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IDENTITY MANAGEMENT POLITICS IN
GLOCALIZED ENGLISH HEGEMONY:
CULTURAL STRUGGLES, FACEWORK
STRATEGIES, AND INTERCULTURAL
RELATIONSHIPS IN TAIWANESE ENGLISH
EDUCATION

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IDENTITY MANAGEMENT POLITICS IN GLOCALIZED ENGLISH HEGEMONY:
CULTURAL STRUGGLES, FACEWORK STRATEGIES, AND INTERCULTURAL
RELATIONSHIPS IN TAIWANESE ENGLISH EDUCATION

by

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B.Ed., National Pingtung Teachers College, 2005

M.A., Southern Illinois University Carbondale, 2010

A Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Communication Studies
in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
May 2017

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DISSERTATION APPROVAL

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the field of Communication Studies

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March 6th, 2017

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

HSUN-YU (SHARON) CHUANG, for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in COMMUNICATION STUDIES, presented on March 6th, 2017, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: IDENTITY MANAGEMENT POLITICS IN GLOCALIZED ENGLISH
HEGEMONY: CULTURAL STRUGGLES, FACEWORK STRATEGIES, AND
INTERCULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS IN TAIWANESE ENGLISH EDUCATION

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki

The globalization of the English language has rendered both positive and negative impacts to countries around the world. With the ever-increasing pervasiveness of the English language, many non-native-English-speaking (NNES hereafter) people and countries have shown growing interests in teaching and learning English. Some governments of these NNES countries have decided to implement “English” as a mandatory school subject into their compulsory curriculum in order to “connect with the world” and/or to increase their nation’s international image. However, in these NNES countries, English often does not hold official capacity and is taught as a foreign language (EFL). Although English (language) education can bring positive changes to a nation, it is not free of problems. Essentially, English education influences many NNES countries and their citizens in sociocultural, economic, and educational arenas. Some scholars, such as Tsuda (2008), assert that the “problems” and impacts are inseparable from “English language hegemony.” My country of origin, Taiwan, is one of the EFL and NNES countries that implements English education in our nation’s compulsory education.

In recent decades, communicative-based English educational approaches have received great support from the Taiwanese Ministry of Education. In an EFL setting, such as that in Taiwan, the said educational approaches have complicated English education even further. In particular, the communicative-based approaches focus on teaching and practicing English oral

proficiency, which average Taiwanese citizens do not need in their daily lives. Many Taiwanese people experience identity struggles and self-esteem issues because of their less-than-desirable English oral proficiency. In addition to Taiwanese, native-English-speaking (NES) teachers who are recruited to teach English in Taiwan are an integral part of the Taiwanese English education. As a Taiwanese citizen and an intercultural communication scholar, I recognize the intricate complexity of Taiwanese English education and am compelled to examine it in this dissertation as it has not received much attention in the discipline of Communication Studies.

In this dissertation, I employ Identity Management Theory (IMT) (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005) as the primary theoretical framework to examine Taiwanese English education. Particularly, I utilize IMT to study the identity construction and management (such as identity freezing), facework strategies, and intercultural relationship development among NES teachers, Taiwanese English teachers, and Taiwanese students. To carry out this research, I employ critical complete-member ethnography (CCME) (Toyosaki, 2011) as the central research methodology, because I see myself as a complete-member researcher with my research participants. I share complete-memberships with them in nuanced, complex, and contextual manners. Methodologically, CCME entails ethnography of communication, autoethnography, and critical ethnography; all are informative of my data collection methods, including ethnographic participant observation, ethnographic interview, and autoethnographic journaling inside and outside of English classes at different Taiwanese universities. These three methods helped me gather rich data for this research.

To analyze and discuss the data, I employed thematic analysis (Owen, 1984) and critical examinations of consensual and conflictual theorization (Fiske, 1991; Toyosaki, 2011). Both methods render complex findings. In particular, the analysis and discussion reveal and explain

(a) how the research participants manage cultural identities through marking scope, salience, and intensity with different English educational participants, (b) how they apply facework strategies to cope with identity freezing experiences, and (c) how they establish and maintain intercultural relationships with other English educational participants as they transition across different relational phases of their relationships. I deliver the findings thematically in an analytical and narrative-like manner, as I layer and weave together the field notes, the interview responses, and my autoethnographic journaling.

Ultimately, I argue that English hegemony has glocalized in Taiwanese English education and is manifested through research participants' identity management politics and their intercultural relationships. Essentially, my research shows that identity management politics is inseparable from the power differentials and inequalities imbued in Taiwanese English education. Voluntarily and/or involuntarily, the research participants and I have normalized English hegemony, embodied its presence in our knowledge production and consumption, and given English/Western ideologies consent to dominate our communicative choices, our (sub)consciousness, and our intercultural relationships. Aside from perpetuating English hegemony, I have also observed resistance against the said hegemonic impacts inside and outside of the English classrooms. In a power-laden intercultural communication context, such as Taiwanese English education, critical analyses and examinations play essential roles in revealing the identity management politics and power differentials embedded in the (mythically) "innocent" English classrooms. I further recognize how this research serves as an example to other EFL and NNES countries. In due course, I conclude that my research makes contributions to the scholarships of intercultural communication and to English education in Taiwan and beyond.

DEDICATION

To my hard-working parents in Taiwan who support my dream!

To all English educational participants who experience discrimination, injustice, and/or pain in your English-learning and -teaching journeys.

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These years have been a long-and-hard Ph.D. journey and have also been one of the most unforgettable parts of my life. I would not be able to make it without much-needed care, guidance, and support from family, mentors, colleagues, and friends. I am forever indebted to each and every one of you.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Globalization of English Language and Culture

“Repeat after me: A, a, apple; b, b, bird; c, c, cat; d, d, dog. Good job! Now, let’s color the apple, bird, cat, and dog in your workbooks,” said a “foreign” (native-English-speaking) teacher with blue eyes and blonde hair, standing by the podium and asking the whole class of kindergarteners to recite and chant together. It was 1988 in Taiwan, and I was one of the kindergarteners. Back then, I did not know why I was learning the English language or the significance of those words and sounds, but I surely liked drawing and coloring in my workbook. This is how I encountered the English language for the first time in my schooling.

My initial contact with the English language was a direct result of its fast and worldwide advancement. McIntyre (2009) explains that the globalization and the spread of the English language and culture began in the Early Modern period, when Great Britain built colonies beyond the British Isles. He adds that the invention of technology in the early 1990s, such as the World Wide Web, has become an important vehicle for the development of English into the global language. Moreover, English has been growing to be a significant language in science and technology. Nearly “85% of all the scientific and technological information in the world today is written and/or abstracted in English” (Kaplan, 2001, p. 12). Due to its pervasive development and worldwide presence, English has been associated with a few different labels, such as “global language” (Crystal, 2003; McIntyre, 2009; Nunan, 2003), “international language” (McKay, 2000, 2002; Pennycook, 1994), and “lingua franca” (Jenkins, 2006; McIntyre, 2009). These labels, while they differ from each other, represent the international and intercultural features of today’s English language.

With the ever-increasing pervasiveness of the English language worldwide, many non-native-English-speaking (NNES hereafter) people and countries show growing interests in teaching and learning English. In particular, the governments of some NNES countries that do not legislate English as their official or first language have implemented English into their compulsory curriculum in order to (a) fuel their nation's modernization (Hu, 2005), (b) enhance economic growth and international image (Gray, 2003; Pennycook, 1994; Su, 2006), and (c) promote education to meet global standards (Butler, 2007; Chan, 2004; McPherron, 2009). As a result, the demand for English-teaching professions has been increasing.

In some (South-)East Asian countries, such as China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, English education has officially been introduced to the compulsory education at the elementary school level (see Butler, 2004, 2007; Chan, 2004; Chern, 2002; Gray, 2003; Hu, 2005; Kam, 2002; Wang, 2010). The term "English education" in this dissertation refers to English being taught as a foreign language (EFL) or as a second language (ESL) in NNES countries, unless specified otherwise. Brown (2001) broadly defines that, in EFL settings, the English language is mainly limited to classroom exposure and is not used for daily communication. Differently, in ESL settings, the English language is used as a communication medium in daily lives or is taught in countries that speak English as their official or first language. Countries such as China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan are considered EFL countries. China, specifically, is estimated as having the world's-largest English-learning population (He & Li, 2009). In Taiwan, my country of origin, many parents prepare their children for an "early start" in English education by enrolling them in kindergartens that feature English programs (Chang, 2008; Hsieh, 2011; Su, 2006). English has carried so much weight that, in Taiwan, "[its] proficiency is used as reference for promotion, job hunting, and college applications" (Hsieh, 2011, p. 255). English education

and the English language have influenced many NNES countries and their citizens in sociocultural, economic, and educational arenas.

In the remainder of this chapter, I first share a series of personal narratives to show how I enter this dissertation topic. Subsequently, I explicate my research rationale and purposes. Finally, I provide a preview of remaining chapters in this dissertation.

My Personal Entry to the Dissertation Topic

In summer 2014, I decided to take a break from my graduate education in the U.S. and returned home to Taiwan for a short vacation. After a long flight and a few ground transportations, I arrived home—a place surrounded by rice fields, exuberant in the golden color of the season. I left my schooling and the academic life behind in the U.S. As I promised my friends, I made a trip to visit them and their first baby. I was traveling up north in a metro train that gently swayed my body from left to right and right to left, back and forth, as it slid down on the set of railroad tracks. Being rocked like a baby on the train, I was very excited to see my friends and their newborn baby. My swaying body reminded me that I was still exhausted from jet lag. It was mid-morning on a weekday, so this metro car was not crowded at all. My eyes started to wonder and somehow fixed on a little girl around 3 or 4 years of age, playing and shouting a few English words near her mother. “Yum,” “cookie,” and “yes” were some of the words I heard. The little girl reminded me of my own childhood; I started to see the flashbacks of myself coloring the apple, bird, cat, and dog in the workbook while chanting in kindergarten classroom. As the train continued traveling north, my mind fell in the time machine that had taken me back to my old English-learning memories.

My Parents

I grew up in a rural area in Taiwan, or a “village” to be precise. My grandparents on both sides never left the small towns where they were born and raised, neither had my parents. To be fair, my mom once worked temporarily as an apparel salesperson at a department store in a nearby city. After a short time, she left the city and returned to our hometown to work in a Japanese-owned factory that manufactured various kinds of motors. She stayed working in the same factory until she retired a few years ago. My mother had not mentioned much of her English-learning experience, but she insisted that her children, my two sisters and I, should devote sufficient time and efforts to learning this foreign language.

When it comes to the English language, my father told a different story. I remembered that he had told my sisters and me many times about how destitute most Taiwanese people were when he was a child. He was born a few years after World War II ended. He was one of the “baby boomers.” As children growing up, he and my uncle did not have adequate resources for virtually everything, let alone proper or comfortable clothing to put on in a small farming and rural area like our village. My father explained, “Mom (my grandmother) would cut out pairs of shorts or underwear made of coarse linen from the flour bags distributed by the U.S. army stationed in Taiwan after World War II.” These bags of flour were emergency food for people and families in need, which were greatly appreciated by many people in Taiwan at that time. The post-war period was when our economy was stagnantly down. My father recalled that imprinted on those bags were Mandarin Chinese words and some corresponding English translations, such

as 美國¹ [The United States of America] and 世界糧食方案 [World Food Program]. Also on the flour bags, as he described, were the national flags of the U.S. and Taiwan, along with a main logo of a handshake between two people, signifying amicability between the two countries. Underneath the national flags and the hand-shake logo were the Chinese words of 中美合作 [Taiwan-U.S. cooperation]. “U.S.A.” were the three letters my father frequently used to refer to the country in which I later decided to reside and study.

My Siblings and I

My elder sister was the first child of my family who received formal English education in mandatory school systems. She and I were three years apart in age. With such age gap, I somehow tended to follow her footsteps for my educational decisions. My elder sister and I both went to the same private kindergarten, for the reasons that it featured native-English-speaking teachers and early English-immersion classes. My younger sister did not have the chance to attend the same kindergarten due to my family’s economic concerns later on. Somehow, I had the feeling that the reason why my parents insisted that my sisters and I learned English was because they did not have the opportunity to do so in their youth. They hoped their children would fulfill their dreams. Without having to explain any reasons explicitly, my parents ensured that my two sisters and I began learning English from young ages. Thinking back, I had learned a few English words and basic greetings at kindergarten, and it sure was fun playing with my elder sister and fellow classmates in some random English words; they were like our secret codes.

¹ The literal Chinese translation of the United States of America—美國—is “beautiful nation.” Although the Chinese characters were selected from the close pronunciations between “America” and 美 [beautiful], the translation of U.S.A. also exerts and invites people to think about U.S.A. as a beautiful nation.

Elementary School and “Cram School”

After kindergarten, I attended a public elementary school (circa 1990s) in my hometown, where no formal English education was administered or implemented (from the 1st to 6th grades). The curriculum policy back then was making the English language a required core subject from junior high school (the 7th to 9th grades). My elder sister was already in junior high school, and she was doing well in the English subject. She thought it was an interesting foreign language to learn. However, having heard many intimidating rumors from relatives and friends whose children encountered difficulties in learning English at school, my parents decided not to take risks for me. They both thought that I needed to register in some kind of structured and formal English classes to start ahead (before the 7th grade). When I was in the 5th grade, someone recommended a private local institute that provided after-school English classes and piano lessons. This kind of “after-school institute” was called 補習班 (“cram school,” also spelled out as *bushiban* or *buxiban*²) by many Taiwanese people. This English class met twice a week, and I was always happy that I had additional time to spend with good friends from school who also went to the same *bushiban*.

This English class was held in a small room in a concrete bungalow. There were about fifteen fellow classmates, and the room was set up with five or six rows of benches that looked like church pews, which came with one piece of wooden tabletop attached to the back of each pew. Three of us, the students, were assigned to sit on one long bench, facing and sharing the

² The spelling difference varies depending on what scheme or system of Romanization—“converting non-Roman words, characters, and scripts into Latin alphabetic scripts” (Chen, 2016, p. 22)—people use. In Taiwan, *Zhuyin dier shi* and *Hanyu pinyin fang’an* are two common ones in use (Wang, 2004). *Buxiban* is considered *Hanyu pinyin*, and *bushiban* is *Zhuyin*. In this dissertation, I adopt the spelling of *bushiban* in that it is more common in Taiwan.

long wooden tabletop that was fixed in the back of another bench before us. We were sandwiched in the space between the long tabletop and the bench. Just like sitting at the window seats on an airplane, we had to either squeeze really hard to get in and out of our seats or ask our “bench-mates” to move to the isle. There was minimal but just enough space for the average grade-school children. From a bird’s-eye view, we probably looked like rows of pinned-down nails on five pieces of wooden planks. At the front of the room was a blackboard, taking up almost the entire wall.

Our English teacher was a Taiwanese woman who was slim, had long hair, and wore a pair of glasses. She liked to stand at the front of the classroom, although she sometimes needed to walk down to us to discipline some naughty and misbehaving boys. She started the first day of class by appointing each of us an English name, and with no particular reasons, I was named “Alice.” I quickly accepted it because this name was the same as the adventurous girl in the famous children’s story 愛麗絲夢遊仙境 [*Alice in Wonderland*]. I had become “Alice” in that English class.

We first learned the 26 English alphabets and some simple everyday greetings. We also learned to introduce ourselves: “Hi, my name is Alice. What’s your name?” What we often did in class was repeat after our teacher or chant along with the songs in some cassette tapes. The teacher assigned homework on a regular basis, mostly tracing and copying alphabets in our workbooks. Rarely did we play games, simply because there was not room for us to move around. With no prior *bushiban* experiences to which to compare, I enjoyed learning English there.

One petty, yet major, reason that I quit going to this *bushiban* was because of my struggles of motion sickness in vans. The *bushiban* sent out mini-vans to pick up and drop off

students from and to their homes. The mini-vans travelled on a long route and made frequent stops. Unfortunately, my severe motion sickness was induced several times by the mini-van's frequent stops and its tiny space that was usually crowded with many students. I had to quit. Years later, I chuckled at this ridiculous reason. However, it had opened a window for me to start a life-changing English class that I would not trade for anything else, even until now.

The Chance—A Typhoon Night

On a summery night after I quit the *bushiban*, Taiwan was struck by a strong typhoon earlier that day. The power in my village was suddenly cut off after dinner time due to some unknown collateral damages. The whole village became extremely dark—no streetlights, no moonlight, and no starlight. Hovering over the sky was only a blanket of darkness. So much calmer and no more rain in the evening, many villagers pulled chairs outside of their houses to sit and chat with each other. Many youngsters were running on the streets and in the alleys, savoring the coolness of an unusual summer night. Dad hopped on his motorcycle and headed to the local police station, trying to find out when the power would be restored. Mrs. Fan (pseudonym) was our next-door neighbor. I did not know her too well because I was quite shy as a teenager and did not speak to too many people outside of my family. I knew that Mrs. Fan was a piano teacher who had studied abroad for some time. At home, she not only taught her daughter how to play the piano, but also played melodious tunes herself. Oftentimes, her music streamed out of her living room into ours; my family was the first beneficiary for the free and beautiful melodies.

On that typhoon night, like other villagers, I was also savoring the night with my mom, my sisters, and Mrs. Fan. In the dark, we were chatting about the power outage while strolling down toward the only main road in our village. My eyes had gradually become accustomed to the darkness and were able to see the surroundings a little more clearly. Some distance from us, I

saw two figures walking toward us on the main road. From their silhouettes, my curiosity arose. One person was slim and rather tall, maybe six feet, and the other was in an average height of a Taiwanese person, maybe a little taller than five feet. I heard them talking, but I could not make out clearly what they were saying.

Up closer toward us, they made a stop. Mrs. Fan greeted them in English, “Hi! No power at your house, either?” Mrs. Fan and the two people exchanged a brief conversation in English. It was not until then did I see a tall male 外國人 [foreigner] (typically referring to a White or Western-looking person in Mandarin Chinese) and a female Taiwanese holding hands. They were Mr. and Mrs. Johnson (pseudonym). Mrs. Fan seemed to know them. Neither I nor my family knew Mr. and Mrs. Johnson. Mrs. Fan then introduced my family to them, and them to my family. Although I could not see Mr. and Mrs. Johnson’s faces clearly, I sure noticed how Mr. Johnson’s English was quite different from my Taiwanese English teacher at the local *bushiban*; it sounded like the people in the English cassette tapes. Mr. Johnson’s English also reminded me of how actors and actresses in “American movies” spoke and how “foreigner” singers sang on TV. At the age of twelve, I was not aware of the reasons that caused the differences in their English, but I knew my Taiwanese teacher’s English did not sound like any of those. During our chat, Mr. Johnson spoke English, and Mrs. Johnson would translate. She later continued the conversation in Mandarin and explained to us that they had just moved to our village from a big city near my hometown. She also told us that they were interested in opening a small English school in the village for local children. Although it was Mrs. Johnson who managed most of the talking, I was already enchanted by the sounds of Mr. Johnson’s English. That night became a historical marker in my life that had jumpstarted my English-learning journey with a native English-speaker from “U.S.A.”

Mr. and Mrs. Johnson's English Classes

A few months had passed after that summer night. One autumn day, after dinner time, Mrs. Fan came knocking on our door and told my family that Mr. and Mrs. Johnson had set up their English school and were about to offer free two-week-long lessons for any child nearby. I immediately jumped out of the couch and fervently shouted to my parents, "I want to go to their classes!" One big bonus of going to their classes was that I no longer had to travel to *bushiban* in a mini-van because it was merely a five-minute walk from home. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson had set up their English school in two separate rooms on the second floor of their three-story home.

At the beginning, there were only four or five local children who attended the free classes. I could not contain my excitement for going to Mr. Johnson's class. Mr. Johnson's class took place in a room that looked like a regular bedroom in size. There was no single piece of furniture in the room, and the room was carpeted throughout the floor. "Where are the chairs and tables? How am I supposed to learn with no place to sit?" I was murmuring to myself. When my fellow classmates and I first entered the room, we were surprised to be greeted by the "strange" scene of a blue-eyed and blond-haired foreigner. He was Mr. Johnson. He was already waiting in the room and sitting on the floor! I finally saw his face clearly. To me, he resembled those American stars on TV! In the middle of the classroom, a ceiling fan hung above us, circulating and pushing cool air around the air-conditioned room. The air-conditioned room made going to Mr. Johnson's class a pleasure, because I could escape the uncomfortably hot and muggy weather outside (typical for summer and autumn in Taiwan). Pleasantly, my classmates and I enjoyed the cool air blowing onto our faces and bodies, not to mention the openness of the space with no fixed furniture, no desks and no chairs. To follow suit with Mr. Johnson, we all sat down on the carpeted floor in a circle with him.

He started the class by asking if we had English names. By that time, I grew tired of my English name, “Alice,” because most people I knew, including my parents, had trouble pronouncing the ending consonant “s” without making it sound like an ominous word “si” (“死” [death]) in Mandarin Chinese. Some of my friends and classmates even made fun of me by deliberately mispronouncing my English name. With all these complications, I responded to Mr. Johnson’s question by shaking my head and pretended that I had no English name. Mr. Johnson then asked each of us to pronounce our first names in Mandarin Chinese. I replied, 勳羽 (officially spelled as “Hsun-Yu” but phonetically pronounced more like “/shoon yu/”). After I repeated my name a few times, he suggested “Sharon” for me because it sounded like my Taiwanese name. Somehow, I felt connected with “Sharon” more than “Alice.”

In addition to helping us select our English names, in the two-week free classes, we read a few short children’s stories in very simple English words, learned a few greetings without textbooks, played games, and listened to and sang children’s English songs in Mr. Johnson’s class. We were constantly moving around the room and using our bodies a lot because Mr. Johnson often prepared various kinds of activities that required us to do so, and also because we barely knew any English words to carry out verbal communication with him. We often had to communicate nonverbally by acting out what we wanted to convey to him.

Going to Mrs. Johnson’s class was exciting, too. After about one hour in Mr. Johnson’s class, we moved to Mrs. Johnson’s class for half an hour. Mrs. Johnson’s class was in a smaller room next to Mr. Johnson’s. It was a computer room with stool chairs, three or four computers, and CRT (the older-and-bulky-style) monitors. The computers and monitors sat on two long plastic tables arranged against two sides of the wall. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson installed a few English-learning programs and games so that we could play and learn at the same time.

Certainly, I liked going Mr. Johnson's class, but I was equally, if not more, excited about going to Mrs. Johnson's class, because I could play computer games there and sometimes communicate with Mrs. Johnson in Mandarin Chinese. I had great fun and enjoyed learning English there for the two weeks. After seeing how happy I was every time I returned home from the English class, my parents agreed to sign me up in Mr. and Mrs. Johnson's English school. I was in the 6th grade at that time.

Mr. and Mrs. Johnson did not call their English school a "cram school" or *bushiban*; they preferred the name of "English conversation classes," which I liked, too. Their classes remained small in size. There had not been more than ten children in one class. They did not try to "cram" anything into us, nor did we have to take any formal/grade-related testing. In Mr. and Mrs. Johnson's English conversation classes, we limited the use of Mandarin Chinese, especially in Mr. Johnson's class, because he spoke very little Mandarin Chinese. Frankly, as students, we sometimes spoke with each other in Mandarin Chinese, particularly when we were stuck and were seeking help from fellow classmates for translations. Although my fellow classmates and I were teenagers, it sure felt as if we were toddlers growing up together and trying our best to learn to express ourselves through a new language.

I found fun rather than intimidation in learning English there, because there was minimal stress, at least for me. The routines in class were that we went into the classroom, sat down in a circle, and started reviewing what we had learned in a previous class before we entered a new topic. Mrs. Johnson made various poster boards, beautifully and creatively painted and decorated. Mr. Johnson used them to teach us how to tell time, daily routines and activities, weather, sports, family tree, so on and so forth. With no textbooks, those poster boards were our main learning materials in addition to what I enjoyed the most—storybooks. We practiced our

reading skills and pronunciations, and we built vocabulary through reading storybooks. Mr. Johnson owned several series of hardcover storybooks in multiple copies. With different copies, each of us could hold the book in our hands while sitting in a circle and taking turns to read the story together. We took turns reading, starting from one word per person to one sentence per person, and then gradually, one page per person.

I was excited that Mr. and Mrs. Johnson encouraged us to check out those hardcover storybooks to read at home, as long as we promised to return them in one piece. I enjoyed holding those storybooks in my hands at home, fantasizing that I was a child in “the U.S.A.,” the land of mystery and Disney World. I still remembered my very first storybook, *Peter and Jane*. It had a blue hardcover on the outside and a few pages of half letter-sized glossy bond paper inside. Upon opening the book, the first two sentences read:

“This is Peter.”

“This is Jane.”

Above the sentences were paintings of two little White children, Peter and Jane, smiling. During that year in the “English conversation classes,” I had not considered or noticed how much my English abilities had improved or grown because there were no exams or tests. After I entered junior high school (the 7th grade), I started to see a difference.

Junior High School

After having gone to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson’s English conversation classes for almost a year, I attended a public junior high school that started from the 7th grade, which, by the way, was typical in the Taiwanese educational system. English was an officially required core subject starting in junior high school. At that time, I found out that I was already familiar with almost all of the content in my first English textbook at school. “Good morning! How are you?” “I’m fine.

Thank you! And you?" were the main sentences in Lesson One. Other topics, such as general greetings, school-related activities and objects, and expressions of daily routines, were a few other topics in my very first official English textbook. The textbook had both Chinese and English in it. I started to realize that my English abilities exceeded most of my classmates (especially those who had not gone to *bushiban*). The English language became my favorite school subject because I rarely had to spend time preparing for the exams, and I would still earn good grades. Scoring full points in almost every English exam in the 7th grade, I started to gain attention from my Taiwanese English teacher at school.

During the 8th and the 9th grades, I was often appointed as a class or school representative to compete in English-language-related contests, such as reading/recital contests and speech contests. I remember vividly that I had to prepare for a regional English speech contest in the 8th grade. For the contest, my English teacher wrote a speech manuscript and asked me to memorize it line by line. He also directed me to practice putting stresses, making pauses, and using body languages and facial expressions to deliver that speech. In the county where I grew up, there were very talented junior high school students who attended private schools, and they were usually quite fluent in English. I was not a strong contestant compared to them. On the contest day, I was extremely nervous; I couldn't stop my whole body from trembling and my palms from sweating. When I finally stood on the stage and "recited" my speech, I felt as if I were a robot trying to tell a story. My arms were stiff, and my shoulders tight. Although I had not won any prize in the end, it was the feelings of accomplishments, being noticed, and being trusted that made me persist in learning English for many more years to come.

Senior High School

My passion for English-language learning continued into my senior high school education (from the 10th to 12th grade), but it had diminished due to overwhelming stress in the overall educational requirements. I kept attending Mr. and Mrs. Johnson's English conversation classes at that time. (By the second or third year after their official establishment, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson had attracted many more students that they expanded their English conversation classes into different proficiency levels. Mrs. Johnson was in charge for beginning-level classes and Mr. Johnson taught classes from intermediate level and above.) After almost four years of learning English with them, I had grown to feel very comfortable with the language. My grades and performances in the English subject were still above the majority of my classmates at high school, and I had been placed in the highest level in Mr. and Mrs. Johnson's English classes. The sense of accomplishment was a pivotal reason for me to continue learning English with Mr. Johnson. At a more advanced level of Mr. Johnson's "English conversation class," we had a formal grammar textbook and more structured homework compared to the beginning few years of attending his class. Even with a formal grammar textbook, Mr. Johnson's class still did not turn into a typical *bushiban*. Most of the time, *bushiban* for high schoolers aimed at drilling and cramming academic information into our heads so that we would perform well in tests and examinations. I was more than pleased that Mr. and Mrs. Johnson's English conversation classes remained interactive and test-free as I continued to learn English with them. I enjoyed engaging in various activities, such as reading classic English novels (in slightly simpler versions that fit our level) and sharing our thoughts about the readings. We still played games from time to time.

I especially liked the game called "Making Up Stories." Mr. Johnson had a deck of cards that looked like Tarot cards, with one to two random English words on each card. Printed in the

middle of each card was a picture that represented the words, other times quite abstract-looking. There was a variety of the words, such as butterfly, dance, princess, and so on. Just like playing poker, Mr. Johnson gave out multiple cards to each of us, and then we (still) sat in a circle, taking turns to use one card at a time to continue the storyline created by the whole class. If we could not make a logical or reasonable connection, we could pass. The first person who finished all the cards in hand would win the game! It was challenging, yet fun, because we enjoyed creating unpredictable and bizarre plots into our stories.

Although I was still having a good time learning English from Mr. Johnson, I had to spend much more time memorizing new vocabulary and grammatical rules for exams at high school. This extra learning was not enjoyable at all, but necessary. It helped me expand knowledge and maintain good grades in the English quizzes and exams at school. Sufficient preparations and good grades at senior high schools were pivotal for many high school students, because we were required to take a high-stakes and one-time-only “National College Entrance Examination (NCEE)” if we wished to continue our education at any college or university in Taiwan. The English language was one of the five core subjects for NCEE. Due to the unbearable stress from schoolwork and exam preparations, I had thought about quitting Mr. Johnson’s class several times. However, my mother insisted that I should continue at least until my final year in senior high school. So, I stayed in the Mr. Johnson’s “English conversation class” until the first semester of the 12th grade. Looking back, I had learned English from him for almost seven years.

Waiting...

Judging from my academic performances throughout junior and senior high schools, most people I knew had no doubt that I was going to score high in the subject of English in the NCEE.

Luckily, after the nerve-racking NCEE in an extremely muggy and scorching-hot July weather, I had not fallen out of my own and other people's expectations. Among the five required subjects for NCEE, I earned the best score in English, which was ranked within the top 10 percentile in that year, nationwide. Needless to say, I was pleased. In addition to the good grade, my strong interest in English had steered me to choose (English-) language-related majors.

In my generation, any senior high school student who had taken the NCEE was given a scantron sheet that allowed us to select and rank 66 choices of the majors at universities in which we were interested. "It is finally time to enter college and this is going to affect my future so much! I have to choose wisely," I thought to myself as I researched different majors that fitted my interests and those that looked promising for future employability. After careful selections, I submitted the scantron sheet, along with my NCEE transcript to a nearby location designated by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan. My parents had double- and triple-checked my selections before my submission. The final admission result took approximately one month to process, which felt like an eternity. When the waiting time was approaching one month, I would anxiously check the mailbox if I missed mail delivery time of the day. When my friends who lived in the city started to receive their letters, mine was still missing. My anxiety was high but bearable because I knew there were usually a few days of delay for mail to arrive in our village due to our rural location. However, another week passed and I still did not have my letter. I started to panic and decided that I should just sit in the living room after lunch every day and wait for the mail carrier. For the first few days of that week, I would jump out of the couch and rush to the door whenever I heard the mail carrier's motorcycle roaring engine approaching the alley. Even he knew what I was waiting for.

It was almost the end of the week. The mail carrier's motorcycle revved to the door and he called my name. "Here you go! I know you have been waiting for this. Good luck!" said the mail carrier as he gave me a smile and quickly revved away. Anxious to know where I would start my college life, I slowly and cautiously opened the envelope. My hands were shaking badly, and my heart pumping so fast as if it were going to jump out of my chest. Taking a deep breath before I read the words on the letter, I was extremely thrilled to see that I was admitted to an English Education department at a teachers college. "I am going to be an English teacher just like Mr. and Mrs. Johnson," I shouted and hopped in the living room ecstatically. Rumor had it that "4 years of college equals to 4 years of playing!" I was excited that I was about to start the "fun" college life where I did not have to take stressful high-stakes standardized entrance exams anymore. It was the best summer vacation ever!

College Life

The "4 years of playing" started taking a different shape once I began my college education. I soon realized college was nothing close to "4 years of playing"! At college, my English-language learning journey became much more complicated, yet still rewarding. As an English Education major, I was required to take several English-language literature and linguistic courses. Most of the courses were at professional and advanced levels, and they were designed to broaden and deepen students' appreciation, understanding, and familiarity with the English language and its related cultures. In addition to taking these English-related courses, my classmates and I were also required to take educational foundation courses that taught and trained us to be good and qualified teachers at elementary schools. Coursework was stressful.

However, just as many college students, extracurricular activities also filled my college life. Although busy and exhausted most of the time, I felt fulfilled that I was learning English at

the advanced level as well as being trained to become an English teacher. In order to gain hands-on teaching experiences and also to alleviate my parents' financial burdens, I chose to take on a part-time job teaching English to grade-school children in my first year. I became a part-time English teacher while remaining a full-time student. The four years of undergraduate education and another year of mandatory practicum at an elementary school had helped me tremendously in understanding myself and English-learning and -teaching from the perspective of an English teacher. Learning English at the college level was no longer mere fulfillment for a mandatory school subject. I was thinking to myself, "I have become the person who carries the responsibility to educate future generations and to create suitable (hopefully enjoyable) English-learning environments for them. I am an English teacher now! I have always wanted to be one!"

An Unexpected Turn

Surprisingly and unfortunately, I encountered an unpredictable change in my career path after an additional required practicum year. I did not make the cut in the teacher's recruitment exams held in different regions nationwide. The availabilities varied depending upon the need of each region. Ever since I was admitted as an English Education major at the teachers college, my one and only dream and career aspiration was to become an English teacher at an elementary school in Taiwan. I had worked and studied hard during those five years, hoping to make my dream come true. Unfortunately, I failed miserably at the recruitment exams, competing with thousands of pre-service English teachers for only 15 positions nationwide that year. My dream was crushed. One fundamental problem during that time in Taiwan was low birth rate (and this still is a problem now), which resulted in necessary reduction of the number of teachers at each school as there was fixed and mandated student-teacher ratio. Many elementary schools faced troubles recruiting sufficient number students to maintain the ratio, so there were just too many

teachers and not enough students. Therefore, schools were not allowed to recruit new teachers. Competition remains fierce even today. Some of the well-trained and qualified teachers who did not make the cut kept taking these recruitment exams year after year. They/we were known as 流浪教師 [“the vagrant teachers”]. After failing the exams, I cried hard and was extremely ashamed of, upset with, and disappointed at myself. I could not eat or sleep well for several weeks. I did not know what to do, as my long-built dream and goal was shattered. I just wanted to run away, away from taking any exams and away from Taiwan.

The Universe must have witnessed my struggles and heard my heart broken. Life suddenly took a drastic turn that I had never expected. After spending months of my life being angry at my depressing failure, I suddenly saw light in the darkness of my life. Unanticipated, an offer to study in the U.S. for a Master’s degree was presented to me, with a scholarship! I had a long and hard discussion with my parents, and I decided to grab this once-in-a-lifetime chance to embark on a new journey to a new direction of life with new hope! So, here I am! With ups and downs, I have had resided in the U.S. for almost ten years now, completing the terminal degree in Communication Studies and making these past triumphs and sorrows part of my future.

Research Rationale and Purposes

I am a Taiwanese citizen who had her first encounter with the English language at a rather young age and later received many more years of formal English education. I enter my present research from this cultural location. In this dissertation, I examine the Taiwanese English education through the perspective of interpretive and critical intercultural communication.

Through the interpretive lens, I aim at investigating and describing the English education developments and trends in Taiwan not only to illuminate localized phenomena and practices, but also to establish the foundation and background for my research. I also focus on studying the

experiences of English educational participants in Taiwan. In addition to the interpretive lens, I incorporate a critical perspective. In response to the expansion of English education in non-native-English-speaking (NNES) countries, contemporary scholars, such as Canagarajah (1999), Lee (2010), Pennycook (1994), Phillipson (1992, 2009), and Tsuda (1999, 2008, 2010), have raised awareness and concerns of unequal power among languages. These forerunning scholars have critically investigated the seemingly progressive expansion of English language and its education. Tsuda (2008), for example, contends that the globalization of English has created inequalities between native-English-speaking (NES hereafter) people and their NNES counterparts. He argues that the inequalities grant more advantages to NES people, discriminate against those who are not proficient in English, and colonize the consciousnesses of NNES people. Such inequalities further cause NNES people “to develop linguistic, cultural, and psychological dependency upon, and identification with, English, its culture and people” (Tsuda, 2008, p. 168; see also Pennycook, 1994). Tsuda (2008) frames this phenomenon as the “linguistic hegemony” of English (p. 167); Phillipson (2009) calls it “linguistic neoimperialism” (p. 211), and Kubota (1998), “English imperialism” and “the domination of English” (p. 297).

The aforementioned scholars have revealed that the globalization of the English language and its education render implications—sometimes unconscious—beyond pure linguistic and educational objectives. Learning and teaching English disseminate ideologies deriving from NES culture, mainly represented by Australia, Great Britain, and the United States. Fundamentally, English education functions to spread sociocultural, economic, and ideological power of the English language and culture from NES to NNES countries and people (Pennycook, 1994; Tsuda, 2008; Phillipson, 2009). Holliday (2009) specifically points out that the English-as-a-lingua-franca movement results in cultural struggles, specifically because NES (Western, the

“Centre”) cultures impose cultural norms on the NNES counterparts (the “Periphery”) (p. 144). Although some NNES countries may have willingly accepted the linguistic and ideological imperialism from the English language for their global advancements, Holliday advocates that NES countries should withdraw from the “Centre” position, so that the “Periphery” can cultivate their own voices and variations of the English language and culture.

In his work, Holliday (2009) briefly mentions the discriminations and inequalities NNES teachers encounter in English language education and suggests “new thinking about speakerhood” (p. 149), that is, “regardless of where [the] Englishes are located, English belongs to everyone who uses it. This implies an element of liberation from being particularly associated with a language standard by virtue of place of birth” (p. 151). In addition to concurring with Holliday’s assertion, I further propose the necessity to examine the interconnected and nuanced role of English hegemony in English language education. Because the linguistic hegemony and ideological dissemination are imbued in English education, I plan to research, understand, and critique how Taiwanese English education has potentially been reinforcing and perpetuating NES culture and ideologies in its educational practices. In doing so, I also hope to provide suggestions to support localized practices of English education in Taiwan and in other NNES countries alike.

Furthermore, language education is connected with educational participants’ identity construction and management. Norton (1997) explicitly relates language learning to identity construction:

Every time language learners speak . . . they are . . . constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They . . . are engaged in identity construction and negotiation. (p. 410)

She also indicates the co-constitutive connection between identity and language by asserting, “Identity constitutes and is constructed by language” (p. 419). Similarly, Canagarajah (1999) advocates that scholars should examine how “language is implicated in the creative ways subjects [i.e., language users] negotiate identities, roles, and statuses in everyday life” (p. 30). Hence, I affirm that the relationships among identity, language, and language education are interdependent and intricate.

Notwithstanding, I am aware that there are multiple ways to view the English language in the globalizing world. One is the perspective I take here—the English language as a hegemonic and powerful structure (Canagarajah, 1999; Lee, 2010; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992, 2009; Tsuda, 1999, 2008, 2010). Another perspective is the pluralization of English—“(World) Englishes” (Kachru, 1990) or “Global Englishes” (Pennycook, 2010). Some linguistic scholars, such as Bamgboṣe (1998), Kachru (1990), and Yano (2001), suggest that English language has prevailed in many NNES countries for several decades and has resulted in various localizations and nativizations of “Englishes” that become “endonormative standards” in these countries (Bamgboṣe, 1998, p. 1). While I approach this research from the first perspective, the critically oriented perspective, I am also mindful of different phenomenological approaches with which my research participants may understand English (e.g., “World Englishes” do not have one origin or any specific privileged form, and/or “Englishes” are beneficial and necessary).

In short, the global significance of the English language and its localized impacts are equally crucial. Thus far, I have discussed the global influence of the English language and its potential effects on NNES countries and people. I have also briefly reviewed the significant role language plays in one’s identity construction and negotiation. Toyosaki (2011, 2012) specifically asserts the importance of connecting structural analysis and local communication practices,

which reminds me/us to pay critical attention to particularity and performativity of how English education as a structural force (re)produces implications for educational participants and their identity constructions. My dissertation project delves into the interconnection among the structural domination of the English language and culture, the local implementation of English education, and the nuanced identity construction and management of English educational participants. More specifically, the primary purpose of my dissertation is to study how identity politics and management operate within English education in Taiwan. Ultimately, I hope that my research contributes to the interrogation of existing linguistic inequalities and hegemony in Taiwanese English education.

Preview of Dissertation Chapters

I now outline the key contents of succeeding dissertation chapters. In Chapter Two, I examine extant literature to theoretically frame my research and explicate the primary foci of my investigation: historical development of Taiwanese English education, English language's hegemony and power, identity politics in Taiwanese English education, and Identity Management Theory (IMT) (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). IMT is the primary framework of my dissertation research. In particular, I discuss its foundational concepts and theoretical assumptions and explain its significance to my research. Following the literature review, I identify research problems and inspirations from the literature review, so as to propose how my research answers some research fissures and further advances IMT.

In Chapter Three, I outline my research methodology in detail. Based on the previous two chapters, I first explicate how the review of literature and the identification of research problems render six guiding research questions. Second, I offer an overview of critical complete-member ethnography (CCME) (Toyosaki, 2011) and illuminate why and how CCME is a fitting and

central methodology for my research. Subsequently, I explain five contextual factors of epistemological intimacy that prompt my complete-membership with my research participants. After explaining CCME and identifying my complete-membership as nuanced, complex, and contextual, I provide descriptions of three data collection methods for my research (i.e., ethnographic field observation, ethnographic interview, and autoethnographic journaling). In the end of Chapter Three, I illustrate data analysis methods for treating collected data sets, including open-coding and axial-coding (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), thematic analysis (Aronson, 1994; Owen, 1984), and critical examination of consensual and conflictual analysis (Fiske, 1991; Toyosaki, 2011).

Chapter Four is the first chapter of research analysis and discussion. Based on the three aforementioned data analysis methods, I code, analyze, interpret, and critically examine the observational notes, the interview transcriptions, and the autoethnographic journaling to answer the second guiding research question (RQ). I deliver the results thematically in an analytical and narrative-like manner, as I try to weave together the data gathered by ethnographic observations, ethnographic interviews, and my autoethnographic journaling for interpretive and critical examinations. The main focus of this chapter is to discuss how the research participants (and I) manage our cultural identities relationally through marking scope, salience, and intensity with different educational participants under varied themes in Taiwanese English education.

Chapter Five is the second chapter of research analysis and discussion. Following Chapter Four, I embellish Chapter Five with discussions of (a) research participants' experiences with various identity freezing and their employment of facework strategies in Taiwanese English education and (b) their transitions among relational phases in their intercultural relationships. The analysis and discussion in Chapters Four and Five are more interpretively- and analytically-

driven, as I foreground observational notes and interview transcriptions. Nevertheless, I also supplement with my autoethnographic reflexivity in studying the complexities of identity management.

In the final chapter of the dissertation, Chapter Six, I present summative analysis and discussion based on the findings from Chapters Four and Five. In particular, I critically and reflexively discuss research participants' and my critical views of the English cultural and linguistic hegemony and the identity politics we experience in the Taiwanese English education. Furthermore, I propose modifications to IMT, which centers on its critical potentiality. The critical component comes from analyzing the hegemonic and power-laden intercultural communication context, such as English education in Taiwan. Beyond the theoretical propositions, I explicate limitations of this research. I then suggest future research directions based on the findings and offer educational implications to English education in Taiwan and in other NNES countries, with the hope to bring positive changes to various issues of identity politics, identity struggles, and power/linguistic inequalities. In due course, I conclude that my research makes contributions to the scholarship of interpretive and critical intercultural communication and to the English education in Taiwan and beyond.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In Chapter One, I have explained the globalization of the English language, shared my personal journey to illuminate my relationships to the dissertation topic, and identified my research rationale and purposes. In this chapter, I review literature pertinent to my research in four major sections. First, I illustrate the historical development of Taiwanese English education, coupled with three main widely-implemented English education approaches. Second, I argue how English hegemony and domination render global linguistic politics and cultural identity politics, and how they are connected with English education in Taiwan. Third, I explain identity management theory (IMT) (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005) and its theoretical assumptions and developments, which I employ as the primary theoretical framework in this research. Finally, I identify research problems and gaps born out of the literature review and how my research project potentially contributes to the further advancement of IMT.

In the first section below, I start with the historical developments of Taiwanese English education to provide a contextual background for my research. In particular, I discuss three popular English-teaching and -learning approaches that the Taiwanese government and educators have promoted and implemented in recent decades. In the end of this section, I discuss existing challenges against, concerns for, and criticisms of the three approaches.

An Overview of English Education in Taiwan

Historically, Taiwan, a small island country located in (South-)East Asia, started the implementation of English education in 1949 (Su, 2006). According to Su (2006), the English language was introduced as a school subject in secondary education (from the 7th to the 9th grades) and one year in post-secondary education in Taiwan. At this time, English education

focused on traditional Grammar-Translation Method that helped develop students' skills in English reading, writing, vocabulary use, and grammatical structures. The main goal of this method was to educate learners to become capable of translating between their native language(s) and the English language (see Larsen-Freeman, 2000; Richards & Rodgers, 2001). Approximately two decades after its initial introduction in 1950s, the Taiwanese government implemented a nine-year compulsory education plan in 1968 (from the 1st to the 9th grade). Since then, English became the most popular and influential foreign language to learn in Taiwan (Chern, 2002; Hsieh, 2006, 2011; Kam, 2002). It was also around this timeframe that English education started to place "slightly greater emphasis on listening and speaking abilities" (Chern, 2002, p. 98). However, the Grammar-Translation Method and teacher-centered approach remain popular, which continue stressing learners' competence of linguistic mechanics over communicability (Su, 2006).

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, more changes took place. The Ministry of Education (MOE) of Taiwan made modifications to its English education policies based on three reasons: (a) the trends and changes of English language globalization, (b) a language learning hypothesis called critical period hypothesis (Penfield & Roberts, 1959), and (c) a new set of curriculum guidelines. As explained in Chapter One, the invention of the World Wide Web pushed English to become the main global language (McIntyre, 2009), and English also turned into a prominent language used in science and technological publications (Kaplan, 2001). Beyond these reasons, in Taiwan, a growing number of parents and educators believed in the critical period hypothesis (Penfield & Roberts, 1959), which posits that our brain rapidly loses the ability and malleability for language acquisition after puberty, making it more difficult to learn different languages. As a result, many parents started to enroll their children in private bilingual schools or send them to

after-school English classes and programs, such as *bushiban* (Chang, 2008; Su, 2006; Wang, 2010). After approximately fifty years of English education, many Taiwanese students were still incapable of communicating in English competently. Therefore, the MOE and educators tried to rectify the deficiency. The MOE of Taiwan suggested that English teachers should move away from the traditional teaching methods and welcome new ones, especially those that stress developments of communicative competence (Su, 2006). One new set of curriculum guidelines called *Grade 1-9 Integrated Coordinated Curriculum* back then included such specific recommendations (Su, 2006). With the societal trends and parents' expectations, in 2001, the MOE of Taiwan announced that English education must be introduced to the compulsory curriculum starting from the fifth grade in primary education, and English classes must aim at increasing students' English communicative competence (Chern, 2002). Soon afterwards, in 2005, MOE revised the policy again and extended the introduction of English class to the third grade ("Ministry of Education," 2003, 2012).

In order to increase students' English communicative competence, classes that feature the approaches of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), English-immersion, and all-English/English-medium have become prevalent and crucial in contemporary English pedagogical practices in Taiwan (Chern, 2002; Su, 2006). The basic and common tenet among these approaches is to avoid and prohibit translation from English to learners' native language(s) (see Chen, 2006; Huang, 2012; Larsen-Freeman, 2000). Moreover, these approaches underscore that the target language (i.e., English) should be the primary or the only language for classroom instructions and communication. Students are expected to learn content and linguistic knowledge through using English communicatively. In an English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) setting such as Taiwan, English is not used for everyday communication, and it is usually limited to

classroom exposure. These three approaches, which “force” learners to think and communicate in English, become highly popular because they create and increase language input to learners. Such popularity also leads to heavy recruitment of native English-speakers to Taiwan; many of them find employment opportunities in teaching English at the various educational levels and in both public and private sectors (Yeh, 2002).

Three Popular English-Teaching and -Learning Approaches in Taiwan

I have explicated the historical developments of English education in Taiwan and have pointed out three popular and prevalent English education approaches. Below, I provide succinct overviews of these three approaches in contemporary Taiwanese English education. In addition to the studies that focus on Taiwan, I include pertinent literature from other non-native-English-speaking (NNES) countries to offer a more comprehensive understanding of these approaches. I start with the communicative language teaching (CLT) approach.

Communicative language teaching (CLT) approach. Historically, the first appearance of CLT can be traced back to the late 1960s when the British language teaching traditions changed (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). Linguists and language educators at that time realized the importance of communicative competence over dissecting language structures and the mechanics of a language (Brown, 2007). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, CLT gradually gained its global recognition in teaching English as a second language (ESL) (Widdowson, 1990), such as the programs in the U.S. and classes in India, the Philippines, and Singapore (Brown, 2007).

Essentially, CLT (or the so-called Communicative Approach) acknowledges the importance of communicative competence and it values the interdependence between language and communication (Larsen-Freeman, 2000). In order to facilitate language learners’ communicative competence, proponents of CLT underscore several fundamental principles.

Brown (2001, 2007), Larsen-Freeman (2000), and Richards and Rodgers (2001) all summarize and introduce the principles of CLT. First, all components of communicative competence, such as grammatical, discourse, and sociolinguistic, should be integrated within authentic teaching materials and learning environments. Second, learners should practice their target language through meaningful (cf. controlled or rehearsed) interactions with small groups or in pairs. When practicing the target language, students' native language(s) should be forbidden, and fluency in the target language outweighs accuracy (i.e., mistakes that do not interfere with comprehensibility are often tolerated). Third, learners have the freedom to decide when and how to communicate and negotiate meanings in given and real-world communication contexts.

CLT is widely adopted not only in the ESL settings but also in EFL contexts. Many EFL countries implement CLT in their English education curriculum with hopes to increase their citizens' communicative competence in English. These EFL countries include, but are not limited to, China (see McPherron, 2009; Rao, 2002; Tsui, 2007), Japan (see Bramley, 2008), South Korea (see Li, 1998), and Taiwan (see Chuang, 2008; Jones & Wang, 2001; Liu, 2005; Savignon & Wang, 2003; Wei, 2004; Wu, 2009). In contemporary Taiwanese English education, CLT is considered as one of the main teaching and learning approaches. At some Taiwanese universities, CLT is implemented in the curricula in a hybrid status (i.e., a balanced combination of CLT and conventional English-teaching methods) (Liu, 2005). In addition to CLT, English-immersion programs are quite common and popular in Taiwan.

English-immersion programs. The origin of language immersion programs can be dated back to 1965 in Canada (Johnson & Swain, 1997). The first immersion program was designed for teaching French to NES children in St. Lambert (near Montreal, Quebec) (Johnson & Swain, 1997; Swain & Lapkin, 2005). Generally, an immersion program selects a foreign or second

language, and “[t]he language becomes the ‘vehicle’ by which the ‘content’ of the curriculum is delivered” (Moloney & Harbon, 2008, p. 112). Immersion programs are categorized into different formats based on factors of “age” (or grade level) and “extent” (i.e., the percentage of target language integration in instruction).

Based on the two factors, language immersion programs develop into different formats. According to Johnson and Swain (1997) and based on the age factor, formats of immersion programs include early immersion (kindergarten or grade 1), middle immersion or delayed immersion (age 9 or 10/grade 4 or 5), and late immersion (ages 11 or 14/grade 6 or 8). Barimani (2011b) further includes a “late late” immersion format that starts at the university level. When distinctions are made by the extent factor, there are two types of programs: total immersion (100% target language instruction, except for the subject of students’ native language) and partial immersion (50% target language instruction).

Immersion programs vary from one to another depending on how “strongly” they adhere to the principles (Moloney & Harbon, 2008). A prototypical immersion program entails eight features. According to Johnson and Swain (1997), the eight features include: (1) The target language is a medium of instruction; (2) the immersion curriculum parallels the local first language; (3) overt support exists for L1 (i.e., the first/native language) (when taught as a subject and to advanced levels); (4) the program aims for additive (rather than “replacive”) bilingualism; (5) exposure to the target language is largely confined to the classroom; (6) students enter with similar (and limited) levels of target language proficiency; (7) the teachers are bilingual; and (8) the classroom culture is that of the local L1 community (pp. 6-8). Some of these features are similar to, and yet different from, those of CLT.

After the inception and the spread of immersion programs in Canada, this practice quickly expanded to the U.S. in teaching ESL students and to other parts of the world. “English towns,” “English villages,” “English corners,” and numerous other forms of English-immersion programs have been established in Asian countries, such as China (see Hu, 2005; Jeong & Lau, 2011; Qiang & Siegel, 2012), India (see Barimani, 2011a, 2011b), Japan (see Downes, 2001), South Korea (see Lee, 2010; Park & Oxford, 1998), and Taiwan (see Chen, 2006; Hsieh, 2006; Wei, 2004). The “English-only” policy is commonly enforced when students visit or enroll in the English-immersion classes, programs, and institutions.

All-English/English-medium schools and classes. Different from CLT and English-immersion, an all-English/English-medium class or program is less of a specific English-teaching method. “All-English” or “English-medium” is a generic term used to describe English classes or programs that utilize English as the sole medium for communication at school and in class (Huang, 2012). Oftentimes, people use “all-English” and “English-medium” interchangeably with English-immersion programs, because of their overlapping principle that English is used as the major (if not the only) language for communication. The term “English-medium” is relatively common in European universities and in Hong Kong, and it has gradually gained importance in Taiwan. In European higher education, English-medium teaching is becoming a trend due to the increasingly global status of the English language (Coleman, 2006). In Hong Kong, English-medium schools are popular and are distinctive from Chinese secondary schools (Tung, Lam, & Tsang, 1997). In Taiwan, English-medium curricula are forms and pedagogical practices that refer to the use of English as the only medium for instructions in content courses, such as mathematics, social studies, and geography (Huang, 2012). For the general public in Taiwan, an “all-English” class also functions as a generic Mandarin-English

translated term 全英語 (全 means “all” and 英語 is “English”) that refers to English classes instructed exclusively in English by either Taiwanese or native-English-speaking (NES) teachers. Among the terms of “CLT approach,” “English-immersion,” “English-medium,” and “all-English,” I primarily use the last in this dissertation because of its local linguistic significance in Taiwan, unless literature or research participants designate other specific reference(s).

To briefly summarize, despite some differences in principles, the CLT, English-immersion, and all-English programs share fundamental overlapping features. The basic and common principle is that they do not encourage, and sometimes forbid, translation from the target language to learners’ native language(s). Therefore, in the context of English education, these approaches stress the use of English as the primary or the only language for instructions and communication in classrooms. In Taiwan, many believe that these three approaches can increase language input and exposure to the learners, and, if the learners take classes under these environments, they will be able to communicate in English “naturally.” In order to create “all-English” environments, English teachers are expected to conduct English classes only in English or, better yet, “naturally” (as their native language). Due to these expectations, many native-speakers of English are recruited to teach in Taiwan (Yeh, 2002). This inclusion of NES teachers into the Taiwanese education system, consequentially, renders classroom communication intercultural and international. Although these three approaches of English education bring several benefits (e.g., increase in target language exposure) to many NNES countries and learners, many scholars have also raised concerns about them.

Challenges against, Concerns for, and Criticisms of the Three Approaches

Scholars in the fields of Applied Linguistics, Curriculum and Instruction, and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)³ have offered much literature that forges disciplinary debates and criticisms toward the implementations of CLT, English-immersion, and all-English classes. The first common criticism is how local English teachers often lack adequate English language proficiency (e.g., Butler, 2004; Jeong & Lau, 2011; Wang, 2010). In EFL countries, local English teachers' language proficiency becomes a concern when implementing the three stated approaches. If local teachers' English communicative competence is limited, the possibility of creating "authentic" English communicative environments becomes questionable. Butler's (2004) study reveals that local elementary school English teachers in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan identify their English language proficiency as inadequate to teach English communicatively, particularly in teaching English speaking and writing classes. Contrary to the low self-evaluations, Wang's (2010) participants indicate differently. The Taiwanese elementary school English teachers in Wang's study self-praised their oral English proficiency, which was found inconsistent with Wang's classroom observations. These English teachers made several errors in their spoken English when giving students instructions. Wang cautions that such disparity may impede students' learning when these teachers use only the English language to teach. Furthermore, in a China-Canada-United States English-immersion Center in Macao (a Special Administrative Region of China), Jeong and Lau (2011) echo Wang's study and indicate that local teachers' English proficiency requires improvements, particularly in the aspects of communicative and linguistic competence (e.g., grammatical structures in spoken English).

³ TESOL is a professional area of study that encompasses teaching English in settings such as English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) (Brown, 2001).

The second common criticism calls into question the impacts of English education on learners' appreciation toward and development of native culture(s) and language(s). In an early partial-English-immersion kindergarten in Taiwan, Chen (2006) reported the observable favoritism toward English/Western culture among the kindergarten student participants. In her research, Chen cautioned teachers to pay attention to the subtle and implicit messages in their instructions (e.g., the "No-Speaking-Chinese" policy) that may cause students to devalue Chinese language and culture. Chen also recommended that teachers be aware of their unbalanced favorable treatments and rewards given to students with higher English proficiency. Additionally, Dixon, Zhao, Quiroz, and Shin's (2012) research, conducted in Singapore, shows that children's ethnic language development (particularly vocabulary development) is negatively affected if their parents speak only English with them, or if these children watch TV only or mainly in English. Emphasizing the negative correlation between students' English proficiency and their appreciation toward native language and culture, Phillipson (2009) warns ESL/EFL countries that, if local language and culture are not regarded as equally significant as English language and culture, "the likely result is cultural rootlessness, blind acceptance of the dominant world disorder, and an uncritical endorsement of more English, irrespective of the consequences for other languages" (p. 210).

The third criticism, also a rather heated debate, is the unequal treatments for local and NES teachers. The recruitment of NES teachers in various educational sectors in NNE countries creates many intense controversies, mainly because they are often preferred and/or receive more privilege over local English teachers. Zhang and Watkins (2007) identify that, typically, Western teachers (in the researchers' term) in China have less EFL teaching experiences and fewer qualifications than their local Chinese counterparts. Under many circumstances, NES teachers

“have been employed with an associate degree or as little as a U.S. high school diploma” (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 54). Similarly, Sommers (2011) alerts his readers about some privately-funded English programs that employ under-qualified or unqualified teachers whose backgrounds are volunteers from foreign Christian missionary organizations. He further argues, “Homegrown [i.e., local] instructors are being ignored in favor of educational fads [of hiring NES teachers]” (para. 2). As opposed to some NES teachers who remain under-qualified, local teachers are scrutinized and selected carefully with high standards. This unequal treatment between NES and Taiwanese English teachers even extends to unequal salary scale. In some private English *bushiban* in Taiwan, a NES teacher earns USD 1,540 to 1,870 per month, compared to a Taiwanese English teacher who earns only USD 670 to 731 per month (Yeh, 2002).

Last, but not least, the fourth criticism concerns the compatibility between the three English education approaches and local cultural contexts. Scholars contend that these approaches do not take into consideration, and sometimes contradict, the local cultural contexts in which they are implemented (Bax, 2003; McKay, 2002). For example, in Tsui’s (2007) research, Minfang, a senior and much-respected English teacher in China, comments that the practice of instantaneous oral participation in CLT is contradictory to Chinese culture, which stresses carefully thought-out remarks before speaking. Based on McPherron’s (2009) class observations, he also concludes that Chinese teachers and students still tend to keep cultural traditions when learning English. Consequently, he suggests incorporation and recognition of local educational and cultural characteristics rather than replicating dominant Western teachings. Scholars, such as Auerbach (1993), Liu (2005), Qiang and Siegel (2012), Rao (2002), Savignon and Wang (2003), and Wei, (2004), have also conducted studies and proposed different integrative pedagogy that balances the three prototypical English education approaches with local educational contexts. In

China, He and Li (2009) indicate that Chinese college teachers and students perceive the integration of “China English” as an optimal model in teaching English. According to He and Li, “China English” is defined as:

a performance variety of English which has the standard Englishes [i.e., different varieties of standard English] as its core but is colored with characteristic features of Chinese phonology, lexis, syntax and discourse, and . . . is particularly suited for expressing content ideas specific to Chinese culture. (p. 83)

I applaud the model of “China English” for its recognition of local linguistic and cultural significance. However, I am also cautious of its intelligibility in the vast English-speaking world.

As discussed, many scholars have widely discussed and researched the three popular English education approaches in and beyond Taiwan. They have provided instances that the three approaches indeed bear numerous criticisms and controversies. In what follows, I make an explicit argument for the connection between English education and identity politics in Taiwan.

Global Linguistic Politics and Identity Politics in English Education in Taiwan

Many understand that English education has rendered positive global and regional impacts. I briefly discuss them. First, English education has helped promote global sensitivity and citizenship (Chan, 2004; “Ministry of Education,” 2003, 2012). Second, it has invigorated the economy and trades in various countries, particularly by providing professional opportunities to those who speak English as a second/foreign language (Hu, 2005). In order to situate and sustain the positive influences, ESL/EFL countries have been striving to foster better English education for their citizens by (re)inventing, evaluating, and implementing different instructional approaches. As mentioned in Chapter One and this chapter, my home country, Taiwan, is one of

the Asian countries that strives to establish numerous all-English environments with intentions to promote the positive impacts. However, these benefits are not alone without any issues.

The colonial and ideological influence, hidden in and imbued with the prevalence of English education, is important to investigate. In other words, this type of English education “teaches” more than just the language (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992, 2009; Tsuda, 1999, 2008, 2010). The prevalence of English education reinforces the global linguistic politics and connects it with the cultural identity politics of the educational contexts. Thus, English education in Taiwan is a delicate site where NES (represented mainly by Australia, U.K., and U.S.A.), NNES, and Taiwanese identities become complicated. Below, I further explicate how the implementation of English education in Taiwan is linked to identity politics.

From its 1970 vogue (Heyes, 2002), identity politics has been understood as “the process of claiming one’s identity as a member of a marginalized group as a political point of departure and political mobilization. These politics involve celebration of a group’s uniqueness as well as examination of its particular oppression” (Yep, 2004, p. 77). When governments regulate English language as one of the mandatory school subjects, identities from social and cultural locations such as citizens of NNES countries (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, and Taiwanese) and NNES speakers (e.g., EFL/ESL students) consequently become disadvantaged, powerless, and oppressed under the regime of English hegemony and domination (Pennycook, 1994). To restate, Canagarajah (1999), Pennycook (1994), and Tsuda (2008, 2010) all assert that the globalization of the English language renders cultural and linguistic inequality and imperialism, both regionally and globally.

Therefore, I believe that critical investigations of English education in Taiwan generate a space for recognizing global linguistic politics and cultural identity politics. Heyes (2002) states:

Identity politics starts from analyses of oppression to recommend, variously, the reclaiming, re-description, or transformation of previously stigmatized accounts of group membership. Rather than accepting the negative scripts offered by a dominant culture about one's own inferiority, one transforms one's own sense of self and community, often through consciousness-raising. (History and Scope section, para. 1)

To raise the consciousness of native languages and cultures in Taiwanese English education, scholars such as Huang (2012), Liu (2005), Savignon and Wang (2003), and Wei (2004) have researched the implementation of the three English education approaches in Taiwan and offered recommendations. They suggest incorporating Mandarin Chinese or web technology in Taiwanese English education, as opposed to employing governmentally reinforced English-only Western teaching methods. The recognitions from these scholars invite English-language educators and learners to cherish and respect the native cultures and identities in Taiwan.

According to the assumption of identity politics, the positionalities of NNES teachers, countries, and learners are seen as suppressed and powerless under the domination of English. However, in regard to contemporary identity politics, post-structuralists remind us not to fall into such victim mentality. In essence, poststructuralism “fosters resistance to the power [that structural approaches] exert in the regulation and discipline of individuals” (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 96). In accordance with this post-structuralist conviction to understanding English education and identity politics, NNES people or English learners may be less-privileged and less-powerful compared to the NES counterparts. However, they should not be confined in such a rigid identity category—the victim. Even under the systems of domination and oppression, one still has agency to strategically manage and construct her/his identities, and further, to create and promote change, if so desired.

Theoretical Framework: Identity Management Theory

Thus far, I have established that English education in Taiwan is a rich site of intricate relationships among power dynamics, intercultural communication, language education, and identity politics. Among numerous intercultural communication theories, I am specifically intrigued by identity management theory (IMT) and its theoretical applicability in studying the aforementioned intricate relationships (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). IMT provides a productive theoretical framework that helps me interrogate identity managements taking place among English educational participants in Taiwan, including Taiwanese English teachers, NES English teachers, and Taiwanese students. In the following section, I provide a review of IMT, which includes its historical development, theoretical assumptions and propositions, and its recent developments.

Historical Development of IMT

In 1993, Cupach and Imahori proposed IMT, broadening the scope from an interpersonal communication theory to explain intercultural contexts with the focus of understanding communicators' identity management in intercultural relationships and interactions (Cupach & Imahori, 1993). According to Littlejohn and Foss (2011), IMT explains how "identities are established, maintained, and changed within relationships" (p. 242). Evidently, one of the significant elements of IMT is the core concept of identity. Cupach and Imahori (1993) find Hecht, Collier, and Ribeau's (1993) definition of identity useful in providing the foundational concept for their IMT. According to Hecht, Collier, and Ribeau, identity is defined as "self-conception—one's theory of oneself" (p. 113). Given that multiple possible self-conceptions exist, one's identity is multifaceted and complex.

Theoretical Assumptions of IMT: Cultural and Relational Identities and Face/facework

IMT underscores two major identity domains: cultural identity and relational identity. To theorize the notion of cultural identity, Cupach and Imahori (1993) draw upon Collier and Thomas' (1988) definition of cultural identity, which refers to "identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has shared systems of symbols and meanings as well as norms/rules for conduct" (p. 113). Building on Wood's (1982) notion of relational culture, Cupach and Imahori (1993) note that each relationship forms a "miniculture" (p. 114). For every individual, relational identity is born out of a miniculture and is understood as a sense of "we," instead of the separation of "you and I," in the shared relationship (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 197). Cupach and Imahori (1993) specifically emphasize that cultural and relational identities are not mutually-exclusive; they are influential to one another, and, together, they construct one's self-image more holistically.

Various self-conceptions and identities can be in operation simultaneously for one person; therefore, in constructing IMT, Cupach and Imahori (1993) take into consideration Collier and Thomas' (1988) three dimensions of cultural identity, namely, scope, salience, and intensity. These three dimensions are interdependent aspects of one's negotiation of multiple cultural identities, which relationally develop to construct one's holistic self-image. First, scope means the "breadth and generalizability of the identity" (Collier & Thomas, 1988, p. 114). For instance, the number of people sharing the native English-speaker identity is broader in scope than those of U.S. American identity. Second, salience refers to the importance of certain cultural identities compared to others in specific contexts. For example, a full-time graduate student who teaches part-time at a university is likely to place different cultural identity salience upon the teacher identity and student identity in different contexts. In the classroom context where s/he

teaches, her/his cultural identity as a teacher is presumably more salient than that as a graduate student. The third dimension of identity is intensity, which means the various degrees of how identities are communicated. For example, I identify myself as a bilingual speaker who speaks Mandarin Chinese natively and English non-natively. For this reason, how I communicate and exhibit my Chinese-speaker identity is probably more intensified than a U.S.-born second-generation Chinese speaker who has grown up and socialized mainly in the U.S. Together, these three dimensions—scope, salience, and intensity—influence how individuals manage their varied cultural identities in various contexts.

In addition to the cultural and relational identities, the concept of face/facework is fundamental in IMT. Goffman's (1959, 1967) notion of "face" plays a significant role in IMT. Metts (2009) writes, "The organizing principle of all social interaction is the coordinated management of . . . *face*" (p. 507, emphasis in original). Cupach and Metts (1994) also explicate, "The conception of self that each person displays in particular interactions with others is called *face*" (p. 3, emphasis in original). Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness theory further distinguishes the notion of face into positive face concerns (i.e., the desire to be valued and included) and negative face concerns (i.e., the desire for autonomy and freedom from imposition). Moreover, Miller (2004) explains that face is "something that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced during interaction" (p. 301). Likewise, face endures potential challenges and threats in different situations.

Built on the notion of face, "facework" refers to the "communication behaviors that address the identity claims of self and [of] other in interaction" (Cupach & Imahori, 1993, p. 116). When intercultural communicators resort to using cultural stereotypes for communication, these stereotypes—good or bad—are potential threats to one's face and cultural identities that

can cause “identity freezing,” as if the person’s identity is “frozen” to that stereotype or certain cultural identity (Cupach & Imahori, 1993, p. 120; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). Imahori and Cupach (2005) frame these identity freezing episodes as “problems” or “problematics” in that such interactions potentially threaten communicators’ positive and negative faces. To counteract and mitigate face threats and identity freezing, intercultural communicators employ different facework strategies.

Facework strategies can be categorized into two major types: preventive and corrective facework (Cupach & Metts, 1994). Preventive facework includes strategies that prepare us for a possible loss of our own face or the face of others (e.g., disclaimers and hedging), and corrective facework consists of strategies that help repair a scene and restore face after it is lost or threatened (e.g., apology and avoidance). Despite Cupach and Mett’s (1994) distinctions between facework strategies, the process of face management and facework application often involves paradoxical challenges, so they are dialectical in nature (e.g., self-other face dialectic and positive-negative face dialectic) (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). Competent intercultural and interpersonal communicators engage in constant and vigilant efforts to find balance between self-other and positive-negative face dialectics and among different facework strategies during interactions.

Theoretical Propositions: Three Phases of Identity Management

Following the theoretical assumptions of cultural and relational identities and face/facework strategies, I introduce the final major theoretical proposition of IMT; that is, three identity management phases in intercultural interactions and relationships. Intercultural communicators negotiate and manage their cultural and relational identities differently in the three phases. The three phases I discuss below may appear to be in a linear fashion. However,

Cupach and Imahori (1993) stress that the three phases are interdependent and cyclical. The identity management phases may restart and/or recycle whenever relational partners find a new topic or a need to manage new identity differences.

The first phase is named “trial” (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). In this trial phase, intercultural communicators initiate their relationships with others, exhibit their cultural differences, and experience cultural conflicts. Their newly acquired intercultural relationships prompt them to examine their identities through the self-other and positive-negative face dialectics and to avoid cultural conflicts associated with identity freezing problems. This phase is when intercultural communicators start to manage their identities through a trial-and-error process. When intercultural communicators build enough commonalities, it is likely that they enter the second phase.

The second phase is called “enmeshment” (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). It is a phase when intercultural communicators focus on commonalities, de-emphasize their cultural differences, and emphasize convergence of symbols and rules in their relationships, so as to increase connections with one another. To examine functions of symbols, Baxter (1987) conducted interviews with 108 randomly selected undergraduate students and queried their use of symbols in either romantic or friendship relationships, which she called their “mini-cultures” (p. 261). Out of 499 reported symbols, she summarized five basic and significant forms shared among relational partners (from most to less frequently): (1) behavioral actions (e.g., jointly enacted activities, interaction routines of verbal and nonverbal exchanges, and nicknames), (2) prior events/times (e.g., first impressions and stressful times), (3) physical objects (e.g., gifts and keepsakes), (4) special places (e.g., meeting place with the partners), and (5) cultural artifacts (e.g., songs, music groups, and books). Aside from the symbols, relational partners and/or

intercultural communicators continuously negotiate on the convergence of rules, such as acceptable behaviors and expectations, obligations, prohibitions, and preferences in their shared relationships (Imahori & Cupach, 2005). After relational partners and/or intercultural communicators develop mutually acceptable symbolic and rule convergence in this second phase, they enter the third phase.

The third phase is “renegotiation” (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). With the increased symbolic and rule convergence, in the renegotiation phase, relational partners and/or intercultural communicators open up directly to deal with face threats and cultural differences that tend to be skirted under and sugarcoated in the enmeshment phase. Additionally, relational partners and/or intercultural communicators would be able to use their bonded relationship (or mini-culture) as a framework to value distinct cultural identities and see these identity differences as assets and as “integral components of the shared relational identity” (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 205).

Recent Developments of IMT

After the initial proposal of IMT, Imahori (2001, 2002, 2003, as cited in Imahori & Cupach, 2005) conducted several empirical studies to test the theory’s applicability and validity in intercultural as well as intracultural communication contexts. Among IMT’s theoretical assumptions of cultural identity, relational identity, face/facework, and the three phases of relational developments, facework strategies receive the most extensive development in 2005. In addition to Imahori and Cupach’s update of IMT in 2005, Lee later advanced IMT’s three relational phases further in 2008.

Detailed facework strategies. Imahori and Cupach’s (2005) update of IMT is significant in understanding the theory’s current status and utilities. In some of Imahori’s studies, he

analyzed specific facework strategies that participants employ in different contexts and relational developments. Based on his constructive findings, Imahori (2002, as cited in Imahori & Cupach, 2005) reaffirms that cultural identity, relational identity, and facework strategies are significant elements in the development of intercultural relationships.

To rework their original IMT, Imahori and Cupach (2005) incorporated Imahori's study, which consists of different sets of facework strategies. Several sets of in-depth facework strategies included in the updated IMT explain how intercultural communicators handle identity freezing problems and how they cope with the self-other as well as positive-negative face dialectics. In order to facilitate better understandings for different facework strategies and their respective definitions, I provide explicit visual representations from Imahori and Cupach's (2005) summative tables below.

In managing identity freezing problems in intercultural relationships, communicators tend to use the following four sets of facework strategies: "self positive face support," "mutual positive face support," "other positive face support," and "mutual negative face support" (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 201). Table 1 below is the visual representation of *List of Facework Strategies for Coping with Identity Freezing Problematic* (p. 201), and it exhibits the facework strategies that intercultural communicators use to cope with identity freezing problems.

Table 1

List of Facework Strategies for Coping with Identity Freezing Problematic

<i>Strategies</i>	<i>Brief Definitions</i>
Self Positive Face Support	
Education	Educating about the stereotype/identity freezing
Disregard	Discounting validity of the stereotype/identity freezing
Request simple	Asking to stop stereotyping/identity freezing
Request empathy	Asking to empathize about being stereotyped/identity frozen
Request confirmation	Asking to confirm if the partner really meant to stereotype or identity freeze
Mutual Positive Face Support	
Laughter	Laughing off the stereotype/identity freezing
Humorous interchange	Joking back to the partner
Humorous retaliation	Joking back with a stereotype applicable to the partner
Other Positive Face Support	
Acceptance	Accepting the stereotype as true, a compliment, or advice
Apology	Apologizing for oneself being true to the other's stereotype/identity freezing comment
Mutual Negative Face Support	
Avoidance	Avoiding interaction about the stereotype/identity freezing

Note. Adapted from "Identity Management Theory: Facework in Intercultural Relationships," by T. T. Imahori and W. R. Cupach, 2005. In W. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about intercultural communication*, p. 201. Copyright 2005 by Sage Publications.

In addition to identity freezing problems, intercultural communicators also experience the need to deal with self-other face dialectic. They do so by utilizing the following four sets of facework strategies: "other positive face support," "self positive face support," "mutual positive face support," and "mutual negative face support." I incorporate *Facework Strategies for Coping with Self-Other Face Dialectic* (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 202) in Table 2 below. It contains various strategies of how intercultural communicators deal with the needs among supporting others' positive face, their own positive face, each other's positive face, and/or each other's negative face.

Table 2

Facework Strategies for Coping with Self-Other Face Dialectic

<i>Strategies</i>	<i>Brief Definitions</i>
Other Positive Face Support	
Other orientation	Supporting the partner's face while sacrificing own face
Reciprocity expectation	Supporting the partner's face with an expectation that the partner will reciprocate
Advice acceptance	Accepting the partner's comment that created dialectic tension as advice for one to change (e.g., not making an excuse for being a foreign student)
Self Positive Face Support	
Assertion	Asserting one's own identity over the partner's identity (e.g., refusing to learn the partner's language)
Justification	Justifying supporting one's own identity (e.g., arguing that one's own religious belief is correct)
Reliance	Supporting one's own identity by relying on the partner's other-face support strategy (e.g., "my partner likes my culture better than his own.")
Mutual Positive Face Support	
Mutual support	Supporting both one's own and the partner's identities in alternate areas or alternate occasions
Mutual adaptation	Adapting to each other's cultural ways of doing things
Adaptation facilitation	Not changing one's own cultural way of doing things but helping the partner to adapt to one's own culture
Adaptation facilitation request	Asking the partner to help one's adaptation toward the partner's culture
Mutual Negative Face Support	
Avoidance	Avoiding interaction that causes the dialectic tension
Difference recognition	Recognizing the differences in identities and in some cases choosing to behave in separate ways

Note. Adapted from "Identity Management Theory: Facework in Intercultural Relationships," by T. T. Imahori and W. R. Cupach, 2005. In W. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about intercultural communication*, p. 202. Copyright 2005 by Sage Publications.

The final addition of facework strategies exhibits how intercultural communicators cope with face threats in their intercultural encounters and relationships that require positive-negative face dialectic negotiations. Specifically, I turn to *Facework Strategies for Coping with Positive-*

Negative Face Dialectic (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 203), as described in Table 3 below.

Intercultural communicators may resort to different tactics under three sets of facework strategies, “other negative face support,” “mutual negative face support,” and “mutual positive face support,” to deal with experiences that involve positive-negative face tensions.

Table 3

Facework Strategies for Coping with Positive-Negative Face Dialectic

<i>Strategies</i>	<i>Brief Definitions</i>
Other Negative Face Support	
Bouncing ⁴ past	Supporting the partner’s identity within the partner’s comfort zone that was learned from past interactions
Bouncing explicit	Supporting the partner’s identity until she or he says explicitly to stop
Bouncing sign	Supporting the partner’s identity until she or he shows signs of discomfort
Focus shift	Avoiding imposition on the partner’s face by shifting focus away from the partner’s cultural identity
Self support	Allowing time and space for the partner to support partner’s own identity (e.g., letting the partner go back to home country)
Subtle nonverbal support	Engaging in nonverbal acts that support the partner’s identity (e.g., using artifacts from the partner’s culture)
Mutual Negative Face Support	
Avoidance	Avoiding interaction that causes the dialectic tension
Mutual Positive Face Support (in combination with Bouncing)	
Apology	Apologizing for threatening the partner’s negative face
Justification	Justifying why one imposed upon the partner’s identity

Note. Adapted from “Identity Management Theory: Facework in Intercultural Relationships,” by T. T. Imahori and W. R. Cupach, 2005. In W. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about intercultural communication*, p. 203. Copyright 2005 by Sage Publications.

⁴ “Bouncing” is not explicitly explained in IMT. However, Imahori and Cupach (2005) describe that the intention to “avoid impositions on the partner’s autonomy” as “‘bouncing’ off the other’s autonomy boundary (e.g., avoiding certain topics)” (p. 203).

Intercultural dyadic friendship. After Imahori and Cupach updated IMT in 2005, Lee's (2008) empirical study advanced IMT by filling a theoretical gap. She contended that IMT failed to address the transitional process across the three identity management phases. Therefore, she filled this gap by studying intercultural dyadic friendships. She identified "three stages" (different from IMT's three phases) by illuminating how her participants transitioned from one stage to the next in their intercultural friendships. The three stages from Lee's (2008) study are "initial encounter" (p. 59), "interaction" (p. 60), and "involvement" (p. 63). In this study, she locates two transitional phases in-between the three stages. The first transitional phase is "needs/interests." After the (first) "initial encounter" stage, the intercultural dyadic partners enter the "interaction" (the second) stage if they find the "needs/interests" (the first transitional phase) (p. 60) that motivate them to continue the friendship. Afterwards, they go through the second transitional phase, the "turning point" (p. 62), before entering the "involvement" (the third) stage and establish their friendship further. According to Lee, the "turning point" usually involves one particular incident that confirms intercultural dyadic partners' shared intimacy and ensures the necessity for them to develop and sustain their friendship. In other words, intercultural dyadic friendships develop from the sequence of having an "initial encounter" and transitioning through "needs/interests" into "interaction" and then experiencing a "turning point" prior to entering the last "involvement" stage. While the three stages of Lee's (2008) intercultural dyadic friendship development are largely comparable to IMT's three identity management phases, the two transitional phases she proposed are advancements to IMT.

Thus far in Chapter Two, I have (a) reviewed the historical development of English education in Taiwan with the three popular English educational approaches, (b) argued for the interconnections among linguistic politics, identity politics, and potential power differentiation

and inequalities in English education under the regime of English language hegemony, and (c) provided a detailed review of IMT, including its theoretical assumptions and fundamental components, and its latest developments in rendering the theoretical framework for my research. I chose IMT for its dialectical richness and its emphasis on identity and intercultural relationship development, which facilitate my examination of how the interconnectedness among identity politics, identity management, and the power dynamics in Taiwanese English education render different intercultural communication experiences. In the section to follow, I identify research problems and gaps inspired by and observed from the aforementioned literature.

Identification of Research Problems and Gaps

The extant literature review has provided much valuable information; however, some research problems and gaps remain largely unexplored and require further investigation. Herein, I identify and discuss these problems and gaps as they inform this dissertation research.

The first research problem pertains to professional gaps. Except for Tsui's (2007) study, there is a lack of explicit research regarding English teachers' and students' identity construction and management in all-English settings. As English education is tied with educational participants' identity construction and management, identity politics, and power struggles, I advocate that there is a need to take the identity aspect into specific consideration. Sommers (2011) criticizes that native-English-speaking (NES) teachers have become "de rigueur" (para. 7) (i.e., a "must") for guaranteed "authentic" English communication practice and student attraction in English education. NES teachers further bear the title of "foreign experts" (McPherron, 2009, p. iv; Tsui, 2007) in classrooms. As I have explained in one of the criticisms against the three popular English education approaches, NES English teachers usually receive higher preference, respect, and recompense compared to the native/local English teachers. The lack of research in

specific all-English settings coupled with various NES privileges make NES teachers' identity management and relationship development worthy of investigation.

The same need of research attention is necessary for local Taiwanese teachers and students. Contrasting from NES teachers, Huang's (2012) study shows that most Taiwanese English teachers feel uncomfortable teaching English-medium content courses because they self-report for having insufficient English proficiency and/or lacking language awareness. The emphasis on communicative-oriented English education approaches render mostly negative impacts on local English teacher's identity construction and management as competent teachers. Although many local teachers applaud the communicative teaching approaches, many of them are not properly trained for CLT and/or lack self-confidence in spoken English. Because local English teachers are equally important agents as NES teachers in English education, I contend that Taiwanese teachers' identity management is important to study. Different from the positionality of a teacher, Taiwanese students are required to learn English as a mandatory school subject. Therefore, I ponder upon how students construct and manage their identities in English education with the factor of a compulsory policy. These interrelations stimulate the necessity and attention for research.

The second research problem is related to academic gaps. Thus far in the literature, studies of English education have been abundant in the disciplines of Applied Linguistics, Curriculum and Instruction, and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). At the initial phase of researching, I attempted to search for literature that focuses on the key frameworks of "intercultural communication" and "English education," but very few results showed up under the Communication Studies discipline. Kelly's (2012) and Ryan's (2012) chapters in *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication* and

Holmes' (2004) work in *Business Communication Quarterly* are the few that I could find.

Among the very minimal results, I could not locate any communication-centered research that examines intercultural communication and English education in the specific context of Taiwan. As I have discussed, language education and communication are interlocking aspects, especially when all-English classes and programs prioritize communicative competence at the forefront. Hence, I contend that conducting this research via an intercultural communication lens is additive to and imperative in the discipline of Communication Studies.

Another academic gap concerns the application of IMT in a completely NNEs context and with educational participants. Particularly with the power struggles prompted by the globalization of English language, intercultural communicators are likely to construct and manage their cultural and relational identities within the ideological frames of Western and English linguistic dominance. This, I suppose, poses strong influences on English educational participants' cultural and relational identity management in Taiwan. To iterate the literature of English education, NES teachers in Taiwan are considered as dominant figures with more power, because of their NES identity and the favoritism given by many English-language institutes and the general public. Although NES teachers are oftentimes privileged over local English teachers in Taiwan, the latter still have significant power and advantage in their local educational contexts as they share linguistic and cultural proximity with their students and can potentially build better teacher-student relationships. Regardless of NES or Taiwanese English teachers, they form mini-cultures (Baxter, 1987; Wood, 1982) with their students in teacher-student relationships. By studying educational participants' identity construction and management in power-laden dynamics and relationships in Taiwan, I hope this dissertation contributes to another development of IMT, especially in a way that this research creates an inter-paradigmatic linkage

between the interpretive and critical perspectives and a functionalist-oriented theory (i.e., IMT) in a NNES country like Taiwan.

I connect the third research problem with explorations of reactions and awareness from the public. Pennycook (1994) argues that English education is not merely a linguistic practice, but an ideological one. He further criticizes that English teachers and learners in many NNES countries accept learning English as a hopeful step for them to reach better sociocultural and economic statuses in the future. For this reason, I grapple with and wonder if Taiwanese English teachers and students regard compulsory English education and the three English education approaches as positive and beneficial policies to abide by voluntarily. As a Taiwanese citizen, growing up, I have participated in countless conversations when Taiwanese students discuss that learning English well is a hopeful step for building a “better future.” Canagarajah (1999) warns us about this notion of “hope.” He writes, “We can see a cyclical process: the dominant social arrangement passes on its values to the school; the school (through its curriculum and pedagogy) passes on those values to students; the students uphold the status quo” (p. 23). If this cyclical process of English language domination prevails throughout the Taiwanese society, it would be challenging for the public and for educators to critically examine the hegemony of English language and its attendant cultures. Therefore, this research problem prompts me to probe into how English teachers and students in Taiwan perceive English education and its pertinent policies.

To briefly summarize, in this chapter, I have examined literature regarding several interrelated topics about this dissertation research: (1) Taiwan’s English education developments and the three popular English education approaches, (2) connections among global linguistic politics, identity politics, and English education, (3) detailed explications of IMT and its recent

developments, and (4) three main research problems and gaps that frame my research. In the next chapter, I illustrate the research methodology that guides my research preparations, data collection processes, and approaches to data analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Based on the literature review and the identifications of research problems in Chapter Two, in this chapter, I describe research methodology in detail. I first formulate six guiding research questions (RQs). Second, I provide an overview of the research methodology I employ, critical complete-member ethnography (CCME) (Toyosaki, 2011), and illuminate why and how it is central for this research. Building on the discussion of CCME, I explain five contextual factors of complete-membership that help situate my own researcher identity in this dissertation. Moreover, I share the conceptualizations regarding complete-member researcher's (my) construction of selfhood/self-identity before I enter research sites. Following these two major sections, I discuss data collection and data analysis methods for treating collected data sets.

Research Questions

In response to the identified research problems and gaps discussed in Chapter Two, I introduce six RQs to guide this dissertation. The term “educational participants” in the following RQs refers to native-English-speaking (NES) English teachers, Taiwanese English teachers, and Taiwanese students.

RQ 1: How does English hegemony manifest in Taiwanese English education through educational participants' identity construction and management?

RQ 2: How do the educational participants manage their cultural identity relationally through marking scope, salience, and intensity of their cultural identities with other educational participants in Taiwanese English education?

RQ 3: What identity freezing problems do educational participants experience while managing their cultural identities in Taiwanese English education?

RQ 4: How do the educational participants engage their facework in managing their cultural identities in Taiwanese English education?

RQ 5: How do the educational participants move through the relational phases while managing their cultural identities in Taiwanese English education?

RQ 6: How can Identity Management Theory be modified in order to explain hegemonic (or power-laden) intercultural communication, such as Taiwanese English education?

Among the six RQs, RQ 1 is the theoretical and overarching research question and is further divided into RQs 2, 3, 4, and 5 for detailed analysis. The final RQ 6 aims at rendering theoretical implications back to IMT.

Research Methodology—Critical Complete-Member Ethnography

In order to answer the RQs, I employ critical complete-member ethnography (CCME) (Toyosaki, 2011). In this section, I include two sub-sections: (a) an overview of CCME and explications of five contextual factors of complete-membership and (b) an exploration of my own complete-member researcher identity.

An Overview of Critical Complete-Member Ethnography

Critical complete-member ethnography (CCME) (Toyosaki, 2011) is an “innovative intracultural praxis which engages in and facilitates social justice and cultural reform through its dialectical and highly personalized communication theorization” (p. 62). To establish CCME in intracultural communication research, Toyosaki (2011) utilizes the label of complete-member ethnography (CME), because CME scholars “offer culturally intimate and proximate interpretations of their research participants” (p. 64). In other words, CCME is a recent development of CME. In this overview of CCME, I first provide a brief historical review of the development of CME.

Toyosaki (2011) offers a lucid trajectory that traces CME's development. Historically, the Chicago School of ethnography is considered the initial vigor that pushed toward the formation of CME (Anderson, 2006). Following World War I, Robert Park at the University of Chicago influenced many of his graduate students to take interest in "sociological involvement in settings close to their personal lives, [and in] arenas with which they had a significant degree of self-identification" (Anderson, 2006, p. 375). This was approximately one century ago. More recently, Adler and Adler (1987) utilized the term "complete member" explicitly to suggest that ethnographers should (a) assume the "complete membership role" and (b) "become native" with the researched community in order to actively participate in and understand local culture and communicative acts (p. 67; see also Adler & Adler, 1994). To echo with Adler and Adler's (1987, 1994) pleas, Ellis and Bochner (2000) adopted the term "complete-member researchers" to refer to those who "explore groups of which *they already are members*" or who have been converted to genuine membership during the research process (p. 740, emphasis added).

In other words, there have been different explications of the role of a "complete-member researcher." In essence, they all accentuate the close and shared relationships between researcher(s) and the researched. Smith (2005) frames such shared cultural and experiential proximity between the researchers and their participants as "epistemological intimacy" (p. 1). Drawing connections together, Toyosaki (2011) elucidates, "CME is a practice of epistemological intimacy, predicated upon such mutual intelligibility and shared identity between researchers and their participants" (p. 64). In CCME, epistemological intimacy plays a crucial role in facilitating critical self-reflexivity that propels social justice and empowers the community members under research. Toyosaki (2011) further asserts that CCME helps the community members "understand their own culture from the inside and [connect] it with its

neighboring communities through critical interrogation of cultural and political issues at stake, such as oppression, injustice, inequality, and dehumanization” (p. 65). To situate my complete-membership in this dissertation, I build upon the notion of epistemological intimacy and frame five contextual factors that explain my complete-membership with my research participants.

The first contextual factor that influences my complete-membership is identity historicity. To narrow it down further, I foreground the spatial-temporal characteristic. Identity historicity pertains to the enactment and formation of identity under the concepts of history, space, and temporality. How I recognize the historical roots of my own identity is pertinent to the understanding of my cultural locations in history. Although historicity implies past events, Cavallaro (2001) asserts, “There is no linear progression from the past through the present to the future. . . . [F]uture is already buried in the past” (pp. 179-180). My identity historicity of the past, present, and future and our shared time and space inform how my identities may be complete and intimate to a society or a cultural group.

The second contextual factor that influences my complete-membership is institutional memory. Institutional memory is generated by, maintained, and negotiated through past and present members of an organization or institution, such as corporate, government, religious group, and/or educational system (El Sawy, Gomes, & Gonzalez, 1986). Individuals who are affiliated with or immersed in an institution co-create and acculturate with their organization’s institutional memory. Such memory fosters coherent formation of group membership and identity. With the distinctiveness of every institutional memory, this contextual factor appoints a researcher’s complete-membership to unique organizational insights.

The third contextual factor for my complete-membership is predicated upon situational (inter)subjectivity. Subjectivity is bound by social intercourse and influenced by multiple

statuses. Polkinghorne (1988) and Day Sclater (2003) both emphasize that subjectivity and human experience are “processes” of meaning-making rather than static conditions or facts. Human involvement, social reality, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity are thus equally effective in the formation of identity. Sarup (1996) insists that we are who we are in relation to others. Likewise, Toyosaki (2007) highlights that identities are intersubjectively constructed, and he explains, “My identity—everyday performativity—escapes from the private and frees itself and travels into the public sphere, where everyone’s identities are socially, culturally, historically, and politically co-constructing and coemerging from each other” (p. 65). Therefore, a researcher’s complete-membership is dynamic and situational in nature, and it is predicated upon intersubjective relationships with multiple factors, be it class, gender, or even native language.

The fourth contextual factor for complete-membership is when the researcher’s ascribed identity meets her/his avowed identity. Sarup (1996) calls avowal as “inside/private” identity (how we see ourselves) and ascription as “outside/public” identities (how others have typified us) (p. 14). Take myself as an example: I avow my identity as a foreign-born international student at a U.S. university. When I hold conversations with other international students about topics such as cultural adaptations in the U.S., the pronouns of “we” and “our” in the discussions meaningfully signify that I am also ascribed as an international student by my interlocutor(s). Such a pronominal choice represents consensual identifications, resting upon the socially-constructed and constructing avowed-ascribed identity location (see also Toyosaki, 2011; Wolcott, 1999).

The fifth, and final, contextual factor for my complete-membership pertains to the use of symbolic codes, including speech codes, semiotic codes, and language choices. In speech codes theory (Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), speech codes refer to the systematic and

socially-constructed communicative conducts as well as the particular ways of speaking in the community under study. In semiotics, a code means a group of patterned signs which systematically carries significance as a message or a text to a group of users, and it is subject to constant change (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993). According to Leeds-Hurwitz (1993), language is the most common model of a semiotic code. This contextual factor of recognizing, acquiring, and performing significant cultural symbolic codes is indispensable when a researcher constructs her or his insider status ethnographically. Researchers' ability to competently perform and understand significant symbolic codes in a cultural group or community acts as a strong indicator that creates epistemological intimacy and that differentiates inside from outside members.

My Conceptualization of Complete-Member Ethnographer's (My) Selfhood/Self-identity

Although I have identified five different contextual factors of complete-membership, they are not meant to be exhaustive. Additionally, the five factors are complexly interrelated, despite my discussions in seemingly linear and mutually-exclusive fashion. Herein, I further offer my exploration of selfhood/self-identity to steer away from the rigid categorical boundaries. To recoil from modernity—which often “associates with order, certainty, . . . , [and] absolute truth” (Sarup, 1996, p. 50)—I align my explication of selfhood/self-identity predominantly with postmodernity. Sarup (1996) states, “Identity in postmodern thought is not a thing; the self is necessarily incomplete, unfinished—it is ‘the subject in process’” (p. 47).

Essentially, our selfhood/self-identity is not a private possession and does not remain fully under one's control. If we assume ourselves as independent and self-assured individuals, we tend to claim that we have full control over our identities. However, Cavallaro (2001) cautions us that “misinterpretation plays a central role in the construction of personal and collective identities: what we think we are is often a product of how our culture misrepresents us

and of how we misrepresent ourselves” (p. 47). In other words, we cannot escape from the fact that our identities are intersubjectively constructed and shaped by our culture and by our own as well as others’ perceptions—sometimes accurately and sometimes not.

In addition to the intersubjective and potentially-misrepresented features, I hold that our selfhood/self-identity should be displaced from the central position. Stemming from Ancient Greek philosophies, Cartesian dualism and Idealism claim that self is the center of the knowing act, the originator of meaning, and is associated with human powers (Cavallaro, 2001; McKerrow, 1993). Moving away from the Cartesian dualism and Idealism, Cavallaro (2001) precludes a different position of self in postmodernity, which also echoes with the proclamation from Derrida (1930), a poststructuralist, who underscores dismantling any unified systems (as cited in Cavallaro, 2001, p. 25). Similarly, Kiesinger (2002) opines in her description of narrative framework that “we [need to] *step away* from our story and hold it before us as a text for study” (p. 108, emphasis added). With the analogy of self as text, deconstructing text in narrative is, hence, germane to the deconstruction of self. Such deconstruction not only permits fragmentation of self in postmodernity but also removes the self from the center locus. In line with these convictions, McKerrow (1993) advocates for the displacement of subject/self in that the decentered subject/self allows intersubjectivity to thrive and flourish.

Significantly informed by postmodern thoughts, I understand a complete-member ethnographer’s identity also as intersubjective, dynamic, decentered, fragmented, and in flux while emphasizing the five contextual factors of a researcher’s complete-membership. I contend that a “complete-member ethnographer” is not a fixed or static position. Instead, it is conditional, contextual, and mutable, always in relationships with ethnographic participants. Sarup (1996) supportively claims, “Identity is a process; it is heterogeneous” (p. xvi). Hence, a researcher’s

complete-membership and self-identity are fluid and are not simply predicated upon her/his avowed ontological status of being. Fundamentally, epistemological intimacy is a performative dimension of constructed and nuanced performance of complete-membership in ethnographic research (Smith, 2005; Toyosaki, 2011).

I value CCME and adopt it as my central research methodology because of my identities as a Taiwanese citizen, a former English teacher in Taiwan, a Taiwanese researcher who has received both Taiwanese and U.S. education, an English speaker, and a Chinese/Taiwanese speaker. All of these identities are shared with my research participants in one way or another and function as my epistemological intimate lenses through which I approach this study. With the support of CCME, I examine Taiwanese English education from an insider perspective. Furthermore, with my complete-membership in this research, I hope to become part of the driving force to propel necessary cultural reforms in Taiwanese English education. In the following section, I illustrate data collection methods and processes in this research.

Data Collection Methods and Processes

In theorizing CCME, Toyosaki (2011) incorporates three methodological foundations, including ethnography of communication (EOC) (a communicative element), autoethnography (a self-reflexive or personal element), and critical ethnography (a critical element). These three methodological components have informed my data collection and data analysis methods. Toyosaki (2011) stresses that critical complete-member ethnographers (CCMEers) value critical and ethical self-reflexivity when studying communicative practices in their own communities, which corresponds to my research rationale. Based on the communicative, the self-reflexive and personal, and the critical components of CCME, I approach this dissertation from interpretive and critical perspectives to understand research participants' cultural and communicative

patterns. Ultimately, I position this project as an intervention to reveal the cultural, historical, social, and political factors that render English language hegemony, power differentials, and identity politics in Taiwanese English education. In order to do so, I collected data using different methods, including ethnographic participant observation, ethnographic interview, and autoethnographic journaling, while paying vigilant attention to the power dynamics during the process. I further offer reasoning and emphasis for such utilizations below.

Ethnographic Observations and Interviews: Informed by Ethnography of Communication

One of the data collection methods I employed for this dissertation was informed by ethnography of communication (EOC), which draws upon “a rich heritage of anthropology, sociolinguistics, folklore studies, and semiotics” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 46). EOC emerged from the works of Dell Hymes’ (1968) “The Ethnography of Speaking” and Gerry Philipsen’s (1975) “Speaking Like a Man in Teamsterville.” Heavily influenced by sociocultural and phenomenological traditions, ethnographers of communication focus on forms, meanings, and codes that are practiced, maintained, and communicated in a community (Cameron, 2001; Littlejohn & Foss, 2011). Gumperz (1968) and Labov (1972) explain that when a group of people or a community share mutually intelligible sets of linguistic and social norms and patterns, including predictable varieties, they are considered as a speech community. In this research, I assume groups of English educational participants (i.e., NES English teachers, Taiwanese English teachers, and Taiwanese students) as different speech communities as they share different norms and patterns of communication. Notably, the three groups of English educational participants as a whole also form a bigger speech community as they occupy the same space (i.e., their all-English classes) and have distinctive ways of communication to remain functional.

Based on the stated notions of EOC, I employed ethnographic participant observation and ethnographic/naturalistic interview to collect data. The data collection continued for three months in Taiwan. In total, I conducted observations in five undergraduate-level and two advanced-level classes over five different universities. All of them were located in middle and southern parts of Taiwan. Each class observation ran between fifty minutes to two hours (depending on the class schedules). The courses I observed included Business English, Cultural Appreciation, English corner⁵, English Consultation, Freshman English, English Literature, and Professional Finance Research. Despite the varied class titles, they all met the criterion of being CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes (according to participants' identification). For regular university classes, there was one instructor to approximately forty to forty-five students. For English corner/consultation classes and the Professional Finance Research class, the number of enrollments differed, which ranged from three to fifteen students. By conducting ethnographic observations in the all-English classes, I was able to examine the cultural patterns, interactive norms, and communicative codes in their unique speech communities.

After the class observations, I arranged ethnographic interviews with voluntary and available research participants (NES teachers, Taiwanese English teachers, and Taiwanese students) from the observed classes. The ethnographic interviews allowed me to get at the research participants' meanings during the interview process and to probe what I observed in the classrooms (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). In the ethnographic interviews, I approached the research participants with various themes and general questions as prepared in interview protocols, and I also readjusted the interview directions based on research participants' responses. In total, I conducted nineteen ethnographic interviews. The duration of each interview varied between

⁵ Information about English corner can be found on page 33 in this dissertation.

forty-five minutes to two hours (depending on the interviewee). These ethnographic interviews took place at various locations in Taiwan per interviewees' preferences and availabilities.

Particularly for student interviewees, I contacted them after the semester was over (mid-to-late June), lest they had concerns for voicing their opinions against their instructors. Some interviewees chose to meet on their campuses and others in cafés, convenience stores, and restaurants in their hometowns.

Autoethnographic Journaling: Informed by Autoethnography

In addition to EOC, I employed autoethnographic journaling. Ellis and Bochner (2000) claim that autoethnography became popular around 1995 (see also Paechter, 2012); it was then when ethnographers started to critically accentuate self-reflexivity, self-display, and self-disclosure (Reed-Danahay, 2001). For Holman Jones (2005), autoethnography is:

setting a scene, telling a story, weaving intricate connections between life and art, experience and theory, evocation and explanation Making a text present Refusing closure or categorization. Witnessing experience and testifying about power without foreclosure Believing that words matter and writing toward the moment when the point of creating autoethnographic texts *is* to change the world. (emphasis in original, p. 765)

Butler (2009), Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011), and Goodall (2000) all concur that autoethnography is a methodology that aims to examine the transformative and intricate understanding of the lived experiences. When utilized in pedagogical contexts, Fassett and Warren (2007) contend that “autoethnography is a reflexive accounting . . . to subject our experiences to critical examination, to expose life’s mundane qualities for how they illustrate our participation in power” (p. 103). In essence, autoethnography values reflexive and critical

interrogations of autoethnographers' lived experiences (Bochner & Ellis, 1995; Richardson, 2000). My lived experiences in Taiwan and my journey with English-learning and English-teaching have constructed a major part of my life. I take this valuable opportunity to reflect back and to critically engage with my own choices and the traces of my footsteps.

Another reason that I chose to employ autoethnography is to act in accordance with scholars Norton and Early (2011), who respond to Canagarajah's earlier critique that researchers' identities are often invisible in language education research. Norton and Early (2011) stress that researchers in language education research constantly and inevitably interact with language teachers, language policy makers, and students, both directly and indirectly. Therefore, they argue with Canagarajah's contention that researcher's identities should be addressed in language education-related research. From viewing their own collected data in a project in Uganda, Norton and Early realize that including "small stories" (i.e., depictions situated "in small talk and chit-chat, frequently constructed in interaction and traced in discourse") and narratives in language education research can lead to several benefits (p. 421): (a) help make researcher identities more visible and transparent, (b) encourage researchers to be aware of their constructions and negotiations of identities, and (c) allow praxis to be integrated into studies regarding language, education, and social change.

Along with the ethnographic observation and interview data, the autoethnographic journaling and notes continued throughout the span of this dissertation. As I have explained, the journaling took place before, during, and after the whole data collection process, so it was difficult to estimate the total duration of time. I saw the journaling and notes as a thread weaving back-and-forth across different data collection stages. The journals included, but were not limited

to, my personal reflections from the field observations, my past/childhood and present English-learning experiences and narratives, and my own identity management and facework strategies.

Critical Cultural Investigation: Informed by Critical Ethnography

The third methodological component of CCME, critical ethnography, also played a significant role in my data collection. Influenced by postmodernism and feminism (Reed-Danahay, 2001; O'Byrne, 2007), critical ethnographers emphasize reflexivity, discursive practice, and discourse in ethnography (Fiske, 1991; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). In essence, critical ethnographers disrupt status quo and challenge injustice, oppression, and power inequality underneath the normally taken-for-granted lived experiences (Madison, 2005). In the context of Taiwanese English education, I employed critical examinations in this dissertation to unveil the embedded hegemonic power of English language and culture over native Taiwanese language(s) and culture(s), unequal salary scales between NES and Taiwanese English teachers, English educational participants' potential psychological dependence on and preference for English, and so on.

I see self-reflexivity, critical cultural investigation, and transparent researcher identity as significant elements for my research; therefore, I have been keeping autoethnographic journals and notes before, during, and after the process of data collection. My autoethnographic journaling is processual and continual throughout the span of my research (and into my writing). The journaling offers me opportunities to actively, critically, and reflexively engage in my lived experiences and with my research.

In brief, I have explained the three major data collection methods: (a) ethnographic field observations in all-English classes in Taiwan, (b) ethnographic interviews with voluntary research participants (including NES and Taiwanese English teachers and Taiwanese students),

and (c) critical ethnographic and reflexive autoethnographic journaling and notes. In adopting these three methods, I investigate my research from multiple angles that allow data triangulation (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Below, I illustrate my overall data collection processes.

Data Collection Processes: Participant Recruitment and Sampling Methods

I divided the data collection process into two phases: a pilot study and the dissertation data collection. In the phase of the pilot study, I initiated participant recruitment through convenient and criterion sampling methods (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). In spring and summer of 2012, I conducted a small-scale pilot study that entailed nine research participants' self-reports gathered from qualitative survey questionnaires, two ethnographic interviews, and two ethnographic observations at a university in Taiwan (with Institutional Review Board's/IRB's approval). In the pilot study, two of the participants were English teachers (one NES and one Taiwanese) who were faculty members at the same university. They agreed to the classroom observations and the interviews. The NES teacher taught an English-corner class (a form of an English-immersion class) with all-English instructions; the Taiwanese teacher adopted the communicative language teaching (CLT) approach in teaching (but not in English-only instructions). They were recruited based on convenient sampling and criterion sampling methods. The criteria for participant recruitment were that participants (a) had English-teaching experiences at CLT/English-immersion/all-English environments, and (b) were either NES or Taiwanese English teachers. The data collected in the pilot study were not included in this dissertation, but the study helped set the tone for my dissertation data collection.

For the second phase, I submitted a new application to the Institutional Review Board and received their approval for conducting this current dissertation. I continued with the convenient and criterion sampling methods to recruit research participants, and added the

snowball sampling method this time. I began the convenient sampling with the two faculty members who participated in the pilot study and made requests to other (previous) associates/colleagues/friends about their willingness and availability for research participation. This was how the convenient sampling took place. Meanwhile, I adopted the criterion sampling again, but the two criteria were slightly modified from the pilot study: (a) research participants must be NES or Taiwanese teachers or Taiwanese students (18 years of age or older), and (b) at the time of participation, they must have had teaching and/or learning experiences in CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes in Taiwan. For the snowball sampling method, I requested research participants to refer my research to their colleagues/friends or instructors (if they were students).

Data Collection Processes: Stage-by-Stage Procedure

The data collection procedure included multiple stages. First, I gained teachers' preliminary consent via e-mail solicitation and we set dates for ethnographic observations in their all-English classes. (See Appendix A for email solicitation script to English teachers and Appendix B to students. All of the IRB forms were in English-Mandarin bilingual format.) In one of the classes I observed, I was connected to the teacher from a student's referral. Second, on the days for ethnographic observations, I arrived in classrooms early or visited instructors' offices to formally introduce myself and to explain my research face-to-face to the teachers prior to the classroom observations. During class time, I took the beginning five to ten minutes and followed the field observation script to introduce myself and the research. (See Appendix C for field observation script/schedule.) Meanwhile, I distributed research cover letters, informed consent forms, and demographic questionnaires to all research participants to obtain their consent for taking part in the research and to gather some pertinent information. (See Appendix

D for research cover letter, Appendix E for informed consent form for ethnographic observation and Appendix F for demographic questionnaire.) The demographic questionnaires were collected separately from the informed consent forms to ensure participants' anonymity. Afterwards, I sat in the final row of the classroom to allow an open view for observation. In conducting ethnographic observations, I paid attention to communal terms, culturally significant codes, communicative patterns, and facework strategies that the research participants utilized in managing their cultural and relational identities. Because most of the classes I observed were teacher-centered, I was a participant observer who mainly embodied the unobtrusive role, except when invited to participate in discussions and/or students' group work.

Subsequent to the classroom observations, the third stage that I proceeded with was ethnographic interviews (not immediately after class). Upon inviting the teachers for ethnographic interviews, all of them consented to participate. In order to recruit voluntary student interviewees, with the teachers' permission, I took the final three minutes of their class time to make announcements and to extend invitations. Interested student participants then left their contact information with me after class. To conduct ethnographic interviews, we negotiated mutually-agreed-upon locations and dates, and I traveled to their locations of choice. On the days of the ethnographic interviews, I presented the interviewees with research cover letters, informed consent forms, and demographic questionnaires (Appendix F) at the beginning of our individual interview sessions. (See Appendix G for research cover letter and Appendix H for informed consent form for ethnographic interview.) In the cover letters and informed consent forms, I specifically included a request to audio-record interviews when their consent was given. After obtaining gaining their consent, I conducted the ethnographic interviews that followed the interview script (see Appendix I) and interview protocol (see Appendix J).

Although I had prepared the interview questions, the naturalistic and conversational styles of ethnographic interviews resulted in large unscripted portions. Some specific questions I asked in the ethnographic interviews were topics about their communicative acts in class, their experiences of cultural and relational identity management, and their views of different terms associated with English education in Taiwan (e.g., “English education,” “NES teachers,” “Taiwanese English teachers,” “English learners,” “identity”). Oftentimes, the interviewees shared their opinions and views, and I redirected our discussions according to their responses. Notwithstanding, when interviewing the Taiwanese participants, I informed them that they could choose to speak in Mandarin Chinese and/or in English. This way, they felt less worried about using English to explain complex topics and experiences such as their identity management. All of the Taiwanese interviewees chose to use Mandarin Chinese in the interviews. Some of them applied code-switching between Mandarin Chinese and English for a few words and phrases.

Data Analysis Methods

After the data collection procedures, I compiled and organized the field observation notes, transcribed the interviews, and collected autoethnographic journals and notes for data analysis. To tease out significant findings from multiple data sets, I treated these data with different analysis methods, including open-coding and axial-coding (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), thematic analysis (Aronson, 1994; Owen, 1984), and critical examination of consensual and conflictual theorization and analysis (Fiske, 1991; Toyosaki, 2011).

Through open-coding, I generated and named categories, interactional patterns, and significant cultural codes by analyzing the field-notes, transcriptions, and autoethnographic journals line by line. Lindlof and Taylor (2011) suggest that, after identifying major categories, researchers use axial-coding “to bring previously separate categories together under an

overarching theory or principle of integration” (p. 252). The axial-coding process is similar to the thematic analysis method. Aronson (1994) defines themes as units of patterns. More specifically, Owen (1984) recognizes a theme with three criteria: (a) recurrence, (b) repetition, and (c) forcefulness in analyzing texts (p. 275). Recurrence means that a single salient meaning appears more than twice, despite different wordings. Repetition is an extension of the first criterion, which marks repeated wordings or phrases in discourse to help reify the prominence of a theme. The forcefulness criterion means “the underlining of word and phrases” presented with emphasis (p. 275). After the axial-coding and thematic analysis, I located various significant themes of identity management, cultural codes, facework strategies, and communicative patterns.

Particularly for this research, critical ethnography offered me an analytical framework to engage in critical and simultaneous examinations of both consensual and conflictual data analysis (Fiske, 1991; Toyosaki, 2011). In accordance with the critical ethnographic focus of CCME, I engaged in critical consensual and conflictual examinations among the data of cultural codes, themes, facework strategies, communicative patterns, and identity management. Consensual theorization revealed systemic and structural phenomena in identity politics, identity management, and perpetuation of English language’s hegemony in Taiwanese English education. Through conflictual theorization, I critically interrogated the variations and differences across three major data sets, across research participants, and between the research participants and me. The conflictual theorization allowed me to present and discuss research participants’ localized and diverse perspectives.

To summarize, in this chapter, I have explained the methodology in the following four major sections: (a) the six guiding research questions, (b) the central research methodology of CCME, in tandem with five contextual factors for complete-membership and my

conceptualization of complete-member ethnographers' selfhood/self-identity, (c) the data collection methods and processes, and (d) the data analysis methods. By adopting and performing the above-mentioned data analysis methods, I identified, interrogated, compared, and contrasted multiple data sets and produced research findings that respond to the six research questions. In the next two chapters, I discuss the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL IDENTITY MANAGEMENT IN THREE DIMENSIONS

In the following two chapters, I present the findings from the ethnographic observations, ethnographic interviews, and my autoethnographic journaling. Notably, for the purpose of data representation, I translated Taiwanese participants' interviews because they all opted to speak in Chinese (with occasional code-switching between English and Chinese). In the following two chapters of data analysis, I foreground the observational notes and interview transcriptions, and I layer the analysis with my autoethnographic accounts. Various themes emerged from conducting thematic analysis and consensual and conflictual theorization. With both consensual and conflictual theorizations, I pay vigilant attention to participants' mutually-agreed-upon and contested meanings and experiences in this research.

In this first chapter of data analysis and discussion, I specifically start with research question two (RQ 2), in that RQ 1 is an overarching question to be addressed later in Chapter Six. RQ 2 asks: "How do the educational participants manage their cultural identities relationally through marking scope, salience, and intensity of their cultural identities with other educational participants in Taiwanese English education (and beyond)?" In response to the RQ, I located data that showed how the research participants managed their various cultural identities relationally in the all-English classrooms. Particularly, I organize this chapter into four major and prominent themes that emerged from data analysis: (a) Chinese in all-English classrooms, (b) they need to be critical thinkers, (c) silence in the classroom: no, do not show off! yes, keep silent! and (d) I have (not) studied abroad! Prior to the analysis and discussion, I organized the demographic information of all interview participants in Table 4 below.

Table 4

Demographic information of interview participants

	Participants (pseudonym)	Gender	Country of origin	Race	Degree	Other notes
NES teacher	Stan	male	U.S.	White	M.A.*	- Highest degree from the U.S. - Time in Taiwan: 5 years
	Alan	male	Canada	White	M.A.	- Highest degree from Canada - Time in Taiwan: 10 years
	Daniel	male	Australia	White	Ph.D.*	- Highest degree from Taiwan - Time in Taiwan: 15 years
	Kate	female	U.S.	White	Ph.D.*	- Highest degree from Taiwan - Time in Taiwan: 10 years
Taiwan-ese teacher	Yu-Ting	female	Taiwan	Asian	M.A.*	- Highest degree from U.S. - Teaching experience: 4 years
	Guan-Fu	male	Taiwan	Asian	Ph.D.*	- Highest degree from the U.K. - Teaching experience: 10 years
	Ying-Chia	male	Taiwan	Asian	Ph.D.*	- Highest degree from Taiwan - Teaching experience: 8 years
Taiwan-ese student	Ya-Fang	female	Taiwan	Asian	B.A.*	Student of NES teacher
	Yi-Yu	female	Taiwan	Asian	M.A.*	
	Ming-Che	male	Taiwan	Asian	B.A.	
	Wan-Jun	female	Taiwan	Asian	B.A.	
	Chia-Yen	female	Taiwan	Asian	B.A.*	
	Yi-Fang	female	Taiwan	Asian	B.A.	
	Yu-Lin	female	Taiwan	Asian	B.A.	
	Li-Tang	female	Taiwan	Asian	B.A.	Student of Taiwanese teacher
	Jin-Yu	female	Taiwan	Asian	B.A.	
	Hao-Cheng	male	Taiwan	Asian	M.A.	
	Wei-Yen	male	Taiwan	Asian	M.A.	
	Cheng-Chia	male	Taiwan	Asian	M.A.	

* The degrees noted with asterisks indicate the highest degrees that the participants have completed at the time of research. Those without the asterisks are degrees in progress.

Management of Cultural Identities Relationally

In the four major themes, I focus on how NES teachers, Taiwanese teachers, and Taiwanese students manage their cultural identities relationally through marking scope, salience, and intensity in their experiences in Taiwanese English education, particularly in their all-English classes. As explained in Chapter Two, Identity Management Theory (IMT) considers the

said three dimensions of cultural identity management. To restate, the “scope” of one’s cultural identity refers to the “breadth and generalizability of the identity” (Collier & Thomas, 1988, p. 114), “salience” is the significance of certain cultural identities in a given context, and “intensity” denotes how strongly one’s cultural identities are communicated.

Along with the presumed identities marked in my observations (NES teachers, Taiwanese teachers, and Taiwanese students), I further analyzed pertinent aspects of cultural identities that the research participants performed, identified, and discussed during the classroom interactions and in the interviews. In particular, I investigated their cultural identity management at the intersections of their educational, linguistic, national, racial, and social identities. After all, all of these aspects are co-constructive and co-emergent with the (collective) cultural identity. By layering the observational notes, the interview data, and my autoethnographic journaling, I illuminate the research findings from analyzing the research participants’ communicative strategies, patterns, and codes as they managed the varied aspects of their cultural identities.

Below, I illustrate the four major themes. In each theme, I analyze and discuss how NES teachers, Taiwanese teachers, and Taiwanese students manage their cultural identities through marking identity scope, salience, and intensity. I begin with the first theme, “Chinese in the all-English classrooms,” with a vignette followed by further analysis and discussion.

Chinese in the All-English Classrooms

* * *

Stepping into the first of seven college classrooms for this research, I felt nostalgic. I sat in the back row of a classroom with neatly arranged seats in seven columns and eight rows and waited for the instructor to arrive. Going through my mind was the feeling as if I had returned back to my undergraduate years. A few students had arrived, but it was quiet in the classroom.

They were all busy looking down on their cellphones. On a hot mid-May day in Taiwan, I could only hear the ceiling fans squeaking rhythmically as they swirled. Two minutes before the English-corner class was set to start, the “foreign teacher” arrived. He introduced his name as Stan (pseudonym). He looked older with a grey beard, and he was exceptionally tall compared to most Taiwanese people. He was slim and wore a business casual outfit with button-down blue-and-white plaid shirt and a pair of khaki pants.

With a warm smile, he greeted everyone in effortless English. “The lesson we are going to learn today is to make a hotel reservation in English when traveling abroad,” he explained. It was still quiet in the classroom at this point. Before starting the details of the lesson, he added a brief self-introduction about his life in the U.S.⁶ As he approached the ending of this self-introduction, he uttered, “Oh, I also have a Chinese name, and I speak a little Chinese and Taiwanese. [Both languages are native languages to the majority of Taiwanese.] But, my Chinese is 馬馬虎虎 [pronounced as /ma ma hu hu/ in Chinese, which meant ‘at a mediocre level’].” I heard a foreign accent when he said 馬馬虎虎 because the tones of those words were off, and the students suddenly broke their silence in the classroom. They were all giggling at the foreign-accented Chinese. “That sure caught the students’ attention! Oh yes, I also had those ‘foreign teachers’ who tried to humor the class with their ‘funny’ [foreign] accented-Chinese back in college,” I was thinking back to my undergraduate years as I took notes in the back row.

* * *

⁶ It was toward the end of the semester when I observed this class. However, how the English-corner classes functioned for this university was that students could join different classes at any point of time in the semester and could attend classes instructed by different teachers. Therefore, each English-corner class was comprised of one stand-alone topic. Most students were new for Stan and a few were returning on that day. He said he had always included a self-introduction to begin his class because of the new students.

The NES teachers. After four other observations in NES teachers' classes, I found that two of the four NES teachers, Kate and Stan, integrated some Chinese, and sometimes Taiwanese, in their teaching. Their students all reacted with laughter, and I noticed how the majority of the students became more relaxed and focused as their facial expressions changed from blank to subtle yet noticeable smiley faces. Their eyes also were concentrating on the teachers and their course materials afterwards. I conceptualized this communicative strategy as one prominent choice that showed how the NES teachers managed their cultural identities relationally with their students. I then followed up on this observation in the interviews.

To explain the rationale behind their strategy of integrating the limited Chinese they knew, NES teachers Stan and Kate articulated that they used Chinese purposefully in class to attract students' attention and to create humor. When I probed about Stan's use of Chinese in class, he answered, "From the limited Chinese I know, I'll use it just occasionally, and it's usually for humor." He further explained:

I want them to relax and maybe laugh a little bit. So, a little injection of humor, with the little Chinese I know, either they'll laugh at the situation or my pronunciation; it may be both. But I'll do that just to get them to relax and maybe get some interest.

Additionally, both Kate and Stan claimed that they wanted to be "approachable and friendly" rather than "intimidating and strict" English teachers. Both Stan and Kate commented that, more often than not, because of their foreign accents, the Taiwanese students found their Chinese "fun(ny)" and "cute." This, in turn, created a humorous effect. I could not agree with them more as I recalled how my classmates and I also reacted with giggling and laughter toward our foreign teachers' foreign-accented Chinese in college. Their "funny" foreign accents always caught our

attention. As a college student, without giving it much thought, my giggling reaction came from my perception that my foreign teachers' accented-Chinese was adorable.

Although NES teachers Alan and Daniel did not speak Chinese during the classes I observed, they both concurred that they, too, occasionally inserted Chinese in their teaching to be (perceived as) funny. In addition to injecting Chinese for humor, telling jokes and funny stories about their lives (in Taiwan and back in their homelands) were also a common communicative strategy that I observed. Kate confirmed the importance of humor and fun and said, "If you don't make them laugh at some point in class, you lose them." By integrating the limited and foreign-accented Chinese sparingly in class, the NES teachers deviated from the English-only policy, which created a humorous effect, attracted students' attention, retained their focus, and cultivated a relaxing learning environment.

From the data analysis, I find the NES teachers' integration of Chinese to be a pedagogical choice and an identity management strategy. They have seemed to be situating their linguistic and national identities as threatening and intimidating to their students. To mitigate the (perceived) threat and to build relational connections with their students, the NES teachers reduce the intensity and the salience of their linguistic identity as native English-speakers and their national identity as foreign nationals by speaking "funny" foreign-accented Chinese in class. In doing so, they have expanded the identity scope to emphasize the communal sense as Chinese and Taiwanese speakers, and have shown that they knew some cultural knowledge for creating humor. The NES teachers exhibited that they cared about their students' English-learning and tried to create a common ground. They did not take their native English-speaking abilities for granted. As Stan explained to me when he responded to how he perceived the

English language and his linguistic and national identity as a native English speaker from the U.S., he vehemently yet humbly and reflexively commented:

I think there are a lot of Americans that look at the English language as the most dominant and most powerful language, and if you don't know it, you should know it. And, they are very arrogant about it. But, to me, it's like, I'm very lucky. I've got a great job because of it So, to me, I take it as I'm grateful to be able to speak English and realize the importance of it, and not put it above any language. Never!

From the analysis, I realized that the NES teachers' national identity (as foreign nationals) and linguistic identity (as native speakers of English) were mainly managed through their constructions and negotiations of their social identity (as teachers).

Taiwanese teachers. Similar to the NES teachers' classes, the integration of Chinese was also one significant observation I made in Taiwanese English teachers' classes. The Taiwanese teachers also managed their Taiwanese linguistic and national identities by resisting the English-only policy and instructing in both English and Chinese in various degrees and proportions. During the interviews, the Taiwanese teachers explained their choices based on three reasons. First and foremost, they all placed their students' comprehension and preferences at the top priority. Taiwanese teacher Yu-Ting explained, "Many Taiwanese students do not wish their Taiwanese English teachers to teach only in English in class." This statement was the overarching sentiment from all three Taiwanese teachers in the interviews. At a low/intermediate-level, students in Yu-Ting's Freshman English class appeared to experience apparent struggles in comprehending a funny story Yu-Ting shared completely in English.

* * *

“Let me tell you a funny and embarrassing story I had while I was studying in the U.S.,” said Yu-Ting in her usual, almost comical, voice. I was sitting in the back of the room, looking up from my note pad on which I had been frantically taking field notes. I waited as she began to tell the story. “It was rather late on a Friday night. I had put on makeup, and I was planning to go clubbing with my friends. One of my friends was waiting in my one-bedroom apartment. I just had to call my Mom for our Friday night routine and just need to lie to her that I was going to bed.” I put down my pen and waited for the plot to unfold. “I used Skype⁷ on my laptop to call her because she was in Taiwan.” She was imitating Skype connecting sounds. “Mom picked up, and I was faking how tired I was by all of the homework and classes during the week. Without noticing it, I accidentally hit the button that turned on the camera for video chatting on Skype,” Yu-Ting carried on. “I kept on talking and making the tiring voices until she finally interrupted me: ‘Sweetie, but you are all in makeup, and there is another person in your room!’” Yu-Ting re-enacted a dramatic grasp in front of the whole class as she entered the last part of her story. “How do you know, Mom?” “Because your computer camera was on, and I saw everything!” The students have been quietly concentrating on and trying to understand her story, but there were only sporadic giggles after the story was told. Sitting in the back, I was holding my stomach and biting my lips to contain myself from laughing too loudly. She then repeated the story in Chinese and the whole class burst into laughter.

* * *

Not using Chinese to inject humor, I noted how Taiwanese teachers integrated Chinese for different reasons and concerns. In the follow-up interview with Yu-Ting, she commented

⁷ Skype is a computer program and a cellphone application that allows people to make international and domestic phone calls via internet.

that, despite the administrative expectation and pressure, her students' English proficiency levels prohibited her from abiding by the English-only policy. She asserted, "I am capable of teaching the class in only English, but I don't think students can handle it. They don't expect you to use only English to teach, either." To meet students' expectations and preferences, Yu-Ting chose to integrate Chinese into her all-English class. "You saw it the other day, too, right? So few students understood the story when I said it in English. As a teacher, how can I not see that and make adjustments?" she replied firmly. Similarly, Taiwanese teacher Guan-Fu added that, in his English classes, students had the tendency to become defensive and think that the teacher was trying to give them a hard time if he insisted on teaching in English completely. To be considerate for the majority of students in class, Yu-Ting and Guan-Fu both eventually gave in and turned to integrating Chinese in class, even if they started off the semester with the intention to instruct only in English. From observing Taiwanese teacher Ying-Chia's class, I learned another reason for not abiding by the English-only policy, that is, the need for professionalism.

* * *

It was an evening class. Standing in front of the blackboard, looking serious and all suited up, Ying-Chia was explaining and dissecting sentences in an English journal article on a specific metric's model used in the International Finance profession. He was adhering to the English-only policy by orally explaining the content in English while breaking down the grammatical structures of the English sentences and translating key terms into Chinese. I noticed Chinese accents and some grammatical mistakes in his spoken English. "Please underline these *sentence* because they are important. And [the English term of the metrics model] *mean* [its corresponding translation in Chinese]." He was writing Chinese characters on the blackboard.

* * *

Sitting in the classroom, I had no clue about the metrics model at all, although the whole journal article was written in English, a language with which I had felt relatively comfortable then. I sensed that the Chinese translation must have been very important for their profession. And, I thought this scene was quite familiar to me.

* * *

My mind raced back to a class meeting during my Sophomore year in Taiwan. In the second week of the semester, I, along with many of my fellow classmates, had requested our Taiwanese professor to translate the theories we were learning into Chinese because most of us were struggling so much in the theory-intensive course completely instructed in English. Almost the whole class was frowning and groaning while we communicated our opinions to the professor. “We could not follow what you were teaching for the whole first week because the textbook is written in English and the theories are so difficult to comprehend!” exclaimed one of my classmates. In the bottom of my heart, I knew it was for our own good because we were English majors who should have been reading English texts directly. However, for us, the exhaustion of long hours of reading just for one chapter and the frustration of not completely understanding the materials proved to be too much to bear. Despite the professor’s best intentions to follow the “order (or suggestion)” from the department, she had finally started to include Chinese to unpack complicated theories in our class. I was so grateful for her decision that I felt a giant rock being lifted from my chest.

* * *

I was one of the college students who struggled with English-only instructions, especially in that theory-intensive course. I had almost forgotten that sense of relief, and the observations in Yu-Ting and Ying-Chia’s classes woke up the old piece of memory. Their pedagogical choices

of translating English into Chinese (and writing them on the blackboard) were particularly different from the NES teachers. Similar to how I followed up with Yu-Ting, I probed further in the interview with Ying-Chia. He explained his choice:

It is necessary to translate those technical terms into Chinese due to students' major in International Finance. If students only learn the English terms, they would not be able to connect with their profession once they graduate and are employed in Taiwan. It is not like English conversational or speaking classes that people mainly do free talk. You need to be on the same page with other professionals in the future.

According to Ying-Chia, the English-only policy in specialized courses is meant to be defied for professional concerns. Learning or utilizing English in professional and specialized fields is more than “doing free talk” or engaging in conversational English. In a specialized field such as International Finance, Ying-Chia insisted that one must understand the technical terms in both English and Chinese in order to communicate with future professionals domestically and internationally.

From Ying-Chia's explanation, the English language is divided into two different types: the “free talk” conversational English and the professional and specialized English that needs to be translated in order to connect the global and the local. The English-only policy, then, needs to be adjusted based on the purposes of the course. Essentially, Ying-Chia's rationale echoes with McPherron's (2009) plea that, rather than replicating Western English education methods completely, NNEST countries should modify the English to fit local contexts and needs.

The other significant explanation of integrating Chinese in all-English classes came from Taiwanese teacher Yu-Ting's strong belief. She asserted that the integration of Chinese in her all-English class was to establish self-esteem and to boost national pride among her Taiwanese

students. In the middle of the interview, Yu-Ting shifted her body to sit up straight from the chair and articulated with a stern voice:

You are in Taiwan, so you are supposed to speak Chinese. What's wrong with that?

Don't despise yourself because you can't speak English (well)! I kept telling my students this and wanted them to be proud of your own language, race, and nation.

Yu-Ting consciously made this choice to promote Taiwanese national pride and to legitimize our linguistic identity as Chinese/Taiwanese speakers.

I agree with Yu-Ting that, we, as Taiwanese, should not be blamed if we speak Chinese in our own country, even in the all-English classes (see Lee, 2016). All too often, I come across Taiwanese students and friends belittling themselves with shameful tones when saying, "My English is not good enough" or "my English is really poor," and whenever they hear that I have been studying in the U.S. In a NNES country like Taiwan, English has no official capacity, but people still use English language proficiency as one of the measurements for success and for employment criteria (Hsieh, 2006, 2011; Lee, 2016; Wei, 2004), which negatively influences many Taiwanese' self-esteem. (See more discussion on identity management politics in Chapter Six.)

By including Chinese in all-English classes, the Taiwanese teachers have intensified the salience of their national and linguistic identities, which expanded the identity scope from the (supposedly) English-only speaker to acknowledge and perform the role of "Chinese-and-English-speaking Taiwanese." Although these Taiwanese teachers have chosen to adopt Chinese in class, they still tried to communicate and instruct largely in English. When Taiwanese teachers are on track with the English-only route, I consider their incorporation of English as an identity

performance of how they marked their being and existence in the all-English classrooms to be *like* native English-speakers.

As discussed, both the NES and Taiwanese teachers integrated Chinese as their communicative choice and strategy in their all-English classes. Based on IMT, their choice has further become part of how they have relationally managed their linguistic and national identities with students through the negotiation of their social identity as teachers. Although they performed the same communicative strategy, these two groups of English teachers have provided different rationales behind their choices, and their actions also rendered varied cultural significances. Whether it is speaking (limited) Chinese in class or writing translations on the blackboard, the NES and Taiwanese English teachers strategically digressed from the English-only policy. They have aspired to create a relaxing learning environment to meet students' expectations and proficiency levels, and/or to promote Taiwanese linguistic and national pride.

Taiwanese students. Apparently, NES and Taiwanese teachers are not the only ones who derail from the English-only path; Taiwanese students made the same choice in their all-English classes, especially when they were working with peers. They mainly communicated with one another in Chinese and, sometimes, Taiwanese. As a Taiwanese citizen who received almost twenty years of formal Taiwanese English education, I was not surprised when I observed this communicative strategy from the students in class.

* * *

I was sitting in a classroom filled with 45 college students. “Ok, now, please work with your classmates to complete these few questions, and I will ask people to share their answers later,” announced the teacher at the front of the class. Some turned to their right, and others to their left. Some turned around to work with their classmates sitting behind them. Students were

shifting their bodies from their isolated and individual seats. I started to hear chatters and Chinese in the room. I heard one student say, “這題的答案是什麼? [What’s the answer to this question?]” Almost chuckling a little, I thought to myself, “Ah, same old, same old.” I could not hear the whole class, but I certainly heard many pairs and groups of students speaking and working with one another in Chinese near me.

* * *

Essentially, communicating in Chinese with peers exemplifies how Taiwanese students manage their linguistic, national, and racial identities relationally with each other. When responding to my inquiry in the interviews, almost all of the students first unanimously indicated that their choice of speaking Chinese was to maintain relationships and to be on the same page with their classmates. Explaining calmly, Taiwanese student Yi-Fang said, “When your classmates speak Chinese to you, you just speak Chinese back. It will be so strange if you insist on speaking English! And, if you keep on speaking English, they might think you are showing off.” In addition to maintaining amicable relationships, the second reason the students offered was peer pressure. Even when some of them wanted to practice English in class, others refused to do so and often responded back in Chinese: “Don’t speak English! I don’t/can’t understand you” (from Taiwanese student Yu-Lin). The third reason they mentioned was to complete work faster and to express their opinions more clearly. “It will take a long time to get work done if we speak English. Plus, I often don’t know how to explain my ideas clearly in English” (from Taiwanese student Wan-Jun). The three aforementioned reasons are mainly related to Taiwanese students’ management of linguistic identity as non-native English speakers whereas the next one connects to their racial and national identity management.

In addition to the concern of linguistic ability, the other reason that the Taiwanese students mentioned pertained to the difference in physical appearance between (White) “foreigners” and Asians in Taiwan. In the interviews, the other recurring factor to which Taiwanese students attributed for their speaking Chinese with peers was how “foreigners and Taiwanese look different.” Taiwanese student Hao-Cheng clearly elaborated on this reasoning:

I think facing foreigners is essentially an obstacle to overcome. When you see an Asian face in Taiwan, you know they are the same race as you are and they most probably speak the same language(s) as you do. You are familiar not only with the appearance but also with the shared language [i.e., Chinese and Taiwanese]. Many of us [students] fear facing foreigners because, for one, they “look foreign,” and, for another, you can’t count on communicating with them in Chinese or Taiwanese. This is why we don’t push ourselves to communicate in English unless we are facing foreigners.

Taiwanese student Yi-Yu also echoed with this reasoning and said, “When students see foreign teachers in front of them, they try very hard to communicate in English, even just a word or two.” In addition to the racial difference among (White) foreigners and Taiwanese, being Taiwanese in Taiwan was a significant factor to consider. The students’ choices of speaking Chinese/Taiwanese with other Asian-looking (and presumably Taiwanese) students would not have been fruitful if they were taking English classes outside of Taiwan.

Essentially, all four reasons that Taiwanese students identified are potential factors that explain why most students in all-English classes disregarded the English-only policy and resorted to their native languages, Chinese and/or Taiwanese, to communicate with each other. Such a communication strategy further corresponds to their identity management in ways which Taiwanese students clearly have opted for intensifying the salience of their linguistic identity as

native Chinese-/Taiwanese-speakers and their racial identities as Asians, which has expanded the identity scope by partaking in the communal and communicative Chinese-speaking practice in the all-English classrooms in Taiwan.

As discussed, consensual analysis shows that communicating with peers in Chinese was largely a socially agreed-upon practice in their all-English class communities for the Taiwanese students. Occasionally, however, some students adhered to the English-only policy. The primary factor was surveillance from their teachers. Consistent with my class observations, Taiwanese students spoke English with their peers in group or pair work when the teachers were standing next to or near them. Or, when the class enrollment was smaller (for approximately 20 students or less), which easily exposed them to their teachers' surveillance, the students spoke English with peers. Nevertheless, they also pointed out that they would follow the English-only policy if their English teachers were strict and serious in reinforcing the rule. Next, I analyze and discuss the second theme.

They Need to Be Critical Thinkers!

In spite of NES teachers' efforts to reduce the salience and intensity of their linguistic and national identities by integrating Chinese in class, three NES teachers, Alan, Daniel, and Kate, intensified their educational identity by critiquing how Taiwanese students lacked critical thinking. The "educational identity" I discuss in this theme refers to the educational backgrounds and the institutional cultures in which the research participants had been acculturated under the global-regional scheme, such as Western versus Eastern/Asian educational culture. In a hopeful yet concerned tone of voice, Alan stressed:

Taiwanese students rarely challenge what they are learning. They just take everything from their teachers, and they don't think much about what they were doing at school. I

want my students to be more critical thinkers and think about what they're doing. So I try to encourage them to be more critical. . . . I think they haven't had the opportunity to be critical, because the education system here [in Taiwan] generally don't teach critical thoughts. It teaches just adhering to what the teacher says.

In the interview, Alan, of Canadian national, briefly shared with me the characteristics and the historical origins of the contemporary critical-oriented "Western" education:

[I]f you're familiar with the Western world, such as the North America, or Europe, even South America to an extent, that in the 1950s and 1960s, in particular, there was the great youth movement against the status quo. I think that profoundly affected Western culture. It probably also changed the Western education culture a great deal. Part of the reason that was able to happen was young people in the Western world wanted the freedom to be free.

With the 10-year teaching experience in Taiwan, Alan discussed the differences between Western and Taiwanese educational participants and pointed out how Taiwanese students lacked critical thinking skills. To amend this deficiency in Taiwanese education, the three NES teachers felt that they needed to emphasize their educational identity as Western educational participants who had been trained to be critical thinkers.

In addition to Alan, two other NES teachers, Daniel and Kate, also positioned their educational identities as Western critical thinkers. By equating his Chinese-learning experience with Taiwanese pedagogical styles, Daniel identified himself as a "Western thinker" who did not learn well under the Asian/Taiwanese instructions. He uttered:

If you think about learning the Chinese language. For me, it's probably why it's so hard, because I'm like a Western thinker. If you just have me programed in and just have me

repeat, learn, repeat, learn [I don't learn well that way.]; but, that's the best way to learn Chinese, right? Didn't you spend most of your elementary school education on copying down characters?

Based on my own personal educational experiences in both the U.S. and Taiwan, there are certainly major differences between Western and Asian/Taiwanese pedagogical emphases and styles, especially regarding expectations for students' class participations. The former values verbal engagement (Hao, 2010; Li, 2005) whereas the latter practices silence as a norm. It is almost expected that NES teachers are going to experience cultural collisions when they teach in Taiwan.

In the interviews, Daniel and Kate shared with me their teaching experiences and observations in Taiwanese English education for more than 10 years. Shaking her head and shrugging her shoulders, Kate commented in a frustrated tone of voice, "They [Taiwanese students] just won't say anything in class, and they never question anything." Because of their students' silence and "lack of questioning," both Daniel and Kate hoped to encourage Taiwanese students to engage in more critical thinking and to take responsibility of their own English learning. Trying to understand what critical thinking meant to the NES teachers, I asked about it in the interviews. NES teacher Daniel, from Australia, explained to me:

Critical thinking means you have to make up your own mind about things; you cannot just believe what you hear. You have to do research and find out about something, and then you make a decision based on your research. The other thing about critical thinking is you have to do it yourself.

Similar to Daniel's contention, Kate described that Western critical thinking encourages students to question what the teachers say and to take responsibility for their own learning; both characteristics, according to them, were largely absent from their Taiwanese students.

Embarrassingly, I could not deny their observations nor could I argue against their critiques, because I was one of those students who rarely performed critical thinking or challenged my teachers, both NES and Taiwanese, in my schooling in Taiwan. During my whole English-learning journey, I did not question why I must learn English, and even, I saw it as a necessary step to climb up the social ladder and to become one of those to be admired. I wanted to feel what it is like to be close to the globally-recognized linguistic power. After contemplating on the critique of "Taiwanese students lacking critical thinking," I started to wonder that Taiwanese students might be hesitant to embody critical thinking in English education, especially when they were taking classes from NES teachers, whom many Taiwanese (and other non-native-English-speaking people) perceived as "English experts."

By emphasizing themselves as Western critical thinkers, I realized that the three NES teachers, at the moments of "teaching" critical thinking, were intensifying their educational identity salience and reducing the scope from being part of the Taiwanese English educational participants. Their critiques also manifested how the NES teachers had potentially engaged in ethnocentrism that preferred and valued a Western-centric approach to education. Reviewing the observational notes, I found one particular instance that exemplified Daniel's attempt to lead his students to engage in critical thinking.

* * *

It was close to 4 p.m. in the afternoon. The classroom was very spacious and could accommodate approximately 50 students. Despite that it was still bright outside on a late-May

day, the fluorescent lights on the ceiling lit up the whole classroom, which created the illusion that the lights were brighter than the sunshine outside. Everyone, except for the teacher, was quiet. The teacher, Daniel, was standing at the podium in front of a huge white projector screen. He was leading some analysis with his first-year students on a classic novel they had just finished reading. Question after question, Daniel was explaining “postmodernism,” “existentialism,” “social construction of identity,” and many more concepts. He directed the students to briefly discuss the questions among themselves before he offered his answers. He asked for volunteers; one time, two times, three times, after long awkward silence, he answered his own questions. Most of the students were taking notes quietly, and some were looking down on their cellphones. “Come on! Let’s do this together! As we learned in postmodernism, there are multiple truths, so there are many possible analyses. I would like to hear your opinions,” Daniel kept pushing. Finally, I saw a student at the first row, slowly and sheepishly, raised his hand.

* * *

As a Taiwanese educational participant, the idea of “multiple truths” was rarely encouraged in my K-12 experiences, and it was still absent in many courses I took in college. Teacher’s answer is the ultimate *Truth* we should follow and remember. Refraining from giving out his analysis immediately, Daniel encouraged his Taiwanese students to generate possible analyses with their peers and to contemplate on multiple truths. Based on Daniel’s earlier explication on the meaning of Western critical thinking, he was spreading and inculcating the practice of self-learning and researching to his students and encouraging them find out the answers on their own. Despite Daniel’s multiple attempts, I observed his students’ hesitance and

uncertainty of embodying the so-called “critical thinking” practices based on their performance of silence.

Having the privilege to experience U.S. (Western) education for my graduate studies, I now know it is acceptable and “normal” for students to offer thoughts and analysis to a piece of literature that may be different from the teacher. Many teachers and professors I have had in the U.S. also expect and encourage us, students, to formulate individual thoughts and reflections regarding the literature under discussion. Yet, I also understand that “having an answer different from the teacher” is an educational and cultural practice that many Taiwanese students may find daunting to embody, especially for first-year college students in Taiwan. Such ideological difference and conflict between NES teachers and Taiwanese students in all-English classes are essentially intertwined with the inherent danger of English hegemony.

This critique from the three NES teachers implies that there is a hierarchy of intellectualism where “critical thinking” is deemed as a higher level of intellectual being. I hold that different types of learning are necessary at varied phases of learning and for different pedagogical reasons. “Critical thinking” may not necessarily be the best teaching and/or learning methods at all levels all the time, probably not at the phase when Taiwanese students do not feel comfortable expressing their opinions in a foreign language like English. The NES teachers believe that their Taiwanese students *should* practice more critical thinking. As a critical complete-member ethnographer, I argue that Taiwanese students’ not asking questions or not challenging the teacher should not be directly perceived as lacking critical thinking, especially not in a cultural context when such a value is rarely practiced by the local educational institutionalization. From the critiques, I have witnessed how English education in Taiwan teaches more than just the language; it diffuses Western/NES cultural and ideological

implications through pedagogical interactions (Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1992, 2009; Tsuda, 2008, 2010;). The diffusion of ideological differences further render misconceptions and reinforce cultural stereotypes. In the stereotypical Western educational culture, silence is perceived as “emptiness and unworthiness” (Kalamaras, 1994, as cited in Glenn, 2004, p. 8). Based on this assumption, I understand how the all-English classes staffed by NES teachers have become cultural spaces with contested meanings to silence in the classroom.

Silence in the Classroom: No, Do Not Show Off! Yes, Keep Silent!

In addition to Taiwanese students’ linguistic choice of communicating with each other in Chinese, their performance of silence is yet another prominent theme of identity management I observed. According to Rowe and Malhotra (2013), “Heavily influenced by Western understandings of communication practices, *voicé* has traditionally been elevated as a privileged object of study . . . ” (p. 3, emphasis added; see also Kim, Tasaki, Kim, & Lee, 2007). However, in the Chinese culture, the maxim of “silence is golden” is still widely accepted. Particularly in the classroom context, Li (2005) argues that silence “allow[s] time for reflection on teaching and learning, which further facilitates more meaningful interactions between teachers and students” (p. 70). In this third theme, I discuss Taiwanese students’ performance of silence in their all-English classes.

Taiwanese students. Following the previous theme, silence in the all-English classes was the most observable communicative strategy that Taiwanese students employed. I interpreted this performance as how they managed the educational, linguistic, national, and social identities. When I asked the students about this particular observation in the interviews, almost all of them, except for Yi-Yu who self-identified as an “active” student, offered their reasoning. The most common concern was related to their linguistic identity. Many of them

commented that they wanted to “avoid making mistakes” or “appearing as ‘strange’/showing off/‘stupid’ in front of other classmates,” especially because they had to participate in class in English, a language many of them “don’t feel comfortable using” (reoccurring statements from students Ya-Fang, Ming-Che, Wan-Jun, Jin-Yu, Hao-Cheng, and Wei-Yen). Moreover, they also explained that they did not want to monopolize the class time because of their individual questions (from students Ya-Fang, Ming-Che, Wan-Jun, Chia-Yen, Yi-Fang, Hao-Cheng, and Wei-Yen). Even if they had questions or needed clarifications, most preferred consulting the teacher after class. The performance of silence was prevalent in both NES and Taiwanese teachers’ classes.

To help me understand her reasoning for performing silence, Taiwanese student Jin-Yu shared her distasteful experience in the interview about speaking up in a different class:

One time, I spoke up in class to correct a [Taiwanese] teacher’s mistake before our midterm exam, but the teacher did not get it in the first place. So, other classmates thought I was showing off and even got it wrong. It was not until the class had ended did the teacher finally noticed his mistake. He told the remaining class about it, but it was too late. Many of my classmates thought I had created even more confusions for them, and they hated me for it. After that experience, I try my best to remain quiet in class and only talk to the teacher after class if I have questions or find something wrong.

After I heard Jin-Yu’s narrative, a thought went through my mind; it is never easy to be the first few ones who “break the rules” [of keeping silent in class] to make changes!

Furthermore, all of the Taiwanese students’ attributed their choice of silence to another common reason; that is, their (our) Taiwanese cultural and educational practices. During the 9-year mandatory education in Taiwan from the 1st to the 9th grade, and then mostly likely

continued onto the 12th grade for those who attended senior high schools, most of us were taught with the “banking model”; that is, teachers deposit knowledge to students’ empty minds (Freire, 1998). We/Taiwanese students were expected not to challenge the teacher and to speak in class only when required or appointed. Inevitably, remaining silent in the classroom became a cultural norm for most students in Taiwan. Their/Our performance of “student-ing” is manifested as silence. This educational performance of silence becomes enacted at the intersection of the educational/institutional socialization and their/our Taiwanese cultural orientation of power-differentiation between teachers and students in classrooms (Chin & Chin, 1963, as cited in Appleton, 1970). The Taiwanese students in the all-English classes have intensified their educational, national, and social identity salience and expanded the identity scope to be included as the “stereotypically silent” Taiwanese students, not the “strange ones” who voluntarily speak in class. In other words, the students have prioritized collectivity over individuality, which is a cultural value orientation that many Asians share and emphasize (Hofstede, 1991; Ting-Toomey, 2005).

Essentially, Taiwanese students’ embodiment of silence is one manifestation of common Taiwanese educational practices. Based on the interview responses from Taiwanese students and to connect with the concept of face, I have theorized three main reasons behind Taiwanese students’ performances of silence. First, according to Ting-Toomey (2005), people in collectivistic-oriented cultures, such as those in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, tend to prioritize sustaining others’ face over their own. Therefore, I posit that Taiwanese students’ silence in the classroom serves as a collective social mechanism of conformity (e.g., not speaking in order to save classmates’ face). Second, as Zhou, Knoke, and Sakamoto (2005) suggest, Chinese students tend to remain silent in class to avoid the awkwardness for making

mistakes or creating confusion (see also Peng & Woodrow, 2010). In this regard, the silence among Taiwanese students is to fulfill their self positive face need (e.g., not wanting to make mistakes or appearing foolish in front of others). Third, silence in the classroom is also a social contract to restrain others from showing off, which in turn, creates self-face protection (e.g., not wanting my classmates to be active participants in class because it makes me look bad). As a critical complete-member ethnographer, I share the same institutional memory as these Taiwanese students, as I recall one of my own educational experiences back in college.

* * *

“Finally, this is my senior year in college,” I said to myself. I was taking a required English teaching practicum course. My classmates and I were assigned in pairs to teach English in different classes and grade levels. Our leading professor was very strict. If she saw any typo or formatting mistake—even by one space—on our lesson plan submissions, she would be very upset. When we were teaching, she would quietly enter and observe as many classes as she could and would leave the room after she jotted down some notes. One thing we had to do every time after teaching was to re-group in a meeting room to reflect on our experiences. The meeting was almost always very stressful and anxiety-inducing, because we never could predict on what days she had taken notes about what were deemed unacceptable mistakes. One day, she was extremely angry with what she saw in one of my classmates’ teaching. I vaguely remembered it was about the pronunciation of the word “game.” She was asking the whole class in a very loud and disappointing voice, almost yelling at us, “Does anyone know how to pronounce this word correctly?” “I don’t think it’s /g-a-m/, is it?” [The “a” was mispronounced as the vowel in “apple.”] “I can’t believe you [looking at my classmate sternly] are a senior and still can’t pronounce this word correctly!” Everyone was sitting quietly and taking the blow silently. No

one dared speak a word or give it a try, because the atmosphere was already very tense. You *could* hear a needle drop on the floor. I knew *I* did not want to be *that one* who made any mistake in front of her, nor would I want to embarrass my classmate any further. I kept quiet as our professor raved on.

* * *

This incident occurred ten years ago and I still remember the tense atmosphere vividly. According to Ting-Toomey (2005), in conflict situations, collectivist communicators tend to utilize “avoidance strategy to wait for the conflict to simmer down and to buy time to recoup their hurt feelings” (p. 77). I conceptualize that the use of avoidance to buy time has inevitably created the silence. The autoethnographic reflexivity not only helps me understand my own acts in the past but also connects with the reasons why Taiwanese students perform silence in their all-English classes. Regardless of the Taiwanese student participants or I, silence has worked as a performative guideline not only for sustaining teachers’ power and authority but also as a mechanism for constructing and managing “appropriate” Taiwanese students’ identities. By performing silence, we have intensified the salience of unique educational and social identities as students in Taiwan (who were silent) in order to expand the identity scope as part of the larger and “regular” cultural group of Taiwanese students.

NES and Taiwanese teachers. Students’ silence in class might be seen as a cultural norm in the Taiwanese educational system; this normalcy essentially collides with Western educational emphasis, especially when NES teachers and Taiwanese teachers who have experienced Western schooling come into play. When I asked about his thoughts for Taiwanese students’ silence in the classroom and his choices of not disrupting the silence, NES teacher

Daniel explained his reasoning by drawing distinctions between Western and Taiwanese university educational emphases. He responded:

In a university in a Western country, which is where I am from, we can say the basic principle of a university education . . . is you have to do it yourself. University education is all about self-learning. In Western universities, this is emphasized a lot more than in Taiwan At what stage do you [the teacher] give up [pushing students to speak and participate] and say it's up to you [the students]! This is what learning a language is about. . . . It's your [the students'] responsibility.

All four NES teachers viewed students' silence in a negative light, and so did the two Taiwanese teachers who had received Western education. These six teachers overtly commented on how they kept encouraging their students to be "active" members in class, such as offering voluntary "verbal" engagement and participation in discussions.

Conflictual theorization has revealed the other perspective of viewing students' code of silence in class. Ying-Chia was the only Taiwanese teacher who expressed a different reaction to silence in the classroom.

* * *

I was sitting in one of the classes I observed. In the middle of the class time, two or three students were chattering with each other at the back corner of the classroom. Sitting at some distance from them, I could not hear the specific content, but I heard their voices. The voices caught my attention, and I thought, "Maybe they were discussing the notes they just took?" Standing at the front of the classroom, Taiwanese teacher, Ying-Chia, was vehemently dissecting sentence structures and translating important terms from English to Chinese. He was facing the blackboard as he was writing down translations in Chinese characters. The students' chattering

continued. “Keep silent!” Rather abruptly and sternly, Ying-Chia turned around and looked toward the direction of the chatting students. Docking their heads down, the students did quiet down. Ying-Chia resumed to his teaching. In that class, Ying-Chia had requested the class to “keep silent” a few times.

* * *

I was intrigued by this observation. Therefore, in the interview, I asked him about the meaning behind this statement of “keep silent.” He replied that it was simply a signature phrase in his teaching and did not carry specific meanings. I was curious by his denial since he made the request a few times in that class and appeared to be serious from his facial expression at those moments. Therefore, I queried his students about this signature phrase. Some of them offered me their interpretations based on their experiences. They indicated that Ying-Chia often preferred students to keep quiet in class as a form of showing respect, except when he posed questions, and then he would expect answers from the class.

Based on the conflicting responses between Ying-Chia and his students, I have come to some theorizations. First, it is related to Ying-Chia’s educational identity. According to Appleton (1970), the conventional Taiwanese educational practices emphasize that teachers are the sole authority figures responsible for teaching and students should take notes quietly. Ying-Chia has been immersed solely in the Asian/Taiwanese schooling, which can make him prefer that students keep silent in the classroom as a form of respect to the authority figure. Ying-Chia’s reaction to and expectation for silence was drastically different from all four NES and the two Taiwanese teachers who had received Western education. Every teacher seems to have different preferences and anticipations, which make Taiwanese students’ performance of silence a contested issue that complicates identity managements in the all-English classroom.

Although many Taiwanese students have kept silent in class, some of them have challenged the norm of silence from time to time. Class observations revealed that, among a sea of silence, a few students did voluntarily answer questions and interact with their teachers. Taiwanese students Yi-Yu, Ming-Che, Chia-Yen, and Li-Tang were the few ones. In the interviews, they explained to me that they recognized the silence among the majority of their classmates, but they still chose to be “different” from the rest of the class because (a) they knew the “correct answers” (from Ming-Che) (see Peng and Woodrow, 2010, about the effect of communication confidence on English learners’ willingness to communicate in English), (b) they wanted to interrupt the dead silence in the classroom and to free the teacher from feeling awkward in front of the silent class (from Yi-Yu) (see Ting-Toomey, 2005), and/or (c) they were certain that the teacher would not look down on them if they made mistakes (from Chia-Yen and Li-Tang) (see Zhang and Oetzel, 2006, for how teachers’ supportive behaviors minimize students’ communication apprehension). Although these students chose to be verbally responsive and engaging in class, Ming-Che specifically explicated how he had been careful not to overdo it. I asked further and he said, “Because I am afraid that my classmates will think that I show off too much!” No matter the reason, when Taiwanese students disrupt the performance of silence, they have reduced the intensity, scope, and salience of their educational and national identities as “stereotypically quiet Asian/Taiwanese students” to those who were “different and responsive.” (Given that the performance of silence was one of the major communication strategies that Taiwanese students exhibit in managing their identities, I further elaborate on this strategy when addressing identity freezing and facework in Chapter Five.) Next, I analyze and discuss the final theme, “I have (not) studied abroad!”

I Have (Not) Studied Abroad!

In addition to the integration of Chinese in teaching, how Taiwanese teachers manage their cultural identities relationally in Taiwanese English education is predicated upon whether or not they have studied abroad. To draw a contrast among the three Taiwanese teachers, two of them, Yu-Ting and Guan-Fu, earned advanced degrees from English-speaking countries (one in the U.S. and the other the U.K.) and the other Taiwanese teacher, Ying-Chia, earned a Ph.D. degree in Taiwan. Yu-Ting and Guan-Fu both mentioned how students had told them about their preferences of having teachers who had studied abroad because they could hear exotic cultural stories, fun facts, and lived experiences outside of Taiwan.

Analyzing Yu-Ting's and Guan-Fu's interview responses and my observations based on IMT, I recognize how the Taiwanese teachers who had studied abroad relationally manage their identities differently from Ying-Chia, who had no experience studying in NES countries. During the moments when Yu-Ting and Guan-Fu share cultural facts and personal narratives about their lives on a foreign land, they have reduced the educational and national identity salience and scope as Taiwanese to intensify the salience as U.S./U.K. cultural representatives.

Conversely, Taiwanese teacher Ying-Chia, who had no experience studying abroad in NES countries, emphasized his cultural "localness" and professional knowledge. In the interview, he described himself as a 土博士 ["local professor"] repeatedly. In my observation, it was a noticeable characteristic that he spoke English with an apparent Chinese/Taiwanese accent and had some mispronounced words (according to standard English). He was conscious about the linguistic aspect because he brought it up in the interview and defended his identity as a "local professor." He said:

Unlike those who have studied abroad, and unlike you, I am not confident of my own English oral proficiency or pronunciation. But, I focus on the professional and content

knowledge, which I am more than qualified to teach. I also keep telling my students that I am a “local professor,” and if I can do it, you can, too!

In Ying-Chia’s case, he has intensified the salience of his educational and national identities by emphasizing his Taiwanese-ness in order to expand the identity scope as he identified *with* his Taiwanese students. He has also reduced the linguistic identity salience as an “English” teacher in an all-English class (who should be proficient in spoken English) to intensify his profession, an expert in international finance and business administration.

Herein, I want to underscore that having studied abroad in NES countries is not a must for teachers in all-English classes to maintain students’ attention or interest. When I asked Taiwanese student Cheng-Chia about his opinions for “local professors,” he provided a positive comment. He claimed, “Sometimes, ‘local professors’ build closer and more amicable relationships with their students compared to the professors who have studied abroad.” He further added, “In [a Taiwanese teacher’s] class, you may not hear the best English pronunciation or fluency, but you cannot dismiss her/his professional knowledge!” Generally, for the Taiwanese English teachers, they have dialectically managed their social identity as English teachers; they negotiate between emphasizing the commonalities (e.g., emphasizing the shared educational and national identities with their Taiwanese students) and situationally foregrounding their individual values and differences (e.g., by sharing their unique lived experiences in NES countries or their specific expertise).

Chapter Conclusion

In short, I have discussed the four prominent themes that emerged from the ethnographic observations and interviews. In each theme, I have analyzed how the NES teachers, Taiwanese teachers, and Taiwanese students relationally manage their varied cultural identities (including

educational, linguistic, national, racial, and social) with others in the context of Taiwanese English education through negotiating their identity scope, salience, and intensity. I realize the ways which the NES and Taiwanese teachers manage their cultural identities are dialectical in nature. The NES teachers have chosen to incorporate the limited Chinese they know to create humor and to lessen students' anxiety that can possibly be borne out of their linguistic and national identities as intimidating gatekeepers of the English language from NES countries and their social identity as teachers. Most of the time, the NES teachers have aimed at reducing their linguistic and national identity salience to expand the identity scope as part of Taiwanese English educational participants who identify with their Taiwanese students. However, there are other times when they have chosen to intensify the educational identity salience as Western critical thinkers. Their hope is to serve as examples to encourage their Taiwanese students to engage in more critical thinking, to be (verbally) "active" participants in class, and to take responsibility of their own learning. In the context of Taiwanese English education, I postulate that the NES teachers are managing their cultural identities in the dialectical tension between being "Western/native-English-speaking and local/Taiwanese."

Compared to the NES teachers, the Taiwanese English teachers may have less English linguistic power, but they are situated at special positions in the Taiwanese English education. They hold the social capital (from the position as a teacher), the cultural capital (from being natives of Taiwanese culture), and the educational capital (from being "successful English learners" who share the same institutional memory of English-learning experiences as their Taiwanese students). On the one hand, they have integrated Chinese in their all-English classes to meet students' expectations and preferences. In so doing, they have intensified their linguistic and social identity salience as "empathetic and Chinese/Taiwanese-speaking English teachers"

and have expanded the identity scope to identify *with* their students as members of the Taiwanese English educational system. On the other hand, the Taiwanese teachers who have studied abroad may choose to intensify the educational identity salience as someone who has received Western education from NES countries to reduce the scope by drawing a separation from “all” Taiwanese English teachers. I reason that these Taiwanese teachers are managing their cultural identities between the dialectic of “native and foreign.” Differently, for the Taiwanese teachers who have not studied abroad and/or who do not perceive themselves as proficient English-speakers (e.g., the “local professors”), they may strategically choose to reduce their linguistic identity intensity, salience, and scope as “the (supposedly) fluent English-speaking teachers” to focus primarily on their specific disciplinary professionalism, such as international financing. Therefore, I further reason that their identity management is centered on the dialectical negotiation between “comprehensive/general (English teacher) and specific (disciplinary professionalism).”

For Taiwanese students, the most observable identity management strategies are how they communicate with peers mostly in Chinese and how they perform silence in the all-English classes. I consider both strategies as collective social mechanisms for ensuring that they are being “normal members” in the cultural space of all-English classes. Except for a very small number of students who have made the conscious decision to “be different” by voluntarily speaking in class, many have intensified the linguistic and national identity salience of their Taiwanese-ness and have expanded the scope as “the same as others” in the class community. Hence, I theorize that the Taiwanese students mainly managed their cultural identities between the dialectic of “the same and different” (see also Martin & Nakayama, 1999). All in all, the

consensual and conflictual analyses and theorizations have facilitated the emergence of key themes while making spaces for individualized and contested perspectives.

To summarize this chapter, I have included extended and in-depth analyses and discussions for how NES teachers, Taiwanese teachers, and Taiwanese students manage their cultural identities relationally with different English educational participants through marking identity scope, salience, and intensity under different circumstances in their all-English classes. In particular, I have categorized the analysis into four main themes: (a) Chinese in the all-English classrooms, (b) they need to be critical thinkers, (c) silence in the classroom: no, do not show off! yes, keep silent!, and (d) I have (not) studied abroad. In the main themes of identity management, I have layered data from ethnographic observations and interviews and my autoethnographic journaling in contextualizing the research sites, illustrating communicative interactions, and revealing research participants' responses. In essence, the analyses and discussions in this chapter show how NES teachers, Taiwanese teachers, and Taiwanese students manage and perform the educational, linguistics, national, racial, and social aspects of their cultural identities in complex and dialectical ways in all-English classrooms. In the next chapter, I continue with the data analysis and discussion for RQs 3, 4, and 5.

CHAPTER FIVE
IDENTITY FREEZING, FACEWORK STRATEGIES, AND
TRANSITIONS OF RELATION PHASES

To continue with the data analysis and discussion, in this chapter, I investigate three other research questions (RQs), RQs 3, 4, and 5. RQ 3 asks, “What identity freezing problems do the educational participants experience while managing their cultural identities in Taiwanese English education?” RQ 4 asks, “How do the educational participants engage their facework in managing their cultural identities in Taiwanese English education?” In analyzing and discussing these two particular RQs, I have found close interrelations between them. Therefore, in the first main section of this chapter, I reveal the identity freezing that the research participants encounter in their Taiwanese English educational experiences and the facework strategies they employ to engage those interactions. Some of the identity freezing experiences are explicit in classroom interactions whereas others come from research participants’ interview responses.

In the second main section of this chapter, I discuss analysis for RQ 5, which asks, “How do the educational participants move through the relational phases while managing their cultural identities in Taiwanese English education?” To answer this RQ, I focus on how the research participants transition among the relational phases in their intercultural relationships, particularly those developed in or from Taiwanese English education. In the section below, I begin with participants’ identity freezing experiences and their employments of facework strategies while managing their cultural identities in Taiwanese English education.

Identity Freezing and Facework Strategies in Taiwanese English Education

Identity freezing phenomena are omnipresent in research participants’ experiences in Taiwanese English education. Part of the themes that I illustrated in Chapter Four were linked to

identity freezing. According to IMT, identity freezing occurs when intercultural communicators resort to using cultural stereotypes for interactions. These stereotypes, whether favorable or pejorative, become potential threats to one's positive and negative face and to one's identities.

As Imahori and Cupach (2005) explain:

identity freezing obviously threatens the other person's negative face since it constrains the other's desire to avow an identity that differs from the one ascribed. Moreover, . . . [it] threatens the other's positive face insofar as it disregards characteristics the other person values. (p. 199)

In other words, identity freezing functions in parallel with cultural stereotypes and it is inseparable from communicators' face needs, which further leads to different employments of facework strategies. To re-state from Chapter Two, facework strategies refer to the verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors that help communicators maintain face, prevent face loss, and restore face after it has been threatened (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005; Ting-Toomey, 2005).

Therefore, to understand research participants' experiences with identity freezing and their facework strategies, I paid attention to the cultural stereotypes observed in class interactions and the ones participants shared in the interview responses. In the interviews, I specifically asked the research participants about their experiences with or observations of bullying, discrimination, or stereotyping in Taiwanese English education that might relate to their own or others' cultural identifications and/or orientations. Analyzing the data from field observations and interviews, I noticed how participants sometimes discussed identity freezing or stereotyping experiences with cheerful and celebratory, and sometimes dreadful and irritated, tone of voice and facial

expression. Therefore, I further coded their identity freezing experiences into “favorable” or “pejorative” ones based on *how* the participants discussed such experiences.

Beyond the dialectic of favorable and pejorative identity freezing, I realized the other dialectic was at play in Taiwanese English education; that is, other-imposed and self-imposed identity freezing. On the one hand, when the research participants discussed identity freezing and/or stereotypes, one of the first reactions was how others had stereotyped them or how they had stereotyped others. I conceptualized these ascriptions as “other-imposed identity freezing.” On the other hand, there were also moments when they performed and enacted the stereotypes, which resulted in “self-imposed identity freezing” that was avowed and self-fulfilling. Notably, these dialectics converged at times; the same identity freezing incident might be both favorable and pejorative and both other-imposed and self-imposed.

Imahori and Cupach (2005) have identified multiple facework strategies that intercultural communicators often employ when engaging in identity freezing experiences. (See Tables 1, 2, and 3 in Chapter Two for detailed definitions for different facework strategies.) Examining participants’ classroom interactions and interview responses, I analyzed how they “coped with,” in Cupach and Imahori’s (1993) term, identity freezing based on different facework strategies. In the analysis below, I provide the definition of facework strategies when they first appeared in the discussion. I then omit the definitions if the same strategy re-occurred afterward.

During the class observations, some identity freezing phenomena were readily observable whereas others were not. Therefore, I analyzed the data from both the research participants’ interview responses to cultural stereotypes and my observational notes. Triangulating the two sets of data, I was then able to formulate clearer portrayals of identity freezing and the research participants’ employment of facework strategies. In the section below, I offer six themes to

discuss research participants' identity freezing experiences and their choices of facework strategies in coping with those encounters.

NES English Teachers as Entertainers

The first theme of identity freezing pertained to how the NES teachers struggled with the stereotypical perception of them being entertainers in English classes. All four NES teachers recollected having received “reminders and suggestions” from school and administrators (usually in the private sectors) that they must be entertaining in order to attract students and to retain enrollment. NES teachers Alan, Daniel, and Kate mentioned these experiences in their past teaching experiences at certain (not all) private universities and mostly at *bushiban*. *Bushiban* are common starting points where many NES teachers begin their careers in Taiwan (Yeh, 2002).

Daniel recalled his early English-teaching experience with much aversion:

[F]oreign teachers are supposed to be entertaining and fun. We are there not for the students' serious learning. In fact, this must be known worldwide, because a few years ago, when I went to do my Cambridge teacher certificate in Australia, when I had my interview, I have already taught in Taiwan for two years. And they said, “We are not very keen of having people who have taught in Taiwan.” I said, “Why not?” They said, “Because you are entertainers, not teachers.” It made me reflect on that, and that's true.

What Taiwanese people often want from a foreigner in Taiwan is he is an entertainer, not teacher. As long as you are entertaining, that would satisfy the class.

Based on Daniel's narrative and how NES teachers Kate and Stan aspired to be approachable and humorous (discussed in Chapter Four), the NES teachers were walking the fine line between being “fun and friendly teachers” versus “entertaining and purposeless teachers.” In line with Daniel's experience, Kate echoed with a grim expression on her face, “The disadvantages [of

being NES teachers] are that [, in] a lot of *bushiban* system, they expect the foreigner to be the clown or the funny guy.” According to the conversations with Alan, Daniel, and Kate in the interviews, they mostly despised such unreasonable expectations and unwritten rules for NES teachers. Therefore, I framed their experiences as pejorative other-imposed identity freezing. Based on their interview responses, I further analyzed the facework strategies they employed to cope with this identity freezing.

Acceptance. More often than not, the NES teachers followed suit in order to keep the job and to meet the expectations from administration. In these situations, acceptance facework, defined as “accepting the stereotype as true, a compliment, or advice,” became one strategy that NES teachers, such as Stan and Kate, employed. In their classes, I observed how they used the limited and “funny-accented” Chinese they knew to make students laugh and to create humor, and they also told jokes to help students relax. Stan explained, “Yes, I wanted to be a fun foreign teacher and be humorous. My students appreciated it, too, especially in an English-corner class.” As I sat in Kate’s and Stan’s classes, I noticed their class atmosphere to be jovial and lively.

To bring students’ perspectives into the discussion, some student participants from Kate’s class shared with me their appreciations. Li-Tang said, “Many of us liked her class, because she told us jokes and made the class a relaxing and fun place.” Taiwanese students Chia-Yen and Yu-Lin also directly commented how they enjoyed NES teachers’ humor and how their NES teachers usually implemented fun activities and different teaching methods (cf. test-oriented focus in many Taiwanese English teacher’s classes).

Disregard. Yet, two other NES teachers, Alan and Daniel, chose not to enact the “entertainer” stereotype. When I was in Daniel’s and Alan’s classes, I did not see any attempt

from them trying to inject humor in teaching. To combat this pejorative identity freezing, Daniel employed “disregard” strategy as he expressed sternly in the interview:

Foreigner, entertaining, and Taiwanese, serious teacher. . . . That’s a stereotype that I live with in Taiwan. . . . [However,] I don’t agree with the stereotypes. I always try to behave that those stereotypes are not there, I try to ignore them.

In IMT, Imahori and Cupach (2005) define the “disregard” strategy as “discounting validity of the stereotype/identity freezing” (p. 201). In addition to Daniel’s overt disagreement to the identity freezing, I indeed noticed that Alan and Daniel appeared to be serious and formal teachers who were very focused on the subject matter.

In my personal experiences and those of the research participants, the stereotype of “NES teachers as entertainers” mainly originated from the *bushiban* system and then extended into universities. Daniel offered a valid reasoning in explaining the roots of this identity freezing:

Foreigner teachers or native-speaker teachers are expected to be entertaining. This comes from an early age where you have cram schools, or *bushiban*, where native-speaker teachers fill a similar role. So when children are there, . . . they expect to play games and have fun, because this is more of an aspect for the communicative approach from an early age. . . . [T]hat mentality goes from children all the way to university, when they see a foreigner teaching in a university, they still have that stereotype in their mind.

Indeed, many Taiwanese students, including myself in college, expected NES teachers to be fun and entertaining compared to our Taiwanese English teachers.

* * *

Pacing in front of the classroom from the left to right, and then from the right to center, an old Canadian professor who specialized in Western classical literature was looking at our

class with his eagle-sharp eyes. It was my first year in college. He asked us questions after questions about literature, almost all of us had our heads down, pretending to flip through the pages and trying to look for answers in our thick hardcover literature book. This professor was nothing but serious and strict, and he graded our papers with high standards and low tolerance for mistakes. Frankly, I was having a hard time trying to concentrate and comprehend in his class because it was so different from my learning experiences with Mr. Johnson, the only foreign teacher I had before entering college. “I thought all foreign teachers were fun and friendly,” I grumbled when I could not find answers to his questions. “He must be a special one!” “Oh, I hope I don’t have to take more of his classes in the future.” I often made such wish as I sat through his literature class.

* * *

Thinking back, I was guilty of ascribing a fixed identity that stereotyped my NES teachers, not only this literature professor but many more. I was one of the students who presumed that all NES teachers should teach in the same entertaining and fun ways. Although my literature professor employed the “disregard” facework, I, too, had identity frozen my NES teachers.

To the NES teachers, I suspected that this identity freezing was mainly pejorative and other-imposed. However, after much contemplation, I also conceptualized it as “favorable” identity freezing from the perspective of having been a former student in Taiwan, from the praises and admirations of multiple Taiwanese research participants, and from the reactions of the Taiwanese general public. As NES teacher Alan stated, “Being White in Taiwan brings many, many, many privileges!” For many Taiwanese English educational participants, the linguistic, national, and racial identities of White foreigner/Western and native-English-

speaker were much admired and preferred (see also Sommers, 2011). Being White and NES foreign nationals were privileges in Taiwan, especially in the context of Taiwanese English education. These identities represented power, linguistically, culturally, and socially, not only in Taiwan but very much so on the international scale.

NES teachers Alan and Daniel expressed this identity freezing in mostly helpless and frustrating voices. To them, being foreigners or foreign teachers was not what they avowed to be, and yet, to many Taiwanese people, it was something to long for. The contradictions showed the nuances of perceptions and stereotypes as discursive and subjective; the same identity freezing can be interpreted both pejoratively and favorably depending on one's positionality.

Western Critical Thinkers and Representatives of English Culture and Language

In Chapter Four, I analyzed and discussed that three NES teachers were proud to situate themselves as Western critical thinkers in order to encourage Taiwanese students to develop critical thinking skills. In analyzing the second identity freezing theme here, the Taiwanese English teachers and students further regarded the NES teachers as English linguistic and cultural representatives. Under this theme of identity freezing, I noticed how different educational participants utilized two different facework strategies.

Acceptance (by NES teachers). As indicated in Chapter Four, it was apparent that the NES teachers adopted the "acceptance" facework to identify themselves as Western critical thinkers. In addition to that, both the NES teachers themselves and their Taiwanese students perceived the former as "foreign experts" for English idioms, expressions, slangs, and cultural references (McPherron, 2009, p. iv; see also Tsui, 2007). In the one of the classes I observed, I witnessed how a NES teacher embodied such "acceptance" facework. Kate was teaching English

vocabulary and phrases from the textbook in class and she came across an English expression, “to touch base with someone.” Standing at the podium, she explained:

“To touch base with someone” is a baseball term that has been commonly adopted in daily conversations in English to mean that you want to briefly contact someone or follow up with something you might have asked earlier. We Americans have a lot of these baseball-related expressions and idioms in English!

It was an acceptance facework as Kate claimed the ownership of English by stating “we Americans” while explaining the cultural and sports-related information about the English phrase “touch base.” This facework further signified Kate’s avowal as a representative of English language and culture.

Similarly, NES teacher Daniel, a literature professor, shared with me an experience he had with a Taiwanese colleague. He said, “When it comes to things like . . . [studying a] playwright in England, there is a lot of slang in the plays. . . . I was having to explain to him [his Taiwanese colleague who also taught literature] their meanings.” This interview response supported how Daniel also accepted the identity freezing. Both the observations in Kate’s class and the interview with Daniel manifested how NES teachers self-identified as Western critical thinkers and as representatives of English culture and language, which led this identity freezing to be self-imposed.

In addition to how the NES teachers accepted the identity freezing, their Taiwanese students also supported it. One student, Yu-Lin, explained how she generally enjoyed taking NES teachers’ classes. She said excitedly, “You can listen to how foreign teachers view and discuss a certain topic differently from many of us [Taiwanese students], and you can learn about their English cultures.” Other students, such as Chia-Yen, Yi-Fang, Wei-Yen, and Cheng-Chia,

also commented similarly. Yu-Lin continued to share how a NES teacher of hers pushed for critical thinking in class. She recalled, “He often encourages us [students] to reflect on what we have learned and to practice critical thinking after a chapter or a section of instruction.” In other words, the Taiwanese students had already deemed their NES teachers as different from Taiwanese and as representatives of critical thinkers and of the English language and culture.

Other orientation (by Taiwanese participants). When comparing the differences between Western and Asian/Confucius/Taiwanese educational emphases, NES teacher Daniel critiqued that the Taiwanese educational practices were outdated. He suggested, “Taiwan is an emerging modern country now, with an emerging modern culture. That [i.e., Ancient Chinese or Confucius educational emphasis] is no longer so suitable for the modern world.” To my surprise, no Taiwanese participants defended their/our education. Overwhelmingly, all Taiwanese participants expressed dissatisfactions against the Asian/Confucius/Taiwanese educational culture, and claimed that it needed some reform and we should model after the Western education.

Taiwanese student Jin-Yu, who had a brother living in the U.S. and receiving U.S. education since a young age, made elaborated interpretations regarding the differences between Western and Asian/Confucius/Taiwanese education in the interview. With much veneration for the West, she criticized the East:

Since they are little, people from Western educational cultures are encouraged to think about questions critically and to solve problems. . . . So, now, they are very successful in the world. Asian [arguably referring to Taiwanese] education, on the other hand, is heavily affected by the ancient Chinese/Confucius philosophy, which makes it a lot more rigid. In the ancient times, students memorized a lot of classic Chinese literature and then

regurgitated to take tests. Also, we [Taiwanese students] are so used to our teachers spoon-feed information and knowledge to us. There are almost no chances or encouragements for critical thinking. Growing up, we are taught to memorize materials and then take lots of tests. I don't like taking so many tests. But, if there were no tests, no one would study and no one would pay attention in class. It's the same for learning English.

Jin-Yu was not the only participant who voiced complaints against Asian/Confucius/Taiwanese education. With admiration, other Taiwanese students also clearly stated that they believed Western education was “better” (from Chia-Yen, Yu-Lin, and Jin-Yu), “more critical” (from Ming-Che, Yu-Lin, Jin-Yu, and Cheng-Chia) and “more successful in the modern world” (from Yu-Lin, Li-Tang, Jin-Yu, and Cheng-Chia). They perceive Western educational participants as confident and rational critical thinkers. Based on these responses, the Taiwanese students employed the “other orientation” facework, defined as “supporting the partner’s face while sacrificing own face” (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 202). These students sacrificed their own face to support that of the Western educational participants, such as their NES teachers.

Based on the interview responses, the identity freezing of NES teachers as “Western critical thinkers” and “representatives of English culture and language” was primarily favorable and it was the result of impositions from both the self and others.

Suitable Jobs for NES and Taiwanese Teachers: Biased Teaching Assignment

“Suitable jobs” for NES and Taiwanese teachers was the third identity freezing that emerged from field observation and was further confirmed in the interviews. Among the seven classes I observed, the three classes with an oral English communicative focus were instructed by NES teachers. With my 20-year experiences in Taiwanese English education, I was aware of

the tendency that NES teachers were often appointed to teach English listening and speaking or advance-level courses whereas Taiwanese teachers teach English vocabulary, reading, and writing courses and mostly at introductory levels. Beyond my personal experience, the field observation triggered my curiosity and I was eager to learn about my participants' experience. I asked them about such distinctions in the interview.

Both the NES and Taiwanese teachers confirmed my observation. Therefore, I conceptualized this type of biased teaching assignment as a form of identity freezing. According to many research participants' interview responses, the linguistic identity as native English-speakers legitimized NES teachers to teach courses related to English listening and speaking. They were perceived as credible people who were "naturally" the best language teachers with the language authority to "correct" students' English accents and pronunciations. Such assumptions were what Canagarajah (1999) and Phillipson (1992, 2009) contest as "native-speaker fallacy."

NES teacher Daniel recounted his previous teaching experiences to indicate how the identity freezing was other-imposed from the administration. He recollected with disagreement:

For example, all teachers should have consultation hours, right? In [the name of the] University, students were told to go to the foreigners to practice their conversation, but they will not be told to see local teachers for this, only for foreign teachers.

From Daniel's explanation, the biased teaching assignment was an administrative decision and suggestion. In the interviews, the teachers further offered different opinions and reactions.

Acceptance. Among the four NES teachers, two teachers (Alan and Daniel) unwillingly accepted the teaching assignment from the administration whereas the other two (Stan and Kate) gladly accepted it. Disagreeing with the biased teaching assignment, Daniel claimed, "The courses I was given were supposedly for foreign teachers. For example, everything related with

conversation and speech . . . whereas local teachers would teach grammar, reading, and writing.” Clearly, Daniel “was given” the course related to English conversation. When encountering the identity freezing imposed from the administration level as employees, Alan and Daniel did accept the teaching assignment. Neither Alan nor Daniel mentioned their attempts or experiences to argue with the university administrations or their academic departments, although they largely disagreed with such biased practice (to be discussed further below under the “disregard” facework strategy).

Contrary to Alan’s and Daniel’s objections, NES teachers Kate and Stan expressed their agreement with these teaching assignments. Stan shared how he appreciated being a teacher in English listening and speaking courses, because he could be the role model for his students, especially for “getting the pronunciations right,” he said. Similarly, Kate explained, “I am a big fan sharing classes with the Taiwanese teachers, such as the listening and speaking with the foreigners and reading and writing with Taiwanese teachers.” She further applauded the important role Taiwanese English teachers played. She stated in a genuinely appreciative tone of voice, “I think for what they do . . . [they] are essential, because like I said, I can’t explain English grammar, and Taiwanese teachers are essential for that.” Both Stan and Kate concurred that Taiwanese English teachers could address grammatical and structural questions better than they could. Judging by their opinions, Stan and Kate willingly “accepted” and agreed to such teaching assignments. With their acceptance and their affirmative tone of voice, I conceptualized this identity freezing as self-imposed and favorable for Kate and Stan.

Essentially, Taiwanese English teachers were also involved in this biased teaching assignment. They, too, recognized such expectation and distinction from the administrative level and from their students. Taiwanese student Yu-Lin critiqued that Taiwanese English teachers

were rarely proficient in “useful English,” meaning English listening and speaking skills, so it was better for them to teach English grammar, reading, and writing. Reading these interview responses, I could not help but feel dismayed at subjectively constructing this as a pejorative other-imposed identity freezing phenomenon for Taiwanese teachers. Yet, they surprised me when they shared their opinions regarding this identity freezing in the interviews.

Without any objection, Taiwanese teachers Yu-Ting, Guan-Fu, and Ying-Chia all adopted “acceptance” facework to agree with this identity freezing. Ying-Chia further took it as a compliment. He claimed with confidence, “[M]y spoken English and pronunciation can’t be like those U.S. Americans or the people who have lived in English-speaking countries for a long time. But, I am confident at teaching reading and writing.” In the similar vein, Taiwanese teacher Yu-Ting shared a narrative she heard in another fellow Taiwanese English teacher’s speech, who stated, “I’ve never studied abroad, so my English pronunciations are poor, but I am sure I can help with students’ reading and writing skills.” The Taiwanese teachers’ unanimous agreement with the biased teaching assignment inherently represented that they concurred with the unequal academic practice. In addition to feeling disheartened about how they succumbed to the biased teaching assignment, I viewed their responses as how they celebrated the unique positions and contributions they could make in Taiwanese English education.

Disregard and education. Although Alan and Daniel unwillingly accepted the biased teaching assignments, they both articulated their oppositions for such biased practice in the interviews. Alan asserted that “teaching assignments should be determined according to teachers’ expertise, not their nationality or ethnicity.” Daniel not only disagreed with the rationale of the differentiated teaching assignments but vouched for his Taiwanese colleagues. He attested, “I didn’t agree with that [biased teaching assignment] 100 percent. I didn’t see the need for it

because most of the teachers I teach with are fluent in English.” According to IMT, Alan and Daniel “disregarded” the identity freezing and further utilized “education” facework, defined as “educating about the stereotype/identity freezing” (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 201), with me in the interviews. Both facework strategies they employed were aimed at supporting their self-positive face as colleagues and teachers who did not discriminate. Based on their “disregard” facework and overt disagreements, I believed this identity freezing was pejorative for Alan and Daniel.

Noteworthy, the NES and Taiwanese teachers’ adoptions of “disregard” and “education” facework strategies mainly occurred in the interviews with me rather than when they were facing their administrators. Even with Kate’s and Stan’s affirmations for Taiwanese teachers’ essential roles in English education, I still questioned such teaching assignment and viewed it as a biased academic practice. I agreed with Alan that a course should be assigned to a teacher who had the capability of teaching the course instead of any prejudgments based on her/his nationality or ethnicity.

Unfortunately, in line with Stan’s and Kate’s explanations, many of the Taiwanese student participants also perpetuated and agreed with such biased practice. With little hesitation, Taiwanese students Wan-Jun, Yi-Yu, and Yu-Lin offered similar statements in their interviews: “Learning English listening and speaking from foreign teachers are better [than from Taiwanese teachers]” (from Yu-Lin). Taiwanese student Wan-Jun tried to justify her claim and replied, “When learning English reading, writing, and grammar, it’s easier if the teacher can explain in our native tongue. We can comprehend more clearly in that way. So, I think it’s better to take these courses from Taiwanese teachers.” Similar to Kate’s conviction, many student participants explained to me that it would maximize their English-learning outcomes if NES teachers and

Taiwanese teachers teamed up and if the former took up the listening and speaking portions and the latter were responsible for reading and writing portions.

Summarizing this identity freezing, I theorized that it was both other-imposed and self-imposed and was favorable or pejorative depending on the research participants' self avowals and attitudes. Except for NES teachers Alan and Daniel, no others in this research opposed the biased teaching assignment. The distinction of "suitable jobs" for NES and Taiwanese teachers has turned into a mythical norm in Taiwanese English education. Although such identity freezing might be favorable and a compliment to either NES or Taiwanese English teachers, I still urge administration and Taiwanese English educational participants to be mindful of its implications. This identity freezing was restrictive to English teachers; they should and could be more than the presumed categories that derived from their linguistic and national identities.

Speaking Choppy and Chinese-/Taiwanese-Accented English

Continuing with the analysis and discussion on identity freezing, the fourth theme was concerning about Taiwanese English teachers' and students' English oral proficiency, particularly English accent, fluency, and pronunciation. This theme emerged from class observations and it had almost slipped my mind. According to Scales, Wennerstrom, Richard, and Wu (2009), more than 60% of the English language learners in their study wish to achieve native-English-speaker-like oral proficiency. Such aspiration was well-supported by many Taiwanese participants in this research, including the teachers, the students, and myself. In Taiwanese English education, "speaking like a native English-speaker" has become an informal standard in judging Taiwanese English teachers' credibility. To be specific, the native-English-

speaker-like accent in Taiwan predominantly referred to the General American (GA) accent⁸ (Chang, 2008). Examining the field notes, I noted a vignette that took place in a Freshman English class and it spoke volumes when I recognized this identity freezing theme.

* * *

It was right after lunch time in the early afternoon when almost everyone appeared to be sleepy in class. With the intention to keep the students awake and to increase interaction opportunities, the English teacher asked the class to break up into small groups of three or four to work on some questions in their textbooks. “In about 10 minutes, I will ask people to share their answers,” announced the teacher. The students did what was requested, and I heard a lot of code-switching between English and Chinese in the classroom, although mostly Chinese was spoken. “Okay. Time’s up. Shall we begin?” the teacher began to appoint groups to share their answers. “Guys in the back, what answers do you have for question 6?” Almost reluctantly, with a shy smile and his group members giggling, a male student stood up slowly and picked up his textbook. He was using his book as a barricade to block his face as he tried very hard to read out the group answer. His English was choppy, slow, and thick with Chinese/Taiwanese accent; there were noticeable efforts from him. As he was reading, his naughty group members were still teasing and giggling; they were laughing even more loudly when he mispronounced words with noticeable Chinese-/Taiwanese-accented English. There was also sporadic laughter from other classmates around the room. Taking it all in, the male student did not protest against or object to the laughter. He kept on trying his best.

⁸ The GA accent is spoken largely in central and western areas of the U.S. and “the accent [is] generally used by radio and television announcers for the national American networks” (Rogers, 2000, p. 18).

* * *

The identity freezing embedded in this particular vignette was the direct association between a speaker of choppy and noticeable Chinese-/Taiwanese-accented English as a non-proficient English speaker. The classmates' laughter signified this identity freezing as an other-imposed issue and it had further indicated that choppy and Chinese-/Taiwanese-accented English was "bad and laughable." Analyzing this identity freezing based on IMT, I found the use of "acceptance" facework.

Acceptance. The male Taiwanese student who was appointed as the spokesperson of the group endured face threats when he seemed to be struggling in reading out the group answer in English. However, his passive reactions to the laughter signaled his recognition and acceptance to the identity freezing, which was his choice of facework strategy. The laughter in the classroom vividly exhibited how other Taiwanese students also perpetuated and embodied this identity freezing, both consciously and subconsciously.

In my schooling in Taiwan, I had grown accustomed to these giggling reactions against Chinese-/Taiwanese-accented English. The cultural space of the Taiwanese college classroom had me normalizing the giggles and almost missing them. Not until I reviewed the field notes later did I notice that, at that moment in the classroom, I was not questioning the giggles. It was all too common to me that someone speaking English with a thick Chinese/Taiwanese accent in a college classroom was doomed to become a laughing matter. I then realized how the epistemological intimacy of institutional memory I shared with my Taiwanese participants had created risks of turning the "intimacy" into "blindness." The "blindness" had nearly blocked and interfered with my critical reflexivity.

This rude awakening was even more apparent when I reflected upon the graduate education experiences I had received in the U.S. Up till that time, I had taken classes in the U.S. and had worked with students from different parts of the world for six years. Hearing accented English was not a laughing matter in class, perhaps a concern of clarity at most. Because of my two distinct educational experiences with accented English, I felt intrigued to interview the Taiwanese research participants and to learn more about what I observed in the classroom. Their responses constituted a more holistic picture of how this identity freezing affected Taiwanese teachers and students.

In the interview, Taiwanese teachers Guan-Fu and Yu-Ting shared their experiences regarding this identity freezing. Not questioning it at all, Guan-Fu claimed affirmatively:

If you want your students to think you are a qualified [Taiwanese] English teacher, you must speak English with good pronunciations and fluency. If you only have really good lesson plans and teach classes well, and you speak English with bad pronunciations, students will doubt your credibility. This is a realistic issue.

Guan-Fu “accepted” the criteria of having “good” (i.e., native-English-speaker-like) accent, pronunciation, and fluency as part of the “normal realities” people used to judge the qualification of a Taiwanese English teacher. Likewise, Taiwanese teacher Yu-Ting attested in a sarcastic and cynical tone, “You earn much more respect [from others] for your credibility as a [Taiwanese] English teacher if you speak English fluently with native-English-speaker-like accents and if you can communicate smoothly with other [perceived] native English-speakers.” Although Yu-Ting “accepted” and confirmed the identity freezing, her sarcastic tone of voice suggested that she realized how this stereotype was problematic.

In addition to what took place in that Freshman English class, other student interviewees confirmed this identity freezing in their overall English learning experiences. In the interview, Ya-Fang affirmed that many people she knew placed high preferences on having native-English-speaker-like oral proficiency. The students who spoke English like a native English-speaker were recognized as the most confident, proficient, and admirable, especially those who had learned English extensively from NES teachers. Other students' responses further pointed to our/Taiwanese' own perpetuation of the identity freezing. Students Yu-Ling, Wan-Jun, Li-Tang, and Jin-Yu either admitted their intolerance for or made fun of Chinese-/Taiwanese-accented English. Bluntly, Yu-Lin called it "terrible/scary English." Apparently, the native-English-speaker-like accent, pronunciation, and fluency were unofficial and prejudiced criteria for measuring both Taiwanese English teachers' and students' language proficiency. For those who did not meet the criteria, they were consequently identity froze as incompetent or laughable English speakers.

As a critical complete-member ethnographer, the near-miss class observation and the interview responses called for self-reflexivity. When I first came to the U.S. and spoke English to people, a comment I often heard was, "Wow, your English is really good, and your foreign accent was so slight that I almost could not tell!" Having just left Taiwan, where people placed high preferences on these linguistic aspects, I enjoyed hearing the statement and I took it as a compliment. Not until later did I realize it was a problematic compliment that implied non-native-English speakers usually spoke "broken" English with thick foreign accents.

Conclusively, the analysis showed that this pejorative identity freezing was a result of both other-imposed expectation and self-internalized acceptance. Understandably, English accents, pronunciations, and fluency were the most outward and readily observable features of an

English speaker in face-to-face communication. Particularly in Taiwan, the perceived level of difficulty to master native-English-speaker-like oral proficiencies had made the stated three criteria into a socially-agreed-upon tool for Taiwanese people to judge other fellow Taiwanese.

Silent and Unresponsive Taiwanese Students

The fifth theme was germane to the silence and unresponsiveness of Taiwanese students in all-English classes. In Chapter Four, I discussed Taiwanese students' performances of silence as one of the prominent ways they managed their cultural identities. Herein, I further analyzed how it was related to identity freezing. Because of students' silence in class, their English teachers often negatively stereotyped Taiwanese students as unresponsive and uncritical, which resulted in pejorative other-imposed identity freezing. (As discussed in Chapter Four, conflictual analysis revealed that Taiwanese teacher Ying-Chia was the only one who welcomed and expected students' silence in the classroom.) The common descriptions that the English teacher participants used to describe their Taiwanese students were "having no opinion" (from teachers Alan, Daniel, and Yu-Ting), "show low motivation (in class)" (from teacher Alan), and "unresponsive" (from all four NES teachers). The Taiwanese students' performances of silence and unresponsiveness had created cultural collision between them and their NES teachers and their Taiwanese teachers who had received Western education.

Among the seven teacher participants, six of them had received Western education, and they agonized most about Taiwanese students' silence and unresponsiveness. Comparatively, the NES teachers regarded students' (lack of) participations and interactions as "problems and challenges" more than the Taiwanese teachers. In a critical and almost frustrated voice, NES teacher Alan shared his profound cultural observation with me in the interview:

You would notice Taiwanese students feel very, very uncomfortable speaking not only English but speaking in general because of Chinese culture.⁹ You should remain quiet and not seen and not stand out. It's just part of the culture, and so teaching communicative and spoken English is very challenging in a number of levels. People are taught not to say anything. Don't speak. People don't want to be wrong; be wrong is very, very embarrassing, very bad in Chinese culture.

Likewise, NES teacher Daniel offered his thoughts: "Confucian ethic of not asking questions is a big block [for critical thinking and for him to invite students to be more responsive]." Based on my schooling experiences in Taiwan, I found both Alan's and Daniel's observations and connections to Asian/Confucius/Taiwanese educational philosophy to be quite accurate. Undeniably, the silence and unresponsiveness that Taiwanese students performed in most of the all-English classes I observed were communicating loudly to me as I sat in those cultural spaces. However, for the silence in class to sustain, I found a series of complicated facework strategies that the teachers and students employed in coping with this identity freezing.

Bouncing past (by NES and Taiwanese teachers). During the interviews, I raised the question to ask the teachers why they rarely invited voluntary students to respond. Defeated, NES teacher Kate stressed firmly and shook her head, "It doesn't work. Nobody would volunteer. . . . Taiwanese won't volunteer. Generally, Taiwanese students are quiet." Similarly, Taiwanese teacher Yu-Ting replied, "According to my teaching experiences, Taiwanese students usually don't speak [in class] to correct anything [that might be wrong] or if they have doubts." Learning from their past teaching experiences, the English teachers largely chose to respond to

⁹ Given that Taiwan is a country that builds on substantial Chinese cultural traditions, many research participants use the terms "Chinese culture" and "Taiwanese culture" interchangeably.

their students' silence without interference. At those moments, the English teachers employed the "bouncing past" facework, defined as "supporting the partner's identity within the partner's comfort zone that was learned from past interactions" (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 203), to support their students' negative face by not disrupting the students' comfort zones of silence.

Assertion (by NES and Taiwanese teachers). Although the English teachers mostly respected Taiwanese students' silence in class, I also observed that, more often than not, they became the pushing forces who appointed Taiwanese students to speak in class. At those moments, the teachers utilized the "assertion" facework, defined as "asserting one's own identity over the partner's identity" (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 202). The teachers' occasional disruptions of students' silence suggested s/he asserted her/his social identity as teachers who had made the pedagogical decision to ask the students to respond or to practice their oral English.

Initially, I intended to theorize Taiwanese students' performance of silence and unresponsiveness as a pejorative other-imposed identity freezing, mainly because of the English teachers' recognitions for this as "problems and challenges." However, as I theorized in Chapter Four, Taiwanese students were aware of their enactments of the cultural stereotype. Therefore, I situated this identity freezing at the intersection of both other- and self-impositions. Based on the three major reasons that students articulated, I further learned about their facework strategies.

Acceptance (by Taiwanese students). In Chapter Four, I conceptualized how maintaining silence in class is a collective social mechanism by which most Taiwanese students abide, which suggests the "acceptance" facework. Many of the students acknowledged that being quiet and unresponsive in class could be problematic, yet, they still chose to embody the practice. Taiwanese student Ya-Fang explained:

In the Taiwanese educational system, I have learned that the role of students is to be quiet and unresponsive I did not speak voluntarily in the English class when you came observe because I have always chosen to blend in and to fulfill those expectations.

Her explanation represented how self-fulfilling prophecy could lead to self-imposed identity freezing on Taiwanese students. Ya-Fang was not the only participant who “accepted” this identity freezing. Other students, such as Wan-Jun, Yi-Fang, Jin-Yu, and Wei-Yen all offered similar accounts. In the all-English classroom, Taiwanese students largely embodied the “acceptance” strategy because they had enacted the stereotype. Many students chose not to break the code of silence and just accepted the stereotype, because it supported their cultural understanding of “proper” student performances in Taiwan. Their decision further manifested how our cultural characteristics might have already misrepresented us (Cavallaro, 2001).

Justification (by silent Taiwanese students). Most of the students chose to perform silence and unresponsiveness because they wanted to avoid making mistakes or looking like a fool in front of other classmates. According to Ting-Toomey (2005), individuals with a collectivistic cultural orientation tend to avoid shame and public embarrassment as part of their face negotiation strategy. After the students explained to me their concerns, I realized that they had adopted the “justification” facework to support their own positive face in class. “Justification” facework is defined as “justifying supporting one’s own identity” in IMT (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 202). In other words, the majority of the Taiwanese students in the all-English classes opted for supporting their own positive face and avoided the potential face threats that might emerge from voluntarily answering questions. Noteworthy, the application of “justification” facework occurred mostly as an internal decision of the students and when

conversing with me in the interview. It was not an outward communicative strategy they verbalized in the classroom setting.

Disregard (by “active” Taiwanese students). Although many Taiwanese students chose to abide by the invisible social contract of silence and unresponsiveness, I had noted that there were a few “active” and self-motivated students, such as Yi-Yu, Ming-Che, Chia-Yen, and Li-Tang, who voluntarily spoke and answered their teachers’ questions. These observations represent how a few Taiwanese students exercise their agency to employ the “disregard” facework and to break the pejorative stereotype, which in turn, supports their own positive face and shows that they are “active” class members in front of their teachers.

Other orientation (by “active-yet-silent” Taiwanese students). Across the seven all-English classes, the number of students who broke the code of silence by exercising the “disregard” facework were relatively small. Ming-Che, an “active” member in his class, provided another critical reason that explained students’ silence and unresponsiveness. Among peers, when some students knew the answer, they would still remain silent in class, because they wanted to save their classmates’ face. These students used the “other orientation” facework, defined as “supporting the partner’s face while sacrificing own face” (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 202). Ming-Che was one of those students. After I asked him how he made the decision of breaking the silence, he specifically added that he was cautious about it; he said, “Although I know most of the answers, I am always careful not to answer every single question, because this might embarrass my classmates.” He could have offered all the answers whenever he knew, but he chose to sacrifice his own face and remained silent most of the time to protect his classmates’ positive face.

Like Ming-Che, other student participants also mentioned their concerns for showing off too much or appearing as arrogant if they voluntarily answered their teachers' questions too often. When the students and I discussed their concerns in the interviews, Wan-Jun, Chia-Yen, and Yi-Fang clarified that they did not regard their classmates as arrogant if they voluntarily spoke or responded to the teachers' questions. Yi-Ting even commented, "I think it's absolutely normal that we [students] make mistakes, and I also think it's quite courageous and admirable for any classmate to go up [to the blackboard] and share their answers voluntarily. But, still, nobody would do it." Taiwanese students Chia-Yen, Yu-Lin, Hao-Cheng, and Wei-Yen also offered similar comments. In a high pitch, Chia-Yen was almost shouting in the interview as she exclaimed, "Especially when no one knew the answer and everyone remained quiet, the whole class would be *so* grateful if one person would just speak up and 'save us' [from the awkward silence]." Based on the students' responses, keeping silent and unresponsive might have been a safe haven for many, but for some, it was a sacrifice of their own positive face.

The Taiwanese students' embodiments of this identity freezing triggered me to reflect back on my English education experiences in Taiwan. As a student who was enculturated and socialized in the Taiwanese educational system, I usually remained silent in English classes. I would become an "active" student *only* when I was absolutely confident of my answers (see also Peng & Woodrow, 2010). Most of the time, I quietly respected my teachers' instructions even if that meant I was stereotyped negatively as a silent and unresponsive student. Together with my peers, I had partaken in the code of silence that my classmates and I had, socially and implicitly, agreed upon and created. The contextual factors of my complete-membership in this research, including the identity historicity (born-and-raised Taiwanese), the institutional memory (recipients of Taiwanese [English] education and a former English teacher), and the consensual

membership (mutual acceptance of the avowal and ascription as English learners in Taiwan) had warranted me a deep level of intimacy with and understanding of my research participants. Although silence in the classroom was nostalgic for me as I sat in those classrooms, having received education in the U.S. for six years by then, I noticed how I also started to feel and perceive the silences as “awkward.”

Good Students at the Front and Bad Students in the Back

The sixth, also the final, theme of identity freezing pertained to Taiwanese students’ seating choices in the all-English classrooms. As I have discussed thus far, the students in all-English classes were generally silent with a few exceptions of “active” participation. What I had further observed was the discrepancy in responsiveness between the students sitting at the front of the classrooms, who tended to be the “active” ones, and those in the back, who tended to remain silent.

I asked the teachers about this observation, and the major consensus was that “good/responsive” students sat at the front versus “bad/lazy” students in the back. NES teacher Daniel offered some of his insights: “[It’s] fairly consistent in Taiwan. This dynamic of students sitting at the front are usually keen to learn; students who sit in the back are usually keen to hide.” Stating as if it were a fact, NES teacher Kate confirmed:

I let them [students] sit wherever they want. . . . Those students in the back, they come in late, [and] they miss more classes. It’s kinda like, the students here and here [gesturing the front rows] are the good students, and the students here and here [gesturing the back side of the room] are the bad students.

This identity freezing would have been a one-sided other-imposition from the English teachers, but not after I heard Taiwanese students’ opinions.

Acceptance. The interview responses from the Taiwanese students coincided with my and the teachers' observations. No student raised any objection toward this stereotype against them, which indicated their employment of "acceptance" facework toward this identity freezing. Taiwanese student Wan-Jun, who sat at the second row in class on the day I observed, offered her observation and confirmed the correlation between students' seating choices and their desire and willingness to "actively" participate in class. She stated:

Some of my classmates move around in the classroom. Sometimes, they sit at the front when they feel like learning; on other days, they go sit in the back when they don't want to pay attention. . . . It is usually the students at the front row who would speak more. . . . I usually sit at the front when I want to interact with the teacher, and sometimes, I move a little farther away from the teacher if I did not prepare well for class that day.

Most captivatingly, Taiwanese student Yu-Lin also openly confessed that "people who sit in the back, like my group mates and I, rarely interact with the teacher or say anything unless we really have very important questions to ask." In this research, many research participants equated the verbal communicative acts of "speaking more" and "interacting with the teacher" in class as signs of good and diligent students. The NES teacher Daniel recognized some exceptions when he conversed with me in the interview. He admitted, "Sometimes, the students in the back surprised me. They had some pretty good work in their exams and writing assignments." Noteworthy, Daniel's lexical choice of "surprise" reaffirmed the identity freezing that students in the back were already stereotyped as "bad or lazy" students. In other words, this identity freezing was both other- and self-imposed.

The research participants had constructed a cultural meaning about students' seating choices. Students at the front and the back of the classroom became labels to mark good from

bad students in all-English classes. I postulated that this identity freezing was an impact of Western educational practices, which had stereotypically underscored verbal engagements and participations in classroom settings (Hao, 2010). When students' seats were not assigned and when they sat in columns and rows, sitting at the front of the classroom gave students more direct and easier access to interact with their English teachers, who mainly stood at the podium at the front. Both the teachers and the students viewed those who voluntarily interacted with the teacher and responded to questions as the "active," attentive, diligent, and studious members in class—the good students. This identity freezing explicitly revealed that English education offered more than linguistic knowledge to students, it transferred and normalized Western educational expectations to the English educational participants in Taiwan. If the students were following traditional Taiwanese educational practices, performing silence in class would have been seen in a positive light, just like how Taiwanese teacher Ying-Chia requested his students to "keep silent."

To summarize this first main section of the chapter, I have discussed six themes that revealed research participants' identity freezing experiences and their employment of facework strategies. In the discussions, I have illustrated identity freezing phenomena that involve varied intersecting forces and perspectives. Sometimes, participants' cultural identities are favorably "frozen" in certain situations and pejoratively in others. The identity freezing episodes can be imposed by others and/or by themselves when they situate at different power positions. As Imahori and Cupach (2005) contend, "IMT considers identity management issues of dominant groups and oppressed groups to be similar, . . . [and] identity freezing and stereotyping may be subjectively experienced in different ways and to different degrees by the two groups" (p. 200). However, I argue that, in the contexts of English education and under the hegemonic influences

of the English language, NES teachers are generally and presumably the dominant groups with English linguistic power. Hence, their identity freezing experiences are largely favorably self-imposed, except when administration requires them to be “entertainers/clowns/funny guys.”

On the other hand, the presumably-oppressed groups, such as the Taiwanese teachers and students, have encountered largely pejorative and other-imposed identity freezing issues. In sum, the identities of native-English-speakers, Western critical thinkers, English listening and speaking teachers, and “active” students sitting in the front of the classroom are all preferred favorably over the identities of Asian/Confucius/Taiwanese educational participants, Chinese-/Taiwanese-accented-English speakers, English reading and writing teachers, and silent student who sit in the back of the classroom. Therefore, I assert that power differentials are key to identity freezing and facework strategy (to be discussed in detail in Chapter Six). In the last main section of the chapter, I analyze participants’ transitions among relational phases in intercultural relationships, particularly in the context of Taiwanese English education.

Transitions of Relational Phases in Intercultural Relationships

Compared to the relational managements of cultural identities, identity freezing, and facework strategies, IMT’s three relational phases were less readily observable in the all-English classes. Due to the fact that this research was limited in terms of long-term ethnographic immersion in one specific class (and all seven of them), my field observations did not warrant sufficient data for how educational participants transitioned through different phases in their intercultural relationship development. However, as Wolcott (2010) depicts, personal anecdotes and narratives that research participants shared could be essential components of an ethnographic work. Therefore, I constructed the analysis and discussion in this section based on research participants’ interview responses. Specifically, I aimed at addressing RQ 5, which asks, “How do

the educational participants move through the relational phases while managing their cultural identities in Taiwanese English education?” In addition to the minimum field notes I took, the research participants’ anecdotes and narratives helped illuminate how they had established, maintained, and negotiated their cultural and relational identities in their intercultural relationships. I focused on the relationships that had occurred, thrived, and/or terminated in Taiwanese English education.

As prepared in the ethnographic interview protocol (see Appendix J), I invited the research participants to share anecdotes and narratives related to the development and maintenance of intercultural relationships in Taiwanese English education. I specifically probed on how their relationships had progressed from the beginning to the time of the interviews (or had terminated before the interview). To restate, the three relational phases in IMT include trial, enmeshment, and renegotiation (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). As advancement to IMT, Lee (2008) proposes two transitional phases, “need/interest” and “turning point,” in between the three intercultural friendship development stages to fill a theoretical gap. In addition to IMT’s three identity management phases, I included Lee’s two transitional phases in the analysis and discussion as some of the research participants claimed the intercultural relationships they formed in the Taiwanese English education as “friendships.” Lee’s (2008) two transitional phases were also crucial in understanding how the research participants maintained or terminated intercultural relationships during the development. Although I listed the relationship developments and transitions in a linear direction, Cupach and Imahori (1993) accentuate and remind intercultural communicators that these phases are interdependent and cyclical in nature; these phases may re-start and re-cycle whenever a new cultural identity needs to be managed in their relationship.

In essence, IMT's three relational phases and Lee's two transitional phases served as the main structures for this section. Based on the structure, I analyzed research participants' anecdotes and responses to illustrate how they engaged in communication, managed cultural and relational identities, and moved through different relational phases in their intercultural relationships in or borne out of Taiwanese English education. In the interviews, many of the intercultural relationships that research participants chose to disclose and discuss were mainly between teachers and students and less between NES teachers and Taiwanese teachers. Therefore, I focus the analysis and discussion on the intercultural teacher-student relationships. In addition to the intercultural relationships between NES teachers and Taiwanese students, I also discuss Taiwanese teachers and Taiwanese students "intercultural" relationships when they foreground their educational or linguistic identity differences. For instance, I paid attention to the relationships between the Taiwanese teachers who had studied abroad in NES countries and their students when the former foreground the salience of their educational identity as Western educational participants and/or their linguistic identity as proficient English speakers in the relationships.

Phase One: Trial

The first phase is "trial." According to IMT, this is a phase when intercultural partners experiment their emerging relationship with trial and error processes, such as finding commonalities, experiencing identity freezing and face threats, and/or managing cultural conflicts. In this phase, intercultural partners tend to experience identity freezing and self-other face dialectic strongly because communication is generally initiated based on stereotypical cultural images. Fundamentally, the intercultural partners may try to establish commonalities for the relationship to continue, if they find the "need/interest" to do so (Imahori & Cupach, 2005;

Lee, 2008). Or, they may find that the relationships require too much effort to maintain due to various cultural differences.

NES teachers and Taiwanese students. In the context of Taiwanese English education, most of the teacher-student intercultural relationships that the research participants mentioned started from an involuntary note. The teachers could not choose students to teach and, although students could possibly choose their teachers, they could not assign teachers to teach the courses they needed for academic requirements. According to the NES teachers, they first started their teacher-student intercultural relationships by finding commonalities with their students. As Cupach and Imahori (1993) suggest, finding commonalities is a significant feature of the trial phase. The NES teachers then recalled how they anchored their intercultural relationships with Taiwanese students based on the educational (Western and Asian), linguistic (NES and Chinese/Taiwanese), and national (foreign national and Taiwanese) identity differences. When the NES teachers first started to develop intercultural relationships with their Taiwanese students, all four of them stated that they usually needed to “keep it professional,” foregrounding the teacher-student professional identity boundary. Whether it was in class or in the NES teachers’ office hours, the teachers mainly built commonalities by discussing “safe topics” (e.g., food, hobby, and school- or class-related subjects) that did not reveal or connect too much to their private lives (see also Lee, 2008). NES teacher Daniel said, “Mostly, they [Taiwanese students] would ask me how different life is in Australia. And, we would talk about my experiences in Taiwan, too.” All four NES teachers recalled that the initial phase of their intercultural relationships was centered on discussing cultural comparisons around “safe topics.”

In line with the NES teachers’ experiences, the communicative choice that Taiwanese students made to start building relationships with their NES English teachers supported another

key characteristic of the trial phase. That is, intercultural partners demonstrate “excessive interest in each other’s culture” (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 204). Almost all students recalled that discussing cultural differences was how they first approached or initiated conversations with their NES teachers. Students Ya-Fang, Yi-Yu, Ming-Che, and Wan-Jun all reported that, at the beginning of their intercultural relationships with the NES teachers, they tried to avoid taboo or “sensitive topics,” such as religion and politics, and mainly focused on the “safe topics,” such as cultural custom, food, or weather. Both the NES teachers and the Taiwanese students recognized that they all stayed in the zone of “safe topics” while using cultural and identity differences as springboards. When I observed NES teacher Stan’s English-corner class, many of the students were new to him, so he prepared a short self-introduction as a warm-up activity.

* * *

On the projector screen in front of the classroom was an old and blurry picture. In the center of it was a young, slim, White man wearing a pair of sun glasses. The man was standing proudly with hands akimbo, and he was wearing some kind of uniform. “This was me when I was still slim and young, and I was serving in the U.S. Air Force in South Korea at that time,” NES teacher Stan introduced himself to the class. The students’ eyes were fixed on the screen and they chuckled when Stan said “slim and young.” Stan continued to share more information about serving in the U.S. military, and the students were all listening to him very attentively. “What about your parents? How old are they? What did they do when they were young? What’s the military services like in Taiwan?” Stan walked down from the podium and randomly asked his students. Some were giggling but did not answer when he approached them, and others gave him some very brief responses.

* * *

These participants' responses supported IMT's assumption that, in the trial phase, intercultural partners "may try to build their relationships based on commonalities they can find, such as common interests, joint activities, [and] mutual need fulfillment" (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 204). Indeed, as I recalled, I had not noted any discussions on "sensitive topics" in any of the all-English classes. Although it was already close to the end of the semester when I observed NES teachers' classes, the students were still drawn to the cultural differences that their NES teachers shared, especially about their lived experiences outside of Taiwan. In other words, identity freezing and enacting the cultural differences seemed to have played essential roles in the initial interactions between the NES teachers and their Taiwanese students. Based on the class observations, coupled with IMT's theoretical assumptions and the participants' narratives, Stan's, Daniel's, and Kate's all-English classes demonstrated high resemblance with the features in the trial phase.

Taiwanese teachers and Taiwanese students. Again, in the context of English education, initially, the Taiwanese teacher-student intercultural relationships were involuntary. All three Taiwanese teachers mimicked the role of (native-like-)English speakers, and two further brought their Western education experiences as assets to class. According to the anecdotes I gathered in the interviews, discussions of "safe topics" were also how the Taiwanese teachers and Taiwanese students started their intercultural relationships. At the entry points of their relationships, Taiwanese teacher Yu-Ting and Guan-Fu (who had studied abroad in NES countries) mentioned that they featured exotic cultural customs they had experienced while living abroad. They also tried to keep away from sensitive topics, such as discrimination or racism, at the beginning.

As Imhori and Cupach (2005) suggest, in the trial phase, necessary identity freezing and cultural differences were needed for intercultural partners to learn to manage face threats and to identify boundaries. As all-English-class teachers, Guan-Fu and Ying-Chia both narrated that they first employed the “acceptance” facework and stayed within the “stereotypical” teacher role in all-English classes to only instruct and communicate with students in English (despite Ying-Chia’s justification for writing Chinese translations on the blackboard). Guan-Fu said, “At the beginning, you want students to know you are a professional and serious teacher who can teach completely in English. You cannot back down even if they disagree and beg you to use Chinese! If you can do that for the beginning few weeks, the students will respect you more.” Their intercultural partners, the Taiwanese students, also narrated the same initial interactions as they recalled the beginning of their relationships.

Positioned with significantly less English linguistic power and little to no Western educational experiences compared to their English teachers, the Taiwanese students held onto the “safe topics” and the stereotypical role of English learners the trial phase. Jin-Yu, Hao-Cheng, Wei-Yen, and Ching-Chia all recounted how they first started the intercultural relationships with their Taiwanese teachers because of the classes they attended. They also unanimously agreed to the use of “safe topics,” such as questions about the English language or studying abroad, as “appropriate” discussions and conversations.

Conclusive for the NES teachers, Taiwanese teachers, and Taiwanese students, necessary identity freezing and “acceptance” facework strategy were essential in the initial phase. The only major difference from what IMT suggested was how the intercultural relationships between Taiwanese teachers and students experienced little to no trial-and-error experiments. I posited that the pre-existing socialization and schooling experiences already reduced the need to

experiment their relationships. In the specific context of English education, all of the narrated intercultural relationships entered the first transitional phase, “need/interest.”

First Transitional Phase: Need/Interest

The “need/interest” transitional phase was ostensive and almost by default in the intercultural relationships in Taiwanese English education, especially the “need” factor. As I mentioned in the trial phase, all of the research participants somehow initiated their intercultural relationships involuntarily, because of academic or employment needs.

NES teachers and Taiwanese students. Between the NES English teachers and their Taiwanese students, the former “needed to” maintain the relationship in the classroom because of their career choices and the latter “needed” to do so due to academic requirements, whether in compulsory education, college classes, or *bushiban*. NES teachers Stan, Alan, and Kate all narrated that their intercultural relationships with Taiwanese student partners started from the classes they taught, and some later turned into friendships (to be discussed further in the enmeshment phase).

Particularly for the Taiwanese students, because of academic requirements and obligations, they continued the intercultural relationships with their NES teachers in the first transitional phase largely because they “had to take English classes” (according to many Taiwanese students in the interviews). The transitional phase of academic/future employment “needs” largely overpowered the factor of “interest.” Of the eight Taiwanese student participants who attended NES teachers’ classes, only three English-major students mentioned “interest” as a factor for them to continue taking English classes and maintaining relationships with their NES teachers, which was still added on top of the factor of “academic needs.” To be fair, many students were indeed interested in the cultural information and stories their NES teachers shared

in the classrooms. However, in terms of motivations to maintain and grow their newly-formed relationships, I contend that the intercultural relationships between NES teachers and Taiwanese students were propelled primarily on an involuntary ground in this first transitional phase.

Taiwanese teachers and students. Similarly, the intercultural relationships between Taiwanese teachers and Taiwanese students inevitably involved the same factor of “academic and employment needs” mentioned above. Noteworthy, the factor of “interests” from the Taiwanese students to their Taiwanese teachers somehow rested on the curiosity of achieving the English proficiency as their teachers and/or on obtaining necessary information for studying abroad in NES countries someday. Taiwanese student Jin-Yu admitted that she bombarded her English teacher, who had studied abroad in an NES country, with many questions about studying in the U.S. in the beginning of their intercultural relationship.

In addition, having shared interests in each other’s lives outside of class also was crucial for the intercultural relationship between Taiwanese teachers and students. For the Taiwanese teachers, this “interest” factor had gradually made them depart from the necessary identity freezing of mimicking native-English speakers in the trial phase. All three Taiwanese teachers shared with me the relationships with their teaching assistants (TAs) and/or their advisees in the all-English classes. They all commented that the relationships were related to class and teaching in at first, but they also slowly discovered that they shared similar personal interests with a few particular students, such as watching Korean dramas (from Yu-Ting), attending cultural festivals and performances (from Guan-Fu), and/or researching about the stock market (from Ying-Chia). Their Taiwanese students also reciprocated and mentioned these joint activities and interests in the interviews. Therefore, I found that, for the intercultural relationships between Taiwanese teachers and students to continue, they must step away from the identity freezing they initially

had chosen to engage in. According to IMT, finding joint interests and emphasizing the commonalities were both crucial features in the next, enmeshment, phase (Imahori & Cupach, 2005). Instead of clear-cut distinctions, the joint interests shared between the intercultural partners occurred in the first transitional phase and had further allowed them to proceed into the enmeshment phase.

Phase Two: Enmeshment

Theoretically, after the trial phase and the first transitional phase, intercultural partners might enter the second phase, the enmeshment phase. “[I]dentity management in the enmeshment phase is characterized by de-emphasis on cultural identities and emphasis on developing a relational identity” (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 205, italics in original). Moreover, in this second phase, intercultural partners continue to build commonalities in order to increase convergences on rules and symbols that help them bond and create a relational identity between the two partners (Imahori & Cupach, 2005). In the interviews, I invited the participants to recall how their intercultural relationships might have gradually changed as the semester(s) progressed. Many of them described how their “felt” changes in attitudes, such as feeling that they “had become closer” and “become comfortable with each other.” According to IMT, growing to feel and become comfortable with one another, but not completely yet, was also one feature in the enmeshment phase.

NES teachers and Taiwanese students. NES teachers Stan and Kate recounted that, somewhere in the mid-point of the semester, they continued to employ humor in class, but their styles changed. Because they “felt” their relationships with students were closer, they started to use sarcasm and teasing as humor more than at the beginning of the semester. Although sarcasm and teasing were less-safe humor and could be more face-threatening, in the enmeshment phase,

the NES teachers and the students accepted such humor as jokes that did no harm. I considered the mutual understanding and acceptance as the convergence of rules (for humor). One field note from Kate's class clearly supported this claim.

* * *

“Okay, let's look at the answers together,” directed NES teacher Kate after each group of the students assigned one member to write their answers on the blackboard. As she went over different questions and answers, she paused. Looking at a particular answer on the blackboard, she asked in a teasing voice, “What's this scribble here? Were you trying to write in cursive?” Kate asked the student who wrote the answer. The student who wrote the answer did not respond, and the rest of the class was quiet for a moment. I was sitting at the corner and thinking, “They probably did not understand the words ‘scribble’ or ‘cursive,’ and hence the silence.” “Your fancy writing!” Kate quickly added, again with a teasing smile on her face and with a raising pitch in her taunting voice this time. The class immediately burst into laughter. The student looked embarrassed, but he was laughing, too.

* * *

Therefore, I considered the use of sarcasm and teasing from the NES teachers in the enmeshment phase as part of the efforts to converge rules and to establish a symbolic system of verbal and nonverbal actions (Baxter, 1987) with their Taiwanese students. The NES teachers and Taiwanese students converged verbal symbols as one way to de-emphasize their cultural and identity differences and to emphasize on cultivating the relational and communal identity as members of the same class community.

Beyond immediate class experiences, some of the research participants described their personal intercultural relationships that were borne out of their all-English classes. I noted a total

of three intercultural relationships between NES teachers Stan, Daniel, and Kate and their former/current Taiwanese students. With continuing contacts beyond the classrooms, the NES English teachers and their Taiwanese students became “more like friends” (a significant and repeated attribute narrated by these intercultural partners). By analyzing the three “intercultural friendships,” I found two common characteristics among them. First, the NES teachers all articulated that they “felt” more relaxed and more comfortable with one another. Second, they recognized that they crossed the teacher-student boundaries and moved from “safe topics” to discussing “sensitive topics” (e.g., religion and politics) and their personal/private lives. They also sometimes gossiped about their mutual friends and/or departmental affairs. For the intercultural relationships between NES teachers and their Taiwanese students/friends in the enmeshment phase, significant attitudinal change and willingness to engage in some potentially face threatening communication (e.g., “sensitive topics”) that might breach the pre-existing teacher-student boundaries were necessary.

Taiwanese teachers and students. As for the Taiwanese teachers and Taiwanese students, I found increasing verbal and nonverbal actions, exchanging or bestowing physical objects, and sharing cultural artifacts (see Baxter, 1987) as their ways to increase bonding and to establish relational identities in the enmeshment phase. First, similar to the NES teachers’ experiences, Taiwanese teacher Yu-Ting reported that she felt more comfortable teasing and using sarcasm on her students (in an introductory-level English mixed with Chinese) after they had shared some class time and after they knew each other better, which was also half way into the semester. This was an example of how their verbal and nonverbal symbols and systems converge. Second, Taiwanese student Jin-Yu recalled that she received a special gift from her Taiwanese teacher after the teacher came back from a trip abroad, to which she said, “It felt

special and strange. I almost thought she was treating me more like a friend.” Lastly, Taiwanese teacher Ying-Chia and his students shared the cultural artifacts of English textbooks and journal articles on international financing as a significant representation of the class and of their relationships. These three symbolic systems carried unique and special relational meanings that connected the Taiwanese teachers with their Taiwanese students. In the enmeshment phase, the Taiwanese teachers continued to negotiate the identity salience as (native-like-)English speakers after the first transitional phase of “need/interest”; they either ignored the differences or they downplayed them by meeting the students’ comfort levels with English. Essentially, the Taiwanese teachers and Taiwanese students emphasized establishing new grounds of shared relational identity with each other.

Second Transitional Phase: Turning Point

As discussed, in the enmeshment phase, many cultural differences between intercultural partners tended to be swept under the rug in the relationships (Imahori & Cupach, 1993). For the intercultural partners to enter a deeper level and to move onto the renegotiation (third) phase, Lee (2008) finds that intercultural partners need to experience some “turning points” in their relationships/friendships. According to Lee (2008), a “turning point” refers to one particular incident that confirmed the intercultural friendship and ensured the necessity to continue sustaining their relationships/friendships. The NES and Taiwanese teachers narrated about maintaining intercultural relationships with a few students; some were the students in the classes I observed and others were former students from previous English classes.

NES teacher and Taiwanese student. In the intercultural relationships between NES teachers and Taiwanese students, Stan shared with me a “turning point” he had experienced. It was a speech training workshop he led for a few students who were selected to compete in the

national English speech contest. He recognized that the workshop experience had confirmed the “friendships” with some of the student trainees. Differently, NES teacher Alan recalled how he noticed a turning point in his intercultural relationship when a student discussed her personal struggles in life with him, about which an NES teacher and a Taiwanese student rarely converse. The third kind of turning point came from NES teacher Kate. She associated the turning points to routinely having lunch together with a student and to their working in the same departmental office space. She explained:

There is this senior student who has been in a couple of my classes, and he works in the English office [as a student assistant] Sometimes we would all go to lunch. After a while, it’s hard for him to be in my class and to treat him like my student because at this stage he is more like a friend.

From their identifications of “turning points,” I noticed how the cultural and identity differences were insignificant and not in the center of their relationships anymore. All of these NES teachers experienced turning points outside of their immediate English classes, and the events had affirmatively breached the teacher-student boundary.

Taiwanese teachers and Taiwanese students. Between Taiwanese teachers and Taiwanese students, I only heard one incident that exemplified a turning point in the relationship. Generally, the intercultural relationships that involved Taiwanese teachers and students seemed to have stayed in the enmeshment phase, except for one. Between Taiwanese student Cheng-Chia and his Taiwanese teacher, the turning point was identified as a heated argument over different opinions. Cheng-Chia reported that the argument did not terminate their relationship but strengthened it instead. I was surprised when I heard how a Taiwanese student would be involved in heated arguments with his Taiwanese teacher. Although with only one example, I

wondered if an aggressive turning point like this needed to happen to dismantle the power difference between the social identities of a Taiwanese teacher (more power) and student (less power). Their relationship did not terminate after the turning point, which meant they had confirmed the relationship and were able to open up to discuss differences.

After listening to the participants' anecdotes and experiences, I started to see the picture of how the intercultural partners had formed and maintained relationships. Most of the narrated intercultural relationships seemed to have halted in the enmeshment phase or were lingering in-between the enmeshment and the turning point phase. Based on the relatively few examples I gathered, I realized that discussions about private and personal lives, keeping extended interactions outside of their immediate English classes, and breaching pre-existing teacher-student boundaries constituted three main turning points for these intercultural relationships. I also realized that, generally, the intercultural partners emphasized supporting other's and mutual positive faces. According to Wilkinson and Grill (2011), giving gifts, spending time together, and self-disclosure are "relational currencies" that communicate affection and care in relationships (pp. 167-168). I further assert that these relational currencies had helped the intercultural partners to establish bonds and support the positive face of each other. Getting involved in an altercation with an intercultural partner with relatively more power was certainly a unique turning point, which might explain why Cheng-Chia's intercultural relationship was the only one I perceived as having entered the re-negotiation phase.

Phase Three: Re-negotiation

According to IMT, in the enmeshment phase, intercultural partners develop sufficient and mutually acceptable symbolic and rule convergence, which eventually turn into "a newly shared interpretive framework" as they enter the third phase, the renegotiation phase (Imahori &

Cupach, 2005, p. 205). In this phase, intercultural partners open up directly to deal with face threats and cultural differences that tend to be skirted under and sugarcoated in the enmeshment phase. They also start to see the cultural differences in their relationships as valuable assets rather than barriers.

As stated, there was only one intercultural relationship which I conceptualized as closer to the characteristics of the re-negotiation phase. It was an intercultural relationship between Taiwanese student Cheng-Chia and his Taiwanese teacher. In the renegotiation phase, “[i]ntercultural interlocutors can now afford to emphasize the negative face rather than the positive face related to the partner’s cultural identity” (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 205). In the interview, Cheng-Chia recalled:

At the beginning, we don’t know each other very well, so we were very polite to each other. But, a few years later, . . . [we started to] argue with each other. I feel that the closer two people are, the easier we run into arguments in the later stages of the relationship. Now, I don’t have to hide anything anymore and we can just talk about our different opinions.

When I heard this story, I quickly thought they might have entered the re-negotiation phase, because they had opened up to discuss the differences (i.e., supporting their own negative face) instead of remaining polite with each other (i.e., supporting mainly partners’ positive face in the enmeshment phase).

Based on Cheng-Chia’s narration, I also started to contemplate that, for Taiwanese students to enter the renegotiation phase with NES teachers might not be as easy, especially if they have limited English proficiency. Language ability could be a blockage for Taiwanese students to further develop their intercultural relationships with their NES teachers. Additionally, to

disagree with and to challenge their NES teachers in the context of English education could be daunting for many Taiwanese students, since the students had largely identity frozen their NES teachers as “English experts” and as “representatives of the English language and culture.” In other words, to enter the re-negotiation phase with their NES teachers, Taiwanese students need sufficient English proficiency that helps them discuss different opinions and they also need to employ the “disregard” facework against the identity freezing for their NES teachers and for themselves (as silent students).

Cyclical Nature of Relational Phases

As elaborated earlier and in Chapter Two, the three relational phases can re-start and re-cycle whenever intercultural partners feel the need to address other salient cultural identities or new discussion topics (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Cupach, 2005). Unfortunately, based on the gathered data, I was not able to locate any that supported the cyclical nature of the relational phases. A few of the research participants mentioned how they existed or terminated the intercultural relationships mainly because the semester or their English classes had ended (especially for those who only kept interactions limited in class), not because of any excessive or unbearable identity freezing or face threats in their relationships.

To summarize this final main section of the chapter, I realized that the research participants had largely remained in the first transitional phase, “need/interest,” and in the enmeshment phase of their intercultural relationships. Only one intercultural relationship between a Taiwanese teacher and Taiwanese student had potentially entered the re-negotiation phase. According to Lee’s (2008) propositions, I confirmed that, in their self-identified intercultural relationships, the research participants had entered the first transitional phase, which was very much propelled and facilitated by the academic and/or employment needs. After such

transitional phase and as the semester progressed, most of the research participants narrated that they entered the enmeshment phase and became more comfortable with each other. The research participants bonded and experienced the convergence of rules, symbols, and behaviors through a variety of ways. However, for an intercultural relationship to enter the re-negotiation phase, it required “turning points” to confirm the relationships. Some “turning points” necessitated intercultural partners to step out of their comfort zones, to breach some existing power differentials, and/or to challenge and “disregard” identity freezing.

In general, I contend that the Taiwan English education had facilitated or allowed the development and maintenance of intercultural relationships to some extent, but had posed major restrictions for the re-negotiation phase. On the bright side, I was ecstatic to hear that Taiwanese English education facilitated the cultivation of intercultural relationships, particularly those turning from teacher-student relationships to friendships. I could only imagine how much more work and effort it took for both sides to break the (foreign) teacher and (local) student boundaries and to transcend through various identity freezing episodes, cultural stereotypes, and face dialectic negotiations.

Chapter Summary

To summarize this chapter, I have included analyses and discussions for RQs 3, 4, and 5, which were broken down into two main sections: research participants’ (a) experiences with identity freezing and facework strategies in Taiwanese English education and their (b) transitions of relational phases in intercultural relationships. In the first main section, I have investigated and illustrated six different themes of identity freezing and have researched participants’ employment of facework strategies. Among the six identity freezing themes, some were pejoratively- and others favorably-inclined, and some were other-imposed whereas others self-

imposed. Sometimes, the research participants “froze” their cultural identities by internalizing and perpetuating the cultural stereotypes as norms.

In the second main section, I related participants’ intercultural relationship anecdotes and narratives to IMT’s three relational phases and Lee’s (2008) two transitional phases to illuminate how they had developed, maintained, and moved through their intercultural relationships in Taiwanese English education. The majority of the intercultural relationships had stayed in the first transitional phase or in the enmeshment phase, and few had proceeded into the second transitional phase. Only one Taiwanese teacher-Taiwanese student relationship had seemingly progressed into the re-negotiation phase as they were so comfortable with each other that they argued with one another when discussing differences. In the next chapter, I address RQs 1 and 6, the final two overarching RQs, to draw this dissertation to a close.

CHAPTER SIX

GLOCALIZED ENGLISH HEGEMONY IN TAIWAN AND CONCLUSION

Following the former two chapters of data analysis and discussion, I present this chapter to conclude the dissertation. I specifically answer the two remaining overarching and theoretical research questions, RQs 1 and 6. To review, RQ 1 asks, “How does English hegemony manifest in Taiwan’s English education through the educational participants’ identity construction and management?” and RQ 6 aims at serving as advancement to IMT by examining: “How can Identity Management Theory be modified in order to explain hegemonic (or power-laden) intercultural communication, such as Taiwanese English education?” In Chapters Four and Five, I provided data analysis and discussion primarily based on interpretive and analytical perspectives with some discussions that centered on potential power differentials and struggles. In this chapter, I specifically illuminate the analysis to discuss the theoretical implications of IMT from a critical perspective. I foreground the examinations of power, hegemony, domination, and inequality, in tandem with their co-constitutive relationships with identity construction and management in Taiwanese English education. Essentially, I see English hegemony in Taiwan as a glocalization phenomenon. According to Sorrells (2013), glocalization is a concept that “allows us to think about how globalizing forces always operate in relationship to localizing forces . . . [and] points to the intersection of the global and the local in particular places” (p. 81). In this research, one such “particular places” is Taiwanese English education.

To address the two target RQs, I structure this chapter with two main sections: (a) identity management politics under glocalized English hegemony in Taiwan and (b) critical potentials of Identity Management Theory, followed by four closing discussions on research limitations, future research directions, educational implications, and dissertation conclusion.

Identity Management Politics Under Globalized English Hegemony in Taiwan

Based on the analysis and discussion thus far, I have learned how the research participants construct and manage their cultural identities, experience identity freezing, employ facework strategies, and transition across the relational phases in their intercultural relationships. With those themes and points of discussions, I recognize how English hegemony has truly permeated Taiwanese English education, both in the all-English classes I observed and from the research participants' overall English educational experiences. Prior to further elaborations to address RQ 1, I recapitulate the essential concepts of hegemony and power.

The constructs of power and hegemony are central to analyzing globalized English hegemony in Taiwanese English education. The notion of power and hegemony are fundamentally inseparable and interconnected. Sorrells (2013) contends that:

power can be conceptualized as a constraining *and* enabling force that regulates our culture and communication. Power can be physical (i.e., violence and coercion) or ideological (i.e., persuasion and representation). The concept of power implies that the world as we know it is not neutral or natural. (p. 31, emphasis in original)

In other words, power already exists in our everyday mundane lives and intercultural communication interactions are no exception. Inseparable from power is the target concept of hegemony, particularly “English hegemony” in this research. Gramsci (1971) elucidates the concept of hegemony as domination by consent; the dominant or ruling groups normalize their beliefs and behaviors so that the dominated accepts and upholds the status quo. As I have highlighted in Chapters One and Two, in the context of English education, varying intersections among cultural identities, English cultural and linguistic power, and hegemony are present. Through the ethnographic observations, I witnessed how English hegemony is portrayed,

resisted, and enacted by research participants. The ethnographic interviews afterwards further offered me equally crucial opportunities to delve into the reasons and opinions behind the research participants' communicative patterns and choices. Last, but not least, my autoethnographic journaling calls for important self-reflexivity to contemplate my own past English educational experiences and my perpetuations of English language domination. From a critical standpoint, the concepts of power and hegemony are pivotal in the ensuing discussions on the manifestations of glocalized English hegemony through Taiwanese English educational participants' identity management politics.

To respond to RQ 1, I have organized the complex themes of identity construction and management, identity freezing occurrences, and facework strategies from Chapters Four and Five into the following Table 5. In the Table, I include different identity freezing occurrences and the doers and receivers of them. Under facework, I also identify doers and receivers and their use of facework strategies in coping with specific identity freezing. The summative Table 5 facilitates detailed discussions on how English hegemony is glocalized and manifested through Taiwanese English educational participants' identity management politics. In this first main section, I specifically offer five sub-sections to discuss the identity management politics of (a) Taiwanese students, (b) NES teachers, (c) Taiwanese teachers, (d) NES and NNES identity, and (e) self-imposed and other-imposed identity freezing. In each sub-section of identity management politics, I first provide a brief summary of research participants' identity freezing encounters and their facework strategy choices. And then, I discuss how English hegemony is manifested and glocalized through these identity management politics. In the summary of this main section, I also supplement how the research participants have celebrated their marginalized and oppressed identities in Taiwanese English education.

Table 5

Research Participants' Identity Management Politics

Identity Management Politics Identity Freezing	Identity freezing		Facework		
	Doers	Receivers	Doers	Receivers	Strategy from the doers
NES teachers are entertaining teachers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are better than Taiwanese teachers.	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are Western critical thinkers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are credible experts of English language and culture.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are good at “only” teaching English listening and speaking.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance & disregard
Taiwanese teachers are good at teaching “only” English grammar, reading, and writing.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance

Table 5 (Continued)

Taiwanese teachers who speak fluent English with little to no Chinese/Taiwanese accents are “good” English teachers.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students who speak choppy English with Chinese/Taiwanese accents are not “good” at English at all.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students are silent and unresponsive.	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Bouncing past
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Assertion
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Other orientation
	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Disregard
Taiwanese students are uncritical.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit at the front are “good” and “active” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit in the back are “bad” and “lazy” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance

Taiwanese Students' Identity Management Politics in Taiwanese English Education

I contend that English hegemony is manifested through Taiwanese students' identity management politics in English education. Taking Table 5, I highlight the Taiwanese students' involvements in identity freezing and facework with gray shades and make it into Table 6 below for a clearer visual representation for discussion. The highlights help reveal how the Taiwanese students' identity management politics functions as a glocalized site of English hegemony in Taiwanese English education.

As shown in Table 6, the Taiwanese students, contrary to their performances of silence in the all-English classes, are quite "active" participants in their identity management politics. On the one hand, they are often the doers of identity freezing toward their NES and Taiwanese teachers and also to themselves. Between their NES and Taiwanese teachers, the Taiwanese students have most frequently identity frozen the former. On the other hand, the students are receivers of identity freezing, such as being stereotyped as silent, unresponsive, and uncritical. The two main facework strategies that Taiwanese students employ are "acceptance" and "other orientation." I only found one instance of "disregard" facework. These facework strategies show how the Taiwanese students have largely sacrificed their own face to support that of others, and have only occasionally exercised agency to empower themselves to resist the identity freezing imposed upon them.

Based on these findings, English hegemony is glocalized in Taiwan through Taiwanese students' identity management politics. Due to their linguistic unfamiliarity and insecurity in English, the Taiwanese students may have become "voice-less," but they are equally "active" agents who identity freeze others. In other words, identity management in Taiwanese English education does not necessarily require direct verbal engagements. When the students identity

Table 6

Taiwanese Students' Identity Management Politics

Identity Management Politics Identity Freezing	Identity Freezing		Facework		
	Doers	Receivers	Doers	Receivers	Strategy from doers
NES teachers are entertaining teachers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are better than Taiwanese teachers.	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are Western critical thinkers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are credible experts of English language and culture.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are good at “only” teaching English listening and speaking.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance & disregard
Taiwanese teachers are good at teaching “only” English grammar, reading, and writing.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance

Table 6 (Continued)

Taiwanese teachers who speak fluent English with little to no Chinese/Taiwanese accents are “good” English teachers.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students who speak choppy English with Chinese/Taiwanese accents are not “good” at English at all.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students are silent and unresponsive.	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Bouncing past
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Assertion
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Other orientation
	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Disregard
Taiwanese students are uncritical.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit at the front are “good” and “active” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit in the back are “bad” and “lazy” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance

freeze their NES and Taiwanese teachers, the teachers strategically initiate different facework, such as “disregard” and “acceptance” strategies, to cope with the occurrences. By sacrificing their own face to support the positive face of their teachers, the Taiwanese students have shown that they succumb to the power differentiations between their teachers (more power) and them (less power).

Additionally, Taiwanese students identity freeze themselves and their peers. In coping with this identity freezing, they mainly employed the “acceptance” and “other orientation” facework strategies. Both strategies are used to support others’ positive face while sacrificing their own. According to Ting-Toomey (2005), individuals from collectivistic cultures, such as Asians, tend to value others’ face needs before their own. This can explain how, without explicit power differentials among peers, the Taiwanese students still choose to protect others’ positive face. Even when they occasionally use the “disregard” facework, supposedly for supporting their own positive face, they do so with much hesitation. They are careful not to overdo it. It is understandable that the Taiwanese students have made those choices because they are the participants who are often situated at power submissive positions in their English classes (compared to either NES or Taiwanese teachers). When they have relatively little power, it is harder for them to openly exercise agency to protect their own face.

Theorizing Taiwanese students’ identity management politics, I have learned that a Taiwanese English educational context is not a cultural space that “silent” Taiwanese students feel comfortable in verbally voicing different opinions or protecting their own face. However, they are still “active” agents in managing their cultural and relational identities, just in less verbalized ways. Because they are situated in relatively less (English) linguistic and social power (as students) and because they share collectivistic cultural values, the students have mainly

managed their identities by sacrificing their own positive face to support others' in English education. Next, I discuss NES teachers' identity management politics in the second sub-section.

NES Teachers' Identity Management Politics in Taiwanese English Education

Following the same technique as above, I take Table 5 and highlight NES teachers' involvements in identity management politics with gray shades into Table 7 below. As I have discussed, the research participants have viewed NES teachers highly favorably in Taiwanese English education, especially the all-English classes. Despite the favoritism, based on Table 7, the NES teachers are often receivers of identity freezing from their Taiwanese students and, surprisingly, from themselves, too. Additionally, they are also doers of identity freezing, mainly toward their Taiwanese students and, only minimally, toward their Taiwanese colleagues.

The favoritism that NES teachers receive also often renders them as targets of identity freezing. They are identity frozen by their Taiwanese students as entertaining teachers, "better" English teachers, Western critical thinkers, experts in the English language and culture, and good at teaching English listening and speaking classes. I postulate that limited understanding from the majority of Taiwanese students can be part of the reasons of identity freezing. In Taiwanese compulsory English education, from the third grade to senior high school (the twelfth grade), NES teachers do not hold full-time positions at most public schools. Therefore, many Taiwanese students have little knowledge about and exposure to NES teachers (unless they have attended private schools or *bushiban* staffed by NES teachers). When students do interact with their NES teachers in college, it is inevitable that cultural stereotypes (i.e., identity freezing) become the restrictive-yet-crucial cultural information for them. In addition to becoming the targets of student-imposed identity freezing, the NES teachers also identity freeze themselves in some of those occurrences. I find that they choose to do so when they aspire to perform their cultural or

Table 7

NES Teachers' Identity Management Politics

Identity Management Politics Identity Freezing	Identity freezing		Facework		
	Doers	Receivers	Doers	Receivers	Strategy from doers
NES teachers are entertaining teachers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are better than Taiwanese teachers.	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are Western critical thinkers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are credible experts of English language and culture.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are good at “only” teaching English listening and speaking.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance & disregard
Taiwanese teachers are good at teaching “only” English grammar, reading, and writing.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance

Table 7 (Continued)

Taiwanese teachers who speak fluent English with little to no Chinese/Taiwanese accents are “good” English teachers.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students who speak choppy English with Chinese/Taiwanese accents are not “good” at English at all.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students are silent and unresponsive.	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Bouncing past
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Assertion
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Other orientation
	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Disregard
Taiwanese students are uncritical.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit at the front are “good” and “active” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit in the back are “bad” and “lazy” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance

personal uniqueness (e.g., friendly foreign teachers and Western critical thinkers), or when the identity freezing is valued in Taiwanese English education (e.g., “authentic” experts for English language and culture and their native English-listening and -speaking abilities).

Patterns in Table 7 show that, when being identity frozen, NES teachers actively initiate facework strategies. “Acceptance” and “disregard” are two common strategies they employ. Needless to say, they employ the “acceptance” strategy if they self-avow what the identity freezing entails. They also adopt the “acceptance” facework when the identity freezing is favorable for them. In two occasions, the NES teachers utilize the “disregard” facework. One is a potentially pejorative identity freezing that goes against their professional aspiration (e.g., not entertainers); the other is when they intend to support their Taiwanese colleagues as equally competent English teachers. Compared to the Taiwanese students who have largely supported others’ positive face, the NES teachers support their own face. I assume two reasons behind this finding. First, it is related to their relative powerful and privileged positions in Taiwanese English education. Thus, they have more leverage to exercise power transgression freely to discount the validity of other-imposed identity freezing to support their self positive face. Second, according to Ting-Toomey (2005), people from individualistic cultural orientations, such as North Americans, tend to value their own face over others’.

Another significant finding shown in Table 7 is how NES teachers and Taiwanese students tend to identity freeze each other, while NES teachers seldom do so toward their Taiwanese colleagues. I assume that the discrepancy is directly related to the methodological choice of this research. The ethnographic observations in the all-English classes limit the data mainly to communication between a NES or a Taiwanese teacher and their students. No class has NES and Taiwanese co-teachers. Therefore, when the NES teachers and the Taiwanese students

discuss their experiences in the all-English classes, the two parties focus on one another rather than on Taiwanese teachers.

The NES teachers' identity management politics has revealed that the (oral) communicative English education approaches in Taiwan have helped uphold the status quo of English hegemony and power differentials. With minimum disruptions, the NES teachers sustain the privileges and advantages as native speakers of English and its attendant cultures. Although they are frequently the receivers and the doers of identity freezing, they also have the power to initiate facework strategies to discredit the potentially negative stereotypes and to support their positive face and cultural identities. In other words, Taiwanese English education has positioned NES teachers favorably and has largely allowed them to manage their identities freely. In the following sub-section, I discuss the third identity management politics.

Taiwanese Teachers' Identity Management Politics in Taiwanese English Education

With grey shades, again, I highlight Taiwanese teachers' identity management politics in Table 8 below. After discussing Taiwanese students' and NES teachers' identity management politics, I observe from Table 8 that Taiwanese teachers have engaged in identity freezing and facework strategies with the least various ways. Within the relatively few instances, I see that the Taiwanese teachers are receivers of identity freezing from their students and from themselves, and, infrequently, from NES teachers. Taking a closer look at the identity freezing occurrences, I notice that Taiwanese teachers have received identity freezing that targets their linguistic and social identities. With the emphasis of (oral) communicative English educational approaches, the Taiwanese teachers are valued *only if* they have native-English-speaker-like oral proficiency. Because of the educational emphasis, they are often seen as teachers only "good" at teaching English grammar, reading, and writing. Their own "acceptance" facework further indicates that

Table 8

Taiwanese Teachers' Identity Management Politics

Identity Management Politics Identity Freezing	Identity freezing		Facework		
	Doers	Receivers	Doers	Receivers	Strategy from doers
NES teachers are entertaining teachers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are better than Taiwanese teachers.	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are critical thinkers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are credible experts of English language and culture.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are good at “only” teaching English listening and speaking.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance & disregard
Taiwanese teachers are good at teaching “only” English grammar, reading, and writing.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance

Table 8 (Continued)

Taiwanese teachers who speak fluent English with little to no Chinese/Taiwanese accents are “good” English teachers.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students who speak choppy English with Chinese/Taiwanese accents are not “good” at English at all.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students are silent and unresponsive.	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Bouncing past
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Assertion
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Other orientation
	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Disregard
Taiwanese students are uncritical.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit at the front are “good” and “active” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit in the back are “bad” and “lazy” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance

they validate the unequal, inferior, and limited positions they situate in Taiwanese English education.

Aside from being receivers of identity freezing, the Taiwanese teachers are also doers of identity freezing, mainly toward their students. In this regard, I associate their actions mainly to their social identity as teachers. Between them and their students, the social identity as teachers has granted them relatively more power in the educational context. Unlike the mere “acceptance” facework discussed above, such powerful positions allow them to adopt different facework strategies, such as “bouncing past” to support their students’ negative face and “assertion” to support their own positive face in the classrooms.

In Taiwanese English education, the identity management politics of Taiwanese teachers has pointed to the crucial considerations of power dynamics and linguistic inequality. The Taiwanese teachers have largely resorted to power submissions when they are identity frozen as less credible and less competent English teachers, especially if they do not have native-English-speaker-like oral proficiency. In other words, their identity management as English teachers is predicated upon their (English) linguistic identity, the perceived native-ness in English, to be exact. The Taiwanese teachers only show power transgression when they identity freeze their students in classroom settings. It is also when they have the power to initiate the facework strategy to support their own positive face. Next is the fourth identity management politics.

NES and Non-Native-English-Speaking Identity Management Politics in Taiwanese English Education

The fourth identity management politics rendered from this research is that between NES and non-native-English-speaking (NNES) identities in Taiwanese English education. In Table 9 below, I highlight NES identity, represented by the NES teachers, with grey shades to compare

Table 9

NES and Non-Native-English-Speaking Identity Management Politics

Identity Management Politics Identity Freezing	Identity freezing		Facework		
	Doers	Receivers	Doers	Receivers	Strategy from doers
NES teachers are entertaining teachers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are better than Taiwanese teachers.	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are critical thinkers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are credible experts of English language and culture.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are good at “only” teaching English listening and speaking.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese teachers are good at teaching “only” English grammar, reading, and writing.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance

Table 9 (Continued)

Taiwanese teachers who speak fluent English with little to no Chinese/Taiwanese accents are “good” English teachers.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students who speak choppy English with Chinese/Taiwanese accents are not “good” at English at all.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students are silent and unresponsive.	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Bouncing past
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Assertion
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	Students	Students	Students	Students	Other orientation
	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers and students	Disregard
Taiwanese students are uncritical.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit at the front are “good” and “active” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit in the back are “bad” and “lazy” students.	Students	Students	Students	Students	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance

with the bolded NNES identity, represented by the Taiwanese teachers and students. The comparisons particularly facilitate the critical examinations on identity struggles associated with the native-ness and non-native-ness of English language in Taiwanese English education.

Based on Table 9 and some of the aforementioned discussions, the NES identity is often identity frozen more “positively” and favorably in Taiwanese English education. However, such “favorable” identity freezing is not power neutral. In Taiwanese English education, native speaker fallacy (Philipson, 1992, 2009) and English hegemony have molded Taiwanese into accepting that people of NES identity are “naturally” better and “more authentic” teachers of English culture and language than the equally—if not more—qualified Taiwanese teachers. The identity freezing of “better” English teachers, Western critical thinkers, credible English experts, and better English listening and speaking teachers are all desired attributes associated with NES identity. As I have mentioned repeatedly, the NNES Taiwanese participants have expressed much admiration toward those NES attributes. The positive and favorable associations with the NES identity have undoubtedly reinforced and fortified the power of native English-speakers in Taiwanese English education.

Unlike the positivity associated with NES identity, NNES identity is commonly viewed “negatively” or pejoratively in Taiwanese English education. Speaking English with native-English-speaker-like proficiency is so prioritized and emphasized that has negatively affected NNES Taiwanese participants who cannot do so. Taiwanese teachers and students worry about and feel shameful for their choppy and Chinese/Taiwanese-accented English, which is deemed laughable or “terrible.” They are then left to defend themselves. Additionally, because of their NNES identity, some Taiwanese English teachers feel inferior and restricted in teaching English and they suffer from confidence issues. They are stripped of their credibility as competent

English teachers and have become teachers who are *only* good at teaching English grammar, reading, and writing, “the useless and boring stuff” (according to Taiwanese students). The same negative light is cast on Taiwanese students. Oftentimes, because of their NNES identity, Taiwanese students do not feel confident or comfortable to voluntarily speak and participate in English in class. Such lack of response and participation are then perceived as lacking critical thinking by their NES and Taiwanese teachers.

By comparing how the NES and NNES participants employ facework strategies, I further affirm that the English education in Taiwan has bolstered the divide between the desired NES identity and the under-desired NNES identity. NES participants have largely “accepted” their favorable identity freezing and “disregard” the ones with which they do not agree. Table 9 vividly shows how the NNES participants have sacrificed their own face to support that of the NES participants with “other orientation” strategy. With rare resistance, the NNES participants have “accepted” and self-imposed negative and pejorative identity freezing.

Based on the examinations of NES and NNES identity management politics, I see how glocalised English hegemony has rendered inequality between these two identities in Taiwanese English education. The adoption of the communicative English educational approaches in Taiwan are the pushing forces behind the inequalities. By supporting the status quo, the Taiwanese participants, as NNES people, have largely consented to the English domination that prioritizes standard, native, and “pure” English variations, mainly those represented by the U.S., U.K., Canada, and Australia. As an inevitable result, the NNES participants suffer from identity and power struggles as most of them do not meet the criteria or preferences. This is certainly the danger of compliance and acceptance of domination. In the following sub-section, I address the final identity management politics.

Self-imposed and Other-imposed Identity Freezing Management Politics

The fifth, also the final, identity management politics borne out of this research is related to self-imposed and other-imposed identity freezing. I have addressed other-imposed identity freezing extensively in the first four identity management politics. Herein, I concentrate more on examining self-imposed identity freezing. Continuing with the same method, I highlight Table 5 with different emphasis into making Table 9 below, which represents the self-imposed and other-imposed identity freezing management politics. Specifically, I use grey shades to highlight NES teachers' self-imposed identity freezing, bolded font for Taiwanese teachers, and italics for Taiwanese students.

When participants self-impose identity freezing upon themselves, they mainly initiate facework with “acceptance” strategy and infrequently with “other orientation” or “disregard” strategies. The “acceptance” facework is intended to support others' positive face. In particular, the NES and Taiwanese teachers have framed the seemingly and possibly negative identity freezing (e.g., “only” good at teaching something as teachers) with a positive tone. The twist of making negative identity freezing into positive ones helps participants maintain positive face.

When identity freezing is self-imposed, the freezing “seems” positive unless the doers are students. The Taiwanese students identity freeze themselves with explicitly undesired characteristics (e.g., their NNES identity, non-proficient English, and silent student performance) while still overwhelmingly manage the identity freezing with “acceptance” and “other orientation” facework. The ways in which the Taiwanese students self-impose negative and pejorative identity freezing show that they have internalized and accepted English hegemony with little resistance.

Table 10

Self-imposed and Other-imposed Identity Freezing Management Politics

Identity Management Politics Identity Freezing	Identity freezing		Facework		
	Doers	Receivers	Doers	Receivers	Strategy from doers
NES teachers are entertaining teachers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are better than Taiwanese teachers.	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Disregard
NES teachers are critical thinkers.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are credible experts of English language and culture.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	Students	NES teachers	Other orientation
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
NES teachers are good at “only” teaching English listening and speaking.	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	NES teachers	NES teachers	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese teachers are good at teaching “only” English grammar, reading, and writing.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	NES teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance

Table 10 (Continued)

Taiwanese teachers who speak fluent English with little to no Chinese/Taiwanese accents are “good” English teachers.	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
	Students	Taiwanese teachers	Taiwanese teachers	Students	Acceptance
Taiwanese students who speak choppy English with Chinese/Taiwanese accents are not “good” at English at all.	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	Acceptance
Taiwanese students are silent and unresponsive.	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Bouncing past
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Assertion
	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	Acceptance
	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	Other orientation
	NES & Taiwanese teachers and <i>students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	NES & Taiwanese teachers and <i>students</i>	Disregard
Taiwanese students are uncritical.	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	Acceptance
	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Students	Students	NES & Taiwanese teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit at the front are “good” and “active” students.	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance
Students who sit in the back are “bad” and “lazy” students.	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Students</i>	Acceptance
	NES teachers	Students	Students	NES teachers	Acceptance

By investigating the self-imposed and other-imposed identity freezing management politics, I find that the research participants have largely agreed to the inequalities that Taiwanese English education has created. NES teachers are mostly viewed positively by others and by themselves. Taiwanese teachers have received the “seemingly” positive, yet potentially negative, identity freezing from others while they also impose the same on themselves. Taiwanese students, unfortunately, have been identity frozen in explicitly negative ways; yet, they rarely (or at least not “actively and verbally”) disagree and have even continued to self-impose the negative attributes upon themselves.

Based on the five identity management politics, I contend that Taiwanese English education has become the conduit for the perpetuation of English hegemony. It has also resulted in power and identity struggles and inequalities among English educational participants. The power differentials are imbued and stratified in Taiwanese English education. It is hierarchical. The ways in which participants employ facework strategies are also closely related to the power differential and hierarchy. In general, NES teachers and NES identity are relatively more powerful and desirable. They represent Western powerhouse countries, “native” experts of English-speaking culture and language, and Western critical thinkers. Although Taiwanese teachers hold power as teachers in the classroom, their NNES and Asian/Confucius/Chinese educational participant identities render them less powerful compared to the NES teachers, but more powerful in relation to their Taiwanese students. Last, I argue that Taiwanese students hold relatively little power compared to the NES and Taiwanese teachers in Taiwanese English education. Their NNES and student identities have not granted them much power in the educational context of this research. They have even identity frozen themselves. However, this does not mean they are always agency-less. They can be more powerful if they disrupt the code

of silence and perform “good students” who sit in the front rows of the classroom to interact with their teachers who welcome “active” participation. Nevertheless, the performances of breaching silence and becoming “active” students to become more powerful are still perpetuations of the stereotypical Western educational preferences. From the overall findings, although relatively power-less, the students are “active” and indispensable agents who lay groundwork to support the landscape of hegemonic Taiwanese English education.

The critical examinations of different identity management politics have also shown that the adoption of Western-centric and communicative English educational approaches in Taiwan is at the core that complicates the matter. Western-centric communicative approaches in Taiwanese English education have created all-English classes as cultural spaces where cultural identities of NNEs people, Chinese/Taiwanese-English-accented speakers, silent English-learning students, and Asian/Confucius/Taiwanese educational participants are largely disadvantaged and suppressed. In contrast, cultural identities of NES people, “pure”-English-accented speakers, “active” students, and Western critical thinkers are privileged and dominant. In other words, this research has revealed not only the relative power positions of different cultural identities but also the differences between dominant and marginalized identities in Taiwanese English education.

The critical examinations further bring forth two intriguing findings. First, Taiwanese students’ unresponsiveness and silence can be active identity management in disguise. The seemingly passive participants have been “actively” engaged in identity freezing and in employing facework strategies. Second, identity freezing may not always be other-imposed, face-threatening, or “seen as barriers” (Imahori & Cupach, 2005, p. 203). English educational participants, such as the NES teachers in this research, find it necessary to self-impose identity freezing to some degree in order to “meet the (stereotypical) expectations” from their

intercultural partners in the language educational context and at the initial phase in order to further develop relationships.

Under the glocalized English hegemony in Taiwanese English education, certain cultural identities are marginalized and disadvantaged (see above). Yet, celebrations of them are as equally important as the critical examinations. The Taiwanese teachers and students have celebrated their Chinese/Taiwanese linguistic identity by integrating and communicating with others in Chinese/Taiwanese in their all-English classes. The Taiwanese teachers have focused on their professionalism over speaking “pure/standard” English. From these celebrations, I feel a sense of hopefulness. Rather than always feeling oppressed, the Taiwanese teachers and students have strategically engaged in self-empowerment.

To conclude this first main section that addresses RQ 1, I have elaborated on how the glocalized English hegemony has manifested in Taiwanese English education through educational participants’ various identity management politics. The global forces of English linguistic and cultural domination have landed in Taiwan through English education and have been embraced as well as resisted by English educational participants in different ways. Based on my lived experiences and from this research, I have witnessed and heard the triumphs and challenges that English educational participants in Taiwan have encountered; all have led to their complex and nuanced identity management politics. At this point, I am even more unflinching about resisting the claim that English education is merely the teaching and learning of the language. What this research has revealed is the inherent identity struggles and power inequalities behind the “innocent” language education. On this note, I enter the last research question of this dissertation.

Critical Potentials of Identity Management Theory

Reaching the end of this dissertation, I have established the contention that identity construction and management, English hegemony, and English language proficiency and performance are interconnected and power-laden in Taiwanese English education. I have also realized the danger of “false hope” and “voluntary acceptance” in a hegemonic intercultural communication context, such as Taiwanese English education. Despite the occasional resistance against the English language domination (e.g., discounting the validity of stereotypes and the integration of Chinese in all-English classes), systemically, English hegemony stands strong in Taiwan via English education. In Chapter Two, I raised a question to ponder; I wondered if the English educational participants in Taiwan embrace English domination willingly and see it as a hope that assists them to attain better sociocultural and economic statuses (see also Pennycook, 1994). This research has confirmed my speculation. Canagarajah (1999) has cautioned us: “We can see a cyclical process: the dominant social arrangement passes on its values to the school; the school (through its curriculum and pedagogy) passes on those values to students; the students uphold the status quo” (p. 23). With the global prevalence and localized acceptance of English hegemony, it is a vicious circle that is hard to break.

Despite the perpetuations of English hegemony, I admire and respect the fact that research participants have attempted in creating more socially just educational practices, such as breaking cultural stereotypes and celebrating the less-powerful identities with their strategic exercises of agency and indigenous cultural and linguistic power. However, I am not overly optimistic to believe that the power of English hegemony can be completely dismantled by localized educational policy, unless the Taiwanese government decides not to interact with others internationally.

In this concluding section, I aim at offering critical and reflexive discussions and propositions to modify and advance IMT. This second main section ultimately answers RQ 6: “How can Identity Management Theory be modified in order to explain hegemonic (or power-laden) intercultural communication, such as Taiwanese English education?” In order to do so, I pay vigilant attention to and take into account of the notions of hegemony, domination, and power differential. Moreover, I contend that this research has aided the paradigmatic juxtaposition between IMT, a largely social scientific/functionalistic theory, and English hegemony, a critical concept.

Essentially, I base my propositions on the theoretical assumptions of IMT, and, at the same time, advance it by supplementing multiple points of critical examination with the consideration of power and hegemony. In other words, I propose to modify IMT with an additional element of critical examination. This research has provided support in the following aspects. First, the negotiations among marking one’s identity scope, intensity, and salience in intercultural communication vary because of power differentials. Based on the research findings, I contend that, regardless of expanding or reducing identity scope, intercultural communicators tend to intensify the identity salience that can exert or attain the highest degree of power or influence in power-laden contexts. For instance, in the context of Taiwanese English education, the NES English teachers are mainly situated at relatively powerful positions, and they constantly intensify their cultural identity salience as Western critical thinkers, as English experts, and as “better” English-listening and -speaking teachers who are not entertainers. Taiwanese English teachers, on the other hand, have relatively less English linguistic and cultural power compared to the NES teachers. Yet, they increase power by intensifying their identity salience as native-English-speaker-like teachers, as Western education recipients, as

Chinese/Taiwanese speakers (when interacting with Taiwanese students), and/or as the professional teachers with special expertise other than teaching English.

Taiwanese students, situated at relatively the least powerful positions, also make the choices to increase power. They intensify their cultural identity salience as self-motivated and “active” English learners who sit at the front of the classroom to interact with their teachers. Herein, I must make an explicit distinction between intercultural and “intracultural” communication to address the most prominent identity performances among the Taiwanese students—their silence and unresponsiveness in class. As I have discussed, performing silence and unresponsiveness only seem to make them lose power and approval, at least interculturally speaking (i.e., between their English teachers and them). As a distinction, I conceptualize the students’ choices of remaining silent and unresponsive and speaking Chinese with peers as “intracultural communication-oriented,” in that these two communicative patterns are primarily the collective mechanisms and social contracts that regulate intracultural behaviors. Hence, their decisions of abiding by the social contracts among peers do not award them with more power in the intercultural context.

Second, in addition to its impact on marking identity scope, salience, and intensity, power differential is associated with identity freezing and facework strategies. Intercultural communicators with more power generally encounter less pejorative identity freezing experiences compared to their partners with less power (see also Imahori & Cupach, 2005). In terms of applying facework strategies in power-laden intercultural communication contexts, such as the one of Taiwanese English education, people with more power mostly support their own positive face and occasionally their partners’. People with less power mainly support others’ face and sometimes their own face, whereas people with the least power largely support others’ face.

In this research context, those with more power happen to be the NES teachers, who come from an individualistic cultural orientation. One may argue that their support of individual positive face originates from their cultural characteristic, but I further assert the connections between their facework choices and their power positions. Positions of power can be amorphous and discursive, but, in the context of Taiwanese English education, it is hierarchical. Although every communicator makes her/his own communicative and identity management choices, all of their performances and choices are the derivative products of power differentials, and facework strategies are employed to increase power, respect, and approval.

Finally, I advance IMT by proposing that power differentials between intercultural partners create impacts on the development, maintenance, and progression of their relationships. Incorporating the concept of power distance (Hofstede, 1991), in a large power distance country like Taiwan, I have observed that the development of intercultural relationships is more difficult between partners who are situated at very different power positions, such as those between NES teachers and Taiwanese students. Nevertheless, it is still possible for intercultural relationships to thrive as long as the partners are willing to, or have the opportunities to, engage in additional and continuing interactions that help increase rule and symbolic convergence and cultivate “new” relational identity between them. Over time, the shared relational identities ultimately reduce or dismiss the pre-existing power differences between their cultural identities. Sometimes, what the intercultural partners need is a turning point to break through the power constraints.

In a hegemonic intercultural communication context, being reflexive and aware of our own positionalities in the power dimension is the first step. Equally important to being reflexive is how we can take actions to create equitable self-worth, other-worth, and mutual-worth relationships. In short, the critical potentiality of IMT extends from explaining and describing

identity management, facework strategies, and relational phase transitions to examining the power dynamics in intercultural communicators' identity management politics and performances. By understanding how power impacts us in making decisions, we can then aim at building intercultural relationships that avoid perpetuating hegemonic and unjust practices.

Limitations

I have enjoyed the process of conducting this research, and I am optimistic for its contributions to studies of intercultural communication. However, this research is limited in two major ways. The first limitation is the time for ethnographic immersion. I only observed each all-English class once due to the time limitation between the end of the Spring semester in the U.S. and that in Taiwan, which was approximately one month apart. Because of such time limitation, it was less feasible for me to establish participants' communicative patterns based on multiple observations in one class. In a sense, my class observations across seven all-English classes did not meet the conventional expectation of ethnography and participant observation, which tend to emphasize long-term fieldwork and community immersion in one cultural location. Wolcott (2010) suggests that "[o]ne possible way to accomplish long-term acquaintance is through an extended period that is not continuous but is achieved through intermittent visits" (p. 101). Reflecting back to my research engagements, I could have focused my fieldwork on fewer English classes with intermittent visits within the already-limited amount of time.

The second limitation is related to the first one. In essence, this research is not built solely on long-term ethnographic observations. I positioned the research participants' narratives, interview responses, and my own self-reflexivity as equally important data as the field observational notes. As a result, this dissertation is not completely infused with "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973), another conventional feature of ethnography. I made the decision

of incorporating participants' anecdotes, their interview responses, and my voices as crucial ethnographic information, in that we all constitute the essential pieces of the puzzle that help put together a (more) holistic picture of Taiwanese English education and of our identity management choices and performances. As Wolcott (2010) advocates, "not all ethnographers are alike, so of course neither are their ethnographies" (p. 105). Having acknowledged the limitations of my research, I enter the next section of future research directions.

Future Research Directions

In the research process, I found some participants' interview responses particularly intriguing and considered them to be directions for future research. First of all, I was contemplating the problem of racial inequity in Taiwanese English education, especially the unequal hiring preferences given to White NES teachers. I speculate how Black or NES-Asian English teachers manage their identities in Taiwanese English education. I remember how more than one student attributed the "look/appearance" factor as their motivation to practice speaking English. Therefore, I propose making NES teachers' racial identity and privileges/disadvantages as potential focal points for future research. Second, I believe it can be crucial to study the voices and opinions of the administrative level and of the Taiwanese parents because they are "part of the system." In a rather essential way, the research participants have also regularly pointed to how these two particular groups are powerful entities that influence their identity management and communicative choices. Therefore, they can be part of the future research participants. I speculate that including the administration's perspective might add another layer of complexity to identity management politics in this context.

Educational Implications

Having studied Taiwanese English education with the particular theoretical framework of IMT, I have been privileged to hear various voices and experiences at the intersections of communication choices, identity management politics, educational policies, language educational approaches, and intercultural relationships. I was moved by these voices and am intrigued to make suggestions for the future of English education in Taiwan. Ultimately, I hope educators in other NNES countries, especially those who also prioritize (oral) communicative English educational approaches, can consider the following four pedagogical suggestions.

First, in line with Holliday's (2009) and Lee's (2016) contentions, I propose to "legitimize" and value the use of native language(s) and culture in addition to English instructions in all-English classes. I feel disheartened to have witnessed and heard how the Taiwanese participants have experienced identity struggles (as have I) because of our NNES identities, which make us feel inferior, insecure, and/or embarrassed in English education. In particular, local English teachers who use native language(s) in all-English classes should not be stigmatized as incompetent English teachers. By promoting necessary Chinese/Taiwanese language in all-English classes, it helps Taiwanese English educational participants value and celebrate our (native) linguistic and national identities in midst of learning a new culture and language. Perhaps, by increasing national and linguistic pride, Taiwanese teachers and students will then be able to try facework strategies that support their own face rather than always having to sacrifice them.

This research also ultimately calls for self-reflexivity and necessary celebration of the Asian/Confucius/Taiwanese educational identity. Although less preferred by many Taiwanese participants compared to Western critical thinking, I argue that Confucianism has its virtues and

values. As one of the cultural dimensions in Hofstede's (1991) work, "Confucian dynamism" is a crucial cultural characteristic in Eastern Asian cultures. In Confucianism, the long-term orientation consists of "persistence (perseverance), ordering relationships by status and observing this order, thrift, and having a sense of shame," and the short-term orientation includes "personal steadiness and stability, protecting your face, respect for tradition, and reciprocation of greetings, favors, and gifts" (pp. 165-166). While Western critical thinking might be essential for the "modern world," I cannot overlook the many virtues that Confucianism has enriched and instilled in me.

Second, I suggest that Taiwanese government or the Ministry of Education of Taiwan dismisses the unequal treatments between NES and Taiwanese teachers. Local Taiwanese English teachers are competent and truly valuable language teachers and cultural agents in English education. Undoubtedly, NES teachers in Taiwanese English education are valued and preferred in many ways, but Taiwanese English teachers are equal inspirations for their students, if not more. Taiwanese teachers can be attainable role models because they represent the likelihood and possibility to reach a desired "native-ness" in English, compared to the NES teachers who may be too exotic and too glamorized for students to emulate. The "local professors" can be even more inspirational to many Taiwanese students, because, the fact is, there are only a selective few who have the opportunity to study abroad in NES countries. Moreover, even if NES teachers are commonly considered as the "authentic" representatives of NES countries and cultures, I argue against the "authenticity." Cavallaro (2001) has cautioned us that there is no such thing as pure and authentic cultural representation; we are already interpellated into different identities and misrepresented by media, our culture, and even by ourselves. In other words, to explain NES cultures, the NES teachers can only share and

represent a part of the unlimited and the subjective. In essence, Taiwanese teachers' subjective interpretations of the NES cultures can be valuable cultural and reflexive accounts for their Taiwanese students.

Third, I recommend allowing and encouraging students to choose English classes with the foci in which they are interested in learning. Not everyone needs to orally and fluently communicate in English to order to function or survive in Taiwan. After foundational instructions on the English language, I propose that the Taiwanese government can diversify English education offerings and encourage students to make decisions on what fits their interests and needs the most. If students have the option to choose the focus/foci in learning English, I believe it could reduce the identity struggles resulting from their less-desirable English oral proficiencies. Providing English classes with different foci and allowing students to choose can also increase their learning motivations and learners' autonomy.

Fourth, I advocate that English education scholars and teachers in Taiwan should recognize the importance of World Englishes. If the purpose of learning English is to be able to “communicate” with other English speakers, then English education should be open to different variations of English in the world. The inclusion of World Englishes could be added in later stages of a nation's English education curriculum, after students understand the basic structure of the English language. After all, English is spoken and used with a variety of accents, pronunciations, and syntaxes around the world. Interrelated to the inclusion of World Englishes is respect and support for locally emerged English variations. Chinese/Taiwanese-accented English can very well be its own variation, as long as it is intelligible among English speakers, such as “China English” in He and Li's (2009) research. Speaking English with “Chinese or Taiwanese style” is no laughing matter and those who speak this variation do not need to feel

inferior or accept others' ridiculing identity freezing.

Ultimately, I advocate for maintaining balance between the global-local dialectic in English education. There is no denying that English has been institutionalized globally in vast arenas and has facilitated and propelled intercultural and international communication in positive ways. However, sufficient support and respect for World Englishes and local identities, culture(s), and language(s) can help NNES people become sensible global citizens through learning the international language as well as feeling proud of themselves.

Dissertation Conclusion

The “worlds” in which we live are not power-free utopias, and perhaps never will be. All kinds of power are already imbued in different cultures around us and in our communicative choices. Because of this research and the research methodology of critical complete-member ethnography (CCME), I have had the opportunity to study what has been dear to my heart. By delving into English education in Taiwan with CCME, unfortunately, I confirm that Taiwan is part of the global system that perpetuates English hegemony, yet has its own ways in mediating it. For Taiwanese, English language proficiency extends beyond test scores; it connects with English educational participants' self-images, identity management politics, and future employments and promotions. Norton and Early (2011) advocate for including researchers' engagements in studying language education topics. As the primary researcher, my autoethnographic narratives and the epistemological intimacy that I share with the research participants in different contextual factors have facilitated critical engagements of self-reflexivity and have assisted me in making communally informed analyses and discussions. By conducting this research and composing it, I feel liberated, disheartened, and hopeful, all at the same time.

Before re-entering the university classrooms in Taiwan, I was well aware of the silent and unresponsive nature that Taiwanese students choose to perform, because I was one of them. However, I have never once seriously contemplated the reasons. As a Taiwanese citizen who received at least twenty years of Taiwanese English education, I found that I felt comfortable and nostalgic in the “quiet university classrooms.” It has been part of my cultural upbringing, and, frankly, I felt calmer and more relaxed compared to being in a U.S. classroom as a graduate student. No doubt, our heritage cultures have rooted in our bodies and minds in profound and secretive ways. With the framework of IMT, I have studied the silence and unresponsiveness of Taiwanese students in depth. To me, it has been a self-searching and emancipating journey as I once was, still am, and might continue to be, a silent student in the classroom.

In addition to self-reflexivity, I am delighted to make contributions in regards to NES teachers’ identity management politics in English education in a NNEs country like Taiwan, since little intercultural communication research has studied this topic. Although the NES teachers are situated at relatively powerful positions in Taiwanese English education, they have not taken their privileges for granted. From the interviews and the class observations, they appear to be reflexive teachers and keen cultural observers in Taiwan who exercise critical thinking to see the pitfalls of Taiwanese English education and students’ participation (or lack thereof).

Compared to the NES teachers, the Taiwanese teachers stand at a tricky position. They are less privileged as English teachers in the all-English classes and have “accepted” different forms of identity freezing. However, I am elated to have witnessed that the Taiwanese teachers have exercised their agency and power to integrate Chinese in all-English classes and to promote students’ national and linguistic pride. All of these communicative choices are made consciously to help students relax, build confidence, and feel that they matter in learning English.

Taiwanese English education is indeed an intricate site for intercultural communication research. This study about Taiwan showcases the how glocalized English hegemony makes its way to impact English educational participants' identity management politics, identity struggles and challenges, facework strategy employments, and intercultural relationship developments and maintenances. Many other Asian countries also support communicative language teaching (CLT), English-immersion programs, English-medium, and all-English classes as their preferred approaches of English education (see Barimani, 2011a, 2011b; Bramley, 2008; Downes, 2001; Lee, 2010; Park & Oxford, 1998; Qiang & Siegel, 2012). With hope, this dissertation serves as an example to other Asian/NNES countries for exploring the complexities of identity construction and management and intercultural relationships. Ultimately, it challenges the nonchalant presumption of: "It is *just* an English class!"

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Email Solicitation Script to English Teachers

Email Solicitation
From: Hsun-Yu Chuang
Subject: Research Request

Hello,

First, I would like to introduce myself. My name is Hsun-Yu Chuang, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Speech Communication at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, USA. I study intercultural communication and language education. I am conducting research on intercultural communication and identity management in Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)/English-immersion/all-English classes in Taiwan. The research is further divided into two stages: 1) field (class) observation and 2) face-to-face interview. Your participation is highly appreciated.

Your email was obtained via our previously-established email communications and/or from your colleagues/friends who have recommended me to contact you to see if you are interested in taking part in this study.

The reason you receive this email is because of your current involvement at CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes. I am hoping that you are willing to share your experiences, understandings, and views on English-teaching and how you manage your identities in/beyond teaching these classes. For the first phase of researching, if you agree, I would like to conduct classroom observations in the English class(es) that you teach. In addition to observation, I would like to schedule a face-to-face interview with you upon your consent.

I will do all I can to protect your identity. Pseudonym will be assigned to you. The collected data will be kept in a secure location. Only my research advisor, Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki, and I have access to them. All of the data will be kept confidential. I will destroy the data upon completion of the study.

The only foreseeable risk I anticipate would include discomfort associated with the often sensitive topics of identity management, culture, and education. The estimated time for the interview session should last no more than one hour, unless you would like it to go longer. If you also allow my observation in your class, I may sit in on your class more than once.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you give me permission to interview you, I would like to audiotape the interview session. My research advisor and I are the only ones who use and have access to the recorded files. At any time, you can talk off-record (say something that I won't record or use); you can refuse to answer a question or talk about a topic; you can ask me any questions; and/or you can stop participating. None of this will affect you. If you do not respond to this email, I will take it as you have no interest in participating in this research.

Thank you for the consideration! Please reply to this email if you are interested in participating in this research.

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me, Hsun-Yu Chuang (+1-618-534-8823 [U.S.]/+886-911-725114 [Taiwan], hsunyuc@siu.edu). Or, my research advisor: Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki (+1-618-453-4669, tsatoshi@siu.edu)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail: siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix A: Email Solicitation Script to English Teachers (Mandarin Chinese)

電子郵件參與研究邀請函 (教師用)

From: 莊勛羽

Subject: 參與研究邀請函

您好:

首先,我想向大家介紹我自己。我的名字是莊勛羽,目前是美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的口語傳播與交流學系的博士候選人。我的研究興趣包含跨文化交流與溝通以及語言教育相關研究。此研究主要著重在了解教師及學生在台灣溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語教學與學習環境中的身分認同管理 (identity management),以及跨文化交流等議題。此研究共分為兩個階段:1) 課堂觀摩,以及2) 面對面訪談。您的參與對此研究的意義重大。

您的電子郵件是從先前我們曾經有過的訊息交流中取得,或者,是從您的朋友或同事建議下取得。

您收到這封電子郵件的原因是因為您目前在溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語環境中的教學經驗。在此研究中,我希望您願意分享您在前述環境中的教學經驗,意見,以及您如何管理您的身分認同等主題。若您願意參與此研究,我希望能到您的課堂上觀摩。觀摩後,若您願意,我將擇期面對面和您訪談。

我將竭盡所能保護您的身份,在此研究中,您的真實身分會由一個化名取代。所有收集的研究資料將會被妥善保存。只有我和我的研究指導教授(豐崎 智 教授/Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki)能取得這些資料的使用權。所有的資料都將以機密保護處理。研究完成後,我將摧毀所有相關的研究資料。

參與此研究唯一可能造成的不便包括:您將討論如何管理自身身分認同,評論文化與教育,等等的潛在敏感話題。若您同意我到您課堂上觀摩,我可能會需要超過一次的觀摩機會。若您同意接受訪談,估計訪談時間不會超過一小時,除非您希望延長訪談時間。

您對此研究的參與完全是自願性的。在徵得您的允許後,我希望在採訪您的過程中使用錄音的方式來記錄您的意見。如前所述,我的指導教授與我是唯一會接觸並分析研究資料的人員,您受訪的錄音檔案也將和問卷受到同樣的保護。在訪問的過程中,您可以談論任何話題(若您不希望錄下某些片段,我將不會記錄或使用那些資料);您也可以拒絕回答某些問題或話題,您更可以詢問我任何問題以及隨時停止參與此研究。以上都不會對您造成影響。如果我沒有收到您的電子郵件回覆,我將解讀成您不願意參與此研究。若是如此,您不會再收到任何關於此研究的電子郵件。

非常感謝您考慮是否參與此研究!若您願意參與,請回覆此電子郵件。

如果您對此研究有任何關於問題,請隨時與我或我的指導教授聯繫。主要研究者:莊勛羽,連絡電話:+1-618-534-8823/+886-911725114,電子郵件:hsunyuc@siu.edu。指導教授:豐崎 智 教授 (Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki),連絡電話:+1-618-453-4669,電子郵件:tsatoshi@siu.edu

此研究已經過美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的研究倫理委員會審查和批准。若您對於參與此研究的權利有所疑問,可洽詢本校研究贊助與管理部門的委員會主席 (Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709) 電話:+1-618-453-4533。電子郵件:siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix B: Email Solicitation Script to Students

Email Solicitation
From: Hsun-Yu Chuang
Subject: Research Request

Hello,

First, I would like to introduce myself. My name is Hsun-Yu Chuang, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Speech Communication at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, USA. I study intercultural communication and language education. I am conducting research on intercultural communication and identity management at Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)/English-immersion/all-English classes in Taiwan. This research is further divided into two stages: 1) field (class) observation and 2) face-to-face interview. Your participation is highly appreciated.

Your email was obtained via our previously-established communications and/or from your teachers/friends who recommended me to contact you to see if you are interested in participating in this study.

The reason you receive this email is because of your current experiences in CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes. I am hoping that you are willing to share your experiences, understandings, and views on how you manage your identities in such classes. For the first phase of researching, if you and/or your teacher agree, I would like to come observe your English class(es). After the observation, if you agree, I would like to schedule a face-to-face interview with you. If you are interested in participating in this research, but you do not have the right to decide whether or not I can come observe in your class, please provide me with the contact information of your teacher. I can contact him/her for this matter.

I will do all I can to protect your identity. Pseudonym will be assigned to you. The collected data will be kept in a secure location. Only my research advisor, Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki, and I have access to them. All of the data will be kept confidential. I will destroy the data upon completion of the study.

The only foreseeable risk I anticipate would include discomfort associated with the often sensitive topics of identity management, culture, and education. If you agree to let me observe in your English class(es), I may sit in on the class more than once. As for the interview, the estimated time should last no more than one hour, unless you would like it to go longer.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you give me permission to interview you, I would like to audiotape the interview session. My research advisor and I are the only ones who use and have access to the recorded files. At any time, you can talk off-record (say something that I won't record or use); you can refuse to answer a question or talk about a topic; you can ask me any questions; and/or you can stop participating. None of this will affect you. If you do not respond to this email, I will take it as you have no interest in participating in this research.

Thank you for the consideration! Please reply to this email if you are interested in participating in this study.

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me, Hsun-Yu Chuang (phone: 1-618-534-8823 [U.S.]/+886-911-725114 [Taiwan], hsunyuc@siu.edu). Or, my research advisor: Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki (1-618-453-4669, tsatoshi@siu.edu)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail: siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix B: Email Solicitation Script to Students (Mandarin Chinese)

電子郵件參與研究邀請函 (學生用)

From: 莊勛羽

Subject: 參與研究邀請函

您好:

首先，我想介紹我自己。我的名字是莊勛羽，目前是美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的口語傳播與交流學系的博士候選人。我的研究興趣包含跨文化交流與溝通以及語言教育相關研究。此研究主要著重在了解教師及學生在溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語教學與學習環境中的身分認同管理 (identity management)，以及跨文化交流等議題。此研究共分為兩個階段：1) 課堂觀摩，以及 2) 面對面訪談。你的參與對此研究的意義重大。

你的電子郵件是從先前我們已存在的訊息交流中取得，或者，是從你的英文老師或朋友建議下取得。

你收到這封電子郵件的原因是因為你目前在溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語環境中學習。在此研究中，我希望你願意分享你的學習經驗，意見，以及您如何管理您的身分認同等主題。若你願意參與此研究，我希望能到你的課堂上觀摩。觀摩後，若你同意，我將擇期面對面和你訪談。若你無權決定能否同意我的觀摩，請將該課老師的聯絡方式給我，我將自行聯繫他。

我將竭盡所能保護你的身份，在此研究中，我會使用化名來取代你的真實身分。所有收集的研究資料將會被妥善保存。只有我和我的研究指導教授 (豐崎 智 教授/Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki) 能取得這些資料的使用權。所有的資料都將以機密保護處理。研究完成後，我將摧毀所有相關的研究資料。

參與此研究唯一可能造成的不便包括：你將討論如何管理自身身分與認同，評論文化與教育，等等的潛在敏感話題。若你或你的英文老師同意我到場觀摩，我可能需要超過一次的課堂觀摩機會。若你同意接受訪談，估計訪談時間不會超過一小時，除非你希望延長訪談時間。

你對此研究的參與完全是自願性的。在徵得你的允許後，我希望能使用錄音的方式來記錄我們的訪談過程。如前所述，我的指導教授與我是唯一會接觸並分析研究資料的人員，你受訪的錄音檔案也將和問卷受到同樣的保護。在訪問的過程中，你可以談論任何話題（若你不希望錄下某些片段，我將不會記錄或使用那些資料）；同時，你也可以拒絕回答某些問題或話題，可以詢問我任何問題，以及隨時停止參與此研究。以上都不會對你造成任何影響。如果我沒有收到您的電子郵件回覆，我將解讀成你不願意參與此研究。若是如此，您不會再收到任何關於此研究的電子郵件。

非常感謝你考慮是否參與此研究！若你願意參與，請回覆此電子郵件。

如果你對此研究有任何關於問題，請隨時與我或我的指導教授聯繫。主要研究者：莊勛羽，連絡電話：1-618-534-8823/0911725114，電子郵件：hsunyuc@siu.edu。指導教授：豐崎 智 教授 (Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki)，連絡電話：1-618-453-4669，電子郵件：tsatoshi@siu.edu

此研究已經過美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的研究倫理委員會審查和批准。若您對於參與此研究的權利有所疑問，可洽詢本校研究贊助與管理部門的委員會主席 (Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709) 電話：+1-618-453-4533。電子郵件：siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix C: Field Observation Script/Schedule

Hello,

First, I would like to introduce myself. My name is Hsun-Yu Chuang. I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Speech Communication at Southern Illinois University Carbondale, USA. I study intercultural communication and language education. I am conducting research on how native-English-speaking and Taiwanese English teachers as well as students (over 18) communicate in CLT/English-immersion/all-English environments in Taiwan. The purpose of this study is to learn about English education practices and how teachers and students in CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes manage their identities.

I hope you would give me permission to observe your communication in class and allow me to take notes based on what I see. I would be an unobtrusive observer in class, unless invited to participate. You just need to behave and communicate as you have been before. Before we begin, I'd like you to read the provided research cover letter and sign the informed consent form. Please ask questions if you have any questions about the research and the observation process. All of the data will be kept confidential. If you do not wish to participate in this research, I will not include you in my observational notes.

(Provide the cover letter, consent form, and demographic questionnaire.)

If you agree to participate in this research, please sign the consent form. There is another brief demographic questionnaire form I would like you to fill out. I will collect your consent form and the questionnaire separately. Please take one or two minutes to complete the questionnaire. Thank you.

(Collect informed consent forms and demographic questionnaires)

Do you have any questions?

(Answer any questions.)

Thank you.

(Observation)

(If I observe something interesting to this research, I would approach the teacher[s] and/or student[s] and ask for permission for a follow-up conversation.)

Appendix C: Field observation Script/Schedule (Mandarin Chinese: 觀摩研究說明稿)

大家好:

首先，我想向大家介紹我自己。我的名字是莊勛羽，目前是美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的口語傳播與交流學系的博士候選人。我的研究興趣包含跨文化交流與溝通以及教育相關研究。此次研究主題為外國籍和台灣籍英語教師與學生 (18 歲以上) 在台灣的溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語教學與學習環境中的溝通方式以及您們在此環境裡的身分認同管理 (identity management)。

我希望您能同意我在您們課堂上觀摩，並請允許我根據觀察內容寫下筆記。觀摩時，我會在扮演純粹觀察員的角色，除非受邀參與討論或課堂內容。您不需要因為我在場而改變任何溝通方式。在開始之前，我想您閱讀所提供的研究簡介，並簽署參與研究同意書。如果您有任何關於此研究或觀察過程的問題，請發問。所有的資料將以機密保護方式處理。如果您不想參與這個研究，我將不會將您列入觀察筆記中。

(Provide the cover letter, consent form, and demographic questionnaire.)

若您同意參與此研究，麻煩您簽署參與研究同意書。另外，我準備了一個簡短的個人基本資料調查。我想先請您花一、兩分鐘完成此問卷。謝謝。

(Collect informed consent forms and demographic questionnaires)

您有任何問題嗎?

(Answer any questions.)

謝謝您們。

(Observation)

(如果我觀察到一些和研究相關的有趣現象，我會在觀摩後邀請老師[們]或學生[們]做進一步的談話。)

Appendix D: Cover Letter for Ethnographic Observation

Hello,

First, I would like to introduce myself. My name is Hsun-Yu Chuang, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Speech Communication at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, USA. I study intercultural communication and language education. I am conducting research on intercultural communication and identity management at Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)/English-immersion/all-English classes in Taiwan. In this research, I hope you would agree that I conduct observations in your class(es).

I will do all I can to protect your identity. Pseudonym will be assigned to you. The pseudonym will be recorded on the voluntary informed consent form you are about to receive. I will develop a code list for the identification purpose. I will keep this code list in a safe and secure location. The collected data will be kept in separate locations. Only my research advisor, Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki, and I have access to them. All of your communication will be kept confidential. I will destroy the data upon completion of the study. I will take all reasonable steps to protect your identity.

The only foreseeable risk I anticipate would include discomfort when being observed. You have absolute control on whatever or however you want to communicate; your choice for communication will affect you in any way.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you give permission, I may sit in on your class more than once and take observational notes. My research advisor and I are the only ones who use and have access to these notes. I will first type up the observational notes and assign my interpretations later for my data analysis. After the completion of this project, I will destroy the files. At any time after or during observation, you can inform me that you do not want certain part(s) of your communication to be recorded for data analysis. Or, you can stop participating. None of this will affect you.

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to ask them now or contact me or my research advisor.

Primary investigator:

Hsun-Yu Chuang

Department of Speech Communication, SIUC

Carbondale, IL 62901-6605

USA

+1-618-534-8823/+886-911-725114

hsunyuc@siu.edu

Research advisor:

Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki

Department of Speech Communication, SIUC

Carbondale, IL 62901-6605

USA

+1-618-453-4669

tsatoshi@siu.edu

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participation in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail: siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix D: Cover Letter for Ethnographic Observation (Mandarin Chinese: 觀摩用研究簡介)

您好:

首先,我想向大家介紹我自己。我的名字是莊勛羽,目前是美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的口語傳播與交流學系的博士候選人。我的研究興趣包含跨文化交流與溝通以及語言教育相關研究。此研究主要著重在了解教師及學生在台灣溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語教學與學習環境中的身分認同管理 (identity management), 以及跨文化交流等議題。在此研究中,我希望您能同意讓我觀摩您在溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語環境中的教學或學習,以及您如何管理身分認同和您的溝通方式。

我將竭盡所能來保護您的身份。在此研究中,您的真實身分會由一個化名取代。此化名會被記錄在您即將收到的同意參與研究書上。我將使用代碼或化名清單以識別不同的研究參與者。這些代碼列表將被妥善保存在一個不同於其他研究資料的地方以保護您的身分。只有我和我的研究指導教授(豐崎 智 教授/Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki) 有權使用及接觸所有研究資料。所有的資料都將以機密保護處理。研究完成後,我將摧毀所有相關的研究資料、相關數據,並採取一切合理的步驟保護您的身份。

參與此研究唯一可能造成的不便大概是您被觀摩時會產生的不自在感。您有絕對權力決定您的溝通方式,您的任何決定不會對您造成任何影響。

您對此研究的參與完全是自願性的。若您允許,我將會在課堂上旁聽幾次並寫下觀摩筆記。如前所述,我的研究指導教授與我是唯一會接觸並分析研究資料的人員。我會先將觀摩的筆記輸入電腦,之後再加入我的解讀以便資料分析。待此研究完成後,我會摧毀相關的檔案。在觀摩的過程中或之後,若您不希望被記錄下某些片段,請您告知我,如此,我將不會記錄或使用那些資料;您更可以隨時停止參與此研究。您的任何決定都不會對您造成影響。

如果您對此研究有任何關於問題,現在可以發問或隨時與我或我的指導教授聯繫。

主要研究者:

莊勛羽

地址:

Department of Speech Communication, SIUC
Carbondale, IL 62901-6605
USA

連絡電話:+1-618-534-8823/+886-911-725114

電子郵件:hsunyuc@siu.edu

研究指導教授:

豐崎 智 教授 (Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki)

地址:

Department of Speech Communication, SIUC
Carbondale, IL 62901-6605
USA

連絡電話:+1-618-453-4669

電子郵件: tsatoshi@siu.edu

此研究已經過美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的研究倫理委員會審查和批准。若您對於參與此研究的權利有所疑問,可洽詢本校研究贊助與管理部門的委員會主席 (Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709) 電話: +1-618-453-4533。電子郵件: siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix E: Informed Consent Form for Ethnographic Observation

Informed Consent Form

Researcher's Name: Hsun-Yu Chuang (Ph.D. candidate, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, USA)

In agreeing to participate in Hsun-Yu's research, I, the participant (further known as "I"), feel that I have a clear understanding of the following matters based on my discussion with Hsun-Yu, or the research cover letter she provided.

- The purpose of this research in general is to study my identity management in Taiwanese English education, especially in CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes.
- The research does not involve any experimental procedures and should not place me under severe stress or at risk.
- My participation in the study is voluntary. My decision not to participate and/or to withdraw from this research at any time will involve no penalty.
- All reports based on this research and written by the researcher will maintain the confidentiality of individuals in the group/class. Only communication data will be reported and no names will be used. Since the class observation involves a group communication process, all members of the group will be privy to the discussions that occur during the session; therefore, absolute confidentiality on the part of the participants, themselves, may be difficult to ensure. Hsun-Yu will change personal names to protect my confidentiality.

I, _____ (print your name), give my permission to Hsun-Yu to observe me and to take notes of the way I communicate. I understand that what I say or how I communicate with others will be used only for research purposes, and that my identity will be protected in Hsun-Yu's research. I place the following restrictions on my participation:

- I agree to participate in this research and know that my participation will be recorded on her observational notes (unless I write otherwise as a restriction on the above lines). My signature gives Hsun-Yu permission to observe and to take notes on how I communicate in class.
- I agree ____ / I disagree ____ that Hsun-Yu may quote me in her presentations and papers. (Please mark an X in the given space.)
- I agree ____ / I disagree ____ that Hsun-Yu may use her observational notes in her presentations and papers. (Please mark an X in the given space.)
- I welcome ____ / do not want to participate in ____ a follow-up interview with Hsun-Yu. (Please mark an X in the given space.)

Participant _____

Date _____

Researcher _____

Date _____

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participation in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail: siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix E: Consent Form for Ethnographic Observation (Mandarin Chinese)

參與研究同意書

研究者: 莊勛羽 (博士候選人, 美國南伊利諾州州立大學 卡本代爾分校)

在決定同意參與勛羽的研究下, 參與者本人 (以下以“我”代稱) 和勛羽討論後或在閱讀她的研究簡介後, 明確了解以下說明事項。

- 此研究目的是探討我在台灣溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語教學或學習環境下的身份認同管理。
- 此研究並不涉及任何實驗程序, 也不會讓我承受極大的壓力或風險。
- 我的參與是自願的。若我在任何時間決定不參加, 將不涉及任何責罰。
- 所有研究資料都將以機密保護方式處理。勛羽只會記錄下溝通方式, 並不會包含我的姓名。但是, 因為課堂觀摩及討論時, 我和其他人的互動及溝通都是研究資料之一, 因此勛羽無法確保百分之一百的身分保護。為保護我的身分, 勛羽將改變我的真實姓名。

本人 _____ (請填入姓名) 授權於勛羽在研究中使用她記錄下的我的溝通方式。我了解我說的話以及我和他人溝通方式將被運用於此研究中, 而勛羽會保護我的身分。在以下空白處我列出我參與此研究的但書 (限制):

- 我同意參加本研究, 並知道我的參與將被紀錄在觀摩筆記中 (除非我在上述空白處設限)。我的簽名等同授權勛羽在觀摩中記錄下我的溝通方式。
- 我同意 ____ / 我不同意 ____ (請勾選其一) 勛羽在日後的文章發表或攥寫時引用我的話語。
- 我同意 ____ / 我不同意 ____ (請勾選其一) 勛羽在日後的文章發表或攥寫時使用她在觀摩時記錄下我的溝通方式。
- 我願意 ____ / 不願意 ____ (請勾選其一) 參與勛羽之後的追蹤訪談。

研究參與者署名 _____

日期 (年/月/日) _____

研究者署名 _____

日期 (年/月/日) _____

此研究已經過美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的研究倫理委員會審查和批准。若您對於參與此研究的權利有所疑問, 可洽詢本校研究贊助與管理部門的委員會主席 (Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709) 電話: 1-618-453-4533。電子郵件: siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix F: Demographic Questionnaire

1. How do you identify your sex? _____
2. How do you identify your gender? _____
3. How do you identify your race/ethnicity? _____
4. Where is your home country? _____
5. With what cultural/social identification(s) other than the ones mentioned above do you identify? (Please list as many as you can.)

Examples: different physical abilities, socioeconomic class, different learning styles, hometown (small town, city, racially homogeneous town, etc.) etc.

6. How old are you? _____
7. What is your career? _____

(If you are a **teacher**, please complete the **sub-questions 7.1 to 7.3**; if you are a **student**, please move on to **sub-question 7.4 to 7.6**)

7.1 In what sector of education do you teach? _____ (Examples: kindergarten, primary, secondary, university, etc.)

7.2 How long have you been teaching in CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes? _____

7.3 Besides English, do you teach other subjects? If yes, what are they? _____

7.4 How long have you learned English in CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes? _____

7.5 Why do you learn English (in general)? _____

7.6 What professions do you want to have in the future? _____

—

8. Please briefly describe different cultural groups represent in your classroom and at your facility/institution.

Appendix F: Demographic Questionnaire (Mandarin Chinese: 個人基本資料調查表)

1. 性別 (女/男) _____
2. 性向 (社會/文化/心理的) (女性的/男性的) _____
3. 人種/民族 _____
4. 您的原生國家 _____
5. 請列出您其他您在社會或文化上所屬的族群

例如: 身體的、精神的、或學習上的不同或障礙, 社會經濟地位, 故鄉 (城鎮或大都市), 諸如此類。

6. 年齡 _____
7. 您的職業 _____

(若您是教師, 請完成子題 7.1 至 7.3; 若您是學生, 請前往子題第 7.4 至 7.6)

7.1 請寫出您所任教的教育程度 _____ (例如: 幼稚園, 小學, 國中, 高中, 大學。
或註明其他。)

7.2 直至目前為止, 您的教學年資為 _____ 年

7.3 除了英文以外, 您其他授課的科目包括

7.4 您在全英語環境下學習多久了? _____

7.5 您為何學習英文呢? _____

7.6 您將來想從事的職業為何? _____

8. 請簡述在您的課堂或機構中所有不同文化的族群。

Appendix G: Cover Letter for Ethnographic Interview

Hello,

First, I would like to introduce myself. My name is Hsun-Yu Chuang, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Speech Communication at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, USA. I study intercultural communication and language education. I am conducting research on intercultural communication and identity management at Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)/English-immersion/all-English classes in Taiwan. I would like to ask you to participate in this research by giving me permission to interview you.

I will do all I can to protect your identity. Pseudonym will be assigned to you. The pseudonym will be recorded on the voluntary informed consent form you are about to receive. I will develop a code list for the identification purpose. I will keep this code list in a safe and secure location. The collected data will be kept in separate locations. Only my research advisor, Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki, and I have access to them. All of the data will be kept confidential. I will destroy the data upon completion of the study. I will take all reasonable steps to protect your identity.

The only foreseeable risk I anticipate would include discomfort associated with the often sensitive topics of identity management, culture, and education. The interview session should last no more than one hour, unless you would like it to go longer.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you give permission, I would like to audio-record this interview session. My research advisor and I are the only ones who use and have access to the recording files. I will transcribe the recorded files for my data analysis. After the completion of this project, I will destroy the transcriptions and audio files. At any time, you can talk off-record (say something that I won't record or use); you can refuse to answer a question or talk about a topic; you can ask me any questions; and/or you can stop participating. None of this will affect you.

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to ask them now or contact me or my research advisor.

Primary investigator:
Hsun-Yu Chuang
Department of Speech Communication, SIUC
Carbondale, IL 62901-6605
USA
+1-618-534-8823/886-911-725114
hsunyuc@siu.edu

Research advisor:
Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki
Department of Speech Communication, SIUC
Carbondale, IL 62901-6605
USA
+1-618-453-4669
tsatoshi@siu.edu

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Appendix G: Cover Letter for Ethnographic Interview (Mandarin Chinese: 訪談用研究簡介)

您好:

首先，我想向您介紹我自己。我的名字是莊勛羽，目前是美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的口語傳播與交流學系的博士候選人。我的研究興趣包含跨文化交流與溝通以及語言教育相關研究。此研究主要著重在了了解教師及學生在台灣溝通式英語教學法或全英語教學與學習環境中的身分認同管理 (identity management)，以及跨文化交流等議題。我想請您同意與我訪談。

我將竭盡所能來保護您的身份。在此研究中，您的真實身分會由一個化名取代。此化名會被記錄在您即將收到的同意參與研究書上。我將使用代碼或化名清單以識別不同的研究參與者。這些代碼列表將被妥善保存在一個不同於其他研究資料的地方以保護您的身分。只有我和我的研究指導教授(豐崎 智 教授/Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki) 有權使用及接觸所有研究資料。所有的資料都將以機密保護處理。研究完成後，我將摧毀所有相關的研究資料、相關數據，並採取一切合理的步驟保護您的身份。

參與此研究唯一可能造成的不便包括您將討論如何管理自身身分，評論文化與教育，等等的潛在敏感話題。此訪談估計不會超過一小時，除非您希望延長採談時間。

您對此研究的參與完全是自願性的。若您允許，我希望能使用錄音機來紀錄與您的訪談過程。如前所述，我的研究指導教授與我是唯一會接觸並分析研究資料的人員。我會將訪談的錄音檔案謄寫成文字檔。待此研究完成後，我會摧毀相關的錄音及文字檔。在訪問的過程中，您可以談論任何話題（若您不希望錄下某些片段，我將不會記錄或使用那些資料）；您也可以拒絕回答某些問題或話題，您更可以詢問我任何問題以及隨時停止參與此研究。您任何不參與的決定都不會對您造成影響。

如果您對此研究有任何關於問題，現在可以發問或隨時與我或我的指導教授聯繫。

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莊勛羽

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此研究已經過美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的研究倫理委員會審查和批准。若您對於參與此研究的權利有所疑問，可洽詢本校研究贊助與管理部門的委員會主席 (Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709) 電話：+1-618-453-4533。電子郵件：siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix H: Consent Form for Ethnographic Interview

Informed Consent Form

Researcher's Name: Hsun-Yu Chuang (Ph.D. candidate, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, USA)

In agreeing to participate in Hsun-Yu's research, I, the participant (further known as "I"), feel that I have a clear understanding of the following matters based on my discussion with Hsun-Yu, or the research cover letter she provided.

- The purpose of this research in general is to study my identity management in Taiwanese English education, especially in CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes.
- The research does not involve any experimental procedures and should not place me under severe stress or at risk.
- My participation in the study is voluntary. My decision not to participate and/or to withdraw from this research at any time will involve no penalty.
- Hsun-Yu will change personal names and other identifying data to protect my confidentiality.

I, _____ (print your name), give my permission to Hsun-Yu to study my interview data and the way I communicate. I understand that what I say will be used only for research purposes, and that my identity will be protected in Hsun-Yu's research. I place the following restrictions on my participation:

-
-
- I agree to participate in this research and know that my participation will be audio-recorded and written down in her observational notes (unless I write otherwise as a restriction on the above lines). My signature gives Hsun-Yu permission to audio-record my interview and to observe the way I communicate.
 - I agree ____ / I disagree ____ that Hsun-Yu may quote me in her presentations and papers. (Please mark an X in the given space.)
 - I agree ____ / I disagree ____ that Hsun-Yu may use her observational notes in her presentations and papers. (Please mark an X in the given space.)
 - I welcome ____ / do not want to participate in ____ a follow-up interview with Hsun-Yu. (Please mark an X in the given space.)

Participant _____

Date _____

Researcher _____

Date _____

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participation in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail: siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix H: Consent Form for Ethnographic Interview (Mandarin Chinese)

參與研究同意書

研究者: 莊勛羽 (博士候選人, 美國南伊利諾州州立大學 卡本代爾分校)

在決定同意參與勛羽的研究下, 參與者本人 (以下以“我”代稱) 和勛羽討論後或在閱讀她的研究簡介後, 明確了解以下說明事項。

- 此研究目的是探討我在台灣溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語教學或學習環境下的身份認同管理。
- 此研究並不涉及任何實驗程序, 也不會讓我承受極大的壓力或風險。
- 我的參與是自願的。若我在任何時間決定不參加, 將不涉及任何責罰。
- 為保護我的身分, 勛羽將改變我的真實姓名和其他足以識別身分的資料。

本人 _____ (請填入姓名) 授權於勛羽在研究中使用我的訪談資料以及我的溝通方式。我了解我說的話以及我的溝通方式將被運用於此研究中, 而勛羽會保護我的身分。在以下空白處我列出我參與此研究的但書 (限制):

-
-
- 我同意參加本研究, 並知道我的參與將被錄音或紀錄在觀摩筆記中 (除非我在上述空白處設限)。我的簽名等同授權勛羽在我們的訪談過程中錄音, 以及/或者在觀摩中記錄下我的溝通方式。
 - 我同意 ____ / 我不同意 ____ (請勾選其一) 勛羽在日後的文章發表或攥寫時引用我的話語。
 - 我同意 ____ / 我不同意 ____ (請勾選其一) 勛羽在日後的文章發表或攥寫時使用她在觀摩時記錄下我的溝通方式。
 - 我願意 ____ / 不願意 ____ (請勾選其一) 參與勛羽之後的追蹤訪談。

參與研究者署名 _____

日期 (年/月/日) _____

研究者署名 _____

日期 (年/月/日) _____

此研究已經過美國南伊利諾大學卡本代爾分校的研究倫理委員會審查和批准。若您對於參與此研究的權利有所疑問, 可洽詢本校研究贊助與管理部門的委員會主席 (Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709) 電話: 1-618-453-4533。電子郵件: siuhsc@siu.edu

Appendix I: Interview Script/Schedule

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this interview. Before we begin, I'd like you to read the research cover letter and ask you to sign an informed consent form. Please ask if you have any questions about the research and interview process.

[For Taiwanese participants: You can decide to carry out this interview in Mandarin or in English; or, if you prefer code-switching to mix up Chinese and English, you are welcome to do so, too.]

(Provide the cover letter and informed consent form.)

There is also a brief demographic questionnaire I would like you to fill out. Please take a few minutes to complete it.

Thank you.

(Turn on an audio-recorder.)

The purpose of this study is to learn how educational participants manage their cultural and relational identities in CLT/English-immersion/all-English classes. I am eager to learn your experiences, views, and perspectives on these topics. Overall, I am interested in hearing your personal stories about and experiences of these topics within your (professional) life. I will be asking you some questions regarding this subject; however, this interview session will take the form of a conversation and discussion. This means that there is no right or wrong answer, and you may ask questions at any time during this interview. It also means that, although there are some general themes I would like to discuss, I will be very focused on your own interests in this subject. All of the data will be kept confidential.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

(Answer any questions.)

Let's begin.

(Interview)

We are done at this time with our interview.

If you know anyone who might be interested in participating in this research, please let me know. Here is my business card with my current contact information.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Appendix I: Interview Script/Schedule (Mandarin Chinese: 訪談稿)

非常感謝您願意參與這次的訪談。在我們開始之前，我想請您先閱讀本研究的簡介，並簽署參與研究同意書。如果您對有任何相關問題，可於現在或在採訪過程提出。

[對於台灣受訪者：您可以使用英文或中文進行訪談，或者中英夾雜皆可。]

(Provide the cover letter and consent form.)

另外，我準備了一個簡短的個人基本資料調查。請您花簡短幾分鐘完成此調查表。

謝謝。

(Turn on an audio-recorder.)

本研究的主要目的是想了解英文老師及學生在台灣溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語教學與學習環境中如何管理身分認同的與跨文化關係。我想了解您的經驗，意見和觀點。整體來說，我想了解您在這些主題中的經驗和故事。我會提出關於這方面的問題，然而，這次訪談主要想藉由對話和討論的形式進行。也就是說，您的回答並沒有正確或錯誤之分，您也可以在此訪談中提出任何問題。雖然我已擬好一些和此研究相關的議題，但我也非常願意參與您在此主題下想討論的議題。所有資料都將以機密保護方式處理。

在我們開始前您有任何問題嗎？

(Answer any questions.)

讓我們開始吧。

(Interview)

我們的訪談到此結束。

若您認識其他可能有興趣參與此研究的朋友，請務必通知我。這是我的名片，上面有我的聯絡方式。

再次感謝您的參與。

Appendix J: Interview Protocol (Mandarin Chinese: 訪談提問稿)

Note:

The type of interviewing that the researcher conducts for this study takes the form of a naturalistic/ethnographic/conversational data collection method. This type of data collection allows the researcher to approach interviewees with various themes and general questions; however, the participants' responses are probed further in order to get at the participants' meanings. This often results in large unscripted portions of the interview sessions that follow the lead of the participants. In the following, the researcher provides the general questions she would like to cover; however, she cannot predetermine the probing questions at this moment, as they change for each individual session.

1. What's your name?

請問怎麼稱呼您呢?

2. (In case the participant is reluctant to sign the official document [consent form])

Can you please, verbally give me your consent to participate in this research?

(如果受訪者不願簽署書面的同意參與研究書) 可以請您在口頭上承諾您同意參加本研究嗎?

3. Why did you decide to participate in this research?

您為什麼決定參加本研究的?

4. What did you think about when you heard about this research?

當您一開始聽到這個研究時您的想法是什麼呢?

5. What are your opinions about English education in Taiwan? How does teaching/learning English impact your life?

請問您對台灣目前英語教育環境或政策意見為何? 教或學英文對你的生活造成什麼影響?

6. What do the following terms mean to you: "English," "NES English teachers," "Taiwanese English teachers," "English learners/students," "English education," "all-English," "identity," etc.?

請問當您聽到以下幾個字詞時的想法為何? ("英文," "外籍英文老師," "台灣籍英文老師," "學英文的學生," "英語教育," "全英文," "身分認同" 等等。)

7. How do you like teaching (or learning) in the CLT/English-immersion/all-English environments?

您喜歡在溝通式英文/沉浸式英語/或全英語環境環境中教學(或學習)嗎? 為什麼?

8. Do you think the CLT/English-immersion/all-English environment facilitate your teaching (or learning)? Could you share with me one of the helpful experiences in this type of class? And/or, one experience that you think such environment is not helpful.

您認為在溝通式英文教學/沉浸式英語/或全英語環境中, 有助於您的教學(或學習)嗎? 可否請您可以分享一個在此環境中有益的經驗? 或者, 任何經驗讓您覺得此種環境不理想。

9. Do you think teaching (or learning) in CLT/English-immersion/all-English environments influence your identity management? If so, in what ways? If not, why not?

請問您認為在溝通式英文或全英語環境中教學(或學習)環境會影響您的身管理嗎? 如果會, 是如何有影響的呢? 如果不會, 為什麼不會?

10. In the CLT/English-immersion/all-English environment, do you communicate or manage your identities differently compared to when you are not in those environments? What is/are the differences? And why differently?

在溝通式英文或全英語環境中, 您的表達、溝通與展現自我的方式認同相較於您不在這些環境時的方式, 相同或不同呢? 如何不同? 為什麼您需要使用不同的方式?

11. Have you experienced or built intercultural relationships with other teachers, colleagues, or students? If yes, how is/are the experience(s)? Could you share with me one or two examples? Have you faced any challenges or difficulties? Have you noticed any difference in discussion or conversation when time progresses in your relationship(s)? If so, what are the differences?

您曾經體驗或與其他教師、同事或學生建立跨文化交流或情誼嗎?如果有,那是怎樣的經驗? 您在其中面對過任何挑戰嗎? 在您的跨文化交流或情誼中,隨著時間轉變,您有沒有注意到任何你們之間的討論或對話和一開始不同? 如果有,是在哪些方面不同呢?

12. Do you do anything specific in your classroom to enhance or adjust to cultural diversity? Can you tell me some examples?

您曾經在課堂中做任何事情以提高或調適文化多元性嗎? 您能告訴我一些例子嗎?

13. Have you witnessed any bullying, discrimination, or stereotyping incidents based on the student's or teacher's cultural identifications and/or orientations? Can you, please, share some incidents you witnessed? Have you been a target of such bullying and discrimination?

您曾經目睹因為學生或教師的文化認同不同而發生的任何欺凌或歧視嗎?可以請您分享一些目睹過的事件嗎? 您曾經是被這樣欺凌或歧視的對象嗎?

14. Is there anything else you would like to add to our discussion, or is there anything we have left out that you would like to talk about regarding this topic?

您還有沒有什麼其他意見想加入到我們的討論內容的? 或者這個主題下,我們討論過程中沒有提到的話題?

15. (For English teachers) Thank you again for the participation and discussion. I wonder if you would agree if I come to your class again and observe communication in your class?

(若受訪者為英文教師) 再次感謝您的參與與討論。請問您願意讓我再到現場觀摩及觀察課堂上的溝通與互動過程嗎?

(For students) Thank you again for the participation and discussion. Do you have the right to invite me to come to your class to observe again? If yes, would you be willing to? If no, could you extend my research invitation to your English teacher?

(若受訪者為學生) 再次感謝您的參與與討論。經過這次的訪談,我對於你課堂中跨文化溝通深感興趣。請問您有權利邀請我到您的課堂中觀摩嗎? 若有,請問您願意嗎? 若沒有權力,請問您願意將此研究轉介給您的英文老師嗎?

VITA

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Dissertation Title:

Identity Management Politics in Glocalised English Hegemony: Cultural Struggles, Facework Strategies, and Intercultural Relationships in Taiwanese English Education

Major Professor: Dr. Satoshi Toyosaki

Publications:

Chuang, H.-Y. (2017). The discursive pushes and pulls of J-pop and K-pop in Taiwan: Cultural homogenization and identity co-optation. In S. Toyosaki & S. Eguchi (Eds.), *Intercultural communication in Japan: Theorizing homogenizing discourse* (pp. 101-113). New York, NY: Routledge.

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