

The Professional Legitimacy of the Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English
Teachers

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Abstract

The professional legitimacy of in-service non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) in English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) contexts is underrepresented in the literature of TESOL and language teacher education. Professional legitimacy of NNESTs in this study refers to the credibility of NNESTs as English teaching professionals. In addition, growing numbers of NNESTs obtain their degrees abroad in English-speaking countries and return to their home countries to teach in EFL contexts (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Liu, 1999) alongside NNESTs who have been educated domestically. Despite this growing global mobility of NNESTs, the number of studies on NNESTs who have been educated in English-speaking countries and have returned to their home countries has been limited. Additionally, little is known about how NNESTs educated domestically in EFL countries assert their professional legitimacy as English language educators especially when they encounter colleagues who have been educated in English-speaking countries or who are native English speakers. Using the concepts of capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1991) and agency (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992), this qualitative case study illuminates the perspectives of six in-service Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers on their professional legitimacy as English language educators at a postsecondary level.

Using interviews, class observations, and document analyses, the researcher has analyzed the resources that these Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers gained access to and drew upon to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy. In addition to analyzing the resources available to them, she also explored other means that these teachers used to claim their professional legitimacy. This study found that the larger institutional and sociopolitical context of Taiwan that the teachers all shared, plus their varying teaching

contexts, together shaped these teachers' beliefs about what they regarded as high-value capital in their own teaching contexts and also shaped their perceptions of professional legitimacy. In other words, it was the Taiwanese teaching contexts that influenced these teachers' perceptions of what they regarded as important capital beneficial to their teaching in those contexts. Thus owning those kinds of capital helped these teachers claim their professional legitimacy.

More importantly, this study found that these teachers' strengths, including the varying forms and amount of capital to which they had access and other means that they developed, influenced them in the construction of their perceptions of professional legitimacy. The means common to all these teachers influencing this construction of these teachers' professional legitimacy was the efforts they made in creating positive student-teacher interactions. In addition, the Taiwan-educated teachers were highly engaged in self-learning in order to be competitive in their teaching contexts.

Furthermore, among cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital that this study centered on, all the Taiwanese teachers in this study believed their linguistic capital of the English language to be an essential credential for being legitimate English teaching professionals in Taiwan. Also, they all unanimously emphasized the importance of having English speaking competence.

In addition, this study confirmed the recursive loop involving capital and agency: the teachers' capital promoted their agency which enabled them to teach creatively in their teaching contexts, and their agency also shaped their capital. This study also confirmed Sewell's (1992) point that teachers' educational backgrounds assist them to gain access to varying kinds and amount of capital. Furthermore, this study also showed that the Taiwanese English teaching contexts propelled these teachers to gain highly-valued capital. Gaining those kinds of highly-value capital and being able to teach creatively by using their accessible kinds of capital in their

teaching contexts also supported these Taiwanese English teachers to claim their professional legitimacy.

Furthermore, this study showed that these Taiwanese English teachers did not think they shared in the ownership of the English language. First, they all reaffirmed any ownership of linguistic capital of the English language based on the perspectives and evaluation of their NEST colleagues. Secondly, two teachers in this study specifically stated that it was necessary to acquire or produce “native-like” or “authentic” English. Thirdly, two teachers in this study evaluated their own English language competence based on their intelligibility to native English speakers. Lastly, all six teachers in this study automatically compared their English language competence to that of native English speakers when asked to rate their own English language skills. In short, the teachers in this study agreed with the myth that the English language to some large extent belongs to traditionally native English speaking contexts or inner-circle countries.

This study also showed that the capital to which these teachers had access mediated their level of confidence. More importantly, this study unveiled the conflicted perspectives of self-confidence of the Taiwanese English teachers. This study showed that even though these teachers in this study conceptualized their perceptions of professional legitimacy by drawing on their accessible capital and other means and they all rated their English speaking skills at an advanced level, all the teachers were not as confident in asserting their professional legitimacy in teaching spoken English.

Implications for NNESTs, pre-service and in-service teacher educators of NNESTs are suggested. The concept of professional legitimacy can be addressed explicitly in language teacher education programs and professional development for NNESTs. In addition, teacher educators can help student teachers explore their own strengths and encourage student teachers

to capitalize on their strengths and construct their perceptions of professional legitimacy based on their strengths. Like the Taiwanese English teachers in this study, they can establish their own strengths based on their available capital and other means, for example, creating positive student-teacher interaction. Additionally, being able to identify the resources available to NNESTs also helps them generate a greater sense of agency.

Furthermore, the English language proficiency of non-native English-speaking student teachers should be strengthened in English language teacher education programs. English language proficiency of in-service NNESTs should also be supported in teacher professional development. By examining and supporting NNESTs' English language proficiency in terms of the four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), this step helps NNESTs reflect on what forms of capital are at their disposal and how they can make best use of these resources. Lastly, I suggest that preparation of English teachers can scaffold the development of confidence as a skill to be internalized as part of one's professional expertise in TESOL, especially for student teachers in EFL contexts. One way to do this is to strengthen NNESTs' confidence in asserting their ownership of English.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Non-native English speaking teachers (NNESTs) constitute the majority of English language teaching professionals worldwide (Canagarajah, 1999; Kamhi-Stein, 2005; McKay, 2002). Studies that examine issues relating to NNESTs, however, have only emerged over the past two decades in the literature of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). The reason that studies of NNESTs have emerged only recently is partly because more NNESTs are more open to acknowledging themselves as NNESTs (Braine, 2005) and partly as a result of increasing public platforms that provide opportunities for more researchers interested in issues regarding NNESTs to voice their ideas and share their studies. The establishment of the NNESTs' caucus in the TESOL organization in 1999 and the appearance of several NNESTs' blogs affiliated with this interest group are just a few examples of the NNESTs' growing awareness.

Literature on NNESTs has focused on several aspects, including NNESTs' self perceptions (see Amin, 1997; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Reves & Medgyes, 1994), others' perceptions of NNESTs (see Moussu, 2002), NNESTs' pedagogical skills (see Mahboob, 2004; Moussu, 2002), the needs of in-service NNESTs in MA TESOL programs (see Kamhi-Stein, 1999), and collaboration between native English-speaking Teachers (NESTs) and NNESTs (see de Oliveira & Richardson, 2001; Matsuda & Matsuda, 2004).

Growing numbers of NNESTs obtain their (MA and/or Ph.D.) degrees abroad in English-speaking countries and return to their home countries to teach in EFL contexts (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Liu, 1999). For example, England and Roberts (1989) surveyed foreign students and program administrators in TESOL MA programs in the United States (U.S.) and they found

that about 40% of all TESOL students were non-native English speakers. Polio's (1994) survey of 43 MA TESOL students who were non-native English speakers showed that 90% of them planned to return to their countries to teach English after obtaining their degrees. In more recent years, Llorca's (2005) study of 32 TESOL graduate programs in the U.S. noted that 36% of the students in those programs were NNESTs. Of these NNESTs, 78% had travelled to the US to attend the TESOL programs and were likely to return to their countries after graduation. These studies pinpoint the fact that in EFL contexts, English teaching professionals among NNESTs include those who have been educated domestically and those who have obtained their degrees in English-speaking countries.

In Taiwan, for example, according to the Ministry of Education (MOE, 2012), every year from the year 1998 to 2011 there were more than 13,000 students coming to the U.S. including people pursuing undergraduate and/or graduate degree(s) or participating in non-matriculated English language learning programs. Even though there is no data showing how many people return to Taiwan and become English language teachers, the number of people who pursue their studies in the U.S. is worth highlighting because it indicates that there is a constant influx of Taiwanese who have obtained their degrees in the U.S. and then become a part of the English teaching force in Taiwan.

Despite NNESTs' global mobility, many studies on NNESTs often portray them as one homogenous group, overgeneralizing their diverse learning experiences of the English language as well as varying trajectories of becoming English teachers. It has only been recently that researchers (see Phan 2007; Trent & DeCoursey, 2011) have acknowledged the fact that English teaching professionals in EFL contexts have diverse educational backgrounds; some NNESTs are trained elsewhere from where they are teaching and some NNESTs are domestically

educated. In addition, even though the subtopic of a teacher's self-concept has emerged within the field of language teacher education (Morgan, 2004; Varghese, 2007), studies on how NNESTs perceive themselves as professional English language educators are underrepresented in the literature of language teacher education and TESOL. Furthermore, little is known about how NNESTs educated in their own countries assert professional legitimacy as English language educators while encountering those colleagues who are educated in English-speaking countries or native English speakers. This study brings to the forefront the voices and perspectives of in-service Taiwanese English teachers on their professional legitimacy. Drawing on Golombek and Jordan (2005), the professional legitimacy of NNESTs refers to their credibility as English teaching professionals. The term *professional legitimacy* will be further discussed in the following chapter. This present study investigates the resources that Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers gained access to and drew upon to conceptualize their sense of professional legitimacy. More importantly, the literature on NNESTs has not yet addressed the variety of strategies that in-service NNESTs use to help them assert their professional legitimacy as English teaching professionals. This study contributes to the NNEST literature by 1) illuminating in-service NNESTs' perceptions of their professional legitimacy in an EFL context, 2) identifying plus comparing the resources available to these teachers, and 3) examining these teachers' strategies for establishing means (other than the available resources) with which they claim legitimacy as English teaching professionals.

The following questions guided this study:

1. What resources do the Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers get access to and draw upon to conceptualize perceptions of their professional legitimacy?

2. In addition to the resources available to these teachers, what pedagogical strategies do the Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers utilize in order to establish other means with which they can claim legitimacy as English teaching professionals?

The discussion is divided into several themes: theme one presents the relationship among contexts, capitals, and teachers' perceptions of professional legitimacy; theme two discusses the Taiwanese teachers' capital and agency; theme three presents the teachers' ideas regarding their ownership of the English language; theme four features the Taiwanese English teachers' confidence and theme five presents the teachers' other means to establish their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

1.2 English Language Policy and English Education in Taiwan

In this section, I present a brief overview highlighting the reasons why the English language in Taiwan is of great importance. I first discuss this point from an economic perspective and then shift my attention to English language policy and English education in Taiwan.

Globalization of Taiwan's economy has resulted in increasing concern about Taiwan's ability to gain a competitive edge over other countries. Moreover, the export-dependent Taiwanese economy has resulted in growing systemic support of English education (Wu, 2011). Additionally, leaders of Taiwan have hoped Taiwan could take a more important role in the global economy by gaining more access in the global arena of international trade and commerce (Nunan, 2003; Thompson, 2003). Recognizing the increasingly essential role that English plays for international trade and the soaring global competition from neighboring Asian countries, the Taiwanese government, therefore, has made its utmost effort to develop English language proficiency nation-wide (Wang, 2006). It is hoped that elevating the entire population's English

proficiency could increase national competitiveness. As the economy of Taiwan has become more dependent on exports and more globalized, the public demand for English education has also increased (Wu, 2011).

Since the Joint College Entrance Examination established English as one of the core test subjects in 1954, English has been the only foreign language required as a subject in junior high schools. Moreover, the teaching and learning of English have been test-driven and focused on grammar (Sommers 2003). However, the export-dependent economy has resulted in a growing systemic support of English education; demand for more English and for more authentic English education have also become higher (Wu, 2011). For instance, some local counties have developed “English villages” with English-only environments based on the Korean model, and three English villages have been established across Taiwan since 2006.

In 2001, nationwide English education at the elementary school level was implemented. English is mandated as a required subject for all fifth and sixth graders. However, some more affluent local governments had already offered it prior to 2001. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education (MOE) extended English to third graders and above beginning in 2003 (MOE 2006). English is a core subject offered during the six-year secondary schooling.

Since the English language has served as one of the means to increasing international competitiveness for Taiwan as discussed previously, higher education institutions then play a crucial role in providing future work force in a more globalized economy. As a result, college students’ English language proficiency has been increasingly emphasized in Taiwan (Lee 2003). At the university level in Taiwan, English is taught to non-English majors for the first two years as a compulsory course and as an elective course for third- and fourth-year students. In 2003, the Ministry of Education of Taiwan suggested that higher education institutions set benchmarks for

the Exit English Examination to evaluate undergraduate students' English language proficiency (Lee 2003). Take one of my participants' schools as an example. Shin University requires all students, regardless of their majors, to take an English language proficiency test (or other foreign language test) by the time they graduate. For English language proficiency tests, students can choose to take one of the following tests: TOEFL iBT, IELTS, TOEIC, or the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT), an assessment designed by the Taiwanese government. By their junior year, non-English-majored students are required to score at least 57 on TOEFL iBT, 3.5 on IELTS, or 550 on TOEIC, or pass the intermediate level of GEPT. English-major undergraduate students are asked to achieve higher scores or pass the higher-intermediate level of GEPT. If students cannot reach this requirement, they need to take a remedial course called English Intensive Training at the university.

Since college students' English language proficiency has been increasingly emphasized in Taiwan, the expectations and requirements toward the English language competence of university instructors have also been increased. For example, many higher education institutions including those in Taiwan now expect teachers to use English as a medium of instruction (Dearden, 2014). Gina, a Taiwanese English teacher who participated in my study, indicated that the online platform where teachers at her university uploaded their syllabi added a section which asked teachers to indicate the percentage of English they used as a medium of instruction. This feature has been used since the academic year 2013. In addition, if instructors (other than the teachers from the English Department) can demonstrate the ability to use English as a medium of instruction at a certain level, they can get bonus pay as compensation.

Indeed, nowadays many job advertisements in Taiwan for faculty positions across various fields often indicate that they prefer to hire faculty who can use English as a medium of

instruction. Furthermore, English as the medium of instruction is not only a growing trend in Taiwan but also a global phenomenon on the rise at all levels of education and in both public and private education (Dearden, 2014). According to Dearden (2014), there is a fast-moving worldwide shift from English being taught as a foreign language to English being the medium of instruction for academic subjects such as science, mathematics, geography and medicine. In light of Dearden's (2014) ideas that English as the medium of instruction is a growing trend across various fields and at all levels of education in EFL contexts, the requirements and expectations of English teachers in terms of their English language proficiency and English language performance are stricter and higher.

1.3 The Sociopolitical Context of English and English Teachers in Taiwan

In this section I present some personal encounters as anecdotes that illustrate the sociopolitical context of Taiwan and describe the phenomenon that some forms of English are considered more established and desirable than other forms in Taiwan.

One time as I walked into a public library in Taiwan during my data collection period, I saw a poster of an English storytelling event at the library. In the poster it specifically stated that this activity would be hosted by a NEST. In addition, Karen, one of the participants in this study, stated that an administrative staff member in the evening school program at her school once told her that the flyers of the English language classes had to specifically mention native English-speaking instructors in order to recruit more adult students.

Regarding the growing trend of English as a medium of instruction in Taiwan, many universities across various fields indicate that they prefer to hire faculty who can use English as a medium of instruction, as discussed above. It also seems quite common to see job announcements for English language educators in Taiwan specifically call for NESTs or teachers

who are trained in English-speaking countries. For example, during my 8-month data collection period in Taiwan, I encountered three job announcements for English teachers at the college level that asked for native English-speaking teachers. More recently, there was a job advertisement for a faculty position in the Education department at a university in Taiwan and it specifically mentioned that teachers who have had studying and/or teaching experience overseas would be more preferable.

Additionally, in Taiwan it is quite common that bilingual kindergartens and private English language teaching institutes had “Western” names. For example, some names of such schools are 哈佛, 康乃爾, and 華盛頓 and these mean Harvard, Cornell, and Washington respectively in English. In addition, a long-existing, English-language learning magazine is called *Ivy League*. These naming examples may suggest a belief that people in Taiwan subscribe to the idea that the English from English-speaking countries is more established and legitimate, and thus owns more prestige. More detailed discussion of this point will be presented in Chapter 2.

Kamhi-Stein (2005) states that factors such as NNESTs’ self-perceptions may affect their instructional practices and contribute to their success (or failure) as educators. In light of Kamhi-Stein’s point, plus the sociopolitical contexts of Taiwan regarding the prestige of English and the tendency to favor English native speakers as well as real life observations presented above, it is important to understand the perspectives of Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers on their professional legitimacy and what resources that serve as contributing factors to their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

1.4 Chapter Overview

In Chapter 2 I first outline the ongoing scholarly debates over the term NNESTs. I then addresses some of the major theoretical perspectives pertaining to the notions of native speaker fallacy, native-speakerism, Standard English, ownership of English, and accentedness. These notions and reviewed studies illuminate the significance of examining and understanding professional legitimacy of NNESTs. Finally, I describe the conceptual framework of this study.

Chapter 3 describes the methods of inquiry including the overall approach, the participants and sites, sample selection, data collection and analysis procedures.

Chapter 4 and 5 present the major findings of the study. Chapter 4 begins with an examination of the resources available to the US-educated Taiwanese English teachers and the resources they drew on to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

Furthermore, I describe how these teachers enacted agency to adapt their available forms of capital to their pedagogical advantages. After examining the varying kinds of capital to which these teachers gained access and drew on to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy, I analyze their strategies for establishing other means with which they claimed legitimacy as English teaching professionals. Chapter 5 explores how the Taiwan-educated Taiwanese English teachers exercised agency to earn high value capital in their teaching contexts. These forms of capital also served as contributing factors to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. I also discuss how the Taiwan-educated teachers further employed strategies to establish other means with which they claimed their professional legitimacy. A summary is provided at the end of each findings chapter.

Chapter 6 features discussion, limitations, directions for future research, and a conclusion. Implications for NNESTs, per-service English teacher education and ongoing teacher professional development for NNESTs are also suggested.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this literature review, I first examine research studies that discuss the native speaker fallacy and native-speakerism, which describe the ideology that English native speakers are more desirable and qualified English language educators. Thereafter, I review studies that explain the notions of Standard English, ownership of English, and accentedness. Then, I shift my attention to explore studies directly related to NNESTs, with a specific focus on the issues of NNESTs' legitimacy as English language teaching professionals. These reviewed studies contribute to the development of the specific questions that this study considers.

Prior to a review of the literature, it is perhaps necessary to present the debates over the term *NNESTs*. Holliday (2005) indicates that the use of 'non-' usually implies a disadvantage or deficit and describing someone is either native or non-native is probably imprecise. Cook (1992; 1999) further suggests the term *multicompetent speakers* because it focuses on what language speakers can do instead of what they are not. Jenkins (2000) provides a similar argument and offers another distinction between 'bilingual' and 'monolingual' English speakers as she argues that "it is not possible to label someone as a 'foreigner' or a 'non-native' and believe that he or she has equal rights to the language" (p. 11). In addition, Brutt-Griffer and Samimy (1999) and Pavlenko (2003) suggest the term *international English professionals*, coined by Brutt-Griffer and Samimy (1999), since it is more neutral and more politically correct.

In my dissertation study, sometimes I referred to my participants as Taiwanese English teachers and sometimes as NNESTs. I used this category "Taiwanese English teachers" to describe my participant mainly based on the fact that my participants' first language was

Mandarin and they all started receiving formal English language education in their junior high schools in Taiwan where English was taught as a compulsory subject. I used the term NNESTs with an awareness of the naming issues presented above. However, I used the term NNESTs only in cases where I needed to reveal ideologies attached to people who are English language learners and English language educators simultaneously. That is to say, I used the term NNESTs especially in cases in which I needed to 1) describe people who are English language learners and educators simultaneously, and 2) reveal ideologies attached to these groups of people. I also concurred with Kubota quoted by Holliday (2005):

I don't think it's necessary to do away with these terms [NNESTs and NESTs]; what needs to be done is to reveal politics and ideologies attached to these categories. In fact, getting rid of the terms does not solve the problems but only obscures them (p. 5).

Following the above statement, in order to reveal ideologies attached to my participants' and other teachers' English language learning and teaching contexts, I continue to use these terms NNESTs and NESTs, mainly in cases where I discuss ideologies attached to these groups of people (Chapter 2) and where I present implications for people who are both English language learners and teachers (Chapter 6).

In addition to discussing the ideologies and presenting the arguments of this study, the terms NNESTs and native English speakers, or native English speaking teachers (NESTs) were still quite conspicuous in my participants' teaching contexts. For example, as discussed in Chapter 1, Karen pinpointed that an administrative staff told her that the flyers of the evening English-language-learning program at her school needed to specifically indicate that the classes were taught by native English speakers for the purpose of recruiting more students. Furthermore, many teachers in this study initially used these terms during the interviews as they described

their own English language learning experiences. Last but not least, when asked about their own English language proficiency in terms of listening, speaking, reading and writing, all of my participants rated their levels of skills after compared to those of native speakers automatically, without given instructions to do so. Using these terms therefore helped me closely reflect the languages that my participants used. Arva and Medgyes (2000) also argue that “the term native speaker as opposed to non-native speaker is as widely used in the professional jargon of both teachers and researchers today as ever” (p. 356).

In the following section, I discuss notions and ideologies that support my arguments regarding various challenges that NNESTs may encounter pertaining to their professional legitimacy as English language educators. In my dissertation study, the professional legitimacy of NNESTs referred to their credibility as English teaching professionals. Further details regarding the term *professional legitimacy* will be discussed in the later section as I address the research gap.

2.1 Ideas of Native Speaker Fallacy and Native-speakerism

Over the past two decades, the English language teaching profession has engaged in a lively debate on the status of NNESTs in the TESOL field; in addition, studies pinpoint numerous ways in which the status of NNESTs has been marginalized (e.g., Braine, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999). For example, NNESTs constantly encounter negative experiences, such as having their authority or knowledge of the English language questioned (e.g., Amin, 1997; Braine, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999). One factor that causes the marginalization of NNESTs’ status is the myth that NESTs are more qualified or ideal English language-teaching professionals, or as Phillipson (1992) puts it, native speaker fallacy.

Similar to the native speaker fallacy, Holliday (2005) also describes the notion of native-speakerism, which defines as “an establish[ed] belief that native-speaker teachers represent a Western culture from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology (p. 6).” Holliday indicates that native-speakerism resides largely within the sphere of English-speaking Western TESOL but also elsewhere. For example, one of his Egyptian colleagues states that many of her Egyptian colleagues still hold onto native-speakerism (p. 8). Holliday pinpoints that the roots of native-speakerism are far deeper in our everyday professionalism than we might imagine. Similarly, Boraie (2013), the former President of TESOL International Association, also underscores that the notion of native-speakerism are still in favor in many EFL contexts. As she stated in the TESOL Blog, “native English speakers and Standard English are still seen, to some extent, as more desirable in EFL contexts.” Boraie states that TESOL International Association itself has issued a couple of statements that condemn discriminatory practices against NNESTs and one recent example is the *Position Statement Against Discrimination of Nonnative Speakers of English in the Field of TESOL*. In this statement it mentions that “[NNESTs] have found themselves often implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, discriminated against in hiring practices or in receiving working assignments in the field of teaching ESL or EFL.”

Standard English

A key assumption underlying the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) due to the notion of native speakerism is that there is single Anglo-based standard of English held by the so-called native speakers (Zheng, 2013). Many SLA scholars used to view second language speakers’ competence as lying on an “interlanguage” continuum between their first languages and second languages; any differences between their output and standard British or American

English were treated as errors caused mainly by their first language(s) interference (Selinker, 1972, 1992).

Many researchers emphasize that Standard English does not refer to specific geographical contexts or belong to specific groups of people. For example, Trudgill (2002) indicates that Standard English is a social dialect of English and it is no longer a geographical dialect. In Widdowson (2003)'s perspective, Standard English is the only one which has been extensively described in grammar and dictionaries. Widdowson also highlights the value of Standard English especially in its written form firstly because it serves as a means of communication for it provides standards of intelligibility. Secondly, it establishes the status and stability of the institutional conventions which define international activities such as business activities or academic activities for researchers and scholars in various fields. Furthermore, Trudgill and Hannah (1994) state that "Standard English [is] the variety of the English language which is normally employed in writing and normally spoken by 'educated' speakers of the language (p. 1)."

Among many researchers' explanations of Standard English and their effort of dispelling its connection with specific locations or groups, I followed Motha's (2014) argument of Standard English the most closely. As she articulates,

English is English because of its connection to a place, England, but also to other places that have moved in and become representative of the English-speaking "West," what Kachru calls "inner circle" countries or what Holliday (2005) refers to as BANA (Britain, Australasia, and North America)... although no global form of English exists in practice, one does operate in a theoretical sense—that is, "Standard English." Although the notion of

Standard English occurs only in the hypothetical, it is understood and constructed as an objective fact in everyday interactions, the popular media, academia, and schools (p. 113).

Motha (2014) indicates that the notion of Standard English is constructed as a fact and exists in almost all kinds of contexts including media and academia, from daily conversations, utterances of news anchors, to instructions of teachers in schools. Also due to the representativeness of English often associated with the English-speaking “West”, the inner circle contexts, or BANA, a certain degree of unquestioned legitimacy is attributed to White teachers and teachers who speak mainstream English. Teachers who speak mainstream English, or Standard English, are perceived to be more legitimate than speakers of English that is not mainstream, including English spoken by nonnative-English speakers. In addition, I argue that the notions of native-speakerism and Standard English serve as challenges to the legitimacy of many English teaching professionals who learned English in EFL contexts, or the outer circle contexts, as Kachru (1983, 1986) put it.

Ownership of English

If the notion of Standard English is often associated with the English-speaking “West”, it is also necessary to discuss the notion of ownership of English. Previously, I have described the idea of native-speakerism and according to Holliday (2005), the ideology of native-speakerism is based on the assumption that native speakers of English have a special claim to the language itself that it is essentially their property. In addition, Jenkins (2006) quotes Trudgill (2008) and states that “even if native speakers do not ‘own’ English, there is an important sense in which it stems from them, especially historically, and resides in them” (p. 171). These perspectives universally present an assumption that the English language, to some extent, belongs to traditionally native contexts, such as Australia, Canada, the United States, and Great Britain.

Since the 1980s, an increasing literature that recognizes geographical varieties of English throughout the world, as in the plural “World Englishes” (WE), has challenged the monolingual myth. By describing the diversified use of English in various regions, Kachru and Smith (1985) point out that English is no longer owned just by the so-called native speakers of British or American English; English belongs to anyone who uses it. They also argue that language variation is a natural phenomenon not only in multilingual communities, but also within monolingual English-speaking contexts (e.g., dialect variations). Holliday (2005) also offers a similar perspective. He indicates that now because English is international, its ownership is shifted to whoever wished to use it. In addition, as Zheng (2013) points out, in many parts of the world where English is seen as one of their own local languages (e.g., India, Singapore) for historical reasons, English has been indigenized with the local norms of use, and with a WE perspective, should be treated as equally legitimate.

In considering the ownership of a language, Bourdieu’s (1977) idea is insightful. As he points out,

Just as, at the level of relations between groups, a language is worth what those who speak it are worth, so too, at the level of interactions between individuals, speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it (p. 652).

Although Bourdieu (1977) argues that part of the language value belongs to the speakers, in considering the facts that native-speakerism is still popular in EFL contexts (Boraie, 2013; Holliday, 2005) and the ideology that Standard English belongs to specific geographic locations or groups is still in favor, how non-native English speakers, especially NNESTs, see their use of the English language and their ownership of the English language is worth exploring.

Additionally, Norton (1997) pinpoints out that if learners of English cannot claim ownership of a

language, they might not consider themselves legitimate speakers of that language. In light of this point, I am prompted to examine how my participants, who learned English in Taiwan but educated either domestically or in the U.S., see their ownership of the English language and if their ideas of ownership of the English language mediate their perspectives of being legitimate English language educators.

Accentedness

In the field of Applied Linguistics, the distinction between having and not having an accent is central to the ideology of the Standard Language (Lippi-Green, 1997; Shuck, 2006; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). Linguistic theory has traditionally considered native speakers as the only reliable source of linguistic data (Chomsky 1965).

According to Moussu and Llorca (2008), people typically display a fairly high ability at spotting accentedness in speech. Moussu and Llorca further indicate that if the speaker's accent is different from the listener's, and this listener cannot recognize it as any other 'established' accent, the speaker will be placed within the non-native speaker category. Moussu and Llorca's idea echoes the issues regarding nonnative versus native-speaker: even though a dichotomy vision of the NNS-NS discussion does not appear to be linguistically acceptable, it is quite socially visible.

Seeing the trend that accent was seen as negativity and inferiority, numerous researchers dedicate effort to dispelling the myths of accent. For example, Trudgill (2002) points out that Standard English does not have an associated accent. Lippi-Green (1997) highlights that there is no such thing as 'non-accented' language and one's accent has little to do with what is generally

called communicative competence and it should not be seen as an indication of one's proficiency or professional expertise.

Despite the attempts to dispel negative connotation of accent, some recent studies pinpoint how one's accent can evoke people's biases. For example, Hudley and Mallinson (2010) indicate that listeners of many diverse social backgrounds consistently rank speakers of standardized English as being smarter and of a higher status than speakers of non-standardized English dialects. Canagarajah (2005) also conducts a study centering on English speaking and he states that pronunciation is perhaps the linguistic feature most open to judgment. Canagarajah (2005) further adds that "As a surface structure phenomenon that is most noticeable, one's accent easily evokes people's biases. For the same reason, pronunciation has been the most prescriptively taught aspect of language instruction (p. 365-366)."

In the same vein, Shuck (2006) further argues that accent can be a way of "marking the other, unmarking the self" (p. 206) and there is differential power and prestige in speaking one variety of language over another:

The standard variety (to the extent that there is an identifiable one) is, in other words, unmarked and invisible, whereas any other way of speaking or writing is at best a "dialect," and at worst, a signal of laziness or refusal to learn English (Urciuoli, 1996). Having an accent, then, means being marked as not speaking the prestige variety of English (p. 266).

This statement, plus the studies of Hudley and Mallinson (2010) and Canagarajah (2005) mentioned earlier, all indicate that accent can evoke people's biases and one variety of language can entail more power and prestige than the other.

NNESTs' Legitimacy as English Language Teaching Professionals

In the previous section, I have presented the ideologies of native speaker fallacy and native-speakerism which refer to English native speakers are more desirable and qualified English language educators. I have also described notions of Standard English, ownership of English, and accentedness which indicate that a certain degree of unquestioned legitimacy is attributed to White teachers and teachers who speak mainstream English. Therefore, teachers who speak mainstream English, or Standard English, are perceived to be more legitimate than speakers of English that is not mainstream, including English spoken by non-native English speakers (Motha, 2014).

Many researchers have indicated that how non-native English speakers as English teachers have found themselves discriminated against or marginalized in the English teaching profession. For example, Boraie (2005) states that many NNESTs encounter discriminations in hiring practices or in receiving working assignments. Classified advertisements for English teachers highlight “native speakers preferred” or “native English speakers only” (Choi, 2001; Lin, Wang, Akamatsu & Riazi, 2009). Furthermore, Amin (1997) pinpoints how one NNEST encounters disapprovals of her professionalism based on the status of being a NNEST, which is a status in conflict with her students’ perceptions of an “authentic” English teacher. Studies also show that while it seems acceptable for NESTs to make some occasional mistakes or not to know everything about the English language (Amin 2004), if NNESTs make some occasional English mistakes or do not know everything about the English language, their English language competencies would be questioned by students, colleagues, or even NNESTs themselves (Amin 2004; Braine 2004; Canagarajah 1999, 2005; Morita 2004). NNESTs then experience feelings of inadequacy or inferiority if they have low self-image (Reves & Medgyes 1994). Furthermore,

Reis (2010) states that due to economic dominance and imperialism (see Phillipson, 1992), a “standard” English accent and a Caucasian appearance are still seen as commodities. In light of this, teachers who do not “possess” them are at a serious disadvantage both in terms of securing employment and in terms of asserting themselves as legitimate TESOL professionals. These studies, plus the concepts of native-speakerism, Standard English, ownership of English, and accentedness reviewed previously, describe the challenges that NNESTs may encounter regarding their legitimacy as English language teachers and how they experience marginalization in the English teaching profession.

The above concern and situation of discrimination against NNESTs have led an increasing number of people to raise their voices against it. Researchers and nonnative professionals in the TESOL caucus have dedicated to challenging the unprecedented authority given to monolingual native speakers of English. For example, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) conducted a pioneering study inviting NNESTs in a US TESOL program to examine the native/non-native English speaker dichotomy by drawing on these student teachers’ English teaching and learning experiences. Brutt-Griffler and Samimy argued that the native-nonnative dichotomy is not a linguistic construct but a socially constructed identity “based on cultural assumptions of who conforms to the preconceived notion of a native speaker” (p. 416). In addition, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy mentioned that some social variables, such as national origin and accent, are socially held characteristics to represent those of the native speaker. These characteristics are so fixed and lead to the construction of identity of native English speakers or non-native English speakers. Additionally, because this construct is fixed, it constitutes a site of a struggle for NNESTs to overcome the subject positions. In addition, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy underscored Rampton’s (1990) notion of language expertise which shifted the focus from “who you are” to

“what you know” and this construct of expertise challenged the notion of native speaker fallacy (Phillipson, 1992) and diminished the marginalization of NNESTs as English teaching professionals.

A study that slightly touched upon the idea of legitimacy of non-native English speakers was Pavlenko’s (2003) study. Although NNESTs’ legitimacy was not the central focus of this study, it was a pioneering study that discussed the issue of legitimacy of NNESTs. Unlike Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) who centered on native/non-native speakers dichotomy, Pavlenko (2003) provided a broader perspective by advocating the concept of imagined identities of NNESTs, such as multicompetent, bilingual, and multilingual speakers. Throughout her study, Pavlenko mentioned the terms *legitimacy* and *professional legitimacy* of NNESTs sporadically; however, Pavlenko did not provide a specific definition of what she meant by legitimacy or professional legitimacy. In addition, stating that the terms of native and non-native speakers could be contested, Pavlenko addressed NNESTs in her study as second language (L2) users of English.

Pavlenko (2003) invited 44 students (24 Americans and 20 international students) in one TESOL program to join her study and she examined imagined professional and linguistic communities available to these student teachers. Pavlenko found out that one powerful discourse that informed those preservice teachers’ views of themselves and of their students was that of standard language and native speakerness. In the case of English education, this discourse portrayed Standard English as the only legitimate form of the language and monolingual native speakers—who are also implicitly White and middle class—as its only legitimate speakers and “owners” (Lippi-Green, 1997). In addition, Pavlenko stated that some L2 users of English did not know any other alternatives to the native/non-native speaker dichotomy and thus did not

know they have any other identity options available to them. On the other hand, some students reported that some class readings and discussions offered them newly imagined communities of multilingual individuals and imagined identities as legitimate users of English. For example, a L2 speaker of English in Pavlenko's study stated that she would continue identifying herself as a multicompetent speaker instead of a failed user of the target language [English]. Another NNEST in this study reported that she "reshaped herself as a L2 user and a good bilingualist who has a learner and richer repertoire of linguistic and cultural knowledge" (p. 263). In light of this, Pavlenko argued that newly imagined identities are important tools for members from peripheral communities (i.e. L2 users of English) to transform into legitimate participants of professional communities, such as the English teaching profession.

Adding to the work of Pavlenko's (2003) regarding the legitimacy of non-native English speakers, Golombek and Jordan (2005) conducted a case study of two Taiwanese students in a TESOL program in the U.S. to examine how these NNESTs asserted their identities as legitimate teachers of English, with a particular focus on English pronunciation teaching. Golombek and Jordan's study was the first study that explicitly centered on the legitimacy of non-native English speakers as teachers of English. In addition, unlike Pavlenko (2003) who used the term *professional legitimacy* once in her article, Golombek and Jordan used *legitimacy* (or sometimes *legitimate speakers and teachers of English*) consistently throughout their study. In addition, although Golombek and Jordan did not explicitly mention their definition(s) of legitimacy, throughout the article it seemed like that they used *legitimacy* and *credibility* interchangeably.

Golombek and Jordan (2005) argued that there is tension in the NNESTs' perspectives on how they thought themselves as legitimate speakers and teachers of English. For example, even though a student teacher from Taiwan in this study had extensive English education (both in

Taiwan and in the US TESOL program), her sense of herself as a legitimate speaker and teacher of English was contradictory: on one hand, she felt her English language ability was limited because she could not have “mistake-free” conversations with native English speakers. Furthermore, the participant established her legitimacy of being a competent speaker or teacher of English solely based on how intelligible she was to native speakers. Additionally, drawing on this Taiwanese participant’s statement, Golombek and Jordan mentioned that very often that parents, administrators, and students equated native speaker status with Whiteness and that these double filters of racism and native speaker superiority made it even more difficult for a non-White L2 speaker of English to gain credibility as a teacher of English.

On the other hand, this Taiwanese student teacher felt that her learning experience in the US and her exposure to the American culture and native English speakers enabled her to justify her being a legitimate English teacher in Taiwan. In addition, Golombek and Jordan also commented that the preference of native speakers over NNESTs was still prevalent among institutions (both in the U.S. and in Taiwan) and this might cause challenges against the legitimacy of NNESTs as English teachers, especially those who feel they possess abilities and skills to be good English teachers.

Golombek and Jordan mentioned that even though these Taiwanese student teachers’ perspectives of their legitimacy as English speaking teachers were conflicted, they could draw on certain means (other than English pronunciation) to establish their legitimacy. For instance, the Taiwanese student teacher mentioned previously used her knowledge of students’ first language to establish her legitimacy as an English teaching professional. This NNEST knew she could set more realistic goals for her students based on her own learning experience as an English language learner. Another Taiwanese participant in this study stated that her credibility as an

English language professional developed over time. This participant believed she could build up her credibility and legitimacy as an English language educator as time went by. In light of this point, Golombek and Jordan further stated that patience was another avenue for NNESTs to establish their legitimacy as English teachers.

Moreover, according to Golombek and Jordan, one of the student teachers felt doubtful regarding her legitimacy as an English teacher at the beginning when she started to teach English pronunciation in the U.S.; however, through her study in a TESOL program and based on her teaching and the interactions with her students, this student gradually started to consider herself as a legitimate teacher of English. The student further stated that patience was her tool that helped her become a legitimate teacher of English. In light of this point, Golombek and Jordan stated that the legitimacy or credibility of NNESTs is something NNESTs have to negotiate in each interaction with their students over time rather than in a single iteration.

2.2 Addressing the Research Gap

The Professional Legitimacy of Taiwanese English Teachers

Following the work of Pavlenko (2003) and Golombek and Jordan (2005), this present study adds to the conversation of the legitimacy of NNESTs as English educators. I examined the perspectives of six in-service Taiwanese English teachers on their perceptions of professional legitimacy. In my study, sometimes I used the term *professional legitimacy* and sometimes I used “[their] legitimacy as English teaching professionals”. Drawing on Golombek and Jordan (2005), the professional legitimacy of Taiwanese English teachers in my dissertation study referred to their credibility as English teaching professionals. The reason why I used the term *professional legitimacy* rather than just *legitimacy* was because I intended to emphasize my

participants' dual roles as English language learners and English language educators, and these two roles, at the first glance, could be contradictory. For instance, in Mandarin, the term *teacher* (*lao shi*) constitutes a word “*shi*”, which means “a master” of something. In addition, the concept of “teacher as the expert” is still prevalent in the Taiwanese educational contexts and Taiwanese people in general value teachers and respect people in this occupation. How do Taiwanese English teachers claim their credibility as teachers of English and conceptualize their legitimacy as “the masters” of the English language while their English is unlikely to be “perfect” or mistake-free? Furthermore, as Amin (2004), Braine (1999), Canagarajah (1999, 2005) all point out, while it seems acceptable for NESTs to make occasional mistakes or do not know everything about the English language, NNESTs' knowledge or professional legitimacy would be questioned or doubted from their students, colleagues, and sometimes NNESTs themselves under the same circumstances. In light of these studies and the sociocultural norm of Taiwan, I argue that the question of professional legitimacy can be intensified for Taiwanese English teachers.

In addition, Boraie's (2013) and Holliday's (2005) studies discussed earlier arise an important issue—in EFL contexts, native English speakers and Standard English are still seen, to some extent, as more desirable in the English-teaching profession. Furthermore, there is a certain degree of unquestioned legitimacy attributed to teachers who speak mainstream English, or Standard English (Motha, 2014). The above studies (and many discussed earlier) indicate that the native speaker myth continues to harm the professional lives and sense of legitimacy of many qualified NNESTs (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Golombak & Jordan, 2005; Motha, 2006, 2014; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2010). Furthermore, previous discussion about the notions of native-

speakerism and Standard English also reveal that the legitimacy of many English teaching professionals who learned English in EFL contexts could be more challenged.

The Taiwanese teachers that I studied in this study learned the English language predominantly in Taiwan and they all started to receive official English education when they were in junior high schools at age 12. The US-educated teachers only came to the U.S. for their postsecondary education. Given the sociopolitical context of Taiwan where Native-speakerism is still quite common both in academia and in the English teaching profession as mentioned in Chapter 1, I was motivated to explore the perspectives of Taiwanese English teachers on their perceptions of professional legitimacy, and also to deconstruct their perceptions of professional legitimacy in order to understand factors and resources that contribute to their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

Furthermore, a disturbing fact is that while NNESTs constitute the majority of English language teaching professionals worldwide, many of them face discrimination against or are marginalized in the English teaching profession (Amin 1997; 2004; Boraie 2005; Braine, 2005; Canagarajah 1999; 2005; Choi 2001; Lin et al. 2009, Reis, 2010). In addition, even though teachers' self-concepts have emerged as a subtopic within the field of language teacher education (Morgan, 2004; Varghese, 2007), studies on how NNESTs perceive themselves as professional English language educators are underrepresented in the literature of language teacher education and TESOL. The present study aimed to bring to the forefront the voices and perspectives of Taiwanese English teachers on their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

Taiwan-educated vs US-educated Taiwanese English Teachers' Perceptions of Professional Legitimacy

According to Golombek and Jordan (2005) and Ilieva (2010), some NNESTs were able to claim their professional legitimacy as English language educators because of their study abroad experience in English-speaking countries. The NNESTs in Golombek and Jordan (2005) study were located in the U.S. context and the NNESTs in Ilieva (2010)'s study were in the Canadian context. Having interaction with native English speakers in these countries and being exposed to the Western culture enabled these NNESTs to consider themselves as legitimate English teaching professionals. In addition, oftentimes the representativeness of English often associated with the English-speaking “West” or the so-called inner circle context (Motha, 2014). In light of these two points, little is known about how domestically-educated NNESTs in EFL contexts assert professional legitimacy as English language educators while encountering those colleagues who are educated in English-speaking countries or native English speakers.

In addition, many research studies regarding issues of NNESTs often portray NNESTs as one homogenous group, overgeneralizing their diverse learning experiences of the English language as well as their different trajectories of becoming English language teachers. Here, I also want to highlight NNESTs' global mobility—growing number of NNESTs obtain their degrees abroad in English-speaking countries and return to their home countries to teach in EFL contexts (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Liu, 1999)—as discussed in Chapter 1. That is to say, there is increasing influx of NNESTs obtaining their degrees in English-speaking countries and returning to their home countries in EFL contexts. Yet, we know very little about how EFL-educated NNESTs assert professional legitimacy while encountering their colleagues who are educated in English-speaking countries or native English speakers. Meanwhile, we know very little about how NNESTs who had educated in contexts of English-speaking countries and returned to their home countries assert their professional legitimacy in their teaching contexts.

Moussu and Llurda (2008) also specifically called for more investigations on diversity within NNESTs. Moussu and Llurda pinpointed that no empirical study had been conducted on the difference “that may exist between NNESTs who hold degrees in a country that is internationally acknowledged as a home country for that language (in the case of English, those countries would clearly be the US, the UK, Canada, and Australia), and those who do not” (p. 339). Drawing on a study done by Holliday (2005), Moussu and Llurda also stated that many employers in non-English speaking countries valued the possession of certificates from dominant English speaking countries more than any other professional experience. This present study tried to bridge the gap and aimed to explore whether US-educated versus Taiwan-educated NNESTs gained access to different resources due to their different educational backgrounds. It also examined whether US-educated Taiwanese English teachers had some kind of leverage in claiming their legitimacy as English-teaching professionals compared to their Taiwanese-educated counterparts.

Furthermore, in addition to analyzing the resources that these two groups of Taiwanese English teachers gained access to and drew upon to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy, I was also motivated to understand the complex ways of these teachers making use of these resources or implementing strategies to empower teachers themselves as legitimate educators in the field of TESOL.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

Capital

In order to understand the resources that Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers gain access to and draw upon to conceptualize their perceptions of professional

legitimacy as English language educators, Bourdieuan (1977, 1986, and 1991) concepts of capital are insightful. Capital refers to material and immaterial resources which people have access to and grant power to people (Bourdieu 1977, 1986). Of the various forms of capital that Bourdieu has introduced, three that are particularly important in my inquiry are cultural capital, linguistic capital, and symbolic capital. Also, even though I make a distinction among these different kinds of capital, as Oropeza, Varghese and Kanno (2010) remind us, one form of capital can often be converted into another in Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualization of capital.

Cultural capital refers to formal knowledge, skills, academic experiences, and educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1991; Chang & Kanno, 2010). In its broadest sense, cultural capital refers to cultural resources that have high value in a particular 'field', a term that Bourdieu (1991) refers to as social context (Chang & Kanno, 2010). In this study, I refer to cultural capital as NNESTs' disciplinary knowledge, previous academic preparation, and educational qualifications that are useful in earning legitimacy in their teaching contexts. In addition, the term cultural capital also includes the US-educated NNESTs' cross-cultural academic and non-academic experience in the present study.

Linguistic capital is sometimes subsumed under cultural capital and at other times used as a separate construct in Bourdieu's work (Chang & Kanno, 2010). Since one of Bourdieu's foci is societal equity, he refers to linguistic capital as one's facility with the privileged variety of a language (e.g. having the standard accent) and he indicates that people are sensitive to the variations in accent, intonation, and vocabulary which reflect different positions in the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1991). In addition, particular contexts generate linguistic utterances or expressions, and these contexts endow linguistic produces with a certain value (Bourdieu, 1991). Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) and Chang and Kanno's (2010) concepts of linguistic capital, I

use this concept to refer to one's competence in a language, including speaking with certain accent, which has a high value in a context. Furthermore, some products are valued more highly than others in some linguistic contexts; and part of the linguistic competence of speakers is to know how, and to be able, to produce expressions which are highly valued in the contexts concerned (Bourdieu, 1991). Moreover, the distribution of linguistic capital is related in specific ways to the distribution of other forms of capital (economic capital, cultural capital, etc.). Hence differences in terms of accent, grammar and vocabulary are indices of the social positions of speakers and reflections of the qualities of linguistic capital (and other capital) which they possess. The more linguistic capital that speakers possess, the more they are able to exploit the system of differences to their advantage (Bourdieu, 1991). In Chapter 4, for example, I will describe how one of the US-educated NNESTs switched speaking between her American-accented and Taiwanese-accented English in order to gain pedagogical advantage.

Symbolic capital means the resources available on the basis of honor, prestige, or recognition, and serves as value that one holds within a culture (Bourdieu, 1986). An example of symbolic capital related to the English language was discussed in Lin's (1999) study. Lin stated that many parents insisted on fighting for places for their children in English-medium schools due to the symbolic capital, or "symbolic representation", that English owned; English-medium schools equaled to good schools (p. 395). Another example of symbolic capital that was more related to this study was discussed in Moussu and Llurda's (2008) study. As stated previously, Moussu and Llurda stated that many employers in non-English speaking countries valued the possession of certificates from dominant English speaking countries more than any other professional experience. This means that in those employers' perspectives, trainings from

dominant English speaking countries owned more credentials and thus owned more value or prestige.

In addition to cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital, in this study I will also discuss briefly regarding one's economic capital—one's financial resources—and social capital, resources that are linked to a network within a group. Again, I am aware of the fact that these forms of capital are oftentimes related to one another and one form of capital can be converted into another (Bourdieu, 1986). Naming these different forms of capital enables me to explore the resources the Taiwan-educated versus US-educated NNESTs gained access to and the resources they referred to that served as contributors to their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

Agency

Before I discuss various concepts of agency and how I conceptualize agency in the present study, I want to draw attention to Lewis, Enciso, & Moje's (2007) point of agency:

In the research context, researchers cannot simply observe and ascribe agency to participant actions without also being aware of their own interpretations and explanations of what it means to be agentic in particular situations. Thus, the researcher is part of the process of determining what counts as agency (p. 5).

This statement highlights that researchers' perspectives also play an important role in determining and describing agency. In other words, in this dissertation study, I also played an important role in determining what accounted as agency of my participants. In my study, there were two aspects of agency that I found particularly insightful in discussion of NNESTs' agency: 1) the interpretation of agency as human capacity to make sense of our actions, and 2) its interactive relationship with structures (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992).

The first aspect of agency, which centers on action resulting from agency, can be referred to as the action theory of agency. This view of agency is most identified with the fields of Western philosophy and American psychology influenced by Descartes' ideas that moral strength comes from a subject's inside, not from outside sources (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). Within this action theory, the discussion of agency is treated more as human's free will and view agents as a source of planful action (Ahearn, 2001; Morris, Menon, & Ames, 2001). To explain human agency, many action theorists refer to actions as a function of motives and intentions that in turn reflect the personal beliefs and desires of agents (Markus & Kitayama 2001; Wellman 1990). In addition, I also found Inden's (1990) idea of agency highly emphasizes the component of action in agency. As Inden mentions:

the realized capacity of people to *act upon* their world and not only to know about or give personal or intersubjective significance to it. That capacity is the power of people *to act purposively and reflectively*, in more or less complex interrelationships with one another, to reiterate and remake the world in which they live, in circumstances where they may consider *different courses of action* possible and desirable, though not necessarily from the same point of view (p. 23, italicized words to emphasize).

Within the above stance of agency, in the present study agency was initially investigated as action-oriented and conceptualized as a way of NNESTs taking action to (re)position themselves from a disadvantaged to a powerful position. However, a foreseen challenge was that I presupposed that human intrinsically have agency. The question of why humans had agency or how agency was activated at the first place remained unanswered. Regarding this concern, Giddens's (1979) and Sewell's (1992) ideas of agency were helpful. Giddens and Sewell bring social structures into contact with human actions. Sewell quotes this definition of structures from

the glossary of Giddens' *The Constitution of Society*: "Structure. Rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems" (1984, p. 377; quoted in Sewell, 1992, p. 5). Sewell explains that the social systems that Giddens refers to include "societies" in general or in smaller social units such as "the neighborhood community". Sewell states that Giddens's concept of structures, although lacking sufficient, robust definitions and in need of elaboration, mainly refers to rules and resources. Central to Giddens' theory of structuration is the understanding that people's actions are shaped by the very social structures, and therefore, there is recursive loop consisting of actions influenced by social structures and social structures (re)created by actions. In other words, in Giddens's perspectives, "structures shape people's practices but it is also people's practices that constitute (and reproduce) structures" (Sewell, 1992, p.4).

Furthermore, one point worth highlighting regarding Giddens' perspectives of agency is that "human agents as 'knowledgeable' and 'enabled' implies that those agent are capable of putting their structurally formed capacities to work in creative or innovative ways" (Sewell, 1992, p. 4). The idea of "putting their structurally formed capacities to work in creative or innovative ways" echoes the action-oriented perspective of agency that action theorists highlight.

Adding to the work of Giddens's (1979), Sewell (1992) also emphasizes the interrelationship of structures and agency:

To be an agent means to be capable of exerting some degree of control over the social relations in which one is enmeshed, which in turn implies the ability to transform those social relation to some degree (p. 20).

This reconceptualization of agency, first of all, echoes the aspect that agent acts to (re)position oneself from a disadvantaged to a powerful position by gaining control over the social relations to some extent. This statement of agency further echoes the aspect of agency that Giddens (1979) emphasizes: it is possible that people's agency also reciprocally shapes structures. That is to say, structures are sets of resources that empower and constrain social action and structures tend to be reproduced by that social action.

In addition to reemphasizing the interrelationship between structures and agency, Sewell further expands his conceptualization of agency by considering how one's social positions play a key role in mediating one's accessibility to the kinds and amounts of resources. As Sewell states, agency is inherent in all humans but differs in extent. Social positions, such as one's education (also wealth, social prestige, class, gender, etc) give people different access to different kinds and amounts of resources and hence different possibilities for transformative action. "Agency is formed by a specific range of cultural schemas and resources available in a person's particular social milieu," as Sewell points out (p. 20). This point is particularly insightful for my study on the resources to which Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers gained access and drew upon to conceptualize their professional legitimacy.

2.4 Adapt Theories to My Study

In the section below, I would like to discuss how I adapt the reviewed literature to my study. First of all, drawing on Bourdieu (1977, 1986), capital refers to material and immaterial resources which people have access to and grant power to people. In addition, Giddens (1979) conceptualizes structures as resources and rules. In my study, drawing on these two theorists, I use capital and resources interchangeably and I refer to structures as sets of resources or capital. In the present study, I first analyze the resources (mainly in terms of cultural capital, linguistic

capital, and symbolic capital) to which my participants gain access. In addition, drawing on Sewell (1992), social positions such as one's education give people different access to varying kinds and amounts of resources. In my study I examine the varying kinds and amounts of capital to which Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers gain access through their education backgrounds. In addition to examining capital that these teachers gain access to, I also explore the resources they draw upon to conceptualize their professional legitimacy.

Furthermore, drawing on Giddens (1984) and Sewell (1992), people's actions are shaped by the resources. In other words, sets of resources or structures empower or constrain human actions. In the present study, I examine how Taiwanese English teachers' agency is mediated by the capital they gain access to. Additionally, in considering the action-oriented aspect of agency as discussed earlier and the idea that resources are also (re)created by actions, I also examine how Taiwanese English teachers act as knowledgeable and enabled agents that help them obtain capital or accumulate more of it, which they regard has high value in their teaching contexts.

Furthermore, drawing on Giddens (1984), I also explore how the Taiwanese English teachers put their capacities to work in creative or innovative ways which helped them claim legitimacy as English teaching professionals. This exploration helps me answer my second research question. I aim to understand that in addition to their ownership of the varying kinds of capital, what are the strategies that Taiwanese English teachers employ with which help them to claim professional legitimacy in their teaching contexts? I explore how my participants as human agents are capable of putting their capacities to work in creative or innovative ways which help them claim their legitimacy as English teaching professionals in Taiwan.

In addition, Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) remind me of the connection between agency and contexts or environment. According to Lantolf and Pavlenko, agency "is a relationship that

is constantly co-constructed and renegotiated with those around the individual and with the society at large” (p. 148). In my study, the participants shared similar macro sociopolitical environment of Taiwan and taught in micro slightly varying institutional contexts (four teachers in this study taught at the same school and other two teachers in different institutions). In the discussion section of Chapter 6, I explore how the sociopolitical and institutional contexts that the teachers situated in shaped their agency and their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Details related to the institutional contexts of my participants will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I first provide a general overview of a qualitative case study approach. I then introduce the participants and research sites. Lastly I illustrate the procedure by which I carried out the research and analyzed the collected data.

3.1 A Qualitative Case Study Approach

I conducted a qualitative case study with six teacher participants including three Taiwan-educated and three US-educated Taiwanese English teachers. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) refer to qualitative research as a situated activity where researchers study phenomena in their natural settings and attempt to make sense of or interpret this phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Furthermore, because of their subjective view of reality, qualitative researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry, and stress the socially constructed nature of reality. In keeping with the tradition of qualitative research, I have aimed to develop “thick descriptions” (Geertz, 2000) of the individual cases, while also seeking to identify general themes and significant patterns among them (Yin, 2009).

The strength of such a case-study method is its ability to examine a “case” within its “real-life” context (Yin 2006, p. 111). This case study follows the tradition of qualitative research, in which the focus has been on process, meaning, and understanding, and the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis (Merriam, 2009). A case study also answers the “how” questions and focuses on a phenomenon within a particular context (Yin, 2003). The reasons why I chose to use a multi-case study were primarily because, first of all, this methodology yielded detailed, nuanced, and in-depth data. In addition, according to Yin (2003), evidence from multiple cases is more compelling and therefore such a study can be regarded as

more robust. Furthermore, as Wolcott (2005) puts it, even though each participant's experience and descriptions are unique, what can be learned from a single case may inform a larger common circumstance.

In addition, I decided to have three participants from each subgroup. Having a small number of participants in each subgroup was intentional. The aim was to collect richer data and with a small number of teachers in each subgroup, I had the opportunity to critically examine emerging themes. A small number of participants also offered me more opportunities to compare data across participants and to gain a fuller picture of their perceptions of professional legitimacy. The Recruitment procedure will be described in the next section. Through triangulation of multiple methods, data sources, and viewpoints, the study documented the participants' perceptions of their professional legitimacy.

3.2 Participants and Research Sites

There were six in-service Taiwanese English teachers at the college level participating in this research study, including three US-educated and three Taiwan-educated teachers. Each participant was given a pseudonym and is described below, focusing mainly on their English language learning experience and their post-secondary education.

The US-educated Taiwanese English Teachers

Janice started to learn English in a private institute a year prior to entering junior high school. Janice expressed her feelings about why she did not like English when she started learning it due to her low English test scores. She started to like English and wanted to learn it well after she met an English tutor when she was in junior high school. Janice stated that the tutor always patiently guided her and encouraged her to keep learning despite her low test scores. Janice also stated that the tutor who majored in English inspired her not only to study English

harder but also to major in English when she entered college. After four years of study in the department of English Language, Literature, and Linguistics at a university in Taiwan, Janice pursued her MA in TESOL at River University on the East coast of the U.S. Janice indicated that because both of her parents were teachers who highly encouraged her to be a teacher, choosing TESOL for her master's study, according to Janice, "seemed quite natural."

During her master's study in TESOL, Janice served as a volunteer teacher teaching English to immigrant adults in a non-profit organization for a year for her practicum course. After graduating from her Master's program, Janice returned to Taiwan and worked as a lecturer teaching English at Yi University, the school she attended for her undergraduate study. She had been teaching at Yi University for 4 years at the time this study was conducted.

Karen started to learn English in junior high school. Karen stated that she had a strong interest in learning English, especially speaking, ever since she started learning it. For example, Karen said that when she was in junior high and senior high schools, while her peers tended to shy away from being called upon by English teachers, she enjoyed volunteering to speak English in class and very often her teachers would compliment her on her pronunciation or intonation. This recognition from teachers encouraged Karen to work harder on English, especially on her speaking.

Karen stated that when she was little, her father told her that Taiwan was small and encouraged her to "go see the world to expand [your] horizons." One summer during high school, after discussing with her parents and consulting with a neighbor whose daughter was studying in the U.S. for her undergraduate study, Karen decided to pursue her undergraduate study in the U.S. After her four years of undergraduate study majoring in Education in the Midwestern part of the U.S., Karen continued pursuing her master's in TESOL at River

University, the same school that Janice attended. Karen stated that the reason for choosing TESOL for her master's study was because of her passion for learning English combined with her undergraduate study in Education. For her practicum course, Karen taught English to immigrant children for a year. After obtaining her master's degree in TESOL, Karen came back to Taiwan and worked as an English lecturer at Wen University. She had been teaching for 8 years at Wen University when this study was conducted.

Gina started to learn English in her junior high school. Gina stated that she was not particularly interested in the subject of English during her junior high school years. However, her English teacher in her senior high school used multiple resources including movies, songs, newspapers, and magazines to facilitate her teaching and thus English language learning became very interesting. Gina stated that she became very motivated to learn English since then and felt more engaged in her English classes. After high school, Gina decided to choose English Language and Literature for her undergraduate major. She added that she was inspired to be an English educator who could skillfully incorporate different materials and make English learning interesting, just like what her high school teacher did.

Gina stated that one summer during her undergraduate study, she participated in an English language learning program in the U.S. According to Gina, the American teachers not only patiently listened to what she said but also encouraged her to express her ideas in English as much as possible. Gina mentioned that this kind of constant encouragement was a learning experience that she had never had before in Taiwan. Therefore, after this short-term study abroad experience, Gina became determined to pursue her master's in TESOL in the U.S. after she graduated from her BA program in Taiwan. After obtaining her master's degree, Gina returned to Taiwan and worked as an elementary school teacher. While Gina taught at an elementary school,

she also applied for her doctoral study in the U.S. Prior to her doctoral study, she had taught elementary school for 7 years. Gina served as an English professor and a teacher educator at a university and she had been teaching at that university for 1 year at the time this study was conducted.

The Taiwan-educated Taiwanese English Teachers

Tera indicated that even though her formal English education started in her junior high school, her mother who was an English teacher, taught her English from time to time when she was little. Tera stated that because of the influence of her mother, she knew she liked English when she was little and enjoyed learning it in school. In her high school, Tera had an English teacher who, according to Tera, had never studied abroad but spoke English very well. This English teacher also dedicated herself to teaching. For instance, at that time when it was very rare for English teachers to use English as a medium for instruction in Taiwan, her teacher used English as a medium for instruction and she constantly encourage students to speak English more bravely. According to Tera, this teacher was probably the teacher who influenced her the most besides her mother: Tera learned that first, it was not necessary to study abroad in order to speak good English and second, Tera knew that the teacher's good spoken English was earned from working hard.

With her passion for English plus the influence of her mother as well as her high school teacher, Tera chose Foreign Languages and Literature¹ for her undergraduate study. Tera stated that after her undergraduate study, her mother encouraged her to pursue graduate study if she wanted to be an English teacher in the future. Tera mentioned that she was lucky to be able to

¹ Simply put, in most cases, department of Foreign Languages and Literature in Taiwan indicates that students mainly study the English language and English literature. In addition to that, students are also required to learn a second foreign language (Spanish, French, Japanese, German, etc.) after their first years.

pursue her master's study in the same program where she pursued her undergraduate study because the program was quite competitive. During her master's study, Tera worked as an English translator in a military base for about a year. After she graduated from her Master's program, she applied for a teaching position at Wen University. She had 21 years of teaching experience at Wen University at the time this study was conducted.

Hua started to learn English when she was in junior high school. Hua indicated that her interest in learning English was perhaps from her parents who liked to listen to English songs. "When I was little, I knew some of the songs so well that I could sing them without understanding the lyrics," Hua commented. Hua mentioned that when she was a high school student, her grades in English were good and she believed that her early "day in, day out" English input of those English songs helped her learning to some extent. Hua studied at Wen University majoring in English for her undergraduate study. Hua mentioned that during her undergraduate study, she enjoyed English Literature class the most because she could learn beyond just basic English language knowledge. For example, she was able to relate some characters in the literature she read to people around her and this ability of making association from what she read to her actual surroundings fascinated Hua. This fascination further prompted her to continue studying English and focus on English literature for her graduate study in Taiwan. After her master's study, Hua became a journalist for 2 years. "My interest in English helped me a lot when I was a journalist because I could understand international news," Hua stated. Hua became an English teacher at Wen University after her 2 years of working as a journalist. "The first reason was that I was able to live in my hometown and stay closer to home. The second reason was that many people including my classmates and friends told me that I was

quite suitable to be a teacher,” Hua recalled. Hua had 22 years of teaching experience at Wen University at the time of this study.

Guan started learning English in junior high. Guan mentioned that she liked English at that time but did not like English grammar. She felt it was mostly about memorization. However, despite her dislike of grammar, during high school Guan knew she was good at language learning because she liked to talk to people and she did not feel shy speaking English with others. Her love of language learning led Guan to decide to choose English Language and Literature for her undergraduate major. Unlike other teachers in this study, Guan started teaching English to children as a part-time job in a private institute when she was a freshman. In her final year in college, Guan taught full time and had experience teaching students from 6-15 years old. After college, Guan wanted to study English further and therefore she pursued her master’s in the same department but in a different school. During the final year of her Master’s program, Guan taught English part-time in an evening class at a college. Guan stated that it was her first time teaching at the college level and this teaching experience prompted her to pursue doctoral study in order to continue teaching in a university. During Guan’s PhD study in English with a focus on TESOL, Guan also continued teaching English part-time at some colleges.

Guan noted that ever since college, she had never stopped teaching English. (In Chapter Five, I present Guan’s motivation for teaching non-stop.) Prior to her 2 years of teaching at Wen University, Guan had taught English for 13 years across a wide range of students’ ages and English levels.

As stated in the previous footnote in this chapter, in many departments in Taiwan, despite their varying names such as English, English Language and Literature, English Instruction, Foreign Languages and Literature, or Applied Linguistics, students all need to study the English

language as their knowledge base. English language skill classes (Listening, Speaking, Reading, and Writing) are required courses. In addition to English language skill courses, students usually can choose classes related to English Literature, Linguistics, and TESOL, or they can take classes to learn a second or third foreign language besides English. Furthermore, many students graduating from these departments tend to either continue pursuing their graduate studies (in these departments) or find English-related jobs, for instance, as English teachers in either public or private institutions.² An overview chart of my case study participants is provided at the end of this Chapter.

Research Sites

Whereas Karen, Tera, Hua, and Guan at Wen University were required to use English as the medium of instruction, Janice at Yi University and Gina at Shin University were not required to do so. However, both Janice and Gina used mostly English as the medium in their instruction. Asked them about their motivation to use English as the medium in their instruction without being required to do so, Janice indicated that she wanted to be an example for her students. (Janice's strategy of using English as a medium in class and how she used this strategy as her pedagogical resources will be further described in Chapter 5.) Gina indicated that all her colleagues in her department used English as the medium in their instruction, and therefore it seemed like a common acknowledgement to do so. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 1, in order to increase students' global competitiveness, Shin University where Gina worked highly encouraged all teachers, regardless of their fields, to use English as the medium in their instruction.

² K-12 schools if students are certified or private cram schools which are similar to after-school programs where K-12 students attend to learn various subjects including English.

In Taiwan, for teachers who teach in the English-related departments described above, they need to teach some classes focusing on English language skills including listening, speaking, reading or writing. In addition to English language skill classes, teachers also teach some classes related to their own fields of interest, including TESOL, Linguistics, Literature and Translation, etc. At Wen University, for instance, teachers are grouped into different modules according to their own expertise, including TESOL, Linguistics, Literature, and Translation. Every new semester all teachers in the English department are assigned to teach at least one writing class and several English language skill classes. In addition to teaching these classes, teachers also teach some classes related to their expertise. At Yi University where Janice worked, classes were mainly divided into TESOL, Linguistic, and Literature tracks. At Shin University where Gina worked, classes were mainly focused on the field of TESOL and pre-service teacher training.

The English department at Wen University where 4 teachers of this study taught in was more practice-oriented and Wen University had been historically famous for its foreign language learning. In addition to English, it had departments of Japanese, Spanish, German, and French. The English department at Yi University where Janice taught in was more literature-focused. A majority of faculty members from the English department obtained their master's and/or doctoral degrees in English Literature or Comparative Literature. Gina taught in the English Instruction department and in addition to offering English four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) classes, the department was more centered on pre-service teacher training and more TESOL-oriented.

Furthermore, I also would like to provide some configuration information regarding faculty members' educational backgrounds in the English (or English Instruction) departments

where my participants taught in. At Wen University, the ratio of English-speaking-country-graduated NNESTs versus Taiwan-graduated NNESTs (both full-time and part-time teachers) was 49:19. In addition, 24 out of 49 were US-educated NNESTs. There were also 3 NNESTs from the U.S. At Yi University, the ratio of full time English-speaking-country-graduated NNESTs versus Taiwan-graduated NNESTs was 14:5. Additionally, 10 out of 14 were US-educated NNESTs. There were also 3 NNESTs in the English department. At Shin University where Gina taught, there were only 9 full-time faculty members. The English-speaking-country-graduated NNESTs versus Taiwan-graduated NNESTs was 7:2. Among the 7 teachers, 4 were US-educated NNESTs. There were no NNESTs in this department.

3.3 Sample Selection

In this study, I employed purposeful sampling based on the assumption that I planned to explore, understand, and gain insights on, and therefore I selected samples from which the most could be learned (Merriam, 2009). As Patton (2002) puts it, “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling” (p. 230).

To begin my purposeful sampling, I decided upon the following criteria which were essential in choosing the people to be studied: a) his or her first language is not English, and he or she acquired English in an EFL context; b) he or she expressed willingness to participate in my study; and c) he or she would yield likely richness of the available data. In addition, the subgroup of Taiwan-educated teachers included teachers who pursued their higher education domestically. The subgroup of US-educated teachers included teachers who had experience pursuing their post-secondary education in the U.S.

I included two types of purposeful sampling in this study. The first type was convenience sampling, which referred to selecting samples based on available time, money, or location, etc. (Merriam, 2009). I first looked in three universities located in my hometown. From school websites, I searched for Taiwan-educated and US-educated teachers in the departments of English, or any English-related departments such as English Language and Literature, English Instruction, Foreign Languages and Literature departments. Then I looked for teachers' email addresses from these school websites and I contacted those teachers and informed them about my study. Janice from Yi University and Gina from Chin University were selected based on this convenience sampling type.

The second type of purposeful sampling that I employed was network sampling, which involved locating a few key participants who easily met the criteria for participation in the study (Merriam, 2009). I contacted teachers at Wen University where I used to teach as an English lecturer. Choosing this particular school was based on both theoretical and practical reasons. First of all, Wen University had a large number of faculty members with diverse educational backgrounds. For example, the English department had a mixture of teachers who were educated domestically or in English-speaking countries, and some were native English speakers. This point provided me an opportunity to recruit more potential participants for my two subgroups. Second, this school also provided an interesting linguistic context. As stated earlier, most English departments require all teachers to use English as a medium of instruction. This requirement was implemented at Wen University earlier before the trend became more widespread in Taiwan. The demand for English language ability of the instructors, at least in speaking, was quite high at Wen University.

I first emailed six Taiwanese English teachers at Wen University including two US-educated and four Taiwan-educated teachers. Initially all four Taiwan-educated teachers expressed willingness in participating in my study but one teacher decided not to do so due to her lack of willingness to have class observations, one of the requirements of this study. The teacher explained that even though she understood that her teaching performance would not be the focus of this study and would not be evaluated, she would not feel comfortable teaching in front of me. Karen, a US-educated teacher, expressed interest in joining my study; Tera, Hua, and Guan were the Taiwan-educated teachers who expressed interest and participated in my study.

3.4 Data Collection

I collected data by conducting semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A), administering non-participant observations (see Appendix B), and reviewing documents and artifacts.

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with the participants and each interview ran approximately 40-80 minutes. Each participant had one initial interview and two to three follow-up interviews after the initial interview and the classroom observations in order to clarify some unclear statements or ideas. I also employed some interview strategies to help my participants reflect on their learning and teaching experience. For example, I started the interviews by presenting a timeline highlighting different stages of their lives and listing several major events, such as the time they started their TESOL programs or the time they first taught in Taiwan and/or in the U.S. In addition, all participants, who were Mandarin-speakers, were given the choice of being interviewed in Mandarin or in English. All participants chose to be interviewed

in Mandarin (although at times some teachers expressed ideas in English.) All interviews were recorded with participant consent and were translated and fully transcribed.

Observations

I conducted twelve non-participant observations in the participants' classes in total. Each observation lasted for roughly 110 minutes (two classes in a row). These observations allowed me to get a sense of the ways the participants taught. More importantly, I paid particular attention to exploring what available resources these NNESTs drew on while they taught and what strategies the teachers used in teaching or when they interacted with students. In addition, I kept detailed field notes for every observation undertaken and in my field notes, and no identifying student information was recorded.

Documents and Artifacts

To understand the teaching contexts described by my participants, in addition to conducting class observations, I reviewed a collection of documents, including class handouts and course syllabi that my participants had created. This review of documents served to supplement and highlight what I had learned from the interviews and observations. Furthermore, I reviewed the school websites. I also emailed Karen, Gina, and Tera asking some clarifying questions regarding some unclear points in our interviews. Most importantly, this review of documents and artifacts further allowed triangulation with the data that I gathered from the interviews and the class observations.

The following chart indicates my study's database.

• Interview transcripts	• Field notes from observations	• Documents	• Other artifacts
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-
- with six teachers
 - of participant teaching classes
 - course materials including syllabi and handouts
 - internet data on participants' schools
 - e-mails from participants
-

Figure 1: Study Database

3.5 Data Analysis

In this study, some data analyses occurred simultaneously with data collection (Merriam, 2009). Teacher interviews were transcribed, and the transcripts underwent open coding (Merriam, 2009) to identify possible themes that arose within the conversations, alongside data gathered from observations, and documents. An additional set of focused codes, designed to be reflective of the overall research questions and the conceptual framework of this study, was also developed. This analysis involved a two-phase process: from the interviews, I first identified the resources that my participants drew on to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Then, among those resources drawn on by the teachers, I analyzed the kinds of capital that were linked to those resources. As for concepts of agency, reading and re-reading the theories of agency prompted me to revisit the transcripts of the interviews and my field notes, which in return allowed me to reexamine my data and analyze concepts of agency more deeply.

In addition, within-case and cross-case analyses were utilized (Miles & Huberman, 1994), and I allowed opportunities for each participant to engage in member checks by providing them with the transcripts of their interviews and copies of initial data analysis. I avoided providing clearly defined or fixed definitions of professional legitimacy during interviews with my participants, and instead sought to examine how professional legitimacy for these NNESTs was described and constructed.

The participants of the present study gave a great deal of information in their interviews through stories about their experiences when they were students or in their teaching contexts; these stories prompted me to implement narrative analysis in order to draw on their narratives to support my arguments. Narrative “displays the goals and intentions of human actors; it makes individuals, cultures, societies, and historical epochs comprehensible as wholes” (Richardson, 1995, p.200). According to Richardson, the coding for narrative analysis is typically of the narrative as a whole, rather than of the different elements within each narrative. The coding strategy revolves around reading the stories and classifying them into general patterns. The analyses of my participants’ narratives were helpful for me to understand their English learning and teaching experiences in different contexts. Furthermore, from my participants’ narratives and my field notes taken from the class observations, I identified the forms of capital that were available to my participants. Their narratives and my field notes also helped me identify how my participants enacted agency in their varying English learning and teaching contexts.

In addition, drawing on Bakhtin’s (1981) ideas of language, and also on Britzman’s (1991), Johnston’s (1997) and Varghese’s (2012) studies helped me justify using participants’ narratives to analyze their perceptions of professional legitimacy. For example, Britzman (1991) states that language is never neutral and it is mediated by the speaker and listener. In other words, the language a person uses is half other people’s language anyway. In addition, I was also aware that while participants narrated their experiences as they reconstructed realities, there were always grey areas between the said and unsaid (Bakhtin, 1981; Britzman, 1991). In addition, Johnston (1997) pinpoints that according to a Bakhtinian concept, language is the co-existence of social-ideological contradictions between the present and the past and language as a whole is “ideologically saturated” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 271). Furthermore, Varghese (2012) states that a

Bakhtinian framework helps researchers examine narratives that can be contradictory and this concept of language serves as a reminder that my participants’ perspectives on their professional legitimacy can be contradictory.

Several studies demonstrate the importance of using narratives in teacher education research (Alsup, 2006; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Motha et al., 2012). Motha et al. point out the usefulness of analyzing narratives “in order to reclaim and make sense of complex and confusing interactions in our lives as second language educators, we narrativized our experiences, then shared and together analyzed them. The process helped us to demystify our experiences and supported our agency around our practice” (p. 6). In addition, numerous scholars have been turning to general life histories, professional life histories, and the use of narrative in order to explore the cultural experiences of those involved in various educational settings (Alsup, 2006; Amey, 1999; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Motha et al., 2012).

	Janice	Karen	Gina	Tera	Hua	Guan
First Language	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin
Undergraduate Major	English Language, Literature, and Linguistics	Education	English Language and Literature	Foreign Languages and Literature	Foreign Languages and Literature	English Language and Literature
Undergraduate Study Location	Taiwan	U.S.	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan
Fields of Graduate Study	MA in TESOL	MA in TESOL	MA in TESOL; EdD in Education	MA in Foreign Languages and Literature	MA in Foreign Languages and Literature	MA in English Language and Literature; PhD in English
Graduate Study Location	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan
Current	English	English	English	English	English	English

Teaching Department			Instruction			
Current Teaching School	Yi University	Wen University	Shin University	Wen University	Wen University	Wen University
English Teaching Experience	1 years ESL 4 years EFL	1 year ESL 8 years EFL	1 year ESL 8 years EFL	21 years EFL	22 years EFL	15 years EFL

Figure 2: Overview of Case Study Participants

Chapter 4

FINDINGS: US-EDUCATED TAIWANESE ENGLISH TEACHERS

When asked about what factors constituted their perceptions of professional legitimacy as an English language educator in Taiwan, Janice, Karen, and Gina, the three US-educated Taiwanese English teachers, indicated their study experience in the U.S. as one of the factors contributing to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Drawing on Bourdieuan (1977, 1986, 1991) concepts of capital, I begin this chapter with an examination of the resources available to these US-educated teachers through their US education. Furthermore, I describe how the US-educated teachers enacted agency to adapt their available forms of capital to their pedagogical advantages. After examining the varying kinds of capital to which these US-educated teachers gained access and drew on to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy, I analyze other means with which helped they claim their professional legitimacy as English educators in Taiwan.

4.1 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital refers to academic preparation, academic experiences, and training (Bourdieu, 1991). For the US-educated teachers, cultural capital also included cross-cultural

academic and living experiences. In this section, I first examine how the US-educated teachers gained access to cultural capital which became an element contributing to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Then, I explore how the US-educated teachers exercised agency to adapt their cultural resources as their pedagogical resources.

4.1.1 Janice's Cultural Capital and Agency

After four years of studying in the department of English Language, Literature, and Linguistics at a university in Taiwan, Janice pursued her master's study in TESOL at River University on the East coast of the U.S. When asked about what factors contributing to her perceptions of professional legitimacy, Janice firstly listed her US education. Janice considered her undergraduate university was not a top level university in Taiwan and she believed that her study abroad experience was advantageous because she had a chance to receive her educational training at River University which she described as "a very good school". Throughout her educational experience, Janice stated that she met world-famous professors in the fields of TESOL and education. Furthermore, Janice regarded this study experience as helpful in expanding her visions:

I felt my horizons were broadened. [Prior to my US study,] I was a little fish in a small lake. I felt great that I graduated from one of the top universities in the world and I went through the [educational] training with peers who graduated from very good universities worldwide... [After my US study experience,] I can tell people that, "I saw the sea."

Even though I could not be the big fish in the sea I can tell people that I have been there. I got new visions. (Janice, Interview, September 12)

This statement illustrates how Janice acquired cultural capital through her US education. In Janice's perspective, she underwent the training in a good school and worked with world-

renowned professors as well as top students in the world. Therefore, Janice believed that her US study experience broadened her horizons.

The term cultural capital also refers to Janice's cross-cultural living experiences. Janice commented that language and culture are inseparable so that some learning of the culture of the target language is necessary. Realizing her cross-cultural experience had value in her teaching contexts, Janice decided to devote part of her teaching to raising students' cross-cultural awareness. In addition, she exercised agency in using her cultural capital of cross-cultural experience as her pedagogical resources. For instance, one time there was a photo of a post office in the textbook of her English Listening class. Janice mentioned that in class she told the students how the waiting time and working atmosphere of Taiwanese and US post offices were different. Janice also told the students about her experience of making small talk with people while waiting in line in US post offices. Janice mentioned that when she shared her stories of US living experience, "they [the students] always listened very attentively." Another example of how Janice utilized her study abroad experience as her cultural resources in class is when she taught vocabulary. For instance, when teaching the vocabulary *refund*, Janice told her students about several of her experiences when she asked for a refund, a custom which is less common in Taiwan. When teaching the word *graffiti*, Janice told her students about her experience of seeing graffiti in New York City on New Year's Eve. Asked Janice about her motivation for sharing her US living experience with her students, she commented:

It's more interesting than just asking them to remember the vocabulary...and they can probably learn those words faster and better because of my stories... Sometimes students commented in class evaluations saying that they can learn other things in my class, including American culture rather than just things from the textbooks.

These two examples from Janice’s experiences and her statement provide some insights into Janice’s ownership of cultural capital and her agency in teaching. First, knowing that her stories about her experiences while studying and living in the U.S. made students more engaged in her class, Janice shared her cultural resources with specific purposes in mind: to “broaden students’ visions” and to “motivate students to learn English”. Janice’s action also demonstrates the interrelationship between capital and agency (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992)—realizing she had gained access to cultural resources because she had studied and lived in the U.S., Janice as an agent utilized her cultural resources in teaching. Furthermore, Janice also was keenly aware of her advantage in terms of providing real-life examples in class, that is, she could be relatively flexible in choosing and providing examples from her study and living experience in Taiwan or in the US. This flexibility, according to Janice, made her classes different from those of other teachers. Thirdly, Janice did not just recognize her ownership of cultural capital; she actively adapted this capital as her pedagogical resources to enrich her classes and also to engage students in their English learning.

4.1.2 Karen’s Cultural Capital and Agency

Karen pursued both her undergraduate and master’s studies in the U.S. After her four years of undergraduate study majoring in Education in the Midwest, Karen studied TESOL for her master’s degree at River University³ on the East coast. Similar to Janice’s education, Karen’s US education served as one of the factors contributing to her perceptions of professional legitimacy as an English language educator in Taiwan. In this section, I describe how Karen earned cultural capital through her education in the U.S. Then, I present how Karen, like Janice,

³ Janice and Karen entered the same school for the same degree for their master’s studies. Karen graduated a few years earlier than Janice did, and therefore they were/are not acquaintances.

exercised agency to use the cultural capital that she gained through studying in the U.S. in her teaching.

Karen's cultural capital mainly referred to her academic training in the U.S. Karen stated that throughout her education in the U.S., she was encouraged to think critically and was trained to look at things from multiple perspectives:

I know people from different parts of the world may look at things differently and not everything we see and think is correct. [Because of the academic training,] I became more independent [in thinking] and looked at things more broadly. In the U.S., you meet people not only from Taiwan but around the world and we were trained to look at things from various perspectives. We were encouraged to express our own ideas and to debate various issues... [Whereas] In Taiwan, you are trained to have the same kind of ideas and voices (Karen, Interview, October 17)

Karen's statement illustrates her ownership of cultural capital: the academic training in the U.S. fostered her to think critically and broadly. Thus this academic experience, according to Karen, expanded her horizons. It is also interesting to note that both Janice and Karen expressed the idea "visions" or "horizons" multiple times during their interviews. Furthermore, Karen also mentioned that in her class she usually encouraged students to think critically and to express different voices. "I don't think many teachers [in Taiwan] do this," Karen added. Here, Karen exemplified being an agent of action not only because she recognized her ownership of cultural capital gained through her education in the U.S. but also because she decided to transmit this information to see things more critically and to encourage her students to express their own opinions, training which Karen indicated as lacking in the education system of Taiwan.

In addition to her academic training in the U.S., Karen's cultural capital included her cross-cultural living experience. The following example illustrated how Karen enacted agency to utilize her cultural resources as pedagogical resources.

Karen stated that the textbooks she used in Taiwan were mostly from the English-speaking countries and a majority of them were published in the U.S. Because of this fact, Karen stated that it was easy for her to bring up her US experience in class. Sometimes she would add her photos as visual aids while she talked about her stories in the U.S. From Karen's viewpoint, adding her US experience to her lessons assisted her to provide students a culture-learning environment. Karen gave the following example to support this point:

In my reading class yesterday, we read an article written by an African American author. At the end of my class I told my students my experience of riding buses in Philadelphia where some of the bus drivers were African Americans and they were really nice and friendly...I also told my students that I read an article about family education of African Americans and I found out it was somewhat alike our Asian culture; for example, they also highly value [the role of] family in one's education... Students were engaged when I told them my stories and discoveries and they kept asking me questions about my encounters with African Americans. (Karen, Interview, October 17)

This example illustrates how Karen utilized her cultural capital gained from her cross-cultural living experiences as her pedagogical resources. In addition, Karen indicated that this cultural capital gained from her cross-cultural experiences allowed her to "convince students with more ease" because she could provide real personal experience. Karen further explained her motivation of bringing up her cultural resources in class: "Everyone likes to hear stories, especially traveling or living abroad stories...they probably feel the class interesting and would

like to listen more and therefore learn more.” This statement shows that Karen did not just recognize her available cultural capital gained from her life experiences in the U.S., she also enacted agency to make use of these cultural resources in her teaching as a way to motivate her students and help them learn more English. This agency of initiating action to transform a form of capital into pedagogical tools is also consistent with what Janice did as I described previously.

4.1.3 Gina’s Cultural Capital and Agency

After pursuing an undergraduate study in English Language and Literature in Taiwan, Gina studied for an MA in TESOL in a university in the Midwestern part of the U.S. She also obtained her doctoral degree in Education on the West coast of the U.S.

Similar to Janice and Karen, when asked about what factors contributing to her perceptions of professional legitimacy, Gina mentioned that her US education was one of the elements of her perceptions of professional legitimacy. Gina highly valued her training both in her master’s and doctoral studies. As Gina explained:

[In my master’s,] I took some methods courses and I learned many teaching strategies. I also had lots of trainings at that school. I also think our practicum helped me to think I was ready to teach. In our practicum ...four other students and I designed an intensive English language learning course and we also took turns teaching this class. We as student teachers also needed to observe other teachers’ teaching as well. The training was quite substantial. Also because of this experience, I felt I was ready to teach English listening, speaking, writing, and reading classes in Taiwan when I graduated. (Gina, Interview, October 30)

This statement describes how Gina earned cultural capital from her academic experience and training in the U.S. Due to the training she received, Gina felt that she was fully prepared to teach English in Taiwan when she graduated from her master's.

Besides having a keen awareness of the cultural capital that she earned from her academic training in the U.S., Gina also exercised agency to turn this cultural capital into her teaching resources in Taiwan. For example, Gina initiated bringing one aspect of her academic experience into her teaching in Taiwan. As Gina stated:

I like some aspects of the American education. In Taiwan, the school culture is very competitive. Everybody likes to compare himself/herself with others. Also in schools teachers tend to criticize students and they think criticisms make students progress.

Throughout my master's and doctoral study experience, I realized that in order to make a student progress, teachers do not need to criticize students constantly. If a teacher says I am good at something, it makes me want to be better. Teachers in America tend to praise students more and this influences my way of teaching.

Indeed, as I observed Gina's classes, she often commented saying "Good" or "Good job" when students finished their tasks. Gina often praised her students in class, a strategy which she learned from her teachers in the U.S. Gina mentioned she received a student's comment once saying that she was one of the kindest teachers the student had met because she gave lots of positive comments to students. "The student said I was different than other teachers in that way," Gina added.

Here is another example of how Gina turned her cultural capital into her teaching resources. As I observed Gina's classes, I noticed she used lots of small tasks including group activities, small group discussions and mini-presentations, etc. Furthermore, every time at the

end of a class, Gina would ask students to do a quick self-evaluation in terms of their own learning in that class (either thumbs-up or thumbs-down indicating students' own perceptions of their learning in that session). Gina stated that she learned these skills of using tasks in teaching and doing student self-evaluations when she was a graduate student in the U.S. She enjoyed these two approaches while she was a student herself in the U.S. and now as a junior professor in Taiwan, she incorporated these approaches into her teaching. The examples of how Gina utilized her cultural capital earned from her US education as her pedagogical resources exemplified her agency. Gina served as an active agent bringing what she learned from her US academic experience that she regarded as beneficial, such as providing praises more often, using tasks in class, and conducting quick student self-evaluations, into her current teaching context. Gina's action also echoes Giddens's (1979) and Sewell's (1992) notion that structures as sets of capital or resources shape agency.

4.2 Linguistic Capital

Linguistic capital refers to one's competence in a language, including having the accent which has a high value in a specific context (Bourdieu, 1991; Chang & Kanno, 2010). In this section, I explore how Janice and Karen exercised agency to accumulate linguistic capital of the English language especially in speaking prior to coming to study in the U.S. and how they increased their linguistic capital through studying in the U.S. I also examine how Gina acquired linguistic capital because of her US education. Furthermore, I explain how the linguistic capital of the US-educated teachers functioned as one of the contributing factors to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Then, I examine the US-educated teachers' agency as they incorporated their linguistic capital into their teaching contexts.

4.2.1 Janice's Linguistic Capital and Agency

Janice stated that ever since high school, she had known that she had a strong interest in speaking English. Even though she did not have good scores in her English tests in high school, Janice noticed that her English pronunciation and intonation in some ways sounded like those of native English speakers in the CDs that her English teachers played in class. Janice also stated that even though at that time her high school teachers did not emphasize the skill of speaking and the English tests at that time were grammar-oriented, she practiced English speaking by herself very often. For example, if she read an English article, she would read it out loud to herself. Then until college, according to Janice, her speaking competence was praised more and more by her teachers and peers. “I was once selected to be a teaching assistant for our English speaking class and at that time I realized my speaking was relatively better and I could teach other people English pronunciation,” as Janice mentioned.

Not only did Janice realize that she had a passion for practicing speaking English since high school, but she also knew that she was particularly intrigued by different English accents. Asked about how she realized her interest in various English accents, Janice stated that she had always loved watching English movies and she would often turn up the volume and always paid special attention to the way people talked. Janice said she felt fascinated every time when she heard people speaking English with different accents:

I turned the volume so loud to the extent that my mom would scold me telling me to turn the volume down a bit every time I watched English movies. I also kept notes when I watched movies, jotting down words, phrases, and mostly slang that I felt interesting or I did not understand. I still do it sometimes and so far I have ten notebooks. I probably still don't get some ideas in my notebooks, but those notes showed my effort and interest in English. (Janice, Interview, August 20)

This statement reveals two interesting aspects of the linguistic capital of Janice. Firstly, this linguistic capital includes being able to notice various English accents. Secondly, Janice's ten notebooks demonstrated that she enacted agency to accumulate more linguistic capital by diligently keeping notes and learning.

Furthermore, Janice's linguistic capital was enhanced through her education in the U.S. According to Janice, her U.S. study experience was a "breakthrough"⁴ for her speaking. She stated that even though she was aware of her competence in spoken English and her passion for learning it prior to her study in the U.S., the English-speaking environment allowed her to practice her English speaking and Janice commented, "I really asked myself to practice speaking as much as I can, both in class and out of class." She further added, "In Taiwan, I had to find opportunities to practice speaking English but in the U.S. I used English all the time after I woke up." In Janice's perspective, the non-stop opportunities to speak English tremendously boosted her English speaking competence, especially in terms of fluency. Additionally, during the second year of her master's study, Janice served as a volunteer teacher teaching English-as-a-second-language (ESL) to adult immigrants. Janice stated, "It was my first time teaching English in an English-speaking country." This teaching experience increased Janice's chances to practice speaking more English, and thus she felt confident in her English speaking skill. She knew this teaching experience placed a higher demand of her English speaking performance because she was the English language educator and needed to communicate in English only because students in these classes were from many different countries.

Furthermore, regarding Janice's interest in various English accents mentioned above, the English-speaking environment in the U.S. provided Janice "live experience" to hear people's

⁴ Janice stated this English word *breakthrough* while expressing her idea.

various English accents. River University in which Janice pursued for her Master's was located in the Northeast of the U.S. and because of its location, Janice had opportunities to notice that people from Boston, New York and Philadelphia spoke English differently. Janice mentioned that she paid special attention to these various English accents every time she was out on a street or in a bus. Janice also expressed that at times she felt frustrated when she could not understand what people said due to various accents, especially in her first year in the U.S. However, these frustrations did not stop her but rather motivated her to study harder.

The above examples not only demonstrate Janice's strong passion for learning the English language but also illustrate Janice's effort in accumulating linguistic capital of the English language: she seized opportunities to sharpen her English speaking and develop a stronger interest in various accented English while she was in the U.S.

When Janice came back to Taiwan after receiving her MA TESOL degree, having an awareness of her linguistic capital of the English language, Janice demonstrated strong agency to use her linguistic capital as her pedagogical resources. For instance, in one of the follow-up interviews right after Janice finished teaching her Speaking class, she mentioned that she enjoyed teaching speaking because she felt relatively adept at establishing dominance in her Speaking class. Asked Janice to elaborate this point, she stated:

Taiwanese students are afraid of speaking English... like the class you came to visit today. I began this class by saying: "Hello. My name is Jane."⁵ It is a simple sentence but I know my American accent leads students to think they can trust me. My English sounds

⁵ Mandarin-speakers in general need to make effort in pronouncing the sound of long vowel [e]. Both *name* and *Jane* contain this long vowel sound.

better than theirs so they can ask me questions if they have any. I know it sounds very straightforward, but that's the way it is. (Janice, Interview, October 24)

This statement pinpoints that firstly, Janice was aware of her ownership of linguistic capital of the English language because of her American accent. As I observed Janice's speaking class that day, she also told students straightforwardly that she was "teaching American accent" and if students wanted to learn other kinds of English accents, Janice stated that she would help them find the resources to do so. Secondly, Janice used this linguistic capital as one of her pedagogical tools which helped her establish dominance among students in her speaking class.

Here is another example of how Janice used her linguistic capital as her pedagogical resources:

Pei-Chia: I noticed that you purposefully spoke English with Taiwanese-accented English when you talked to students or sometimes in class when you expressed ideas from students' perspectives. What motivated you to do this?

Janice: I did that because it can help me build a common ground [with students] and they don't find my American-accented English threatening. And also compared with my Taiwanese-accented English, students may feel their pronunciation is better than that... I also speak Taiwanese-accented English in order to get closer to my students because they think it is funny.

Realizing that her American-accented English might be intimidating for some students who were afraid of speaking English, Janice demonstrated her ability of switching between her American-accented teacher voice and her Taiwanese-accented student voice in her classes and out of class. When I observed Janice's classes several times, I saw some students laugh every time she spoke Taiwanese-accented English or at times when she switched between different accented English.

This linguistic capital, according to Janice, helped her to get closer to her students and she knew students found her interesting and funny when she did that. Indeed, one time after class, a student who had taken a class with Janice previously came to her and asked why she did not imitate various accented English in class in that session. Janice's strategy to generate different linguistic utterances with various accented English depending on teaching contexts echoes Bourdieu's (1991) idea of linguistic capital. When Janice planned to establish her authority at the beginning of her class, she used American-accented English; when she wanted to create a fun and interesting learning atmosphere and get closer to her students, she spoke with Taiwanese-accented English. Janice also demonstrated how her linguistic capital enabled her action (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992). Furthermore, this example also demonstrates Janice's linguistic competence as she knew how and when to produce expressions that are more highly valued in specific contexts concerned.

4.2.2 Karen's Linguistic Capital and Agency

Similar to Janice, Karen also mentioned that she had an interest in learning English especially in speaking since high school. Karen stated that she liked to practice speaking English and her speaking ability was recognized by her teachers and classmates when she was in high school:

Every time when it was my turn reading something out loud in the English class, the teacher often said I read it quite well. She said I had good intonation... because I was encouraged, I wanted to work harder on speaking. (Karen, interview, September 10)

Karen's English speaking ability was recognized by her English teacher and this recognition motivated her to work harder on speaking. For example, Karen said that while her classmates tended to shy away from being called upon by teachers, she often volunteered to speak up in

English in class. Karen's action echoed Norton's (1995) idea regarding agency: as an English language learner, Karen's agency linked her motivation to taking action to create more opportunities to practice her English speaking.

After high school, Karen pursued her undergraduate and master's studies in the U.S. This U.S. study experience, according to Karen, helped her to be able to acquire English more efficiently because the English-speaking environment provided her multiple linguistic contexts to practice her English. As Karen explained:

I had more opportunities to listen to or speak English and I felt the time my English improved very fast was the time I was in the U.S. [For examples,] sometimes I needed to make phone calls asking why a magazine company did not send a magazine to me or I needed to borrow a weeding machine from my neighbor, etc. Because of this environment and the multiple opportunities it provided, I learned English in these various contexts fast and efficiently. In different situations I needed to use different vocabulary.

(Karen, interview, September 10)

Karen's statement of using different vocabulary in various contexts also echoes Bourdieu's (1991) concept of linguistic capital. Bourdieu (1991) states that differences in vocabulary (as well as accent and grammar) reflect the qualities of one's linguistic capital (and other forms of capital). The example of using different vocabulary in various contexts also demonstrates that the English-speaking linguistic contexts granted Karen more linguistic capital.

In addition to widening her range of vocabulary, Karen stated that she felt more confident in her English language competence because she went through educational training in an English-speaking country and achieved numerous academic milestones in this English-speaking country:

[In the U.S.] I responded to English quickly and I spoke very fluently. Plus almost all my classmates were Americans. In my Education department [for my undergraduate degree], we needed to pass two exams and lots of international students left because the tests were too hard. I was the only international student who survived and finished the program [at that time]. Therefore I feel my English skills were very strong at that time. This also boosted my confidence. (Karen, interview, September 10)

This example illustrates how the training in her school boosted Karen's confidence in her English language competency. Asked to give more specific examples of her excelling in the English language, Karen provided an example from the progress she made in her writing. During her undergraduate study in the U.S., she usually received positive comments on her writing from a native English-speaking writing tutor. Later on she became an assistant of that writing tutor and helped check other international students' writing. "Before this experience I never knew I was good at writing; my confidence [in writing] was boosted because I got recognition from a native speaker," Karen added. Karen's examples demonstrated how she accumulated more linguistic capital during her US study experience. This linguistic capital also boosted her confidence as an English language learner and English language user.

After her master's study in the U.S., Karen returned to Taiwan and became an English teacher at Wen University. Karen stated that from time to time she encountered students who expressed their ideas about accent to her or sometimes students commented on her English:

Karen: Some students told me they do not want their teachers to speak English with a serious accent. Now I think speaking with an accent is fine because English is just a language used to communicate. However, some students are too young to understand this point and they think it is better if their English teachers do not have heavy accent.

Pei-Chia: Can you elaborate on this point more?

Karen: Hum...some of my students told me, ‘Karen, you speak English so beautifully’ or they asked, ‘When can we speak English that sounds like yours?’ Maybe these are just nice compliments, but these comments tell me that at least they want to listen to me in class and they want to learn.

Pei-Chia: And do you think your US study provided you opportunities to sharpen your English speaking and this made your English “sound beautiful”?

Karen: Yes, yes, I definitely think so... especially during my undergraduate study, almost all my classmates were [English] native speakers...My roommates were all Americans. My English speaking was definitely influenced by that environment. (Karen, interview, October 11)

From Karen’s perspective, first of all, the US study experience expanded her vocabulary range and boosted her overall confidence in her English competency because she overcame intensive academic challenges. Secondly, the English-speaking environment also assisted Karen in acquiring “beautiful” spoken English. Thirdly, Karen’s ownership of linguistic capital was further confirmed because she received students’ comments that she “spoken English beautifully” and her English “contained no Taiwanese-accent”.

Additionally, it is important to note that Karen knew her students wanted to listen to her because of her spoken English. In the previous section, I mentioned that Karen’s cultural capital of cross-cultural experience empowered her to “convince students with more ease” because she could discuss real personal experiences in class. Karen’s cultural and linguistic capital together therefore endowed her pedagogical advantages.

4.2.3 Gina’s Linguistic Capital and Agency

As stated previously, Gina's US education was one of the factors contributing to her perceptions of professional legitimacy. However, unlike Janice and Karen who expressed a strong interest in learning English especially in terms of speaking since high school, Gina did not enjoy her English language learning experience as much especially to practice speaking due to lack of opportunities to do so. In college, despite the fact that Gina majored in English Language and Literature, Gina experienced frustrations because of a paucity of opportunities to practice English. As Gina explained:

I did not dare to speak English while I was in my undergraduate plus there were not many opportunities to do so. Like sometimes in our English Speaking class the teacher asked us to practice speaking English with peers. Lots of students would not want to do that and they spoke in Mandarin a lot in class and it frustrated me. I felt I could not find people to practice speaking English with.

Gina added that throughout college, she felt she did not acquire adequate English language skills at the level that she wanted to achieve, especially in the area of speaking. Thus, when Gina graduated from college, she planned to study TESOL so she could continue to work on improving her English language skills. However, at the beginning of her master's study, Gina experienced challenges to her English listening and speaking both in class and out of class:

I did not enjoy learning English even in my first year of master's study because at that time my English was not very good. There was one teacher who always spoke so fast in class and very often I could not understand what she said.... [Additionally,] I was especially afraid of answering phone calls because I felt like I was taking English listening and speaking tests.

Gina even recalled an experience in which she needed to use her body language to communicate in a supermarket. Gina demonstrated her agency as she was determined to conquer the academic and life challenges related to the English language. Gina stated that at that time she seized every opportunity to practice her English:

I found every opportunity to talk to native speakers. For example, I joined a free English-speaking-practice group, English-bible study groups, etc....there were plenty of opportunities to practice my speaking while I was in the U.S... After my master's I came back to Taiwan to work as an English teacher and I felt my English had improved a lot.

Gina made great efforts to acquire linguistic capital of the English language during the time she stayed in the US as a master's student. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, the rigorous training including her teaching experience as a student teacher in her MA program allowed Gina not only to practice and sharpen her four English skills constantly, but also to improve her English to the level she felt satisfied with. In addition, Gina stated that during her doctoral study in the U.S., she "felt quite comfortable and enjoyed talking in English". Gina also added that her doctoral study in the U.S. granted her more linguistic capital of the English language because of her experience of being a teacher trainer of many native-speaking student teachers. Gina considered this experience as very important in making her more competent in her English language skills.

Gina's examples of her master's and doctoral studies illustrate how Gina enacted agency in order to gain her linguistic capital of the English language: she passed through phases of English language learning, starting from being afraid of speaking English, to persistently seizing English practice opportunities despite the challenges, and to feeling the joy of using English and

mastering the language. Later in this chapter, I will present how Gina used her experience of learning English as a pedagogical strategy in her teaching.

4.3 Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital means the resources available on the basis of honor, prestige, or recognition (Bourdieu, 1986). Janice, Karen and Gina universally mentioned that their US education served as a contributor to their perceptions of professional legitimacy and endowed them recognitions and value in their teaching contexts. For example, Karen decided to pursue her undergraduate and master's studies with the intention that her U.S. education would offer her a wider range of symbolic resources, such as "advancing competitiveness" and "gaining prestige", and thus would increase her value in the society. In this section, I firstly illustrate how the US-educated teachers gained access to the symbolic capital. Then I describe how Janice and Karen enacted agency to demystify the halo effect that they encountered.

4.3.1 Janice's Symbolic Capital and Agency

As stated previously, Janice's US education listed as a contributor to her perceptions of professional legitimacy. Janice emphasized that the education not only legitimized her to be an English educator in Taiwan, but also let other people perceived her as a legitimate English teacher in Taiwan. Obtaining a master's degree from an Ivy-League River University, Janice indicated that she felt honored to be able to graduate from River University. She also stated that obtaining a degree from one of the top universities worldwide encouraged her to look at herself differently. As Janice explained:

Before I studied at River University, I felt I was just a student from a mediocre university in Taiwan...For me, it is a sense of accomplishment that I got a degree in the US and from a top ten school in the world. (Janice, Interview, September 12)

Janice gained access to symbolic capital because she felt a sense of achievement that she obtained a master's degree from a well renowned school in the U.S and worldwide. This point echoes Bourdieu's (1986) concept of symbolic capital which refers to a resource available on the basis of honor. Not only the study abroad experience at River University granted Janice a sense of honor, she also experienced the recognition from her colleagues and students.

For instance, Janice mentioned that if people in Taiwan have heard of River University and known its reputation, when they knew that Janice was graduated from that school, "their eyes shine," as Janice stated. Additionally, Janice described how she encountered similar experience with her colleagues:

If my colleagues know my school, they think highly of me. They do not see me like nobody because I was relatively young among colleagues...They give me comments immediately right after they heard what school I went to: "It is a great school." or "You are excellent." Or when the director [of the department] introduces me to other new colleagues, she often brings up the fact that I graduated from River University. (Janice, Interview, September 12)

This example illustrates how Janice's study abroad experience at River University granted her symbolic capital because she received her colleagues' recognitions, not only for that university but also for her. In addition to encountering this experience with her colleagues, Janice also described how she encountered similar experience with her students regarding her symbolic capital:

Recently the school's library has an exhibition from the American Institute in Taiwan. The exhibition featured famous Taiwanese people who studied abroad in the U.S....The exhibition mentioned Ivy League schools and some of my students saw this exhibition

and asked whether I graduated from one of those schools. I said yes and at that moment I felt proud of my school...Or when students know where I graduated from for my master's, they usually say I must be good at English or studying or taking exams, etc. (Janice, Interview, September 12)

Because Janice graduated from an Ivy-League school and same as other famous Taiwanese people, the students thought highly of Janice's English language ability and academic performance. Janice further stated that the symbolic capital granted from her US degree was at times helpful when she taught. "The halo for me is that sometimes students think highly of me and admire me because I went to a famous school. I feel sometimes they pay attention to what I say more attentively," as Janice identified. This description also echoes Janice's point that her master's study in the U.S. not only constituted part of her sense of professional legitimacy as an English language teacher in Taiwan, her US study experience also let other people think she is a legitimate English teaching professional. Mostly importantly, the symbolic capital, combined with the capital of cultural and linguistic, became Janice's pedagogical advantages.

While being keenly aware of her symbolic capital and the halo that people gave her, Janice also broke the stereotype and demystified the halo effect for her students. For example, Janice stated that in class she often tried to demystify the myth that people who studied abroad in English-speaking countries have better English or teachers who studied abroad have better pronunciation:

I straightforwardly tell my students not to idol those people or teachers who have been studied abroad. Some students think that going abroad is the only way to learn English and I don't want them to limit their own learning opportunities because not everyone can go studying abroad. I tell them I know lots of English teachers in Taiwan who never

studied abroad but have impeccable English. I tell them those teachers are my models.

(Janice, interview, September 12)

This statement exemplifies the idea that people's agency is shaped by the resources to which they gain access (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992) — Janice's symbolic capital enabled her to initiate action to break the stereotype and to emphasize that Taiwan-educated teachers also served as good models. In addition, as stated previously, when students know where Janice received her master's degree, they often expressed their admiration. In this case, Janice stated she often encouraged her students by providing a fact that she also graduated from the same university for her undergraduate study and asked her students to dream big and set English learning goals in their life. This point also illustrates that Janice exercised agency to use her symbolic capital as a pedagogical tool to inspire and encourage her students.

4.3.2 Karen's Symbolic Capital and Agency

As stated previously, Karen pursued her undergraduate and master's studies in the U.S. with the intention that her U.S. education would offer her a wider range of symbolic resources and she believed that these resources would increase her value in society and in the English teaching profession. Karen articulated how her US education brought her symbolic capital, especially at the time when she applied for a English teaching job after graduating from her master's and returning to Taiwan:

I do not think I could teach at this university if I did not have a degree from the U.S. I feel that if people have several years of studying abroad experience, people are more competitive, not only in teaching but also other professions as well, I think... I think it is like adding points.... I feel if today I got my master's in English or Education in Taiwan, I probably would not have much confidence to apply for the teaching position... Actually

I have been abroad and I know how things went and we [US-educated and Taiwan-educated teachers] are not that much different. [When applying for this job,] I knew Wen University had lots of teachers who got their degree overseas so I got the same footage with others; I did not feel unconfident about myself. Studying abroad is not a big deal, to be honest. It is just that if I did not study abroad, I would probably think studying abroad is all great and I was not as good as others. (Karen, Interview, October 17)

From Karen's perspective, her US education served as bargaining chips and allowed her to have the same footage with other job applicants who had study abroad experience. It also echoes Karen's belief that her US education would increase her value. Karen also brought up a point worth highlighting: undergoing her US education allowed Karen to be "an insider" of US education and enabled her to conclude that the oversea training did not serve as a factor that distinguish English teachers in terms of their English language abilities. To elaborate this viewpoint, Karen further explained:

The society thinks that you are better because you graduated from universities overseas. Especially we learn language and you know there is a term called "yang mo shi" which means "foreign ink" and it describes people who studied abroad. People think at least you have been there. But people who study abroad are not necessarily good at English, and this is true. But only people who have been abroad know this. You know what I mean? If you do not have this experience [of studying abroad], it is hard for you to judge whether it is true or not. (Karen, Interview, October 17)

The statements illustrate how Karen gained access to symbolic capital and how the accessibility of this capital was beneficial as she applied for an English teaching job in Taiwan.

In addition to having more confidence in herself because she had gained access to symbolic resources, Karen, like Janice, also stated that her master's degree from the same Ivy League school brought her a halo when she encountered colleagues:

There was one time the director [from the department] had a question about the English language. One of my colleagues said, "Go ask Karen; she graduated from River University." It was a grammar question and I happened to know the answer. I did not think knowing the answer had anything to do with my educational background.... However, everyone thought I knew the answer because of my educational background. It's a stereotype. They think because I graduated from River University so I should behave in certain way or know certain things. (Karen, Interview, October 17)

This example demonstrates how Karen experienced a halo effect: the colleague perceived Karen's English language ability highly based on her overseas educational background at an Ivy League school.

Karen was also aware of her symbolic capital gained from her US education in her teaching context. Karen stated that if students knew Ivy League schools and also knew where she graduated from for her master's study, she could see "sparkles in their eyes." As Karen added:

I feel students see me differently. Because I studied abroad, students are more convinced. I know there was a teacher who never studied abroad and she needed to spend a lot of time persuading her students that what she said was correct...I think I have the advantage to convince my students more easily. (Karen, Interview, October 17)

Karen's statement suggests with her symbolic capital, combined with her cultural and linguistic capital discussed previously, she felt she could convince students with more ease in class. This

example also illustrates how the ownership of varying kinds of capital brought Karen pedagogical tools.

While experiencing the halo effect with her colleagues and her students, Karen, similar to Janice, also enacted agency to demystify the halo effect for her students and further turned the talk of halo effect into a learning opportunity with her students:

Some students told me that they thought some teachers who were Taiwan-educated teachers did not have authentic pronunciation; they spoke with a certain accent. I then told my students that accent is not the factor to judge one's speaking... I asked them if a teacher speak English without an accent but does not prepare for classes whether they still think that teacher is a good teacher. "If a teacher has a Taiwanese accent but works hard and prepares his/her classes well, does it [the accent] matter?" I also asked them, "Which accent do you consider as the Standard English accent? American accent? Or Australian accent?" Usually they were tongue-tied and could not answer my question. (Karen, interview, October 17)

The example illustrates how Karen initiated action to demystify students' stereotype toward teachers who spoke with a Taiwanese accent. Karen further enacted agency overturning the stereotype of accent into a learning opportunity. Additionally, this example also indicates how various forms of capital are usually interconnected. In this case, owning the linguistic capital of the English language closely connects with symbolic capital.

4.3.3 Gina's Symbolic Capital

Gina's US education also endowed her with symbolic capital. Gina stated that she felt honored that she had received her master's and doctoral degrees in the U.S. Similar to Karen, Gina also believed that her US degrees granted her advantages when she found a job. "If two job

applicants have the same qualifications but one is Taiwan-educated English teacher and another is US-educated, I think most likely the school would hire the US-educated teacher,” Gina added. Gina further explained that nowadays most Taiwanese universities expect professors to use English as the medium in class, regardless of their fields. Therefore, US-trained teachers, according to Gina, generally receive more recognition and therefore benefit receiving more prestige.

Regarding Gina’s ownership of symbolic capital, she also recalled an incident indicating how one of her colleagues thought of her US educational background as endowing her with more prestige. One time a colleague who was a Taiwan-educated teacher told Gina that she noticed the way the vice president interacted with them was different. The colleague told Gina that she wondered if it was because both the vice president and Gina graduated from American universities and therefore thought Gina was more competent. Gina told her colleague that she thought it was because the teacher, other than teaching, held an administrative position and she worked directly with vice president so they had some kind of dominate-subordinate working relationship. However, Gina realized that her US educational background, from her colleague’s viewpoint, granted her symbolic capital because Gina received more recognition and was thought to be more competent. From the viewpoint of Gina’s colleague, Gina also gained social capital, which referred to a network within a group of people who were all US-educated.

4.4 Strategies for Establishing Other Means with Which They Claimed Legitimacy as English Teaching Professionals

As stated previously, education in the U.S. was one of the contributing factors to Janice, Karen, and Gina’s perceptions of professional legitimacy and I have begun this chapter by examining the forms of capital to which the US-educated teachers gained access through their

US education. In this section, I analyze other resources which the US-educated teachers drew upon and which served as contributing factors to their sense of professional legitimacy as English language educators in Taiwan.

In addition to their US education, one notable similarity among Janice, Karen and Gina's perceptions of professional legitimacy is that relationships with their students play a critical role in their perceptions of their professional legitimacy. Building a good student-teacher relationship helped Janice assert her professional legitimacy; having passion to teach students allowed Karen to claim her professional legitimacy; and gaining students' trust, from Gina's perspective, indicated that she was a legitimate English teaching professional.

4.4.1 Janice's Strategies

Janice mentioned that her effort in building a good student-teacher relationship also contributed to her perceptions of professional legitimacy. Janice believed her students "do not need a perfect teacher [in English] but a compassionate teacher." With this belief in mind, Janice dedicated herself to being a compassionate teacher by building a strong student-teacher relationship. When asked about why building a strong and compassionate relationship with students played an important role in contributing to her perceptions of professional legitimacy, Janice explained:

I did not like English when I was little. I went to a cram school when I was in my elementary school and my grades were not good at that time. I only started to like English and wanted to learn it after I met my English tutor....Now as an English teacher, I always think that if my students like me first, they will probably want to learn more English.

(Janice, interview, August 20)

Drawing on her own English learning experience, Janice realized that her interest in English learning was stimulated because she liked her teacher. Therefore, Janice wanted to build a good student-teacher relationship so students might like her and then be more motivated to learn English.

Janice enacted agency to employ strategies to establish a good student-teacher relationship. First of all, as stated in the section on linguistic capital above, Janice found that even though her American-accented English was well-acknowledged among the faculty and her students, her spoken English could be intimidating to some students who were afraid of English speaking. Therefore, Janice spoke Taiwanese-accented English in class whenever she expressed ideas from a student's perspective or when she interacted with students. This way, according to Janice, helped to build "common grounds" with her students:

Students are more likely to speak up in class because they think their pronunciation is better than that [i.e. Janice's Taiwanese-accented English]... They know I do not expect them to speak English perfectly; they have a sense of security when they speak English with me. (Janice, interview, September 17)

Janice enacted agency to speak with Taiwanese-accented English intentionally in order to shorten the distance between her and her students. Because of Janice's accent-switching strategy in speaking, students had a sense of security while they spoke English in class.

Secondly, in order to have a good teacher-student relationship, Janice purposefully made herself very approachable to students, with an aid of technology. For example, when I observed Janice's class during the first week of the semester, after her self-introduction, she gave students her Facebook account and encouraged them to add her as friend. Janice explained she wanted to spend more time with her students and one way to do this is via Facebook because she could

have more interactions with her students, in addition to interactions in actual class time. For example, Janice indicated that some students asked her questions about English learning on Facebook and she usually would talk to those students after class. In addition to using Facebook as a tool to answer students' questions, she also used her Facebook page to express her care and concern for students. For instance, Janice said she would write sentences such as "My students are the apple of my eyes." or "Even though it's Monday morning and it's quite early, I feel good to see my students." After viewing Janice's comments, some students would leave comments. One noteworthy point that Janice pointed out was that usually there were only a handful of students joined her Facebook group initially at the beginning of a semester; after having interactions with her students virtually for several weeks, the other students would join the group and the circle got bigger and bigger. With the increasing circle of students joining her Facebook group, Janice also stated that it helped her manage the actual class easier.

Thirdly, as presented on the section of cultural capital, Janice utilized her cultural capital as her pedagogical resources. Regarding this point, Janice also stated that whenever she gave her study-abroad examples, she always would make sure she understood her students' financial background so the examples she provided fulfilled the purpose of "broadening students' horizons", rather than to "showing off," as Janice emphasized. She further added: "If the majority of students [in one class] are from a lower socioeconomic status, I use more examples of Taiwan instead of U.S... Not many students are as lucky as me to have the opportunity to study abroad." This example illustrates that while US study experience brought Janice cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital and that Janice used these forms of capital pedagogically, Janice was also keenly aware of her relatively accessible economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984), compared with how accessible these forms of capital were to her students. In addition, this is a compelling

example of Janice's agency: bearing the understanding of students' various financial status in mind, Janice strategically gave selective examples that suited her students' backgrounds and learning goals.

4.4.2 Karen's Strategies

In addition to her U.S. education, Karen stated that her passion for teaching also contributed to her perceptions of professional legitimacy. As Karen stated, "It is actually my passion in teaching that makes me stand out [not my educational background.] I want to spend time with students; I know not every teacher wants to do this." Asked to elaborate how she spent time with her students, Karen stated that teaching for her is "more like keeping a company with students." and she further added:

Very often I write "come to see me after class" on their [students'] writing papers. I found some students need some advice on writing strategies or sentences structures and it's hard to explain them all in a few sentences. I ask them to come to see me after class and try to explain the problems or mistakes they had on their writings... I teach to the whole class in a limited time. However, after class, if students have questions, I'm willing to sit down and talk to them very patiently. (Karen, email, June 9)

By spending extra time with her students to provide feedback or give advice on their language learning, Karen demonstrated her passion for teaching, which she also drew on as one of the factors contributing to her perceptions of professional legitimacy.

4.4.3 Gina's Strategy

Gina stated that in addition to her education in the U.S., gaining students' trust also illustrates why she was a legitimate English teaching professional. Asked to explain this point, she stated:

I feel I am a legitimate English teaching professional if students come to see me or email me asking questions about English teaching or pedagogy. Sometimes I received emails from students who already graduated and became English teachers and they wanted my advice regarding their pedagogy. At those moments, I feel my students trust me and this makes me think I am a legitimate English educator. (Gina, interview, October 30)

The feeling of gaining trust from students enabled Gina to assert her professional legitimacy. In order to gain students' trust, a strategy that Gina employed was to use her own learning experience of the English language as an example to encourage her students: stories of how she went through phases from being afraid of speaking or listening English to becoming a passionate English language learner and user, as was mentioned in the previous section on Gina's linguistic capital. Initiating action to provide her own learning stories of the English language, Gina not only gained students' trust but also became a role model for her students.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the resources available to Janice, Karen, and Gina and the resources contributing to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. All the US-educated Taiwanese English teachers universally named their US education as a contributing factor to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Janice, Karen, and Gina earned cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital through their US education. Then, I have described how these three US-educated teachers enacted agency to adapt their varying, available forms of capital as their pedagogical resources. Lastly, I have analyzed other means that contributed to these US-educated teachers' perceptions of professional legitimacy as English language educators in Taiwan. Janice employed strategies to build a good student-teacher relationship. Via the aid of technology, Janice used Facebook to have more interactions with her students. She also

strategically spoken English with a Taiwanese accent in order to build a common ground with students and get closer to her students. She also selectively provided supporting examples in class to fit the learning goals of that class session. Having passion to teach students allowed Karen to claim her professional legitimacy and therefore Karen always patiently spent extra time with her students. Gaining students' trust, from Gina's perspective, indicated that she was a legitimate English teaching professional. A strategy that Gina employed to gain students' trust was to use her own learning experience of the English language as an example to encourage her students.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS: TAIWAN-EDUCATED TAIWANESE ENGLISH TEACHERS

5.1 Taiwan-educated Teachers' Agency and Their Capital

As describe in Chapter 4, the three US-educated Taiwanese English teachers indicated that their US education as one of the factors contributing to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. I explored the resources the US-educated Taiwanese English teachers gained access to through their US education and other means they drew on to conceptualize their professional legitimacy. I also examined how these teachers turned their available resources into their pedagogical advantage. In this chapter, I explore how the Taiwan-educated teachers exercised agency to earn forms of capital that had high value in their teaching contexts, and how these forms of capital served as contributing factors to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Finally, I also discuss how these Taiwan-educated teachers further employed strategies for establishing other means with which they claimed legitimacy as English teaching professionals.

The Taiwan-educated teachers provided telling examples of how they interacted within their own English language learning environments and their teaching contexts as active human agents to empower themselves. As I will show, the agency of the Taiwan-educated teachers was enacted in various ways as they interacted with the sociocultural and institutional contexts surrounding them. In addition, while encountering their English-speaking-countries-educated or native English speaking counterparts in their teaching contexts, these Taiwan-educated teachers also exercised agency to employ strategies for establishing other means that helped them claim legitimacy as English teaching professionals.

5.1.1 “I Had a Lack of That Kind of [English-speaking] Environment so I Needed to Create That Kind of Environment”: Tera’s Agency and Strategies to Gain Linguistic Capital

Tera started exercising agency to find strategies to gain linguistic capital as a student. Majoring in Foreign Languages and Literature both in her undergraduate and master’s studies at a university in Taiwan, Tera stated that those years of learning the English language enabled her to notice her strengths and weaknesses in the English language. Tera stated that she had a passion for reading English and she rated her English reading skill as the best among the four English skills (listening, reading, speaking and writing). Speaking was more challenging for Tera and she further mentioned that the high demand of giving presentations and having class discussions with her classmates and professors in her master’s study made her realize that she needed to work harder on speaking. After experiencing frustrations over her performance in speaking English particularly after her first year of master’s study, Tera was determined to modify her English-speaking learning environment. She stated:

At that time when there was no Internet, I subscribed to a monthly English learning magazine called *Ivy League* and this magazine had lots of English conversations. You

know what I did? I memorized all conversations from the magazine. I even imitated the male and female speakers' voices and had conversations all done by myself... That was quite fun. (Tera, interview, September 17)

In order to gain the linguistic capital of the English language in speaking, Tera demonstrated agency to find a strategy to help her gain the English speaking competence by memorizing and practicing conversations from an English-language learning magazine. In addition, Tera commented that throughout the training that she gave to herself, she found herself “like a parrot imitating people’s speaking quite well.” When asked her motivation for memorizing conversations from the magazine, Tera explained that she believed those conversations were “at least written and edited by native English speakers”. She further elaborated:

I was not in the U.S. I did not learn my English in an English-speaking environment so I needed to find ways to help myself. At that time the only thing we can do is to listen more.... I could not be like people who stayed in the U.S. speaking English so fluently because they soaked in that English-speaking environment. I had a lack of that kind of environment so I needed to create that kind of environment. (Tera, interview, September 17)

Tera’s statement of having “a lack of that kind of environment so I needed to create that kind of environment” echoes the idea that agency is action-oriented (Inden, 1990; Varghese et al., 2005). Tera’s action of creating an English-learning environment also echoes Lantolf and Pavlenko’s (2001) concept of agency: it links motivation or investment to action and defines a myriad of paths taken by [language] learners. In addition, Tera’s statement brings up an interesting perspective regarding the issue of the ownership of the English language, an idea which will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

As an English educator, Tera also exercised great agency to find strategies to gain the linguistic capital of the English language she thought that she needed, especially during the beginning stage of her teaching career. Tera mentioned that during her first year teaching at Wen University, she had a teacher-parents meeting. She introduced her educational background to the parents and after the meeting, one of the mothers came to her and asked, “Teacher, you have never been to the U.K. or U.S. and you teach our kids English?” Tera mentioned that even now after twenty years, she still remembered the parent’s comment vividly:

[At that time] I felt as if I was being punched in the face...I know some people, some parents must have doubts about Taiwan-educated English teachers...I was hurt and I could only promise her that I would try to teach them well. I was speechless afterward and I knew I needed to work hard. (Tera, interview, September 17)

Knowing that some people would have doubts about her English language competence because of her domestic educational background, Tera enacted agency by working hard. For example, even though Tera felt satisfied with the training in English literature she received during her master’s program, Tera hired a native English-speaking tutor to discuss English literature before she started to teach that course at Wen University. Tera and the tutor worked four hours a week for an entire summer and she recorded every tutoring session with a bulky recorder. Asked about why she wanted to hire a tutor who majored in English before she started teaching the course, Tera explained:

I wanted to have a native speaker to help my speaking. Also, in class we compared our interpretations of readings and I wanted to make sure if my interpretations were correct...it is their language and their culture after all....I felt less worried to teach that class after this training. (Tera, interview, September 17)

By hiring a native English speaker as a tutor, Tera exercised agency to enable her to have a new way of being: she felt more confident in teaching the course.

Furthermore, in light of Tera's efforts of gaining the linguistic capital in speaking English, in particular, Tera also brought up the phrase "authentic English" (in English) several times in the interviews. According to Tera, it is important for English educators in Taiwan to have good spoken English. Tera articulated her reasons for speaking "authentic" English:

It is a global environment and when students learn English, they expect to have NESTs. Since I am not a NEST, it is even more necessary to have good spoken English....As an English teacher, I help them [students] learn the foreign language. Then I could not speak English with a weird accent. They may be like little parrots too. So I try my best to have authentic English pronunciation. (Tera, interview, January 7)

Ever since Tera was a graduate student, she had exercised agency to find strategies to gain the linguistic capital in the English language she felt necessary, particularly in speaking. As an English educator, Tera exercised agency not only to gain more linguistic capital but also to strive for speaking "authentic" English. Speaking "authentic" English was also one of the contributing factors to Tera's perspectives of professional legitimacy as an English educator in Taiwan. In Chapter 6, I will discuss further the complex relationship between my participants' perspectives on their English language performance and their perceptions of their professional legitimacy.

5.1.2 "For My Students, I Know Where the Challenging Parts Are": Hua's Agency and Strategies of Incorporating Her Cultural Capital into Teaching

Hua stated that through many years of teaching, she learned how to use her available resources to her pedagogical advantage. This section highlights how Hua incorporated her

cultural capital into her teaching. Cultural capital refers to one's formal knowledge, skills, and previous academic experiences (Bourdieu, 1991; Chang & Kanno, 2010). Hua exercised agency to use her cultural capital, including her past learning experience in Taiwan and her knowledge of the English literature, as her pedagogical resources. In addition, the ownership of this cultural capital also framed an element of Hua's perceptions of her professional legitimacy.

Here is an example of how Hua used the cultural capital of her past learning experience in Taiwan as her pedagogical resources. Hua understood that many students who took her elective English Literature class needed to prepare for their entrance exams of master's study if they wanted to major in English Literature. Hua, as a former student of Wen University herself, pointed out that she knew there was a gap between what students learned at Wen University and what would be tested in the entrance exams. Hua explained that Wen University was more practice-oriented whereas other universities could be more theory-oriented. In light of this, teachers at Wen University may spend an hour explaining one poem whereas other teachers in those theory-oriented schools would cover ten or more poems in one class. In considering this point, Hua made supplemental handouts in order to cover as much materials as possible. Hua also mentioned that, in class, she would point out what might be important if students needed to prepare for exams. Hua's cultural capital of her past academic experience became her knowledge of various institutional demands and requirements. She further exercised agency to use this knowledge to facilitate her teaching.

Here is another example of how Hua used her cultural capital—her past study experience in Taiwan and her knowledge of the English literature—as her pedagogical resources in her English Literature class. Hua mentioned that she started teaching this class chapter by chapter. Later she found that the students did not follow her and felt disengaged. Hua realized that she

taught this class according to the way she was taught. Recalling her experience as a graduate student learning English literature, she also felt disengaged from the texts and felt what needed to be learned was “too remote.” Hua added, “All of a sudden I felt I needed to not only learn the language well but also know the culture.” Recalling her experience as a student, Hua decided to teach the class in a more interactive way to help students feel more connected with the texts. She therefore decided to start the class introducing geographic information: she showed a map of England and asked student to find the geographic locations of places such England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, English Channel, Celtic Sea, etc. (Hua, handout, November 19). Then she discussed a little bit of history by asking student questions such as: “Is it English literature? Why were most of the early “English” literary works written in other languages?” “Why did the tragedy of a Danish prince become a classic in English literature?” (Hua, handout, November 19) When she introduced the stories, she also brought up novels or movies that were relevant to the texts. In this way, Hua exercised agency to turn her cultural capital into her pedagogical resources in order to shorten the gap between the students’ lives and experiences and their learning of English literature. In addition, owning this cultural capital and being able to use it as her teaching tools also served as a contributing factor to Hua’s perception of her professional legitimacy.

5.1.3 “I Can Still Have Lots of English Learning Opportunities in Taiwan”: Guan’s Agency and Strategies of Gaining Linguistic Capital

Similar to Tera, Guan also demonstrated agency in order to earn linguistic capital of the English language, in speaking and vocabulary particularly. Guan considered her English speaking ability was the best among the four skills (speaking, listening, reading, and writing). Guan further added that although she did not think that she mastered the English speaking ability

but her speaking ability improved rapidly after she started to teach English, and then became better at speaking eventually. Guan explained that when she started teaching English, she was a teacher of five children and this teaching experience greatly increased her English-speaking competence because she needed to enunciate words and therefore spoke English very clearly for her students. After this experience of teaching children, Guan taught English to junior and senior high school students in a private institute. She further explained how she gained English-speaking competence at that time:

I made great efforts to speak English well for my students. For example, I tried to pronounce words just like the native speakers in our CDs; I imitated their pronunciation and intonation and then demonstrated in class. After I did this for a while, these features [of pronunciation and intonation] became mine. Also, at the beginning I did not link some words together when I spoke English. Now the pronunciation tip of linking words was, for me, almost internalized because I keep teaching and keep speaking lots of English to my students. Sometimes I would say to my students that “Here we usually link these words together when we speak. I speak this way and we hear other people speak this way.”...To practice my speaking, for a long period of time, I talked to myself in English while I rode my motorcycle as I commuted to work. Overall I feel my speaking is good and based on my speaking, some students might not know I had never studied abroad.

(Guan, Interview, January 7)

This statement illustrates Guan’s agency: she practiced English pronunciation and intonation in order to teach those to her students. Interestingly, Guan’s original motivation to practice her English speaking was for the sake of teaching. Because of her effort in practicing English speaking, such as talking to herself in English persistently, Guan knew she acquired linguistic

capital because she considered she had internalized some native speakers' pronunciation and intonation and later those features became her own. Additionally, one thing noteworthy is that, even though in Guan's viewpoint that she did not gain the linguistic capital of the English language in speaking through the education system in Taiwan, she enacted agency by making an effort in speaking through teaching. The idea of how Guan built her professional legitimacy through teaching will be further discussed in the next section.

Guan also demonstrated agency to establish her linguistic capital of the English vocabulary. Guan stated that during college, she always had this idea in mind that as an English-major student, it might be better to study abroad in an English-speaking country in order to gain as much vocabulary as possible, just like many of her professors did. However, when she started to teach English, there was one incident which persuaded her that she could still learn English well without studying abroad. One time in class, students asked her if she knew the English word of *yan hui guang* (ash tray in Mandarin). She told the students the answer and the students told her that they had asked another teacher who had studied abroad but she did not know the answer. Guan then explained to the students that she had bought a vocabulary book one summer and she had memorized almost all the words from that book during that summer. Guan further explained to students that it was not the teacher's fault. She told the students that "Many people may not know the English word *ash tray* if they are non-smokers. It is hard for them to pick up this vocabulary if they do not need this particular thing in their lives." Furthermore, Guan stated that sometimes she used this example of learning vocabulary to encourage her students that they could learn English well in Taiwan as long as they make an effort. This example illustrates that Guan made an effort in her vocabulary learning. Additionally, the same as Hua, determining not to let her domestic educational background as a hurdle to acquire English vocabulary, Guan

enacted agency to work hard on vocabulary in order to position herself in a more powerful status. She also used this example as her pedagogical resource to encourage her students.

5.2 Strategies for Establishing Other Means with Which They Claimed Legitimacy as English Teaching Professionals

I have explored thus far how Tera and Guan exercised agency to earn the linguistic capital and how Hua enacted agency to use her cultural capital to her pedagogical advantages. Here I turn my attention to explore these teachers' strategies for establishing other means which served as contributing factors to their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

5.2.1 “If Students Like Me, They Tended to Like English”: Tera’s Strategies

In the previous section I have discussed how Tera enacted agency to gain linguistic capital of the English language in speaking. Here I present how Tera exercised agency to use strategies for establishing other means served as contributing factors to her perceptions of professional legitimacy as an English educator. Firstly, Tera incorporated Mandarin, the students' first language (L1), into her English Poetry class.

For example, Tera stated that one time in her English Poetry class she had an exchange student from the United States. At the beginning of that semester, Tera did not feel comfortable having him in class “because I was not sure if the American student wanted to learn English poetry from me,” Tera explained. Weeks later Tera found out that the student's Mandarin was at an intermediate level so she started to introduce Chinese poems in class. Sometimes she would compare and contrast Chinese and English poems that were written in the same era. Sometimes she would talk about Chinese poems featuring similar themes with those of English poems discussed. After that semester, Tera found out that not only did the American student enjoy the

class because he learned some Chinese poems, but other students mentioned that the Eastern versus Western poetry discussions were interesting and “made learning more relatable,” as Tera recalled a comment from a student. Ever since that class, Tera had incorporated some Chinese poems into her English Poetry class, sometimes as warm-up activities and sometimes as supplementary materials to the featured English poems. One time as I observed Tera’s class, she did a warm-up activity by introducing some famous Chinese poems and then asked students that which sentences featured imagery (for example, visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, etc.). After this activity, Tera then moved on to introducing the topic of that session—imagery—and started to teach some English poems. Her strategy of incorporating students’ L1 into her Poetry class gave Tera confidence in asserting her professional legitimacy as an English educator.

The second strategy that Tera used to assert her professional legitimacy was—similar to the strategy of Janice as described in Chapter Four—to create a close bond with her students. Tera held a belief similar to Janice’s, that is, if students liked her, they were more likely to learn English better. Tera indicated that one way for her to create a close bond with her students was to provide some emotional support for her students:

In my early stage of teaching, I was still young and I just graduated; I felt I was more like a big sister to my students. Now my own kids are older than my current students and my students see me more like their mothers now. Some students do actually call me “Mom”. Haha...I think as long as it motivates them to learn English, I don’t mind that.

Tera’s close-bond relationship with her students was undoubtable. One time as I observed Tera’s class, there was a student standing outside the classroom, holding a card and waiting for Tera. As Tera got close, they hugged each other first and the student handed her the card. They chatted until the class bell rang. After class, Tera told me that the student was a former student who was

going to graduate. She came to give Tera a thank-you card. In addition, Tera often talked with some students during her lunch breaks. Furthermore, Tera told me that sometimes she received requests from students asking her to be their homeroom teacher. “I felt my students tended to share their worries with me, mostly about their relationships with their parents or boyfriends,” Tera smiled and recalled. Being able to provide emotional support and thus creating a close bond with students served as a contributing factor to her perceptions of professional legitimacy.

5.2.2 “It Is Not Necessary to Go Abroad to Expand One’s Visions”: Hua’s Strategies

In the previous section I have discussed how Hua exercised agency to use her cultural capital as her pedagogical resources. Hua also enacted agency to use other strategies in order to assert her professional legitimacy. Hua’s strategies were centering on students: to understand her students’ emotion and mentor them to engage in self-learning so they could gain visions.

Hua articulated that, from her perspectives, teaching English was not merely teaching the English language; it was more about educating students as whole people. With this philosophy in mind, Hua expressed her care for her students by understanding their emotion and concerns. Hua indicated that one way to understand students’ emotion and concerns was via students’ writing assignments. As Hua mentioned:

Even though grading writing assignments could be painful usually I am fine with it. I feel rewarded when I see students write well and be able to express what they want to say. I not only see their English language, but also try to get to know them as whole people and understand their emotion and concerns. (Hua, interview, September 11)

Hua further added that previously there were times when she just paid attention to students’ writing problems and overlooked her students’ thoughts and emotion behind those written words.

After participating in a teacher workshop focusing on writing pedagogy, Hua mentioned that after that she asked herself to pay attention not only to students' writing problems and but also to their thoughts and emotion.

Another strategy that Hua used to assert her professional legitimacy was also related to her philosophy that teaching English is not merely teaching the English language but educating students as whole people. Hua indicated that she liked to mentor students as life-long learners. This strategy was based on Hua's personal learning experience: even though she realized she had not gone abroad to study, she made an effort to expand her horizons by continually learning new things. For example, Hua mentioned that if a textbook's topic was about music, she would ask herself to do some research related to music. If the class's topic was about weather, she would also find some related information and learn something about weather in order to give extra information in class. Throughout this learning experience, Hua realized that she was able to learn things quickly and then transfer knowledge to her students. Furthermore, Hua also knew that her passion for learning made her different from other teachers. "Some teachers might be so focused on their own fields of studies and do not know much other than their own fields," as Hua mentioned. Having a passion for continuous learning and acquiring new knowledge, Hua further made an effort to encourage her students to do so:

I often encourage my students to do self-learning...I also tell them it is not necessary to go abroad to expand one's visions. Some students who already graduated wrote me emails or came to see me and thank me for teaching them this. (Hua, interview, October 11)

Determining not to treat her domestic educational background as a hurdle to expanding her horizons, Hua enacted agency to motivate herself to keep learning new things and acquiring new

knowledge. Furthermore, Hua enacted agency to mentor students to do the same so they could broaden their horizons.

5.2.3 “I Try to Convince People That You Can See My Teaching Experience to Judge My Teaching, Rather Than Merely See My Educational Background”: Guan’s Strategies

I have described how Guan demonstrated agency to gain linguistic capital of the English language. In this section, I describe how Guan, while concerned that her educational background was not as good as others, exercised great agency to employ strategies for establishing other means with which she claimed legitimacy as an English teaching professional.

During our interviews, when asked about her educational background, Guan stated that her high school, college, and her MA graduate school were “not-such-good” schools. Guan explained that her grades in junior high were not good enough so she entered a vocational high school rather than a normal type of high school; her grades in vocational high school were fine but “not good enough” so she entered a “not-such-famous” technical college rather than a traditional four-year type of college. She considered her MA graduate school was at the same level as her previous college. Guan entered a national university for her doctoral study and she thought this school had a good academic reputation in Taiwan.

Guan recalled that at the beginning of her teaching career, if students asked her about her educational background, she would straightforwardly tell the students that “If I tell you the truth, you cannot look down on me.” Guan mentioned that even now after having fifteen years of teaching experience under her belt, she would not mention her educational background initially in class unless students asked. “People do have stereotypes; students may question my ability because I am not a NEST plus I did not go to very good schools. Only after they trust my

professionalism can I then tell them about my schools,” Guan commented. Although Guan stated that she would not tell students about her educational background at the beginning, she mentioned that after she knew the students trusted her as a teacher, she used her educational background as an example to encourage her students, especially to those who were not confident either in their own English ability or in the schools they studied in. Guan mentioned that she often told the students: “I was not a smart student but I worked very hard. If I can enter a good national university and received my PhD, so can you.” This example demonstrates how Guan exercised agency to use her own educational experience as a pedagogical resource for her students.

Furthermore, unlike the US-educated teachers whose various forms of capital were gained from their educational background, Guan exercised great agency to find strategies for establishing other means with which she claimed legitimacy. Regarding her first strategy, Guan mentioned that because she was keenly aware of the fact she did not “have an impressive educational background”, she deliberately tried hard to have rich teaching experiences in order to her assert her professional legitimacy. Guan even straightforwardly stated that her professional legitimacy was primarily established based on her teaching experience. When Guan was an undergraduate student, she was well-known among her peers as “the master of doing part-time jobs.” In her final year at college, she taught English to children seven days a week in a private institute. Ever since college, Guan had never stopped teaching English. In addition, Guan was in her mid-30s at the time when this study was conducted and she had already had fifteen years of teaching experience, including teaching at almost all levels from children to adults and including various classes such as English Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing, Grammar, Speech,

Interpretation, and Translation, etc. When asked to explain her motivation for her non-stop teaching, Guan stated:

The first main reason was of course because of the financial situation of my family. I was the biggest kid in my family and I felt I needed to earn some money when I was in college. Also during my master's study, I realized that my educational background was not beautiful and if I have good teaching experience, people would consider hiring me....I establish my legitimacy by having a good resume. I try to convince people that you can see my teaching experience to judge my teaching, rather than merely seeing my educational background. (Guan, interview, October 11)

Besides teaching at almost all levels and including various kinds of classes, Guan also stated that she would challenge herself to teach in schools that had better rankings compared to the schools she had entered. Building a myriad of teaching experience was Guan's first strategy.

Realizing that she did not attend good schools, in addition to developing rich teaching experiences in order to establish her professional legitimacy, Guan also exercised agency to make herself more visible in the field of English teaching, and this was Guan's second strategy. When Guan was a doctoral student, she actively contacted publishers and published a vocabulary book. Guan further stated:

I try to actively expand my visibility [in the TESOL field]...for example, if I have a job interview, I always bring my book and talk about it...Now I would like to see if I can write something about English for parents and young kids. I am not sure it is going to be successful or not but I will try...I want to convince people that I am very active in the TESOL field and they can trust me and my ability. (Guan, interview, October 11)

Publishing a book not only helped Guan expand her visibility in the field of TESOL, but, according to Guan, it also granted Guan confidence to convince people that “she is capable and she is legitimate.” Guan also stated that the act of contacting publishers initially also demonstrated that she was not afraid of receiving rejections and considered failures as parts of life. “If they [publishers] can help me, then they are the important people in my life; if no one is going to help and I fail, I will just move on. Isn’t life just like this?” Guan commented. This example demonstrates how Guan’s agency endowed her new ways of being (Lewis et al., 2007): while concerned that her educational background was not impressive, in order to be more visible in the TESOL field, Guan initiated actions by contacting publishers and successfully publishing a book.

The third strategy that Guan developed was to use online resources as pedagogical tools and Guan acknowledged that this strategy made her stand out among her faculty. Being keenly aware of her status as a NNEST, Guan stated that even though she may not be able to produce “100% authentic” English sentences, she knew she was good at using resources. “I use many online resources to make up for my drawback of not being a NEST and to help my students write sentences as accurate and authentic as possible,” Guan noted. For example, Guan used *OneLook*, an online dictionary which searched for definitions of words or phrases from multiple online dictionaries. She also used *Ginger*, an online grammar checker. Guan explained that she learned about some of these resources while she was a PhD student and she kept using the ones she felt the most useful. Now as a teacher, she asked her students to use these resources so they can continue learning and using these tools. Indeed, while I observed Guan’s Translation and Writing classes, many times she asked students whether they used these online tools at home. In addition, during mid-semester Guan asked the class to meet in a computer lab classroom instead of a

regular classroom, and she demonstrated using those tools in class at times when she felt that she needed to. Guan further stated her rationale for using these resources in class:

As for computer technology, I don't want to be out of date, because I think students often think of us out of date. Some students at the beginning may trust their teachers and later on they find out their teachers are so far behind [in terms of technology]. (Guan, interview, October 11)

In addition to using online tools, Guan also subscribed to an E-journal which contained information about new apps, new English learning games, or new technology features related to English learning, etc. She further posted those technology information on her blog, and now on her Facebook wall, to share with her students. "Students regard me as a resourceful teacher...I am good at finding resources and this skill makes me stand out, even among very experienced teachers or teachers who received degrees abroad," Guan stated. Her competence in using technology as pedagogical resources demonstrates Guan's agency. This strategy of being up-to-date with the latest technology and using it in her teaching also granted Guan confidence in claiming her professional legitimacy because it not only made her stand out among her colleagues but also let her gain students' recognition.

5.3 Summary

In this Chapter, I have explored how Tera, Hua, and Guan exercised agency to earn varying forms of high value capital with which they claimed their legitimacy as English teaching professionals. Tera and Guan exercised agency in order to gain linguistic capital of the English language. Hua employed agency to use the cultural capital of her past academic experience as her pedagogical tools.

I have also discussed how Tera, Hua, and Guan further employed strategies for establishing other means with which they claimed legitimacy. Tera incorporated her students' knowledge of their L1 into her English Poetry class and made learning more relevant to her students. She was also dedicated to establishing a close bond with her students by providing emotional supports. Hua dedicated herself to understanding her students' emotion and knowing their concerns via their writing. In addition, thinking that her domestic educational background was not an obstacle to expand her horizons, Hua enacted agency to keep learning new things and further mentor students to keep learning so they could broaden their horizons. Realizing she did not have an impressive educational background, Guan exercised agency by building depth and variety in her teaching experience, being more visible in the field of TESOL, and keeping up-to-date with the latest technology related to English teaching and learning. These strategies helped Guan assert her legitimacy as an English teaching professional.

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In Chapter 4, I presented the US-educated Taiwanese English teachers' accessible forms of capital and these forms of capital served as contributing factors to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. I also explored how these US-educated teachers exercised agency to turn their available resources into their pedagogical advantages. In Chapter 5, I explored how the Taiwan-educated teachers exercised agency to earn the forms of capital that had high value in their teaching contexts. These forms of capital were also the contributing factors to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. In both chapters I discussed these teachers' strategies for establishing other means with which they claimed legitimacy as English teaching professionals. I begin this chapter with five major themes which emerged from the findings of this study. Thereafter I discuss limitations and future research recommendations followed by a conclusion and implications.

6.1 Discussion

Theme One-- The Interactions among Contexts, Capital, and Teachers' Perceptions of Professional Legitimacy

At the beginning of this discussion section, I want to draw attention to the contexts of this study and explore the interactions among the contexts that my participants taught in, their beliefs for what they regarded as high-value capital, and their perceptions of professional legitimacy. The contexts of this study referred to 1) the larger institutional and sociopolitical environment of Taiwan and 2) the teachers' varying teaching contexts. I first discuss the larger institutional and sociopolitical context of Taiwan in terms of English teaching and learning. As mentioned in Chapter 1, English is not spoken as a daily language but holds an irreplaceable role in the

education of Taiwanese students since it is one of the tickets to the global opportunities in considering the export-dependent economics of Taiwan (Wu, 2011). In order to gain global competitiveness, the Taiwanese government has highly emphasized raising the level of college students' English proficiency. The English teaching force at the higher education level, which often refers to teachers in English or Foreign Languages and Literature departments, plays an important role in helping students not only learn but also excel in English. These teachers not only are in charge of general English courses focusing on enhancing students' English four skills, but also serve as educators who start to introduce more specific scholarships of expertise such as English Literature, Linguistics, or TESOL for students in English or other English-related departments.

However, as mentioned previously in Chapter 1 and 2, native-speakerism is still in favor in many EFL contexts and native-speakerism remains popular to some extent in the English teaching profession in Taiwan (Boraie, 2013; Golombek & Jordan, 2005). For example, as discussed previously, for some Taiwanese people including administrative members in schools, parents, and students, Standard English belongs to inner circle countries where English is used as the first language and native speakers of English are more desirable teachers of English. Many higher education institutions in their job advertisements for English teachers specifically indicate that they are looking for native speakers of English. In addition, when looking for teaching candidates, some higher education institutions specifically state that teachers with study abroad experience could be a plus in terms of their qualification.

Understanding this larger institutional and sociopolitical environment that my participants were situated in, it is then necessary to explore the resources that my participants drew on to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy as English educators in

Taiwan. When asked about what factors made them legitimate English teaching professionals in Taiwan, all three US-educated teachers universally indicated that their US education was an important, if not the most important, element of their perceptions of professional legitimacy. With the understanding that their US education served as a universal contributor to the US-educated teachers' perceptions of professional legitimacy, I first inquired about the kinds of capital that my participants gained access to through their US education and the kinds of resources they drew on to conceptualize their legitimacy as English teaching professionals. My analysis revealed that through their US education, the US-educated teachers gained access to cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital (see Chapter 4). In addition to these various kinds of capital, I also argue that these US-educated teachers had gained access to economic capital, which refers to their financial resources, *prior* to their US education. For example, Janice mentioned that part of her reasons for pursuing education in the U.S. rather than in Taiwan was that the financial situation of her family allowed her to pursue her dream of studying abroad. Janice added, "Both of my parents were teachers and therefore as long as I want to study, they would do whatever to support me, including financial support as well." Karen mentioned that her father highly encouraged her to study abroad in order to expand her vision when she was young. According to Karen, the car-repairing business that her father owned was "booming" when she grew up, and since she was the only child, she was lucky enough that her parents "invested on [her] education fully." Gina also stated that she was appreciative of her parents' financial support so she could study abroad without being too worried about the tuition fees and other costs.

I argue that the larger institutional and sociopolitical environment of Taiwan that my participants all shared, plus their varying teaching contexts, together shaped the teachers' beliefs about what they regarded as highly valued capital in their own teaching contexts and shaped their

perceptions of professional legitimacy. Drawing on the examples both from the US-educated and Taiwan-educated teachers, the following section explains: 1) why resources such as cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital were particularly regarded as high-value capital in their teaching contexts and 2) why ownership of these high-value kinds of capital helped them claim their legitimacy as English teaching professionals within these contexts.

The English teaching contexts and cultural capital

First of all, in terms of cultural capital, Janice, Karen, and Gina all agreed that their US training and preparation was substantial and brought high-value in their teaching practices. For example, Gina mentioned that her Master's training was quite rigorous. Also, knowing that in Taiwan the school culture was more group-oriented and sometimes students' individual voices could be undervalued, Karen dedicated herself to cultivating her students' critical thinking skill and encouraging them to express their own opinions. Furthermore, Gina thought that because the school culture in Taiwan could be very competitive and educators tended to criticize students more in order to help students progress, she brought what she learned from her US academic experience, such as providing praise more often, using tasks, and conducting quick student self-evaluations, into her current teaching context. These are examples of how contexts that these teachers taught in shaped their ideas about what they regarded as high-value resources in their contexts.

In addition, Janice, Karen, and Gina all believed that their US education was advantageous because their cross-cultural study and living experiences not only widened their visions but also served as their pedagogical tools. For example, Both Janice and Karen stated that their cross-cultural study and living experiences allowed them to provide real-life examples that enriched their classes and further made students more engaged in their learning. As discussed in

Chapter 4, Karen pointed out that many English textbooks in Taiwanese higher education were mostly published in English-speaking countries, particularly in the U.S., and therefore it was easy for her to bring up her US experiences in class as supplemental materials. Janice also commented that many times the textbooks would discuss about American or Western campus life and this enabled her to use her cross-cultural life experiences as examples in class. Furthermore, Janice believed that “language and culture are inseparable” and thus her US study experience granted her more flexibility in terms of providing personal examples relevant to the discussed topics. These examples echo Liu’s (1999) idea that many EFL/ESL teachers felt empowered in teaching culturally-embedded instructional materials to their students if they were equipped with cultural knowledge of the English language.

To support Liu’s (1999) point and further demonstrate the importance of gaining access to cultural capital especially cross-cultural experiences within the Taiwanese English teaching contexts, I want to juxtapose two examples from Tera and Guan, who were both Taiwan-educated teachers. The first example comes from the interviews with Tera. Tera stated that at the beginning of her teaching career, if she encountered some teaching materials related to Western culture, often times she would consult with her colleagues who were native English speakers or who had studied abroad. For instance, Tera mentioned that she asked colleagues questions about their Thanksgiving and Christmas holiday experiences. She also added that “One time my English Listening class talked about the culture of baby shower. I had never attended this kind of things [in Taiwan], so I asked my colleagues about their experiences”. The second example was from my field notes of class observations with Guan and Tera. I played a role as a non-participant in my class observations; however, when I conducted observations in Tera’s and Guan’s classes, there were times that the teachers would ask me questions about the U.S. in class

and wanted me to share my US experiences or my perspectives about the U.S. with the class. For instance, one time in Tera's English Poetry class, she introduced many poems featuring the four seasons. After she introduced several poems which featured the season of autumn, Tera asked me in front of class: "We all know that here in Taiwan we experience mostly summer and winter; spring and fall seem quite short. Wanda, you study in Seattle, right? Is it true that you can experience four seasons fully? Have you seen any scenery...like falling leaves that looked just like what we discussed in these poems?" In Guan's case, one time in her Translation and Interpretation class, the topic was about people's income levels in many parts of the world and the teaching text mentioned people's income level in the U.S. After discussing the income situation about Taiwan, Guan asked me in front of class if it was true that the average salary level in the U.S. was higher than that of in Taiwan. After the class observations when I chatted with Tera and Guan, they both indicated that they were glad I could share my personal US experiences related to the topics with the class. When asked about their motivations for asking me the questions about the U.S. in class, Tera mentioned that she felt she could confirm the information about the U.S. with me since I have stayed there for a while. Tera mentioned, "[You served] like a [US] culture resource." Guan stated that "It made the class materials more interesting and relatable if it connects on a personal level." Tera and Guan's act reminded me of Liu's (1999) point regarding the culturally-embedded materials in English teaching and learning. The above presented examples of Tera and Guan also echo Janice's advantage of being flexible in choosing her life experiences in Taiwan and in the U.S. as examples to support her class content.

To understand why the ownership of cultural capital—knowledge about the US academic and non-academic experience—constituted one of the key factors contributing to the US-

educated teachers' perceptions of professional legitimacy, it is necessary to consider another aspect of the Taiwanese English teaching contexts. Karen pointed out that many English textbooks at the college level are from English-speaking countries, including textbooks used in English four skills (reading, writing, speaking and listening) classes, or classes of English Literature, English Poetry, etc. Moreover, drawing on Liu (1999), English course content includes culturally-embedded instructional materials. In considering these points, plus Tera's and Guan's examples presented above, it is understandable why cultural capital was considered high-value capital in Taiwanese English teaching contexts. In Janice's case, her students' learning of the English vocabulary *refund* and *graffiti* was not merely vocabulary learning or memorizing but more like "listening to the stories". Knowing that they owned cultural capital that was considered a valuable resource in their teaching contexts in Taiwan, Janice, Karen, and Gina were able to adapt the cultural capital into part of their instructional materials. This also demonstrates how one's capital enables agency (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992), a point which will be elaborated in Theme Two.

After examining how the larger institutional and sociopolitical environment that my participants all shared influenced their ideas for what they regarded as high-value capital and their perceptions of professional legitimacy, I want to draw attention to the case of Hua, a Taiwan-educated teacher. Hua's experience supports my argument that teachers' specific teaching contexts influenced their perceptions of what they regarded as key resources or capital in those contexts and thus further mediated the perceptions of their professional legitimacy in those teaching contexts. In Chapter 5 I presented how Hua incorporated her cultural capital—her past learning experience as a graduate student in Taiwan—into her teaching. Hua was keenly aware of the fact that many of her students in her elective English Literature class planned to

attend graduate schools to further pursue the field of English or English Literature, to be more specific. Hua used her cultural capital, mainly her knowledge about the institutional demands and requirements in Taiwanese graduate schools, as her pedagogical tools in her English Literature class. Hua adapted her teaching approach and created supplemental handouts in order to fill the gap between her students' current levels of proficiency in English Literature and the Taiwanese graduate-school standards. Being able to use her cultural capital to facilitate her teaching and then receive some positive feedback from her students supported Hua to claim legitimacy as an English teaching professional in Taiwan. This example illustrates how Hua's specific teaching context also mediated her perceptions of what was accounted as high-value capital in that specific context. In addition, the perceptions of her professional legitimacy were also influenced by the contexts she taught in.

The English teaching contexts and linguistic capital

To further explore the complex interactions among the teachers' teaching contexts, their ideas for what was regarded as highly value capital, and their perceptions of professional legitimacy, I continued to look at the interactions among the contexts of the teachers, their linguistic capital, and their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Similar to cultural capital, I argue that it was the Taiwanese teaching contexts (including the larger institutional and sociopolitical environment that all teachers shared as well as their varying teaching environments) that influenced the teachers' perceptions of what was considered as important capital in their contexts. In addition, as I argue, owning the high-value linguistic capital and being able to utilize it as teaching resources helped the teachers claim their professional legitimacy.

Janice's and Karen's linguistic capital provide powerful examples to support this argument. Janice stated that she enjoyed teaching Speaking classes because she felt relatively adept at establishing dominance in speaking classes due to her American-accented English (see Chapter 4). Karen also stated that she constantly received students' comments on her spoken English such as either "contained no accent" or "sounded very beautiful." In addition, both Janice and Karen mentioned how their US education provided them golden opportunities to advance their English fluency and also expand the capability of using a wider range of vocabulary in various contexts. In addition, Karen knew that her students wanted to listen to her more attentively because she "spoken English beautifully without an accent", as Karen recalled a comment from her student.

Concerning the fact that Taiwanese people (including school staff, parents, or students, etc.) to some extent subscribe to a belief that the representativeness of English is often associated with the English-speaking "West" and teachers who speak mainstream English own a certain degree of unquestioned legitimacy (Motha, 2014), it explains Janice's and Karen's adeptness in establishing dominance in their Speaking classes. In addition, within this large context, it is also understandable why the Taiwanese teachers built their legitimacy based on linguistic capital of the English language. These perspectives of Janice and Karen on their spoken English also confirmed Shuck's (2006) idea of accent mentioned in Chapter 2. Speaking one variety of English (i.e. American English in my participants' cases) did bring more power and prestige in their teaching contexts in Taiwan. Thus, owning linguistic capital of the English language served as a contributing factor to their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

Another aspect of Janice's linguistic capital of the English language is also worth highlighting because it further illustrates the close connection among Janice's teaching context,

her linguistic capital, and her perceptions of being a legitimate English teaching professional in that context. Realizing that some of her Taiwanese students were afraid of speaking English and her American-accented English could be intimidating to those students, Janice skillfully switched between her American-accented and Taiwanese-accented English. This example demonstrates how the contexts that Janice taught in shaped her ideas for what were regarded as valuable resources in one particular context: to establish her authority as an English teacher, especially at the beginning of a semester, Janice spoke more American-accented English; whereas to create a fun learning atmosphere and to get closer to her students, Janice spoke with her Taiwanese-accented English. Owning the linguistic capital of the English language and being able to utilize it adaptively within her teaching contexts enabled Janice to claim her legitimacy as an English teaching professional in Taiwan.

To further examine the complex interactions among the teachers' English teaching contexts, my participants' perspectives on their English language performance, and their perceptions of their professional legitimacy, I closely analyzed all the Taiwanese teachers' linguistic capital in my study. The study showed that all teachers in this study highly regarded linguistic capital of the English language as an essential credential for being legitimate English teaching professionals in Taiwan, regardless of their educational backgrounds. Additionally, all teachers in this study emphasized the importance of having good English speaking proficiency. The importance of having English language ability especially in speaking could have been highlighted by my participants based on a practical concern: all teachers in this study used English as the medium of instruction. Previously I discussed the recent trend in Taiwanese higher education—institutional expectation toward post-secondary teachers' English proficiency is getting higher than ever in Taiwan. More and more universities expect teachers in various

subjects to use only English as the medium of instruction. The trend also pushes a higher expectation toward English teachers in Taiwan regarding their English proficiency. Furthermore, all the Taiwan-educated teachers (Tera, Hua, and Guan) mentioned that nowadays they felt a higher demand to speak English well based on the fact that students nowadays had an easier access to English and their English speaking performance was better in general, compared to those of students in their early careers.

Hua further added that when she taught English Speaking classes, especially during her early teaching career, she always felt concerned at times when she got tongue-tied in class. She was not sure how students would perceive of her as a teacher, her spoken English, or her teaching competence in those situations. Hua's concern echoes some studies on NNESTs mentioned in Chapter 2. Studies show that if NNESTs make some occasional English mistakes or do not appear to know everything about the English language, their English language competencies would be questioned by their students, colleagues, or even by NNESTs themselves (Amin 2004; Braine 2004; Canagarajah 1999, 2005; Morita 2004). NNESTs then experience feelings of inadequacy or inferiority if they have low self-image (Reves & Medgyes 1994) and this may further lead them to self-doubt about their professional legitimacy. It is also important to remember that, as discussed previously, the cultural norm of "teachers as experts" (Britzman, 1991) is still pretty common in Taiwan. In considering this cultural norm within the teaching contexts, the relationship between NNESTs' English language performance and how people (including colleagues, students, parents, etc.) perceive their legitimacy as English language educators can be trickier.

Additionally, I discussed how Tera made effort in practicing her spoken English in Chapter 5. As a beginning English teacher, realizing that people had doubts about her English

competence due to her domestic educational background, Tera was determined to work hard in order to let her teaching speak for her. Furthermore, considering that her Taiwanese students would expect native English speakers to be their teachers, Tera strived to be able to speak “authentic” English. Tera stated that gaining linguistic capital of the spoken English in order to “speak English beautifully” and “authentically” helped her claim legitimacy as an English teaching professional tremendously. Tera’s examples illustrate how the Taiwanese English teaching context she taught in shaped her ideas for what were considered valuable resources which would enable her to claim legitimacy as an English teaching professional in that environment.

Another Taiwan-educated teacher, Guan, however, revealed an interesting yet juxtaposing perspective. Guan confirmed that it was important to speak “authentic” English in class and she further stated that speaking “authentic” English helped her establish some authority over her students. As Guan put it, “Students wouldn’t question me about my English or my legitimacy of teaching English if I spoke good English.” However, she also felt conflicted about her effort to strive to speak English like a native speaker in her Speaking classes due to her understanding that there was a variety of English and mainstream English, or Standard English, was only one variety of English.

I argue that Guan’s statement presented above pinpoints the conflicts of many NNESTs, especially those who teach speaking in either EFL or ESL contexts. While understanding the importance of embracing a variety of usages and accents in the English language, some English teachers (including all teachers in this study) still dedicate themselves to striving for better or even near-native-like English proficiency especially in speaking, for they know their English speaking proficiency helps them claim legitimacy as English teaching professionals in their

teaching contexts. Moreover, on the one hand, many NNESTs have to keep trying to perfect their own English in order to earn their legitimacy as English teaching professional and to meet the expectations from their institutions, students, or students' parents, etc. On the other hand, they also have to set up a different goal of their English speaking proficiency for most of their students as English language learners.

The English teaching context and symbolic capital

Chapter 4 also showed that the US-educated teachers were granted symbolic capital through their US education. Janice believed that her US education made other people perceive her as a legitimate English teaching professional in Taiwan. Karen and Gina also confirmed their ownership of the symbolic capital and they stated that their colleagues and students thought of them highly or perceived their English language competency as being high because they had studied in the U.S. The US-educated teachers' ownership of symbolic capital, I argue, was also influenced by the larger sociopolitical environment in which many people (students, students' parents, or school colleagues) in this environment had a tendency to favor native-speakerism and thought that Standard English belonged to inner circle English-speaking countries. Teaching within this context, the US-educated teachers agreed that they all received prestige and recognition from their colleagues and students. On the other hand, as presented earlier, Taiwan-educated Tera encountered a parent who doubted her English competence due to her domestic educational background. In Guan's case, she mentioned that one of her motivations to gain a long history of teaching experience was due to her "not-impressive" education background. As Guan mentioned, she did not study abroad and "did not attend the so-called 'good school' in Taiwan." Tera's and Guan's examples illustrate how their teaching contexts shaped their ideas of what was considered high-value capital.

Thus far I have discussed how the larger institutional and sociopolitical environment of Taiwan, as well as the teachers' varying teaching contexts, together shaped the teachers' perceptions of what was considered important capital in their teaching contexts. In addition, owning those kinds of high-value capital and being able to turn them into teaching resources contributed to the teachers' perceptions of professional legitimacy. In other words, the teachers established their perceptions of professional legitimacy based on their accessibility to varying kinds of capital, and the teachers' educational background played an important role in providing this access. This study showed that the US-educated teachers gained access to financial capital prior to their US education and owned (or accumulated more) cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital through their US education. This finding confirms Sewell's (1992) idea that social positions, such as one's education and wealth, etc. give people different access to different kinds and amounts of resources.

Theme Two—The Taiwanese Teachers' Capital and Agency

In Chapter 2, I discussed the interrelationship between structures (or sets of capital) and agency, that is, that structures and agency constitute a recursive loop in which structures enable agency and agency shapes structures (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992). In other words, drawing on the ideas of Giddens and Sewell, agency is formed by resources available to one person but it is also true that one's agency produces and reproduces capital. The teachers in this study confirmed this interrelationship between capital and agency. I first want to discuss how the cases of the Taiwanese teachers confirmed the first part of the interrelationship between capital and agency—capital enables agency.

Previously in this Chapter and also in Chapters 4 and 5, I analyzed how the Taiwanese teachers used their capital as their pedagogical tools. Drawing on her linguistic capital, Janice's

accent-switching strategy to either establish dominance or to get closer to her students is an example. In addition, drawing on their symbolic capital, both Janice and Karen purposefully broke the stereotypes popular among their students: Janice told her students that people who had studied abroad or NESTs were not necessarily better English teachers and Karen told her students that accent should not be the indicator of a teacher's speaking or teaching competence. Gina also incorporated what she learned from her US education into her teaching approaches: she complimented her students often, broke down class materials into multiple mini-tasks, and used a self-evaluation approach in class. In addition, Hua's culture capital of her knowledge about Taiwanese graduate schools' requirements enabled her to utilize a more student-centered teaching approach in her English Literature class. The examples presented demonstrate how the teachers' capital supported them to become knowledgeable and enabled agents to teach creatively or innovatively. This point also echoes Sewell's (1992) statement that capital empowers people to "work in creative or innovative ways" (p.4).

In addition to confirming the first part of the interrelationship that agency is formed by resources available to a person (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992), the teachers in this study also confirmed the second part of the interrelationship between capital and agency, that is, that agency plays a key role in producing and reproducing capital. This aspect of agency, I argue, relates more to the concepts from the action theorists who view agency as a *source* of planful action and argued that agency generates more from people's inner strength rather than from outside sources (see Chapter 2; Ahearn, 2001; Morris, Menon, & Ames, 2001). The following examples from Taiwan-educated Tera and Guan illustrate how their agency produced capital.

Realizing that she had a lack of an English-speaking environment and that she needed to improve her speaking skills, Tera memorized and practiced English conversations from a

monthly English-language learning magazine. She also hired an English-speaking tutor who majored in English so she could not only practice her speaking skills but also discuss literature concepts with the tutor. From Tera's perspectives, the native English-speaking editors of the magazine and her tutor owned the cultural and linguistic capital that she did not possess, and thus she exercised agency to gain these high-valued forms of capital. In addition, Guan exercised agency to acquire the linguistic capital of the English language, particularly in speaking and vocabulary: she practiced her pronunciation diligently and thanks to her dedicated efforts in practicing speaking English, Guan mentioned that she not only "had internalized some native-speakers' pronunciation and intonation" but also had gained fluency. Guan also made an effort to acquire English vocabulary such as by memorizing English words from a book, as I described in Chapter 5. Both Tera and Guan demonstrated being active human agents to gain the high-valued linguistic capital of the English language in order to empower themselves.

Not only do these examples from the Taiwan-educated Tera and Guan support the second part of the theory—people's practices create capital (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992), but the cases of the US-educated teachers also demonstrate how their agency reproduced varying kinds of capital. As discussed earlier, the US-educated teachers had gained access to economic capital prior to their US education and they obtained cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital through their US education. I argue that not every teacher who has pursued studies in English-speaking countries would gain cultural capital or linguistic capital of the English language automatically; it was the US-educated teachers who deliberately made efforts in taking full advantages of the opportunities while they were in the U.S. that earned cultural and linguistic capital of the English language. Furthermore, the US-educated teachers made their decision to study abroad and went through all the academic preparations, such as preparing for TOEFL, GRE, or school

applications, etc. Their initial attempts to get over culture shock and cultural adjustment is an example of how they were determined to step out of their comfort zone to pursue their study in another country. Additionally, in Chapter 4 I presented how the US-educated teachers' cultural capital, their cross-cultural academic and life experiences in particular, became their teaching resources. I argue that without paying deliberate attention and making observations of the cultural differences, the teachers' "teaching materials" from their cross-cultural experiences would not be this abundant. To push this argument further, the US-educated teachers selectively choose examples from their US experience relevant to the topics under discussion in class. In light of this point, it was the teachers' agency that not only made their cultural capital useful for their teaching, but also meaningful for their classes and for their students.

In addition, the US-educated teachers' ownership of linguistic capital of the English language further explained how they exercised agency to produce, and sometimes accumulate, this capital. It is understandable that due to their access to economic capital (and their willingness to study abroad as discussed earlier), the US-educated teachers had the opportunities to soak in the English-speaking environment. However, I also want to make an argument that Janice, Karen, and Gina's agency played a crucial role in determining the amount of linguistic capital of the English language they gained access to.

For example, In Chapter 4, I presented Janice's passion for learning English prior to her study in the U.S. While in the U.S., like Janice indicated, "I really asked myself to practice speaking as much as I can, both in class and out of class." It was the English-speaking environment in the U.S., plus her agency to practice speaking English in the U.S. deliberately, that together allowed Janice to accumulate more linguistic capital of the English language. Similarly, Karen also had a strong passion for practicing spoken English prior to her going to

study in the U.S. (see Chapter 4). While in the U.S., she took full advantages to pick up English vocabulary and practiced it constantly (see Chapter 4). Karen also acknowledged that not every teacher who had studied abroad would have good English skills. “Some people I know just stayed in their own circles and only made friends with people from their own countries,” Karen added. The case of Gina also provided a telling example of how she exercised agency to gain linguistic capital of the English language. As Chapter 4 mentioned, unlike Janice and Karen who had strong passion in spoken English since their high school, Gina was afraid of speaking up in English during class in college. She also felt frustrated due to a paucity of opportunities to practice English (because “people did not want to practice speaking English.”) Gina was then determined to study in the U.S. and, as she stated, one of the main reasons to study abroad was that she “wanted to achieve adequate English language skills.” While in the U.S., Gina mentioned that she “found every opportunity to talk to native speakers” including joining a free English speaking-practice group and English-bible study groups, etc.

Thus far within this theme I have discussed how my study confirmed the recursive loop of capital and agency: the teachers’ capital enabled their agency to teach creatively in their teaching contexts, and their agency shaped their capital. Here I also want to emphasize that without resources, it does not mean the teachers’ agency would not exist. Considering Theme One presented earlier, I argue that the surrounding contexts that these teachers taught in also propelled them to take series of action to earn the kinds of capital that had high value in their teaching contexts, and thus they could put themselves in a powerful position within those contexts. That is, without getting access to many different kinds or amount of capital at the first place, the contexts that these teachers taught in sometimes motivated or forced them to find ways to empower themselves so they could be legitimate English teachers.

Examples from Guan provided strong support for the above argument. First of all, as described in Chapter 5, realizing that she did not have an access to economic capital, Guan started to work part time ever since she was in college. Knowing that she did not have high-value cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital from her domestic educational background and that people in hiring positions or students valued those kinds of capital, Guan exercised strong agency to increase the breadth and variety of her teaching experience, to expanding her visibility in the TESOL field by publishing and participating actively at conferences. Guan also kept updated with the latest technology related to English learning and teaching so she could use some latest APPs or some free online tools to enhance her teaching. Guan knew that this skill made her students think of her as “resourceful.”

In addition, Tera was aware that in her teaching contexts, students as well as parents expected her to speak English “authentically” or “beautifully”. Realizing that she did not have this kind of capital, she made efforts in acquiring the linguistic capital particular in spoken English. In the case of Hua, deciding that her domestic educational background would not become an obstacle of expanding her horizons, Hua enacted strong agency to motivate herself to keep learning new things and acquiring new knowledge. Hua was keenly aware of the fact that in her teaching contexts some colleagues might be only familiar with his or her own scholarships of expertise and overlooked other areas of knowledge; she exercised agency to keep learning and pursuing new knowledge and further mentored her students to do the same thing so they could expand their horizons (see Chapter 5).

The above examples illustrate how the Taiwanese English teaching contexts propelled the teachers to gain high-valued capital. Gaining those kinds of high-value capital and being able to

teach creatively by using their accessible kinds of capital in their teaching contexts also supported them to claim professional legitimacy.

Theme Three—Ownership of the English Language

This study also revealed the Taiwanese English teachers' beliefs about their ownership of the English language. As the study showed, the Taiwanese English teachers did not think they shared in the ownership of the English language. The following analyses support this argument.

First of all, regardless of their educational backgrounds, years of teaching experience, or their self-rated levels of English proficiency, all the teachers in this study felt reaffirmed of their ownership of linguistic capital of the English language only if they received positive comments on their English language performances from their NEST colleagues. For instance, when asked why she rated her speaking ability at an advanced level, Janice first mentioned her spoken English was well-recognized by her Taiwanese teachers and peers during college when she was selected to be a teaching assistant for her English Speaking class. In addition, after she had started teaching English in Taiwan, Janice received some positive comments from her native English-speaking colleagues, such as she “spoke English without a heavy accent” or “used some American idioms or slang in speaking”. According to Janice, these comments from the native English speakers reinforced her ownership of linguistic capital of the English language. Another US-educated teacher, Karen, stated that she felt more confident in her own English writing ability because she was chosen to be an assistant of a native English-speaking writing tutor during her undergraduate studies.

In cases of the Taiwan-educated teachers, Tera felt more reassured about her English speaking and listening capacities because her native English-speaking colleagues commented that she could tell jokes and understand some punch lines in English. Hua stated that originally

she did not feel she was a good English writer. She started to notice her strengths as a writer because during college she had received compliments about her writing from the NESTs occasionally. Furthermore, Hua stated that she had confidence in teaching writing because she had received some positive feedback about her writing classes from a native English-speaking colleague who observed her classes over a period of time.

Secondly, Taiwan-educated Tera and Guan also raised an important issue regarding the “authenticity” of the English language. As mentioned in Chapter 5, realizing that she lacked an English-speaking environment, Tera memorized English conversations from a monthly magazine and practiced persistently. Tera knew this practice was helpful because “at least the authors and editors [of that magazine] were native English speakers,” she explained. Tera also believed that it is important for her to speak “authentic” English because her students were like “little parrots” learning spoken English from her. In addition, Tera also hired a native English speaker majoring in English literature as a tutor. In this way, Tera believed that she could not only practice her English speaking but also compare their interpretations of the literature texts since “it is their language; their culture.” Moreover, in Chapter 5, I presented how Guan used technology such as online tools in her Translation and Interpretation class. Guan explained that this strategy not only helped her “produce authentic English sentences as much as possible” but also “made up for the drawback of not being a NEST.”

Thirdly, a similarity between US-educated Janice and Taiwan-educated Guan was that they evaluated their own English language competence based on their intelligibility to native speakers of English. For example, although she was aware of her strong English speaking skills, Janice stated that, “I knew my speaking could not be 100% perfect because I said something that they [native English speakers] could not understand”. Guan stated that she believed her speaking

skills were strong because, according to Guan, “my native English-speaking colleagues understood what I said”. These examples illustrated how Janice and Guan judged their English competence based on their intelligibility to native English speakers. This finding also corroborated a statement from a NNEST in Golombek & Jordan’s (2005) study. She felt her English language ability was limited because she could not have mistake-free conversations with native English speakers or sometimes native English speakers did not understand her English.

Lastly, with regard to the teachers’ perceptions of their own English language competence, a notable similarity among the six teachers arose. Without asking them to compare their skills to those of native English speakers, all the teachers automatically rated their English language competence after comparing it to those of native English speakers. For example, Janice, Karen, Tera and Guan all believed that their speaking competence was not as strong as native English speakers’ speaking skills.

The above examples demonstrated that, first, the teachers in this study reaffirmed their ownership of linguistic capital of the English language based on the perspectives of their NEST colleagues. Tera and Guan also believed that their efforts in seeking other resources helped them acquire or produce “authentic” English. In addition, Janice and Guan evaluated their own English language competence based on their intelligibility to native English speakers. Furthermore, all six teachers in this study automatically compared their English language competence to those of native English speakers when asked to evaluate their own English language skills. These analyses demonstrated that the Taiwanese English teachers’ affirmations of the English language competence was derived from native English-speakers who, from the teachers’ perspectives, owned the English language to a large extent. In other words, I argue that these Taiwanese English teachers did not think they share in the ownership of the English

language. The teachers in this study presented an assumption that echoed a point stated earlier in Chapter 2 that the English language to some extent belongs to traditionally native English contexts or inner-circle countries. Tera's comment about English is "their language, their culture" also directly linked to Trudgill's (2008) statement brought up in Chapter 2 that "even if native speakers do not 'own' English, ... it stems from them, ... and resides in them."

The Taiwanese teachers' belief about their disownership of the English language also raised an important issue. Drawing on Norton (1997), if a language user cannot claim ownership of that language, they may not consider themselves legitimate speakers of that language. In considering this point, Holliday's (2005) statement that English is now international and its ownership is shifted to whoever wished to use it (see Chapter 2) might be overlooked among the teachers of this study. In addition, this idea of disownership of the English language among these teachers, as the study showed, also impacted their confidence in asserting their legitimacy as English teachers. The following theme will discuss this point further.

Theme Four—The Taiwanese English Teachers' Confidence

Confidence was the most recurring word in the interviews of this study. The analysis showed that, first, the capital to which these teachers had access mediated their level of confidence. For instance, as mentioned in Chapter 4 and earlier in this Chapter, Janice, Karen, and Gina gained access to cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital through their US education. Realizing that they gained access to these high-value resources in their contexts, especially the cultural capital of cross-cultural academic and life experiences and the linguistic capital of the English language, the US-educated were more confident in asserting their legitimacy as English teaching professionals in Taiwan, even at the beginning of their teaching careers. Furthermore, the US-educated teachers all stated that after their US education, they felt their self-confidence

was boosted in many ways. Janice stated that she would not think she could teach at a college level if she did not pursue a US education. Karen's study abroad experience, from her perspective, gave her confidence so she didn't sell herself short. Gina mentioned that her US study and teaching experience greatly boosted her confidence in her English language competence as an English user and a teacher educator. This analysis showed that US education not only helped these teachers gain highly valued capital but also tremendously boosted their confidence as English teaching professionals in Taiwan.

On the other hand, their Taiwan education did not endow the Taiwan-educated teachers the same amount of cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital like the US education did. This study showed that the Taiwan-educated teachers developed their confidence in asserting their professional legitimacy as English educators over time. The most powerful example is from Guan, who predominantly established her professional legitimacy by teaching. While being concerned that her "not-impressive" educational background would be treated as an indicator of her English language or teaching competence, Guan dedicated her effort to building a long history of teaching experience to convince people that she was a legitimate English educator. As Guan indicated, her teaching experiences gave her tremendous confidence in asserting her legitimacy as an English teaching professional. The example of Hua also illustrated how she developed confidence in claiming her professional legitimacy over time. She mentioned that in considering the good reputation of language teaching at Wen University, Hua did not feel comfortable to tell people that she was an English teacher at Wen University at the beginning of her teaching career. After having 22 years of teaching experience at Wen University, Hua stated that she considered herself a legitimate English teacher. Tera stated that she still remembered vividly the encounter of a parent questioning her legitimacy as an English teacher due to her

domestic educational background when she was a beginning teacher. Tera knew the only thing she could do was to work harder and let her teaching speak for her. Now as a teacher having 21 years of teaching experience at Wen University, Tera believed that her long-history of teaching experience served as one of the contributing factors to her perceptions of professional legitimacy. The above examples demonstrated how Guan, Hua, and Tera gradually gained confidence in asserting legitimacy as English teaching professionals over time. This point is also consistent with the idea of Golombek and Jordan (2005) that professional legitimacy is something NNESTs have to negotiate in each interaction over time rather than in a single iteration. Additionally, their long-history of teaching experience served as a universal factor to their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

More importantly, this study showed that the confidence of all the teachers in this study could be conflicted sometimes. First of all, although by drawing on their accessible capital and other means (a point which will be discussed later) with which they claimed professional legitimacy to teach English in Taiwan, all teachers in this study were not as confident in asserting their professional legitimacy in teaching spoken English. For example, although all teachers rated their English speaking skills at an advanced level, all teachers in this study thought that students would prefer to have NESTs as their teachers in English Speaking classes. This point illustrated that teachers in this study did not have much confidence in claiming their professional legitimacy as teachers of English Speaking classes. I also argue that this low-confidence regarding their legitimacy of teaching English speaking could have resulted from their concept of ownership of English as discussed in Theme Four.

Another example of how the teachers' self-confidence was conflicted is from the case of Janice's linguistic capital of the English language. Although she confidently stated that students

“needed a compassionate teacher not a [English-] perfect teacher,” Janice mentioned that she believed students would choose NESTs over NNESTs for their Speaking classes. Furthermore, Janice pinpointed that the most challenging task for her as an English educator was to have confidence, especially when she met NESTs. Although Janice was keenly aware of her good English speaking ability, she only felt comfortable speaking in English with NESTs when she knew they would not judge her speaking performance.

Similarly, Tera and Guan revealed their conflicted perspectives of confidence. While both Tera and Guan rated their English speaking at an advanced level, Tera believed that her speaking skill “would not be as good as those teachers who soaked in an English-speaking environment.” Guan indicated that even though she believed in her speaking ability, she felt her speaking skill in terms of sentence structure or word choice would be better if she had studied in an English-speaking country for a lengthy period of time. Guan further pinpointed that although she had high self-confidence in her own overall English- teaching ability, she was not confident how students would judge her based on her “not-impressive” educational backgrounds. Thus, as Guan mentioned, she would not reveal her educational background to her students initially at the beginning of the semester. Guan stated that she would only reveal her educational background if students asked or after she knew her students had trusted her.

Although this study showed that the teachers’ confidence could be conflicted sometimes, the teachers who participated in my study, I argue, could have higher level of self-confidence to some extent in their own professional legitimacy than many other Taiwanese English teachers. My argument is based on the following points of view.

First of all, as mentioned in Chapter 3, during the process of recruiting participants for this study, I had first sent out email invitation letters to multiple NNESTs at various schools. In the

invitation letter, I had listed the title of my dissertation topic and directly stated that this study aimed to explore the resources that Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers gain access to and the resources they draw on to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy. I argue that without having a certain degree of self-confidence in themselves, teachers would not feel comfortable to talk about a topic such as “resources you own that contribute to your perceptions of professional legitimacy” or “your pedagogical resources” etc. Furthermore, one time I had a teacher who originally wanted to participate in my study; however, after she was informed that this study also involved at least two class observations, the teacher expressed that she could not be my participant, with an apologetic tone. Although I had reassured the teacher that there would be no teaching evaluation involved in my class observations, the teacher candidly explained that she was too shy and would not feel comfortable having me observing her classes. This incident made me to think that for those teachers who participated in my study might have had a higher level of confidence in themselves, or, they might have had a higher level of confidence in their own sense of professional legitimacy at the first place so they were willing to participate in this study.

In addition, as I mentioned previously, all teachers in this study used English as the medium of instruction. US-educated Karen, as well as Taiwan-educated Tera, Hua, and Guan taught at Wen University in which the English-only instructional policy had been mandated years before the English-as-medium trend took over among the higher education institutions in Taiwan. In addition, Janice and Gina taught at different universities and although there was no mandated policy regarding English as the medium of instruction, both of them indicated that they used English most of the time in class. Indeed as I observed their classes, both Janice and Gina used English as a medium in their instruction. Gina even explained that she would like to be a role

model—who had been too shy to speak up in English in class but now had become a person who spoke English confidently and comfortably—for her students. Considering the points presented, I also argue that the teachers who participated in this study could have a certain level of confidence in their own English abilities, especially in speaking, compared to many other Taiwanese English teachers.

Theme Five—Other Means to Establish Their Perceptions of Professional Legitimacy

As my study showed having US post-secondary education universally contributed to the US-educated teachers' perceptions of professional legitimacy. As for the Taiwan-educated teachers, they did not weigh their domestic education as much as the US-educated teachers did when they conceptualized their perceptions of professional legitimacy, and their domestic education did not serve as a universal contributor to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. This study showed that the Taiwan-educated teachers unanimously considered their long teaching history as one of the factors that made them legitimate as English teachers. At the beginning of their teaching careers, all Taiwan-educated teachers were unsure of their legitimacy to teach English; however, they all developed their sense of professional legitimacy over time.

Despite the differences between these two groups of teachers, this study also showed that there was a striking similarity among all teachers in this study when they conceptualized their perceptions of professional legitimacy: teacher-student relations served as a key factor contributing to both the Taiwan-educated and US-educated teachers' perceptions of professional legitimacy. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 4, Janice believed that part of her professional legitimacy was based on good teacher-student relationships. Janice sometimes spoke Taiwanese-accented English in order to get closer to her students. She also constantly provided positive comments regarding her students' class performance and encouraged her students in person and

also on her Facebook page. Karen believed that her passion for teaching, including spending a tremendous amount of time providing feedback for her students, constituted part of her perceptions of professional legitimacy. Gina stated that gaining students' trust in her professionalism led to both pre-service student teachers and in-service teachers consulting with her regarding their English pedagogy. This contributed to her perceptions of professional legitimacy. In the same vein, both Tera and Hua indicated that they did not just teach students the English language; it was more important to be their mentors. For example, Tera dedicated her effort to understanding students' emotions and concerns. Hua mentored her students to do self-learning so they could broaden their horizons.

Even though Guan did not straightforwardly mention how her interactions with students contributed to her perceptions of professional legitimacy, Guan's narratives in which she articulated her long teaching history strongly demonstrated her efforts in building good teacher-student relationships. For example, as mentioned previously, although Guan would not mention her educational background initially to her students, once she knew that she had gained her students' trust and respect, she used examples from her own life to encourage her students to work hard in learning English. As I observed in Guan's classes, she mentioned her strategies for learning English and her stories about how she regained self-confidence as an English language user in her classes. More importantly, knowing that students may not have access to a variety of capital, Guan used examples from her own life with an important aim—she wanted to inspire students so they could also be agentive and competent English learners and users.

I argue that dedicating themselves to developing positive student-teacher interactions demonstrated the teachers' strength in terms of their empathy. All teachers in this study compared their students' English learning to their own English language learning experiences.

Drawing on their own English language experiences, the teachers narrated how their own English teachers encouraged and motivated them. Janice, Karen, Gina, Tera, and Guan even stated that they still kept in touch with some of their English teachers, who served not only as English teachers but also as mentors. Janice, Gina, and Guan even mentioned that it was their English teachers who influenced them tremendously and it was the interactions with their teachers that made them decide to pursue English teaching careers. Acknowledging how teachers played an important role in their students' learning, the teachers in this study all dedicated themselves to creating positive teacher-student relationships. As both Janice and Tera pointed out, if students liked them, the chance that they liked English would be higher.

Furthermore, within the group of the Taiwan-educated teachers, I found out that at Wen University where Tera, Hua, and Guan taught, the majority of the faculty members in the English department were Taiwanese teachers who had graduated from English-speaking countries (24 from the United States, 19 from England, 3 from New Zealand, 2 from Australia, and 1 from Canada). The ratio of English-speaking-country-educated teachers versus Taiwan-educated teachers (including both full-time and part-time) in the English department was 49:19. In addition, there were also 4 native speakers of English in the department. Given the institutional faculty configuration and also considering the larger institutional and sociopolitical context of Taiwan described earlier, I was particularly motivated to investigate not only the accessible capital with which they claimed professional legitimacy, but also what other means or strategies these teachers employed to establish their perceptions of professional legitimacy. As Chapter 5 indicated, both Tera and Guan gained access to the linguistic capital of the English language, and this capital served as a contributor to their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Hua drew on her accessible cultural capital to conceptualize her perceptions of professional legitimacy.

Additionally, as I stated earlier within Theme Five, Tera, Hua, and Guan universally used their long teaching history to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy. Maintaining good teacher-student interactions was also regarded as an important part of their teaching, and positive teacher-student interactions also contributed to all of their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

In addition to the capital to which Tera, Hua, and Guan gained access and drew on to conceptualize their perceptions of professional legitimacy, plus the other means with which they claimed their professional legitimacy, this study also found out that one similarity among these three teachers was that they all had a strong desire to engage in learning (English and/ other fields related to English teaching). Interestingly, however, their strategies of being engaged in learning varied.

For example, Tera mentioned that every summer vacation she would devote herself to reading lots of English novels. She said that one time her son complained that he would get hungry very often in summer because his mom tended to forget to cook if she was reading her novels. Tera also mentioned that her reading of Harry Potter, for example, helped her have engaging conversations with her students. In addition, both Hua and Guan once commented that some teachers they knew only focused on their own expertise and overlooked other fields of knowledge, including information about technology. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Hua made efforts in expanding her horizons; she dedicated herself to engaging in self-learning in various fields such as literature, music, movies, etc. This knowledge gained from self-learning, according to Hua, helped her class to be more lively and deepened the class discussions because she did not just teach what was in the textbooks; she “could link the materials to many other topics and also to real life.” Guan also dedicated herself to keeping up-to-date with the latest information about

technology. She also selectively chose some online tools that she thought were useful for the students' English learning and introduced those tools in class. As Guan pointed out, her students regarded her as "resourceful".

Again, given the information about the faculty members' educational backgrounds and in considering the larger institutional and sociopolitical context of Taiwan, I argue that one of the motivations that drove Tera, Hua, and Guan to keep learning new things was that they would like to gain competitiveness in their teaching environments, and therefore they found various strategies to empower themselves in order to achieve this goal. This point also directly echoes an argument brought up in Theme Two regarding these teachers' agency. The surrounding contexts that these teachers taught in propelled these teachers to take series of action to use other means to assert their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

6.2 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Since I provided opportunities for the participants to choose to speak in Mandarin or English during our interviews and all participants preferred to use Mandarin, the data that I acquired were translated and thus might lose some authenticity. However, one of my responsibilities as a researcher was to make sure the words or sentences that I translated adhere to the truth and maintain the "flavor" of the original as much as possible. Member checks with the participants helped me avoid mistranslations or misinterpretations.

I conducted this research with six teachers from three different universities, and Wen University was the school in which I had worked as an English teacher prior to my doctoral study. I was aware that conducting research at this site where I used to work may likely influence my data. Since I was a former instructor at the same school, I was worried that the same teaching context may produce some "shared repertoire" (Clarke, 2008) such as ways of doing things that I

might be familiar with and thus might take these for granted. Examples include the ways teachers taught or the strategies they demonstrated within this particular school environment. However, it had been four years since I left Wen University, and I am confident that this allowed me to see things with fresh eyes and have the ability to observe things from an appropriate distance. Utilizing data triangulation also supported my aim of having the findings be as thorough as possible. In addition, I emailed the teachers to ask about some points that needed clarifications. I also did member checks by sending transcripts of our interviews to the participants to carefully resolve some unclear points.

Finally, as a researcher who had graduated from a TESOL program in the U.S. and had taught English language classes for three years in Taiwan, one of the challenges I had was that my interpretations of the data might be shaped by my own educational and professional experiences. However, as mentioned previously, strategies such as member check and triangulation in terms of data collection helped me to minimize some possible bias or assumptions.

Regarding recommendations for future research, all teachers in this study were relatively experienced teachers in the field of English teaching in Taiwan. Even Gina who had just a year of teaching experience at the college level at the time the study was conducted had seven years of experience as an elementary school teacher in Taiwan. In considering one of the findings of this study that some teachers developed perceptions of their professional legitimacy over time, the data that I collected might have been shaped differently if there had been beginning English teachers participating in this study. For future research, I suggest the inclusion of beginning teachers and exploration of their resources as contributing factors to perceptions of their

professional legitimacy. It is also important to examine the strategies which beginning teachers use for establishing other means to claim their legitimacy.

Furthermore, all my participants used English as a medium of instruction and this may indicate that my participants in general had higher linguistic capital of spoken English. In terms of future research, having participants who are English teachers working in different linguistic contexts in which they do not use English as the medium of instruction may generate different perspectives on the linguistic capital of the English language they have accumulated.

In addition, all teachers in this study were female. Future research can include male participants and explore how gender comes into play regarding NNESTs' perceptions of their professional legitimacy. One point worth considering for future research concerns one of the findings of this study: building a good student-teacher relationship served as a universal factor contributing to the teachers' perceptions of their professional legitimacy. Regarding this finding, future research can further examine whether this factor also serves as a contributing factor to male participants' perceptions of their professional legitimacy as English language educators.

Additionally, as this study revealed, one of the strengths of the teachers in this study was their ability to relate the students' English learning to their own English learning experiences in Taiwan. Regarding this point, future research can center on NESTs who teach in non-English-speaking countries and explore the resources the NESTs gain access to and draw on to conceptualize perceptions of their professional legitimacy. It also might be interesting to expand the scope of this kind of study to compare and contrast the perspectives of both NNESTs and NESTs in the same higher education institutions on the perceptions of their professional legitimacy.

Finally, this study also raised a question in my mind: to what extent do NNESTs' perceptions of being legitimate English teachers match those of their students? Researchers in the education field have agreed that teaching is a dialogic process; knowledge is not simply delivered by teachers but co-constructed between teachers and students. In this regard, I suggest that future research might include students' perspectives on what contributes to Taiwanese teachers' becoming professional and legitimate teachers? For example, what are the students' perspectives toward English teachers who graduated domestically versus English teachers who studied overseas? Furthermore, one of the findings of this study revealed that all teachers of this study, despite their varying educational backgrounds, stated that having a good student-teacher relationship helped them assert their legitimacy as English teaching professionals. Future research might further identify whether this factor contributes to students' perspectives on how effective they feel their English teachers are.

6.3 Conclusion and Implications

This study brought to the forefront the voices and perspectives of in-service Taiwanese English teachers on their professional legitimacy. Also, in light of the fact that growing numbers of Taiwanese English teachers obtain their degrees abroad in English-speaking countries and return to Taiwan to work alongside English teachers who have been educated domestically, the study analyzed the forms of capital that the Taiwan-educated versus US-educated Taiwanese English teachers gained access to and drew upon to conceptualize perceptions of their professional legitimacy. In addition to analyzing the resources available to these teachers, this study further examined the teachers' strategies for establishing other means through which they claimed legitimacy as English teaching professionals.

The study showed that the larger institutional and sociopolitical context of Taiwan that my participants all shared, plus their varying teaching contexts, together mediated the teachers' beliefs for what they regarded as highly value capital in their own teaching contexts and what shaped perceptions of their professional legitimacy. In other words, it was the Taiwanese teaching contexts that influenced the teachers' perceptions of what they regarded as capital important to their teaching in those contexts. In addition, owning those kinds of capital and being able to use them as teaching tools helped the teachers claim their professional legitimacy. As the study demonstrated, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and the linguistic capital of the English language were regarded as highly-value capital in the Taiwanese teaching contexts.

More importantly, this study found that the teachers' strengths, including the varying forms and amount of capital to which they had access and other means that they developed, influenced them in the construction of perceptions of their professional legitimacy. A universal strength among all the teachers in this study, as the study showed, was that they were able to relate to the students' learning experiences with strong empathy. As I have argued, the teachers in this study knew how their own English teachers played an important role in their own English learning and thus they dedicated themselves to creating positive student-teacher interactions. Having positive teacher-student relationships thus can be seen as a unanimous factor contributing to all the teachers' perceptions of their professional legitimacy. Furthermore, the study also found that the Taiwanese-educated teachers exercised greater agency to develop other means through which they claimed their professional legitimacy. As the study showed, the teachers were highly engaged in self-learning in order to be competitive in their teaching contexts.

Among the cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital that this study centered on, perhaps the finding regarding the ownership of linguistic capital of the English language by these Taiwanese

English teachers is the most significant. As the study showed, all the Taiwanese teachers in this study regarded English proficiency as an essential prerequisite for being legitimate English teaching professionals in Taiwan and they all universally emphasized the importance of having English speaking competence. In considering this point, many NNESTs in Taiwan may feel it to be a struggle because while they dedicate themselves to striving for better or even near native-like English proficiency especially in speaking for they know their English speaking proficiency can help them claim legitimacy to teach English in their teaching contexts, they also understand that for their students who are English language learners, they might need to set up a more realistic goal. Furthermore, an important issue regarding World Englishes was also raised: while some English teachers in Taiwan might be aware of the importance of embracing a variety of usages and accents in the English language, in the status quo of the Taiwanese English teaching profession, NNESTs who speak English “authentically” or “beautifully” continue to receive more recognition and prestige from students, students’ parents, and/or school colleagues, as the study showed. Additionally, this finding about the importance of acquiring linguistic capital by becoming more proficient in one’s use of English language for the Taiwanese English teachers of this study is consistent with de Oliveria’s (2011)’s and Wu et al.’s (2010) ideas that it is important to enhance in-service NNESTs’ English language competencies in order to increase their professionalism.

This study also confirmed Giddens’s (1979) and Sewell’s (1984) notions of the recursive loop of capital and agency. First of all, this study confirmed Sewell’s (1984) idea that these teachers’ educational backgrounds played an important role in providing them access to various kinds and amounts of capital. Second, as the study showed, the teachers’ capital empowered their teaching practices. For example, Hua utilized her knowledge of academic expectations and

requirements as a graduate student as resources in teaching her English Literature class. The US-educated teachers exemplified being agents of action not only because they recognized their ownership of high-value capital gained through their US education but also because they actively adapted their capital as their pedagogical resources. Second, the teachers' agency also shaped their accessibility to various kinds and different amounts of capital. For instance, Tera and Guan exercised agency to earn the highly valued linguistic capital of the English language.

In addition, in light of the teachers' agency, as the study showed, the contexts or environment they taught in also propelled the teachers' agency in terms of taking action to empower themselves. In case of Guan especially, realizing that she did not own economic capital, Guan started to teach non-stop after graduating from college. Being keenly aware of her limited access to cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital due to her "not-impressive" educational background, Guan worked hard to earn linguistic capital of the English language and was determined to let her teaching bring her recognition from her students and colleagues and thus earn legitimacy as an English teacher.

This study also showed that the Taiwanese English teachers in this study did not think they share in the ownership of the English language. The teachers in this study all agreed with the myth that the English language to some large extent belongs to people born in traditionally native English contexts or inner-circle countries. Concurring with the research of Norton (1997), if the teachers in this study did not think they owned the English language, they would not consider themselves legitimate users of English. Most importantly, as I have argued, these teachers might reproduce the notion that English to a large extent belongs to the inner-circle English-speaking countries. Under this circumstance, the ideas of World Englishes or Holliday's (2005) statement that English belongs to whoever uses it because it is now an international

language may be overlooked in these teachers' instruction. Moreover, these teachers' teaching practices might not promote the idea that English belongs to whoever uses it. Thus, their students may get limited access to the notions of World Englishes and English as International Language, and therefore they still believe the notion that English belongs to the people of inner-circle English-speaking countries and native English speakers.

This study showed that the capital to which these teachers had access mediated their level of confidence. More importantly, this study unveiled the conflicted perspectives of self-confidence of the Taiwanese English teachers. As the study showed, even though the teachers in this study conceptualized their perceptions of professional legitimacy by drawing on their accessible capital and other means and they all rated their English speaking skills at an advanced level, all the teachers were not as confident in asserting their professional legitimacy in teaching spoken English. This finding, as I argued, could be related to their beliefs of their disownership of the English language.

By illuminating these six Taiwanese English teachers' perceptions of their professional legitimacy and by identifying the available resources and strategies these teachers employed to help themselves assert their professional legitimacy, I hope that more NNESTs can be inspired to become active agents and to capitalize on their strengths. I also hope that through this research, more NNESTs can take away much inspiration from the strengths of my research participants: their perseverance in their own English language learning, their courage and agency to make changes to empower themselves, and their passion for working with their students. In addition, it is hoped that more NNESTs will be more able not only to find their own available resources which might contribute to perceptions of their professional legitimacy but also to employ

pedagogical strategies for establishing other means with which they can assert their legitimacy as English teaching professionals.

Based on the emerging themes of this study, implications for NNESTs, including pre-service English teacher education and ongoing teacher professional development for NNESTs are suggested.

First of all, as I have argued, the concept of professional legitimacy of the six NNESTs in this study has not been discussed sufficiently, in either their teacher education programs or in the current professional development provided in their schools. As this study showed, the sense of professional legitimacy of these Taiwan-educated teachers developed over time. Guan, for example, developed her perceptions of professional legitimacy while she was teaching; the longer and the better she taught, the more she looked upon herself as a legitimate and professional English educator. Her case illustrates why the concept of professional legitimacy may not be automatically instilled in the minds of in-service or pre-service NNESTs, although they might be highly competent educators. In light of this, I suggest that the concept of professional legitimacy can be purposely cultivated in language teacher education programs and in the professional development of NNESTs. The idea of the professional legitimacy of NNESTs can constitute part of the knowledge base of their teacher education so beginning teachers can be more confident to assert their legitimacy. Professional development should also support NNESTs in regard to their professional legitimacy. By understanding how NNESTs can be empowered to move from a “deficit discourse” (Bhatt, cited in Mahboob, 2010, p. 2) to seeing themselves as legitimate English teaching professionals, language teacher education programs and professional development can support NNESTs in overcoming their insecurities and in forging their professional legitimacy.

Secondly, the teachers in this study drew on their strengths (both based on their available capital and other means) to constitute perceptions of their professional legitimacy. This suggests that NNESTs can capitalize on their strengths to establish perceptions of their professional legitimacy. That is to say, NNESTs can craft their professional legitimacy based on their strengths. In addition, both pre-service and in-service teacher educators can help NNESTs find their strengths to establish their professional legitimacy. I further suggest that teacher preparation and professional development for NNESTs can center on exploring factors to enlarge NNESTs' available resources and enhance their strengths. In other words, the goals of teacher preparation and professional development for NNESTs should include focusing on exploring NNESTs' varying strengths and then capitalizing on their strengths as their teaching resources. For example, as the study showed, Janice utilized one of her strengths—her linguistic capital of the English language—as one of her teaching tools to establish her authority as a teacher and to get closer to her students. Being able to use her linguistic capital adeptly as one of her teaching resources contributed to perceptions of Janice's professional legitimacy. Tera used her sound knowledge of the learners' first language Mandarin in her English Poetry class. Hua used her cultural capital of her past academic experience as a resource in her English Literature class. Being able to utilize their own strengths in teaching supported Tera and Hua to claim their professional legitimacy.

In addition, this study confirmed the idea that teachers' capital empowers their agency (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1984). In considering this point, if NNESTs can be aware of their own strengths and teacher educators of NNESTs can support NNESTs to capitalize on their strengths as teaching resources, this can also help NNESTs to develop or generate their sense of agency. While NNESTs' accessibility to resources may be partially shaped by their educational

backgrounds, as this study showed, NNESTs also have the ability to influence their own lives and environments, and therefore gain more desired capital with which they can claim legitimacy in their teaching contexts, as this study demonstrated. For example, when Tera and Guan realized that they needed to acquire linguistic capital of the English language in their teaching contexts, they initiated actions to obtain this linguistic capital. The Taiwan-educated teachers also demonstrated agency at times when there was no accessible capital at hand, and they worked hard to lead change. Agency thus positioned these teachers from a possibly disadvantaged to a powerful position. I therefore argue that teacher educators can help student teachers realize their agency as professionals at the start of their teacher education. Furthermore, as Braine (1999) points out, most EFL students are educated by their local teachers and therefore, if NNESTs are able to identify their own capital or strengths and develop their agency, they can further inspire students to find their own strengths in terms of their English learning and be agentic learners of English.

Also, if teachers' perceptions of professional legitimacy are constructed according to their strengths based on their available resources and other means, as this study showed, teacher educators of NNESTs can underscore this concept in teacher education and support NNEST student teachers to explore factors that enlarge resources available to them and thus capitalize on these strengths. Additionally, as I have argued, the notion of native-speakerism is still in favor to some extent among many English teaching professionals in Taiwan. By allowing NNESTs to focus on the range of their own strengths that contribute to their professional legitimacy, these NNESTs are offered avenues for themselves that could contest some existing stereotypes with which they may otherwise have to contend. This study showed how Tera and Guan recognized what contributed to their own strengths and also what resources were available to them in their

teaching contexts and how they utilized their resources to defeat some stereotypes resulting from their status of being NNESTs or their domestic educational backgrounds.

Furthermore, this study found that a common strength that all teachers in this study shared was their capacity to relate their students' English learning to their own learning experiences. For example, realizing how their own English teachers had an impact on their lives (in Janice's case, she went from disliking the subject of English to making up her mind to become an English teacher due to her English tutor), the teachers dedicated themselves to establishing positive teacher-student interactions. Take Tera and Hua for example. They worked to facilitate their students' social and emotional development as much as their academic development (see Chapter 5). The strategy of having good student-teacher interactions helped all teachers in this study to establish perceptions of their professional legitimacy. In light of this point, teacher educators of NNESTs can help NNESTs to turn the possible "deficit" perspective of being NNESTs into a positive strength—NNESTs can utilize their own English learning experiences as their teaching tools and aid students' learning effectively.

Thirdly, among all the capital to which the teachers in this study gained access and drew on to conceptualize perceptions of their professional legitimacy, I want to highlight linguistic capital of the English language. According to this study, the Taiwan-educated and US-educated teachers were able to consider themselves legitimate English teachers partly because of their linguistic capital of the English language: the English speaking ability of Janice, Karen, and Gina served as a contributing factor to perceptions of their professional legitimacy; Hua's English writing ability contributed to perceptions of her professional legitimacy. In light of this point, English language competence of non-native English-speaking student teachers should be strengthened and be supported in English language teacher education. English language

competence of in-service NNESTs should also be strengthened in teacher professional development (de Oliveira, 2011; Wu et al., 2010). Furthermore, as Kamhi-Stein (2004) points out, in EFL contexts where many of the language instructors are non-native teachers of English, and where there appears to be a growing gap between the teachers' current level of language proficiency and the language proficiency level required in their educational system, the question of language proficiency may become an increasingly crucial element for professional development. In the context of Budapest, for instance, Medgyes (1999) stated that English language training is a neglected however needed area in teacher education. Medgyes (1999) also stresses that NNESTs' English language proficiency affects NNESTs' self-confidence and how they see themselves professionally.

Similarly, all the NNESTs in my study emphasized the importance of English speaking competence. Tera and Hua noted that prior to their undergraduate studies, the English language education they received in Taiwan highly emphasized reading, writing, and grammar. Therefore, they did not have confidence in speaking English and teaching speaking classes as new teachers. In light of this point, Taiwanese teacher education programs and professional development of NNESTs should provide more well-balanced and comprehensive support in terms of the four English language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing). Additionally, by examining and supporting NNESTs' English language proficiency in terms of the four skills, this step helps NNESTs reflect on what forms of capital are at their disposal and how they can make best use of those resources. In addition, this suggestion regarding English language competence is consistent with Chen and Goh's (2011) research. They pinpoint that there is clearly a need for teacher training programs to prepare teachers with adequate language competence as they embark on their teaching careers. This foundation should be further built upon through in-service

professional development programs. Meanwhile, by examining and supporting NNESTs' English language proficiency in terms of the four skills, this step helps NNESTs reflect on what forms of capital are at their disposal and how they can make best use of those resources. That is to say, NNESTs can be more able to capitalize on their strengths and utilize them in teaching, a point suggested earlier. This strategy can further help NNESTs establish their perceptions of professional legitimacy.

While it is important to pay attention to NNESTs' English language competence in their teacher training programs or professional development, teacher educators also need to emphasize the idea that the English of NNESTs is naturally characterized by cross-linguistic influence from their mother tongue to different extents, which should be seen as a resource rather than a deficit (Cook, 2002; Li, 2007). Additionally, this study showed that regardless of their perceived levels of their own English language proficiency, all the NNESTs in this study did not think they owned the English language. They not only compared their English language competence to those of NESTs but also evaluated their English language ability based on the comments of NESTs. In light of this, the concept of ownership of the English—English belongs to whoever speaks it rather than to specific geographic locations and people (Holliday, 2005)—should also be more promoted and strengthened among NNESTs. For example, drawing on the ideas of Samimy and Kim (2006), teacher education programs for NNESTs can include NNEST seminar courses, and topics such as English as an International Language (Holliday, 2005) and World Englishes should be included in those courses. Also, concurring with Norton (1997), teacher educators of NNESTs can also emphasize the idea that English learners can claim ownership of this target language and this ownership can help them consider themselves as legitimate speakers of English. Furthermore, I argue that only if NNESTs themselves believe in their ownership of

English, can they promote this idea through their teaching and gradually cultivate this idea into the minds of their students.

Finally, the findings of this study also call for attention to NNESTs' self-confidence. For example, even though Tera had confidence in her English language competence, her self-confidence deflated after encountering a parent questioning her legitimacy as an English teacher due to her domestic educational background. Similarly, although Guan was confident about her teaching skills, she was not confident about how students would think of her as a teacher due to her "not-impressive" educational background. I suggest that language teacher education for NNESTs, especially those in EFL contexts, can provide early opportunities for cultivating non-native English speaking student teachers' confidence as legitimate TESOL educators.

Furthermore, the question of NNESTs' confidence need to be taken into account in language teacher education curriculum design. The US-educated teachers in this study were keenly aware of their available capital gained through their US education and therefore, they were more confident in asserting their legitimacy as English language educators in Taiwan, even when they were beginning teachers. On the other hand, the Taiwan-educated teachers in my study, especially during the early stages of their teaching careers, often struggled with confidence. For instance, Guan's educational background did not provide her the same forms of capital when she started teaching English in a college. In light of this finding, preparation of English teachers can include opportunities to scaffold the development of teachers' confidence as a skill to be internalized as part of one's professional expertise in TESOL, particularly for student teachers in EFL contexts. Furthermore, this study found that all the teachers did not have enough confidence to assert their professional legitimacy in teaching English speaking. In considering this point, for NNESTs who do not have confidence in their own English language competence, it is of

importance for these NNESTs to develop their English proficiency, but more importantly, it is necessary to strengthen NNESTs' confidence in asserting their ownership of English.

Additionally, confidence development is crucial for NNESTs, especially those who are educated in EFL contexts, at early stages of their teaching careers. In Taiwan, for example, it is still highly possible to encounter Taiwanese English teachers' own students, students' parents, or colleagues etc. who subscribe to the native speaker myth or give a halo to teachers who are educated in English-speaking countries. In light of this, I suggest the inclusion of pedagogical experiences in the formal preparation of English teachers that scaffold the development of confidence as a skill to be internalized as part of one's professional expertise in TESOL, especially for student teachers in an EFL context. Additionally, it is also important to strengthen NNESTs' confidence in asserting their ownership of English because this concept can assist NNESTs to establish their legitimacy as English language users and educators (Norton, 1997). It is hoped that language teacher education programs and teacher professional development can prepare NNESTs to be confident and agentic English teaching professionals.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

A-1 Interview protocol for first round interview

1. Tell me about your educational background:
 - How long have you studied English?
 - Did you like English language when you were a student? Why/why not?
 - Do you consider yourself a competent English learner? Why?
 - Do you speak other languages? If so, which one(s)? How long have you studied these languages?
 - In your own English learning experience, what was the most enjoyable part?
 - In your own English learning experience, what was the most challenging part?
 - Where did you pursue your master's degree? What degree was it?
[Probe: a. What motivated you to pursue your Master's in that program?
b. What made you decide to choose the program at that university?]
 - In your Master's program, what did you enjoy the most? Why?
 - Did you encounter any challenges while you pursued the study?
 - Describe the best English teacher you ever had.
 - Based on your educational experience, do you believe you are a legitimate/credible/qualified teacher of English in Taiwan? If so, why do you feel this way? If no, why not?

2. Tell me about your professional experience of English language teaching:
 - Why made you decide to become an English teacher?
 - How long have you taught English as a second and/or foreign language?
 - What kind of classes are you currently teaching?
 - Do you prefer to teach any particular class? If so, what class and why?
 - What is your level of written English? Do you consider yourself at basic, intermediate, or advanced level? Why?
 - What is your level of spoken English? Do you consider yourself at basic, intermediate, or advanced level? Why?
 - As far as I know, xxx (the school's name) is one of the few colleges that uses English as a medium in instruction. Do you feel comfortable in teaching by speaking English only? If yes, why? If no, why not?
[Probe: Is there any strategy that you use in teaching that helps you implement this English-only instruction more successfully?]
 - As an English language educator, how do you keep up your knowledge of English language?
 - What is the most rewarding part of being a NNEST? Can you give me some examples?
 - What is the most challenging part of being a NNEST? Can you provide some examples?
 - How do you approach the (these) challenge (challenges)?
 - How long have you taught at this school?

[Probe: (for both new and veteran teacher) Do you think these years of teaching experience can help you consider yourself as legitimate teacher or not? If yes, why? If no, why not?]

- Do you ask your students to call you by your first name, your title (teacher or professor) or Miss/Mr./Mrs. xxx? Any reasons for doing this?
 - Describe a perfect day of your class from your teaching experience.
 - Give me some examples of your class that went well and the one that did not go well.
 - From your point of view, what are the students' perceptions of having a non-native English-speaking teacher? (Probe: What inform your perceptions? Students' attitude? Words? Actions? Body language?)
 - Have you encountered a situation in which a student raised a question in class and you did not know the answer? If yes, what actions did you take? If no, what actions would you take?
 - Describe your relationship with your colleagues.
 - Do you feel comfortable speaking English with your colleagues? If yes, why? If not, why not?
 - In what situations or contexts do you feel more comfortable considering yourself an English language professional in Taiwan? Why?
 - In what situations/contexts, if any, do you feel you less legitimate/credible/professional as an English language teacher? Why? [Probe: What are some strategies that you may use that help you reposition yourself in those situations/contexts?]
 - Overall, based on your teaching experience, do you believe you are a legitimate/credible/qualified teacher of English in Taiwan? If so, why do you feel this way? If no, why not?
3. As an English learner and English educator simultaneously, have you ever use your own educational experience (either in Taiwan or in the U.S.) as examples to motivate your students in class? If yes, can you provide some examples?
4. In considering your educational and professional experience, what resources do you like to draw upon when you teach?

In thinking about our interview, is there anything else that you would like to add?

A-2: Interview protocol for second round interview

Thank you for allowing me to observe your class. I am going to ask a few questions about specific moments in the class. (Sample emergent interview questions)

1. You mentioned XXX in the first-round interview. I was not pretty sure if I catch that point correctly. Did you mean that...?
2. You mentioned XXX as an example in the class. What made you decide to use this as an example?
3. What was it like for you during the moment when there was one student...?
4. I noticed you responded to [person's comments] by XXX.
 - What were you thinking about?
 - What guided your response?
 - What were you feeling at that moment?
5. In thinking about our interview, is there anything else that you would like to add?

APPENDIX B: OBSERVATION GUIDE

B-1 First Observation

Field notes will be recorded during observation, with a focus on the following information:

Student component

- How many students are there in the class?
- How do people arrange themselves?

Instruction

- How does the instructor introduce herself/himself to the students?
- Does the instructor mention her educational background in class during the self-introduction?
- How does the instructor facilitate her/his teaching?
- How does the teacher handle students' questions?
- What resources does the instructor take up to support her/his teaching? [For example: Does the teacher mention her/his own English language learning experience?]
- What is the atmosphere of the class?
- How does the teacher present herself/himself? [For example: Does the teacher look confident, authoritative, laidback, energetic, etc.? What are the examples?]

Interaction with students

- How do the students call the teacher? (By first name, teacher/professor, or last name with a title?)
- What kind of interaction exists between the instructor and the students?

B-2 Second Observation

Field notes will be recorded during observation, with a focus on the following information:

Instruction

- How does the instructor facilitate her teaching?
- What resources does the instructor take up to support her teaching?
- How does the teacher handle students' questions?
- What is the atmosphere of the class?
- What is the nature of classroom discourse?
- Is there any remarkable difference between the first and second observation?
- How does the teacher present herself/himself? [For example: Does the teacher look confident, authoritative, laidback, energetic, etc.? What are the examples?]

Interaction with students

- What kind of interaction exists between the instructor and the students? (For example, does any student ask questions before, during, or after class?)