights and reasonable respect of their languages and culture. They announced the Declaration of Indigenous Ethnic Rights and promoted a number of movements, including Return My Homelands, Renaming, and Amend the Constitution, etc. (Wang, 2003). Their efforts received positive feedback in two aspects. The first was in 1994 when their name was officially codified in the Constitution of Taiwan (Wang, 2003). Originally, they were called Mountain People, which was considered a derogatory term. Its connotation was that they originally lived in the mountains and were less civilized. They were renamed as Aborigines, which stood for their originality and rights to their land. Then this designation was changed to indigenous peoples in 2003 by the Taiwan government. The second aspect was the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1996. The establishment of this council symbolized the indigenous people's rights in relation to political power and self-determination. All indigenous people began to have a formal channel to address their questions and opinions to the government.

Similar to the indigenous people's experience, the social movements of the Hakka people started a little later. In 1988, the Hakka people held an unprecedented march. It was unprecedented because the Chinese term, Hakka, means guests or guests from another hometown (Wang, 2003); therefore, the Hakka people were usually categorized as a silent and "recessive" group in Chinese history. However, in 1988, the Hakka people marched in the street and called for Returning My Mother Tongue (Wang, 2003). In recent years, Hakka became one of the languages that would be heard in public media,

airports and train announcements. In 2001, the government established the Council for Hakka Affairs, which dealt with their concerns and needs.

Recently, Taiwan has become a typical political-party country. The political map is redrawn by KMT, Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), People First Party (PFP), and Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU). These main four parties control most of the political activities in Taiwan. The chief of DPP, Chen, Shui-Bian is now, 2006, elected as the President of Taiwan.

The members of KMT and PFP have a tendency to maintain a friendly relationship with China and some even assert a peaceful unification with China; however, the followers of DPP and TSU tend to seek Taiwan's independence (Wang, 2003). Today, the KMT and PFP are often criticized by DPP and TSU as parties emigrated from the outside (Mainland). The believers of DPP and TSU argue that the KMT and PFP are not local political parties. They should not belong to Taiwan. There is a clear distinction of national identity between these two political groups.

### ***Ethnic Group***

Like most of the regimes in the world during the colonized period and the early 20th century, people believed that the assimilation of different ethnic groups was the basis of a country's unification and solidarity. The term "ethnic melting pot," describing the American government's expectation of immigrants, and the KMT's announcement of "assimilation of ethnic groups" were both examples underlying this form of ideology.

Multicultural thinking and education were not encouraged and did not become one of the mainstream voices until the late 20th century.

Before 1987, KMT's policies regarding ethnic aspects, implicitly or explicitly, were guided by this principle. However, this guiding principle was questioned and challenged after the repeal of Martial Law in 1987. Tse (2000) argues that it was under the repeal of Martial Law that the “. . . social and cultural developments along the ethnicity/identity line became prominent and visible” (p. 152). That is, in the 38 years from 1949 to 1987, this line was not clarified in public because the KMT government believed in assimilation and prohibited the idea of multiplicity of cultures and languages that implied as well as encouraged the existence of difference and uniqueness.

Following the repeal of Martial Law, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, in order to provoke and build Taiwanese' ethnicism, the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) asserted that Taiwanese should speak Holo. This movement deeply enhanced some Taiwanese' national and local identity, which only referred to Taiwan instead of Mainland China, especially to the Holo people. Partly it was because they were the majority ethnic group in Taiwan and the use of Holo could represent their ethnic identity. Until today, the believers of TSU (Taiwan Solidarity Union) still “. . . insist on using **【Holo】** as a symbol of group solidarity” (Tsao, 2000, p. 100). In contrast to the DPP and TSU, though the power structure in KMT (Kuomintang) and PFP (People First Party) was gradually changed, the center of power is still held by Mainlanders. In the political context, KMT and PFP members tend to speak Mandarin as their lingua franca. This feature creates a

sharp distinction between language use among most believers' of DPP and TSU who tend to use Holo. It is an ideological conflict involving ethnicity, language, and identity.

Currently, the population in Taiwan is approximately 23 million: Holo (73.2%), Hakka (12%), Mainlanders (13%), and indigenous peoples (1.8%) (Huang, 2001). According to Tsao's (2000) research, the per capita gross national product was, in U.S. dollars, \$12,439 in 1995.

Because of inter-marriage and more and more communication opportunities, ethnic lines seem to gradually blur. Take Mainlanders as an example. Their development of identities with regard to national and ethnic aspects is gradually moving toward localization of Taiwan (Kao, 2004). The third and fourth generations of Mainlanders were born and grew up in Taiwan instead of the Mainland. Having a hometown on the Mainland is just an illusion derived from their grandfathers' or grandmothers' words. Therefore, people claiming dual, tri, or multiple identities are becoming a normal phenomenon in today's society. Also, in addition to indigenous people, the features on faces, skin colors, and the shapes of the body among Hakka, Holo, and Mainlanders are very similar. From a broader perspective, they all belong to the Han Peoples. Unless a person states her/his ethnicity, it is not easy to tell the difference among people. Therefore, issues related to ethnicity are usually not taken into consideration in daily life; however, during the period of election campaigns is an exception. As long as any election campaign is held at the local or national level, the ethnic issue is always raised by some candidates. Partly it is because people's behavior and emotions are easily agitated by such discourse.

### *Language and Education*

Before introducing the current contexts of language and education in Taiwan, I provide ethnic groups and their relation with languages a definition and a review for the purposes of this study. The languages that Holo and Hakka people speak are called Holo and Hakka respectively. With regard to Mainlanders, though some of them can speak varied dialects in the Mainland, Mandarin is their common language. In the case of indigenous People, they are composed of 12 main groups (United Daily News, 2004), each having its own languages and unique culture. Their languages are generally called indigenous languages.

Mandarin now is the most common language used as a lingua franca across each group regardless of Holo people's role as the majority group. Mainly, the primary reason concerns language policy and its hidden orientation, which regulates that Mandarin is the only language spoken in public. The by-product of former language policy overemphasizing Mandarin also directly or indirectly affects other language activity in any context. In the 1990s, the situation of language shift and loss from other languages to Mandarin became increasingly serious. These situations could be easily found at work or in the family (Young, 1988). These phenomena still exist and prevail in the society, especially with the Hakka and indigenous groups.

Because of the gradual disappearance of the difference between language and culture, people have become aware of the importance of language and culture maintenance. Some have even led social movements to mandate laws that reverse language shift (Fishman, 1990) and cultural loss.

### *Language Curriculum Reform*

In 2003, the Ministry of Education promulgated the General Guidelines of Grade 1-9 Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School, which is the biggest curriculum reform since the Nine-Year Compulsory Education was practiced in 1968 (Ministry of Education, 2006). It employed the concept of “learning areas” instead of “learning subjects.” The reason for this shift was that learning was an inquiry of relationships between individual, society, and Mother Nature. Based on this concept, learning areas in terms of curriculum design could better help students in experiencing their inquiry learning processes than learning subjects. According to the Ministry of Education, this innovative curriculum covered seven learning areas: Language Arts, Math, Science and Technology, Social Studies, Health and PE, Arts and Humanities, and Life Curriculum. The Language Arts area consisted of three required language subjects, Mandarin, Dialects, and English.

At the elementary school level, Mandarin and Dialects began at the first grade and English began at the third grade. From third grade on, students were required to formally take all three different language subjects. Normally, the time for each period was 40 minutes. The Mandarin class occupied five to six periods, English class occupied two periods, and Dialects class occupied one period per week. Mandarin usually was used as the only language of instruction except for in English and Dialects classes. Additionally, in contrast to Mandarin and English classes, Dialects class was more varied depending upon students’ language use such Holo, Hakka, and indigenous languages, and ethnic composition such as Holo, Hakka, and indigenous groups, and the outside language

context around school. I have a thorough introduction about the Dialects class in the following section.

From the perspective of language-in-education planning, this language curriculum reform revealed the intention that the government was looking for a balance between localization and internationalization/globalization of curriculum. The government wanted to maintain local languages and cultures. At the same time, it was eager to connect to the international scene by enhancing students' English abilities, which is the symbol of internationalization/globalization. Some researchers call this dilemma between both sides as glocalization (Chun, 2005; Robertson, 1995). Pieterse (1995) describes that when people are experiencing this glocalization situation, they usually “. . . Think globally, act locally” (p. 49). The examination of glocalization phenomenon in Taiwan in relation to language education and planning is discussed in later chapters.

### ***Dialects Teaching***

In 1996, the Ministry of Education promulgated the Standards for Homeland Teaching Activities and Curriculum for Elementary School (Department of Elementary Education, 2006). Its overall goal was to enhance students' knowledge of homeland history, geography, language, and art as well as to cultivate the ideas of maintenance, continuity, and innovation (Chen, 1998). However, because Homeland Teaching involved too many subjects in one class per week, teachers had a hard time focusing their instruction. That is, in Homeland Teaching class, the teacher had to teach content of local history, language, culture, art, and geography at the same time. In so doing, students'

knowledge and understanding about their homeland probably would not be critical and deep. Moreover, to solve the serious problem of language loss, this might not be an appropriate implementation to efficiently reverse language shift (Fishman, 1991). The Ministry of Education later modified it and then announced the formal Dialects teaching, the so-called Mother tongue teaching, centering on local languages at the elementary schools in 2001 (Department of Elementary Education, 2006).

Dialects refers to languages used in the local community by Holo, Hakka, and indigenous peoples. In Taiwan, in the educational context, most Han people (Holo, Hakka, and Mainlanders) use the term Homeland Languages or Mother Tongues instead of Dialects to name this course. Also, most indigenous people use the term Ethnic languages instead of Dialects because they think that their languages belong to a different linguistic system from the Han language system, that includes Mandarin, Holo, and Hakka languages. That is, the English translation, Dialects, does not represent its authentic meaning of Chinese in Taiwan.

Further, the frequent use of Mother Tongues teaching in Taiwan produces a misunderstanding. My argument is that because of language shift, most children's mother tongues have been dominated by or have become Mandarin (Liao, 2000), which is not the language that teachers should teach in the Dialects class. The so-call mother tongues are not these children's primary languages. To these children, the languages that are taught in Dialects class are their parents' and ancestors' languages. I prefer to use the name, Homeland Languages, for Holo and Hakka language learners and another name, Ethnic Languages, for indigenous language learners. They seem to better describe and imply the

connection among land, people, and language than others. However, considering its formal use in official educational settings (Department of Elementary Education, 2003), I still apply the translation term, Dialects, in this study.

Currently, in Dialects class, the teacher teaches Holo, Hakka, or 1 of the 12 indigenous languages to students who mostly have shifted to speak Mandarin as their native language (Liao, 2000). The teachers are mainly regular teachers at the elementary school who have a teaching certificate in Dialects or can speak one of the local languages; they can also be “support teachers” who are trained by the Ministry of Education to teach Dialects. The number of support teachers usually is very small. So, Dialects classes in most schools are taught by regular teachers who are usually classroom teachers. Schools can decide which language(s) they want to teach to students depending upon their unique circumstance, such as children’s language and ethnic backgrounds. Normally, schools have to first survey parents’ support or willingness to enroll their children in Dialects learning in order to decide what kind of local languages should be offered to students.

In terms of curriculum in Dialects teaching, every elementary school student has to take at least one class period a week for 40 minutes. This one-period course is not enough to maintain and develop the local languages and cultures, but it is a beginning. More or less, not only can the languages of Holo, Hakka, and indigenous People be maintained but the curriculum also supports students to rethink their identity and ethnic culture. Further, from the perspective of bilingual education, the practice of Dialects’ teaching can be seen as official bilingual education planning.

Through this process of Dialects, students can learn from a bilingual/bicultural (Hornberger, 1998) setting. This will help them in becoming better aware of who they are as well as to eliminate prejudice and stereotyping of others (Shih, 2005). More importantly, explicitly or implicitly, this educational policy has implied that though Mandarin is the national language, other languages have an equal right to be spoken in public and used as a means of instruction in the classroom. This is a milestone and a great innovation in the language education in Taiwan.

### *Language Law*

In addition to the above description of school curriculum reform, this trend of innovation with respect to language reached its highest peak in 2003. The result was language legislation. In the meantime, the National Language Committees, scholars, educators, and specialists began to think of the possibilities of designing language law to ensure and protect every language group's language, culture, and human rights (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2003).

The formal name of the language law was called Language Equality Law (LEL) (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2003). The draft of the LEL was promulgated on March 31, 2003. In this draft, the first article defines:

In order to maintain and protect the right of using ethnic languages in daily life and to participate in political, economical, religious, educational, and cultural public affairs and so on, and protect every ethnic group's freedom of using language, the further protection of minority groups' ethnic languages should be regulated. This is why this law was made. (as cited from Wu, 2004, p. 133)

To embrace difference is to give difference a legitimate space to develop. This draft indicates that what the society should embrace is to respect other people's language differences and to treat these differences as basic human rights. Every language has the same status legally and socially and people should have the equal right to speak, promulgate, and maintain their languages. To some degree, this draft symbolizes that language rights have become a legal concern in Taiwan society. It also ensures that the promotion of a multilingual and multicultural society has become an important issue that cannot be ignored. This draft further redefined the concept of national languages and common languages in Taiwan (Shih, 2005).

Unfortunately, this draft was not discussed in the Legislation Yuan (Congress) nor passed by legislators. Because of its controversy, it was moved from the Ministry of Education to the Council for Cultural Affairs. This action was meant to eliminate the controversy of language rights and their relationship with ideology. The assumption was that if language was viewed as some form of culture or resource, it would possibly become less controversial. However, in this case, the idea of language-as-resource being one of the three language orientations (Ruiz, 1984) was misunderstood and negatively represented. In fact, the purpose of this orientation is to enhance positive thinking regarding language as one of the valuable human resources instead of a mercy given by the government. In order to maintain this language and culture, people not only should take action to actively help their languages' continuity in the society but also constantly rethink and reflect the processes of this language's practice as well as future directions.

The LEL draft now has been modified and renamed as the Law for National Language Development (LNLD) by the Council for Cultural Affairs. The law-makers tried to avoid some of the arguments that promoted language as a resource (Shih, 2005; Wu, 2004). In the LNLD's first article, it defines:

The languages that every ethnic group uses are a cultural resource of this country. The design of this law is to respect and protect people's language rights, to promote multicultural growth, and also to ensure that every language can be used and developed equally. (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2003)

The draft of LNLD is now not passed yet. It is still waiting for interdepartmental negotiation in the Taiwan government.

### **Summary**

From 1624 until today, Taiwaners have been through monarchical, colonized, authoritarian, and democratic governing systems. The ethnic composition in the society has shifted from dominance of indigenous peoples to Holo people. The society functions from Han-centrism to multiculturalism. Further, in order to face the the 21<sup>st</sup> century, many educational dimensions are being reformed to meet the needs, locally and internationally. Nevertheless, the conflicts and contradictions between tradition versus modernity, nationism versus nationalism (Ennaji, 1999; Fishman, 1968; Huang, 1997), localization versus centralization, and nationalization versus globalization/internationalism are becoming more serious and complicated. Language education at the elementary school particularly is one of the most crucial aspects that is manifested in these situations. Various issues and phenomena relevant to language education warrant

further research so as to modify the on-going plan of language. This is why this study is important.

### **CHAPTER 3**

#### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

My review of literature has five foci. First, I review the literature on language planning. Second, I review literature regarding bilingual education, including bilingualism and bilingual education program models. Third, I focus my review on literature of key issues related to language planning and bilingual education from an international perspective. Fourth, I discuss literature of the interrelationship between language and identity in Taiwan. Fifth, I review recent literature regarding bilingual education and language planning in Taiwan.

#### **Language Planning**

The term, language planning, was developed around 40 years ago. According to Haugen (1966), “language planning” was first used by Uriel Weinreich in a seminar in 1957. Haugen then used “language planning” in a paper in 1958. In practice and theory, language planning usually links to language policy. Therefore, a combination of language planning and policy (LPP) (Baldauf, Jr., 2003; Eggington, 2003) or of language planning and language policy (LPLP) (Wright, 2004) is easily found in literature.

Spolsky (2004) defines language planning as “. . . cases of direct efforts to manipulate the language situation” (p. 8) by a person or group. Spolsky takes a management perspective to treat this action or manipulation of the language situation. Therefore, he says, “I prefer this term (language management) to planning” (p. 8). In this

study, I hold a different view from Spolsky. I prefer the term of language planning to language management. I see language management as one component of language planning. Language management tends to refer to the administrative affairs; however, language planning refers to a macro view of how a person or group deals with the whole language situation and its related issues.

Eastman (1983) gives “language planning” a sound and profound interpretation.

She says,

The study of LANGUAGE PLANNING focuses on the decision-making that goes into determining what language use is appropriate in particular speech communities. Language planning is concerned with how language can be conducted and interpreted successfully in a speech community, given the language goals of that community. The study of language planning looks at choice available to a speech community and at possible recommendations of language policy for adoption by the community. (pp.1-2)

Eastman’s interpretation points out the complex and dynamic nature of language planning. This complex and dynamic nature of language planning usually involves interdisciplinary studies. Therefore, studies of language planning usually cover many disciplines, such as politics, sociology, linguistics, pedagogy, anthropology, economics, and history (Baldauf Jr., 2003; Eastman, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997). Depending on language planners’ differences of purposes, the definition of language planning may vary in different social contexts.

Ruiz (1984) employed an orientation perspective to synthesize the features of language planning from earlier studies and literature. He found that language planning could be categorized into three different types of orientation: language-as-problem,

language-as-right, and language-as-resource. In his class, Language Planning, in 2003,

Ruiz defined the three Language Orientations as follows:

- Language as problem: in which language differences are considered principal factors that determine social, economic, academic disadvantage.
- Language as right: a reaction against the first **【Language as problem】**, it considers that the traditional community language is a natural, human and legal right.
- Language as resource: considers language differences (including mother tongues, dialects, varieties, and the communities where they are used) to be resources for internal and external (for the society in general) development; regarded as both intrinsic and extrinsic resources.

If linguistic difference is applied as a criterion, then language-as-problem is the orientation in which personal or group linguistic differences other than the majority are treated by planners as a problem that needs to be solved. Language-as-right is the orientation that provides legal basis and protection to linguistic difference. Language-as-resource is the orientation that values and respects linguistic difference.

However, one should note that the three orientations do not operate in sequence (Kono, 2001). Also, two or three orientations may be applied at the same time in one decision-making process of language.

In the academic community, language planning is usually comprised of three stances: status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning (Ager, 2001; Cooper, 1989; Eastman, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997; Ruiz, 1990; Spolsky, 2004). To some degree, the three stances that guide the direction of language planning can be defined as a rationale.

In status planning, language planners consider issues of what languages should be planned, who speaks the languages, what role these languages play in the society, and what the prestigious status (Ager, 2001) of these languages is. Spolsky (2004) says, “Status planning refers to the appropriate uses for a named variety of language” (p. 11). For example, the KMT’s (Kuomintang) Mandarin-only in Taiwan affected all of the languages’ activities in many domains. Except for Mandarin, other languages were limited to use only in some contexts. The KMT government meant to develop Mandarin’s prestige over other languages and ensured that Mainlanders, whose proficiency in Mandarin was normally much greater than other ethnic groups, could steadily maintain their political status. Therefore, the Mandarin-only policy in Taiwan not only related to issues of languages but also involved issues of social status and ethnicity. In short, status planning is concerned with the relationship between languages, and between languages and contexts and speakers. One may generally define status planning as a planning of the relationship between language and other aspects of the life in society, including different languages.

In contrast to status planning, corpus planning concerns only language itself. Corpus planning mainly deals with the internal linguistic principles. It “. . . refers to the choices to be made of specific linguistic elements whenever the language is used” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 11). Corpus planning is usually divided into three aspects: codification, elaboration, and modernization (Chang, 2001; Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997). Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. (1997) think that codification mainly deals with issues of language standardization; while elaboration mainly focuses on the functional development of

languages. They group modernization as part of the elaboration process. I disagree with this point. In my opinion, modernization usually occurs because technology changes the society and life style. Language planners can easily find that corpus planning at the modernization level focuses on new phrases and terminologies brought by the technological changes. However, corpus planning on the elaboration level focuses on the redefinition of some original linguistic terms and usages. That is, modernization focuses on new language issues and elaboration focuses on the existing linguistic system. This is a major difference between them. This is why I think modernization should be isolated from elaboration.

Status planning and corpus planning are both commonly known as two major stances in language planning. Cooper (1989) further adds another stance called acquisition planning. Acquisition “. . . refers to organized efforts to promote the learning of a language” (p. 157). Though acquisition planning is not limited only to the school education domain, this stance tends to be focused on implementation of language policy in school language education. Research of acquisition planning related to school language education is often called language-in-education planning (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997; Melisa, 1998). In general, language-in-education planning deals with language issues related to language education at school. Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. (1997) further suggest examining the language-in-education implementation from the following five policies: curriculum policy, personnel policy, materials policy, community policy, and evaluation policy. Curriculum policy mainly concerns language selection for teaching and when to teach; personal policy concerns teacher training; materials policy focuses on materials of

what and how much need to be taught and for how long; community policy focuses on parental attitudes, funding, and recruitment; evaluation policy deals with evaluation of curriculum, students, cost, etc.

This dissertation study focuses on language-in-education planning in Taiwan. I apply the five policies to examine what I found from my research of language-in-education planning at the elementary school level in Taiwan in chapter 7.

From the literature review of language planning, I understand that language planning is a matter of the decision-making process through language, about language, and in language itself (Eastman, 1983; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971).

Language planning is a matter of decision-making through language. From this perspective, language works as a means to achieve some goal for some purpose. It basically serves two functions: instrumentality and sentimentality (Ager, 2001; Huang, 2001; Ruiz, 1990). In the aspect of instrumentality, language is planned as a tool to promote some national policies and to influence people's language behavior. In the aspect of sentimentality, language is used as a symbol to represent some kind of feeling of attachment (Huang, 2001). Both functions especially manifest themselves in the language education domain. Therefore, language planning in this matter is also called language-in-education planning (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997) or acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989).

Language planning is a matter of decision-making process about language (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971). In this case, language planners consider issues of what languages should be planned, who speaks the languages, what role these language plays in the society, and what the prestigious status (Ager, 2001) of these languages are. How the

languages function in the society or environment is also a major concern in the process. This is also called status planning (Ager, 2001; Cooper, 1989; Eastman, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997; Ruiz, 1990).

Language planning is a matter of the decision-making process in language itself. Here, language planning mainly deals with the internal linguistic principles. It is presented in three aspects: codification, elaboration, (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997), and modernization. It is also named as corpus planning (Ager, 2001; Cooper, 1989; Eastman, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997; Ruiz, 1990).

In summary, language planning is a decision-making process which covers three stances (status, corpus, and acquisition planning), three orientations (language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource), and three matters (through language, about language, and language itself). Language planning is also future-oriented (Eastman, 1983), in which language planners research issues of “. . . what actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people for what ends, under what conditions, by what means, through what decision-making process, with what effect” (Cooper, 1989, p. 89). My study of language-in-education planning at the elementary school level in Taiwan manifests the interdisciplinary, multidimensional, thinking of language planning.

### **Bilingual Education**

Bilingual education, literally, is a matter of education related to two languages. It has been employed to teach language minority students in many countries for many years. Ovando, Collier, and Combs (2003) note that “Any discussion about bilingual education

should begin with the understanding that bilingual education is neither a single uniform program nor a consistent ‘methodology’ for teaching language minority students” (p.5).

In this section, first, I focus my review on bilingualism. Then, I introduce bilingual education program models in the U.S. and Canada. This review of literature not only helps me in examining language teachers’ understanding of bilingual education but also provides me with reference to evaluate and discuss bilingual education programs at the elementary school in Taiwan.

### *Bilingualism*

“The word ‘bilingual’ primarily describes someone with the possession of two languages” (Li, 2000, p. 7). There is a variety of bilinguals. An ideal model is a balanced bilingual, whose abilities of two languages are nearly equivalent (Li, 2000). Realistically, it is difficult to define if one’s mastery of two languages is equivalent. Therefore, bilingualism, as a term describing one’s abilities with two languages, varies in definition. “The reason for these widely differing definitions of bilingualism centers around the context in which the two languages will be used” (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003, p. 165). Normally, research on bilingualism is associated with issues of first language (L1) and second language (L2) learning, and their interrelationship (Cummins, 2001). Especially, L2 is the focus.

Krashen (1985) synthesized the former L2 learning theories and developed his Input Hypothesis theory. He says, “The Input Hypothesis theory claims that humans acquire language in only one way-- by understanding messages, or by receiving

‘comprehensible input’” (p. 2). What he means by comprehensible input relates to another of his theory,  $i+1$ . The ‘i’ means “The acquirer’s (L2 learner’s) current competence, the last rule acquired along the natural order” (p. 101) and the “ $i+1$ ” refers to “The next rule the acquirer (L2 learner) is ‘due to’ acquire or is eligible to acquire along the natural order” (p. 101). Here, maybe there is a need to explain the term, natural order. In his definition, the natural order refers to a hypothesis that,

. . . We acquire the rules of language in a predictable order, some rules tending to come early and others late. The order does not appear to be determined solely by formal simplicity and there is evidence that it is independent of the order in which rules are taught in language classes. (p. 1)

In other words, Krashen applies the metaphor,  $i$ , to mean L2 learner’s current language ability. If the L2 learner can receive some assistance as comprehensible input,  $+1$ , from teachers, peers, parents, books, surrounding, society, or experiences, etc., then the L2 learner’s original language proficiency will be enhanced, i.e.,  $i+1$ .

In practice, what motives can this theory,  $i+1$  or comprehensible input, bring to bilingual learning or bilingual education? Krashen (1985) applies his theory to bilingual education in the U.S. and explains how bilingual education can become successful if two conditions are met: “. . . There should be a source of comprehensible input in English as well as solid first-language subject-matter teaching, the latter providing the extra-linguistic information that will help make English input more comprehensible” (p. 85).

In addition to Krashen’s theory of L2 learning, Cummins (1999 & 2001) raises two ideas of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) to discuss the interdependence between L1 and L2. Cummins defines CALP as an indication that L2 learners can express their thinking in an

academic-demanding setting or activity, e.g., essay writing. The term, BICS, refers to L2 learners' communicative language abilities. Cummins also reports that L2 learners may spend two years to acquire BICS, but they need around 5-7 years to acquire their CALP. However, Cummins (1999) reminds his audience that,

**【The distinction between CALP and BICS】** says nothing about the appropriate time to introduce English reading or other forms of cognitively challenging content instruction in English. The distinction is not addressed to this issue. The distinction and related research *does* suggest that if English language learning students are transitioned into a “mainstream” class in which the teacher knows very little about how to promote academic skills in a second language, then they are unlikely to receive the instruction support they need to catch up academically. (pp.4-5)

Cummins (2001) further explains that the relationship between L1 and L2 is interdependent. He calls this interdependent feature an Interdependence theory, which means a language learner's L1 ability would transfer to his/her L2 learning and his/her L2 ability also would enhance his/her L1 proficiency (Odlin, 2003). Both CALP and BICS, and Interdependence theories clearly illustrate the nature of L1 and L2 learning.

Moreover, Cummins' statement explicitly points out that language teachers' knowledge and understanding about bilingualism, e.g., L1 and L2 learning and language transfer, often determines the L2 students' academic performance in the classroom. Teachers should know when, how, and what methods to use to help L2 students' learning in target language and content areas.

In this study, Krashen's and Cummins' concepts about L2 learning and bilingualism were the criteria that I applied to examine Taiwan elementary school language teachers' perspective and understanding about bilingual education. Based on their responses and my research findings, I suggest an appropriate and practical bilingual

education program model for the elementary school language-in-education planning in Taiwan.

### ***Bilingual Education Program Models***

In the U.S. and Canada, there are many different bilingual education program models, which serve various purposes and function differently. Though many of the program models are labeled with different names, they can mainly be divided into the following four types: Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) Model; Maintenance/Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE) Model; Two-Way Bilingual Education Model; Bilingual Immersion Model (Crawford, 1999; Ovando & Collier, 1985; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003; Peregoy & Boyle, 2001; Rennie, 1993).

#### ***Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) Model***

This model is designed for so-called LEP (Limited English Proficiency) students. English is the main instruction medium which may take 72 to 92 percent of the whole class periods (Crawford, 1999). Normally, L2 or ESL students stay in this program for two to three years. The primary goal of this program model is to prepare L2 or ESL students to enter the mainstream English classroom. Therefore, when students leave this program, they are expected to be subtractive bilinguals (who lose their first language) (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003).

TBE program model is often criticized by researchers for two reasons (Ovando & Collier, 1985). First, this program model is labeled as a remedial program. Students sent into this program are usually viewed as slow learners. They are asked to stay in this

program in order to remedy their English. Students' first languages in this program model are treated as problems.

Second, L2 learners in this program are required to master English within two to three years. Based on Cummins's (2001) study, most language learners can only achieve BICS level after they leave this program. That is, when they leave this program their CALP level is still not enough for them to survive in the regular classrooms. Basically, to rush them to master their second language within two to three years has nothing to do with motivating their interests in language learning.

#### ***Maintenance or Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE) Model***

The Maintenance or DBE model is also called an enrichment model which attempts to maintain language minority students' first language (Crawford, 1999). It "...places less emphasis on existing students from the bilingual program as soon as possible" (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003, p.78). Nevertheless, in the U.S., this model is usually practiced at the elementary school and rarely seen at the secondary school level. Crawford thinks that the goal of Maintenance or DBE model is additive bilingualism, because it helps students to increase their cognitive and academic abilities, i.e., CALP.

#### ***Two-Way Bilingual Education or Dual Language or Bilingual Immersion Model***

In this model, native speakers and L2 learners are mixed. Ideally, the percentage for each language group is fifty% and preferably will not go below ratio of 70 to 30% (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003; Rennie, 1993). Instruction is usually provided in each

language groups' first languages and to both language groups. That is, in this program, students can acquire both languages at a very proficient level. Students can also learn how to respect cultural differences so that they better understand the nature of diversity.

Ovando and Collier (1985) find that this model tends to have two difficulties. First, in the first year, teachers in this program usually need to spend much more time and effort than their colleagues on teaching because students come from various backgrounds. Second, it is difficult to convince the mainstream parents that learning a minority language is beneficial to their kids.

It is also worth mentioning that many researchers include the Bilingual Immersion Model in this category; however, I distinguish the Bilingual Immersion Model from the Two-Way Bilingual Education or Dual Language model. Here, Bilingual Immersion Model refers to the Canadian model.

### ***Bilingual Immersion Model***

In addition to the TBE, DBE, and Two-Way or Dual models, the immersion model is also well known in the bilingual educational field. The immersion model has been widely successful in Canada. Peregoy and Boyle (2001) write that the goal for this model is full bilingualism and biliteracy for both native speakers and L2 students. It is characterized by teaching dominant language speakers in their second language. In this program, second language is instructed for the first school year. L1 language instruction may be added and increased in the upper grades. There are varied types of immersion models, such as partial and late immersion models.

Currently, bilingual education programs can hardly be found in the public elementary school system in Taiwan. It is also very difficult if language planners want to copy any of the U.S. and Canada program models and apply them to the educational context in Taiwan. However, I do not deny the possibility of applying any bilingual education program in Taiwan. My only concern is “How should we do it?” and “What do language teachers, parents, and students think about bilingual education?”

In my opinion, a good bilingual program is a program in which students not only enhance their first language abilities and learn their second language but also can experience different cultures at the same time. That is, the ideal model of bilingual education is the one in which students acquire bilingual abilities and also learn to appreciate difference and diversity. Therefore, I define my ideal bilingual education as a combination of bilingual and bicultural understanding (Hornberger, 1998; McCarty, 2002).

In the first section, I review the literature regarding theories of language planning. In this section, I discuss and introduce bilingual education. In the following section, I explore literature related to key issues in language planning and bilingual education.

### **Key Issues Related to Language Planning and Bilingual Education**

A great number of issues related to language planning and bilingual education in different contexts are discussed in the literature. I focus on issues of minority languages, language shift and maintenance, and politics and language right in language planning and bilingual education in the following sub-sections.

*Minority Languages in Language Planning and Bilingual Education*

The term “minority” is defined based on various dimensions. Ogbu (1978) proposes “a typology which (a) indicates the distinct quality of majority-minority relations, (b) permits an analysis of historical changes in that relationship; and (c) has cross-cultural applicability” (p. 22) to examine the minority issues. Applying these criteria, he categorizes minority groups into three types: autonomous, castelike, and immigrant minorities (Baker & Jones, 1998; Ogbu, 1978). Ogbu thinks that in the U.S., the Jews and the Mormons represent the autonomous groups; Black and indigenous Americans represent the castelike groups; and Chinese Americans and some immigrant groups represent immigrant minorities. Ogbu’s concept of minority groups provides a theoretical basis for a language planner to consider the role of minority languages within education and the society.

In the fields of language planning and bilingual education, minority language is often seen as one of the main issues. I briefly discuss the examples of Catalan in Spain, Welsh in Wales, and Maori in New Zealand in the following paragraphs. Minority language planning by employing methods of bilingual education in the three areas shows different results because of various historical and ethnolinguistic factors.

In Spain, in contrast to the dominant status of Castilian, the Catalan language is the minority language, which is mostly spoken in the Catalonia area for more than 1000 years (Ager, 2001; Strubell, 1996). Before the 1980s, language planning in the Catalonia area only focused on Castilian, the official language in Spain (Wright, 2004). Therefore, the number of Catalan speakers declined seriously before the 1980s (Strubell, 1996).

Currently, because of the language planning focusing on bilingualism, especially on the Catalan language, Catalan has gained its official status in local government (Ager, 2001) and school education, which indicates a respect to minority language and an efficiency of minority language planning.

In contrast to the revival phenomenon of Catalan in Catalonia, Welsh in Wales shows a different result of minority language planning. Welsh is a minority language in Wales. In the history, Welsh was a dominant local language in Wales. However, as the political, linguistic, and economical situations changed, the majority people gradually spoke English as their first language (Baker, 2003). English is now a dominant and high language in contrast to the minority and low status of Welsh in Wales. The present language planning and bilingual education in Wales focus on children's ability of literacy in Welsh (Baker, 2003). Though Welsh still maintains its lower status than English in many domains, the ability of literacy in Welsh is seen as a symbol, which represents Welsh's validity and the continua of biliteracy of English and Welsh in Wales (Baker, 2003; Hornberger, 2003).

Like Catalan in Spain and Welsh in Wales, Maori is the minority language in New Zealand. According to May (1999) and Durie (1999), the Maori language was an endangered language in the 1970s. Since the late 1970s, the New Zealand government and its Ministry of Education implemented a series of measures of language planning and bilingual education focusing on saving the Maori language, especially the practice of Kohanga Reo, language nest (Durie, 1999; May, 1999). "The Kohanga Reo language nests began by bringing fluent elders to the preschools to work with the young children

and teach them to speak and live Maori” (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 54). The great success of Kohanga Reo enables Maori children to learn about, through, and in Maori language (Holliday, 1984) from their preschool period. The revival of the Maori language in New Zealand has become a model case in the world in terms of language planning and bilingual education focusing on minority languages.

In short, minority language planning and bilingual education in Spain, Wales, and New Zealand show different situations and results. The Catalan language is the present dominant language in Catalonia, which is used in most domains. Compared to English’s higher status, Welsh is seen as a lower language. Education in Wales is working toward the development of the continua of bi-literacy of English and Welsh (Baker, 2003; Hornberger, 2003). In the case of the Maori in New Zealand, Crystal (2000) concludes that,

. . . A different cluster of factors seems to have been operative, involving a strong ethnic community involvement since the 1970s, a long-established (over 150 years) literacy presence among the Maori, a government educational policy which has brought Maori courses into schools and other centers, such as kohanga reo (‘language nests’), and a steadily growing sympathy from the English speaking majority. Also to be noted is the fact that Maori is the only indigenous language in the country. (p. 128)

### ***Language Shift and Maintenance in Language Planning and Bilingual Education***

“Language shift is the conventional term for the gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another (either by an individual or by a group)” (Crystal, 2000, p. 17). Language replacement is the equivalence of language shift (Schooling, 1990). Language shift does not occur in a vacuum without any reason. Baker and Jones (1998)

point out that language shift occurs “. . . because the speakers of one language have more political power, privilege and social prestige than the speakers of the other language” (p. 151). In other words, language shift is usually “. . . speakers of the minority language (in numerical or power terms) who shift away from or maintain use of their own language vis-à-vis the majority language” (Hornberger, 2003). Therefore, language shift from the minority language to majority or dominant language is often seen as a symbol which triggers the action of implementing minority language planning and bilingual education.

Language maintenance is a contrasting term of language shift. Language maintenance focuses on maintaining minority language’s existence in terms of “. . . relative language stability in its number and distribution of speakers, its proficient usage in children and adults, and to retaining the use of the language in specific domains” (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 185). Language maintenance is often used as a strategy to stop minority language’s shift to majority language when considering minority language planning and bilingual education. However, employing the perspective of language maintenance can only help minority language and its speakers develop minimal survival language ecology (Haugen, 1972). Hornberger (2003) suggests that

Language revitalization, renewal, or reversing language shift goes one step further than language maintenance, in that it implies recuperating and reconstructing something that is at least partially lost, rather than maintaining and strengthening what already exists. (p. 366)

Great efforts of language planning and bilingual education were put on reversing minority, especially indigenous, languages’ shift to the dominant languages or on minority languages’ maintenance in certain domains. Examples are found in many countries and areas in the world, such as Maori language in New Zealand, Navajo

language in Arizona in the U.S. (McCarty, 2002), languages of native Americans in Alaska (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998), Quechua in South America (Hornberger, 1998; Hornberger & King, 2001), and Holo, Hakka, and indigenous languages in Taiwan (Department of Elementary Education, 2006).

Fishman (1991, 2001) develops his theory, Reversing Language Shift (RLS), focusing on discussion and examination of endangered minority language's vitality. His theory is helpful for language planners to clarify the complexity when practicing maintenance and revitalization. He creates a scale with eight levels, which starts from the eighth level (the most endangered status) to describe the endangered status of the language. I paraphrase his descriptions with Spolsky's (2004) interpretation of RLS in the following:

8. Only a small number of elders can speak that language, which needs to be reorganized and taught to adult members in the language community.
7. Most users of the language are in a socially integrated group, but they are beyond child-bearing age. The challenge is to rebuild the speaking environment of the language to young children.
6. The language is still used as a family language by a great number of speakers. It is also used as an intergenerational language for communication. However, not all of the family members are fluent speakers of the language.
5. The language has literacy function in home, schools, and community. However, there is no support outside the three areas. The right of language and language speakers are recognized only in their community.
4. The language is taught and used in the kindergarten and elementary school. The right of the language is protected by the compulsory education laws.
3. The language is used outside its speaking community and used in the workplace in interaction with other language speakers.
2. The language is used in lower levels of governmental agencies (e.g. local

governments) and mass media, but not on higher levels.

1. There is some use of the language in higher level educational, governmental, occupational, and media efforts, but there is no additional safety provided by political independence for the speakers of the language.

The eight levels of RLS provide a foundation for language planners to observe and analyze the endangered situation of minority languages. In reality, though minority language planning may be more complicated than the description of the RLS theory, the eight levels clearly give a very valuable and heuristic idea to examine the language practices, ideology and identity, and revitalization of a minority language (Spolsky, 2004).

### ***Politics and Language Right in Language Planning and Bilingual Education***

The practices of language planning and bilingual education are greatly influenced by the political development of the language context. Weinstein (1990) thinks that language planning means “. . . deliberate and conscious choices of language form and/or language function made by important institutions believed to be capable of long-term implementation over a significant area and among a significant population” (p. 5). In order to explain the close relationship between language planning and politics, Weinstein (1990) further indicates that from a political perspective, language planning is implemented because it serves three functions: (1) maintain the status quo, (2) reform the current practice of language education and policies, and (3) transform the current situation and function of the language in the state and society. Weinstein’s political perspective toward language planning can be found in many cases, especially in the practice of bilingual education in Singapore (Esman, 1990; Ganguly; 2003; Pakir, 2004).

Ethnic composition in Singapore can be generally divided into three groups: Chinese, Indian, and Malay. Chinese (77%) is the majority group (Pakir, 2004). English, Mandarin, Tamil, and Malay are the four official languages in Singapore. Mandarin and English are the dominant languages in the society, especially the latter. This result (English dominance) relates to the colonized history by the British and the political concern of ethnic relationship among Mandarin, Tamil, and Malay. That is, “English was chosen as the working language for the country, being ‘neutral’ in the sense that it did not belong to any of the three major ethnic groups” (Pakir, 2004, p.285). This “neutral” English policy also ensures the status quo of the small number of elites in Singapore (Esman, 1990).

Bilingual education planning is implemented in Singapore’s educational system. The content of bilingual education in Singapore refers to English and another official language, Mandarin, Tamil, or Malay. English is assigned a prestigious status in the educational domain in Singapore. However, Pakir (2004) clarifies that “Singapore wants English as a tool, rather than a tie; it wants English to serve a utilitarian but not an emotional purpose” (p. 288). Saliently, English in Singapore is given various expectations based on multi-dimensional political concerns. Ganguly (2003) concludes that Singapore’s choice of English in language planning and education

. . . arise[s] from the political leadership’s recognition of the country’s unique ethnic composition, its choice of an ideology based on multiracialism and multiculturalism, its geographic location in a predominantly Malay cultural region, its historical ties to Malaysia, and its strategy of economic development. (p. 254)

When considering the close relationship between politics and language planning and bilingual education, one of the important issues is language right. In its Article 2.1 in

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights published by The United Nations in 1948, it states that “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social region, property, birth or other status” (as cited in Shih, 2002, p. 4). Undoubtedly, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes language right as one of the human rights.

Nguessan (1996) also mentions that “The legal status of a language in a country determines whether or not the population speaking this language has direct access to its right” (p. 262). The legal status of a language can be examined by its official status in the society, government, and educational contexts. The purpose of language planning on language right is to ensure that difference between languages can be respected and protected by laws. The practice of bilingual education planning in which different ethnic languages are used as the medium of instruction to teach ethnic knowledge and cultures to children represents a legitimacy shared with different languages, especially the minority languages.

Examples of minority language planning and bilingual education mentioned in the previous paragraphs, such as Catalan in Spain, Welsh in Wales, Maori in New Zealand, Quechua in South America, and local languages in Taiwan all concern language rights for minority groups. In many situations, minority language rights are related to the concept of self-determination, especially in the cases of indigenous languages (May, 1999; McCarty, 2002). Nettle and Romaine (2000) give self-determination of minority language right a vivid description from the perspective of power relationship. They think,

. . . Taking the right of choice seriously would mean decentralizing power and knowledge to a much greater extent than national governments have generally been willing to do. It means, for example, allowing the language and even the content of educational curricula to be developed to the smallest appropriate level. (p.174)

Apparently, issues involved in considering language right include not only the protection and respect of minority languages, cultures, and education, but also relate to the power relationship between different languages and their associated ethnic groups. Even in the successful case of Catalan in Catalonia, the power relationship associated with Catalan after the practices of minority language planning and bilingual education is worthy to be carefully reconsidered. Wright (2004) reminds language planners that,

. . . Because it is such a successful language in terms of numbers of speakers, domains of use and variety of functions, it is also seen as a hegemony, impinging on the linguistic rights of others, ambiguous to install a muscular monolingualism within Catalonia public life, working to assimilate speakers of different varieties of the language to the Barcelona dialect and imposing a language shift on Castilian speakers who live in Catalonia through immersion education. (p. 211)

In this section, I discuss issues related to minority languages, language shift and maintenance, and politics and language right in considering and implementing language planning and bilingual education. In the following paragraphs, I explore the interrelationship between language and identity in Taiwan which helps me investigate the issues behind languages. My focus of the literature discussion then shifts to issues related to bilingual education and language planning in Taiwan.

### **Interrelationship between Language and Identity in Taiwan**

In McCarty's (2002) research about Navajo people in Rough Rock in the U.S, she noted that "Perhaps more than any other single experience, language loss sums up the

struggle to protect Indigenous identities, lifeways, and rights” (p. 15). Her statement points out a direct connection between language loss and identity. She further suggested that “. . . a crisis of identity . . . is a crisis of values, morality, and ways of knowing--of the most basic question of what it means to be Navajo” (p. 181). Saliently, McCarty believed that a crisis of language would lead to a crisis of identity and it would further conflict with the ideology of those who are Navajo.

A similar case is found in Young’s (1988) study. He says, one’s “ethnolinguistic identity was determined by his or her grandparents’ ethnolinguistic identity and his or her language” (p. 326). He surveyed 823 people in Taiwan and found serious phenomena of language shift and loss, especially for Hakka and Holo people. He concluded that one’s “ethnic identity of a member and of an ethnolinguistic group, such as Southern Min (Holo) or Hakka is dependent on the ability of the group to remain strong and maintain its cultural and linguistic identity” (p. 337).

Both Young’s and McCarty’s studies provide strong evidence to prove that there is an intimate interrelationship between language and identity. However, Tse’s (2000) study projects a different perspective. He did an in-depth sociolinguistic analysis regarding the relation between language and identity in Taiwan. His focus was “. . . on the changing conception of group identity” (p. 151) and its interaction with language. Tse found that the construction of identity was from the interaction among varied complex historical, social, ethnic, ideological, linguistic, and political factors. It “. . . encompasses an active and dynamic process through which an individual identifies himself or herself in relation to how he or she is constituted as a subject by dominant discourses and representations”

(Lei, 2003, p. 159). Therefore, in his conclusion, he argued that “. . . There is a truly new sense of group identity in Taiwan today, but this emergent new identity is characterized more by the shared feeling toward . . . **【outside and inner forces】** than toward language as such” (p.163).

In fact, Tse denied that language is the sole factor affecting personal and a group's identity construction. Tse did not deny the interrelationship between language and identity. What Tse wanted to indicate was that language is just one of the factors that influence personal and a group's identity construction. That is, “How much does language involve in one's identity construction or reconstruction?” really depends on various reasons and situations.

It is not difficult to find that “Identities change and evolve over time, with varying experiences, interactions and collaborations within and outside a language group” (Li, 2000, p. 24). This literature reflects the conclusion: the interrelationship between language and identity involves multiple concerns regarding cultural contexts and social factors. The construction of identity must be seen in its interactive nature with history, society, and experience (Pittam, 1999). More importantly, this interrelationship is not a linear but a dynamic and negotiated process (Pittam, 1999), which relates to the ideology of identity and language as problems (Ruiz, 1984) and the hegemonic relationship between the oppressor as the majority group/language and the oppressed as the minority group/language (Freire, 2000). To understand this feature of interrelationship, it will be helpful for language teachers and planners to investigate what language-in-education

planning and bilingual education can do and should focus on in order to provide students better language learning environment at school.

### **Bilingual Education and Language Planning in Taiwan**

If the assumption, “The word ‘bilingual’ primarily describes someone with the possession of two languages” (Li, 2000, p. 7), is correct, then, at least 82.5% (Huang, 2001) of the population in Taiwan can be defined as bilingual. Since the Ministry of Education announced that Dialects was a required course from the first grade in 2001 and that English was a required course from the third grade in 2004 (Department of Elementary Education, 2006), logically, bilingual education becomes an important issue and approach in language classes in Taiwan. The reason I make this prediction is that elementary school students now start taking three language classes at the same time beginning with third grade. In this section, I first review literature regarding bilingual education and then shift my topic to language planning in Taiwan.

The term “bilingual education” is easily related to the combination of English and other language by many people. The major reason is the language power of English (Darder, 1991). This situation is also found in Taiwan. Bilingual education has become a popular term in Taiwan in the recent years. Many kindergartens and private and cram schools like using bilingual education as a metaphor to imply that their instruction contains English or is conducted in English only. In her article, Cia (1998) concludes that bilingual teaching in English education will have an optimistic prospective in the future in Taiwan; however, she also warns that if ‘test leads teaching’ is still the ‘norm’ in the

classroom, then bilingual education will hardly produce any effect in English education. Other researchers seemingly have a passive view on bilingual education in Taiwan. They think that realistically there little opportunity to practice bilingual education of English and Mandarin (Liao, 2002; Su, 2001), because English is no one's first language, nor even a second, third, or fourth language in Taiwan (Chang, 1995).

Except for English education, the term 'bilingual education' is also widely applied to fields of language planning and maintenance and Dialects teaching (Chang, 2005; Cheng, 1996, Lo, 1997; Tse, 1993) in Taiwan. In 1975, Cheng proposed a draft called A Taiwan Language Planning Draft in which he suggested employing bilingual education to teach students local languages, Holo, Hakka, and Indigenous languages (Cheng, 1996). However, because of his political background against the KMT government and of the controversy involved in language and politics, this draft was doomed to be discussed only in the academic field. Twenty years later, he wrote a reflection about his earlier draft and mentioned that “. . . in order to let our next generations have opportunities to understand and respect the language use of themselves and others in the community we should start promoting bilingual education” (p. 44). Cheng viewed bilingual education as an approach which can be used to reverse the present language shift (Fishman, 1991) from local languages to Mandarin. He also expected that bilingual education, as an approach under the scope of language planning, could work as a means to educate students about diversity and the beauty of local languages and cultures.

Tse (1993) employs the perspective of language planning to evaluate the practicability of bilingual education in Taiwan. He raises 15 considerations that planners

need to take into account when implementing bilingual education in the school, district, or county. Besides these, in his conclusion, he also points out that planners need to conduct the following three basic surveys before implementation: a survey of sociolinguistic conditions, a survey of language attitudes, and a survey of the in-service language teachers' language abilities.

Tse's 15 considerations and suggestions are very helpful for me to understand how a researcher who holds an academic and holistic perspective views and deconstructs the educational context in Taiwan. I agree with all of Tse's suggestions and analyses regarding bilingual education and language planning in Taiwan. However, as a researcher and former elementary school teacher in Taiwan, I find that most research studies regarding bilingual education and language planning do not go into a deeper level to investigate what really happens in the classroom, school, family, and students' everyday life. What teachers, parents, students, and school administrators really care about in the elementary school language education is still a mystery. From this review of literature, I perceive a lack in the current research studies regarding language planning and bilingual education in Taiwan. Researchers and language planners seem to stay on the theoretical level to foresee the whole situation in the classrooms in Taiwan. Few researchers put theories into their school contexts and then discuss how theory can really benefit school language education. I expect to contribute to narrow this gap between theory and practice by this study.

In examining Taiwan's linguistic and educational situations, it is clear that English is symbolized as a prestigious language against all local languages, including Mandarin,

though English is only spoken by a few people not the majority. In contrast to other local languages' lower status, Mandarin plays a dominant role in Taiwan. Also, compared with Mandarin and English, local languages or mother tongues are socially and educationally inferior. Saliently, language in Taiwan represents a diglossic situation (Ferguson, 2000; Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997), i.e., a sociolinguistic phenomenon in which two languages function differently with different status. This diglossic situation becomes more complicated while considering the development of language education in terms of localization and internalization. Therefore, what is the relationship between Mandarin, English, and local languages? What kind of language identity or ideology is behind these languages? How do language teachers deal with this complex linguistic situation? How do these issues affect language-in-education planning at the elementary school level in Taiwan? These questions are in urgent need of exploration in Taiwan. They are discussed in further details in later chapters.

### **Summary**

In this chapter, I first discussed the three aspects of corpus, status, and acquisition planning (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997; Shih & Chang, 2003) and Language Orientations theory (Ruiz, 1984) in considering language planning. Second, I introduced some theories related to bilingualism and the major bilingual program models practiced in the U.S. and Canada. Third, I examined key issues related to language planning and bilingual education, such as minority languages, language shift and maintenance, and politics and language right. At last, I focused my discussion on language identity, bilingual education

and language planning in Taiwan. In the following chapter, I introduce my methodology of this study, including contextual information, research design, data collection, and data analysis.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY

This study relied mostly on qualitative methods of research. I also used some descriptive statistics which served as a supportive role for the purpose of reference and credibility (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The prime reason that I relied on qualitative methods were their flexibility and centering on process. They provided me a basis, which was helpful in defining the emergent questions, problems, and patterns during the study (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Denzin and Lincoln (2003) have mentioned,

. . . Qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p. 5)

The above explanation, including interpretive and naturalistic approaches, refers to the feature of phenomenology in qualitative research. That is, the purpose of applying qualitative research is to expect to discover phenomena existing in context. The focus is on the process of inquiry. Findings are determined based on inquiry results from induction rather than deduction.

In this study, my qualitative design was developed to examine and find out the existing characteristics of language-in-education planning at the elementary school level in Taiwan. Most of my research contexts were in elementary schools and classrooms. Participants included elementary school language teachers, parents, and language professionals.

In the following section, I briefly discuss the social and elementary school and classroom contexts in Taiwan. Next, according to the differences in their backgrounds, participants are classified into several groups. I describe background information on each group. Then, I provide an explanation for my use of questionnaires and interviews. Last, I detail the process of my data collection and data analysis

### **Contexts**

In Chapter 2, I introduced the historical, political, and linguistic contexts in Taiwan. In the following introduction, I center my description on the research contexts involved in this study. In the first section, I describe the general social context at the present time. In the second section, based on my former teaching experience at the elementary school, I present a realistic picture of elementary school and classrooms in Taiwan from an insider's view.

#### ***The General Social Context***

Generally, when applying ethnic difference as a criterion, communities of indigenous peoples tend to be situated in rural areas. The Han people, including Hakka, Mainlanders, and Holo, are found everywhere because of their larger population and dominant power over the indigenous peoples in Taiwan society. Though some of the indigenous peoples live and work in the urban areas, they tend to identify themselves by the place where they are from, i.e., mountain areas, as their sense of place (McCarty, 2003).

Most of the populations in Taiwan live in the northern, western, and southern parts. Northern Taiwan, especially Taipei city, is normally viewed as the center, where most of the educated and middle-class people live. Elementary schools in northern Taiwan usually receive more resources than other areas. In contrast to the rich educational resources in the northern Taiwan, the eastern part is often seen as educationally disadvantaged. Sometimes qualified teachers in elementary schools are unavailable. The main reason is the inconvenience of transportation in those areas. Some teachers, especially English teachers, are unwilling to work there.

In this study, I focused on elementary school language education in both urban and rural areas from first to sixth grade in Taiwan, including all of the language subjects taught in Language Arts. Before I shift my focus to the introduction of the participants, it is important to provide a detailed description of the elementary school context.

### *The Elementary School Context*

In Taiwan, the typical way to define school size is through the number of classrooms. For example, large schools usually have more than 60 classes; middle-sized schools usually range from 13 to 59 classes; smaller-sized schools range under 12. This study was done in different schools (see Table 1). Two schools in the north were grouped as large schools in this study. One of the schools in the middle was defined as large; the other two were smaller-sized. One of the southern schools was middle-sized; the other two were smaller-sized. One of the eastern schools was grouped as a large school; the other two were smaller-sized schools. Further, two large schools in the northern Taiwan

Table 1

*Geographical Context and Participants <sup>1</sup>*

Types of Schools / Participants		Geographic Area				Total
		North	Middle	East	South	
<b>Elementary Schools</b>						
Size	Large-Sized	2	1	1	0	4
	Middle-Sized	0	0	0	1	1
	Small-Sized	0	2	2	2	6
Subtotal		<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>
Location	City	2	0	0	0	2
	Suburb	0	1	1	0	2
	Sea Shore	0	0	1	0	1
	Countryside	0	0	0	3	3
	Mountain	0	2	1	0	3
Subtotal		<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Elementary School Language Teachers</b>						
Language Subjects	Mandarin Teachers	23(1)	16(1)	20(1)	22(1)	81(4)
	English Teachers	5(1)	5(1)	3(1)	2(1)	15(4)
	Dialects Teacher	2(1)	3(1)	1(1)	5(1)	11(4)
Subtotal		<b>30(3)</b>	<b>24(3)</b>	<b>24(3)</b>	<b>29(3)</b>	<b>107(12)</b>
<b>Parents</b>						
Vocations	Farming				1(1)	1(1)
	Cram School Teacher <sup>2</sup>	1(1)				1(1)
	University Teacher		1(1)			1(1)
	Bus Driver				1(1)	1(1)
	Military		1(1)			1(1)
	Banker	1(1)				1(1)
	Company Owner	1(1)				1(1)
	Restaurant Owner	1(1)				1(1)
Subtotal		<b>(4)</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(0)</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>8(8)</b>
<b>Professionals</b>						
Disciplines	Law			N/A		1(1)
	Linguistics			N/A		1(1)
	Language Education			N/A		3(3)
	Public Relations			N/A		1(1)
	Indigenous Issues			N/A		2(2)
Subtotal				<b>N/A</b>		<b>8(8)</b>
<b>Total Number of the Participants</b>						<b>123 (28)</b>

The number in parentheses ( ) refers to the number of interviewees. In the Language Teacher group, for example, the number of teachers actually interviewed from each subgroup appears in parentheses. The total number of teachers who participated in this study in each subgroup appears first.

<sup>1</sup> Nine participants of teachers were eliminated from the data pool because they were not language teachers.

<sup>2</sup> Cram schools refer to private institutes which aim to make money from people who want to enhance their or their children's education in certain area(s). The types of cram schools vary and are widely seen in the East Asian countries.

were in urban areas. The other two large schools were in suburban areas. The only middle-sized school and two of the smaller-sized schools were in the countryside. One of the smaller-sized schools was close to the sea shore. The other three small-sized schools were in the mountain areas.

Though large schools tend to be in the city and smaller-sized schools tend to be in the country, school location is not the only means of determining school sizes. Table 1 shows that two large schools that are in the eastern and middle parts of Taiwan are located in the suburb area. However, one may note that schools on the eastern side of Taiwan tend to be smaller than in the other geographical areas. The reason is that geographically, the landscape in the eastern side is long and narrow. It faces the Pacific Ocean in the east and against mountains in the west. Large cities or communities in the east are very difficult to develop. Instead, small communities and villages scatter throughout the land. Therefore, the size of elementary schools, which reflect the smaller numbers of population in this area, is usually small.

In this study, these schools were chosen not only because of their sizes and geographical representations, i.e., east, south, middle, and north, but also because I had a personal network with teachers in these schools or schools areas. In order to give a real picture, I take the elementary school where I taught in Taipei as an example to illustrate how elementary school education runs everyday in Taiwan. It is also one of the elementary schools which participated in this study, a large-sized school in the urban area of northern Taiwan.

My school usually begins its daily routine with a cleaning activity. Students have to clean the campus environment and their own classrooms, including the restrooms. This cleaning activity starts at 7:30 a.m. and ends at 7:45 a.m. Five minutes after the end of the cleaning activity, students either line up in the hallway in front of their classrooms or go to the field to have a flag-raising ritual. After this ritual, the principal, school administrators, and teachers announce important events that students need to know for the day or for future days. The information listed in Table 2 shows my former curriculum and course schedule in fifth grade, which is adopted from one student's work (Permission was received from her parents to show this form.).

**Table 2**

*Fifth Grade Curriculum and Course Schedule*

第		學年度 學期		※ 日 課 表 ※					
午別	節次	時間	科目	星期	一	二	三	四	五
上		07:50~08:00		10	升旗 朝會 早操				
	1	08:00~08:40		40	作業指導 生倫與健教 (導師時間)				
	2	08:45~09:25		40	彈性	健體	數學	美勞	英文
	3	09:35~10:15		40	國語	國語	健體	鄉土	美勞
		10:15~10:30		15	課間活動				
午	4	10:30~11:10		40	英文	電腦	社會	自然	健體
	5	11:20~12:00		40	社會	美勞	彈性	自然	自然
		12:00~13:25		40	午餐 (午間靜息)				
下	6	13:30~14:10		40	數學	數學		社會	<del>國語</del>
	7	14:20~15:00		40	綜合	國語		國語	國語
		15:00~15:20			整潔活動				
午	8	15:20~16:00		40	綜合	彈性		彈性	數學

The first class begins at 8:25 a.m. Students usually have a break for 10 minutes after a class period of 40 minutes. However, there are two exceptions to this 10-minute break time. The first one is from 10:15 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. During this break time, some grades go to the field for physical exercise together. Each grade takes turns everyday and has one chance to do so per week. The other exception is in the afternoon time from 3:00 p.m. to 3:20 p.m. Students are asked to clean their surroundings again.

Students usually have 30 minutes for their lunch from 12:00 to 12:30 p.m. They have their lunch in their classrooms instead of a cafeteria. Regarding the dining place, an impressive event happened during my data collection period in the east. I never knew that elementary school students would have a cafeteria to enjoy their lunch until I saw and lunched with them in the Phone-Bien Elementary School.

In most Taiwan elementary schools, especially in the urban areas, students do not dine in the cafeteria; nor do schools have cafeterias. Most students either take their lunch to school or order lunch from restaurants, which have contracts with schools. Some parents would bring lunches to school for their children as well. For a few students whose families have financial difficulties, schools usually waive their fees for lunch. When I was in Phone-Bien Elementary School, I asked the principal and teachers about the reason that their school had a cafeteria for students. They told me that because their school size was small, they could have all students lunch together in the cafeteria. This was better for management than in the classroom. However, I realized that it was impossible for my former school to do so. My school had over 4000 students. If we wanted a cafeteria, realistically speaking, the student population would be a key element

difficult to overcome regardless of other social and cultural elements. The case of Phone-Bien Elementary School reminded me of Sharon's comments that she shared with me during our interview in this study. (Sharon is a professional in Children's English education in Taiwan. She is one of the interviewees in this study.) She said, "The real educational setting is comprised of numerous unique cases."

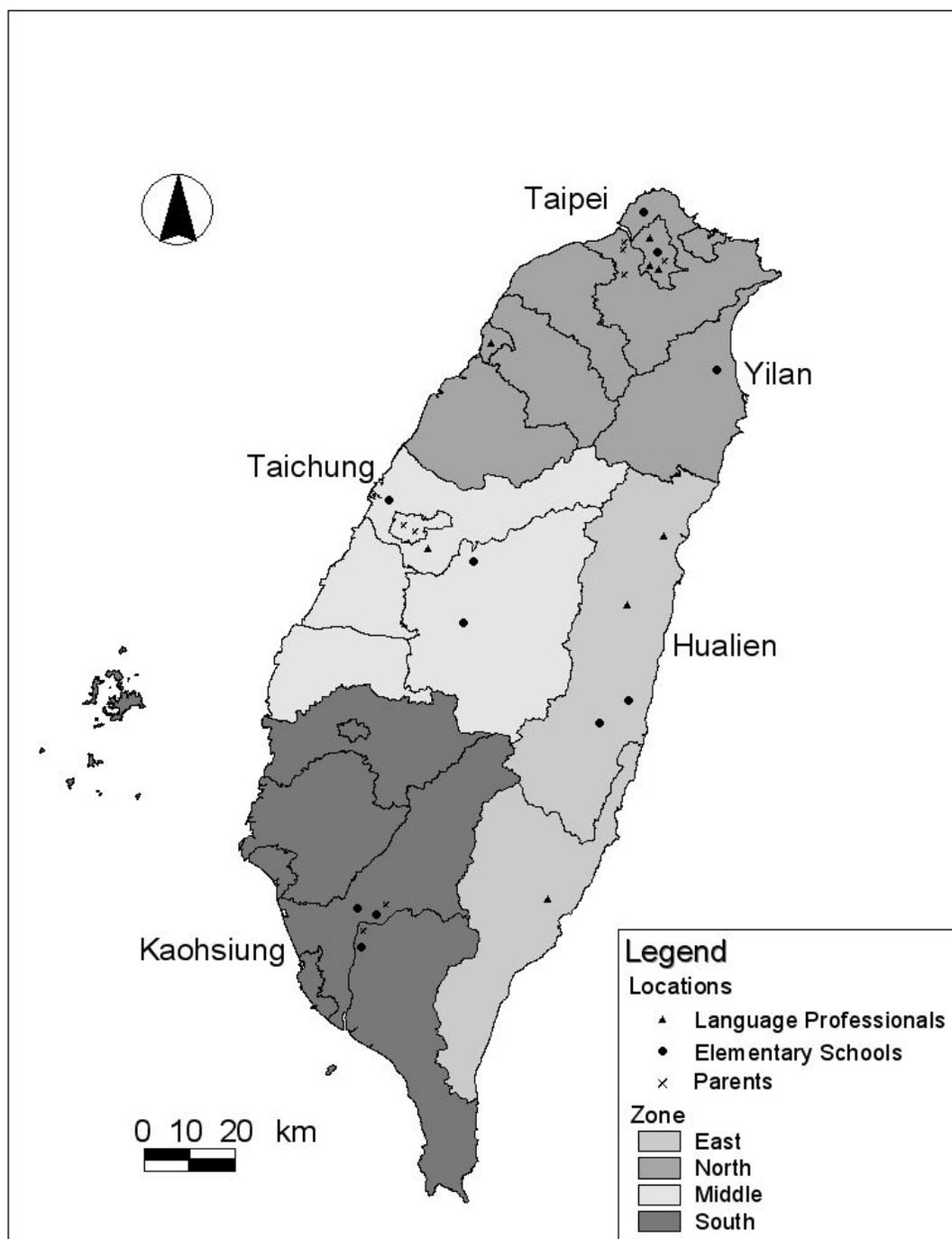
In my former school, after lunch, students have a noon break from 12:30 to 1:20 p.m. The first afternoon class begins at 1:30 p.m. Students usually have three periods in the afternoon time and end school at 4:00 p.m. This is especially the case for upper grades, fifth and sixth graders, and happens on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. Normally, my school does not arrange any classes in the Wednesday afternoon. Wednesday afternoon is usually scheduled for teachers to attend teacher-training workshops or school conferences. This is the norm for almost all of the elementary schools in Taiwan. Also, first and second graders have only afternoon classes once a week. The third and fourth graders, except for Wednesday afternoon, do not attend afternoon classes on Thursday.

Though my former school does not represent every elementary school in Taiwan, to some degree, its introduction provides a clear lens to see how education is conducted in Taiwan. It is also important to note that my school is in an urban setting, educational issues at other schools in the suburb or countryside may be conducted in different ways though the differences are minor.

## Participants

Participants involved in this study were mainly divided into three groups: elementary school language teachers, students' parents, and professionals in the language field (see Table 1). The total numbers of participants were 123. Their SES (Social Economic Status) varied. Twenty-eight participants were interviewed in person, including 12 language teachers, and eight parents and language professionals respectively. Reasons regarding the selection of these interviewees are explained in the later subsections of each group. Eighty-six participants were female. It verifies the fact that normally the percentage of female teachers at the elementary school is much higher than male teachers. Based on their questionnaire reports and interviews, their ethnicity included Hakka, Holo, Mainlanders, and at least four different Indigenous groups.

The information shown in Figure 1 is the geographical location of elementary schools and participants involved in this study. The school language teachers were in 11 elementary schools. The parents were from eight different families and the professionals were from universities/colleges. The three groups of participants represented different geographical areas in Taiwan, including city, suburb, countryside, mountain, and shore areas. In this study, except for the professionals who easily traveled and worked across different areas, the other two groups were consciously selected based on geographical differences in the north, middle, south, and east. In the following, I give a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the three groups involved in this study.



**Figure 1. Geographical Locations of Elementary Schools and Participants.**

### *Elementary School Language Teachers*

Traditionally, teaching is viewed as a respectful and admirable occupation in the society in Taiwan. The government also develops an effective system of attracting excellent students whose academic performance is at least above the mean of his/her classmates to enter the Teacher's Colleges. Most universities also use students' academic performance as a criterion to be permitted to enter teacher certificate programs and take education credits. Elementary, junior, and senior high school teachers usually work from Monday to Friday weekly. Saturday and Sunday are off legally. All of the public school teachers have benefits: A yearly bonus plus winter and summer breaks, partial waive of insurance, a thorough retirement plan, and so on. The benefits of private school teachers may vary depending upon the school board. The annual income of a first-year formal elementary school teacher with no teaching experience is a little above the average of per capita income in Taiwan. In addition, the income taxes of elementary and junior school teachers are waived, though this benefit has become a controversial social issue in terms of equality with the rest of the society. Apparently, the prestige of teachers in the society can be found in many domains. There is no doubt that many university/college graduates target teaching as their best career choice. It can also explain why teachers are held to higher standards of morality and expectations than for other jobs in the society.

In this study, the designation elementary school language teachers refer to teachers who teach Mandarin (Chinese), Dialects, and English from first to sixth grade levels. The total number of elementary school language teachers involved in this study is 107. These language teachers' ages range from 23 to 55. Most of them were female and qualified

teachers who had teacher certificates. A few of them were substitute teachers. Appendix B includes the questions I used for the questionnaires for language teachers and Appendix C includes the questions for the interviewees of language teachers.

### *Mandarin Teachers*

There were 81 Mandarin/classroom teachers from first to sixth grade in this study. I selected one interviewee in each geographical location, east, south, west, and north, based on his/her critical answers in relation to elementary language education.

A Mandarin teacher in Taiwan generally refers to a classroom teacher at the elementary school level. That is, a teacher who teaches Mandarin always works as a classroom teacher at the same time. As a classroom teacher, he or she is usually responsible for a certain class of students' activities and daily school and classroom routines in the morning time, break, lunch, and so on. In the real classroom setting, a classroom teacher not only needs to teach Mandarin class which usually focuses on reading and writing, but also has to teach other subjects, such as Social Studies, Math, PE, Health, etc. Regularly, the weekly teaching load for a classroom teacher is between 20 to 24 periods. Each period takes about 40 minutes.

Reading and writing are usually the teaching foci in the Mandarin class. Most Mandarin/classroom teachers spend a lot of time on teaching students new characters and phrases appeared on the lessons of the Mandarin textbook. Mandarin is not only the instruction language in Mandarin class; other subject teachers also use Mandarin as the

instruction language in their classes. Except for English and Dialects classes, teachers in these classes may use both Mandarin and the target language during their instruction.

In fact, the weekly working time for an elementary school Mandarin/classroom teacher is far more than the sum of 24 periods. Every elementary Mandarin/classroom teacher is asked to take care of his/her students' activities and safety from the time that they enter the campus till the time that they leave for home. Some Mandarin/classroom teachers also have to be in charge of administrative affairs.

Mandarin/Classroom teachers comprise the group that stand in the front line to face any kind of changes in terms of curriculum and teaching. Their practice and participation explicitly influences the results of educational reform (Chen, 2003) as well as students' learning. I believe that no matter how good the curriculum design is, it still needs someone to carefully implement it. If the change or reform can not persuade classroom teachers of its importance to students and future education, it will eventually fail.

Currently, the Mandarin/classroom teachers at the elementary school level are facing the most tremendous change of curriculum, the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Reform, since the implementation of Nine-Year Compulsory Education in 1968 (Ministry of Education, 2006). The Nine-Year Joint Curriculum Reform brings classroom teachers a new perspective on curriculum, in which curriculum is developed by students and teachers and students' learning is based on inter-related learning areas instead of subjects. The reform challenges classroom teachers' thinking of traditional education. The most apparent case is Mandarin class.

The Language Arts area originally occupied 10 periods, all of which were devoted to Mandarin class. After the reform, the time was decreased to nine periods per week. Mandarin class now occupies six to five periods. English and Dialects class respectively shares two periods and one period. After this change, if classroom teachers still apply their former repertoire of teaching methods, the first problem that they definitely will face is the constraint of time and resources. One of my research interests of this study is to know the issues that have been raised by classroom teachers when they face this tremendous reform.

### *Dialects Teachers*

The number of professional Dialects teachers who were involved in this study were 11. Four of them, representing the eastern, southern, western, and northern sides of Taiwan, were interviewed because of their critical answers in the questionnaires. They were all teaching Hakka or Holo languages from first to sixth grade.

According to the statistics published by the Department of Elementary Education (2006), there were around 14 languages being taught in the Dialects class at the first grade level. Now, the number may be increased. These languages can be categorized under three groups: Hakka, Holo, and indigenous languages. (Regarding the history and introduction of the use of Dialects, please see section of *Dialects Teaching* in Chapter 2.)

Most professional Dialects teachers do not have a teaching certificate. In school, they are usually treated as substitute teachers. Systematically speaking, the professional Dialects teachers, who are also called Supportive teachers, are paid by their actual

working hours instead of by the day or month, which is the way regular teachers are paid. Administratively, Dialects teachers are under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, instead of each school or school district. Unlike the regular teachers, these Dialects teachers do not receive a Chinese New Year bonus, which is usually 1.5 times the monthly salary, and benefits for retirement. In order to support their living expenses, most of them work for several schools. To them, transportation back and forth between several schools during week day is usual.

In some schools, located in isolated or inconvenient mountain areas, Dialects teachers are often the elders or knowledgeable people who are enthusiastic about local educational affairs and familiar with local culture, history, language, and community. In my opinion, these teachers can serve as the best resources and access for students to know more about the local culture, history, language, and community. However, most of these teachers lack teaching experience, especially classroom management skills.

A common phenomenon should also be noted. Many Mandarin/classroom teachers are required and requested to teach Dialects classes because the lack of formal Dialects teachers. In this study, I did not include them in the group of Dialects teacher. They were all categorized under Mandarin/classroom teachers.

Further, the voices of indigenous language teachers in Dialects were not covered in this study because of the time constraint for data collection. Fortunately, one of the interviewees in the Mandarin/classroom teacher group had teaching experience with one of the indigenous languages, Amis language, before. She was of the Amis group herself.

To some degree, her participation provided some inside perspectives and views regarding indigenous language teaching in Dialects class.

From the questionnaires, only 25 out of 81 Mandarin/classroom teachers reported that they were teaching Dialects class. In reality, I estimate that at least half of the classroom teachers who participated in this study were teaching Dialects class, but they did not report this on the questionnaires. Though Dialects teachers get support from Mandarin/classroom teachers, the number of “professional Dialects teachers” is still not enough to meet the present need for Dialects teaching. The lack of “professional Dialects teachers” is a serious problem faced by most elementary schools, especially in relation to Hakka and indigenous language teachers in the urban elementary schools.

In order to fill this gap, the Ministry of Education often holds a variety of seminars or in-service teacher training workshops for regular teachers to develop their expertise in Dialects teaching. In-service teachers who attend these seminars or workshops for 36 hours can receive a certificate for Dialects teaching. However, in practice, this certificate does not guarantee these teachers’ teaching quality in Dialects classes. Further, many classroom teachers who teach Dialects classes do not have this certificate. In order to offer this required Dialects course to students, most elementary schools still ask these Mandarin/classroom teachers to teach Dialects. It can be predicted that this “temporary” policy will be lasted until this gap is filled.

### *English Teachers*

In addition to Dialects and Mandarin, English is another language class that is taught in the elementary school classroom. This study includes 15 English teachers (see Table 3). Their ages ranged from 23 to 45. Three of them were male. Four of them were substitute teachers. Three of them were teaching in smaller-sized schools in mountain areas. Four of them were interviewed after they answered the questionnaires. The criteria for selection were based on their critical answers in questionnaires and willingness to be interviewed. Also, like the cases in Mandarin and Dialects, the selection of English interviewees represented geographical differences. In other words, each interviewee represented each geographical area, eastern, middle, southern, and northern parts of Taiwan.

The Ministry of Education (2006) regulated that English should be taught from third grade, in many counties and cities schools begin teaching English at the first grade. Legally and constitutionally, the Ministry of Education in the central government has no authority to stop this practice. If the local governments, counties and cities, decide that their local elementary schools should teach English in the early grade, then this is one of their powers of self-determination. However, it is against the educational law to postpone English teaching later than third grade. Also, if English teaching is practiced earlier than third grade, local governments have to be responsible for budgets and sources of teachers.

Table 3

*Basic Information of 15 English Teachers, Including 4 Interviewees*

<b>Number</b>	15				
<b>Gender</b>	F(12)	M (3)			
<b>Native Language</b> <sup>1</sup>	M (5)	Ho (8)	H (1)	Ho & M (1)	
<b>Age</b>	20-25 (4)	26-30 (5)	31-35(2)	36-40 (2)	41-45 (2)
<b>School Area</b> <sup>2</sup>	N (5)	M (5)	E (3)	S (2)	
<b>Teaching Position</b> <sup>3</sup>	CT & ST (2)	ST (13)			
<b>Subjects of Teaching</b>	Only English (11)	English & Other Subjects (4)			
<b>Instruction Languages</b> <sup>1</sup>	M;E (9)	M;E; J (1)			
<b>Number of Students</b>	35-30 (10)	20-25 (2)	10-5 (3)		
<b>Years of Teaching</b>	1-5 (13)	6-10 (2)			
<b>Number of Teaching Classes (Subject Teachers Only)</b>	5- 10 (10)	11-15 (4)	N/A (1)		
<b>Teaching Certificate</b>	Yes (11)	No (4)			
<b>Certificate of Dialects Teacher</b>	Yes (2)	No (13)			
<b>Certificate of English Teacher</b>	Yes (10)	No (5)			

The number in parentheses ( ) refers to the number of participants.

<sup>1</sup> M-Mandarin; Ho-Holo; H-Hakka; I-Indigenous Languages; E-English; J-Japanese

<sup>2</sup> E-East; S-South; W-West; N-North

<sup>3</sup> Classroom Teacher- CT; Subject Teacher-ST

The prime reason that convinced bureaus of education in those counties and cities to make this critical decision came from parental pressure. Some parents think that the earlier their children learn English, the better English ability they will have. A commonly known saying that prevails in the society is, “Do not lose at the beginning running line of life.” That is, to some degree, many parents believe that English learning should begin as early as possible. Because of this ideology, English cram schools either for children, students, or even for adults can be found anywhere in Taiwan.

The Ministry of Education trained a group of approximately 2000 English teachers several years ago, in order to meet the urgent need for English teachers in school. Applying the TEFOL paper test score as a standard, most of the teachers who were finally selected scored 600 or higher. This group of English teachers comprised the core of English education implementation at the elementary school.

The Ministry of Education also made it possible for regular teachers to obtain a certificate of English teaching. Regular teachers, who have degrees related to English and who took 20 English and English teaching credits in the university, or attended in-service teacher training for English for enough credits/hours, could also apply for the English teaching certificate.

Currently, based on the formal English education policy, students at the elementary school level have to take two periods of English class from third grade every week. The Department of Elementary Education (2006) announces that elementary school students should know at least 200 vocabulary words in terms of oral use and can spell 80 of the 200 vocabulary words before they enter junior high school. The Department of Elementary Education also stresses that English teaching should focus on listening, speaking, reading, and writing at the same time at elementary school level. By doing this, at the enlightenment stage of the third and fourth grades, English teachers should pay more attention to the learning of listening and speaking, and integrate learning activities of reading and writing in the curriculum.

### *Professionals*

Eight professionals were selected because of their involvement in the language profession in Taiwan. They were all interviewed in person in their houses or working place. All of them worked as professors at the university or college level. In this study, my criteria for selection were their professions and positions in relation to language and language education. The following items refer to these professionals' specific academic and administrative backgrounds, titles, and relationship to the language field:

- Committee member in National Language(s) Committee
- Draft composer of Language Equality Laws
- Coordinator of Language Arts area in Nine-Year Joint Curriculum Reform
- Committees of Language Arts area in Nine-Year Joint Curriculum Reform
- Vice Minister of Council of Indigenous peoples
- Head in Department of Foreign Language Education
- Expert on language acquisition and teacher training
- Expert on Hakka and indigenous peoples affairs
- Expert on linguistics, language education, language development, language planning, and bilingual education
- Coordinator of governmental projects of language

The variety of languages that was considered as a profession of these professionals included Mandarin, Hakka, Holo, English, indigenous languages, and English. Table 1 and Table 4 detail their background information. In terms of their gender difference, only one was female. I was not aware of this feminist issue until I had interviewed half of the professionals. Their average age was around 49. Appendix D includes the questions I used for the interview.

**Table 4*****Basic Information of 8 Professionals and Interviewees***

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>1Native Language</b>	<b>Language Use<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Professional</b>	<b>Living Area</b>	<b>Working Area</b>
Chang	Male	42	Ho	M & Ho	Language Education (Holo)	East	East
Tong	Male	60	I	Ho & M & I & E & J	Indigenous Issues	East	East
Syu	Male	52	Ho & M	Ho & M & I & E	Language Education (Mandarin)	East	East
Tsao	Male		Ho	Ho & M & E	Linguistics	North	North
Wang	Male	45	Ho	Ho & M	Language Law	North	North
Pu	Male	49	I		Indigenous Issues	North	North
Shih	Male	48	Ho	M & Ho	Public Relations	North	North
Sharon	Female	49	M	M & Ho & E	Language Education (English)	Middle	Middle

<sup>1</sup>M-Mandarin; Ho-Holo; H-Hakka; I-Indigenous Languages; E-English; J-Japanese

***Students' Parents***

Without consideration of parents' opinions, language-in-education planning would become a "bubble." Parents' voices regarding education are highly valued in Taiwan. There were eight parents included in this study (see Table 5). All of them were interviewed in person. They came from eight different occupations, which served as my prime criterion for selection. Numbers of their gender difference was equal. Their age ranged from 33 to 45 and all spoke Holo, Mandarin, or Hakka as their native languages. Their degrees, which are not listed on Table 5, were from high school to Ph.D.

**Table 5***Basic Information of 8 Parents and Interviewees*

Name	Gender	Age	1Native Language	Vocation	Grade Levels of Children	Working Area	Living Area
Chang	Male	42	M	Military Officer	Second	Middle	Middle
Yang	Male	42	Ho	Bus Driver	Third	South	South
Lai	Male	45	H	Banker	Second; Fifth	North	North
Li	Male	43	M & Ho	Company Owner	Second; Fifth	North	North
Chang	Female	40	M	Music Professor	Sixth	North	Middle
Chung	Female	36	H	Farmer & Fisher	Third; Fifth; Sixth	South	South
Chen	Female	38	Ho	Cram School Teacher of English	Fifth	North	North
Syu	Female	33	M	Restaurant Owner	Second (Twin)	North	North

1M-Mandarin; Ho-Holo; H-Hakka;

In Taiwan, the politicians usually take seriously parents' opinions because parents' voting tickets are influential to politicians' electoral success and future political careers. However, this kind of relationship sometimes triggers a social ambiance, which leads to some rushed and wrong educational decisions. Many decisions about education were made without time to negotiate because of the tremendous pressure from parents. The implementation of English teaching from third grade was just such a case.

English education was originally implemented from the fifth grade. The Ministry of Education did not expect to implement English education from the third grade at the elementary school level so soon. This should have waited for evaluation results from implementation effectiveness of English education in fifth and sixth grades for some years. However, because of parental pressure and eagerness for their children to learn

English as early as possible, the Ministry of Education was forced by some politicians to interrupt its planning so that English education could be implemented from the third grade. Parental pressure on educational practice is very evident in some counties and cities where English education was begun at first grade. Sharon Lai (2002) has a vivid description of parental eagerness for their children to learn English. She says, “This is of course one of the symptoms of English language-induced anxiety disorder” (p.8).

In this study, data from parents living in the east were not collected. Nor were any indigenous parents included. This was because of the time constraint of data collection and the lack of a network for reaching local families. These limitations are acknowledged in this study. In fact, parents’ interviews were the most difficult part during the entire data collection period. The reason was not related to questions design or the interviews, but on the opportunity to get access to parents.

More than half of the participants came from the north. I realized that this was because the capital city, Taipei, is in the north. It is the center of politics, economics, education, business, culture, and so on in Taiwan. Therefore, the process of gathering data and scheduling parental interviews was easier in the north than in the other areas.

In this study, I interviewed eight parents. Their background information is showed on Table 5. Appendix E includes the questions I used for the interview.

### Question Design

My design for the questionnaire and the interview protocol were ideas motivated by the primary objectives of language-in-education planning of Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. (1997) and Three-Interview Series of Seidman (1998). Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. explain that “Language-in-education planning has six primary objectives” (p.114). They are:

- Definition of target population
- Definition and training of teacher pool
- Definition of syllabus or curriculum
- Issues of methods and material
- Definition of available resources and cost/benefit analysis
- Assessment and evaluation

The six objectives were applied and accommodated as themes to construct my questionnaire. First, I defined this language-in-education planning research as a study that targets a population of elementary school language teachers, parents, and language professionals. I wanted to know their opinions regarding elementary school language education and how these opinions were linked with children’s language learning. Second, pre-service and in-service teacher training, curriculum and teaching/learning requirements, methods and material, resources, teacher evaluation, and bilingualism adapted from the six primary objectives were the issues that I wanted to investigate through participants’ answers to both questionnaires and interview questions.

In addition to Kaplan and Baldauf Jr.’s ideas, Seidman’s Three-Interview Series was another theoretical basis to develop my questionnaire and interview protocols. Seidman’s (1998) Three-Interview Series refers to an approach that conducts “. . . a series of three separate interviews with each participant” (p. 11). The first interview focuses on the participant’s life history in which he or she talks about his or her former experience in

light of the research topic. The second interview aims at knowing the participant's present experience in as detailed a fashion as possible. The third interview is to ask the participant to reflect on his or her experience in the past and present. "When we ask participants to reconstruct details of their experience, they are selecting events from their past and in so doing imparting meaning to them" (pp. 12-13).

I did not conduct three interviews for participants during my data collection process. Ideas from the Three-Interview Series, however, were adapted into my questionnaires and interviews in a different way. Taking language teachers as an example, following the foci and steps of the Three-Interview Series, my first group of questions on the questionnaires asked them to recall their past experiences regarding languages. The foci of the second group and of the first group in the interview questions were on participants' experiences with regard to language issues and education at the elementary school level at present. I designed the third section of the questionnaire and the second and third sections of the interview questions as a request for reflection and reconstruction of teachers' experience from which they could report what they know about elementary school language education and then express their future expectations. I further detail the design for the questionnaire and interviews in the following sections. Appendices B and C are the questionnaire and interview questions illustrating my adaptation from the Three-Interview Series.

To some degree, the questions on the questionnaire can be defined as the general research of participants' experiences and opinions with respect to language education at the elementary school level. Interview questions function like follow-up questions. This

is especially the case for the elementary school language teacher's interviews. These questions revealed by the interviewees are the re-examination and in-depth inquiry that reflect the current elementary school language education. The questions on both the questionnaire and in the interviews were open-ended.

I did not make questionnaires for language professionals and parents. In my opinion, asking professionals and parents to spend 20 to 30 minutes or even longer time to answer an open-ended questionnaire is technically very difficult. The primary reasons are: first, they may be not willing to spend so much time on answering the questionnaires for me; second, the rate for questionnaire return is hard to control. Therefore, I only conducted interviews to gather information from groups of professionals and parents. Through interviews in person, I got parents' and professionals' inside opinions and also clarified some misunderstanding right away during and after the interviews.

### *Questionnaires*

The figures from Table 1 showed that the total number of participants in this study was 123. One hundred and sixteen of them were elementary school teachers. The nine questions on the questionnaire listed below were designed for them only (also see Appendix B):

1. What interests you about language teaching?
2. What reasons make you feel that language teaching is difficult?
3. In language teaching, what makes you feel most confused?
4. Do you think that language class needs **more** time or **less**?
5. What factors make you feel **satisfied** or **unsatisfied** with your language teaching?
6. Regarding children's language education, which content or concepts do you think should be included?
7. Regarding children's language education, what do you think should be the focus?

8. For the current language education at the elementary school level, which kind of help do you think teachers need most?
9. 1).Mandarin 2). Holo 3).English 4).Hakka 5).Indigenous Languages 6).Others \_\_\_\_\_(please list the names). In the elementary school language education, how would you order the importance of the above languages? (**please list the order** and explain)

The intention of questions 1, 2, and 3 was to remind participants of the foci of this study. I expected that these questions would help teachers recall their former experiences of language teaching. Questions 4 to 8 were designed to discover how language teachers view the present elementary school language education. Question 9 was designed like questions 4 to 8, to examine participants' ideology, identity, and attitude toward languages by asking them to list the order of language importance and stating the power relationship between languages.

It should be noted that the group of participants included elementary school language teachers teaching Mandarin, Dialects, and English. Therefore, each teacher answered these questions based on their general language teaching experience and more importantly, on their current subject teaching experiences, i.e., Mandarin, Dialects, and English. During the data collection, I was aware that some teachers taught more than one language subject. In this situation, I would go to the site to confirm with those teachers in person in order to clarify their answers and help me more easily analyze their data.

### *Interview Questions*

In this study, interviews were semi-structured. Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) believe that the semi-structured interview helps researchers “obtain information that can later be

compared and contrasted” (p. 509). I believe that if the researcher has already had ideas or goals of examination in mind, the semi-structured format not only can help him or her better focus on his or her ideas and goals than a non-structured format, it also can provide a flexibility that structured interviews cannot provide. In other words, the combination of flexibility and structure is the most important feature in semi-structured interview. For example, before I conducted this interview, I always had a general outline in hand though my outline sometimes changed depending on issues and situations that emerged during the interview.

As mentioned previously, among the 123 participants, 107 elementary school language teachers answered the questionnaire. Twelve of them were interviewed. In addition to the 107 elementary school language teachers, the other 16 participants who were interviewed were respectively eight parents and eight professionals. The total number of interviewees was 28, comprising three groups: 12 elementary school teachers, eight parents, and eight professionals. My interview questions were also different depending upon each participant group. Each interview took about 40 to 60 minutes.

The interview questions for language teachers were follow-up questions that were intended to further inquire about their opinions and understandings of elementary language education based on their responses to the questionnaires. These interview questions were developed based on Seidman’ (1998) second and third series of interview. I focused on the interviewee’s present experiences and his or her reflection of that experience. Kaplan and Baldauf Jr.’s (1997) six primary objectives plus issues of bilingual education, family education, social environment, struggle, and expectations for

future teaching, were also embodied in these interview questions. Appendix C includes the interview questions for elementary school language teachers.

In contrast to the elementary school language teacher group, the other two interviewee groups, parents, and professionals, did not complete the questionnaire. They were interviewed about issues in relation to language policy and education. A clear three-series step was applied to the interview question design for both groups.

My motivation to interview professional people was based on the assumption that they were more likely to be familiar with research results and governmental policies related to language education and planning than other participants. I expected that they would first talk about conflicting experiences while making decisions regarding languages. Second, they would express their opinions about the present elementary school language education. Third, they would be able to reveal their future plans (Marshall & Rossman, 1999) and expectations regarding language issues at the elementary school level. Appendix D includes the interview questions for the language professionals.

Compared with teachers and language professionals, the parent group shared important information regarding languages in family education that usually greatly affected students' language identity, ideology, and attitude. Before I designed the questions, I was aware that students' funds of knowledge learned from their families had a great influence on their learning in school (Moll, 1994). Family was one of the key dimensions that would implicitly or explicitly direct the future development of language planning at the educational and national level. Issues like the influences from language

acquisition experiences on children's language learning, mother tongues, language power, parental support, struggles from the present education system, expectations, and the integration of family and school education were included in interview questions.

Appendix E is the example.

### **Data Collection**

In terms of data collection, among the 11 elementary schools, I went to four of them to pass out and collect questionnaires in person. Questionnaires for the other seven schools were conducted by volunteer principals and teachers. I would give each volunteer a handout or remind them orally of some tips that he/she should be aware of when passing out and collecting these questionnaires. Nevertheless, I still visited the seven elementary schools in order to clarify some unclear answers in the questionnaires with participants. In doing so, I not only obtained first-hand information from participants but also gained better understanding of these elementary school contexts.

All interviews with 12 language teachers, 8 language professionals, and 8 parents were tape recorded. I usually conducted the interviews of language teacher group right after questionnaires were collected. Time for each interview depended on the situation, but took at least 40 minutes or more. For interviews of language professional group, two were conducted in their houses; others were conducted in their offices. All interviews were sometimes interrupted by phones and visitors. Time for each interview took from one to two hours. As for the parents group, interview contexts included their houses,

offices, neighbor's house, or children's school classrooms. Time for each interview took from 30 minutes to one hour.

Most interviews were conducted in Mandarin. Some were also conducted in Hakka or Holo, or code-switch between Mandarin and either language. These tapes were all transcribed in Chinese. Afterwards, a member check with each interviewee was conducted by email. However, many interviewees did not respond. Some important conversations in the transcripts were later translated into English. I also took fieldnotes while observing the settings, participants' behavior and speech mode. In this study, interviews and questionnaires were the two major data sources that helped me critically examine the realistic situations in elementary school language education and planning.

Regarding the ethical issue, every participant was asked to sign a consent form (Appendix A), which detailed my research purpose and ethical issues involving in this research. Participants' names reported in this study were either pseudonyms or real names based on permission of the participants.

### **Data Analysis**

Hubbard and Power (1999) use fieldnotes as an example to share their experiences about data analysis. They mention that there are two types of fieldnotes: raw and cooked. Raw notes are data without any analysis. "Cooked notes are the analysis of these raw materials" (p. 129).

In this study, my raw data were information and materials gathered from observations, fieldnotes, transcripts, and questionnaires. However, I considered how I

might “play” with the raw materials so that they could become cooked data. In other words, I wondered how I could cook these raw materials in such a way as to provide useful information that might answer my research questions. This concern is always critical to a researcher, i.e., the cooking process was also just what I asked myself about data analysis.

### *Basic Information Table*

My initial step of data analysis focused on the part of basic information on questionnaires and interview question sheets. I first focused on language teachers. I designed a standard table, which covered content of basic information from the questionnaires. I then developed a folder for each school. I keyed in those teachers’ basic information school by school. Later, information about every teacher regardless of school was grouped together into another table. Basic information from professionals and parents was also analyzed by this step. Next, tables of language teachers, professionals, and parents were combined to become an overall information table, containing the basic statistics and information on all participants. Table 1 in this chapter is the final synthesis.

In addition to the final results showed on Table 1, Table 3 is another example of basic information. I cut-and-pasted language teachers’ basic information and grouped them again based on language subjects. Three folders named Mandarin, Dialects, and English were developed. This cut-and-paste process kept happening during my data analysis. Depending upon my purpose and perspective, a new comparative result always emerged after I cut-and-pasted.

The development of basic information tables was important to later analysis. Afterwards, I divided the rest of my analysis work into three parts, which are questionnaires, interviews, and answers for research questions.

### *Questionnaires*

Questionnaires were only answered by language teachers, including Mandarin, Dialects, and English teachers. From Table 1, the numbers of participants as well as of questionnaires used for data analysis included 81 Mandarin/classroom teachers, 15 English teachers, and 11 Dialects teachers.

My first step of data analysis was to key in the 123 language teachers' answers of questionnaires and save them in each of the 11 school folders. Second, because I received more questionnaires in large-sized schools than in other schools, I started coding teachers' answers from the large-sized schools. In my opinion, the more questionnaires I coded in one school, the more key ideas I could identify. The more key ideas I could identify, the more themes I could define. Next, I reorganized the themes embedded in the answers and started developing categories. I took Jan's and Peggie's answers of question 1 "What interest you about language teaching?" (see Appendix B) as examples to show how I applied these abstract descriptions into practice in my data analysis. Jan and Peggie were colleagues at the same elementary school in Taipei County. Jan was a male fifth grade Mandarin/classroom teacher. Peggie was a female Mandarin/classroom teacher who also taught fifth grade.

Jan: From the process of **language teaching**, I see children gradually love language, including reading, writing, communication, and so on. Through the **teaching of**

**language**, I understand children's perspectives regarding people, events, and objects. **Language teaching** is interesting because I love reading. Also, because **language teaching** is **【easy to integrate with other ideas】**, the classroom atmosphere is usually very good.

Peggie: It's my personal interest; During my **teaching**, when I have a **good interaction** with my students; I see my students make progress.

From Jan's answers, I discovered a phrase (or pattern), language teaching, which appeared four times. I decided to code "language teaching" in bold. In Peggie's answers, ideas of teaching and teaching activity were found again. I, too, marked them in bold. After checking all the teachers' answers in Jan's and Peggie's school, I found more ideas that were related to language instruction, teaching activity, and teacher's teaching ability (This idea did not show in Jan's and Peggie's cases.). Language instruction, teaching activity, and teacher's teaching ability were then defined as themes emerging from teachers' answers.

Besides the above ideas in Jen's and Peggie's answers, I also found other ideas. These ideas were also raised in their colleagues' answers. This time I underlined these ideas and then grouped and defined a theme for them.

I did not duplicate this process for all language teachers' answers. I decided to do Mandarin teachers first. From the 81 Mandarin/classroom teachers' answers of question 1, I defined a total of 17 themes. I then shifted my focus on other questions. Soon, I found a problem regarding these themes.

There were too many themes in each question. For example, in question 2, there were 25 themes; in question 7, there were 28. Among these themes, I found again that some connections could be made. I tried to reorganize these themes and finally developed

categories (Tables 6 and 8) for answers of the nine questions of questionnaire. Further, because categories were developed based on themes, themes might change depending upon the topics of questions; two major types of categories were developed differently and applied to seven questions from Mandarin, Dialects, and English teachers. They included five basic categories and are respectively presented in bold on Table 6 (Type I) and 8 (Type II). Table 8 data are explained in later paragraphs.

Categories showed in Table 6 were applied to questions 1 to 3, 5, and 8 of the questionnaire. Besides the five basic categories, three categories were added to Table 6. The three categories were made for questions 1, 5, and 8 because variations of emergent themes happened. In question 1, I substituted Category of Communication for System, Resources, & Environment and substituted Category of None for Personal Preference. I also added another category called No Interest. Table 7 is my final work from question 1, regarding Mandarin teachers.

Moreover, in question 5, I canceled the None category because there was no emergence of such theme/issue. In question 8, I only left the categories of System, Resources, & Environment, of N/A, and of Instruction. Self-ability in category of Instruction and Self-ability, and categories of Students' Academic Abilities and Performance and of Culture and Life Background were cancelled for the same reason like question 5.

Table 6

*Type I of Category*

Categories	Issues/Themes
<b>1. System, Resources, &amp; Environment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Educational (administration, curriculum, and teacher training) and governmental systems and policies</li> <li>➤ Classroom, library, and teaching resources</li> <li>➤ Language, school, family, and social environments (language ideology, identity, and attitude)</li> </ul>
<b>2. Instruction and Self-ability</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Instruction contents and teaching methods</li> <li>➤ Teacher's self-ability of teaching</li> </ul>
<b>3. Students' Academic Abilities and Performance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Prior academic knowledge, language proficiency, and general academic abilities</li> <li>➤ Classroom performance (critical thinking, learning attitude and motivation, homework correction and etc.)</li> </ul>
<b>4. Culture and Life Background</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Indigenous education and multilingual/multicultural education</li> <li>➤ Life and language experience and their connection with learning</li> <li>➤ Culture and life difference</li> </ul>
<b>5. N/A</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ No answer</li> </ul>
6. Personal Preference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Interest and enjoyment in language, literature, teaching, and students</li> </ul>
7. Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Communication and instrumentality of language</li> </ul>
8. No interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Not interested in language</li> </ul>

Data analysis of question 4 “Do you think that language class needs **more** time or **less?**” (also see Appendix B) was comparatively easier than the other questions. Teachers’

answers of this question all fell into the following three categories: More, Less, and Just Fine. In addition, though **Type I** (see Table 6) was applied to question 5, I developed two more sub-categories, Satisfied and Unsatisfied, because of its question format.

**Table 7**

*Categories of Question 1*

<b>Categories</b>	<sup>1</sup> N= 114
1. Communication	<b>10 %</b>
2. Instruction and Self-ability	<b>22 %</b>
3. Students' Academic Abilities and Performance	<b>32 %</b>
4. Culture and Life Background	<b>7 %</b>
5. Personal Preference	<b>29 %</b>
6. No Interest	<b>1 %</b>

<sup>1</sup>N refers to the total numbers of themes. Results showed in this table refer to Mandarin/classroom teachers.

In question 6 “Regarding children’s language education, which content or concepts do you think should be included?” (also see Appendix B) and 7 “Regarding children’s language education, what do you think should be the focus?”, teachers’ answers were found hard to fit into **Type I** (see Table 6). So, I developed the **Type II of Category** in Table 8.

In Table 8, categories in bold were the five basic categories for **Type II**. Categories 6 and 7 were developed for the same reason described in **Type I**. It is worth mentioning

Table 8

*Type II of Category*

Categories	Issues/Themes
<b>1. Learning-language-itself</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Basic knowledge (character, Phonetic symbols and pinyin, genre, grammar, and etc.)</li> <li>➤ Basic skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing)</li> </ul>
<b>2. Learning-about-language</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Language use</li> <li>➤ Language role</li> <li>➤ Language power</li> <li>➤ Language ideology</li> </ul>
<b>3. Learning-through-language</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Values and perspectives</li> <li>➤ Abilities (critical thinking, problem-solving, sharing, appreciation, and etc.)</li> <li>➤ Awareness (culture, gender, ethnicity, difference, and etc.)</li> </ul>
<b>4. Pedagogy and Environment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Teaching methods, classroom activities, and cognitive development (learning stages)</li> <li>➤ Learning and classroom environments</li> </ul>
<b>5. Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing,</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Comprehensive abilities regarding listening, speaking, reading, and writing</li> <li>➤ Combined abilities between listening, speaking, reading, and writing</li> <li>➤ Application of listening, speaking, reading, and writing</li> </ul>
6. Everything	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Same importance</li> </ul>
7. None	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ No answer</li> </ul>

that category 5 was developed after much thought. One may question that listening, speaking, reading, and writing are four basic principles of language learning and teaching; they, of course, are involved in categories 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, especially the first three categories. I definitely agree with this point. It was because I agreed with this point that I

developed a category called Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing. My explanation is that from all language teachers' answers of question 6 and 7, I found that teachers' answers referred to listening, speaking, reading, and writing were inappropriate to be identified and defined as under any single category from 1 to 4. Their answers might cover two, three, or even four categories. For example, Nancy's answer to question 6 was:

Nancy: The importance of **listening, speaking, reading, and writing** should be Equal, then our English can become **【more】 competitive and practicable**. **Through reading and writing**, we are able to deeply understand the culture behind language.

Nancy was a female English teacher who taught third grade English at the elementary school in Taipei County. Obviously, Nancy's answer could be coded in several places. The theme of "Through reading and writing, we are" definitely could be grouped under category 4. I defined "competitive and practicable" as ideas that relate to the theme of language use. So, they were grouped under category 2. However, Nancy also revealed that learning-about-language and learning-through-language were achieved by listening, speaking, reading, and writing. This meant, in her opinion, listening, speaking, reading, and writing were the media that help a learner to learn about and through language. Therefore, in Nancy's case, "listening, speaking, reading, and writing" became an idea and this idea could be found in many teachers' answers. I then defined it as a theme. But it was inappropriate to fit in any category because it could relate to any category. So, I developed category 5 of Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing.

Neither **Type I** nor **Type II** was applied in data analysis of question 9 "1).Mandarin 2). Holo 3).English 4).Hakka 5).Indigenous Languages 6).Others\_\_\_\_\_ ( please list the

names ) ”. In the elementary school language education, how would you order the importance of the above languages? (**please list the order** and explain)” (also see Appendix B). The purpose of question 9 was to examine language teachers’ ideas regarding language power and ideology. Based on the same process of data analysis applied to questions from 1 to 8, I developed four categories for question 9, which are Mandarin First, Mother Tongues First, English First, and Same Importance. Teachers’ answers of order of language importance decided which they should be categorized. The category of Same Importance referred to answers that had at least over two languages, including two, listed at the same order.

From finding phrases (or patterns), identifying ideas, defining themes, to developing categories, these steps were constantly applied to data analysis on all answers of questionnaires. However, my work of data analysis on questionnaires had not finished yet. I asked myself, “What’s my next step? I know I had developed categories. I defined themes and identified ideas from answers. And then, what’s next?” Soon, I found, though I had ‘cooked’ (Hubbard and Power, 1999) my questionnaires, I did not have an answer or result from question 1, “What interests you about language teaching?” Neither did other questions. Therefore, my final step of analyzing questionnaire data was to know which category/categories is/are that language teachers care about most in each question.

I viewed each theme as a basic unit and began to calculate how many times this theme would appear in one teacher’s answers to one question. Sometimes one theme might appear multiple times in one teacher’s answer. In this case, my principle was that one theme was only counted one time in each question. However, if several themes

appeared in one teacher's answer, each theme would be counted. Again, I take Jan's answer of question 1 of the questionnaire as an example.

In question 1, "language teaching" and "teaching of language" in Jan's answer were marked in bold. As an idea or theme, it appeared four times. Based on this principle that "one theme was only counted for one time in each question," "language teaching" was only counted for one time under the category of Instruction and Self-ability. The other two themes appearing in Jan's answer were children's performance (underlined) and personal interest (in square). They were also respectively counted one time and grouped under categories of Students' Academic Abilities and Performance and of Personal Preference.

In Jen's example, totally, three themes were counted and grouped under three different categories. This model was also applied to analyses of other language teachers' answers. Later, numbers of time counted for each category was added. I then calculated the sum of numbers in each question and each category's percentage of the sum. The higher the percentage of category showed, the more issues that teachers cared about related to that category. Table 7 is one of the final works regarding data analysis of questionnaires. My next focus then shifted to analysis of interview transcripts.

### *Interviews*

Each interviewee's tape was transcribed. There were a total of 28 transcripts. My first purpose in analyzing these transcripts was to discover the most useful and in-depth

information that was not found from questionnaires and my observations, but could benefit my understanding of elementary school language education and policies.

I began with reading and rereading each interviewee's transcript. I then carefully circled patterns and ideas that related to my interview questions. During the interviews, sometimes interviewees did not answer my question. In this situation, unless they provided some interesting and useful information, I usually would not code this part of the transcript.

Next, I reorganized each transcript and edited its contents less than three pages. (Normally, it was three pages long in Chinese.) This three-page transcript actually looked like a constructed narrative. It usually had 11 paragraphs for professionals, 10 paragraphs for language teachers, and 9 paragraphs for parents. Each paragraph covered each interviewee's answer for each question. My intention to make each transcript into a three-page constructed narrative was that this length made it easier for me to understand what the interviewee mentioned in his/her interview and to focus on useful information.

After the 28 three-page constructed narratives were made, my third step was to categorize all the transcripts into three main groups: language teachers, professionals, and parents. In terms of language teachers, they were again divided into three sub-groups: Mandarin/classroom, Dialects, and English. So, at this stage, I actually categorized the 28 transcripts into five groups, including three groups of language teachers, and one group of professionals and of parents.

Fourth, in each group, I cut-and-pasted each interviewee's answer and categorized them under their related interview questions. In other words, this work was to move each

constructed narrative's first paragraph under question 1, second paragraph under question 2, and so on. Later, I rechecked and marked all the emergent ideas and important issues appeared in each paragraph. Then, I combined ideas and issues related to each question into one paragraph and made these paragraphs readable. At the end, I had 11 paragraphs for professionals, 10 paragraphs for language teachers, and 9 paragraphs for parents. These paragraphs contained ideas and issues that were raised by interviewees in each group during interviews.

My final step was to modify each of these "11, 10, and 9 paragraphs" to a one-page long constructed narrative. My assumption for these one-page long constructed narratives was that issues, ideas, and perspectives in each constructed narrative were all from interviewees' sharing during his/her interview. I did not make any changes. What I did was to combine these issues, ideas, and perspectives and made some transitional sentences between them. These one-page constructed narratives were presented in third-person position with their inside points of view regarding elementary school language issues and policies. However, I did not make this one-page constructed narrative for the group of professionals. This was because professionals' answers for each question always stood for perspectives in different fields in Taiwan. Among them, some were extremely opposite. Hence, it was difficult to find an agreement between them or even to make a constructed narrative.

### *Analysis of Research Questions*

In the final work of data analysis, I synthesized all the information, issues, and questions gained from observations, fieldnotes, questionnaires, and interviews. Then, I answered the following seven research questions designed for this study:

1. What do the language teachers at the elementary school of Taiwan think about the current elementary school language education?
2. What considerations do language education decision makers at the elementary school level take into account to make language education policies in Taiwan?
3. How do language education policy makers in Taiwan view the practice of language education at the elementary school level?
4. What are the ideas and expectations of students' parents for the current practice of language education at the elementary school level in Taiwan?
5. What are the differences between Han (Holo, Hakka, and Mainlanders) and indigenous peoples in Taiwan in terms of their opinions with relation to language and elementary school language education?
6. What are the perspectives toward bilingual education in elementary school language education in Taiwan?

Research Question (RQ) 1 answered by the results of questionnaires and language teachers' interviews. I focused on the following aspects:

- The present elementary school language policy
- Curriculum design and requirements
- Teaching methods, resources, and contents
- Teacher sources and teaching assessment
- Struggles and confusions
- Language ideology, identity, and attitude

RQ 2 and 3 were answered by language professionals' interviewing results. Especially, professionals' opinions with regard to Mandarin, Dialects, English, and the interrelationship among these three languages in elementary school classrooms were the foci of discussion. RQ 4 was answered by parents' interviewing results. I focused on four issues:

- Language ideology
- Concepts related to language learning
- Family language(s) and support
- Struggle and future expectations

RQ5 was answered by the comparison of research results between Han and indigenous participants. In this study, six language teachers and two professionals were indigenous people. The other 115 participants were Han. The percentage of indigenous people included in this study was around 6%, which is higher than the nationwide percentage of population, 1.8% (Huang, 2001). RQ 6 was answered by information gathered from participants' perspectives regarding bilingual education in elementary school language education, my theoretical background and framework of this study, and my former educational and teaching experiences in Taiwan.

### **Summary**

In this chapter, I introduced the research contexts of society, elementary schools, classrooms, and participants in Taiwan. I also clearly described the ideas and theoretical basis of designing questionnaire and interview questions. I then mentioned how I gathered my data in the section of data collection. Last, I gave my methods of data

analysis a detailed description. Through the process of data analysis, many ideas, perspectives, and issues were revealed from participants and materials.

In the following chapter, I report the results that I found from participants, questionnaires, and transcripts.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **RESEARCH RESULTS**

I report the data first according to each group of language teachers: Mandarin, Dialects, and English teachers. Within each group, I describe my analysis from the questionnaires and then interviews. I provide a construction narrative for each group. Because groups of language professionals and parents did not answer the questionnaires, the findings of these two groups are reported differently from language teachers. I report my findings for language professionals by answering their interview questions and then provide a constructed narrative derived from their interview results. I then detail my findings of parents by providing some critical perspectives quoted from their interview transcripts and a constructed narrative. However, a more in-depth comparison and further discussions are in chapter 6.

#### **Language Teachers**

The three groups of language teachers were asked to answer the same questionnaire and four interviewees in each language teacher group were interviewed with the same questions. The formats and questions of questionnaire and interviews are in Appendices B and C. The results gathered from questionnaires are reported question by question based on categories developed from patterns, ideas, and themes that emerged from the analysis. To highlight the answers, some interesting and critical responses from the participants are quoted. The results gathered from the interview transcripts are

synthesized and presented in a constructed narrative except for the language professionals. The constructed narratives are clarified and explained to enrich the understanding of the data. They are written in third person.

### *Mandarin (Classroom) Teachers*

Mandarin teachers are the majority group of teachers at the elementary school level. Mandarin is usually taught by classroom teachers who also teach math and other subjects. From the 81 Mandarin classroom teachers' answers to the nine questions in the questionnaires, the present situation in elementary school Mandarin education within the classroom context is clearly depicted. Their insider information helped me better understand issues involved in language planning and policy at the elementary school level regarding Mandarin.

### *Questionnaires*

In question 1, "What interests you about language teaching?", 32% of Mandarin teachers' answers could be grouped under the category of Students' Academic Ability and Performance. This category includes issues/themes of prior academic knowledge, language proficiency, general academic abilities, and classroom performance (critical thinking, learning attitude and motivation, homework correction and etc.). The following examples are translations of the teachers' voices regarding why they are interested in Mandarin teaching.

Peggie: I can see my students make progress.

Florence: Students' answers are better than mine.

Yuhua: I can see many children's different creativities and ideas.

Their answers showed that Students' Academic Ability and Performance was the main purpose that interested them in engaging in Mandarin teaching. Though these interests could also be found in other subjects, Mandarin teachers' answers pointed out that there is a higher tendency for them to have these interests in Mandarin class than in others.

In addition to this, teachers' preference for Mandarin, which was 29%, was the second important factor that interested teachers in Mandarin class. Issues/themes related to personal (teachers') interest and enjoyment in language, literature, teaching, and students were included in this category. These teachers made comments like Jan, Elish, and Anne:

Jan: . . . Language teaching is interesting because I love reading. . .

Elish: It is my personal interest in Mandarin...

Anne: Mandarin has beautiful phrases.

Thirty-one percent of the answers to question 2, "What reasons make you feel that language teaching is difficult?", revealed that issues related to categories of Students' Academic Abilities and Performance are the prime reasons that make teaching difficult. This result is just like a double-sided sword; on the one hand, because of students' excellent academic abilities and good classroom performance Mandarin teachers feel

interested in teaching; on the other hand, students' low academic abilities and inappropriate classroom performance were the difficulties in teaching Mandarin.

In question 3, "In language teaching, what makes you feel most confused?", 51% of teachers' answers were categorized under Instruction and Self-ability. Issues/themes related to instruction contents, teaching methods, and teacher's self-ability of teaching were included in this category. In this category answers related to essay writing reached as high as 60%. The following examples in question 3 can be found in most Mandarin teachers' answers:

Chen: It is very difficult to correct a composition.

Shao-Li: [It is very difficult to] improve students' writing skills.

Shao-Yu: [It is] composition.

The category of Students' Academic Abilities and Performance, which is a significant reason that makes teaching difficult in question 2, was 20% in question 3. Comparing the results between question 2 and 3, the reason that made teachers feel difficult is not the same with what confused them in their teaching. They felt difficulty because of students; however, they were confused because of issues related to instruction and their teaching abilities.

In question 4, "Do you think that language classes need more time or less?", 85 % of the Mandarin teachers reported that they should have more time in language classes, especially to Mandarin. In question 5, "What factors make you feel satisfied or unsatisfied with your language teaching?", 63% of the teachers were unsatisfied with their Mandarin teaching. When they were further asked to write down the reasons, 60 %

of their answers were related to the category of System, Resources & Environment.

Issues/themes in this category include: (1) educational (administration, curriculum, and teacher training) and governmental systems and policies; (2) classroom, library, and teaching resources; (3) language, school, family, and social environments (language ideology, identity, and attitude).

From question 1 to 5, teachers reflected on their teaching experiences and then made a connection with the present situation in their Mandarin classes by answering and thinking these open-ended questions in the questionnaire. Four major results were drawn from this data.

First, students' performance was the major reason that affects teachers' interests and feeling of difficulty for Mandarin teaching. Second, most Mandarin teachers were confused by teaching essay writing and writing skills. Third, most Mandarin teachers did not have enough time to teach Mandarin. Fourth, Mandarin teachers were unsatisfied with their teaching because of lacking support from the educational system and environment and restricted access to educational resources.

From question 6 to 9, teachers expressed their opinions, ideas, and values with regard to Mandarin class at the elementary school level. In question 6, "Regarding children's language education, which contents or concepts do you think should be included?", Mandarin teachers' ideas varied. Answers that could be grouped under the category of Learning-through-language were 29%. Issues and themes related to values, perspectives, abilities (critical thinking, problem-solving, sharing, appreciation, and etc.),

and awareness (culture, gender, ethnicity, difference, and etc.) were included in this category. The below examples are quoted from questionnaires of K, Chang, and Florence:

K: Multiplicity and international perspectives.

Chang: . . . students' abilities of thinking.

Florence: Humanity, gender, respect, and politeness.

Answers from K, Chang, and Florence showed that content or concepts should be included in Mandarin teaching and learned "through language." In addition to the category of Learning- through-language, the other two categories that were slightly lower in terms of percentage were respectively the categories of Learning-language-itself (26%) and Learning-about-language (21%). Learning-language-itself includes issues/themes of basic knowledge (characters, Phonetic symbols, pinyins, genres, grammar, and etc.) and basic skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing). Learning-about-language includes issues/themes of language use, language role, language power, and language ideology. The sum of percentage of the three categories was 76%. Apparently, Mandarin teachers thought that Learning-through-language, Learning-about-language, and Learning-language-itself are three factors which comprised most of the teaching contents and concepts in Mandarin.

One phenomenon that should be noted was the category of Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing, which is 19%. Issues/themes in this category include: (1) comprehensive and combined abilities regarding listening, speaking, reading, and writing; (2) application of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Answers of Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing, usually went across several categories. Mandarin's

teachers' answers grouped under this category showed a critical thinking, i.e., language learning and instruction, were usually interdisciplinary.

Question 7, "Regarding children's language education, what do you think should be the focus?", was a follow-up question after question 6. Answers grouped under the Category of Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing (34%) were much more than other categories. Reading was especially an issue that Mandarin teachers highly valued. Examples are showed as below:

Shao-Li: [We] should focus more on reading.

Li-Sh: [We] should expand the breadth and depth of reading.

Kao-W: [We should] read a lot of materials except for the textbooks.

When Mandarin teachers were asked about the kind of help they needed most in question 8, 74% of their answers were coded under the category of System, Resources, & Environment. Examples from Dona, Anne, and Tracy speak for this result:

Dona: Teacher training of professional curriculum development for in-service teachers. For example, how to teach a composition lesson, enough time for instruction, increase the quantity of books in school [library]. . .

Anne: Extend the instruction time and provide teaching materials and supplies.

Tracy: Adjust the language teaching periods (have enough time), have teacher training of [using] language teaching materials, and develop multicultural materials for language education.

One of Tracy's needs, "develop multicultural material for language education," was just a reflection on linguistic multiplicity in Taiwan. It was also related to question 9. In question 9, I listed six language choices for teachers to place in the order of their

importance. By doing this, I could discover Mandarin teachers' ideologies, identities, and attitudes of languages in Taiwan.

There was a total of 79 answers. Eighty-nine percent of Mandarin teachers' answers agreed that Mandarin was the most important language than others in Taiwan. Most of the reasons were: (a) it was the common, official, and national language, (b) it played the role being foundational in children's language education, (c) it represented cultural and ethnical identity, and (d) it was the daily language used for communication. Shao-Yu gave her answers about language importance a fine explanation and definite order, which is Mandarin first and then mother tongues and then American English:

1. Mandarin: The commonality. Mandarin now is the official language used in education in our country. It is also the mainstream language. In the future, it may become one of the important languages in the world. 2. Mother tongues: Every ethnic group has its own beauty in terms of language and culture. We should start from language in order to make children identity his/her ethnic group. 3. American English: Because we should have global perspective. . .

Moreover, answers where mother tongues and English were listed respectively in the first order were 8% and 1%. However, if the results of the second order were considered together with the first, i.e., mother tongues or English were placed in the first and second orders, the percentages of mother tongues and English would be 57 and 42. In other words, in Mandarin teachers' opinions, Mandarin was the most important language, and then mother tongues, English, and other languages, such as Japanese and languages in Southeast Asia.

### *Interviews*

Four Mandarin teachers as well as classroom teachers were interviewed. They all taught at different grade levels, including first, third, fourth, and sixth grades. One was male; the other three were female. All of them were qualified regular teachers. Two teachers also had Dialects teacher certificate. Their average age and years of teaching were respectively 31 and 8. Three of the interviewing contexts were in the classroom; one was in the interviewee's house. I synthesized the results in the form of a constructed narrative highlighting these Mandarin teachers' voices in the following:

They argue that the present language policy is chaotic. They can not tell definitely what the governmental goals are. Neither the government nor the school gives them enough time to teach Mandarin.

In terms of curriculum design, they all rely on school textbooks. They usually modify the contents in the textbooks before and during teaching. However, they do not spend time on checking and knowing what curriculum guidelines are. They often guide students to read and teach them to understand and comprehend characters, phrases, and sentences retrieved from articles in the textbooks. In terms of teaching resources, they ask for supplies from textbook publication companies or find materials from the internet, reference books, teaching handbooks, teacher training workshops, and colleagues. The internet is the most useful access that they use for searching information.

Two of them think that students' bilingual abilities are a benefit for teaching and learning; the other two do not agree with this point. Most of them are satisfied with their teaching preparation; however, they usually find that they spend too much time on preparing for teaching new Chinese characters in the textbooks.

With regard to the issue of teacher sources, their opinions are opposite. Several of them are satisfied with the present teacher sources; the others are not satisfied with their teaching quality for those teachers who were trained by one-year teacher preparation workshop, which opens for people who hold bachelor and above degrees.

In terms of teacher evaluation, their schools did either nothing or only a few meaningless things. (Only one school did it seriously.) In addition, they all assert that teachers should play an active role in children's language education. More

importantly, families should also walk on the same path with teachers and schools. (Only one mentioned about the importance of social environment.)

Time and techniques on instruction, resources in school library and the classroom, and family support are the three main aspects that make them feel struggled and conflict in Mandarin teaching. The follows are what they expect to do in the future:

- Teach student to become an independent and active learner.
- Have more creativity in teachings.
- Improve students' essay writing ability.
- Read stories to students and let them read storybooks everyday.

From the results in questionnaires and interviews, the 81 Mandarin teachers represented a mainstream perspective toward language education at the elementary school level. They were the majority group among elementary school language teachers. In particular, they also worked as classroom teachers at the same time, which play a critical and influential role on policy implementation and educational reform (Chen, 2003). I discuss more issues in relation to teacher's role and then make my suggestions in chapter 6.

### *Dialects Teachers*

The formal teaching of Dialects was not practiced until the 2001. In order to fill the gap of insufficient teachers, many Mandarin/classroom teachers were required to teach Dialects. This has become a norm in most schools. Though professional Dialects teachers have been trained, the numbers were far less than the real need. Further, these teachers usually either had to teach Dialects for several schools every week. Some of them also viewed Dialects teaching as their part-time jobs. In part, this occurred because they received hourly instead of monthly payment and had to renew and sign their contracts

with the government every year. Compared with regular teachers, the benefits and welfare for Dialects teachers were obviously lower in every respect.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Mandarin/classroom teachers, who also taught Dialects class, were not discussed. My focus was only on professional Dialects teachers. There were a total of 11 Dialects teachers, including five Hakka and six Holo language speakers. The lack of indigenous language teachers was one of the limitations in this study.

### *Questionnaires*

Dialects teachers' answers to question 1 were a little similar with Mandarin/classroom teachers. Percentages of categories of Students' Academic Abilities and Performance (24%) and Personal Preference (24%) were still high. However, the percentages of Students' Academic Abilities and Performance were both not the highest. Instead, the highest one was the category of Culture and Life Background (29%). Issues/themes included in this category were: (1) indigenous education and multilingual/multicultural education; (2) life and language experience and their connection with learning; (3) culture and life difference. This result (29%) might relate to Dialects teachers' professionalism and stronger identity than other subject teachers in terms of local languages. Lisa, a Hakka teacher, and Li-Chan, a Holo teacher, explained why they were interested in Dialects teaching below:

Lisa: . . . I can have a deeper understanding of my own [Hakka] culture and language and feel touched . . .

Li-Chan: Holo literature is very recondite. As a Taiwanese, I know very little about it.

In question 2 and 3, answers categorized under System, Resources, and Environment were both over 50%. Dialects teachers felt it was difficult and confusing to teach due to limited teaching material and resources and restricted social, family, school, and political environments. Lisa thought that no formal grading system, students' passive learning attitude, and no unified version, book, and goal were the reasons that make Dialects teaching hard. Besides the lack of teaching material, Luo, a Hakka teacher, thought that the government did not have ideal curricular planning, nor did it meet the present needs. The following examples bring more ideas regarding the difficulties and confusion that Dialects teachers face:

Jian-Shou: . . . Children have less chance on language contact with Hakka. The Hakka children may not know how to communicate with the elders in Hakka. . . Moreover, the time 【showed】 in Hakka in public media is not very much.

Tom: The 【system】 of pinyin in Dialects teaching is not yet unified. I do not know which system I should use in my Dialects teaching.

Tom raised a controversial issue, pinyin, in Taiwan. This issue was repeatedly mentioned by interviewees of professionals in later session. Regarding its complexity and controversy I have a detailed discussion in Chapter 6.

With regard to the issue of instruction time in question 4, Dialects teachers' answers showed a practical and reflective perspective. Six out of 11 teachers asserted that they need more time for teaching. The other five teachers asserted that time was not the point, but language use in the daily life was. Dialects teachers' results of this question showed a different perspective from Mandarin/classroom teachers.

Dialects teachers' answers from question 5 to 9 were similar to the Mandarin/classroom teachers. The following Table 9 is a synthesized result from their answers.

**Table 9**

*Synthesis of Mandarin and Dialects Teachers' Questionnaire Answers*

Question	Category	Group	Percentage
5. What factors make you feel <b>satisfied</b> or <b>unsatisfied</b> with your language teaching?	(Unsatisfied because of) System, Resources, & Environment	Mandarin	38%
		Dialects	50%
6. Regarding children's language education, which contents or concepts do you think should be included?	Learning-through-language	Mandarin	29%
		Dialects	41%
7. Regarding children's language education, what do you think should be the focus?	Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing	Mandarin	34%
		Dialects	30%
8. For the current language education at the elementary school level, which kind of help do you think teachers need most?	System, Resources, & Environment	Mandarin	74%
		Dialects	100%
9. 1).Mandarin 2). Holo (Southern Min) 3).English 4).Hakka 5).Indigenous Languages 6).Others _____ ( please list the names ) 。 In the elementary school language education, how would you order the importance of the above languages? (please list the order and explain)	Mandarin First	Mandarin	89%
		Dialects	67%

Results of the statistics showed in question 8 and 9 may need a further explanation. In question 8, the statistics of 100% represented some eagerness from Dialects teachers. A well-organized educational system, rich teaching resources, and a better language environment outside the classroom were three aspects that Dialects teachers needed. In her answers, Lisa wished that some agencies could hold regular workshops during

summer and winter break for Dialects teachers. Actually, 6 out of 11 Dialects teacher mentioned this need. They wanted the government and schools to provide more opportunities in terms of in-service teacher training.

Moreover, it is not surprising that Dialects teachers would have more commitments to local languages. However, Julia, a Holo teacher, discussed this situation from an sophisticated perspective. She said,

From the point of cultural continuity and maintenance, the importance of 1,2,4,5 [Mandarin, Holo, Hakka, Indigenous Languages] weight the same. From the perspective of daily communication language, 1 and 2 should be put in the same row. These two languages have higher language use, bigger language ranges, and more language population. 4 and 5 are comparatively less [than 1 and 2] on language population. They are minority languages. English is rated last. I feel like English now is a powerful language, but it is not necessary to have every child to learn English at the elementary school level.

### *Interviews*

Four out of 11 Dialects teachers were interviewed. None of them were qualified regular teachers since they did not have a regular teacher certificate. They were qualified to teach Dialects because they have taken enough credits of Dialects or were knowledgeable in local cultures and languages. One was male; the other three were female. Their average age was over 35. Two were Holo; two were Hakka. All of them taught several grades at the same time. In terms of years of teaching, the highest one was six. Their average year was 3.5. They all used local languages, Holo and Hakka, as their instruction languages. Two of the interviewing contexts were in the classroom; two was in the interviewee's house. I organize the four interviewing results and present them in the following constructed narrative:

They think that the present language educational policy only focuses on English. The time for instruction in Mandarin and Dialects classes are not enough. Every county has its own standards to implement local languages. It seems to them that the educational system is a little chaotic. Also, the curriculum is not qualified. It looks like a rough work adapted from Mandarin curriculum.

In the classroom, they all teach based on the textbook and emphasize on students' life experiences. Depending on situation, they would provide students some supply materials outside the curriculum. They also employ bilingual education and guided reading in their classrooms. Mainly, they use games and authentic materials to help students learn in the Dialects class. However, the situation of no standard pinyin and pronunciation are very troublesome to them.

In addition to the textbook, colleagues, workshops, observation of model teachings, the internet, reading group, elder people, folklores and CD, and some TV programs (Hakka channel) are all their sources of teaching resources.

They all think that students' bilingual abilities are a benefit in teaching. During the instruction, they often use Mandarin as the instruction medium to teach local languages. Hakka teachers of them would sometimes teach students, who are from other ethnic groups, different accents and language (This refers to Holo).

They do not know how other colleagues prepare for their classes, but they think teaching preparation is based on teachers' goals on teaching. Only one of them thinks that Dialects teachers' teaching preparation is not enough. They would make learning as interesting as possible. Hakka teachers of them think that Hakka teaching should focus on the continuity of Hakka culture. The curriculum design and pedagogy should look like the Hakka.

From their observation, some schools are willing to employ the formal Supportive teachers (Dialects teachers); some would rather require classroom teachers to teach Dialects. Further, because many the Supportive teachers are new to school educational system, they do not have teaching experiences. Therefore, they have difficulties about classroom management. They need classroom teachers' assistance to help them deal with classroom management.

They do not fully agree with the temporary and flexible policy that classroom teachers can teach Dialects or transfer to be a professional Dialects teacher. They think, this should depend on classroom teacher's knowledge on Dialects.

With regard to teacher evaluation, it is not practiced in most schools. Only one of their schools in I-Lan County, on the eastern side of Taiwan, implements teacher evaluation regularly. This helps teachers in improving their teaching. Holo

teachers of them think that their mother tongue, Holo, is very popular in the society. However, in contrast to the Holo language in the society, Hakka teachers of them think that the mainstream environment is not very supportive to their language. Rather than waiting to being identified by other ethnic groups, they would get started right away by themselves. But, both groups agree that the purpose of Dialects teaching is to make children feel interested in local languages and this also needs the cooperation from families.

At present, what makes them feel the most struggle and conflict are:

- The teaching methods for children who have learning disabilities
- The insecure feeling from one-year contract and limited benefits
- No choices on textbook selection
- Lack of teaching supplies

However, if some changes can be made in the future, they would expect that:

- More schools will be willing to hire supportive teachers (Dialect teachers).
- Their Dialects teaching can connect with children's life experiences.
- They will have more access to attend in-service teacher training or workshops.
- Technology can be employed in teaching and make teaching more vivid.
- Local (Hakka) culture can get rid of the weed and keep the flower of the leek.

Through questionnaires and interviews, the difficult situation and conflicts of Dialects teachers were made apparent. In contrast with other groups of language classes, Dialects teaching was not only a minority subject, but Dialects teachers were also viewed as a minority group in school. The 11 Dialects teachers' words revealed a feeling of frustration with school, family, and society. In this case, language planning becomes even more important to improve the present plight of the practice of Dialects teaching.

### *English Teachers*

English was covered in elementary education curriculum only for several years.

The Ministry of Education announced that every elementary child should receive English

education from third grade since 2005. There were 15 English teachers in this study (see Table 3.). Two-thirds of them possessed English teaching certificates. Their average years of teaching were around three and their average age was over 30. Comparing their average age with years of teaching, it seemingly is unreasonable. How did most English teachers start teaching English at the elementary school from age of 27? Regarding this, a further explanation behind the numbers needs to be made.

Based on my observation and the findings from questionnaires, most English teachers whose age was over 30 have participated in English education and lived in an English environment for many years. Some of them were experienced English teachers in cram schools; some were technologists working in international companies. Some even lived in English-speaking countries for many years. Yian was exactly this latter case.

Yian was a 45-year-old man who taught English for three years in an elementary school in Taipei. He was a doctor in New York for many years before coming back to Taiwan. I met him during my second visit to his school. He was one of the participants who answered my questionnaire, but I did not interview him. We had a casual talk in the teachers' office. He showed me and his colleague the location where he lived in the Manhattan area in New York on the map. I asked him, "Since you had such a great job in New York, why did you want to come back?" He seemed to be a little hesitant to answer my question. He thought for a while and said, "I am a little bit tired of living abroad. I want to come back to take a look and also do my filial duty to take care of my family in Taiwan."

Like Yian and other English teachers, who had English teaching or international experiences, this group of teachers was highly proficient in English and familiar with English, especially American, culture. However, this group only represented a small number of the English teacher population at the elementary school. Also, most of them worked in urban areas.

Among 15 English teachers involved in this study, none of them were indigenous though several worked in the indigenous communities. All were Hakka, Holo, and Mainlander. The results of questionnaires and interviews are discussed below.

### *Questionnaires*

In question 1, it showed a different result from Mandarin and Dialects teachers. Category of Instruction and Self-ability was what interested teachers in English teaching most. The following answers of Sharon and Terisa explain this result.

Sharon: I can show many variations in the classroom teaching activities. I also can apply a variety of teaching methods and make learning like a game in order to motivate students' learning and language use of English. This kind of interactions between the teacher and students are challenged and interesting as well.

Terisa: I studied in the related fields. I feel very interested that I can apply what I learned in my teaching.

Teachers' answers in question 2 and 3 showed a similar result. System, Resources, & Environment and Students' Academic Abilities and Performance become two major categories that made English teachers feel anxious and confused about their instruction. Both categories' percentages were above 33. System, Resources, & Environment was

also the main area that Dialects teachers complained about, however, there were some minor differences between English and Dialects teachers.

First, English teachers thought that teaching was difficult and troublesome because of the lack of environmental support in English. However, Dialects teachers thought that it was because of limited resources and materials, and the restricted educational system. Second, issues of “teaching to the test,” student evaluation, cram schools, parental pressure, and classroom size became important in English teaching, however, were hardly raised by Dialects teachers.

The above issues mentioned by English teachers explicitly related to another major result, the category of Students’ Academic Abilities and Performance. English teachers felt anxious and confused about their teaching because of students’ English abilities, which were not only mixed but were also very different in every class. This reason made standardized testing and evaluation difficult to be practiced. Classroom size, therefore, became the critical reason that determined the degree of variations on students’ English proficiency. Moreover, another two issues of parental pressure and cram schools were also involved. Parents felt so anxious that they were eager to send their children to cram schools to learn English as early and fast as possible. Parents’ anxiety about their children’s English learning, directly and indirectly, brought pressure to English teachers. From English teachers’ points of view, these parents’ actions made English teaching at the elementary school level even worse.

In question 4, when teachers were asked to think if they need more time on instruction, 11 out of 15 answered “yes.” However, the other four teachers presented different but reflective opinions:

Wendy: [We need] an appropriate arrangement. Too much or too less time is not good.

Kuo-Ch: How much time we need depends upon instruction contents.

Chen-S: What students need is the time to practice [English] language after school.

Min: We need more time on Mandarin class. As for Dialects or English, we do not need to teach too much or it can be taught even later.

Each of these four English teachers represented a different perspective on the time issue. To them, the concerns of appropriate arrangement, instructional content, after-school plans, and language ideology were more important than time itself. This point of view was also found from several Mandarin and Dialects teachers.

In question 5, English teachers’ answers showed an opposite result to Mandarin and Dialects teachers. Table 10 is a comparison of statistics. Question 5 asked English teachers, “What factors make you feel satisfied or unsatisfied with your language teaching?” Apparently, English teachers (48% > 44%) tended to be more satisfied with their teaching than the other two language teacher groups, Mandarin (32% < 63%) and Dialects (36% < 64%).

**Table 10***Results of Question 5*

<b>Subjects</b>	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>Unsatisfied</b>	<b>Just Fine</b>	<b>None</b>
<b>Mandarin</b>	32%	63%	2%	3%
<b>Dialects</b>	36%	64%	0	0
<b>English</b>	48%	44%	4%	4%

On her questionnaire, Alish wrote the reasons that made her feel satisfied with English teaching. She said, “English materials are rich and vivid. Teachers have more decision-making power in English class.” Alish’s words revealed a teacher’s confidence with his/her teaching subject and methods. I also found this feature, confidence, from other English teachers’ words in the questionnaires. Unfortunately, this feature was rarely seen in Mandarin and Dialects teachers, especially the latter one. My interpretation regarding this phenomenon is that English is seen as a global language with the richest resources in publications, education, and language materials, and also accompanying with its speaking countries’ economic, political, and military power etc. All of these factors make English more powerful than other languages. English teachers’ teaching confidence is built on their feelings of security drawn from English and its related power relationship in the world. This feeling of security is just what Dialects teachers are longing for.

In question 6, percentages of Learning-through-language (23%) and Pedagogy and Environment (23%) were the highest among categories. Many English teachers agreed that language learning is learning through language about the following contents and concepts: Culture, humanity, gender difference, respect, politeness, and ethnicity. These

were important so they had to be included in language teaching. English teachers also thought that Pedagogy and Environment were critical. They explained that considerations of the application of better teaching methods that could effectively increase students' interests and of the practicability in learning English in an English-as-a-foreign-language country like Taiwan were crucial.

English teachers' answers in question 7 showed the same result with Mandarin and Dialects teachers. Forty-four percent of English teachers' answers were categorized under Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing. These were viewed as the foci by most English teachers with regard to English education. However, English teachers' answers had a minor difference from answers of Mandarin and Dialects teachers. This was because some English teachers stressed that listening, speaking, and reading should go before writing; others English teachers asserted that all of them were important and should be focused at the same time. The following answers of Huang and Chen-I presented the two cases:

Huang: Focusing on listening, speaking, reading, and writing at the same time. . .

Chen-I: Focusing on listening, speaking, and reading. Writing is minor.

Question 8 showed a similar result with question 2 and 3, in which answers associated with the category of Systems, Resources, & Environment were what English teachers felt mostly anxious and confused with. Eighty-two percent of the answers in question 8 were grouped under this category. This strong connection featured the significance on issues of "test leads teaching," student evaluation, cram schools, parental

pressure, and classroom size. It further indicated that English teachers needed more support, directly and indirectly, to help them deal with these issues.

When English teachers were asked to order the importance of languages in Taiwan in question 9, English was not put in the first position by most of them. Only 2 out of 15 teachers wrote that English and Mandarin should both be put in the first position. Ten teachers agreed that Mandarin itself should go first. This percentage was 67% high. This number is closed to Dialects teachers' results, 73%. This result may contradict most people's image about English teachers and the importance of English learning at the elementary school level in Taiwan.

### *Interviews*

In addition to the results revealed from questionnaires, four interviewees also shared their inside perspectives about their opinions and ideas with regard to elementary English education. Three of them were female; one was male. They were all qualified regular teachers and three of them had English Teacher certificate. Their average age and years of teaching were respectively 30 and 3. Only one teacher used English as the only medium of language for instruction in English class. The other three teachers used Mandarin and English as their instruction mediums. Three of the interviewing contexts were in the classroom; one was in the coffee shop. These interviewing results were presented in third person in the following constructed narrative:

They think that the present English education policy at the elementary school level is very vague. Each school and community is facing different problems. Usually, they prepare lesson plans before the class or semester begins. They also follow the

governmental teaching guidelines to teach English. Lecturing is not the only method they employ in their teaching. They apply a variety of teaching methods to increase students' interests and help them to learn better. They seek teaching resources from varied sources. But, because of the difference between urban and countryside schools, affordable resources in every school is different. They conclude that schools in the countryside received fewer resources than schools in the urban cities. However, they do our best to find more resources to improve their teaching.

In the classroom, situations of code-switching between Mandarin and English and of phonemes borrowing from local languages to English occur often. Especially, this happens a lot during the classroom interaction between students and them. However, the appearances of these situations are determined by their local language abilities and understandings of local cultures. If they are very knowledgeable about the comparison and connection between the instruction contents, and local languages and cultures, they have more possibilities to utilize students' bilingual/bicultural abilities in their teaching.

Regarding their teaching preparation, they think that this depends on the teacher's goals. If school teachers are only requested to teach based on the textbook contents, then almost every teacher has no problem with it.

In terms of teacher preparation and teacher evaluation, they all feel that elementary school education needs more professional English teachers and the teacher evaluation only evaluates the surface level of teaching. This kind of evaluation has no help on English education. They also argue that the key point of successful elementary school English education relies on family education. They usually question themselves with the following three questions. They are what make them feel struggle and contradiction with the present elementary English education:

- Should English education be practiced at the elementary school level?
- How can English teachers share ideas with parents and help students raise their learning interests?
- How do English teachers deal with the phenomenon that “test leads teaching”?

They expect four improvements in the future:

- Classroom size will become smaller.
- School will have more professional English teachers and teaching resources.
- Classroom or other subject teachers will collaborate with English teachers and have team teaching.

- Some parents will modify their perspectives and work collaboratively to help their children raise interest in learning of English.

Language teachers are the keys that influence the practicability of language planning and implementation (Chen, 2003; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). In my experience, 3 out of 4 teachers in every elementary school are Mandarin, Dialects, or English teachers. From this point of view, the importance of language education speaks for itself. Therefore, this study targets language teachers' opinions in order to find out the present situation in elementary school language education and then provides suggestions for future practice. Results and answers from questionnaires and interviews of language teachers are further interpreted in Chapter 6. Next, my report of results shifts to the group of language professionals and parents.

In this study, I did not make questionnaires for language professionals and parents. In my opinion, to ask professionals and parents to spend 20 to 30 minutes or even longer time to answer an open-ended questionnaire is technically very difficult. The primary reason is that parents' and language professionals' willingness to answer the open-ended questionnaires and the return rate for these questionnaires are hard to predict and control. Therefore, I only conducted interviews to gather information from these professionals and parents. Appendices D and E are respectively the interview questions for language professionals and parents.

## **Language Professionals**

Eight language professionals were involved in this study. Their background information was detailed on Table 4 in Chapter 4. In the following, I present the interviewing results by the 11 interview questions:

### ***1. In the Process of Designing Language Education Policy, What Dimensions Have You Taken into Consideration?***

Eight professionals' answers regarding this question showed multi-dimensional results. Their past working experiences, academic backgrounds, and ethnicities were found to be a strong connection with their concerns about language policy and education.

Their considerations were:

- Law
- Ethnicity
- Instrumentality
- Internationalization
- Localization
- Multi-language/Multiculture
- Language Population
- Language Competition
- Language and Politics
- The Transformation of Social Environment
- Learning-as-a-whole
- Decision-makers
- Equal Educational Opportunity
- Research Results
- Language Proficiency of Citizens
- Language-as-right
- Language-as-resource (Cultural Continuity)
- Status Planning
- Corpus Planning
- Acquisition Planning

Wang considered language education policy from Law and Politics perspectives because he taught in law school. Chang's considerations were related to the theories of language orientations (Ruiz, 1984) and language planning. This was because language planning and mother tongues teaching were his research foci. Tsao considered perspective of equal education opportunity. Perhaps this was related to his earlier experiences working as a Minister in the National Language Committee. His governmental position always, directly or indirectly, pushed him to the front line of language and ethnic conflicts in different groups. To him, equality was the most important concern that helps him open the door for communication and negotiation. In contrast to the other six professionals' Han background, Tong and Pu were indigenous people. Their considerations for language education policy were from an indigenous perspective which was very different from others. Pu said,

I think, if every ethnic group can continue its language and culture . . . then the ethnical knowledge can be maintained. . . . Language disappearance is a disappearance of people, ethnic group . . . and resources. From this point of view, everyone should . . . respect mutually . . . and hold the perspective of multiculturalism to face those ethnic groups whose culture and language continuity need to be taken care of. . . . No single language and culture is more important than others.

## ***2. In the Process of Designing Language Education Policy, What Methods of Negotiation Have You Taken?***

Question 2 seemingly was hard to answer for some professionals who have few experiences with negotiation because they spent most of their time on research and teaching. For those who had experiences in designing language policy, they usually took the following methods to negotiate their ideas with others:

- Persuasion
- Language Marketing (Baker & Jones, 1998; Cooper, 1989)
- Law-making
- Conference
- Publication
- Bottom-to-Top Thinking

Chang raised an interesting idea, language marketing. He thought,

Language Marketing is . . . I have a good product, I suggest you to use, because it benefits you in some way...Here, [I recommend that] the best language tool to educate children is mother tongues, because they perform best on identity, society, learning, and every aspect. . . . English was marketed in this way. For instance, English was marketed to many people, but 90 percent of them cannot achieve [i.e., become highly proficient in English]. They only see the beautiful version [built by the marketing], but they will not have chances to enjoy it. However, our local languages are our surrounding languages. They do not give you a beautiful version, but you can touch it and feel it everyday. . . . In my opinion, we should at least promote their [mother tongues] vision and give them a beautiful cover . . . and hold some activities related to mother tongues. Through this participation, he/she will have real and lived experiences and will not feel strange to mother tongues.

Chang's points of language marketing and version imply a difficult situation related to mother tongues in Taiwan. Mother tongues have difficulties surviving and need to be provided more versions to market themselves as well as to persuade people to believe in their benefits.

In his opinions of negotiation, Tsao also made an incisive comment on language and governmental transformation regarding the style of decision-making. He said,

Question of language sometimes is a loaded question. . . . This is because everyone has his/her own point of views...However, it is necessary to have a negotiation before [making a decision] ...Former polices were more likely to be made from top-to-bottom. . . . Now, because of the opened democratic attitude in the government, some opinions are gradually reflected from the grass roots.

### *3. While Promoting Language Education Policy, What Frustrations*

#### *Have You Encountered?*

In question 3, factors that made professionals feel frustrated were not only from language itself but also from the outside environment related to language, administration system, and ethnicity. Their frustrations with regard to language education and policy could be generated as follows:

- The implementation, law-making, and vision of language education policy
- Han culture's domination and indigenous intellectuals' assimilation
- The complexity of indigenous language system
- Common people's knowledge of language and ethnicity
- Public debate on policies
- Language ideology
- Knowledge of the contextual realities for people who are in the higher positions

During the interview, Wang shared one of his conference experiences in a junior high school with me. He was addressing his idea of "ethnic respect" in that conference. In the meanwhile, a high school teacher asked him "Are we supposed to say ethnic integration [instead of ethnic respect]?" When he was talking about this example, I could tell that he was frustrated with this but could not help it. He further said,

They (Those people) stayed in the old, one-language-only, time. [In their opinions], ethnic groups should be integrated. . . . Ethnicity and language policy are connected. If they think that ethnic groups should be integrated, then he/she of course has no need to [these] languages (local languages). . . . On the one hand, he/she said that we should become more diverse; on the other hand, he/she also agrees that we should hold one-language-only policy (this refers to Mandarin.). Also, he/she thinks that those people who support ethnic (local) languages are secessionists.

The high school teacher in Wang's example showed a contradiction between monolingual society and multilingual society and between multiculturalism and the "melting pot" theory.

In his interview, Syu also shared his experience in the Legislative Yuan (Congress) in relation to the report of elementary language education reform, of which he was the coordinator. He made a rational comment on his attitude and view of frustration. He said,

Attending the Legislative Yuan, you definitely will be asked to announce your opinions regarding language ideology. . . . Here, how can you persuade those legislators who have a strong ideology [on some language and culture]? You have to be patient. After you make your report patiently, if they are still not satisfied with your work, you have no way to this [reaction], because this work is not made through quarrels, and because who I face is not one or two people, but the entire school kids. . . . No single language policy can satisfy 99% of the population. There is also no single language that can meet everyone's need.

Syu pointed out the interrelationship and complexity between language and politics. How does a language planner transform his/her negative feeling of frustration into a positive attitude with rejection and insistence? Syu's words and example reflect a useful model for facing difficulties when promoting language policies.

#### ***4. What Do You Think of the Current Language Education at the Elementary School?***

The interview results regarding this question can be divided into three aspects. The first relates to issues about Mandarin, Dialects, and English teaching. In this aspect, professionals thought,

- Language education is chaotic.
- Too much focus on English so there is neglect of the importance of

Dialects education.

- Dialects education is problematic because there are not enough teacher sources and teaching materials and methods.
- Instruction time for Mandarin becomes less.
- Learning of language variety increases.
- Children lack a foundation in Mandarin.

The second aspect was related to parents. Professionals thought that in the current elementary language education children need more support from parents and teachers. Also, parents often add their unfinished tasks in their lives on children's shoulders.

The third aspect was related to indigenous children. Pu argued that it was inappropriate to cover indigenous languages under Dialects. The systems of indigenous languages were greatly different from Dialects. Here, his so-called Dialects refers to Holo and Hakka, which are usually categorized under the Han language system. He asserted that we should call indigenous peoples' languages "indigenous languages" or "ethnic languages." He further mentioned that indigenous children were in a dilemma. They had to learn their ethnic languages, Mandarin, and English at the same time. Tsao also talked about this difficult situation regarding indigenous children's language education. From his past research experience, he observed,

When many people explained about the difference between country and city, they missed of mentioning a very important reason that [Compared with children who live in the city,] children, who are indigenous peoples or living in the country, have lost from their [life] beginning lines. He/she has to take dual pressures. First, [the school] environment is different from his/her living environment. Second . . . to him/her, he/she begins to learn that language(s) and then use that language(s) to enter literacy (become literate). . . . Compared him/her with someone who already has known some foundation and go to school only for literacy, there is a huge difference [between them].

***5. In Your Opinion, What Are the Major Differences  
between Elementary School Level and Other Educational Level  
with Regard to Language Education?***

Professionals' answers to this question seemed to come to some agreement. They agreed that elementary language education was a basis, a stage that children's language learning would move from oral language to written language, and a place where mother tongues can have the best function. They thought that the beginning focus of learning was on oral language. Then, through the participation of classroom activities, students would learn from experience. Later, learning should be focused on academic knowledge and the abstract parts of reading and writing. Mandarin and English should also be included gradually at the elementary school level.

Tong, as a professional of indigenous policy and education, suggested taking an indigenous perspective to view language education at the elementary school level. During the interview, he first asked, "What is a healthy elementary education?" Then, he further asked, "What should we get our children to learn?" He suggested,

Reading our community . . . What is the elementary school's relationship with tribe and community? . . . Let children clearly know what do we have in our tribe? . . . What kind of features do we have and where are they? I am a child of the land. What should I clearly know about this land? This [kind of] learning process, I think it is of some kind of life value, [in which we consider] what should be done in terms of the relationship among culture, life, land, and school?

**6. *In the Field of Language Planning at the Elementary School Level,  
What Contents and Concepts Should Be Included?***

With regard to the idea of language planning at the elementary school level, Shih and Chang asserted that students' language learning should be planned based on the language learning stage. For example, teaching of mother tongues should be prior to Mandarin or other languages. Both of them agreed that mother tongues should be used as an instruction medium instead of a subject, i.e., Dialects. Shih also suggested planners to consider the following questions: "What are our national languages?", "What are our major directions?", and "What are our purposes for these languages?"

Tong and Pu answered this question from an indigenous perspective. They thought that diversity and the development of environment were the most important ideas that should be included in elementary language education, especially for indigenous children.

In addition to the above professionals, Wang pointed out that language education at the elementary school level should be planned based on the basis of research results. Based on her experience in the field of children's English education, Sharon suggested that the proficiency of symbols, i.e., reading and writing, was very important to younger children at the elementary school. Based on his experiences in the Nine-Year Joint Curriculum Reform on the language field, Syu discussed the concepts that were included in the Nine-Year Joint Curriculum Guidelines, which are: the number of characters (i.e., "How many characters should children know at each grade?" and "What is the minimum number?"), teaching flexibility, children's ability of self-correction/-modification on writing, and reading a lot.

Tsao's statement was related to his answers of question one, in which he emphasized the importance of educational equality. He further mentioned his opinions about language planning in the elementary language educational system. His points of view were similar with what Shih mentioned earlier.

**7. *What Aspect(s) Should Be Focused on, Regarding the Language Education at the Elementary School?***

Question 7 is a follow-up question for question 6. Most of the professionals' answers focused on their previous statements of question 6. The importance of "mother tongues should be used as a medium" in language teaching or Dialects was again raised by many professionals. Shih said,

Frankly speaking, I feel that in the present we do not learn English well is not we learn English too slow. It is because we now do not learn mother tongues well and then we start learning Mandarin, and then we learn English through ㄅㄆㄇ (Phonetic symbols), through Mandarin. This is even worse. . . . I feel like if we can learn mother tongues well and then they will be helpful for us to learn Mandarin and English.

Tsao also agreed that mother tongues teaching at the elementary school should go earlier than other languages. But, he did not agree with the view that Mandarin should be excluded in the elementary educational system in order to learn mother tongues better. He thought that Mandarin, mother tongues, and English are three languages that we should teach in our educational system, but "when to teach" is what we should think about.

Syu restated issues related to language education from his experiences in the Nine-Year Joint Curriculum Reform. Based on two things he said, we could know if the Nine-Year Joint Curriculum Reform in language education succeeded:

First, when his/her compulsory education ends, he/she will know how to search for materials and how to do reading when he/she encounters some problems. Second, in his/her Nine-Year Joint foundational education, he was very interested in reading and held an active attitude to writing.

Syu's answers seem to imply that our language education should make these two things happen to children. But, how to make these two things happen are what should be the focus in the elementary school.

***8. Who Should Involve into the Policy Making Process of Language Education  
at the Elementary School?***

The question of "Who decides?" is very critical. Professionals' answers revealed that policies of language education at the elementary school should be made by people of every occupation and at every level in the society. Their answers include: every ethnic group, local people, governors, linguists, editors, psychologists, curriculum designers, educators, computer masters, teachers, students, parents, economists, enterprisers, and foreign scholars.

The idea of foreign scholars was raised by Chang. When I asked him why, he mentioned that language planning and policy should have an international perspective, and foreign scholars could benefit us in terms of this aspect.

### ***9. While Promoting Language Policy at the Elementary School, What Should***

#### ***We Pay Attention to?***

This question was designed to discover the influential factors on implementation of language policy. The answers that professionals came up with could be organized as follows:

- Attitude of schools, teachers, students, and parents toward Dialect Teaching
- Attitude of pursuing high quality work
- Belief conveying
- Ideology, discrimination, and respect
- Understanding of the real needs
- Area difference and localization
- Environment and practicability
- The integration across disciplines and subjects
- Curriculum design, practice, and interpretation
- Teaching materials, resources, and methods
- Teacher sources

Tsao described a phenomenon that was usually found before implementation. He argued that before a policy was implemented we usually spend less time discussing it in the academic circle; neither did we have an in-depth research of it. Therefore, policies were usually not designed based on a close discussion. Though Tsao's words did not focus on implementation itself, he directly pointed out a crisis that Taiwan was facing in terms of the decision-making process for policies.

### *10. Regarding the Implementation of Language Education at the Elementary*

#### *School, How Should the Evaluation System Work Practically?*

Almost all of the professionals had worked for the Ministry of Education or local governments to evaluate the practices of language education; therefore, evaluation was not an unfamiliar word for them. Totally, four types of evaluation systems were mentioned in their interviews:

- Evaluate students
- Evaluate schools
- Evaluate teachers
- Parental evaluation

Evaluate students aimed to evaluate students' language performance and attitude. In the interview, Chang took students' bilingual abilities as an example. He suggested comparing students' abilities of mother tongues before entering school and now, to see whether their language abilities became additive or subtractive. Here, additive abilities mean students can acquire L1 and L2; subtractive abilities mean students lose their L1, mother tongues (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). In doing so, Chang thought that we could know the school's language education in terms of implementation.

Evaluate schools was to evaluate how language education was conducted by schools. A school was evaluated because: first, it received some governmental funding and so the government would like to know how the money was used; second, the government, county, or city would like to know the general situation of language education in the school. Professionals said that teacher sources, resources, and training, spending situation; the school's plans of self-evaluation and language education, and the

school's annual report and schedule were all criteria that would be applied to the evaluation of implementation in language education.

In addition, most professionals agreed that evaluating teachers had become a meaningless, but mechanical routine which only touches on the surface level of language and school education. Generally, this type of evaluation focused on teachers' abilities related to teaching. Only Tong, who was involved in evaluating indigenous education in some counties and areas, and Sharon, who was involved in evaluating foreign language teachers' teaching of English in some counties, gave teacher evaluation some credit.

The last type of evaluation system was to evaluate how languages were used at home and in the community through parents. Chang suggested that parents self-evaluated their children's and communities' transformation in terms of language use and attitude. Parents were definitely the insiders in the families and communities. Based on their evaluation results, teachers, schools, and local and central governments could gain more knowledge of the realities in terms of implementation in language education.

### ***11. What Is Your Expectation of Language Education at the Elementary School Level?***

Every professional had his/her expectations to his/her fields related to language education. Shih and Change focused on issues of mother tongues. They wished:

- The government can rethink the rationales of Mother Tongues teaching.
- Everyone can have motivation, willingness, and better attitude to multilanguage learning.
- Teaching can focus on localization.
- The system of in-service teacher training can be strengthened.

Pu and Tong focused on issues of indigenous education. They expected that bilingual education, including indigenous languages and other languages, could be practiced in elementary schools in indigenous communities. They wished that children could enjoy the beauty and values of languages and at the same time, the language education in Taiwan could reflect the realities of multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual social environments and differences.

Syu wished that our language education could motivate students' interest in active learning and teach them abilities of problem-solving. Wang wished that our language education could teach students to know who they are and to cherish what they have. But, he suggested that more funding support should be given to mother tongues. Sharon wished that the future design of language policies should be flexible based on local and students' difference. Also, the evaluation system for teachers should be built up. Because Tsao understood the complexity between language and ideology from his former experiences, he suggested that the less the involvement of ideology, the better our elementary school language education.

From questions 1 to 11, professionals revealed a lot of mysteries and ideas regarding language policy and planning at the elementary school level. One issue that was repeatedly raised by many professionals, but I did not report, was the battle of pinyin. Regarding this issue, I have more discussion in next chapter. Next, my last report of interview results centers on parents.

## Parents

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 4, parental interviews were the most difficult part of the entire data collection period. It was not because of question design or the interviews, but because of my opportunity to get access to parents. In this study, I interviewed eight parents. Their background information is shown on Table 5 in Chapter 4. Appendix E lists their interview questions.

From the interviews, parents revealed that in their childhood, most of them spoke different languages depending upon where they were. The examples of Chang (Holo is his native language. He is a father of a second-grade child.), Cheng (Holo is her native language. She is a mother of a fifth-grade child.), and Li (Holo and Mandarin are both his native languages. He is a father of fifth- and third-grade children.) are provided in the following:

Chang: The requirement in the school was that when you were in school, you should speak Mandarin. When you came home, you spoke Holo.

Cheng: You spoke Holo at home. When you came to school, you should speak Mandarin.

Li: When I was in the elementary school, I remember that teachers asked us to speak Mandarin . . . when we came home, we spoke Holo.

These examples show that Mandarin had become the sole medium of instruction in the elementary school classrooms when these parents were elementary school students 30 years ago. In terms of local languages, though they were not used as mediums of instruction, they were used as home languages by most families. A clear diglossic situation between Mandarin (high language) and local languages (low languages) (Ferguson, 2000; Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997) had been defined at that time.

In addition to the diglossic situation between Mandarin and local languages, another serious situation of language shift was found in Hakka parents. Syu was a mother of two second-grade children. Her parents were Hakka. Though Syu could be called a bilingual of Mandarin and Hakka, her Mandarin ability was much better than Hakka. She said,

When we (she and her parents) were at home, in most situations, we spoke Mandarin. Actually, we were Hakka. But, Mandarin was our home language. . . . They (her parents) spoke Hakka with each other. But, in most situations, the communication language between my parents and me was Mandarin.

Syu's case points out that a language shift from Hakka to Mandarin has occurred in her generation. Her parents spoke Mandarin to her, because Mandarin was the dominant language in the society and school. Syu's case indicates that family education and the use of home language are two of the main reasons that cause language shift from Hakka to Mandarin in Taiwan.

Lai reported another situation of language shift from Hakka to Holo in the interview. Lai was a father of second- and fifth-grade children. Hakka was his native language. He said,

Because of marriage, my aunt moved to Taipei. When she speaks Hakka now, actually, 30% of her words are in Hakka and 70% are in Holo. She almost forgets Hakka language because she has lived in a Holo community in Taipei for more than 10 years. . . . When she talks with us; she speaks two sentences in Hakka and then adds seven or eight sentences in Holo. She is a native speaker of Hakka. When she left the Hakka environment and went to another environment, she lost her [Hakka] abilities that she originally possessed.

Baker and Jones (1998) think that "intermarriage may also cause shifting bilingualism" (p. 151). This situation of language shift just happened on Lai's aunt.

From the two cases of Syu and Lai's aunt, a shifting situation from the Hakka language to two dominant languages, Mandarin and Holo, in the Taiwan society was found. Though indigenous parents' opinions were not included in this study, research shows that like Hakka, indigenous languages are also suffering from this serious situations of language shift and loss (Huang, 1995).

The eight parents' interview transcripts were synthesized and presented in the following constructed narrative:

In their former language education experiences, Mandarin was the only language used in the classroom. Half of them and their classmates had experienced punishments because of speaking languages other than Mandarin. However, most of them think that these past language learning experiences will not have any influence on their opinions about children's language education.

Most of them believe that learning Mandarin is the most important thing in the elementary school language education. Only one of them feels that English is as important as Mandarin. Though they hold a passive view about Dialects teaching they agree that children should learn their parents' mother tongues, because they are able to communicate at home and also these mother tongues are the foundation of the cultural continuity. They also think that language environment is the most important concept in terms of language learning. The other important concepts include international language (English), language talent, reading, and first language acquisition.

They usually help with their children's school work in many different ways. They buy books and CDs, correct their pronunciation, develop a language learning environment, and send children to cram schools.

Most of them are not struggling with the present elementary school language education. Only three of them have trouble with teacher preparation, language environment, and ideology.

With relation to their children's future language education, half of them will focus on children's English learning. They will also pay attention to the development of language environment, reading abilities, and the collaboration with school teachers. They will take the following methods to help their children:

- Provide more language materials

- Communicate with teachers more often
- Develop a good language learning environment
- Study with them
- Let them read a lot
- Send them to cram and public schools

During the interviews, most of the parents revealed their anxieties regarding the present elementary school language education. However, they also answered that they were not opposed to the present elementary school language education. What made them feel anxiety was not about school language education. They cared more about environment, materials, and better opportunities for accesses to good schools. The answer of what languages and language education bring to their children was what they were looking for. Compared to other groups of participants, parents seemed to constantly try to find a way to balance the needs between instrumentalism (e.g., practical value) and symbolism (e.g., cultural continuity). From the perspective of glocalization (Chun, 2005; Robertson, 1995), parents' performance in this study seemed to be more future-oriented (Eastman, 1983) than other groups--language teachers and professionals--in terms of children's elementary school language education.

### **Summary**

In this chapter, I reported what I found from language teachers, language professionals, and parents from their questionnaires and transcripts regarding the present elementary school language education in Taiwan.

First, most elementary school language teachers revealed that they needed more time for instruction. They also thought that Mandarin was the most important language in

the elementary school language education. However, only a small number of them would use students' bilingual abilities as teaching and learning resources to enhance students' understanding of the target language.

Second, language professionals' perspectives and opinions regarding the present elementary school language education were varied. From the perspectives of language planning and policy, they revealed that they did not see a clear goal and systematic design in the elementary school language education. From the perspectives of localization and language maintenance, more than half of them thought that elementary school language education should focus more on Dialects class (mother tongues teaching). From the perspective of indigenous people, several language professionals reported that the elementary school language education was a Han-centric education, which was designed to teach all children to become Han people regardless of his/her ethnicity.

Third, all of the parents thought that language environment was the most critical factor that would influence children's efficiency of language learning. They also reported that Mandarin was the most important language for elementary school children. They valued the importance of mother tongues after Mandarin, but prior to English. In addition, most parents reported that they did not appreciate the practice of Dialects class in the elementary school. Further, in contrast to Holo parents' confidence of Holo language's dominant status in the society, Hakka parents revealed that a serious situation of Hakka language loss was happening across Hakka generations.

In the following chapter, in addition to the exploration of important issues, ideas, and perspectives that emerged from my research findings, the focus is on discussion of

the answers of the six research questions and on the implications of these findings and answers.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, the discussion is divided into the seven parts that address my seven research questions. Major findings from the synthesis of results in Chapter 5, together with an analysis of my former elementary school teaching experience in Taiwan, provide answers to these research questions.

#### **1. What Do the Language Teachers at the Elementary School of Taiwan**

##### **Think about the Current Elementary School Language Education?**

In the interviews and questionnaires, most of the language teachers agreed that the Taiwan government does not have a sound language policy. Consequently, language curriculum, implementation, and reform are fairly chaotic. For instance, language teachers complained about time limitations of class periods, students' academic abilities, and support from the governmental system, adequate financial resources, a constructive environment, and teacher resources. While these complaints were voiced by teachers across all three groups--Mandarin, Dialects, and English--each group also experienced different problems.

Many Mandarin teachers were aware that they should transform their pedagogies and pedagogical role. However, the process of transformation and redefinition proved to be an "unknown zone," that is, teachers felt there was no end to the many possibilities and pathways for change. At the same time, many teachers understood, as Dewey (1938)

has written, that the process of change was not an “either-or” situation; rather, it represented a way of thinking about the complexities, inquiries, and solutions in Taiwan’s multilingual and multicultural school environment and society.

Dialects teachers, on the other hand, appeared to desire and indeed need a feeling of security. This security would derive from physical (financial and systematic) and psychological supports. For example, because Dialects teachers’ salaries are calculated by the number of periods they teach, it is difficult for them to rely on this little money to live and at the same time to concentrate on their Dialects teaching. Also, compared to regular teachers, they are not allowed or invited to participate in professional development or in-service teacher training workshops held in their schools. Instead, they are forced to pay for any learning opportunities outside the schools themselves. What motivates them in their teaching is an enthusiasm for teaching and affinity for the local cultures and languages.

Elementary school English teachers were, in a sense, a privileged group, participating in the educational system without controversy because so many parents wanted English to be taught in the early grades. Parents were also an influential force for education policy changes, because so many of them wanted their children to learn English before the third grade. The questionnaires from English teachers and follow-up interviews revealed that they understood and believed English learning had to be connected with children’s life experiences. English teachers indicated that they understood that the efficiency and effect of learning English relied on language use and practice in daily life. More important, English teachers recognize that although English is

a foreign language in Taiwan, they actually are expected to teach students as if English were a language in daily life.

My data suggested that each particular group of teachers had its own issues and concerns regarding the present elementary school language education. Nonetheless, a common theme across all three groups was that they were unhappy with the present elementary school language education system and environment.

From a historical perspective, Mandarin was the only national and official language, and as such had a higher status than other languages. This was a circumstance that remained little changed over the past half century. Since Martial Law was lifted in 1987, however, existing linguistic, ethnic and cultural differences became increasingly recognized and legitimate as a more democratic and multicultural/multilingual society began. Since then, the hegemony of Mandarin in school and society has been constantly challenged. Despite this trend, the elementary school educational system and its teachers were not really affected until the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

The Grade 1-9 Curriculum Reform was put into place in the elementary school educational system in 2001. All of a sudden, teachers were confronted with unfamiliar administrative affairs, curriculum design, teaching methods, teaching materials, and evaluation. At the time, many elementary school teachers retired because they felt the changes were too overwhelming. Among all subjects, Mandarin was the one that changed most dramatically. Prior to the Curriculum Reform, Mandarin had been taught for up to 9 or 10 periods weekly. Afterwards, the amount of time for Mandarin was significantly reduced--to 5 or 6 periods--with the remaining periods divided between Dialects and

English. This meant that language education at the elementary school was transformed from a largely monolingual and monocultural curriculum to one that became multilingual and multicultural. Ironically, however, the teaching loads of Mandarin language teachers did not decrease, but in fact increased. This was because in addition to teaching Mandarin, many teachers were required to also teach Dialects.

After the Reform, Dialects and English instruction were new subjects for the elementary school curriculum. These changes brought other challenges and stresses, including the expectation that Dialects teachers would now play a critical role in reversing language shift (Fishman, 1991) from Mandarin to local languages (mother tongues). In addition, Dialects teachers were expected to enhance children's linguistic and cultural understandings and identities within their own local communities. Similarly, English teachers were expected to impart to students an instrumental motivation for the acquisition of English; that is, to communicate that through English children could have a better life and would more effectively connect to the global society in the future. Despite these challenges, my data indicates that teachers across all three groups embraced the reform in their content areas, although they were cognizant that they had to satisfy the kinds of instructional expectations of the wider Taiwan society.

What are children's perspectives in relation to these changes at the elementary school? Before the reform, children's language learning was devoted to Mandarin only. Subsequently, they had to study two additional language subjects from the third grade, while at the same time maintaining their Mandarin proficiency at the earlier high levels (in effect, as if they were still studying Mandarin for 9 or 10 periods weekly). This was

perhaps unrealistic, but many teachers and parents seem to expect multilingual proficiency for their students and children. Unquestionably, most Mandarin language classroom teachers work hard to develop their students' proficiency in the language and most students work hard to learn three language subjects. Nevertheless, if teachers and parents apply pre-reform standards to the expected acquisition of *three* rather than merely *one* language--and indeed use those standards to evaluate student proficiency--they may discover that their efforts were in vain.

In tandem with the philosophical foundation of the Grade 1-9 Curriculum, curriculum design was given over to local schools from the central governmental. This was called school-based curriculum. This meant that the role of the teacher was changed from that of a passive receiver of curriculum decisions to one who actually became an active developer and constructor (Wang, 2003) of curriculum. From an optimistic perspective, Chen (2003) argues that, theoretically, because teachers are emancipated from the former curricular hegemony, their self-curricular consciousness would be awakened and would ultimately produce a pedagogical awareness so that teachers would feel empowered. On the other hand, governors, scholars, and educators obviously overestimated teachers' abilities to undertake the new missions and teaching loads after the curriculum reform. Language teachers themselves seemed not to anticipate the educational complexities brought about by the reform.

From my interviews, I found that besides English and Dialects teachers, the majority of Mandarin/classroom teachers spent little or no time checking the new curriculum guidelines and requirements developed for teachers to use when designing

their own curriculum and instruction. Prior to the reform, Mandarin language teachers were typically not in the habit of checking government guidelines, thus it is probable that many of them came to the practice somewhat slowly. Disregard for the new guidelines may also have been due to the common school practice of purchasing textbooks directly from publishing companies. When this occurred, publishing companies would provide teachers, free of charge, instructional handbooks or manuals to accompany the textbooks. As noted earlier, government agencies controlled school curricula, including the choice of textbooks--a choice sometimes influenced by the free supplementary material. Teachers would invariably then teach their subjects based on the textbooks. Old habits die hard, because reliance on the handbooks was widespread throughout Taiwan, the practice continued even after the Curriculum Reform.

At present, instructional handbooks are designed by each publishing company. The companies design the textbook and accompanying handbooks based on the Grade 1-9 Curriculum, but no two handbooks are alike. The publications may contain curriculum plans for every unit or for the whole semester, but they also include content material like lesson plans, methods, activities, and resources.<sup>1</sup> This reality begs the question then, that if most teachers in Taiwan still rely on instructional handbooks to teach, how will they be able to acquire the kind of pedagogical awareness necessary to develop their own classroom-based or school-based curricula (Chen, 2003)? Ideologically speaking, if teachers teach based on handbooks, then teachers actually teach for publishing companies instead of for themselves and for students.

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<sup>1</sup> In Taiwan, publishing companies also commonly provide teachers with the teaching supplies that are required in some of the lesson plans.

The above phenomenon verifies that the majority of language teachers' thinking and habits of teaching remain embedded in tradition. This reality suggests that for a true transformation from traditional to contemporary educational society (i.e., from monolingual to multilingual/multicultural), teachers will require not only more time to teach, but more importantly much more time to learn, to transform, and to think. For example, my research results indicate that most language teachers, across all three language subjects, agreed that the quality of children's essay writing was decreasing, so they suggested spending more time with Mandarin, especially on the teaching of writing.

It is worth pointing out that my own experience as a fifth- and sixth-grade teachers contradicts the perception that children's writing ability--in and of itself--is getting worse. At the time (1998 and 2000), my school required 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> graders to write up to eight essays a semester. When I returned to the school in 2004 and 2005 to teach and collect data for this study, I noted a significant change: to wit, students in 5<sup>th</sup> grade (I am not sure about the requirement in 6<sup>th</sup> grade) were being asked to produce only four essays, a reduction of 50%, or only half. A reduction in the number of essays required for students studying Mandarin paralleled the reduction in teaching periods for the subject, from nine or ten to five or six. The point is children's ability to write essays may have diminished, but a reduction in quality may have been related to fewer opportunities to practice writing essays. Nonetheless, I pondered this question, wondering about the connection between a reduced teaching load for the teachers and the perception that children were writing less proficiently. Why were their writing abilities getting worse? And why did teachers want to have more time teaching?

Although less teaching time may have been one of the variables affecting children's essay writing, I maintain that it is not the sole variable. In my opinion, the purpose of language teaching (or teaching philosophy) and teaching methods are much more important factors. Two Mandarin language classroom teachers, Jan and Chen-Yia, and one Dialects teacher, Julia, illustrated this point:

Jan: Every area is important. The time for learning is fixed; **【however】**, if we integrate language learning into every area and our classroom management, then perhaps we can solve the problem of teaching time.

Chen-Yia: Time is not the point. The points are the contents and methods of teaching.

Julia: I would promote the concept that language should be practiced in daily life rather than add one or two hours per week for class. Language learning needs cooperation from environment, parents, and teachers.

Three indications showed that language teachers were already aware of their situation. First, when teachers responded to the questionnaire query (see Appendix B), "For the current language education at the elementary school level, which kind of help do you think teachers need most?", many of them answered that they needed more qualified colleagues and, in particular, more in-service teacher training and workshops. They wanted the government and the schools to provide more workshops that addressed every aspect of language and language teaching. They wanted a place where they could exchange teaching experiences and share ideas, solutions, and feelings, and finally to learn more about new methods, perspectives, and technology.

Teachers' expectations for more training is the first indication, which shows their eagerness to understand more about the present school environment and curriculum, students, educational system, society, and teacher role. The second indication is that they

believe language teaching should focus on the integration of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. From the Whole Language perspective, Goodman (1986) thinks that “If language is learned best and easiest when it is whole and in natural context, then integration is a key principle for language development and learning through language” (p. 30). Freire and Macedo also (1987) write, “To read and to write are the inseparable phases of the same process, representing the understanding and dominance of the language and of language” (p. 70). I argue that not only are reading and writing inseparable phases, but listening, speaking, reading, and writing are all inseparable phases in language learning and education. Taiwan language teachers’ perspective of integration implies that they understand language learning is learning of, through, and about language (Holliday, 1984; Short, 1997).

The third indication is that teachers are concerned about every factor that would affect their teaching and students’ learning. Teachers are sensitive about the outside social and linguistic environmental changes. These concerns especially were revealed in teachers’ ideologies about language and power. When language teachers were asked about which language was more important in elementary school in the questionnaire, 84% referred to Mandarin. In addition to symbolic reasons for this belief, such as identity, culture, etc., in their explanations, they also stressed that Mandarin served as the foundation of learning in and across every subject. As for the second most important language, teachers selected other mother tongues instead of English. This included the questionnaires of most of the English teachers as well.

These results may surprise scholars, educators, and researchers in Taiwan, especially those in the latter group. First, though many people in Taiwan society enthusiastically acknowledge the power of English, questionnaire answers from language teachers clearly provide evidence of their different positions and ideologies of language and in language learning. Second, though many language teachers believe English is important, this does not mean English has to become the most important language in elementary school language education.

In summary for research question 1, regarding the present elementary school language education, language teachers do not see a clear outline of what the Ministry of Education and government are proposing for the future. Further, though many language teachers are still used to their former language teaching methods and style, they are willing to transform themselves, to learn new ideas, and to take on the challenge of acquiring alternative, innovative, instructional approaches. Last, though language teachers' perspectives may not be universal in Taiwan, most teachers clearly know when, why, and how to teach local and foreign language(s). Their language ideology represents a profound insider perspective on the complex situation of elementary school language education in Taiwan.

**2. What Considerations Do Language Education Decision Makers  
at the Elementary School Level Take into Account to Make  
Language Education Policies in Taiwan?**

Research question 2 was designed to explore language professionals' past experiences and considerations about the creation of elementary school level language education policies. Each language professional's background is described in the Table 4 in Chapter 4. During the interviews, language professionals, as language policy makers, were asked to share their communicative and negotiating processes--however frustrating or satisfying--when designing language education policies. From the interviews I conducted with them, a variety of issues related to research question 2 emerged. For instance, I found that language professionals' considerations regarding language education policies can be divided into three perspectives: (1) Dichotomized perspective, (2) Interrelated perspective, and (3) Experiential perspective.

***Dichotomized Perspective***

Language professionals manifesting a dichotomized perspective of language education policies, they tended to think about issues in an 'oppositional' mode. For instance, the following patterns represent how these professionals considered language education policies: instrumentality versus sentimentality, localization versus internationalization, tradition versus modernity, majority people versus minority people, ethnic assimilation versus ethnic respect, responsibility versus privilege, Han group versus indigenous group, dominant culture versus subdominant culture, monolingual

society versus multilingual society, local government versus central governmental control, macro perspective versus micro perspective, and so on. It should be noted that a dichotomized perspective, or oppositional mode, is not an either-or option (Dewey, 1938). While talking about an either-or question or philosophy, people usually refer to a simple yes or no answer in some situation. People who espouse an either-or philosophy choose only one answer, yes or no. However, an oppositional mode emphasizes the coexistence of both views. Both views must be co-considered.

For example, both views of minority people and majority people have to be co-considered during the decision-making process. The reason is that the status of minority people is developed by the comparison with the status of the majority people.<sup>2</sup> That is, minority people do not exist without the existence of majority people. The oppositional relationship of minority people versus majority people is formed due to the comparison of both groups. This understanding of the oppositional mode is vitally important. It helps planners and researchers of language understand that the decision-making process is not linear but interrelated. I explain the interrelated idea in the following subsection.

Further, in this study, every language professional was found to consider language education policies with various dichotomized perspectives at the same time. For instance, when language professional Tong was talking about his policy-making experiences regarding indigenous language education in Taiwan, I found that he applied more than three different dichotomized perspectives: Han group versus indigenous group; majority people versus minority people, dominant culture versus subdominant culture, and so on.

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<sup>2</sup> Wang (2003) thinks the status of minority people versus majority people is developed by imagination.

In the following quote from his interview, he treated Han group as the majority people who dominate the culture and viewed indigenous peoples as the minority people who were treated as subdominant cultural group:

. . . Our whole curriculum is designed from the perspective of Han culture as the dominance. So, to minority groups, i.e., indigenous peoples, this is an oppression. . . . How do we develop a mature and overt educational system in Taiwan? I think this is a very important issue in the present.

### *Interrelated Perspective*

The second perspective that professionals took I call the interrelated perspective. An interrelated perspective features the inter-connection and interrelationship between two or several issues. Language professionals who applied this perspective to language education policies usually focused on a kind of “cause and effect” analysis. From the interviews, professionals often mentioned that some language phenomena in Taiwan society today are the result (effect) of former language policies (cause). For example, professional Wang, an associate professor in the law school, said,

When we are promoting the common language, we do not have to exterminate local languages or another language as our price. In the past, we have promoted the common language too successfully. . . . So, today we should give 【some people】 privileges to indemnify them for our discrimination before and pursue a real equality.

Wang thought that the promotion of a common language in prior language policies was responsible for its prestige today. Wang’s term of common language refers to Mandarin. In his opinion, the successful effect of common language, Mandarin, today, in Taiwan was built on the prior extermination of local languages. Therefore, we needed to indemnify some people for the mistakes that resulted from the former language policy.

Therefore, in Wang's opinion, the relationship between promotion, success, and indemnification were interrelated. This was the way he considered making language education policies.

### *Experiential Perspective*

In addition to dichotomized and interrelated perspectives, professionals also made language education policies based on their experiences and backgrounds, an experiential perspective. Many of the interviews indicated that professionals answered my questions based on where they stood, that is, on their own particular experiences or backgrounds. For example, Syu liked talking about language education policy based on his background and experiences involved in the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Reform.

In summary, when professionals, as decision makers, were making language education policies at the elementary school level, they applied these three perspectives--dichotomized, interrelated, and experiential--and then took into account issues of value, history, background, phenomenon, conflict, accommodation, implementation, ethnicity, power, attitude, identity, social structure, variation, difference, etc.

### **3. How Do Language Education Policy Makers in Taiwan View the Practice of Language Education at the Elementary School Level?**

Research question 3 focuses more on the language professionals' views of the present elementary school language education practice than does research question 2, which focuses on language professionals' experience with decision-making processes.

Research question 3 was designed to elicit professionals' views about the present elementary school language education. There was great concern and controversy about the importance of the status of languages to be used for teaching in the curriculum of the elementary school. I categorize language professionals' views and ideas into two parts: the interrelationship between Mandarin, Dialects, and English, and the debate of pinyin.

### *The Interrelationship between Mandarin, Dialects, and English*

Mandarin was viewed by 3 out of 8 of the language professional policy-makers as the medium that best helps children become literate and learn in different disciplines. Language professionals knew that the role and status of Mandarin in the elementary school classroom was constantly challenged by some people who asserted that Dialects should be substituted for mother tongues. However, they also questioned whether there were enough resources in terms of publication and research to support mother tongues development as a substitute for Mandarin's current role of providing and transmitting a foundation for learning.

Associate Professor Sharon, who sits on one of the committees deciding elementary school English education policy, thought that Mandarin education at the elementary school level was at risk. Partly, this was due to the fact that Mandarin at the elementary school was constantly challenged and its dominance had become somewhat vague. Many people were inspired by Sharon's article entitled, "I am sorry, I am Wrong," in which she regretted sending her daughter to a Whole-American-English kindergarten (Lin, 2002). In Taiwan, a Whole-English (American English) environment means that

young children's literacy instruction of speaking, reading, writing, and listening is in English. All learning activities, including games and play, are conducted in English. In the interview, she mentioned her original concern about why she sent her daughter to a Whole-American-English kindergarten:

In the past, we all thought, it was impossible that people do not know how to speak Mandarin in Taiwan. I believed this idea, too. In the meanwhile, I sent my daughter to the so-called Whole-American-English kindergarten, because I felt like, as long as she goes to elementary school her Mandarin will become good naturally. Our former, successful, Mandarin implementation speaks for this evidence. But, I had not taken into consideration that everything changed after the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Reform . . . The prime reason is the reduction of the entire periods of teaching. Before, our kindergartens did not let children learn English; instead, they taught many aspects of Mandarin before elementary school. . . . Now, we spend a lot of time on teaching English . . . 【When young children go to elementary school】 , what a shock to them. Take my daughter as an example. She only read one language in the Whole-American-English environment. When she goes to elementary school now, she learns four languages. 【Except for English】 , she cannot become proficient with the other three.

The four languages that Sharon's daughter referred to are Mandarin, English, and two local languages, Holo and Hakka. Holo is seen as the mainstream local language in Taiwan. Sharon assumed that her daughter had language contact with Holo everyday. Sharon's daughter chose Hakka as her learning subject in Dialects class. This is why she said that her daughter is learning four different languages in Taiwan. Later, Sharon mentioned her worry about children's language education. She thought,

Because we are in Taiwan, we are not sensitive this. We do not know the real process that our children are going through. In other words, compared with 【the environment】 that we parents, experienced in our childhood, the present elementary school language education is completely different. But, we parents today are not aware of this 【change】 . 【We】 do not support 【our children】 appropriately. Neither do our educators today understand such a big change that our children are suffering. . . . So, I think, among the whole subjects at the

elementary school level, language and its related respects are encountering the risk that we have never been before.

As for Dialects, 5 out of 8 language professionals strongly asserted that local languages should replace Mandarin's role as the medium of instruction at the elementary school language education. Language professionals further argued that local languages should merely be offered as one subject, but rather, should be used as the primary means of instruction to teach every subject. Their rationale was that, at the elementary education level, schooling in local languages would produce positive academic effects in children's learning. From first grade on, language professionals argued that local languages should be used intensively for instruction by every content area teacher. Local languages should become children's first languages instead of Mandarin. In elementary school language education, when children's proficiency in first languages approaches a level of proficiency, they then can learn their second, and third, and fourth language. Shih, a professor in the field of public relations, also questioned the Taiwan government about the goals in relation to local languages. He argued that,

. . . What are the mother tongues and your goals for it? Is it just because it is what mother speaks? Or, is it because you are not satisfied with Mandarin? Or, do you really have something called multiculturalism within 【your goals】? Different goals should produce different designs . . .

Another interviewee, Chang, an associate professor in the field of language education, had a similar opinion with Shih regarding the Taiwan government's language policy of Dialects at the elementary school level. He said, because of the Taiwan government's unclear language policy of local languages, resources, in-service and pre-

service teacher training, and teaching resources are all serious problems in Dialects teaching now.

Regarding their concerns of the teaching of English, there was agreement among the language professionals that the teaching of English was threatening the development and spaces for the teaching of Dialects and Mandarin. Although the power of English lures many educators, parents, and governmental officers into believing the future benefits that English education can bring to children, the language professionals were concerned that the English's role in the world and its attraction led to unequal resources distribution. Compared with the rich resources that English education received in Taiwan, language professionals who believed that Dialects education was much more important than English education also believed that a Dialects education was more appropriate.

Though language professionals had different opinions about Mandarin, Dialects, and English education at the elementary school level, none of them argued that any of the three languages should not be included in the elementary school language curriculum. Further, none of them denied the importance of the three languages. Take Tsao's case as an example.

Tsao, a professor in the field of linguistics, agreed that local languages should be taught and used as the language of instruction at early grades. He also thought all of the three languages, Dialects, English, and Mandarin should be included in the elementary school language curriculum. However, he was strongly against the idea that all of the three languages should be taught from the first grade. He suggested that how we teach the

three languages at the elementary school level should depend on children's language proficiencies and their educational needs. He said,

Elementary school should be the place where mother (local) languages education can bring its power into full play. Mandarin and English should also be developed at this stage. But, when students go to middle school, I do not disagree that Mandarin 【becomes the instruction language】. When they go to university, I do not disagree that English 【becomes the instruction language】. However, the foundational language should be mother (local) languages.

In short, in relation to classes of Mandarin, Dialects, and English at the elementary school level, the points that language professionals argued and criticized most were:

- The processes of how to implement the teachings of three different languages at the elementary school level and how to distribute funding and resources rationally.
- What the foci and goals of language education are in Taiwan and in what grade level the language(s) should begin to be taught.
- What specifically teachers, educators, and governors, should be aware of.

Language professionals' backgrounds and experiences related to languages and language educations affect their constructions of language ideologies. Their views of the present elementary school language education, in fact, represent their ideological perspectives of languages and language education. To some degree, language problems at the elementary school language education seem to reflect ideological problems (Ager, 2001). This is especially the truth in the debate of the pinyin system.

### *The Debate of Pinyin*

The debate about pinyin systems, Hanyu and Tongyong pinyins, which reached its zenith a few years ago, was an issue that all professionals raised in their interviews. In

fact, what is involved in this issue are not only historical factors and ideological concerns, but also differences in perspectives about national identity (Chiung, 2001).

Both Hanyu and Tongyong pinyins apply the Roman letters to the writing systems in China and Taiwan. The purposes of Hanyu pinyin in China are a little different from the purposes of Tongyong pinyin in Taiwan. Hanyu pinyin was implemented by the government of the People's Republic of China in 1958. According to Wang (2006) and Zhou (1980), the use of Hanyu pinyin serves five purposes in China: (1) indicates the pronunciation of Chinese characters, (2) promotes the use of Mandarin, (3) helps learners easily to connect their learning of modern science and technology, (4) helps minority groups to create or reform their scripts, and (5) helps foreigners to study Chinese. In 1982, Hanyu pinyin was elaborated as an international standard (Chen, 2001; Tsai, 2000). It is now the most commonly used Chinese Romanization system internationally.

Tongyong pinyin used in Taiwan, it was adapted from Hanyu pinyin, invented by Dr. B. C. Yu of Academia Sinica in 1998 in Taiwan. According Shih (2001), Tongyong pinyin serves three purposes in Taiwan: (1) teaching local languages in Dialects class, (2) helping foreigners learn Chinese and read road signs, and (3) promoting the localized education of Taiwan. The third purpose indicates that the Tongyong pinyin system was expected to be more Taiwan-oriented in terms of language education, especially local languages, as opposed to the Hanyu pinyin, which was designed to teach standard pronunciation only for Mandarin (Ingulsrud & Allen, 1999). The debate of pinyin began because the National Languages Committee in Taiwan could not decide which system should be implemented.

Hsu (2000) generates the opinions from those people who choose to use Hanyu pinyin in Taiwan. He says, “Those people who agree on the use of Hanyu pinyin think that pinyin is just an instrument so that the reform [of pinyin] should focus on internationalization” (p. 30). In other words, Hsu thinks that these people believed that because Hanyu pinyin was widely used internationally, if the Taiwan government applied Hanyu pinyin, learners and users could easily utilize the resources and convenience brought by the Hanyu pinyin system. In particular, when foreigners visited Taiwan, they could easily sound out the road signs in Hanyu pinyin. However, selecting a pinyin system presented a dilemma to the Taiwan government, especially if the Taiwan government chose Hanyu pinyin. This was because: (1) Hanyu pinyin could not represent some sounds of local languages in Taiwan (Chiung, 2001; Shih, 2000); and (2) The Hanyu pinyin system was invented by an enemy government, the People’s Republic of China; thus, the application of a Hanyu pinyin system was deemed ideologically unacceptable (Her, 2005).

As for Tongyong pinyin, in the interview, language professional Chang (At that time, Chang and several language professionals involved in this study were the members of the National Languages Committee who made the final decision to apply Tongyong pinyin in Taiwan.) said, the inventor, Dr. B. C. Yu, claimed that Tongyong pinyin could be applied in learning any language spoken in Taiwan. Literally, Tongyong in Chinese means “acceptable for everything.” Dr. B. C. Yu also suggested that if students mastered Tongyong pinyin, they would not have to learn the Phonetic symbols (*zhuyin fuhao*, 注音符號) or other pinyin systems. Shih (2000) maintains that Tongyong pinyin was helpful

to release students' pressure on learning Mandarin, Dialects, and English. Further, because Tongyong pinyin was developed based on local languages' phonological systems, it could meet the local needs in terms of linguistic diversity.

In 2002, the Ministry of Education announced that Tongyong pinyin would be the pinyin system used for teaching local languages and for transliteration in the future; however, this was not a requirement to local governments (Her, 2005). That is, the application of Tongyong pinyin in local governments was a suggestion which was not documented in laws. Therefore, what the Ministry of Education could do was to encourage local governments to implement Tongyong pinyin in the elementary school language education and as a transliteration system. Currently, some cities in Taiwan still use Hanyu pinyin to print all of the English road signs and maps.

In addition, Pu, as a vice president of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, mentioned in his interview that there were some indigenous communities who have been using several Romanized pinyin systems to teach children pronunciation of indigenous languages and developed their own writing systems for years. These pinyin and writing systems were developed by linguistic missionaries. Many articles, dictionaries, and Bibles were written in these Romanized pinyin and writing systems. These community members were strongly against the implementation of Tongyong pinyin.

In fact, the Phonetic symbols (*zhuyin fuhao*, 注音符號), which have been used to teach Mandarin since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was still the only phonetic system that teachers used to teach students Mandarin. As for English teaching, English teachers either

used K.K. system<sup>3</sup> or the Sounding Out approach (Compton-Lilly, 2005; Smith, 2003) to teach students. Therefore, to date, Tongyong pinyin was mostly used in teaching local languages in the Dialects class and for translation of road signs. Nevertheless, most teachers who teach Dialects class do not really use Tongyong pinyin to teach students the pronunciation of local languages. Dialects teachers involved in this study revealed that they used the Sounding Out approach or some pinyin systems other than Tongyong pinyin to teach Hakka and Holo languages. Some of them even admitted that they did not want to use Tongyong pinyin in their Dialects teaching.

In language professionals' interviews, they all thought that this pinyin debate would enormously affect local languages' future development in terms of language maintenance. Recently, regarding Dialects teaching the tentative decision of the pinyin system is that indigenous groups will use their own Romanized pinyin systems to teach their ethnic languages (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2005); the Hakka group will take the Tongyong pinyin system to prevent its language loss; the Holo group is still pending (Department of Elementary Education, 2005).

In summary, in answering the research question 3, language education policy makers presented two different perspectives regarding the priority of language education at the elementary school level. First, Mandarin was viewed as important because it provides the foundation for learning other subjects and languages. Second, local languages were viewed as important because of multiple perspectives related to

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<sup>3</sup> KK system is named after John Samuel Kenyon and Thomas Albert Knott (1953), who developed this system for representing the pronunciation of American English. It is used by many English teachers to help students learn the pronunciation of English words in Taiwan.

symbolism and instrumentalism. In terms of the debate of pinyin, it not only reflected the complexity of language ideology and identity within the social, political, and ethnic contexts (Gumperz, 1982) in Taiwan, but also indicated that this is one of the top priorities that the Taiwan government needs to solve for language education.

#### **4. What Are the Ideas and Expectations of Students' Parents for the Current Practice of Language Education at the Elementary School Level in Taiwan?**

Parents' ideas and opinions reflected a social expectation about language education at the elementary school system. Parents' language ideologies, identities, and attitudes play a key role in students' elementary school and family language education. In this study, the 8 parental interviewees (see Table 5 in Chapter 4) revealed their personal concerns with regard to the current practice of elementary school language education. In this section, I first discuss my findings of parental perspectives regarding the role of Mandarin, Dialects (local languages), and English in their children's elementary school language learning. I then discuss language teachers' and professionals' common image of parents. Finally, I explain the misconception of language teachers and professionals on parents found in this study and in society in general in Taiwan.

In parents' opinions, Mandarin and local languages provided the foundation for students' learning. (This idea was also raised by some language professionals in their interviews.) Students used Mandarin and local languages as a means of learning other subjects, to communicate with family members and friends, and to connect with their outside environment in Taiwan. One of the parents, Chen, a Holo, said,

I think, Mandarin is still the most important language . . . because what it relates is not only your national language, right? It also **【means】** that if your Mandarin is not good, you cannot comprehend Math, Science, and Social Studies, then what do you do?...All of these are related.

Chen's concerns reflect not only the interrelationship between language and identity (McCarty, 2002; Young, 1988) but also the real situation of students' leaning in the classroom. When I was an elementary school teacher, my colleagues and I often observed that some students did not know how to do math questions, not because he/she did not know math, but because the format, phrases, and descriptions in those math questions were unfamiliar to them. As a result, they did not understand these math questions. After explaining the meaning of the questions to our students, they always said, "It is so simple, why did I not know how to do it them?" If the language use and description of the math question are not meaningful to students, then the math question will not make sense.

Chen thought that Mandarin was the most important language in the elementary school in Taiwan because Mandarin was the language of instruction in most subjects at the elementary school level. My students did not know how to do the math question because some words and terms of Mandarin used in the question were confusing to them. Both Chen's concerns and my students' problem of math questions relate to children's Mandarin acquisition and proficiency; especially today, many children's first language becomes Mandarin. This is why Chen in her interview kept mentioning the importance of Mandarin for children's elementary school education.

Parents also mentioned that they did not appreciate Dialects teaching because it only had one period, 40 minutes per week. But, many parents, especially Holo and

Mainlanders, did not worry that their children would not have an opportunity to learn Holo, because contact with the Holo language within the Taiwan society was so frequent. Only the Hakka parents, who live in the cities, expressed concerns about their children's language and culture loss, because their children did not have a Hakka speaking environment in the school and society. Lai, a Hakka, complained to me that many Hakka parents helplessly chose to be assimilated with the dominant languages and cultures, i.e. Mandarin and Holo, in Taiwan. In sum, almost all of the parents expressed little confidence with the school Dialects education. Still, they understood the importance of mother tongues and local cultures.

As for English education, parents indicated that the environment was the most important factor in children's language learning. English was not one of the local and official languages in Taiwan, but it was important internationally and globally. As a result, they tried to build an appropriate English environment and to spend more resources and time on helping children develop proficiency in English than for the development of other languages. In their view, prioritizing English was future-based, that is, its acquisition was realistic and warranted given the prominence of English both in Taiwan and internationally.

Parents' expectations regarding children's elementary school language education centered on two common themes. First, if children were able to learn as many languages as they could, parents would expect them to do so. Second, parents expected themselves to have more conversations and communication with teachers. However, Li, a second

generation of mixed marriage of Mainlanders and Holo, pointed out an emergent crisis that most Taiwan parents are suffering. He said,

The former educational system is not good, right? People say, it is a spoon-fed (drill) education and make children feel very tired. I feel that children are much more tired than before in terms of learning. . . . Before, did we have so many cram schools? Why do 【we have so many cram schools now】? I think, this is because our education is problematic. I often say, “Why do we work so hard?” Children’s educational costs frighten us to death. This is true. Also, if this situation is not improved, do you know what will happen in the future? It will become that learning will be owned by rich people in the future. You should have money and then you are able to 【let your children to】 learn skills, because skills now are counted into some scores. You should have money, then 【your children】 can go to cram schools. 【Their】 school performance then will be better than others. As for those parents, who are working class and have no money, if they want to support a child to study, that will be a . . . very big burden. . . Why does it become this, right? Those day-care schools and cram schools all need to spend money 【in order to send children in】. They are not public and that kind of non-profit public organization. . . . Therefore, in our generation, as parents, one of our big crises is our financial crisis.

Li’s criticisms remind governors, language teachers and planners, and educators of this emergent phenomenon. His words implicitly warn that a problematic language policy leads to a problematic educational system. A problematic educational system will eventually cause social and family problems. Here, the interrelationship between family incomes and language education or education in general becomes a symbol of social and educational equality. How the Taiwan government will provide working class children with equal language learning opportunities in order to mitigate family financial and educational backgrounds remains a serious question, and one that warrants further research.

Another important finding that is worth mentioning is the misconception of language teachers and professionals of parents. Almost all of the research shows that

parents are eager to have their children learn English. In this study, most teachers also believed that the atmosphere of English learning is prevailing in Taiwan. However, in the parents' interview, I found that the real reasons and ideology for this atmosphere are complex and need to be considered.

First of all, in my interviews, none of the eight parents agreed that English itself was the most important language in Taiwan. Only Li weighted the importance of English equally with Mandarin. The other seven parents either viewed Mandarin or local languages, or Mandarin and local languages together as the most important languages in Taiwan. Though all of them mentioned that English was very important to their children's future learning and careers, when being asked to compare the importance of each language at the elementary school level, they selected Mandarin and local languages above English. This finding was the same for most language teachers and professionals involved in this study.

This finding reveals that parents' perspectives and ideologies about language and language education in Taiwan are misunderstood by lots of elementary school teachers, educators, governors, policy makers, and researchers alike. From language teachers' interviews and questionnaires, many of them complained about parental support and parents' language ideologies. These language teachers thought parents paid too much attention to children's English and ignored Mandarin and local languages. Language professionals also complained that parents cared less about local languages and assumed that parents only focused on children's English education. Both language teachers and professionals questioned whether parents truly understood the importance of Mandarin

and local languages in terms of language acquisition, language loss, and language and culture maintenance.

In short, there is an understanding gap between parents and the other two groups, language teachers and professionals. Parents' concerns and perspectives about languages were not understood by language teachers and professionals. Parents seemed to disagree with the teaching approaches of language teachers as well as language planning efforts by professionals. If this gap is not resolved soon, the practice of elementary school language education can be predicted that it will become more controversial and encounter bigger difficulties and frustrations in the future.

##### **5. What Are the Differences Between Han (Holo, Hakka, and Mainlanders) and Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan in Terms of Their Opinions with Relation to Language and Elementary School Language Education?**

In this study, indigenous people's perspectives in relation to elementary school language education were very different from those of the Han people. Among the 123 participants who were involved in this study, eight were indigenous: six were elementary school Mandarin teachers and two were language professionals/policy makers. Of this number, I interviewed one teacher and two language professionals.

In their interviews, both language professionals argued that indigenous language should not be called and categorized under Dialects. They considered this to be an inappropriate decision by the Ministry of Education. Professional Pu, as a vice president of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, said, Holo and Hakka belonged to the Han

language system, in which the majority language is Mandarin. Linguistically, there are certain level of similarities between Holo, Hakka, and Mandarin. However, indigenous languages belonged to the so-called Austronesian language system, which is very different from Han language system (Huang, 2001; Li, 2003; Wang, 2003). Two professionals also preferred that indigenous languages were called Ethnic languages. This term is also widely heard in the indigenous community in Taiwan.

In chapter 2 (see *Dialects Teaching*) of this work, I provided an explanation about why I chose to use the term “Dialects” rather than another terms. However, there are a number of points about its use that still need to be clarified. The use of the term Dialects in this study is based on the Ministry of Education’s English translation of terms relating to the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Reform (Department of Elementary Education, 2003). In reality, many people in Taiwan do not call the languages subsumed under the category of Dialects as real “dialects.” They view Hakka, Holo, and indigenous languages as “real languages,” instead of dialects. The direct English translation of this group of language should be Homeland Languages. Literally, it means the languages that are spoken in the homeland of Taiwan. Some also call this group Mother Tongues. As noted earlier, the two language professionals’ dislike of the name Dialects, actually refers to the term Homeland Languages. They did not agree that all the indigenous languages would be grouped with Hakka and Holo and called Dialects, i.e., Homeland Languages. In the later paragraphs, I still use the unified term, Dialects, published by Department of Elementary Education (2003) in Taiwan to refer to this group.

Both professionals' arguments about the names of indigenous languages and Dialects class (Homeland Languages Teaching) suggest that if indigenous people's voices are respected, the Ministry of Education in Taiwan should change the names. This is the indigenous peoples' power of self-determination (McCarty, 2002) of their language right. This is also a representation of how a multicultural/multilingual society ought to be.

In addition to the controversy over use of the term, Dialects, Margot's interview reminded Han teachers, educators, and researchers of how little they know about indigenous children's language learning in Taiwan.

Margot, a third grade classroom/Mandarin teacher, was the only indigenous teacher whom I interviewed in this study. She revealed a lot of inside and detailed information regarding indigenous children's language learning.

Margot mentioned her difficulties in teaching and correcting essay writings. Many Mandarin teachers in this study also reported similar situations. However, Margot took an indigenous perspective to view this issue. She explained that Amis children (one of the indigenous groups) usually put the adverb of place in the front part of sentence. This is not acceptable in the Mandarin grammatical system where the adverb of place is in the last part of a sentence. In essay writing class, she had to keep reminding children of these kinds of grammatical uses and rules. Margot also described that "asking students to read-aloud" was one of the most useful and important methods when teaching indigenous children Mandarin. This method was frequently used in teaching in language class in Taiwan. I asked her why she said that this was one of the most useful and important methods. She said,

In their home, because children's grandparents speak nonstandard Mandarin . . . This really influences children's pronunciation 【of Mandarin】 . . . I feel that 【read-aloud】 is very useful, because it can give students more chances to listen 【to Mandarin】 . . . I always guide them to read 【and expect that】 they can get more used to the high and low sounds of Mandarin tone.

Margot's description revealed that because of language difference teaching methods would have different effects in helping children's language learning. At the end of the interview, Margot emphasized that “. . . helping her third graders to learn to be independent in the daily life . . .” was now of most concern to her in her teaching. She said that because most indigenous children's parents went to cities to look for better job opportunities, these children usually lived with their grandparents. However, because grandparents were usually too old to take good care of these children; helping teach them to be more independent was an important goal of school education.

Margot's “independent perspective” was seldom related to elementary school education of Han children. The phenomenon that a child is raised by his/her grandparents is called “cross-generation upbringing” in Taiwan. It is also found in the elementary schools in other areas. However, the rate of cross-generation upbringing in the indigenous communities is much higher than other areas and ethnic communities.

Based on the required curriculum, except for their ethnic languages, indigenous children are also required to learn Mandarin, English, and sometimes the Holo language. This means some of them have to learn four languages at the elementary school level. Obviously, with regard to elementary school language education, the school and learning burden for indigenous children is far higher than the Han children.

In his interview, Pu, as a language professional and vice president of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, complained that sometimes it was very hard to rely on indigenous intellectuals who received higher education to promote any reform for indigenous groups. Instead, he said that these intellectuals often became the resisters, who resist an indigenous identity and avoid taking responsibilities related to indigenous communities and activities.

Pu's words reveal a fact: The entire educational process for indigenous people is actually a process of Hanization. Indigenous intellectuals educated under the Han educational system do not want to take indigenous responsibilities because they are assimilated by the Han society and even enjoy being a part of the Han group.

In short, these indigenous intellectuals' examples reflect that the power relationship and the dichotomy of the oppressed as indigenous people versus the oppressor as Han people (Freire, 2000) is formed by a variety of physical and psychological factors. Dynamics, uncertainty, and complexity are the three features of a power relationship between Han and indigenous peoples.

## **6. What are the Perspectives toward Bilingual Education in Elementary School Language Education in Taiwan?**

This research question examines participants' knowledge and understanding of bilingualism and bilingual education in general, especially language teachers. I assumed I would discover much information regarding this research question. Surprisingly, in question 6 and 7 of their questionnaire (see Appendix B), hardly any language teachers

raised ideas of bilingual/bicultural education or bilingualism nor were these ideas viewed as important concepts that language teachers should be aware of in their teaching. I again attempted to examine this issue more deeply from language teachers' interviews.

In the interviews, I found that except for two of four Mandarin teachers, all English and Dialects teachers represented that they used at least two languages to help students better to get the meaning and also to learn the target language, English or local languages. Most of them mentioned that they usually would borrow some sounds, e.g. nasal, fricative, etc., from Mandarin or local languages to help children find the sound positions of the target language(s). Sometimes they spoke Hakka or Holo because in doing so students had more fun and were more connected to their daily life experience. They also mentioned that when they had phrases that were hard to explain in English or Mandarin, they would use Hakka or Holo to help their students. From the comparison of both languages, their students soon would get the meaning of those phrases.

In addition, in Dialects and English classes, many language teachers often code-switched at the sentence level. They would say something in English or in any local language first, and then interpreted them in Mandarin. Further, except for those Hakka teachers who taught in the Hakka community where most students spoke Hakka as their mother tongue, most language teachers would not use a single language throughout the whole class. For example, none of the English teachers reported that they spoke only English through the whole class period. Apparently, the situation that language teachers use two, three, or even four languages during their instruction has become usual. Unlike the classrooms before, Mandarin was the only language used for instruction.

The practice of Grade 1-9 Curriculum did, explicitly or implicitly, change language teachers' use of instruction language. Nevertheless, one can also note that the only two of the language teacher interviewees who did not consider students' bilingual or trilingual abilities were in the majority group of language teachers, the Mandarin teachers. One of the interviewees was male and taught Mandarin in a smaller-sized elementary school in a rural area where students spoke Holo as their mother tongue. Holo was also his mother tongue. The other Mandarin teacher was Margot. I mentioned her in section of research question 5 in this chapter. During the interviews, the two Mandarin teachers held the same perspective regarding bilingual education. They thought, because they were teaching children Mandarin in Mandarin class, they should use only standard Mandarin so that students could learn the real use of standard Mandarin without a strong accent of local languages. Further, because in these rural areas, most students were not very proficient with Mandarin, it was better for students to be greatly exposed in the whole-Mandarin, i.e., Mandarin-only, classroom environment.

Crawford (1999) thinks, one of the common myths that people apply to question bilingual education is: "If we instruct children in foreign tongue, how will that teach them to speak our language" (p. 103)? The two Mandarin teachers seem to fall into this common fallacy that children cannot learn Mandarin without speaking Mandarin. Research has shown that children's mother tongues (L1) can help them learn the second language (L2) (Cummins, 2001; Odlin, 2002). The appropriate use of mother tongues can make children learn Mandarin much easier and more effective. Moreover, like the submersion program in the U.S., students receive no special language assistance and can

only sink-or-swim (Crawford, 1999; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). Letting children be exposed to the Mandarin environment without any appropriate language support may not be the best way to learn Mandarin.

From the two Mandarin teachers' interview results and most Mandarin teachers' answers of questions 6 and 7 in the questionnaire, it is obvious that ideas of bilingualism and bilingual education are not valued by the majority language group of Mandarin teachers. As for the positive perspective of bilingualism and bilingual education presented by English and Dialects teachers, the two groups only represent a small number in the elementary school language education area in Taiwan. They are the minority groups among elementary school language teachers. Moreover, most of their instructions have to rely on Mandarin and Holo or Hakka. That is, Dialects and English teachers usually use two languages to teach local languages and English. Essentially, how to help students learn the target language through Mandarin is a question that they face everyday. Therefore, the two-language subject teachers tend to more easily consider the interrelationship between Mandarin and the target language(s) than Mandarin teachers.

In conclusion, what do these findings and phenomena regarding bilingual education in the elementary school language education mean to a language planner in Taiwan? Or, what are the perspectives toward bilingual education in elementary school language education in Taiwan? This answer relates to elementary school language teachers' understanding of language learning and teaching.

Language teachers, especially the Mandarin teachers, are gradually transforming from a monolingual perspective to a bilingual/multilingual perspective. Few of them have

been aware that Mandarin is now not the only language existing in the classroom. In the classroom, they apply students' L1 knowledge into their L2 learning. They know students feel more interested in learning L2 because L1 helps them make a connection between learning and life experiences. However, compared with the number of the whole language teachers, these teachers are a minority. Though the majority of language teachers have been awakened from the former hegemony built by the monolingual policy, Mandarin-only policy, their understanding of language learning and teaching seemingly needs to advance.

Partly, this is because in their pre-service teacher training, the majority language teachers were educated and trained to teach students only Mandarin and assume that to teach students in Mandarin was the best way for them to learn Mandarin. Now, the society and language ecology at the elementary school level are changing. The majority language teachers' teaching methods in language class also need to change in order to suit this new language environment. The best way to help these language teachers to change is to provide them with more opportunities to attend teacher training workshops. By doing this, the government or research institutes can share and present the newest ideas of language learning and teaching to language teachers. Language teachers also can give feedback to the government and research institutes so that they can have more ideas of how theories are put into practice and how bilingualism and multilingualism are promoted in the Taiwan society. All of these training efforts should be applied in pre-service teacher training in the universities as well.

In short, in the present elementary school education, both pre-service and in-service language teachers need to know how to apply L1 knowledge to students' L2 learning. They need to know more about how students acquire L2. More important, the three language subject teachers need to know that they should work together to facilitate students' language learning and then help students integrate what they learn from the three languages.

### **Summary**

This chapter discusses some significant findings by answering the six research questions. First, from language teachers' perspective, they do not see a clear outline of what the Taiwan Ministry of Education and government are proposing for the present elementary school language education. Second, from the language policy makers' perspective, the present elementary school language education planning involves a great number of issues, which come from the three main perspectives, Dichotomized, Interrelated, and Experiential; however, the Taiwan government and Minister of Education do not have clear purposes, steps, and foci regarding their future language-in-education planning at the elementary school level. Third, from the parental perspective, problems of elementary school language education involve not only issues of language and education, but also relate to family financial background. To language teachers and policy makers, they probably need to reconsider what they know about parents' real concerns regarding children's elementary school language education in Taiwan. Fourth, from indigenous people's perspective, the majority Han people need to rethink of their

relationship with indigenous groups and communities so that both ethnic groups can really develop a mutual trust and respect. Then indigenous people's self-determination of elementary school education can be more doable. Finally, the key role in language-in-education planning at the elementary school in Taiwan is that of the language teachers. Language teachers should have basic knowledge of the theories regarding bilingualism and bilingual education. One of the best teaching methods that can help students develop their own connection between their learning experiences of different languages probably is team teaching (Lin, 2001) among three language subject teachers.

In the next chapter, I address my conclusion, suggestions, and limitations of this study, and then end by discussing what researchers can do for future research.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, I first summarize my research purposes, questions, methods, and findings. Then I apply Language Orientations theories (Ruiz, 1984), Critical pedagogy (Freire, 2000), and a historical perspective to some findings that need to be further discussed in this study. Next, I make recommendations for the present elementary school language-in-education planning and state the practicability of bilingual education in the public elementary school in Taiwan. My last section focuses on the implications and limitations of this study and on future research.

#### Summary

The major purposes of this study were: (1) to examine the current language education practices in the elementary school by employing perspectives of language planning and bilingual education in Taiwan and (2) to make recommendations about the current language planning and policy of Taiwan with respect to elementary school language education. Six research questions were explored:

1. What do the language teachers at the elementary school of Taiwan think about the current elementary school language education?
2. What considerations do language education decision makers at the elementary school level take into account to make language education policies in Taiwan?

3. How do language education policy makers in Taiwan view the practice of language education at the elementary school level?
4. What are the ideas and expectations of students' parents for the current practice of language education at the elementary school level in Taiwan?
5. What are the differences between Han (Holo, Hakka, and Mainlanders) and indigenous peoples in Taiwan in terms of their opinions with relation to language and elementary school language education?
6. What are the perspectives toward bilingual education in elementary school language education in Taiwan?

There were 123 participants involved in this study, including 81 Mandarin/classroom teachers, 11 Dialects teachers, 15 English teachers, 8 parents, and 8 language professionals. All of the 107 elementary school language teachers responded to the questionnaires (see Appendix B). Twelve language teachers, 8 language professionals, and 8 parents were interviewed. The interview format was semi-structured. Each interview was tape recorded.

Data collection began in winter of 2004 and continued to summer of 2005. The research context was elementary school language education from first to sixth grade, including 11 elementary schools nationwide in Taiwan. Transcripts from the tapes and language teachers' questionnaires were the primary sources for data analysis. The method of descriptive statistics was used to provide evidence for better understanding of the phenomenology of the elementary school language education. Five major phenomena with respect to elementary school language education in Taiwan were found.

First, most participants argued that there were no step-by-step language-in-education planning and systematic language policy for the present and future elementary school language education. The governmental schedules for elementary school language education were composed of tentative measures with a temporary outlook. Second, though Mandarin, English, and Dialects courses were typically located in the Language Arts area, these three subjects were seen as independent courses without any connection. Team teaching or interdisciplinary integration is rarely seen among the three groups of language subjects. Third, the influence of English on parental decisions about prior order of language learning was significant. However, this influence was structured upon a profound process related to language ideology and instrumentalism. Fourth, the oppression by Han people (Mainlanders, Holo, Hakka) of indigenous populations in terms of language ideology, identity, and attitude could be found everywhere in the elementary school language education. The elementary school language curriculum was in essence guided by the idea of Han-centrism. Fifth, because of the phenomenon of language shift, the usages and definitions of mother tongues, Dialects, and homeland languages become ambiguous and need to be redefined.

In the following section, I apply my three theoretical frameworks in this study, Language Orientations theories (Ruiz, 1984), Critical pedagogy (Freire, 2000), and a historical perspective, to discuss the present elementary school language education and planning in the educational, cultural, historical, social, linguistic, and ethnic contexts in Taiwan.

### **Application of Language Orientations Theory**

Ruiz (1984) synthesized the former studies of language planning and then developed three perspectives of Language Orientations, language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource, in considering language planning. In his opinion, the perspective of language-as-problem aims at solving language problems. Language planners who hold this perspective are essentially applying a deficit perspective to treat languages. They see languages as problems that are in need of solutions. Though Ruiz does not hold a radical view against the perspective of language-as-problem, his advocacy of language-as-right and language-as-resource implicitly illustrates his points of proper perspectives in conducting language planning. In other words, first, the perspective of language-as-right should be applied as a framework of language planning in which language as one of the basic human rights is respected and protected. Second, in contrast to the deficit perspective of language-as-problem, the perspective of language-as-resource actually entitles language an active and positive role in domains of education, family, society, and human history. Language-in-education planning at the elementary school level in Taiwan manifests the application of the three Language Orientations perspectives in many facets.

#### ***Language-as-Problem***

The former Mandarin-only policy is undoubtedly guided under the orientation of language-as-problem. The Mandarin-only policy aims to exterminate local languages because local languages' activities symbolize a difference that a unified country, Taiwan,

cannot tolerate. Difference is viewed as a negative mark that should not exist. Since 2001, three language subjects, Mandarin, Dialects, and English, are formally taught in the elementary school classroom (Department of elementary Education, 2006). Chang (2005) thinks that the language policy in Taiwan is changing from linguistic assimilation to linguistic pluralism. However, the perspective of language-as-problem can still be found in many aspects of the elementary school language education. In this study, governmental language planning regarding Dialects teaching is an example.

Ostensibly the government promotes mother tongues teaching at the elementary school as a very positive matter, but the government does not have a clear goal of the future of mother tongues. What the role and status of mother tongues will be in the society, school, and governmental agencies is a critical question but finds no answer from governmental language planning at the elementary school level. Chiang (1995) researched some counties' experimental and unofficial teaching of mother tongues in 1994, and she concluded six difficulties reported by each county. They were: (1) lack of sources of teachers, (2) few materials, (3) lack of budget, (4) lack of time, (5) no unified writing system, and (6) loss of some phrases. Though Dialects teaching has become official today, there are still no better solutions for these six difficulties. The government views Dialects as a controversial issue and is afraid of facing it. Instead of being seen as a resource or basic human right, Dialects in this situation is labeled by the government as a problem. However, proper language planning should get rid of this deficit perspective, language-as-problem, and embrace the other two perspectives, language-as-right and language-as-resource.

### *Language-as-Right and Language-as-Resource*

Though the Law for National Language Development (LNLD) was not passed in 2004 (see section of *Language Law* in Chapter 2), this matter itself has implied that the concept of language is one of the basic human rights that has been developed in this society. The official implementation of mother tongues teaching in Dialects class in the elementary school indicates that every ethnic group's language has the right to be taught in the school. Especially to Hakka and indigenous groups, “. . . It is an acknowledgement that language minorities do have claims on the use of their native languages in public and private places that cannot be easily abridged” (Del Valle, 2003, p. 1). The collective linguistic right at the ethnic group level is protected.

Theoretically and practically, the perspective of language as one of the basic human rights is the foundation that helps language planning move on to the perspective of language-as-resource. The Grade 1-9 Curriculum requires that Mandarin, mother tongues in Dialects, and English should be taught in the elementary school classroom. One of the primary purposes of this new curriculum is to let students acquire multilingual or bilingual abilities. However the implementation of Grade 1-9 Curriculum only reaches the bottom-line of the perspective of language-as-resource. Though the statement of language-as-resource covers economic, commercial, and political gain (Kono, 2001), its essence refers to a deeper critical thinking of the role of language in education, society, history, and more important, culture. Including English and Dialects in the language curriculum, in fact, only represents that the instrumental importance of English as a powerful language in the world is valued, and that languages of minority groups have

been entitled a legitimate space in public in Taiwan. How English education provides students an environment to cultivate views of appreciation of western culture and further relates to their life experience in Taiwan and how Dialects help mother tongues in ways of not only reversing their shift to Mandarin but also maintaining so as to become official languages in the public affairs still remain in a vacuum. The goal of the present language-in-education planning at the elementary school level should focus on transforming a perspective of language-as-right to a perspective of critical language-as-resource.

### **Application of Critical Pedagogy**

Critical pedagogy is a process that helps students to think of themselves, their environment, their history, and then become aware of who they are and who they should be. Critical pedagogy is also a process of thinking of the past, the present, and the future from learning about problem posing, reflective thinking, information gathering, and inquiry approach (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). One of the major foci in Freire's Critical pedagogy (2000) is the discussion of the interrelationship between the oppressed versus the oppressor. Freire applies an opposite perspective, e.g., A versus B, to illustrate the power relationship revealed in history and daily life. His opposite perspective is built upon the interaction between one and another. That is, the model of how this "one" and "another" interacts with each other decides the role in their power relationship, i.e., the oppressed or the oppressor. Terminologies of interaction and interrelationship manifest the dynamics of power relationship in the Critical pedagogy.

In this study, the oppression by Han people (Mainlanders, Holo, and Hakka) of indigenous populations could be found in many domains in elementary school language education. In the interview, Tong (see Table 4 in Chapter 4), one of the professionals of indigenous education, described the problem of teaching materials in the elementary school language education from an indigenous perspective. He said,

My stuff in the tribe is not stressed and becomes as teaching materials. Mandarin teacher can discuss my cultural stories in the classroom. In terms of literature, he/she can use my indigenous stories and folktales. . . . English teachers can use indigenous languages as an example to present some comparison. . . . We really need to have a reflection on our education.

Obviously, the mainstream elementary school language education is designed to teach indigenous children to become like the Han people. Some elementary school indigenous teachers involved in this study may be aware of this hidden assimilating approach; however, they are still teaching their indigenous students to become indigenous people by Han people's determinations instead of teaching indigenous children to become indigenous people by self-determinations.

Situated in the Han-dominated society, many indigenous people consciously or unconsciously have become Hanized. Like Pu (see Table 4 in Chapter 4), one of the professionals of indigenous education, illustrated in the interview, some indigenous intellectuals are even proud to be assimilated as one of the majority Han group. These indigenous intellectuals cut off ties from their ethnic groups, communities, languages, and identity. This is why language maintenance becomes so difficult in indigenous education in the elementary school in Taiwan.

Except for the elementary school indigenous education, another form relating to the power relationship of the oppressed versus the oppressor in the Dialects class is also worth mentioning. Chen is a female teacher who teaches Holo in the Dialects class in the east side. In the interview, she said,

Holo language is an official course. Ataya language (One of the indigenous languages in Taiwan.) is 【the course】 that the school should find some time to teach. . . . Here, my school also offers Hakka language. . . . Holo language is the official course. Like Atayal language, my school finds extra time to teach 【Hakka students Hakka】. That is, this does not affect the official courses.

Chen thinks that Holo language is the official course that school should offer to every child regardless of their ethnic groups. As for Atayal and Hakka students, if they want to learn their Atayal and Hakka languages, the school would also find extra time to offer both courses. To Chen and her school, they apparently think they are very humanitarian because they provide Atayal and Hakka children opportunities to learn their languages. However, their humanitarianism is actually selective because Holo, Atayal, and Hakka languages are all official courses in Dialects in the elementary school language education.

According to the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines (Department of Elementary Education, 2006), the Dialects course includes languages of Holo, Hakka, and all indigenous languages in Taiwan. Based on sources of teachers and children's parental permission of language choices, school should offer Holo, Hakka, or indigenous languages to students. In this study, except for Chen's school, I also found that the same situation happened in several elementary schools, especially in the larger-sized schools. This is because the majority of school children and their parents and teachers are Holo

people; they think that Holo language is more important than indigenous and Hakka languages. Indigenous and Hakka children's linguistic rights are ignored in these schools. I observed the same situation in many elementary schools which were not included in this study. Saliently, a power relationship in the Dialects course is emergent. The relationship of Holo versus indigenous and Hakka is equal to the oppressor versus the oppressed (Freire, 2000). The Dialects course will finally become Holo the oppressor versus indigenous and Hakka the oppressed, especially in the classrooms in larger-sized and urban schools. To indigenous and Hakka groups, this kind of Dialects course will not only fail to maintain their languages but will also speed up their language and culture loss.

### **Application of Historical Perspective**

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, from 1624 until today, politically, Taiwan has been through monarchical, colonized, authoritarian, and democratic regimes. Ethnically, the composition has shifted from dominance of indigenous peoples to Han peoples, especially the Holo people. Socially, the entire atmosphere has shifted from conservatism to liberalism. Educationally, the school system has changed from private to public and the teaching methods are evolving from teacher centered to student centered. Linguistically, the perspective of language as one of the basic human rights is gradually being acknowledged. Planners' style of decision-making is also shifting from top-to-bottom to bottom-to-top. All of these changes influence the processes and results of language planning and policy.

In the Japanese-colonized period, the Japanese colonial government's final goal of educational policy was to educate Taiwaners to pledge loyalty to Japanese Mikado and to identify themselves as second-class citizens of Japan (Chen, 1998). The Japanese government's colonial language policy aimed at making every Taiwaner's language use shift from their native languages to Japanese. It is no doubt that this is an assimilative language policy.

From 1945 to 1987, the KMT (Kuomintang) regime in the government of Republic of China in Taiwan applied the same approach of language policy, assimilation, as the Japanese did in their colonial period. Under the governance of Japanese and KMT regimes, speakers of local languages, Holo, Hakka, and indigenous languages, gradually decreased. The lifting of Martial Laws in 1987 was a critical moment in Taiwan. People in Taiwan began feeling an atmosphere of emancipation in that year.

From 1987 until today, the educational ecology and system at elementary school has changed dramatically. A series of new philosophies, ideas, and methods were implemented in the elementary school education. Dialects class was officially practiced from first grade in 2001. In the same year, English education was also officially implemented from fifth to sixth grades, and later in 2005 the implementation was lowered to third grade. During this period of dramatic change, though Mandarin was still the subject that has the most teaching periods in the elementary school education, its dominant role has never stopped being challenged. Today, the concept of language in the elementary school language curriculum has changed from subject to area, which means language learning is never learning of a single language subject; instead it is learning of

different language subjects and then integrates all of the linguistic and cultural knowledge from these language subjects together under one area. This new concept is called “area learning” (S. J. Syu, personal communication, June, 7, 2005).

In the past 20 years, language education at the elementary school level has gradually transformed from the perspective of language-as-problem to the perspectives of and language-as-right and language-as-resource. Including English and Dialects education in the language area is a transformation that linguistic diversity will not be a problem; instead, elementary school language education should take care of both localization (Mandarin and Dialects) and internationalization or globalization (English). Further, in order to achieve the goal of area learning, language teachers should help students integrate their language learning experiences in different language subjects. In other words, language teachers should help students by themselves to integrate their language learning experiences of localization and globalization. The integration of localization and globalization is just the representation of the metaphor, “glocalization” (Robertson, 1995), which is used in the discipline of Global Studies. However, how do language teachers teach based on integration and glocalization? How do students learn to integrate experiences and knowledge of English, Mandarin, and local languages? The answer for these two questions is bilingual education.

### **Practicability of Bilingual Education**

In this study, the definition of bilingual education refers to both bilingual program models and bilingualism. Though the term “bilingual education” is not documented in the

Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guideline, the elementary school language education in Taiwan, which includes Mandarin, English, and local languages in the curriculum, is in essence a representation of bilingual schooling. Though there is no explicit policy and design on implementing bilingual program models, one of the goals of elementary school language education is to promote bilingualism and multilingualism (Department of Elementary Education, 2006).

From the results of this study, I suggest that the development of bilingual program models is now unlikely to be practiced in the public elementary school in Taiwan. But, it is definitely a priority that elementary school language teachers should have knowledge about bilingualism and understand some basic concepts related to bilingualism.

There are two reasons that explain why it is difficult to practice bilingual program models in the public elementary school. First, the results of this study show that (see research question 6 in Chapter 6) the majority of language teachers did not see bilingual education and bilingualism as important concepts in their teaching and students' learning. Most of the language teachers do not value bilingual education in teaching and learning how bilingual program models can be developed and practiced successfully. Second, the majority language teacher group, Mandarin teachers, may not agree that it is important to utilize students' knowledge of different languages when learning Mandarin. If Mandarin teachers, as the majority group of language teachers, do not value students' bilingual abilities how can bilingual program models be implemented successful in the elementary schools? Further, the implementation of effective bilingual program models has some prerequisites that need to be achieved in advance (Jeanne, 1993). Small budgets may be

the first problem that schools face in the context of Taiwan. Few bilingual materials for the classroom teaching may be the second problem. The third problem is that language teachers and school administrators lack training in theories of bilingual education (Jeanne, 1993). Therefore, I think that it is almost impossible to practice bilingual program models in the elementary school in Taiwan.

However, I do not deny the importance of practicing bilingual education program models in the elementary school language classroom. In fact, in some urban elementary schools, they suit the variation of two-way immersion bilingual program models. The reason is that some students know how to speak local languages and some do not. I call it variation because in a two-way immersion bilingual program model, students are composed of two different language groups (Jeanne, 1993; Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). However, in many urban elementary schools in Taiwan, some students speak only Mandarin; some speak one of the local languages and Mandarin. Therefore, this kind of composition in terms of language group does not meet the requirement that two groups of students speak different languages and they can learn language from each other. The purpose of variation is to mix both language groups of students together so that this environment can provide those students who do not speak local languages opportunities to learn from peers. But, as I addressed above, some prerequisites of practicing an effective bilingual program model are not possible at this time.

Understanding of bilingualism should be a priority for elementary school in-service and pre-service language teachers. If they understand the relationship and interdependence between L1 and L2 (Cummins, 2001) it is more likely they will know

how to facilitate students' integration of language learning. However, how can language teachers be educated and become knowledgeable about first and second language acquisition, comprehensive input (Krashen, 1985), language transfer or cross-linguistic influence (Odlin, 2002), etc.? To in-service language teachers, attending teaching training conferences or workshops is a better solution. Schools and educational institutes should arrange more teacher training sessions and provide more opportunities for language teachers to advance their understanding of second language learning. To a pre-service teacher in his/her teacher preparation education or program, he/she should take credits related to bilingualism as one of his/her graduation requirements. So far, neither action is found in the elementary school educational system.

Cummins (2001) is worried about cultural and status reproduction in the U.S., he says, "The generic student that pre-service teachers are being prepared to educate is white, middle-class, monolingual and monocultural" (p. 6). This is also the situation in Taiwan's elementary school language education system. In addition to the case of indigenous people who are prepared to teach indigenous children Han culture and languages, language teachers are also prepared to deal with teaching of only one language instead of two or three languages. This is really ironic and contradictory, because teacher preparation education and teacher training go in a direction opposite to the realistic elementary school language education in the classroom.

Ideally speaking, if language teachers are knowledgeable about bilingualism, most of them may not complain about the time constraint of instruction, because ". . . transfer across languages of conceptual knowledge and academic skills (such as learning and

reading strategies) compensates for the reduced instructional time through the majority language” (Cummins, 2001, p. 186). The serious problem of language loss and shift in indigenous and Hakka groups can possibly be solved.

In summary, in this study, I do not recommend any bilingual program model as part of future language-in-education planning at elementary school in Taiwan due to my awareness that without understanding of bilingualism, it is impossible to implement an effective bilingual program model. I also realize that bilingual education is not a single uniform program for helping students to become proficient with two languages and cultures (Ovando, Collier, & Combs, 2003). The practice of bilingual education may vary depending upon the school’s cultural and linguistic contexts. Therefore, I would suggest that the development of a school-based language policy, which concerns the school’s teaching resources, teachers, administrators, and local features, environment, population, languages, ethnicities, and economics is vitally important to an elementary school language education and should be the first priority. The introduction of school-based language policy is discussed in the following section.

## **Recommendations for the Present Elementary School**

### **Language-in-Education Planning**

All the three participant groups shared their considerations about the present language education and policies at the elementary school level. But, in practice, what are the critical considerations in terms of language-in-education planning that we should take into account? In answer to this question, Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. (1997) suggest

examination of the language-in-education implementation from five aspects: curriculum policy, personnel policy, materials policy, community policy, and evaluation policy. However, they also point out: “Each of these areas of policy development for language policy implementation may develop differently in a particular nation depending on how that nation’s education system operates” (p. 127). Therefore, in addition to the five aspects, I add school-based language policy as the sixth critical aspect. Further, in my following statement, I modified some of their considerations for each policy based on the elementary school language education context in Taiwan.

### *Curriculum Policy*

The curriculum policy in this study of elementary school language education in Taiwan refers to the language area of Grade 1-9 Curriculum (Department of Elementary Education, 2006). Curriculum policy is associated with issues of what languages should be selected, when to select them and for how long, and what the curriculum goals are.

In the elementary school language education in Taiwan, Mandarin, Dialects, and English are three language subjects in the Language Arts area. Mandarin also plays the role of instruction medium in almost every subject. However, this phenomenon is constantly challenged by many educators and researchers, who argue that the mother tongues in Taiwan, i.e., Holo, Hakka, and indigenous languages, should be used more frequently and even replace Mandarin as the principal language of instruction.

Further, though the Grade 1-9 Curriculum requires that Mandarin and Dialects be taught from the first grade and English be taught from the third grade (Department of

Elementary Education, 2006), many participants in this study are not satisfied with this policy. Some English teachers even questioned the need to teach children English at the elementary school level. In contrast to these English teachers, a small number of parents and language teachers also asserted that if this were possible, English should actually be taught in earlier grades. Apparently, in what grades these different languages should be taught is always controversial.

The question of which grade level elementary school language teachers should start teaching which kind of pinyin systems for children's local language learning in Dialects classes is another controversy related to elementary school language education. In this study, every teacher who taught a Dialects class complained about the non-unification of the pinyin system because in each Dialects textbook, several pinyin systems were used at the same time, i.e., one character's pronunciation is marked by several pinyin systems. In fact, the concerns of language professionals and Dialects teachers in this study are not related to the question of whether children should learn some alphabetic or Phonetic symbols (pinyin and *zhuyin fuhao*) in order to be able to read and write and whether these symbols are abstract and difficult for elementary school children (Hung, 2000). Language professionals and Dialects teachers request the Ministry of Education to unify the pinyin system because they are worried about the serious problem of language loss. To language professionals, Dialects teachers, and the Taiwan government, the unification of the pinyin system as a standardization or codification process in language planning (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997) is seen as one of the top priorities to revise the serious situation of language shift (Fishman, 1991) in local languages in Taiwan.

The current decision, regarding the teaching of pinyin made by the Department of Elementary Education (2005) and the Council of Indigenous Peoples (2005) are: (1) Holo and Hakka language teachers should teach Holo and Hakka language learners pinyins from the third grade; this is, however, dependent upon the students' abilities in Holo and Hakka languages and teachers' teaching goals; (2) indigenous language teachers should teach indigenous language learners Romanized pinyins; this is, however, practiced depending upon the real situation of learning. Hakka language teachers use Tongyong pinyin to teach Hakka; the pinyin system used for teaching Holo language is not decided (Department of Elementary Education, 2005). Holo teachers may use different pinyin systems to teach children Holo.

The above decisions about the teaching of pinyin in Dialects class made by the Department of Elementary Education (2005) and the Council of Indigenous Peoples (2005) only give language teachers who teach Dialects class a little help (a large number of Mandarin teachers also teach Dialects class). Many Dialects teachers are still anxious about "When is the appropriate time for them to teach children pinyins and at what level of language proficiency of learners is appropriate to start learning pinyins?" In other words, the criteria that help Dialects teachers make decisions about the time of pinyin teaching are still waiting to be developed.

Compared to the issues raised above, "time" (from what grade level and for how long) is probably the primary point of contention. Nearly all the three language subject teachers thought that they needed more time to teach. However, the question remains

which subject areas would “. . . need to be reduced or eliminated in order to make space for language instruction” as Kaplan and Baldauf, Jr. suggest (1997, p. 127).

Frankly speaking, no subject teacher would see his/her subject as so unimportant that it could be reduced or eliminated. In this study, 85% of the Mandarin teachers and nearly 80% of the overall language teachers asked for more time for instruction. This high percentage of 85 may relate that the original periods of Mandarin class in one week were reduced to nearly 40% to 50%, but, lessons for each semester were only reduced to around 25%. The incredibly high rate of 85% and 80% implies two problems. First, most language teachers do not understand the new goals of the Grade 1-9 Curriculum policy. What they are pursuing in their teaching is based on the former goals. Second, language teachers lack the training that can improve their teaching in order to meet these new curriculum goals.

Regarding the first problems, according to the interview with language professional Syu, who was in charge of language area in the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Reform, the new curriculum reform in the language area aims to develop a multilingual/multicultural curriculum structure for elementary school students. One of the curriculum goals is to teach students “abilities” instead of “skills.” In other words, helping students to acquire multilingual abilities and to understand differences between cultures are the teaching goals that language teachers are expected to pursue.

From my observation of classroom teaching, there are two major problems in terms of curriculum policy. The first is that language teachers’ classroom instruction still focuses on skills and standardized tests. In the past, language teachers needed 9 to 10

periods to teach for these language skills and standardized tests. Now the time is reduced to 5 to 6 periods. If language teachers still focus their teaching on skills and tests, it can be predicted that time will always be a key issue in instruction. However, how can school or educational agencies help teachers to transform their thinking about teaching? This question relates to the second problem and is also the center of the following personnel policy.

### *Personnel Policy*

Personnel policy refers to pre-/in-service teacher training. As I mentioned earlier, in-service teacher training is now very critical for language teachers in Taiwan. Language teachers feel that the instruction time is not enough. This is because language teachers, especially Mandarin teachers, do not really understand the goal of multilingual/multicultural education in the Grade 1-9 Curriculum. Therefore, they still spend much time of their teaching on skills and standardized tests.

In the interviews and questionnaires, many Mandarin teachers mentioned that they usually spend a lot of time on teaching new characters. Traditionally, the first step to teach a new lesson, which may be an article, poetry, lyrics, or formal letter, in the Mandarin textbook, is to teach the characters listed at the bottom of the pages. A Mandarin teacher would teach students each character's phonetic symbols, orders of draw, radical, i.e., recognized components of a character, and related phrases. After the teacher introduces (or the teacher asks students to introduce) all the characters, the teacher then begins teaching this article. At this time, the teacher would focus on interpretation and

explanation of some key phrases, sentences, rhetoric, and grammatical rules and finally help students summarize this article. Though every Mandarin teacher's teaching methods may vary, these are the general teaching processes and steps.

This kind of teaching processes and steps assumes: first, students will not know how to read the article until he/she is taught about those characters; second, students cannot learn by themselves so that the teacher has to teach as much detail as possible. The two assumptions are against Ken Goodman's Whole Language perspective of language learning (1986).

In fact, when I taught fifth grade Mandarin class, characters were always the last part that I taught in a lesson. I usually began with asking students to read this article directly and circle some sentences that interested them most and some unknown phrases and characters that needed to have further inquiry. We then would have a discussion, in which I would help students clarify some points. Later, I would ask them, "What do you want to know more about?" My point for doing this was that students themselves are the ones who know best what they already know (Chun, 2006). That is, students knew how to read and learn. As a Mandarin teacher, my work was to help them think more critically and make connection with their life experiences. I found that in doing so, not only my students could acquire abilities of critical thinking and problem-solving but also I could spend more time on other language activities, e.g., essay writing, question posing, and story telling.

Therefore, in order to improve the in-service language teachers' teaching so that they can meet the new curriculum goal, schools and educational agencies should have

more teacher training workshops, which educate teachers how to teach “abilities” instead of “skills.” Another focus for the in-service language teacher training workshop is to educate these teachers to be more aware of the linguistic differences and assimilates among Mandarin, Dialects, and English.

In this study, only a small number of language teachers are aware that students’ language abilities can be transferred from one language to another language. They had knowledge regarding the relationship between first (L1) and second (L2) languages (Cummins, 2001). These small number of language teachers would use children’s L1 to teach L2 or use L2 to enhance children’s knowledge of L1. In my opinion, the interdependence of L1 and L2 (Cummins, 2001) and the issues of cross-linguistic influence (Odlin, 2002) should be the focus in the present in-service language teacher training workshops. The more linguistic knowledge a language teacher knows, the better his/her teaching will possibly be. When language teachers have these understandings, they would, implicitly and explicitly, support each different language subject teacher’s teaching in many different ways. By doing this, language teaching becomes integrated and forms a real “language area,” including Mandarin, Dialects, and English, instead of isolated language subjects. The situation of lack of instruction time will also be solved. As for pre-service language teachers, all of the training for in-service teachers should also be included in their required courses in the universities.

### *Materials Policy*

Materials policy considers what kind of materials language teachers use to introduce language to the students. In the informational age, the use of the internet makes searching for resources easier than before. One of the concerns from the participants regarding this policy is to develop an E-material reference system, which language teachers can search for information related to language education through the internet and data base. This is a very creative and feasible plan. Through this system, language teachers can find many different ideas from research data and teaching and classroom cases so as to enrich his/her teaching content and style.

In this study, numerous language teachers also suggested that the selection of material should consider its authenticity with students' life situations. Good materials can help students to make a connection between learning and life experiences and motivate their interest in a further research of some topics. Materials policy is especially critical for Dialects teachers.

Both the Holo and Hakka language teachers involved in this study complained about the small amount of Holo and Hakka materials, and with these materials it is hard to make a connection with real life. In contrast with the Holo and Hakka language education, indigenous educators considered materials policy from a different perspective. As an indigenous language and culture professional, Tong mentioned the contents that should be included in the teaching materials. He said,

A child grows up in the tribe, but 【he/she】 has very little knowledge about his/her tribe, because the school did not make him/her experience what his/her people have in the tribe. What do 【they】 have in the stream? What kind of flowers and grasses do they have? What is the feature of this tribe? Why are so many costumes and

interesting cultural characteristics in the community not included in the curriculum design? It is because our curriculum is designed based on the mainstream Han culture . . . **【Our】** things in the community are not stressed and selected as materials **【in the curriculum】** .

Tong raised a highly political question: Who selects the materials for them? Tong thought that material policy of elementary school language education in Taiwan was actually a Han material policy. Tong's words suggest that future language planners should always be very sensitive with minority group's language and culture rights, especially related to materials policy.

### *Community Policy*

In terms of the community policy, Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. (1997) suggest that language planners consider three facets: parental attitudes, funding resources, and recruiting teachers and students. Based on my findings, I add a fourth facet that language planners in Taiwan should consider: Who are involved in the implementation of language-in-education planning at the elementary school level? In particular, findings related to parental attitudes and ideologies of children's language learning and the fourth facet are worthy of further discussion.

Parents reported that Mandarin was the most important language, and then local languages and English. However, parents also revealed that they would spend more time on English than on Mandarin in terms of children's language learning. Most language professionals and teachers in this study thought that parents always viewed English as the most important language in children's elementary school language education because language professionals and teachers saw that parents provided more opportunities and

resources for children to learn English. However, language professionals and teachers did not understand if parents considered that Mandarin was children's most important language, why would parents put more efforts on children's English learning than on Mandarin?

Educators often think that they understand parents and their ideas about children's language education. My study actually shows that language professionals and teachers sometimes misunderstood parents. Though parents spent more time and resources on children's English education (because of English's instrumental value), parents still thought that Mandarin and local languages were more important than English. Parents expected that children could learn Mandarin first and then local languages and then English in Taiwan. However, language professionals and teachers did not understand parents' profound decision-making process of children's language learning. This gap of misunderstanding between parents and language professionals and teachers indicates that the three groups should have more communication with each other (Nieh, 2003) regarding children's language learning at the elementary school level.

In terms of the fourth facet of community policy, I would agree that parents, language professionals, school administrators, government officers, students, and language teachers are all involved in the implementation. Among these groups, I think that students and language teachers may be the two most important groups, especially the latter one. However, this does not mean that students are less important than language teachers when implementing language-in-education planning at the elementary school level. It is because the classroom teaching is usually more teacher-centered than student-

centered in Taiwan (Chun, 2006), it is more likely that students would just listen to their teachers and take his/her words for granted instead of questioning his/her correctness and legitimacy when implementing language or curriculum policy. Therefore, the language teacher is probably the most critical concern which affects the effectiveness of implementation of elementary school language education in Taiwan.

Chen (2003) thinks that “Teachers are the key factor which decides its success or failure of a curriculum reform” (p. 63). Goodman (1986) also pinpoints out that “There are no whole language literacy programs without whole language teaching” (p.44). In this study, the importance of Mandarin language and the Mandarin subject were viewed as much more important than other languages and language subjects by language teachers regardless of their teaching backgrounds. This result indicates that in language teachers’ language ideologies, they strongly believe that Mandarin is the most important language at the elementary school language education level. When this strong belief is applied to the implementation of Grade 1-9 Curriculum Reform, it produces two results: First, language teachers are not satisfied with the instruction time of the new curriculum, they think the importance of Mandarin is underestimated; second, language teachers believe that Mandarin is more important than any language, so it deserves more time and resources than Dialects and English. As a result, one may not be surprised that the language teachers’ attitude about the present elementary school language-in-education planning and implementation in Taiwan was a negative, passive view. Hence, the premise of community policy probably should focus on how to convince language teachers that the Grade 1-9 Curriculum is good for students and elementary school language education.

### *Evaluation Policy*

School's evaluation policy was an issue that was discussed in the interviews of language teacher and professional groups. From their reports, I found that the schools would evaluate students' language performance regularly based on some standardized tests; however, each school seldom evaluated language teachers' performance, nor did the school evaluate itself in terms of teaching and administration affairs. Chang (2004) observes the implementation of Taiwan's educational policy and finds that one of the major problems in the Taiwan's educational planning and policy is that "The evaluation system is not practiced during the implementation of educational policy" (p.132).

Two language professionals reported that they were hired by the Ministry of Education to evaluate some elementary schools' effectiveness of language implementation. In fact, these schools were evaluated because they received governmental funding to promote some programs or projects. The government wanted to see how the money was spent and what results schools got. These schools were only a small number among the whole number of elementary schools in Taiwan.

Evaluation of schools, students, language teachers, and cost effectiveness (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997) and cost-benefit analysis (Eastman, 1983) are all important. However, except for student evaluation, in Taiwan's elementary school language context, language teacher evaluation is now probably the priority.

Language teachers need to be evaluated regularly in order to ensure his/her teaching quality as well as to motivate him/her to know more about what he/she lacks. From what I found in this study, language teachers do not oppose evaluation, but they are

concerned about the way how to evaluate. Both language professionals, Syu and Tong, mentioned that the Ministry of Education is attempting to build an evaluation system to evaluate all subject teachers. They said, currently, the Ministry of Education is more likely to apply a system called “learning passport,” in which it details how many hours the teacher spent on activities of teacher training each semester or year.

Ideally, every aspect relates to teaching, such as teachers’ teaching activities, teaching loads, school positions, expertise, prizes, and even students’ evaluation of teachers, should all be considered in the teacher evaluation. However, how to combine all of these categories, i.e., how to decide each category’s percentage of the total categories of evaluation, is a technical problem waiting to be solved.

### ***School-Based Language Policy***

“School-based curriculum” is a concept that was listed in the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Reform (Department of Elementary Education, 2006). Based on this concept, every elementary school is encouraged to develop its own school-based curriculum which effects concern about the school context and students’ composition in terms of ethnicity and linguistic abilities.

In contrast with the school-based curriculum, through this study, I found that none of the elementary schools participating in this research had its own language policy.

In my opinion, a school-based language policy is designed to provide students a better language learning environment. It is a representation of localization. Therefore, a school-based policy can be defined as a bottom-to-top action. A school-based language

policy should aim to help students know their surrounding languages and connect the school's language learning activities with students' daily language experience. Corson thinks that "A school's language policy is really the school's policy for learning" (1999, p. 3).

The design of school-based language policy begins with considering the school's language orientation. Should schools see language as a problem, a human right, or a resource (Ruiz, 1984)? School then should hold staff trainings regularly and select a group of administrators or teachers to be in charge of school language education issues.

Generally, school-based language policy concerns the following 10 questions:

- How many languages are spoken by students at school?
- How do these languages function?
- How does school deal with each language and its speakers?
- How does school deal with bilingual or monolingual children's learning?
- Which language(s) is/are used for instruction?
- How are students' language proficiencies regarding each language?
- What is the school's goal of language education?
- How does school help students' language learning?
- What kind of language resources does school have?
- What is the school's evaluation policy?

"Schools are often the sites where government policies dealing with language matters are actually put to work" (Corson, 1999, p. 3). The 10 questions can benefit schools to better define their school-based language policy and planning which help schools to know their existing constraints and language resources. Later, the practice of language-in-education planning at the elementary school level can produce its best effect and meet schools' instrumental and sentimental needs.

Language planners in Taiwan should integrate the six policies: curriculum policy, personnel policy, materials policy, community policy, evaluation policy, and school-based

language policy, so that elementary school language education can be holistically planned. However, planners should bear in mind that each policy can be modified based on the schools' language-in-education planning contexts.

### **Implications, Limitations, and Future Research**

#### ***Implications***

In this study, I examined issues regarding elementary school language-in-education planning from first to sixth grades in Taiwan. Through open-ended questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, language teachers, parents, and policy makers revealed their personal and private ideas and opinions.

In practice, this study provides parents, and school language teachers, administrators, and principals important implications about how language education is practiced in different school settings in Taiwan. In theory, this study presents a model for researching opinions from different groups and sub-groups by applying open-ended questionnaires and semi-structured interviews and then linking the concepts of language planning to bilingual education. In policy, this study raises ideas of globalization and school-based language policy, through which language planners and school teachers not only consider the importance of local authenticity and internationalization but also evaluate the possible integration of needs, resources, and constraints.

### *Limitations*

In terms of limitations in this study, first, because of time constraint, this study did not consider language variations in Holo, Hakka, and some indigenous groups. To some degree, this limits the representation of languages and their spoken groups in Taiwan. The second limitation of this study is the indigenous language teachers. Because I lacked a network to reach indigenous language teachers in Dialects classes, their opinions were not reported in this study. Further, this study only focused on opinions gathered from language teachers, parents, and policy makers. I understand that students' opinions about language learning are important to a language planner. However, because of time constraint for data collection and the difficulty of designing a proper research method, students were not included in the participant groups. This may be the third limitation of this study.

### *Future Research*

For future research, in the past few years, over 10,000 international marriages were held each year in Taiwan. In most cases, they were females from Vietnam, Indonesia, and Mainland China who married male Taiwanese. On July 6, 2005, they marched protesting against the Taiwan government for its unreasonable, discriminatory, immigrant policy and asking for social justice and more human rights (Sia, 2005). In Taiwan, these children of mixed language marriages (Baker & Jones, 1998) have reached the legal age to have compulsory education. Because their mothers speak very little Mandarin or speak languages other than Mandarin at home, these children usually have very little knowledge

about Mandarin. Regarding this situation, in the parental interview, Chen (see Table 5 in Chapter 4) told me about her opinions. Rather than seeing this from a deficit perspective, i.e., language is a problem; she viewed this situation from a positive perspective. She said,

Don't you think that they 【children】 should learn their mother tongues first? I think, this may be a concern, because this is an access that he/she communicates with his/her mother. What can they do if they do not have this access? How do they make a communication between him/her and his/her mother, right? . . . Maybe his/her mother needs to teach him/her a lot of routines and virtual in the daily life through her mother tongue; meanwhile, it is very reasonable that he/she learns his/her mother tongue. This is his/her first contact language.

Chen thought that no matter whether children's mother tongues are Mandarin or any local languages or not, children should learn mother tongues because they are the access of communicating with their mothers and their environment.

However, compared to the mainstream society and culture, the reality is that these children and their mothers are definitely "the minority in minority groups." What reflect on these children's school education are the on-going conflicts of language and learning in the classroom. Therefore, how the present elementary school language education and language-in-education planning help these children acquire Mandarin abilities in Mandarin class, so that they can have access to educational resources and to their learning of different subjects, has become an urgent issue that requires more immediate research.

### **Conclusion**

Language planning in Taiwan is entering a new age in which planners not only should integrate every dimension and issue of language from both perspectives of top-

down and bottom-up (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr., 1997), they also need to consider language as a human right and invaluable resource (Ruiz, 1984). All these concerns finally will be directed to language education in order to seek for future solutions. This is why language-in-education planning in Taiwan is so important. This is also why bilingual education, as a useful solution for enhancing students' linguistic and cultural awareness, is strongly recommended.

**APPENDIX A****SUBJECT'S DISCLAIMER FORM****Title of Project: The Language-in-Education Planning and Application of Bilingual Education at the Elementary School in Taiwan**

Dear Parents/ Teachers/ Professionals:

You are being invited to voluntarily participate in the above-titled research study. The purpose of the study is to provide a useful direction for Taiwan's elementary school language education. You are eligible to participate because of your rich knowledge and care about elementary school language education.

If you agree to participate, your participation will involve one interview about your opinions with the current language education at the elementary school level. The interview will take place in a location convenient for you and will last approximately 40 minutes. You may choose not to answer some or all of the questions. During the interview, written notes will be made in order to help the investigator review what is said. Your name will not appear on these notes.

Any questions you have will be answered and you may withdraw from the study at any time. There are no known risks from your participation and no direct benefit from your participation is expected. There is no cost to you except for your time and please excuse for not being compensated for your participation because of shortage of research funding.

Only the principal investigator and his advisor will have access to your real name or pseudonym and the information that you provide. In order to maintain your confidentiality, unless you agree to use your real names, or your real name will not be revealed in any reports that result from this project. Interview information will be locked in a cabinet in a secure place.

You can obtain further information from the principal investigator, (Chun, Chen-Cheng, Ph.D. candidate), at (0920650792 - Taiwan) or (+1-520- 622-2305 - America). If you have questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may call the University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program office at (+1-520- 626-6721).

By participating in the interview(s), you are giving permission for the investigator to use your information for research purposes.

Thank you!

Chun, Chen-Cheng

( ) / ( ) / 2005

## 參與同意函

主題: 台灣國小語言在教育裡的規劃及雙語教育的應用

各位親愛的家長/ 教師/ 專家們：

因為您對於國小語言教育的豐富知識及關心，所以，您被邀請以志願參與的方式，參與以上的研究主題，本研究的主旨，在於提供台灣國小語言教育一個可行的方向。

如果您同意參與本研究，研究者將會以訪談的方式，以了解您對於現今國小語言教育的一些看法。訪談的地點以您方便為準，最多耗時約 40 分鐘。在訪談中，研究者將會做一些筆記以幫助他日後回顧所談及的內容，不過您的名字將不會出現在這些筆記上，而且，對於某些問題，您可以選擇不回答。

在訪談中，如果您有任何問題，您可以隨時提出來，研究者將會樂意回應；您也有權決定在任何時候退出。此研究將不會為您帶來任何危險且亦不會帶給您任何直接的受益。煩請多包函的是，由於經費的短缺，您的參與將不會得到補助。而除了時間上的耗費外，您也將不會有任何金錢上的花費。

在本研究中，只有研究者與其指導教授，有管道知道您的真實姓名或匿名，以及您所提供的寶貴意見。並且，為了維護您個人資料的隱密性，除非您同意使用您的真名，不然您的真實姓名將不會出現在此研究報告中，而訪談的資料將會被存放在安全的地點並鎖在保險櫃中。

另外，參與本訪談，您等於同意研究者，基於研究目的，運用您所提供的相關訊息。您可以從研究者(鍾鎮城, 博士候選人)處得到更多相關訊息，其聯絡電話為(0920650792 – 台灣) 或者是 (+1-520- 622-2305 – 美國)。如您尚有關於您身為參與者之相關人權問題，您可以與美國亞利桑那大學人權保護計畫辦公室聯絡 (University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program Office)，其電話為(+1-520-626-6721)。

感謝您的參與!

鍾 鎮 城            ( ) / ( ) / 2005

## APPENDIX B

### QUESTIONAIRE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LANGUAGE TEACHERS

#### Basic Information

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ (Pseudonym) Gender:  M / F

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Native Language(s): \_\_\_\_\_

Native Language(s) of Spouse (Unmarried people do not need to fill): \_\_\_\_\_

Language Use:  Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mandarin (Chinese) / Indigenous Languages(Which Language(s)- \_\_\_\_\_ ) / English / Others \_\_\_\_\_ ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)

Ethnicity:  Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mainlander / Indigene (Which Group(s)- \_\_\_\_\_ ) / Others ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)

Ethnic Identity:  Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mainlander / Indigene (Which Group(s)- \_\_\_\_\_ ) / Others ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)

Working Area: \_\_\_\_\_ Living Area: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of School: \_\_\_\_\_ Position: \_\_\_\_\_

Subjects of Teaching:  Chinese; Math; Social Studies; Science; English; Music; Arts; Physical Education; Computer; Dialects; Comprehension; Moral & Health; Flexible Course; Others ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)

Grade of Teaching: \_\_\_\_\_ Instruction Language(s): \_\_\_\_\_

General Numbers of Students in the Classroom: \_\_\_\_\_

Years of Teaching: \_\_\_\_\_ Years of Teaching Dialects / English/ Chinese:  / / /

Numbers of Class (For Subject Teachers Only): \_\_\_\_\_

Teacher Certificate:  Yes or No

Certificate of Dialects Teaching:  Yes or No ; Which Language (s): \_\_\_\_\_

Certificate of English Teaching:  Yes or No

#### Questions

1. What interest you about language teaching?
2. What reasons make you feel that language teaching is difficult?
3. In language teaching, what makes you feel most confused?
4. Do you think that language class needs **more** time or **less**?
5. What factors make you feel **satisfied** or **unsatisfied** with your language teaching?
6. Regarding children's language education, which contents or concepts do you think should be included?
7. Regarding children's language education, what do you think should be the focus?
8. For the current language education at the elementary school level, which kind of help do you think teachers need most?
9. 1).Mandarin 2). Holo 3).English 4).Hakka 5).Indigenous Languages 6).Others ( please list the names ) 。 In the elementary school language education, how would you order the importance of the above languages? (**please list the order** and explain)

## 國小語文課教師問卷

### 基本資料

姓名: \_\_\_\_\_ 匿名(在此研究中欲使用匿名者): \_\_\_\_\_

性別: 男 / 女 \_\_\_\_\_ 年齡: \_\_\_\_\_

母語: \_\_\_\_\_ 配偶之母語(未婚者免填): \_\_\_\_\_

語言使用: 福佬語(閩南語) / 客語 / 華語(國語) / 原住民語( \_\_\_\_\_ ) / 英語 / 其他( \_\_\_\_\_ )(可複選)

本身所屬之族群: 福佬人(閩南人) / 客家人 / 新住民(外省人) / 原住民(請寫出族名 - \_\_\_\_\_ ) / 其他( \_\_\_\_\_ )(可複選)

本身之族群認同: 福佬人(閩南人) / 客家人 / 新住民(外省人) / 原住民(請寫出族名 - \_\_\_\_\_ ) / 其他( \_\_\_\_\_ )(可複選)

工作區域: \_\_\_\_\_ 居住區域: \_\_\_\_\_

服務學校: \_\_\_\_\_ 教學職稱: \_\_\_\_\_

教學科目: 國語、數學、社會、自然、英文、音樂、美勞、體育、電腦、鄉土、綜合、道德與健康、彈性、其他( \_\_\_\_\_ )(可複選)

教學年級: \_\_\_\_\_ 教學語言: \_\_\_\_\_ 班級學生數: \_\_\_\_\_

總教學年資: 鄉土語言 / 英語 / 國語之教學年資: \_\_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_\_

目前教學之班級數(僅科任教師填寫): \_\_\_\_\_

教師證書(有或無): \_\_\_\_\_

鄉土語言教師資格認證:(有或無) ; 哪種語言: \_\_\_\_\_

英語教師資格認證: (有 或 無) \_\_\_\_\_

以下題目之回答，請以您現在所任教之各個語文科目為例。

1. 什麼原因會使您覺得語言(文)教學是有趣的?
2. 什麼原因會使您覺得語言(文)教學是困難的?
3. 在語言(文)教學裡，哪一件事最使您感到困擾?
4. 您認為語言(文)課需要有更多或更少的時間嗎?

更多:

更少:

5. 什麼原因使您滿意或不滿意您的語言(文)課教學?

滿意 :

不滿意 :

6. 對於孩子的語言(文)教育，您認為應包含哪些內容或概念?

7. 對於孩子的語言(文)教育，您認為應著重於那一方面?

8. 對於國小現今的語言(文)教育，您認為什麼樣的幫助是老師最迫切需要?

9. 1).國語 2).閩南語 3).英語 4).客語 5).原住民語 6).其他語言\_\_\_\_ (請寫出名稱)。對於國小孩子的語言(文)教育，您認為上述各語言的重要性為何(請排序，並說明原由)?

**APPENDIX C****INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL  
LANGUAGE TEACHERS**

1. What do you think of the current language education policy at the elementary school level?
2. How would you design an appropriate curriculum plan in order to meet the requirements of the language curriculum guidelines? ?
3. What teaching steps and methods do you take in order to meet the requirements of the language curriculum guidelines?
4. While teaching language classes, including Chinese, Dialects, and English, how do you obtain or search for the teaching resources that you need?
5. In Taiwan, many students are bilingual. In your language class, how do you deal with this situation?
6. Do you think language teaching preparation, including yourself, is adequate? If it needs to be improved, how?
7. What do you think of the current language teachers' resources and evaluation of teaching?
8. Regarding children's language education, how would you make an appropriate balance among school education, family education, and social environment?
9. Are you facing some struggles and contradictions in your current language teaching? If you are, what are they?
10. If now you can make some changes with regard to your language teaching, what would you want to do? Why?

### 國小語言教師訪談問題

1. 對於國小現階段的語言(文)教育政策，您的看法為何?
2. 請問您如何制定合適的課程計畫以達到語言(文)課程綱要的要求?
3. 請問您採取什麼樣的教學步驟與方法以符合語言(文)課程綱要的要求?
4. 在進行語言(文)課教學時(含國語、鄉土語言、英語)，您如何獲得或尋找您所需要的教學資源?
5. 許多的台灣學生都是雙語使用者，在您的語言(文)教學裡，您如何因應這種情況?
6. 您覺得教師(包含您個人在內)在語言(文)教學上的準備是否充分? 若需做些改進? 應如何進行?
7. 對於現有的語言(文)教育師資來源及教學評鑑，您有何看法?
8. 在孩子的語言(文)教育上，您覺得學校教育與家庭教育及社會環境之間應如何取得一適妥的平衡?
9. 在您現在的語言(文)教學裡，您是否正面臨一些掙扎與矛盾? 若是，則為哪些?
10. 如果您現在能對您的語言(文)教學做些改變，您會想要做些什麼? 為什麼?

## APPENDIX D

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR LANGUAGE PROFESSIONALS

#### Basic Information

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ (Pseudonym) Gender:   M / F    
 Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Native Language(s): \_\_\_\_\_  
 Native Language(s) of Spouse (Unmarried people do not need to fill): \_\_\_\_\_  
 Language Use: Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mandarin (Chinese) / Indigenous  
Languages(Which Language(s)- \_\_\_\_\_) / English / Others  
 ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)  
 Ethnicity: Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mainlander / Indigene (Which Group(s)-  
\_\_\_\_\_ ) / Others ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)  
 Ethnic Identity: Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mainlander / Indigene (Which  
Group(s)- \_\_\_\_\_ ) / Others ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)  
 Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ Position: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Working Area: \_\_\_\_\_ Living Area: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Interview Questions:

1. In the process of designing language education policy, what dimensions have you taken into consideration?
2. In the process of designing language education policy, what methods of negotiation have you taken?
3. While promoting language education policy, what frustrations have you encountered?
4. What do you think of the current language education at the elementary school?
5. In your opinion, what are the major difference between elementary school level and other educational level with regard to language education?
6. In the field of language planning at the elementary school level, what contents and concepts should be included?
7. What aspect(s) should be focused on, regarding the language education at the elementary school?
8. Who should involve into the policy making process of language education at the elementary school?
9. While promoting language policy at the elementary school, what should we pay attention to?
10. Regarding the implementation of language education at the elementary school, how should the evaluation system work practically?
11. What is your expectation of language education at the elementary school level?

## 語言專業者問卷

### 基本資料

姓名: \_\_\_\_\_ 匿名(在此研究中欲使用匿名者): \_\_\_\_\_  
 性別: 男 / 女 年齡: \_\_\_\_\_  
 母語: \_\_\_\_\_ 配偶之母語(未婚者免填): \_\_\_\_\_  
 語言使用: 福佬語(閩南語) / 客語 / 華語(國語) / 原住民語( ) / 英語 / 其他( )(可複選)  
 本身所屬之族群: 福佬人(閩南人) / 客家人 / 新住民(外省人) / 原住民(請寫出族名 - ) / 其他( )(可複選)  
 本身之族群認同: 福佬人(閩南人) / 客家人 / 新住民(外省人) / 原住民(請寫出族名 - ) / 其他( )(可複選)  
 工作類型: \_\_\_\_\_ 職稱: \_\_\_\_\_  
 工作區域: \_\_\_\_\_ 居住區域: \_\_\_\_\_

### 訪談問題

1. 在制定語言教育決策的過程裡，您會考量哪些面向？
2. 在制定語言教育政策的過程裡，您曾採取哪些協商過程？
3. 在您推行語言教育政策時，您曾遭遇哪些重大挫折？
4. 您如何看待現今國小階段的語言教育？
5. 在語言教育上，您認為國小階段和其他教育階段最大的不同處為何？
6. 在規劃上，您認為國小語言教育應包含哪些內容或概念？
7. 對於國小的語言教育，您認為應著重於哪一或哪些方面？
8. 您認為哪些人應涉入國小語言教育的決策過程？

9. 您認為在推行國小語言教育決策時，應注意哪些因素？
10. 您認為國小語言教育的推行，在評鑑上應如何落實？
11. 對於國小階段的語言教育，您的期望為何

## APPENDIX E

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STUDENTS' PARENTS

#### Basic Information

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ (Pseudonym) Gender:   M / F    
 Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Native Language(s): \_\_\_\_\_  
 Native Language(s) of Spouse (Unmarried people do not need to fill): \_\_\_\_\_  
 Language Use: Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mandarin (Chinese) / Indigenous  
Languages(Which Language(s)- \_\_\_\_\_) / English / Others  
( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)  
 Ethnicity: Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mainlander / Indigene (Which Group(s)-  
\_\_\_\_\_ ) / Others ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)  
 Ethnic Identity: Holo (Southern Min) / Hakka / Mainlander / Indigene (Which  
Group(s)- \_\_\_\_\_ ) / Others ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (Multiple Answers)  
 Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ Position: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Working Area: \_\_\_\_\_ Living Area: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Interview Questions

1. Could you please describe your former language learning experience at the elementary school?
2. Do your former language learning experiences affect your current opinions to children's language education? If so, how do they work?
3. In your opinion, which concepts should be included into elementary school language education?
4. Do you think that every child should learn his/her parents' native languages? Why?
5. Regarding children's language education, what is the order of importance among Mandarin, native languages, and English?
6. How do you help your children's language learning?
7. Regarding the current language education at the elementary school, whether have you had feel struggled with?
8. Regarding children's future language education, which aspect(s) would you focus on? How would you put it/them into practice?
9. In the integration of family and school education, which methods would you take to help children's language education?

## 學生家長問卷

### 基本資料

姓名: \_\_\_\_\_ 匿名(在此研究中欲使用匿名者): \_\_\_\_\_

性別: 男 / 女 年齡: \_\_\_\_\_

母語: \_\_\_\_\_ 配偶之母語(未婚者免填): \_\_\_\_\_

語言使用: 福佬語(閩南語) / 客語 / 華語(國語) / 原住民語 ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) / 英語 / 其他 ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (可複選)

本身所屬之族群: 福佬人(閩南人) / 客家人 / 新住民(外省人) / 原住民(請寫出族名 - \_\_\_\_\_ ) / 其他 ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (可複選)

本身之族群認同: 福佬人(閩南人) / 客家人 / 新住民(外省人) / 原住民(請寫出族名 - \_\_\_\_\_ ) / 其他 ( \_\_\_\_\_ ) (可複選)

工作類型: \_\_\_\_\_ 職稱: \_\_\_\_\_

工作區域: \_\_\_\_\_ 居住區域: \_\_\_\_\_

### 訪談問題

1. 請敘述一下您個人過去的國小語言教育經驗?
2. 請問您個人過去的語言學習經驗是否有影響到您現在對於孩子語言教育的看法? 如果有, 是如何?
3. 對於國小孩子的語言教育, 您認為應包含哪些概念?
4. 您認為每個孩子都應該學習父母所講的母語嗎? 為什麼?
5. 對於孩子的語言教育, 您覺得在國語、母語、英語這三者之間的重要性依序為何?
6. 請問您是如何的幫助孩子的語言學習?
7. 對於現階段的國小語言教育, 是否有讓您覺得掙扎或矛盾之處?
8. 對於孩子未來的語言教育, 您認為應著重於哪一或哪些方面? 會如何的加以實踐?
9. 在家庭教育與學校教育的配合上, 未來您會採取哪些做法以幫助孩子的語言教育?

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