

## Beyond the Ideology of Native Speakerism of English on Teaching: Views from the Field of Intercultural Communicative Competence

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**Abstract:** For more than two decades, English has long been portrayed and perceived as a prestigious foreign language which represented a passport to better economic gains, education, and social status in Taiwan's cultural politics background. Therefore, to many Taiwan people, foreign language education means "English education". This perception of English has not only brought about a phenomenon of English fever (i.e., the dominance/cultural hegemony of English in Taiwan) whose sufferers holds misperception of English such as native speakerism (Krashen, 2003, p. 100), but also led to the uncritical view of teaching and learning the language such as English is only for job qualification, certification and test, not on intercultural dimension.

Through the concept of native speakerism, Holliday highlights the hegemony of Western culture in English language education worldwide and defines native speakerism (Holliday, 2006, p. 385). But within the field of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) (Byram, 1997), a certain amount of emphasis has been placed on no longer associating English to cultures of Inner Circle Countries (Kachru, 1992). In other words, the model of ICC rejects the notion of the native speaker as a model for foreign language learners. Also, there is no doubt that English has become a global language (Crystal, 1997; Graddol, 1997, 2006), and that the majority of its non-native Speakers (NNSs) use it as a lingua franca among themselves rather than as a "foreign language to communicate with its NSs (Jenkins, 2007). Therefore, like the field of EFL, ICC model is also concerned with successful communication and has fundamental implications for ELT.

Semi-structured interviews conducted with five informants (three are native English speakers, and two are non-native speakers) are surveyed. In reflecting on theory and drawing on findings from the analyses of five informants' perceptions by ICC approach, their perspectives on the nativeness criterion and the ownership of English, reflections and suggestions will be taken into consideration for further pedagogical practices and research.

**Key words:** native speakerism, ideology, English language education, Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) Model

### 1. Introduction

As this new stage of global capitalism expands and develops in the 21st century, new challenges are posted

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not only to global media and business throughout the world (Graddol, 1997), but also to the English language learning and teaching, so the last few decades have seen a growth in the role of English around the world as the international language and as the *lingua franca* for the international communication (Crystal, 1997; Graddol, 1997). To cope with the demands that accompany the internationalization and globalization, Taiwanese society has put much pressure on the government and educational system to develop the EFL proficiency of the future world citizen, thus the English language education is seen as a key to boosting Taiwan's competitiveness in the global and international arena.

Actually, as early as 1990s, the English language movement was initiated partly under peer pressure from the neighboring Asian countries as Japan, South Korea (Chou, 2005) and by politician, and later it was supported by key stakeholders in education, including policy makers, scholars, teachers, parents of students and students themselves.

This chapter provides a critical overview of the "national obsession" with English as obvious in Taiwan at the turn of 21st century and explores some issues of the English language movement in associated with the tremendous driving forces of the internationalization and globalization by focusing on the experiences and perspectives about the native speakerism among the native English speaker teacher (NEST) and non- native English speaker teacher (NNEST) working in English language teaching (ELT) context in Taiwan. Here, to understand how the native-speaker model in Taiwan is perceived by the NEST and NNEST, it is useful to examine Taiwan's past English language education policy within its social-historical context.

## **2. Background Information of ELT in Taiwan**

### **2.1 Language Policy Effects on ELT since 1945: A Near-Monolingual Foreign Language Education**

According to the expanding circle of Kachru's influential World Englishes model (1985), Taiwan is categorized within it and thus, English in Taiwan is taught as a foreign language in the education system and has not gained the status of an official language. Traditionally English has been offered as the only required foreign language at different levels of schooling. That is, English was and is the "only" "other" language forced to be learned for all.

In Taiwan, though the indigenous languages were widely recognized importance in literacy, they were excluded from the educational system because they have been seen as the impediment to national unification (Tsao, 1999, p. 352). Contrastively, English, which are being taught as one of the school subjects in the educational system in Taiwan, is required of every students (aged 13–18) in the secondary school and the first year of college. At the higher education level, English was also a required course, called Freshman English since 1945. Thus, it is obvious that the role for English, functioned as the school subject, not as the medium of instruction in the educational system or a language for literacy, has existed almost unchallenged for fifty years after 1945.

Besides, like many developing countries in the world, Taiwan's past language in education policy has been to a large extent determined by two main factors: (1) nationalism and national unification and (2) modernization and economic growth (Tsao, 1999, p. 350). English, as a representative of the so-called languages of wider communication, has been functioned for the purpose of providing information access to the world of technology and science which Taiwan needs for social modernization and economic growth.

Seen in this light, in Taiwan, foreign language education means English education (Su, 2000, cited in Chern, 2004, p. 427), and the so-called English (foreign) language education is in fact limited and near-monolingual in

terms of its role and function in the need-driven language policy in Taiwan. A matter will be taken up in the discussion in some detail in the next section.

## **2.2 Language Policy Effects on ELT Programmes after 1987: A National Obsession with English**

Recognizing the perspectives of needs-driven and pragmatics-driven English learners, Taiwanese society finds herself obsessed with the English language learning while striving for the call to meet the challenge of internationalization and globalization. A number of exciting things have been happening in the area of language-in-education policy after 1987, the year in which Martial Law in Taiwan was lifted. One of them is that the central and local government started to support a multi-faceted language policy, which accelerated studies on children learning English (Chern, 2004, p. 428). So, it is evident that the English language teaching in primary schools is a more recent development.

The Ministry of Education stipulated the implementation of English in the fifth grade (MOE 1999a; MOE 2000a), and English language, which has long been a subject in the high school curriculum, was moved to the fifth grade of the primary school curriculum since 2001, but many city and county governments decided to introduce English at even lower grade level and to continue instruction throughout the elementary school year. That is, many local governments designated a different starting grade-level for English instruction and gave permission to teach English in primary schools as early as in 1991.

In all, English was not officially taught as a compulsory subject in primary schools until September 2001, the year allowing the teaching of English in primary schools nation-wide, but there had been many school-based experimental programmes in primary schools since 1991 (Dai, 1998).

Taking two big and important cities as examples: In Kaoshiung, a highly industrialized harbor city as well as a metropolitan city in the southern part of Taiwan, English language teaching was provided as an extra-curricular activity at public primary schools as early as in 1991 and in 1997 English was officially implemented in the curriculum for fifth graders in Kaoshiung (Yeh & Shih, 2000, cited in Chern, 2004, p. 429).

Taipei city, the capital city in the Northern part of Taiwan, began allowing English language teaching to fifth and sixth graders in 1993, and even bluntly, Taipei city announced that every primary school in Taipei city had to implement the English language courses, stating from the third grade in 1998 (Chen, 1998, p. 259; The BOE of Taipei 2000a), and then extended it to all primary school children in 2002. In fact, up to March 1998, more than 93% of public primary schools in Taipei had built English into their curriculum and allotted one or two hours per week for instructional activities and there have been 50 percent out of 2516 primary schools nationwide implementing their English language teaching on a regular basis (Dai, 1998).

Besides, long before the MOE formulated the English-in-education policy to the primary schools in 2001, many school children were learning English in kindergartens, and private language sectors (after-school supplementary classes) or “cram schools” where they provide supplementary English course for children for more intensive learning after school hours.

During 1981 and 1991, the booming numbers of the after-school supplementary English classes or ‘cram schools’ reached over 400 in Taiwan (Chen, 2001, p. 26), and now there are even thousands of English language cram schools operating along with the mainstream education system. In a MOE survey of 28,804 students in 2002, 53.87% of primary school children attended after-school supplementary classes, and more than one third of these cram schools were dedicated to English language teaching (MOE, 2002).

Furthermore, because of Taiwan parents’ overwhelming enthusiasm on sending their children to cram school

to learn English, or on purchasing English learning materials for children's self-study at home in terms of the notions of English proficiency as a passport to their children's bright future and to the world (Chou, 2004), the industry of English language teaching (ELT) has expanded dramatically since the late 90s. According to an estimation provided by the Ministry of Education (MOE) in 2004, the output value of ELT industry accounts for an outstanding 20 to 25 billion New Taiwan Dollars each year, not including the revenue share from the 90 million US dollar e-learning industry (cited in Hsieh, 2009, p. 1).

Seen in this light, it is interesting to note that the move of MOE, in practice, fell far behind those of city and county governments in terms of moving the onset of English language teaching at primary schools. Also, it is clear that this national wide indulgence in the learning of English is appropriately described as an "English fever" (Krashen, 2003) and a "national obsession" (Liu, 2002), and the promotion of English is now even more widely advocated by key stakeholders in education, including policy makers, scholars, teachers, parents of students and students themselves. Indeed, learning English has become "the whole-nation movement in Taiwan in the 21st century" (Chern, 2004, p. 437). A point will be discussed next.

### **2.3 Internationalisation or Globalization-Driven Language Planning since 2001: Pragmatic Perspective**

As mentioned earlier, as early as 1990s, the English language movement in Taiwan was initiated partly under peer pressure from the neighboring Asian countries (Chou, 2005). For example, Japan began experimental English language teaching in the public primary schools in 1994 and initiated a nationwide survey to collect public opinions on the early start of English language education; South Korea started implementing English language teaching on the third graders in 1997. Besides, English classes have been conducted exclusively in English and the targets of this educational reform are first grader at junior high schools and the third and fourth graders at primary schools. In 1996, Thailand began to implement English language teaching to the first grader of primary schools; Mainland China also has English instruction for the fifth and sixth graders of primary schools; and Hong Kong, Singapore and the Philippines start English language teaching from primary schools (Tsai, 2002). Therefore, there is critical awareness of the importance of English was aroused in the minds of most governments officials and the general public under the continuing and competitive pressure from the neighboring Asian countries and the urgent challenges in the era of internationalization or globalization.

The role of English in strengthening the country's competitiveness and promoting the country's economic prosperity to meet the increasing challenges in this international or global village era has been clearly formulated in the MOE's policy statement:

Since the government has pushed the establishment of APROC (Asia-Pacific Regional Operational Centre), the people are deeply aware of the urgent need to improve communicative ability in English. With the high expectation of the society, English language teaching and learning extends to the primary school level. The purposes of the English language course at the primary and junior high school levels are to lay foundation of the people's communicative ability in English and to enlarge the people's 'international' perspectives, through which it is hoped to enhance the people's ability to deal with affairs among countries in the future and to strengthen the country's competitiveness (MOE 2000b: 1; BOE of Taipei 2000c: 1, adapted from Lai, 2007, p. 9).

From the passage, it is evident that the APROC project was regarded as the primary drive for implementing an English course to the primary school children and people's awareness of the importance of English was aroused by the government's efforts to promote Taiwan to become an Asian-Pacific regional business center. In other words, to gain more access in the global arena of international trade and commerce, a cute awareness has

been growing regarding the importance of English language for both social and economic mobility.

Also this strong association of English proficiency with the internationalization of Taiwan was evidently the primary cause for the reformulation of the English language education policy in 2001, allowing the teaching of English in primary schools nation-wide. Thus, English language, which has long been a subject in the high school curriculum, was, in 2001, moved to the fifth grade of the elementary school curriculum.

More than that, to promote a so-called “vision” of “Creative Taiwan with a Global Perspective”, Taiwan Ministry of Education (MOE) launched a “Challenge 2008: Education for a New Generation” project in 2004, the same notion as related to the strong link between the role of English and the country’s competitiveness is repeatedly stated as follows:

The Plan has been developed to cultivate a workforce that can meet the challenges from globalization and the digital era (...). Since “the English language connects the world”, the government has designated English as a quasi-official language and actively seeks to create an environment conducive to English acquisition. A three-tiered English Proficiency test was initiated in 2000 to encourage people to learn English...to make Taiwan an innovative, knowledge-based society (Taiwan Yearbook, 2004, cited in Hsieh, 2009, p. 4).

Thus, it is evident that there was a virtual consensus that the first step in globalizing and internationalizing Taiwan was to increase its citizens’ English proficiency in the minds of most government officials and the general public. And an internationalization or globalization-driven language policy basically advocates that every citizen in Taiwan should acquire enough English proficiency to become a qualified citizen in the coming of the global village (Tsao, 2008, p. 6). This awareness was constantly reinforced by the turn of 21st century by the government’s efforts to promote English teaching. Therefore, as of as of Fall, 2005, Two years after the previous policy change, the English language education policy changed again, due in large part to continuing pressure from parents, by moving the onset of English instruction to the third grade. In other words, students from the third grade on were to receive at least one class period of English education per week (ibid.).

From the above analysis, it is clear that most government officials and the general public in Taiwan take the use and learning of English language from a very pragmatic perspective. Seen in this light, it is English, this pragmatic attitude not only suggests a natural casual link between English proficiency and economic growth, the country’s competitiveness or international recognition as an independent state in the international community, but also a perception of English as a career-related necessity for study and work, i.e., a competitive academic advantage and a competitive employment advantage (Tsao, 2001).

In sum, due to the pragmatic benefit of English, English as a foreign language has always been placed as a prestigious status in every aspects of Taiwanese society (Tsao, 1999). The ideology of English language as the passport that connects the Taiwan islanders to the outside world is explicitly endorsed and taken for granted in the national development plan and the MOE’s English language teaching policy (Chuang, 2002; Liu, 2004). This is a point that we will pick up in the discussion later after the discussion of methodology.

### **3. Methodology**

Purposive sampling is a strategy in qualitative sampling to choose small groups or individuals likely to be “knowledgeable and informative about the phenomenon of interest”; namely, they were selected as informants because of their potential in illustrating the phenomenon being studied (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001, p. 401). Thus, to attempt to yield insights and in-depth understanding of the perceptions and professional experiences, purposive

sampling was used to do email interview with five English teachers in the ELT institutes in Taiwan, and the email interview followed a semi-structured interview guide. Anonymity was ensured, and a pseudonym was used for five participants to ensure confidentiality in the data presented here.

As the Table 1 indicates, the participants who agreed to be interviewed have different backgrounds, in term of their gender, nationality, position, and employment category. They included three native English speaker teachers and two non- native English speaker teachers. Linguistically and ethnically, one was British who was born and grew up in UK, two were Americans, including one is Asian-American (i.e., American with Filipino ethnicity), and the other two were Taiwanese, i.e., NNESTs. There was two was female and three were males.

**Table 1 Profiles of Five Informants**

Name	Gender	Diploma	Ethnicity	Nationality	Teaching Experiences	Current position
David	Male	University	British	UK	Three years	English teacher of a private bilingual primary school
Jenny	Female	Master	Filipino	Philippines	Two years	Part-time English teacher of a private cram school
John	Male	Master	American	USA	Four years	Program director of a private bilingual Junior school
Peter	Male	Master	Chinese	Taiwan	Four years	English teacher of a public bilingual primary school
Lisa	Female	University	Chinese	USA	Two years	Part-time English teacher of a private cram school

### **3.1 Native-Speakerism as an Ideological Norm of the Recruitment**

As Holliday argues that native-speakerism is a pervasive ideology within ELT, that is, the term “native-speakerism” denotes an ideology or a bias which takes English language teaching as exclusively owned by Inner Circle native speakers and in accordance with what has been said about self-identification, owned by those who say they are native speakers. Furthermore it assumes the acceptance of the attachment of the Inner Circle cultures with English language as true for all (Holliday, 2005b, p. 8, cited in Hsieh, 2009, p. 42).

It is obvious that Holliday has observed that ELT practitioners still defer to the notion of native speaker, and native-speakerism is an ideology that is deeply rooted in the minds of ELT educators and it is very difficult to eradicate it. Also, native-speakerism as ethnicity or nationality is often with conflated with native speaker status (Hayes, 2013, p. 133). And given the often politically motivated nature of the native speaker status ascription process, the native-speakerism, with its ideological association of the distinction, has impacted upon many aspects of professional life, from the employment policy to the presentation of language (Holliday, 2006, p. 385, cited in Houghton and Rivers, 2013, p. 2). This is a point that will be picked up in the voices of the informants next.

Email informant John, who is a white male from the United States of America and has a master degree of TESOL, shared an illustrative example:

Being born to be a native speaker of the USA, the so-called the inner circle country, I meet the criteria of the recruitment policy and benefit the most. The preference for North American accents and the persistence of the norm of the native speaker are evident in the advertisements for teaching jobs. When I surfed the website of ESLCAFE to find a job, which is a forum for job advertisements, I found that the term of “native speaker” was stipulated as a requirement for fifty-four positions out of one hundred advertisements. And a North American accent was required by twenty-four positions, compared to a British accent for just five positions.

Besides, the native English speaker teacher has gained a prestigious status in Taiwan society and the salary paid for a NEST is higher than that paid in USA, so I plan to continue to teach here....

Indeed, in Taiwan, aid from the USA did not only provide financial stimulus to the island country, but also played a significant role in the development of an English education system after 1951 (Chao, 2001, cited in Chen and Hsieh, 2011, p. 77). Therefore, the standard/mainstream US English historically selected as a foreign language in language classroom. Because of the long-standing policy of the recruitment of native speakers to teach English as the major foreign language at all levels of the Taiwanese educational system, perceptions among Taiwanese people of English of the superiority of inner circle norms of English have perhaps become institutionalized, thus, the implication of Informant John is that being a native speaker of English from the inner-circle country who holds the sole ownership of the language (Davies, 2003, p. 1), and he does enjoy the employment advantages in Taiwan.

Besides, as mentioned earlier, the strong association of English proficiency with the internationalization of Taiwan was evident for the implementation of English language teaching in the primary schools nation-wide in 2001. To meet the urgent demand of all primary schools' English language teaching nation-wide, a severe shortage of qualified English teachers was anticipated, that is, around 3000 extra special English teachers were needed (Tsao, 2008, p. 8). Well aware of the shortage of qualified English teachers, the central government has taken many measures to increase the supply of qualified English teachers, such as to allow some colleges to offer post-graduate English teaching programs; to allow normal colleges to set up new English teaching programs; and to import foreign English teachers from English-speaking countries on a national level etc. (*ibid.*). Among these, one of the most controversies is the notion of recruiting of native English speaker teachers. The admiration of native-speaker model is also to be found in the national policies:

In January 2003, Taiwan Ministry of Education (MOE) announced that with a view to improving English proficiency in coordination with the Executive Yuan's "Challenge 2008" plan, MOE has decided to contribute 1.3 billion of New Taiwan Dollars (NT\$) in recruiting 1,000 native English speakers from Inner Circle countries to teach in state-run primary and secondary schools and to help train local English teachers (*Taipei Times*, Jan. 19, 2003).

Here, it is clear that the government argues that it supports the native-speaker model, and the general public have received the concealed messages of "English first" and "native speakers are the best". David, a white male from the UK and has been working as an English teacher of a private bilingual primary school for three years:

I would say that being a NEST in Taiwan, I am well-paid and do enjoy relatively high status, I feel superior and authoritative by viewed as the ideal language model in terms of "better pronunciation", lively teaching methods, helping students get over the fear of speaking to a foreign teacher, and providing "authentic English Input such as no grammar mistakes, and more words, more phrases and idioms". And employers are often influenced by the belief that students and their parents want the full experience of being taught by a "real native English speaker teacher" (i.e., "white Caucasian"). So, I plan to stay and continue to teach here.

Obviously, David has demonstrated a positive attitude about being viewed as the language learning model and resource, one of the constructs of the term of "native speaker" defined by Breckenridge (2010, p. 155), and students and their parents may worship his authentic component that accompanies being a native speaker of English.

As illustrated in the MOE quote, the call for hiring the native speaker of English is advanced again in Taiwan because it is believed the sustained efforts to bring in large numbers of native English speaker teachers may contribute to the development of the international atmosphere needed for the spread of English (Tsao, 2008, p. 9), also there is a need for young students in Taiwan to gain greater exposure to a range of standard varieties of

English speech as well as to spoken English from the Inner circle. See in this light. The vast majority of foreign teachers of English recruited can be assumed to be “native English speaker teachers”.

### **3.2 Native-Speakerism as an Ideological Exclusion**

Foreign teachers of English have been recruited to teach English in Taiwan through government-organized programmes since 1990s (Chou, 2005). And it was in 2001 that the government (i.e., The Ministry of Education) determined to promote English language teaching in every corner of society to highlight “the notion of every citizen to learn English”, and English language was moved to the fifth and sixth grades of the primary school curriculum. Since its inception, and for the decade that followed, there has been a severe shortage for qualified native English speaker teachers (Tsao, 2008). Another example of hegemonic native-speakerism implementing the national policy of recruiting native English speaker teachers can be seen as follows:

To improve technical college students’ foreign language ability, Taiwan Ministry of Education will allocate the grant to each technical colleges in 2005. And the supports of the grant are only limited to holding all kinds of English proficiency tests and supplementary classes, building up a “whole-English-only campus” environment, and recruiting native English speaker teachers (MOE, 2003).

As we know, the government-organized programmes are the primary routes for qualified NESTs to be recruited to teach English in international exchange and English language education in local governments, boards of education and primary, junior and senior high schools, the private cram schools are also significant educational sites for foreign teachers of English to teach English and even are the providers of NESTs and NNESTs to both private and public primary and secondary schools. In the same vein, the universities in higher education level are in high demand of the NESTs to realize one of their educational goals to contribute to the university’s mission of educating internationally oriented citizens and their desire of internationalizing universities. Following the regulations of employment policy and pattern for foreign teachers of English teaching in the higher education set by MOE, the universities in higher education level have their university hiring structures.

Jenny, who is from Philippines and completed her master degree education in the USA, tried her luck to meet the urgent demand for foreign teachers of English in Taiwan’s ELT labor market. But she experienced a negative prejudice in the college job interview due to her ethnic background of Filipina and changed her mind to try to accept the teaching job at the primary or secondary schools in rural areas or in remote areas, and had this to say:

Because the economics of English language teaching operates at all levels of schooling from pre-school to university in Taiwan, a severe shortage of English teachers was anticipated, the idea of recruiting teachers from Philippines and India into public schools in the southern rural areas or in the eastern remote areas. The reason of the plan was clear that Filipina and Indian teachers were willing to work for a disadvantaged salary — half wages of teachers from inner-circle countries.

But this plan to recruit Filipina and Indian teachers was quietly stopped due to the accent and the policy concern that English should be taught by the “native speakers”. Though English holds an official status and is used as the medium of instruction in education and in wider society in Philippines and India but the officers from the MOE announces that MOE would only consider teachers whose native language is English to teach in the primary schools. Teachers from Philippines and India are not ‘native English speakers’ and their mother tongues are other languages.

It is evident that Jenny has the wrong skin of color and that when someone says something like “more native speaker teachers are needed in the school system to help improve the standard of English” is basically the image of white Caucasians English teacher and even more specifically, someone from either the United States or the



United Kingdom (Kubota, 2011a; Sargeant, 2009a, cited in Toh, 2013, p. 185). So far the pragmatic view of the MOE is to consider recruiting real native English speaker teachers from the inner-circle countries to make the programmes more attractive. Simultaneously, the issue of accent and ethnicity take precedence over teaching expertise (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013, p. 205), and native-speakerism functions as an ideological “racial exclusion” (ibid.).

In the same vein, Lisa is an American citizen whose parents both emigrated from Taiwan. Though she was born and raised in Fresno, California, and considers that English to be her native language, she mentioned:

I perceived the feeling of exclusion in my English tutoring work employment. The employer told me that I didn't fit into the image of a real white native speaker.

Here, Lisa's negative experience on her work employment resulted from her Asian decent. Again, the ideology of native-speakerism is complicated more by the issue of ethnicity.

Seen in this light, the tensions have surfaced in the ELT employment market that is a binary divide between NESTs and NNESTs in Taiwan. As Hayes (2013, p. 132) argues that when it comes to “the right to employment”, the stakes are high, and conflicts between “dominant and non-dominant cultures” inevitably has appeared.

Another informant Peter, who is a Taiwanese non-native English teacher, mentioned:

To my knowledge, the uncontrolled growth of English Language Schools and cram schools have led to a very unusual increase in prices and simultaneously the inner-circle countries' teachers salaries. Though native English speaker teacher are naturally better language learning models and resources, hiring NESTs at high salaries does not necessarily mean the teaching results would be better. For example, there is a co-teaching between the NEST and me, the NEST has difficulty communicating in Chinese and cannot explain the lessons in ways that are easily understandable, leading to a great deal of guesswork for students.

In conclusion, I feel it is quite controversial that a NEST costs twice as much as the local NNESTs, that is, recruiting NESTs is very expensive, and the quality of NESTs can be very unsteady. But the government's myth of native English speaker teacher is a widely held perception that dominates the policy and practice at an institutional level. It is the fact that there will not only have an exclusion perceptions on the local NNESTs, but also seriously affect their job opportunities

Obviously, Peter perceives that NESTs are better language demonstrators, but the prestigious status of English is certainly threatening to local native languages and cultures. Besides, Peter felt disadvantaged by the prevailing ideology of native-speakerism and felt excluded. Thus, the tension is created in the work environment.

#### **4. Conclusion**

This study, which focused on the ELT teachers' voices about native speakerism of English in Taiwan, found the existence of the ideological dichotomy between native English speaker teachers and non-native English speaker teachers and confirmed that the concept of native speaker remains a very important aspect of ideologized and powerful practices in the social-political landscape of ELT in Taiwan. The rich interview data provided by the five participants of ELT professionals demonstrate that the negative effects of the ideological native-speakerism on equal employment opportunity and the negative perceptions of non-native English teachers about the native and non-native dichotomy.

Besides, in Taiwan, the so-called expanding country, foreign language education means English education,

but in fact foreign language education is limited and near-monolingual. Also, the government has outlined its policy to increase the number of native English speaker teachers to pioneer the pragmatic needs-driven language planning of internationalization. So, it is evident that the ideology of monolingualism exists in Taiwan's ELT education site and informs the concept of the native speaker (Seargeant, 2013, p. 237).

But the government and ELT education site neglect the obvious fact that currently English has more non-native speakers than native speakers in the era of internationalization and globalization, and with the global spread of English and its current complicated existence as a family of world Englishes, the overwhelming tendency and the norm is for English to function as part of a multilingual supply, rather than be the sole code by the monolingual the inner-circle Englishes (Seargeant, 2009). In other words, when the number of non-native English speakers continues to rise and the language is used more and more for lingua franca purposes in encounters which include no native speakers at all, the status of the native-speaker as the embodiment of the "authentic" English usage should be reconsidered and in lingua franca scenarios, what may count as "correct or desirable usage" for the native speaker might well be inappropriate or unnecessary for the non-native speakers (Kramsch, 1998, p. 16, cited in Seargeant, 2013, p. 235).

Seen in this light, according to Widdowson's argument (2000, cited in Seargeant, 2013, p. 255) that changing "from monolingual paradigm to a multilingual one" leads to an even more critical perspective on "the social conditions of the international circulation of ideas", in which ELT language teachers are key actors and participants. In other words, to fight back the powerful ideology of native speakerism with regard to the particular position the ELT language teachers have within the international and global context of educational and language market, the ELT language teachers ought to search for an appropriate pedagogy, which can prepare the learner as intercultural world citizen and equip students with the intercultural communicative competence to think interculturally and act interculturally in the era of internationalization and globalization.

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