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White Prestige Ideology, Identity, and Investment: ESL Composition Class as a Site of Resistance and Accommodation for Taiwanese Students

Pei-hsun Liu
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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WHITE PRESTIGE IDEOLOGY, IDENTITY, AND INVESTMENT:

ESL COMPOSITION CLASS AS A SITE OF RESISTANCE AND

ACCOMMODATION FOR TAIWANESE STUDENTS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Pei-hsun Liu

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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Indiana University of Pennsylvania
The School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of English

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Pei-hsun Liu

Candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 6, 2010_____   Signature on File_____
                                      Dan J. Tannacito, Ph.D.
                                      Professor of English, Advisor

April 6, 2010_____   Signature on File_____
                                      Ben Rafoth, Ed.D.
                                      Professor of English

April 6, 2010_____   Signature on File_____
                                      Sharon K. Deckert, Ph.D.
                                      Assistant Professor of English

ACCEPTED

Signature on File_____   _____
Timothy P. Mack, Ph.D.
Dean
The School of Graduate Studies and Research

Title: White Prestige Ideology, Identity, and Investment: ESL Composition Class as a

Site of Resistance and Accommodation for Taiwanese Students

Author: Pei-hsun Liu

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Dan J. Tannacito

Dissertation Committee Members: Dr. Ben Rafoth

Dr. Sharon K. Deckert

The increased number of international ESL students has begun to show a wider range of responses to composition classes than ever before. While much research discusses struggles of L2 writers to fulfill assignments and evaluation, the research does not address the process of students' resisting authority, nor the roles of ideology, desire, and identity in the process of that resistance. The present study discusses behavioral accommodation and resistance of multilingual writers in ESL composition classes and posits how sociopolitical factors, such as identity construction and white prestige ideology, play roles in these reactions.

Using qualitative research and a sociopolitical viewpoint as the theoretical framework, the study focuses on and analyzes behavioral patterns as well as discourses of ideology and identity of 12 Taiwanese ESL writers who enrolled in intensive English composition classes in Fall 2008 in the United States through students' classroom behaviors, interview transcripts, and writing samples. Modifying Canagarajah's (2004) scheme, results of this research indicate that various responses to ESL composition classes, including unreflective compliance, active, suppressive, or transformational accommodation, meta-aware adaptation, and passive or oppositional resistance, are

manifested. More specifically, multilingual writers strategically adopt stances of accommodation and resistance, which often involves identity (re)construction and ideological implications. The findings show that these various responses are contingent and dynamic in nature, and that this contingency can be accounted for by the ESL composition students' identity claims as well as their white privilege ideology.

I discuss how Taiwanese students' stances of accommodation and resistance sustain an ideology of racial, class, and linguistic privilege originally in Taiwan and modified in the United States. I also address how an essentialist view of teaching and learning reinforce multilingual writers' identity of inferiority and legitimate unequal power relations. Finally, I contend that students who position themselves as good Chinese writers are able to resist the ESL composition class and an identity of inferiority. I conclude by proposing new ways for composition educators to conceptualize ESL writing without devaluing any cultures or languages while advocating individual empowerment and social transformation.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In a global era, English, as an international language, is promoted and used widely. Crystal (1997) pointed out the important role of English for communication purposes in global contexts and addressed the urgent need for English instruction. However, viewing the English language as a neutral communication tool has been criticized, for it neglects the sociopolitical implications of language learning and teaching. In fact, Phillipson (2009) stated that Crystal's position viewing English as a ―global" language is irresponsible, for it neutralizes English and views English and the processes of global enrichment and impoverishment as having no connection. In this study, I would like to take a sociopolitical perspective looking into language ideologies and power relations in English language education. As Pennycook (2000) proclaimed, ―The term political in both _sociopolitical' and _cultural political' is used not to address a formal domain of politics or policy but rather to suggest that I view questions of social and cultural relations from a critical perspective" (p. 91). Taking a similar line, I examine multilingual writers' behavioral strategies from a critical perspective.

This study discusses how multilingual writers respond to teaching authority in ESL (English as a Second Language) composition classes in the United States. I focus on sociopolitical factors such as ideology, identity, and investment as they affect writers' behavioral manifestations. I will argue that students' language ideologies are interrelated with their identity construction and investment in the process of language learning, which affect multilingual writers' accommodation and resistance in ESL composition classes.

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Results of this research indicate that various responses to ESL composition classes, including unreflective compliance, active, suppressive, or meta-aware accommodation, transformational adaptation, and passive or oppositional resistance, are manifested. More specifically, multilingual students strategically adopted stances of accommodation and resistance, which often involved identity (re)construction and ideological implications. Identity factors include desires to maintain L1 identity, to be identified with the white academy, or to gain higher social status. Ideology factors include Americanism or white prestige ideology and the concept of native-speaker privilege or nativespeakerism (Holliday, 2005).

Furthermore, the findings show that Taiwanese students expressed their investment in the imagined community of prestige through taking stances of accommodation and resistance. I found that these stances sustain white prestige within the ESL composition class. Generally speaking, the research participants tended to accommodate to classes that would fulfill their desires to be identified with the white academy; they resisted classes that did not help them to be engaged in the imagined community of prestige. I discuss how Taiwanese students' stances of accommodation and resistance sustain ideology of racial, class, and linguistic privilege in the United States and in Taiwan; I also illustrate how an essentialist view of teaching and learning reinforce multilingual writers' identity of inferiority and legitimate unequal power relations. Finally, I contend that students who position themselves as good Chinese writers are able to resist the ESL composition class and the identity of inferiority.

I conclude by proposing new ways for composition educators to conceptualize ESL writing without devaluing any cultures or languages while advocating individual empowerment and social transformation

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Rationale of the Study

The study documents the process of forming opposition and assimilation tendencies among Taiwanese students in ESL composition classes and examines the interlocking questions of identity, investment, and white prestige ideology. I have decided to conduct the research for four main reasons.

For my first reason, while much research has contributed to the teaching of L2 writing, it is usually unidirectional and assumes that multilingual writers are machines who receive instructions and process learning. Canagarajah (1999, 2004, 2006) has been working extensively on local agency of English language learners (ELLs). His basic argument is that instead of blindly accepting whatever English instructors teach them, ELLs are their own agents who bring their native cultures and languages into language classrooms and negotiate with the dominant (competing) discourses. Canagarajah's works have inspired me to examine multilingual writers' strategies of resisting or accommodating to dominant authority.

As more and more ELLs enroll in US college composition classes, research about how to deal with these students has become urgent and necessary. In an attempt to address these issues, there has been abundant literature discussing theoretical and practical agendas. However, what is not often discussed is the process by which L2 writers resist or accept the dominant power, that is, the L2 writing curriculum. Accommodating to or resisting an ideologically superior authority is not easy; ELLs react in different ways in a writing classroom. Therefore, there is a pressing need for more research into how multilingual writers embrace and resist ESL composition instruction and curriculum from a critical perspective.

For my second reason, studies of World Englishes (WE) which challenge language prejudice and propose the acceptance of language varieties have focused

mainly on spoken languages. Regardless of the effectiveness of language and successful communication, most people believe in such things as good and bad languages. Lippi-Green (2004) criticized the existence of such a standard language ideology in the United States. She pointed out that most people tend to judge people by their language traits despite what they have to say and that most people would be surprised to know job applicants have been rejected because of their skin color, but they think that there is nothing wrong with treating a student as a problem to be solved. The following quote illustrates this attitude perfectly,

> These poor kids come to school speaking a hodge podge. They are all mixed up and don't know any language well. As a result, they can't even think clearly. That's why they don't learn. It's my job to teach them language—to make up for their deficiency. And, since their parents don't really know any language either, why should we waste time on Spanish? It is ―good" English which has to be the focus. (Zentella, 1996, p. 8-9)

Concerning the injustice of standard language ideologies, many scholars have proposed the concept of World Englishes, which assumes that English belongs to all those who use it. Instead of viewing local varieties as ―broken English," the WE paradigm embraces language varieties (i.e., American English, African American Vernacular English, Chinese English, etc.), emphasizes the expression of social identities in language use, and deconstructs standard language ideologies.

Despite the good intentions and efforts against language prejudice, research on WE in composition is less examined. Lippi-Green (2004) noted that language variation is not mainly about spoken language. She noted the idea that some people think English varieties exist only in spoken language and not written language because

the demands made on written language are considerable: we want it to span time and space, and we want it to do that in asocial vacuum, without the aid of paralinguistic features (such as intonation and gestures) and often without shared context of any kind. (p. 291)

I agree with her critique that written language can be viewed in an asocial vacuum. Although the original purpose of written language is for the sake of preservation, written language also has variation. Authors write in different styles and use different phrases that represent their identities. Written language is also very socially constructed. Written language is not static; people vary their written language to be accepted in different communities of practice. Therefore, written language cannot be viewed in an asocial vacuum without taking into account the contexts in which the writing has taken place. This means that as with spoken language, people prefer a certain form of written English. Students invest themselves in learning the variety of written language that empowers them. It is thus important to study how language ideologies influence the learning of English writing.

My third reason for this study involves the issues of pluralizing academic writing (Canagarajah, 2006) and negotiating language differences (Matsuda, 2008). Hoping to read, write, learn, and teach a privileged variety of written language is problematic. There is a need to research and promote World Englishes in composition. In his presentation on *World Englishes and Teaching of Composition* at the Indiana University of Pennsylvania in the summer of 2008, Paul Matsuda outlined how ubiquitous requirements reinforce the privileged varieties of English (i.e., the standardized, dominant variety). He pointed out that while teaching academic writing serves the function of communicating ideas, nondominant varieties of English express linguistic identities. Matsuda contended that the goals of maintaining both successful

communication and linguistic identities can be reconciled by negotiating language differences. My study attempts to document such a negotiation process as multilingual writers learn to write in a dominant variety of English.

Moreover, Canagarajah (2006) is dedicated to the pluralization of Standard Written English (SWE) and argued that a textual space be made for other Englishes. Challenging the unequal and hierarchical relationship between English varieties, Canagarajah called for an inclusion of English varieties in literacy education and encouraged research to find more ways to accommodate local Englishes in academic writing. His dedication to the pluralization of SWE in the writing curriculum has helped me see various textual and pedagogical possibilities for including other Englishes in the teaching of writing.

In this regard, study of multilingual students' strategies and negotiation techniques becomes important. While considerable attention has been paid in the past to research issues related to the experiences of struggle and fulfillment of L2 writers' assignments and evaluation, a literature on issues of multilingual writers' resistance and accommodation has emerged only very slowly and in a more scattered way.

My fourth and final reason for this study implies a lack of research with a particular group. While a few researchers have investigated resistance and accommodation in language learning, no such research exists concerning Taiwanese students. Showing the process of becoming black, Ibrahim (1999) studied 12 African ESL students in a Canadian grade school. Ibrahim reported how these students use BESL (Black English as a Second Language) and rap in their daily life and in classes as a way of resisting the dominant language variety. Canagarajah (1999) discussed Tamil students' strategies of resisting hegemonic impositions by appropriating English according to local values and interests. However, resistance and

accommodation to ESL writing classes by Taiwanese students have not been investigated. Due to the lack of literature reporting Taiwanese writers' resistance and accommodation to English writing curricula, this research is designed as a critical approach to provide in-depth insight into the issue.

Personal Rationale

In addition to theoretical concerns, my personal experiences of learning and teaching English composition have stimulated my research. I grew up in a culture that strongly urges people to learn and use English. As a result, my English and Taiwanese identities have long been intertwined. Taiwanese believe that people who are capable of using English will have a promising future in terms of education, social status, and economic success. Under my parents' influence, I chose to study English in college. I would not deny that being able to use English allowed me to construct myself and be constructed as a person who had higher social status. I desired to learn as much English as I could in college. I especially welcomed white teachers because I identified them as native and because of their authentic accent and their authentic knowledge of English. At that time, I thought white meant coming from America.

My racialized language attitudes were promoted and reinforced by teaching practices in English composition classes in college. As an English major in Taiwan, I learned ways of composing topic sentences and other strategies specific to writing in English. Quite often my composition teachers would explain what a topic sentence or cohesion was and ask students to practice writing for the rest of the class, using a composition textbook that was published in America. As a student, I never questioned learning about topic sentences or cohesion in composition class, and I even thought this was the right way of composing since it came from the West. I thought at that time that to compose in this way, which would include an introduction, a body with

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examples or supporting statements, and a conclusion providing a summary was logical and well-organized. My acquiescence to learning Standard Academic English writing practices continued when I went abroad to study in America.

My beliefs about English language and white prestige—which I will call ideology, since they are widely shared—accompanied me when I studied in an American university as an exchange student in my junior year. I had hoped to turn in a paper with good writing, and my teacher was expecting me to write well. I came to the realization that the better students familiarize themselves with American academic writing conventions, the more likely they will be to excel in academia. I started to accept and familiarize myself with academic writing rhetoric. However, the more familiar I became with the conventions of academic English writing, the less I could think of my previous way of composing. As I worked hard to comply with the writing rules of my new academic discourse community, I felt that my home culture was diminishing and that I was losing a sense of who I was.

I saw a similar ideological struggle among Taiwanese exchange students who came to America as students years later. I volunteered to help exchange students work on their compositions for their college writing courses. In one particular case, I suggested that a tutee organize his paper in a different way because I wanted to help him to adapt to American conventions of writing. I felt sorry for him when I saw his facial expression, which said to me, ―OK, I'll change it. My way of composing is problematic and I need to revise it." An inferior identity was thus constructed under such discursive practices of assimilation to dominant English writing conventions. Realizing his concerns, I soon explained to him that there was no problem with the way he had constructed the paper, there are many ways of composing, and his American professor was expecting a different organizational style.

After graduating from college in Taiwan, I decided to pursue my master's degree in TESOL at a university in the United States. Upon my arrival in the States, I felt that I could not express myself freely in English and that I did not fit into the new community. More importantly, my nonnative accent marked me as a foreigner or a deficient English speaker. At that time, although I understood the concept of World Englishes, I still felt oppressed by the power of Standard English, and my perspective was still entrenched in the fantasy of American supremacy. Such a sense of inferiority constructed my identity as an outsider in the community.

I was not aware that what I had been learning about English writing was only one of the ways to compose (which is the Western way) until after I had come to America two years later to pursue doctoral studies. I read some articles that really changed my entrenched perspectives about learning English. These articles try to empower ELLs by deconstructing the myth of the native speaker and the concept of Standard English. For instance, Cook (1999) suggests that L2 learners are multicompetent language users instead of failed native speakers. I started to think that my goal in learning English is not to be nativelike. Instead, English is a means of communication, and I was studying English to become a more knowledgeable and competitive person. I should understand my advantages as a multilingual language user. I should value my own culture and language, and not view Standard English as an exclusive model. I liked the concept of being a multicompetent language user because it made me feel valuable, competent, and confident in a sense. I began to realize that even though I speak English with an accent or write intercultural English papers, this did not necessarily mean that I was a deficient language user and thus inferior to those who speak or write Standard English. Rather, as a multilingual, I have advantages over those who are monolingual. The fact that I understand both

Chinese and English will better equip me to understand Taiwanese ELLs' linguistic and psychological difficulties when I teach them English. This thought exercise about multicompetent language users was significant in deconstructing my sense of inferiority and of American supremacy. The exercise was valuable in that my identity as an ESL learner and teacher was empowered.

Although the transition was gradual, I legitimized myself as a valid English speaker and writer by constructing my identity as a multicompetent language user. I started to question and resist the concept of white prestige and the teaching of Standard English. I started to appreciate the beauty of choices, and I tried to write narratives, poems, and even a novel in English. I taught multilingual writers to write appropriately in different genres and to negotiate bringing their writer identities into their texts.

Reflecting on my own experience as well as interactions with my tutees, I see Taiwanese students' different responses to writing instruction in a new light. I use the term *response* to express strategies students adopt for some purpose (e.g., being members of the academic community; maintaining their original identities) when facing authority or superior discourse. For instance, multilingual writers might accept instructions that help them construct identities as good English writers, but this strategy of acceptance does not necessarily empower them to be multicompetent language users. These reflections led me to conduct this research. I am interested in understanding how unequal power relations are reproduced and how multilingual writers confront such social and ideological forces. That is, I intend to explore how multilingual writers come to construct (inferior) identities and how they empower themselves and are empowered through adopting different strategies in ESL composition classes.

To conclude, my main point is that learning languages involves identity (re)construction and ideological implications about which we need to find out more from Taiwanese students. As Bourdieu (1991) claimed, language will never be a neutral communication tool; rather, it is a formation and presentation of power based on gender, race, and social-class identity. My own experiences as a teacher and tutor I have mentioned here and literature discussed in this chapter have led me to think about numerous Taiwanese exchange students coming to America for a year. I study this particular group in terms of their ESL writing resistance and accommodation experiences and reasons for such.

Theoretical Framework

I adopt a critical, postmodernist, and poststructuralist view of language and teaching, one that accepts challenges to unequal power relations. Applying a sociopolitical viewpoint and the framework of imagined communities (Anderson, 1991), I take a critical stance that views language and discourse as means of constructing and manipulating knowledge, meaning, and identity.

Within this framework, Bourdieu's (1991) constructs of habitus and cultural capital are particularly useful for understanding Taiwanese students' formation of ideology and identity and how such sociopolitical factors play roles in their learning of English in America. According to Bourdieu, habitus is an inculcation of culture; people build up a set of values and dispositions through education, family, and religion. He further argued that the dispositions often vary along class line which translates into power. In other words, people try to acquire certain dispositions of a certain class as cultural capital to become associated with the prestige shared in higher social class.

The concept of habitus helps understand how white prestige ideology, native-speaker ideology, English language ideology, and standard language ideology are formed in Taiwan. According to Tetrault's (2003) study in Taiwan, accents and racial distinctions play an important role in the promotion of English as a form of what Bourdieu (1991) referred to as cultural capital. Tetrault observed that the English language represents a highly valued form of symbolic capital. That is, English in Taiwan is perceived as a means of raising social status and identity and empowering the self, rather than the tongue of the oppressor. Also, Chen (2006) observed a racial hierarchy in Taiwanese society where white people are at the top of the social hierarchy. Thus, it seems that English language and whiteness are importance cultural capital for Taiwanese people to obtain so that they can be identified with higher social status.

Exploring how sociopolitical factors affect students' behavioral choices is important because the learning and teaching of English literacy in Taiwan involves identity construction and has ideological implications. My assumption is that it is highly possible that white prestige ideology of Taiwanese students influences Taiwanese students' desires to learn English. Pierce (1995) argued that language learners invest in the target language in order to obtain symbolic and material resources that will raise the value of their cultural capital. She contended that language learners expect to gain access to resources in return for their investment. This implies that the dynamic relations between Taiwanese English language investment and white or native-speaker prestige are important factors influencing student behavioral positions in ESL composition class.

Based on the Taiwanese students' ideologies and identity claim, they have built imagined communities in their mind. The term *imagined communities* was first

introduced by Anderson (1991) who defined nation as an ―imagined political community" (p. 6). Norton (2001) used the idea in relation to education. She interpreted students' non-participation in an English language course as a form of resistance to the teacher's marginalization of them as members of their imagined communities. That is, students' resistance or accommodation can be interpreted as hoping to join or deny certain membership of the imagined community. In the context of Taiwan, it is reasonable to argue that Taiwanese students invest in the imagined community of white prestige to gain access to the desired symbolic capital.

In order to invest in the imagined communities in a classroom, language learners use agency, resistance, accommodation, and negotiation strategies. As Giroux (1983) proclaimed,

> while it is useful to argue, as Bourdieu does, that dominant ideologies are transmitted by schools and actively incorporated by students, it is equally important to remember that ideologies are also *imposed* on students who occasionally view them as contrary to their own interests and who either resist openly or conform only under pressure from school authorities. (p. 91)

Furthermore, the individuality and cultural heritage of multilingual writers have been getting significant attention recently. Multilingual writers are commonly asked to master the standard form of English academic writing, which often results in a deemphasis on expressive spontaneity and students' native rhetorical writing patterns. Exploring individual agency in language learning, Collins (1993) proposed *creative discursive agency*, ―a notion which allows for individual agency as a counterbalance to the weight of social structure" (Flowerdew and Miller, 2008, p. 205).

Similarly, addressing the tension between the teaching of norms and the

valuing of individuality, Canagarajah (2004) discussed how multilingual writers adopt a position between the established academic conventions and nonacademic discourse that they bring with them from homes, communities, nationalities, and races. He presents five strategies multilingual writers adapt when they struggle for voice and negotiate between two discourses: avoidance, accommodation, opposition, appropriation, and transposition. I have adopted Canagarajah's model of students' positions with significant changes to fit the context of my study.

Along the same lines, I frame the concept of agency here as students' negotiation strategies in English literacy learning. In this dissertation, when I talk about student negotiation, resistance, and accommodation, it means individual agency that is manifested in students' behaviors in classrooms and their English writing assignments.

Finally, I adopt Holliday's (2005) critique of the ELT (English Language Teaching) profession that challenges the notion of nativespeakerism and the myth of the superiority of native-speaker teachers of English. He addressed cultural chauvinism in TESOL, in which the ideology of nativespeakerism is to correct the Other cultures of the nonnative speakers. In my study I explore Holliday's concept of taken-for-granted beliefs and practices revealing political and ideological hidden values and assumptions in the field of TESOL which leads Western ESOL educators subconsciously to impose their culturally-based values and practices on their students.

Research Questions

This study is about how Taiwanese multilingual writers accommodate to or resist ESL composition instructions and assignments. It attempts to document Taiwanese students' negotiation strategies in ESL composition classes and to examine the interlocking questions of identity, investment, and white prestige ideology. The

following major questions have guided the study:

1.   How do Taiwanese multilingual writers accommodate to and resist ESL

composition curriculum and instruction?

2.   How do sociopolitical factors such as ideology, identity, and investment play a

role in student accommodation and resistance in ESL composition class?

The first question aims to identify Taiwanese students' negotiation strategies

within   composition classes and ways they respond to the requirements or perceived

expectations. Canagarajah (2004) categorized strategies multilingual writers use in

composition classes into five areas: avoidance, transposition, accommodation,

opposition, and appropriation. I try to find out how these categories apply to

Taiwanese students in the US context.

What remains mysterious and yet is important to comprehend is why

Taiwanese multilingual writers resist and accommodate in certain ways. The second

research question focuses on the sociopolitical factors causing these responses. Even

though some L2 writing researchers (e.g., Allison, 1994, 1996) stated that ESL

writing instruction should be treated as neutral, I argue that learning of L2 writing is

ideology laden. My second research question aims to address issues of ideology and

examine learning of ESL composition from a macro level. Instead of focusing on a

micro level of classroom interaction, the study takes social, cultural, historical, and

political factors into account, exploring multilingual writers' learning strategies.

Significance of the Study

This study may be critically important in laying the groundwork for

understanding how multilingual students respond to authorities through a

sociopolitical perspective. While research on these questions is in its infancy, such

findings will benefit many people in a number of areas.

First, the results of this study could be useful to teachers responsible for planning coursework in ESL composition. It should be useful for those who are interested in finding out how resistance to and accommodation of L2 writing instruction are processed through the white prestige ideology and identity formation in ELT in general and ESL for Taiwanese college students in the United States in particular. It is also significant to those who are searching for new ways of conceptualizing L2 writing without devaluing any cultures, languages, and races.

In addition, this study contributes to the literature about pluralizing Standard Written English (SWE). It helps those who would like to understand resources and strategies employed by Taiwanese writers and other so-called minority nonnative speakers against dominant language ideologies. The research raises the significance of how sociopolitical factors influence L2 literacy investment and development, and how discursive literacy practices empower an individual and at the same time reinforce unequal power relations.

Finally, the significance of the study is not limited to language learning and teaching. It also contributes to literature in race studies, social studies, and power relations in Western societies.

Situating the Study

Researching Taiwanese writers' responses to ESL composition classes involves many issues. The first issue concerns the background of the students influenced by the language education policy in Taiwan. The second issue considers the influence of Western ideology perceived as superiority on students' learning of English writing. The final issue is the role identity plays in such reactions. By considering these issues, I attempt to complicate students' resistance and accommodation in ESL composition classes with issues of investment, white prestige

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ideology, and identity.

Background of Language Education Policy in Taiwan

Prior to World War II, Taiwan had been colonized by many countries over the last four hundred years, and this colonial history complicates Taiwanese cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Before exploring Taiwanese writers' resistance and accommodation to composition classes in America, the first step is to understand these students and their historical, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Reviewing the historical background and language education policy in Taiwan helps understand Taiwanese people's attitudes toward different languages and ethnic groups. In the last 100 years, Taiwan has been colonized by Japan and the Kuomintang (KMT, the political party which was defeated by Communists during the civil war in China and who escaped to Taiwan in 1945), which enforced different language education policies and further influenced different ideologies toward languages and caused ethnic conflicts. Japanese and Mandarin Chinese were both imposed as national and official languages during their governance. Local languages such as Taiwanese, Hakka, and aboriginal languages had been downplayed and marginalized. In what follows I will briefly discuss language education policies carried out by the Japanese, the KMT and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and how these policies affected perspectives on languages and ethnicity. Also, I will talk about the privileged status of English in Taiwan and how English language education policies in Taiwan reinforce the white prestige ideology.

From 1895-1945, Taiwan was colonized by Japan and thus Japanese was required to be a national and official language. According to Sugimoto (1971), after 50 years of Japanese governance, about 50% of the population of Taiwan understood

and spoke Japanese. Nowadays, although Japanese is no longer the main language, it is not uncommon to hear fluent Japanese spoken among Taiwanese people, especially those who are 60 years old or above. In Taiwan, about 70% of the population speaks fluent Taiwanese, but they live primarily in southern Taiwan. One of the local languages in Taiwan, Taiwanese, originated from the Han language system (other languages such as Cantonese and Fujianese are also from the system) and was later influenced by non-Han dialects, but it maintains features of the ancient Han language such as the writing system and underlying grammar structures. However, given the geographic isolation, Taiwanese diverged from the Han phonetic system and through contact with other languages, developed unique phonemes not found on the Mainland. One of the reasons is that although some sounds are from the Han language, many sounds changed dramatically; because it was long time ago, it was often hard to trace the evolution of an original word. Another reason is that some Taiwanese pronunciation was derived from non-Han languages which did not have written form by nature (Oladejo, 2006).

During the Japan era and a great deal of time under the reign of KMT, Taiwanese was forbidden in schools and formal official governmental sites. Part of the reason was to promote the nationalization of Mandarin Chinese, as well as to promote disassociation with low education (the Taiwanese language was often considered as marker of low class.) It is worthy to note, however, that Taiwanese people's perceptions towards Taiwanese have changed in recent years. After the government power was successfully transformed from the Kuomintang (KMT) to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2000, the new government attempted to preserve the indigenous languages. Language is a battleground of identity in Taiwan due to political aspirations. Nowadays, in Taiwan, political discourse often associates

languages as markers of identity. Promoting nativism, some local languages such as Taiwanese, have become a symbol of native identity. Some politicians assert that being Taiwanese means knowing how to speak Taiwanese in order to win elections (Shih, 2002). Strong nationalism has thus been awakened by the political party. There are many politicians who even propose to make the Taiwanese language the national or second official language in Taiwan. Nevertheless, Mandarin Chinese is still the national and official language in Taiwan.

Because of the shift of government and language policy, many Taiwanese people have changed perspectives toward ethnicity and languages, especially toward Taiwanese. Attitudes toward Mandarin Chinese have become neutral, and Taiwanese has become more valuable, and is often associated with being a symbol of local culture. More Taiwanese people claim that they are the Natives (local Taiwanese people)—which originally referred to people who had lived in Taiwan for a long time and were abused by corrupt politicians hoping to foster separating identities from the Mainlanders (the Chinese people who came with the KMT government to Taiwan during the 1940s and their descendants). The tension between the Natives and the Mainlanders continues, and the strong nationalism of the Natives is still often manipulated by the politicians in order to create a kind of solidarity of identity. The Mainland Chinese descendants are often associated as allies of Mainland China because the Mainlanders consider the origin of family and ancestors as having come directly from China. While the Mainlanders recognize their connection with China, their perspectives are changing. More and more Taiwanese people, no matter whether they be Natives or Mainlanders, tend to construct their national identity as Taiwanese, and consider themselves as separate and different from China, influenced by the ideology of nationalism promoted by the new government policies and media.

While attitudes of Taiwanese people toward languages and ethnicity are changing, English still retains its prestigious social status. Based on its official classification or day by day functions, English is a foreign language in Taiwan. Unlike other languages such as Taiwanese, English language enjoys a special status and privilege in Taiwan. It is a preferred language in international communication, trade, and diplomacy.

<div align="center">Cause and Effect of White Prestige Ideology</div>

Since Taiwanese students have positive attitudes and a high level of motivation toward English language learning, it is really possible that these students accept and accommodate to their writing teachers. For example, L2 writers invest in the learning of academic English writing in order to become members of the English-speaking community and thus enjoy the privilege or higher social status. However, L2 students might also resist in a language classroom. In this section, I first discuss how construction of whiteness causes white prestige ideology in Taiwanese society. Then I outline the narrative of privileging white and English among Taiwanese. Finally, I argue that white prestige ideology or other ideologies can influence Taiwanese students not only to accommodate, but also to resist ESL writing instruction in America.

To begin with, in Taiwan, different attitudes toward races and languages are related to economic power. Chen (2006) observed the social hierarchy among Whites, Taiwanese, and the Southeast Asian workers in Taiwan and associated it with bourgeois economic development:

> As a consequence of the place of whiteness in the Taiwanese consciousness, there is a racial hierarchy in Taiwanese society. White people are at the top of the social hierarchy; Taiwanese second, followed by the darker than

Taiwanese (non-black) labor workers from Southeast Asia and Black people

are at the bottom . . . Taiwanese privilege people with white skin and look

down on people who have darker skin color than they do. However, for

Taiwanese, this attitude is not about race, but class. This racial hierarchy is

understood as an indicator of the power of different nation-states. [Taiwanese]

correlated skin color with nationality, and one's racial group is always tied to

the fortunes of their nation-state. (p. 166)

Also, according to Tetrault's (2003) study in Taiwan, certain accents and

racial distinctions play an important role in promoting English as a form of cultural

capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Tetrault observes that the English language represents a

highly valued form of symbolic capital. That is, English in Taiwan is perceived as a

means of raising social status and identity and empowering selves. Thus, if Taiwanese

students present their English writings in a Standard English variety, they will more

likely gain social respect than others who have writings in a Chinese English variety.

For instance, Will, a Taiwanese exchange student studying in an intensive language

program in America, expressed his hope to learn the ―Standard‖ English due to his

ideology of white prestige, saying ―I hope I can speak native-like English because it's

cool,‖ and ―I want to learn the Standard Academic English writing to look more

sophisticated because my English writing is Chinese way of composing.‖

Will's example is one of the many narratives that show fascination of

Americanism in Taiwanese society. Chen (2006) interviewed ten Taiwanese in her

study and points out that the narrative of the West or American fascination includes:

it's cool to be able to communicate with white people on streets; higher level of

English proficiency is the ticket to a better job, higher social status, and personal pride.

In addition to these narratives, Chen (2006) demonstrated how some phenomena in

Taiwan manifest white prestige ideology: many Taiwanese students go to cram school learning English after school; going abroad to study has become a trend, even short term studying in a language institution; companies tend to pay higher salaries to those who obtain American degrees; whitening and anti-UV products are popular because white skin is prettier than yellow or dark skin. The narratives and phenomena described above indicate how whiteness and the superiority of Whites exist in Taiwanese people's consciousness as well as point out their aspiration of learning English.

Although it is easy to predict the positive effect of white prestige ideology on students' learning of English writing, Chen, Warden, and Chang's (2005) study remind us that a high level of motivation does not necessarily cause students to invest effort in language learning. Their research findings indicate that requirement motivators (school and job admission requirements), rather than integrative motivators (social connections and social prestige) has stronger links to expectancy. They asserted that Chinese cultural values and the educational system are crucial factors. While recognizing English as social prestige, according to Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005), good grades and jobs are more important goals because they prevent Taiwanese children to lose their parents' face. Thus, Taiwanese students are more likely to learn English because of the requirement instead of the integrative motivators. Therefore, other reasons other than motivation need to be taken into consideration when investigating multilingual writers' reactions to class. Also, different possibilities of student reactions should be considered.

Considering various possible reactions the students might have in ESL composition classes, the present study aims to explore how multilingual writers' resistance and accommodation is affected by ideology, identity, and investment. I

have pointed out how Taiwanese learners might accommodate or accept ESL composition instruction because of positive attitudes toward English language influenced by whiteness; however, white prestige ideology might also cause negative or resistant attitudes in an ESL composition classroom. Chen (2006) explicated how Taiwanese local awareness can produce tensions when Taiwanese people accept a western culture and language:

> [A] clear contradiction of desiring whiteness and simultaneously resenting it is embedded in Taiwanese consciousness. At times, Taiwanese want to embrace whiteness and to become white when it comes to politics and economic stability. At times, they want to reject whiteness when they feel like the local Taiwanese or the traditional Chinese culture is threatened and put at risk. (p. 169)

Such ambivalence might cause different responses other than accommodation in an ESL composition class. When Taiwanese students feel that their local Taiwanese or glorious Chinese culture is not appreciated, their positive attitudes toward white and English language might change.

Moreover, Taiwanese students' other responses to ESL composition classes, such as resistance and opposition, might take place when Taiwanese students make contact with other people or environments that embrace diversified ideologies. There are some ideologies or concepts which are promoted that are different from English hegemony and white prestige. In the field of ESL and EFL teaching, many researchers have discussed the increasing dominance of English in international politics and the danger of cultural and linguistic imperialism (Canagarajah, 1999; Holliday, 2005; Phillipson, 1992). For example, addressing social and political issues of English language education in diverse international locations, Holliday (2005) criticized the

injustice of nativespeakerists trying to change the culture of non-native speaker students and teachers. Similarly, Phillipson (1992) critiqued tenets about monolingualism and the native speaker, stating tenets such as ―the ideal teacher is a native speaker‖ and ―best English language instruction should be taught monolingually‖ as fallacious. Moreover, Connor (2002) claimed that ―the teaching of norms invokes the danger of perpetuating established power hierarchies‖ (p.505). Therefore, teaching a perceived standard form dictated by the dominant discourse of English academic writing has a danger of colonizing L2 writers in an indirect way.

Being aware of these different claims from assimilation theory in second language learning, I assume that under the influence of conflicting ideologies, multilingual writers may undergo a transformation of identity and different investment in language learning might occur. As a consequence, L2 writing instruction might receive different responses from students other than accommodation because of influences by ideologies different from white prestige.

This chapter has discussed purposes of the study and its significance; it has also provided the context of the research. The next chapter gives a review of literature on relevant theories and empirical studies as they relate to white prestige ideologies, identity construction, student resistance and accommodation, and L2 writing instructions.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study explores how unequal power relations are reproduced or subverted through students' stances of accommodation and resistance in ESL composition classrooms, and how multilingual writers confront social and ideological forces embedded in discursive learning and teaching practices.

I follow three lines of argument. First, the promotion of English as a global language and dominant language ideologies related to race, history, economy, and social class sustains unequal relations between local and Western white countries. The increasing dominance of English in international politics carries with it the danger of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). The dominant ideologies suggest that nativespeakerists unfairly change the culture of non-native speaker students and teachers (Holliday, 2005). In consequence, promoting and accepting dominant language ideologies without critically examining the ramifications legitimate and reproduce language prejudice and unequal power relations.

Second, multilingual writers adopt strategies of accommodation and resistance in response to such ideological forces. Students negotiate between first language (L1) and second language (L2) in the learning process by adopting various stances of accommodation and resistance to achieve their social and institutional needs. In other words, strategies of accommodation and resistance are identity driven and ideologically favored options for ELLs.

Finally, in addition to students' language ideologies, identity and investment play an important role in learning of L2 literacy. English language is viewed as an important social capital in global contexts. Being able to use English symbolizes

affluence, good education, and high social class. Therefore, language learners desire to learn such a powerful language; they invest in constructing imagined identities of possibility and hope.

<div align="center">Dangers of Promoting Dominant Ideologies</div>

The promotion of English and dominant ideologies related to race, history, economy, and social class sustains unequal relations between local and Western white countries. Promotion of a certain language cannot be viewed as neutral because learning a language involves ideological struggles. Suggesting language as disciplined, Foucault (1984) argued that discourse is

> controlled, selected, organised and redistributed . . . as history constantly
>
> teaches us, discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems
>
> of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle,
>
> discourse is the power which is to be seized. (p. 110)

Language rights are central in the sense of Foucault's disciplined discourse which suggests a certain group of people as legitimate speakers of a discourse. Dominant ideologies such as English language ideology, standard language ideology, native-speaker ideology, and white prestige ideology, each of which assume that an idealized group has one superior race and perfect language, become the drive of struggles by which and for which language is seized. For example, the English language promoted by Western dominant groups symbolizes power, which non-Western populations struggle to gain for self-empowerment. The struggle thus rationalizes the social values of the dominant ideologies and unequal relations.

In this section, I discuss dominant ideologies (i.e., English language ideology, standard language ideology, native-speaker ideology, and white prestige ideology) related to the TESOL profession, and talk about how these ideologies validate and

sustain unequal relations between local and Western white countries.

English Language Ideology

To begin with, the promotion of English tends to take a neutral view of the English language and emphasizes its importance in global communication. While promoting English as a global language, a specific English language ideology is also promoted. Such an ideology conveys a person's desire to acquire a privileged English language; it tends to glorify the users of English language and causes language prejudice and hierarchy. Therefore, the promotion of English is not simply a promotion of mutual understanding in the global era; it also promulgates an English language ideology which implies unequal power relations between the Western dominant groups and local populations.

As English becomes a lingua franca, many people view it as a communication tool. Crystal (1997) illustrated the importance the role of English language has played in global understanding. Using facts to emphasize the urgent needs of English teaching, including out of 160 linguistics journals, 70% were published in English. However, Crystal's perceptions of English language and English language teaching have been challenged by several critical scholars (e.g., Phillipson, 1992, 2009).

Instead of viewing English as a global communication tool, Phillipson (1992) sees it as a tool of linguistic imperialism. He takes a radical position and criticizes the traditional, naïve, and neutral view of English language. He views the promotion of English as a way Western countries dominate developing countries. According to Phillipson, ―the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other language" (p. 47). His notion is based on power asymmetry observed between national languages and English, which appears to construct the English

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language as means of domination and structural inequality. Thus, Phillipson perceives that the linguistic choices of the dominated are imposed, rather than chosen options. In all, challenging the English language ideology and the taken-for-granted view of the English language as a global language, Phillipson opposes those arguments which promote the spread of English because the arguments glorify English and devalue other languages.

Phillipson (1992) proposes that more ESOL professionals pay attention to and value linguistic and cultural diversity. He is concerned that TESOL professionals adopt a stance viewing English language and teaching as neutral. He declares that neutralizing the teaching of English—believing that English teaching is neutral without political, economic, or ideological implication—justifies and perpetuates linguistic imperialism. He claims that a series of hegemonic processes—the promotion and spreading of English—perpetuates the dominance and superiority of English in global contexts. Phillipson (1992) suggested that ESOL professionals should not naively believe that English is neutral, and that English is irrelevant to political, economic, and military powers. He argued that the prominence of English directly causes some local languages to become extinct. He thus addressed ethical aspects and accountability in ELT, and pointed out that even the intention of being apolitical involves political choices. Phillipson (1992) called for attention to the variety of cultures and languages as opposed to the dominance of English.

Taking a similar approach as Phillipson (1992) in viewing ELT as a construct of imperialism/colonialism, Holliday (2005) proposed localized teaching methods in ELT and envisions equality between the West and World TESOL. Holliday (2005) criticized the unexamined and appropriated TESOL professionalism. Presenting notions of *appropriate methodology*—teaching methods that pay attention to diverse

international locations—and *cultural continuity*—preserving and rehabilitating local cultural heritage—, Holliday (2005) tried to expand the ownership of English and balance the unequally distributed power relations in the field of TESOL. To illustrate, Holliday (2005) demonstrated two positions, firstly, nativespeakerism and secondly, conceptualization of a movement toward critical perspectives in ELT. The major features of nativespeakerism are the superior native-speakers against inferior non-native speakers, *us-them position*, in which the native-speaker is norm, and foreign cultures need to be initiated into English and culture. Holliday (2005) adopted a stance, which he calls *Position 2*, that is different from nativespeakerism and the *us-them position*. *Position 2*, means that there is no distinction between *Us* and *Other*, that English belongs to those who use it, and that usages in local contexts become norms. Holliday's (2005) main thrust is to avoid a position of nativespeakerist in teaching English as an international language, and to search for appropriate solutions to solve local problems. He suggests educators in World TESOL communities reduce the control from the matrix and consider examining local realities. A newly defined TESOL paradigm envisions equality between ESOL educators inside and outside the English-speaking West.

<div align="center">

Standard Language Ideology

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The *Standard language ideology* which denotes a person's preference over an idealized, perfect language variety is one of the dominant ideologies that sustains unequal power relations. Language variations serve as a means for people to signal who they are and who they are not; people use variation in language to construct identities. Lippi-Green (2004) pointed out that many people believe in the existence of a *standard language ideology*, which is ―bias toward an abstracted, idealized, non-varying spoken language that is imposed and maintained by dominant

<div align="center">

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</div>

institutions" (p. 293). She stated that people who carry the standard language ideology believe in such a thing called ―perfect" English:

Somehow, many people come to believe that some types of English are ―more English" than others; that there is one perfect and appropriate kind of English that everyone should speak; that failure to speak it is an indication of stupidity, willfulness, or misguided social allegiance. (p. 292-293)

The idea of overtly stigmatized people who fail to speak the ―perfect" language is criticized. Lippi-Green stated that standard language is promoted by dominant institutions and that language is viewed as ―unaccented" only because it is the accent of the mainstream speaker. She contended that the process of standardization devalues local varieties and validates the mainstream language.

Similarly, promotion of Standard Written Language (SWE) has a danger of devaluation of all that is not culturally, socially, and politically mainstream; and it justifies the values of the dominant institutions. Studies of traditional Contrastive Rhetoric (CR) have contributed to the process of the standardization of SWE. It attempts to explain language differences, which begins with the assumption that different languages represent different cultures and thus different literacy practices. Although characteristics of *good writing* are different due to different cultural values, CR legitimizes directing multilingual writers toward assimilation. One of the dangers of a CR approach is that more superior language varieties and *good* form of academic discourse perpetuate value judgments about language and culture that are not universal.

In what follows, I discuss how studies of CR sustain unequal power relations by analyzing the development of CR. The development of CR can be roughly parted into three waves. The concept of CR was founded by Robert Kaplan in 1966 and

supported by his followers. This is the first wave of CR studies, and I call it the *Traditional* CR. Next obvious wave can be seen in works of CR researchers such as Ulla Connor who tries to maintain the concept of CR by revising and expanding the traditional CR. I call the second wave the *Revisionist CR*. The third wave, also the current trend, is called the *critical CR* which questions and challenges the traditional and revisionist CR.

Studies of traditional CR have contributed to explaining differences, which begins with the assumption that different languages represent different cultures and thus different literacy practices. Regarding CR approach, many scholars use it to explain why ESL writers experiences difficulties when communicating with academic discourse (mainly associated with English). In essence, CR theory takes multilingual writers' cultures into account and tries to understand the difficulties and conflicts that these students might encounter when participating in new academic communities. With a broad-minded attitude toward the different backgrounds and civilizations of students, CR works to sensitize teachers to important cross-cultural issues. CR studies aim to prevent teachers from criticizing students' writing in their native discourse, which is often different from the normative one (i.e., the perceived native-speaker mandated standard). In the following paragraphs, I provide a brief history of the origins of CR and how its adherants contributed to a body of knowledge of traditional CR.

Kaplan's (1966) pioneering study of CR first noted the cultural differences in second language writing related to paragraph organization. Kaplan (1966) drew attention to cultural and linguistic differences in the writing of ESL students. Claiming that rhetoric is a form of thinking, Kaplan shared assumptions with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, arguing that there is a relatively strong relationship between

language and culture. Kaplan reinforced the Whorfian Hypothesis, stating that one's

native language influences thoughts and assumes that different languages have their

own unique cultural related conventions and composing patterns. According to

Kaplan, ―The foreign-student paper is out of focus because the foreign student is

employing a rhetoric and a sequence of thought which violate the expectations of the

native reader" (p. 4). Kaplan (1966) introduced the concept of CR and used graphs to

illustrate various rhetorical patterns (e.g., English, Oriental, Russian, etc.). English

rhetorical patterns are shown to be a primarily linear development in contrast to other

paragraph structures from other languages and cultures (e.g., zigzag; circular, etc.)

(See Figure 1. for different ways of communicating in writing from various cultures

illustrated by Kaplan).
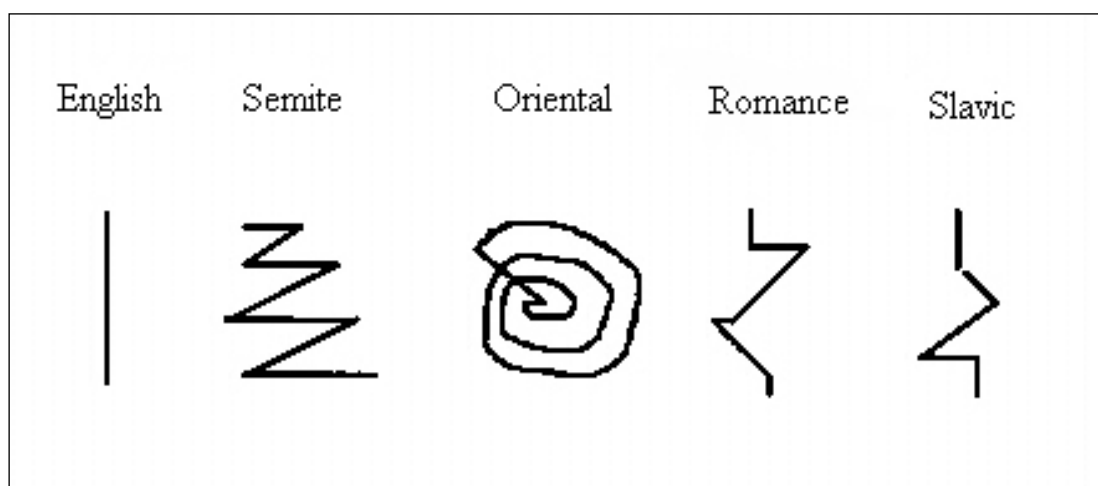
Figure 1 Preferences for various writing strategies among different cultures.

Traditional CR studies as initiated by Kaplan (1966, p. 3) focused on

comparative analysis between L1 texts and those written by L2 students in the US,

concluding that foreign student papers characterized as ―lacks organization" or ―lacks

cohesion" resulted from the students' comparatively different thought and cultural

patterns. Moreover, early works concerning CR examined the differences between

English paragraph patterns and those of other languages (e.g., Chinese), indicating both that L2 texts were more indirect than those written by NSs and that most L2 writers tended to rely on their native discourses. As Hinkel (2002) stated,

> contrastive rhetoric research of student essays found that NNSs do not structure, organize, and develop their pieces of writing in ways similar to those of NSs. In the majority of these studies, the results pointed to the facts that L2 writing frequently relies on the discourse structure and logical development found in the rhetorical traditions of students' L1. (p. 24)

From these early studies, subsequent studies examined these claims. Of greatest import to this study are traditional CR studies which addressed the influence of the Chinese traditional *qi* (beginning), *cheng* (transition), *zhuan* (turning), and *he* (synthesis) structure in Chinese students' English writing. For example, Cai (1993) pointed out that Chinese rhetorical conventions differ from those in English and present a challenge for Chinese ESL writers. Cai asserted that one of the differences is the four-part organizational pattern which means an introduction followed with an elaboration on the topic, then a transition to another unrelated point, and finally summing up. According to Cai (1993), the turning paragraph in Chinese rhetorical convention is seen as divergent or off topic in English writing, which makes it more difficult for ESL Chinese writers.

In sum, the main concepts underlying the traditional CR hypothesis are: 1) every language has a rhetorical tradition that is unique to its own culture, and 2) students' L1 rhetorical traditions interfere with their ESL writing (Grabe and Kaplan, 1989, Kaplan, 1966, 1972, 1987), where the concept of *interference* is borrowed from contrastive linguistics, indicating structures or patterns from the L1 can cause difficulties in L2 production.

In 1987, however, Kaplan adjusted his position and admitted that he had oversimplified and overstated the differences between languages, leading to a reevaluation of his own CR research. As he stated, ―I admit having made the case strong. I regret having done so, though I in no way regret having made the case" (p. 10). After that, Grabe and Kaplan (1989) have pointed out that the intention of CR research is to acknowledge ESL teachers and students the relationship between culture and writing, and how to link such influences to written products. Also, Grabe and Kaplan (1996) emphasize that written texts in the CR studies should be examined in larger cultural contexts and should include ―semantic and logical issues as those issues are encoded in language system" (p. 181). In this context, CR is broadly used as a means of raising consciousness in the classroom and to point out the linguistic variety and rhetorical choices multilingual writers have.

Not only did Kaplan acknowledge some flaws with the original CR hypothesis, but also many other researchers criticized traditional CR for its insensitivity to cultural differences (Spack, 1997a; Zamel, 1997). Kaplan's original work or that of his followers is often characterized as static, and is associated with structural linguistics and behaviorism. Traditional CR tends to regard cultural rhetoric as a static, exotic, and normative system separated from a dynamic history. It attempts to describe multilingual writers' English discourse patterns in accordance with a student's L1 rhetorical tradition. For example, English texts written by Asian students are often described as inductive, digressive, and non-logical, while those of English writers are deductive, linear, and logical (Grabe and Kaplan, 1989). Addressing this problematic viewpoint, Spack (1997a) criticized CR for labeling students by their L1 background, and Zamel (1997) disagreed with the view of culture as ―discrete, discontinuous, and predictable" (p. 343). In line with this, Leki (1997) stated that,

the danger in accepting the traditional contrastive-rhetoric explanations for

writing differences or cross-cultural explanations for behavioural differences

is that such explanations risk turning ESL students into cardboard characters

whose behaviour is simply determined by these cultural norms and who have

no individual differences or subtleties obscured by these behaviours. (p. 239)

Concerning criticisms of traditional CR, some scholars attempt to retain the

orthodox image of CR by making some revisions. The revisionists (e.g., Comfort,

2001; Connor, 2001, 2002, 2004; Panetta, 2001) have extended the concept of

traditional CR and move from viewing negative transfer or interference from L1 to L2

writing to a cross-language and cross-culture study that is benefited from related

fields such as applied linguistics, discourse analysis, composition and rhetoric studies,

and anthropology. They argue that ESL writing is culturally influenced in an

interesting and complex way. For an example of a revisionist action, Connor (2002)

reviewed the goals, methods, and achievement of CR research, and proposed new

developments and directions of CR. The proposed revision of traditional CR focued

on three domains: 1) the importance of culture, 2) an emphasis on the context of

writing, and 3) an expansion of CR to include genre.

First, Connor (2001) argued for a transition from viewing CR as means of

understanding L2 rhetorical and pedagogical issues to seeing it as a means to explore

cultural diversity. Connor (2004) claimed that the criticism of traditional CR has

overshadowed the contribution of traditional CR for over 40 years. Addressing the

critiques, Connor (2004) aimed to draw on the broad scope and affirms that a new

term, *intercultural rhetoric*, would better encompass the essence of the present CR.

As Connor (2004) stated:

changing definitions of written discourse analysis–from text-based to context

sensitive–and of culture–from static to dynamic–contribute to the changing

focus of intercultural rhetoric, a new term that better reflects the dynamic

nature of the area of study. (p. 302)

Furthermore, critical scholars propose to pay attention to multiple contexts in

which L2 students participate and account for relationships between students, teachers,

texts, and context. CR has developed to regard the dynamic cultural, linguistic,

historical, and social factors that influence the acquisition and presentation of L2

writing competence. Recent studies and debate on CR not only look at students' texts,

but also examine the whole writing process and the process in which social and

cultural contexts are situated (Matsuda, 1997).

Finally, the revisionists of CR studies look at different discourses, theories of

rhetoric, and research approaches to broaden the scope of CR. The research focus of

revised CR has shifted from a text analysis of students' writing to their composing

process and more recently to social construction by multilingual writers. Studies of

traditional CR pay great attention to the text analysis approach, whereas revised CR

has begun to explore differences and similarities in other domains of writing, such as

the respective responsibilities of writers and readers, the purposes of writing, ways of

reasoning, and epistemological emphases (Liu, 2005). To illustrate, in a collection of

articles on CR, Panetta (2001) expanded the circle of CR to discuss issues such as

culture, literacy, and critical pedagogy. Under such a broad scope, CR theory offers

an understanding of the possibility of different languages and politics. CR helps to

develop new L2 strategies/pedagogies that can profoundly affect L2 students. It offers

teaching tools for dealing with L2 writers and provides explicit directions for how to

shape classroom writing assignments. It concerns multi-genres and methods for

helping students use the strengths of their first culture's writing in their English writing. CR also provides understanding of how and why L2 learners might resist writing (Comfort, 2001). Comfort, for example, stated that students' resistance might stem from a multitude of sources such as their struggles with the differences between the target rhetoric and their native/control language, how they may feel the need to struggle with grammatical perfection, and how such struggle may devalue their writing in terms of expression in their new discourse. Such a view is in strong contrast with the initial offerings of traditional CR in exposing differences in rhetorical patterns as a gauge to help beginning writers of English. Addressing critiques of traditional CR, the revisionists suggest traditional CR be adjusted and propose new directions in CR research.

Nonetheless, such aims to improve teaching pedagogies continue to harbor the dangers of perpetuating stereotypes. Traditional and revisionist CR support and suggest teaching different rhetorical students explicitly and raising students' cross-cultural awareness of such differences without considering the ideologies of literacy and power inequity. Although the revisionists of CR recognized the dynamic nature of culture as well as the danger of generalization, their underlying perceptions remain as assimilationist or accommodationist. The complexity of cultural differences in the revised version of CR has not covered the dimension of politics. The revisionists have not paid enough attention to nor questioned the inequality of language ideology and the unbalanced distribution of power.

While both traditional and revisionist CR ask teachers to acculturate L2 students through prescriptive practices and by providing preferred models in order for them to meet the reader's expectations, many critical researchers have contributed to a very different viewpoint, a postmodern view about discourse and the teaching of

writing (Atkinson, 1999; Canagarajah, 2002; Kubota, 2001; Kubota and Lehner, 2004).

Rethinking the revisionist CR, critical CR affirms the variety of languages, rhetorical forms, and student identities. For example, many writers in Asian languages are described as requiring readers to take responsibility for interpretation, whereas writers in English typically take responsibility to make their texts clear. Such binary contrasts are fatal in a composition class because they disregard the literacy practices, values, identities, and beliefs that each student has. Atkinson (1999) stated that ―all cultural groups are made up of individuals who are products of their culture and language" (p. 643). In other words, the individual members in a specific community create their own ongoing and dynamic culture.

Recognizing the role of culture in CR research, critical CR goes further to issues of politics. For example, Canagarajah (2002) criticized CR because it ignores issues of power and takes it for granted that ―if features of another culture appear in the writing of a language, it's a case of interference rather than a creative case of appropriation or negotiation" (p. 34). Also, Kubota (2001) argued that the discursive practices of Othering continuously perpetuate the discourse of colonialism. She argued that the discursive practice in applied linguistics to accentuate cultural difference perpetuates colonial dichotomies meaning whoever has power is able to decide who is superior and inferior, thus ―legitimating unequal relations of power between the Self and the Other" (p. 28).

Furthermore, Kubota and Lehner (2004) challenged a fixed view of cultural rhetoric as well as the superiority of English. They stated that cultural differences can not be the only variable because there are multiple factors that influence L2 writing. Kubota and Lehner (2004) criticized the traditional and the revisionist CR and

proposed *critical contrastive rhetoric* which contains underlying perceptions of poststructuralist, postcolonialist, and postmodernist orientations. They contended that CR has —implicitly reinforced an image of the superiority of English rhetoric and a deterministic view of second language (particularly English) learners as individuals who inevitably transfer rhetorical patterns of their L1 in L2 writing" (p. 8). They concluded that critical contrastive rhetoric requires students to reflect critically on L1 and L2 rhetoric to meet particular political and ideological needs. As they stated:

> critical CR encourages teachers and students to critically reflect on classroom practices such as comparing and contrasting L1 and L2 rhetorical patterns and teaching/learning —preferred" discourse patterns of the target language and to reevaluate how these practices might reinforce cultural binaries and assimilation. (p. 9)

In short, researchers of critical CR point out a concept of future ESL composition and of future curriculum. This involves questions about pedagogy and curriculum of L2 writing, and includes critiques of traditional and revisionist CR as well as the latest thoughts. No matter whether the concepts of critical CR will be carried out or not, critical CR has pointed out a direction to future curriculum and future research of ESL composition. Hence, critical CR is not merely a study, but a representative concept of ESL composition as a whole.

The present study is shaped in line with new directions in critical CR research. This means, as a starting point, that critical ESL composition should view students as individuals and avoid cultural generalizations. When addressing unequal relations of languages and cultures, teachers should help L2 writers to grow aware of language inequality. Most importantly, students should be empowered to better appreciate their

own culture and language and be encouraged to express themselves freely, bringing their own identities into their writing.

Native-Speaker Ideology

In a language classroom, non-native speakers of English suffer unequal power relations. The native speakers of English receive privilege, which I call *native-speaker ideology*, because their dialect of English is perceived as the norm. Hence, the concept of native speaker of English needs to be questioned since ideology is involved in the construction of an unequal hierarchy between native speakers and non-native speakers of English.

Phillipson (1992) tried to disrupt the myth of native speakers of English as ideal English language teachers. He pointed out that several tenets in ELT construct and perpetuate linguistic imperialism. One of them is what Phillipson calls ―the native-speaker fallacy" (p. 193). He meant by this fallacy that the tenet of viewing the native speaker of English as an ideal ELT teacher legitimates the privileged status of the native speaker.

Taking a similar standpoint with Phillipson (1992), Widdowson (1994) claimed that teaching approaches taken by native-speakers of English are privileged because of their inherent native-speaker status and its authority vested. Addressing the unequal power relations and unbalanced ideology of language teachers from different ethnicity, Widdowson (1994) provided a thought provoking inquiry into the privileged ideology possessed by native-speakers of English in traditional TESOL management. To illustrate his point, he argued that the employment of English language teachers is determined according to ethnicity instead of teaching qualification. He pointed out that while both native and non-native teachers are qualified for English language teaching, the latter are usually not preferred, nor valued.

Thus, he suggested ESOL professionals support the discouragement of discrimination of non-native speakers and that they consider the composing elements of an appropriate approach to hiring teachers, as well as the competencies a teacher required. Widdowson (1994) concluded that ELT educators should consider ―an enquiry into matters of pedagogic principle which bring sociopolitical concerns and professional standards into alignment‖ (p. 248).

As a result, nonnative English-speaking teachers (NNEST) started to respond to the awareness of the sociopolitical concerns about the native speaker construct in ELT. George Braine organized a colloquium titled ―In Their Own Voices: Non-native Speaker Professionals in TESOL‖ to bring more visibility and voice to the nonnative speakers' agenda, considering the existence of open prejudice at the 30th annual TESOL Convention in 1996. Thus, many NNESTs have begun to share their stories from being in the periphery to the center. In this context, Braine (1999), who grew up in Sri Lanka, shared his journey as an ESL graduate student, an ESL/EFL teacher, and an editor of an international journal. He discussed how he suffered a traumatic path to enter academia in Center (i.e., mainstream American academic arenas) countries. Likewise, Connor (1999) explored her own literacy journey, her struggle to pursue her PhD degree, and her successful publication in prestigious journals as a Finnish ESL learner and professional.

These reflections arouse empathy from other NNESTs and encourage them to explore and share their own learning and teaching experiences in the Center as nonnative speakers of English. Around the time of the colloquium, Jun Liu, Lia D. Kamhi-Stein, and George Braine began to organize a TESOL Caucus for nonnative speakers and collected signatures of TESOL members to support the Caucus. In 1998, the TESOL Caucus was established with a major goal to create a nondiscriminatory

professional environment. The movement allows voices of NNESTs to be heard. It is intended to encourage conversations between non-native scholars and educators, to open up discourse on inequality, start to question the myth of the native-speaker, and to reexamine the ELT profession.

The movement NNEST has influenced native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) to reflect upon their colonial ideology and teaching practices. For example, Vandrick (2002) called for ESL teachers' attention to consider how they are ―unconsciously influenced by the colonial mode of thinking and how it may manifest itself in our teaching" (p. 419). She claimed that sometimes NESTs practice linguistic colonization in their language classrooms subconsciously despite their good intentions. As a NEST, Vandrick (2002) realized her past nativespeakerist self after reflecting on her colonial history and examining how her teaching practices were influenced by her background. She admited the existence of colonial legacy and its effect onto practitioners' teaching practices. However, she observed that most of the time the phenomenon is not recognized by educators. Vandrick (2002) claimed that ESL teachers who are NESTs usually overlook how their histories affect their teaching motivation, philosophy, style, etc, while they often explore how factors such as students' gender, race, educational background, etc. influence ESL students' learning motivation, achievement, and class interaction. She critically reflected upon her past and examines how her colonial history influenced her own teaching. She warned ESL instructors ―to be aware of ways in which colonial history influence us, and to grapple with these issues, both as individuals and as a profession" (p. 421). It is only being aware of teachers' own colonial background, Vandrick (2002) stressed, that they can avoid the danger of imposing Western values of Standard English on ESL students when teaching.

Moreover, Holliday (2005) took a critical stance on the notion of nativespeakerism and challenged the myth of the superiority of native-speaker teachers of English. Holliday (2005) addressed cultural chauvinism in TESOL, in which the ideology of nativespeakerism is to correct the Other culture of the non-native speakers. He defined nativespeakerism as the ―established 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 (2005) critiqued the injustice of nativespeakerists trying the change the culture of non-native speaker students and teachers, addressing social and political issues of English language education in diverse international locations. Holliday (2005) challenged the taken for granted beliefs and practices and revealed political and ideological hidden values and assumptions in the field of TESOL. He argued that the notion of nativespeakerism, which inherits corrective and behaviorist qualities from audiolingualism, subconsciously leads Western ESOL educators to impose the cultural-based values and practices on their students.

White Prestige Ideology

I have discussed how the promotion of dominant ideologies (i.e., English language ideology, standard language ideology, and native-speaker ideology) has a danger of devaluing local languages and cultures as well as sustaining unequal power relations in ELT. In this section, I would like to point out that issues of race cannot be ignored in these dominant ideologies. I also discuss the ideology related to racism, which I call *white prestige ideology*, suggesting a belief in the superior status and privilege of white people, which is different from English language prestige and native-speaker privilege.

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Issues of race are often left out in the discussion of English language teaching and the nonnative-speaker construct. Motha (2006) stated that dominant racial ideology denies racism: ―Dominant discourses surrounding race do indeed represent ESOL as race-neutral and discourage open discussions about issues of race and inequality" (p. 497). She argued that racialization is inevitably salient in ELT ―because the spread of the English language across the globe was historically connected to the international political power of white people, [thus,] English and Whiteness are thornily intertwined" (p. 496).

Both English language prestige and native-speaker prestige are interrelated to race. Motha (2006) reported that the concept of legitimate language speakers has to do with race:

> Just as White teachers are assumed to be more legitimate than English teachers of color, teachers who speak mainstream English, with its silent inextricability from Whiteness, are perceived to be more legitimate than speakers of English that is not mainstream, including English spoken by non-native English speakers. (p. 499)

Additionally, according to Kubota and Lin (2009), the construct of nonnative speakers of English is racialized. Kubota and Lin proclaimed that the discussion on native and nonnative issues should pay attention to the racialized aspect, rather than mainly focusing on the linguistic aspect (e.g., accent and standard/nonstandard use of language). They argued that the concepts of connecting the native speaker with White and the nonnative speakers with nonwhite should be problematized. Miles and Brown (2003) defined racism as an ideology: ―racism is . . . a representational form which, by designating discrete human collectivities, necessarily functions as an ideology of inclusion and exclusion" (p. 104). Following Miles and Brown‗s (2003) definition and

the views of Kubota and Lin (2009), I suggest that issues of English language ideology and native-speaker ideology should take into account the ideologies of race.

In addition, *white prestige ideology*, which expresses a personal fantasy toward the White languages/people/cultures, sustains unequal relations for this particular population. According to Kubota and Lin (2009), through the process of inferiorization, in which the Other is rendered inferior to the Self, for this population this white prestige ideology can be viewed as both discourse and social practice which construct and perpetuate unequal relations of power" (p. 6).

In all, teaching and learning of English language is not neutral; it is important for both teachers and ELLs to understand the purposes and ideological implications of their practices so that they do not fall under the essentialist paradigm and reproduce unequal power relations. I contextualize the dominant ideologies shared in Taiwanese society in the final section where I discuss the historical, linguistic, social, and political backgrounds of Taiwanese students.

Exploring Resistance and Accommodation

An essentialist view of teaching L2 writing assumes that there is only one way of composing and that a teacher's goal is to help assimilate and accommodate L2 writers to the dominant written conventions. Hence, students' accommodation in learning L2 composition is valued and encouraged, while students' resistance is punished or scorned. Instead of viewing students' strategies of accommodation and resistance as their negotiation and representation of their linguistic identities, such strategies are treated as neutral and have no ideological implications.

Ivanič (1998) made a strong argument in saying that achieving conventional academic standards is not a literacy issue per se. Rather, it is student struggles in the academic community—how they negotiate the hegemonic beliefs and practices of

their disciplines. That is, taking on voices in writing is related to compliance with or resistance to dominant ideologies instead of literacy per se. As a result, students' responses to writing assignments manifest their stances and identities while learning academic writing. The present study is conducted on the premise that multilingual writers negotiate identities in academic writing practices through accommodating and resisting dominant ideologies.

Canagarajah (2004) discussed how multilingual writers adopt a position between the established academic conventions and non-academic discourse that they bring with them from home, community, nationality, and race. He presented five strategies multilingual writers adapt when they negotiate for voice between two discourses:

1) Avoidance: ―. . . one-sided move to the dominant discourses without sufficient negotiation with the other discourses one uses . . . in situations where the writer doesn't wish to wrestle critically with competing discourses" (p. 274);

2) Accommodation: ―show a more conscious internalization of the dominant discourses that differs from the somewhat hesitant and surface-level adoption displayed by avoidance . . . [and is] a more cultivated adoption of the dominant discourse" (p. 284);

3) Opposition ―displays a ‗univocal' discourse that adopts one strand of the conflicting discourses without negotiating an independent voice" (p. 284);

4) Appropriation: ―the writer is infusing the established conventions with one's own discourses in a direct act of resistance" (p. 282), ―a strategy of finding a favorable space for one's own voice in the established discourses" (p. 285); and

5) Transposition: develops ‗third voice' ―that defines itself dialectically working

against the conflicting discourses and forming a new discourses that

transcends the earlier dichotomies" (p. 285).

Canagarajah‗s model has served as my initial analysis framework in categorizing and interpreting students‗ writing strategies in ESL composition class. His model described multilingual writers‗ various responses in the process of learning SWE.

Also, Comfort (2001) stated that rhetorical options of multilingual writers can ―range from total compliance with the values and expectation of students‗ evaluative readers to almost total resistance to them" (p. 100). For instance, some of her participants admitted to imitate the dominant discursive models to reach a ―neutral tone" that is more acceptable and satisfactory for their readers. But some students resisted to this option because ―they realized that these language practices in reality are not ‗neutral' at all but *re-create the voice of the prevailing (White male) group*" (p. 100; emphasis mine). Some other participants who were able to find a balance between public and private voice, showed a more moderate position in their writings.

In this section, I will focus on students‗ writing strategies negotiating English written varieties as well as their identities and ideologies manifested in their resistance and accommodation in ESL composition class. I first discuss student resistance as a way of challenging dominant ideologies. I define and identify various aspects of resistance in education, and point out factors of such resistance. Then I talk about how and why student writers construct identity in written texts. Next, I contend that student accommodation falls under the essentialist paradigm in writing. Finally, I review literature on issues of ideology in ESL composition.

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Resistance as a Way of Challenging Dominant Ideologies

Studies of student resistance reflect unequal power relations and acculturative nature of traditional American academic discourse. Hardin (2001) addressed the need of fostering a wider understanding of the link between politics, ethics, and rhetoric in composition classes. Aligning with postmodernist view and critical theory, Hardin (2001) paid attention to the role that resistance plays in challenging reification of the traditional structures of classroom power. He contended the importance of resistance theory which contests the unconscious reification of dominant ideological values in researching higher education. As he stated:

> My contention is that resistance theories currently hold the most promise for challenging power structure of classroom activities because they suggest that there might be goals for writing instruction beyond its traditional service and acculturative roles and because resistance theories highlight the need to realign the power structures of the classroom. (p. 79)

Generally speaking, resistance has been defined as ―a force that opposes or retards‖ and ―an active construct rather than a passive absence of something‖ (Long, 1994, p. 14). Involving issues of social justice, Henry Giroux‘s (1983) notion of resistance has the following two intersecting dimensions: 1) Students must have a critique of social oppression, and 2) students be motivated by an interest in social justice. Agreeing with Giroux‘s (1983) critical and political discussion to resistance in education, Canagarajah (1993) distinguished the difference between student ―resistance‖ and ―opposition,‖ saying resistance is radical, politically conscious, and emancipatory, while opposition is vague, ambiguous, and passive. Like Giroux and Canagarajah, McLeod (1998) indicated that ―resistance theory examines the ongoing, active experiences of individuals while simultaneously perceiving in oppositional

attitudes and practices a response to structures of constraints and domination" (p. 19). In the present study, I take a similar position with the above scholars on resistance. Resistance is active response and practice to social oppression and domination in education.

McVeigh (2002) claimed that resistance is manifested in students' disruptive behaviors or practices and points out a set of patterns of resistance:

1) Absence (repeating absences and absent during important evaluation period): "Perhaps the most obvious positioning of bodies—as a way to express resistance—is to simply not show up for class" (p. 187);

2) Not responding and pretending not to know: "they are 'unresponsive' and make a conscious effort to ignore what is being asked of them . . . display all the signs of burnt-out apathy . . . when called on and asked to take center stage, students will turn to their neighbors and discuss the response before attempting an answer . . . some will simply ignore the teacher, or pretend they do not understand the question or instructions" (p. 197);

3) Neglect & forgetfulness: ". . . willful inattention, a studied neglect of what is happening in the classroom that in practical terms readily becomes forgetfulness (of pens, notes, paper, texts, assignment deadlines, last week's lecture)" (p. 198);

4) Indifference: ". . indifference (sleeping in class, daydreaming, not taking notes, not completing assignments)" (p. 198);

5) Inaccuracy: ". . . inaccuracy (disregarding lecture points, failing exams, appalling term papers)" (p. 198); and

6) Rudeness: ". . rudeness (incessantly arriving to class late, making noise, chattering, snickering at lectures, ignoring simple requests)" (p. 198).

While McVeigh (2002) discussed mainly students' disruptive behaviors or practices, other researchers (Canagarajah, 2004; Rampton, 1996) mentioned different patterns of resistance. Resistance can not only be identified by disruptive behaviors or practices, but also can be manifested in their use of language. As Kabel (2007) explained, ‖Learners . . . are able to and do use language, an obviously essential imperial resource, for purposes other than the ones which serve subjugation and hegemony and, more importantly, for resistance and appropriation" (p. 139). For example, Rampton (1996) discussed the extent to which an individual of Asian descent's code switching between English and strong Indian English accents constitutes acts of resistance within a racist society.

Finally, Delgado Bernal (1997) discussed different types of school resistance by Chicanas and Chicanos and identified four types of student oppositional behaviors according to issues of social justice and social change:

1) Reactionary behavior: ‖. . . is not a form of resistance because the student lack both a critique of her or his oppressive conditions and is not motivated by social justice . . . An example of reactionary behavior is the student who acts out or behaves poorly in class, the schoolyard, or the community and has no critique of the social conditions that may contribute to her or his disruptive behavior" (p. 317);

2) Self-defeating resistance: ‖. . . refers to students who may have some critique of their oppressive social conditions but are not motivated by an interest in social justice . . . example . . . the high school dropout who may have a compelling critique of the schooling system but them engages in behavior (dropping out of school) that is self-defeating and does not help transform her or his oppressive status" (p. 317);

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3) Conformist resistance: —. . . refers to the oppositional behavior of students who are motivated by a need for social justice yet hold no critique of the systems of oppression. These students are motivated by a desire to struggle for social justice yet engage in activities and behavior within a more liberal tradition. They want life chances to get better for themselves and others but are likely to blames themselves, their families, or their culture for the negative personal and social conditions" (p. 318); and

4) Transformational resistance: —the student holds some level of awareness and critique of her or his oppressive conditions and structures of domination and must be at least somewhat motivated by a sense of social justice. With a deeper level of understanding and a social justice orientation, transformational resistance offers the greatest possibility for social change" (p. 319).

The above discussion about representations of resistance helps me identify and categorize resistant behaviors of my participants in discursive literacy practices.

After identifying different patterns and levels of resistance, I would like to explore factors of resistance. To begin with, on a micro-level of resistance, Hiemstra and Brockett (1994) investigated student resistance to self-direction in adult learning, and found two main factors: psychological and education factors.

For learners, there are at least two factors that can be linked with resistance: self-concept and self-awareness. Many adults enter a teaching-learning transaction with low confidence and a poor self-concept, making it difficult to take a high degree of personal responsibility for learning. Other learners, perhaps because of previous experiences with education, are simply not aware of the power they possess as learners and thus, make the assumption that a highly teacher-oriented approach is the way education should occur (p. 90-91).

However, this micro-level of resistance did not discuss the complexity of classroom culture and wider socio-political context in which resistance may occur. Both Canagarajah (1993) and Tsang (1999) dealt with sources of resistance in a macro-level. Canagarajah (1993) calls for a closer scrutiny of everyday classroom functions and the students' lived culture in order to critically examine the ‒confusing range of accommodative and oppositional tendencies" (p. 603) presented in students' reactions. He found that students' text-oriented motivation and their desire for grammar-based and product-oriented learning construct a way to reconcile a conflict between the threat of foreign culture caused by speaking English, using English textbooks and achieving the educational requirement of English competency, and a general awareness of English as a socio-economic necessity. Moreover, Tsang (1999) explored why students resist a reflective teaching approach and the idea of autonomy in self-access programs in college. Tsang (1999) found that students did not think gaining autonomy would help achieve learning goals or lead to positive changes. They did not ask for autonomy. Instead, they wanted to gain strategies for certain language and wanted to see short-term results.

In all, although two authors discussed student resistance in different sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts, they both pointed out the relationship between resistance and product-oriented learning. They talked about how an examination-oriented educational system causes students to resist reflective learning (Tsang, 1999) and English learning (Canagarajah, 1993). These research findings might apply to my participants since the students' previous language learning background is quite similar.

Resistance and Identity

No matter whether at the micro- or macro-level of resistance, it seems that the source and pattern of resistance has a strong correlation with students' identity claim (I discuss concepts of identity in detail later). As Wenger (1999) indicated, members of communities of practice produce identities through the practice people engage in and define themselves through practices they do not engage in, claiming, ―non-participation is, in a reverse kind of fashion, as much a source of identity as participation" (p. 164).

To illustrate, Canagarajah (1993) reported on the influence of identity construction through the resistance to English usage by students in a Sri Lankan classroom in which he was teaching ESL/EFL. He indicated that since the English language has a positive, or even privileged status in Sri Lanka, using English is considered as flaunting a knowledge of English, abandoning one's local rural identity, and becoming an ―Anglicized bourgeois" (p. 161). Those who use English violate Tamil in-group solidarity. Therefore, the Tamil students favor grammar-based and product-oriented learning to avoid using English actively in class and to continue the cultural opposition. He argued that although this strategy preserved the Sri Lankan students' cultural integrity, it also allowed the students to accommodate the institutional requirement of passing the English examination and to accept the socioeconomic privileges associated with the English language. He suggested that L2 teachers should recognize students' motivation of using resisting strategies and significant social and cultural factors.

While language learning can be influenced by students' identity formation, it can also be influenced by their identity that is constructed by others. To illustrate, Harklau (1998, 2000) studied four immigrant high school ESL students and found that

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these students were characterized as good and model students in high school by their teachers because of their diligence, good grades, and positive learning attitudes, when compared with L1 students. When these ―good students‖ went on to study in college, however, they perceived and were perceived as the worst students by teachers and other multilingual students in the ESL writing classes. The four immigrant students had ESL classes with other international students in college. In their classes, ESL teachers emphasized cross-cultural differences and asked students to reflect on their home countries‘ experiences. The permanent resident students felt alienated by this assignment since their home country was America. Finally, these students felt that their language skills were not improved during the class, and in some cases, they felt insulted. The same four students established different identities in high school and in college, and they reacted differently to the classes based on their (co)constructed identities. Therefore, a similar group of students might have differing reactions and performances in ESL classrooms according to their identity that is positioned by others. In brief, identity construction influences the way students react in class. In this study, I pay attention to the identity formation in discussing students‘ resistance and accommodation in ESL writing classes.

Similarly, Lam (2000) conducted a case study on the relationship between identity formation and literacy development of an ESL Chinese immigrant high school student, Almon. The student resisted the academic discourse because of his sense of his marginalized position and his perception that he was unable to speak English like a native. The negative identities provided by his ―broken language‖ in the classroom made Almon become frustrated with the academic community. However, he constructed more positive identities on the Internet by creating a homepage about the Japanese pop singer, Ryoko. Almon felt that his English-language proficiency

improved as he engaged in biographical, expressive, and narrative writing as well as in communicative interactions in English with a range of native and nonnative speakers. The computer-mediated communication enabled Almon to construct alternative identities and create social affiliations outside of the classroom. His new identities empowered him in a sense that, on the Internet, he is a knowledgeable fan of Japanese pop culture and the owner of a popular homepage. In all, negative identities constructed in the ESL composition classroom hindered Almon's language investment and literacy development, whereas positive identities constructed in electronic media allowed Almon to improve his English proficiency and to find a sense of expressivity and solidarity when communicating in English with his Internet peers.

Furthermore, in micro-level classroom practice, many researchers (Norton, 2001; Waring, 2005; Williams, 2006) have indicated a strong relationship between identity formation and resistance also. Norton (2001) examined the relationship between non-participation and imagined communities, using a community of practice framework. She discussed students' changing expectations about courses, changing identities, and unique investment (the concept of investment is discussed in later sections) in English. She argued that one important reason that students resist is that teachers' goals for course curriculums are different from those that language learners think will help them acquire an additional identity or join the imagined community in which they have invested. She presented examples of two immigrant students, Falicia and Katarina, who resisted classroom practices. Falicia resisted the immigrant label and enjoyed her Peruvian identity and position as a wealthy Peruvian. When her teacher in a 12th-grade ESL course neglected Falicia's cultural heritage by saying Peru was not considered a major country, Falicia grew angry and never returned to

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class. Katarina had taught for 17 years before immigrating to Canada. Her imagined community was the professional community, and when her ESL teacher did not acknowledge her professional history, Katarina left the class. She felt the class was —stupid" because she had to memorize 72 definitions for tests and listen to the teacher's lectures all the time; she resisted the class because she felt like a student in first grade.

Like Norton (2001), Waring (2005) described how a writing tutee, influenced by her identity construction, rejected the advice of a tutor who was not familiar with the tutee's specific discipline. The tutee was a graduate student and believed herself to be educated under traditional art educational standards, and considered herself a competent graduate student. The tutee would reject the tutor's advice concerning the mechanics of writing and suggested grammatical and punctuation corrections. The tutor underestimated the tutee's basic competency as a graduate student, which caused the tutee to resist to the tutor's advice.

Finally, Williams (2006) also claimed that the process of literacy education involves issues of identity. He proclaimed that two main sources of student resistance in education are fear and anxiety: students are afraid to make mistakes or to be different from others, and they do not want to look stupid or to be an outsider. He also discussed the conflict between institutional identities and self-identities—fear of belonging and fear of change. While students are willing to change to fit in the new community, they might fear the possibility of not being able to return to their past identities.

In conclusion, learning resistance might occur when students' identity is denied, challenged, or questioned. Student resistance observed from the micro- or macro-level contexts illustrated above helps my analysis and interpretations of why

students resist literacy practices and writing instruction. Sometimes student resistance in educational sites should not be viewed negatively. As I have mentioned above, many students resist in order to maintain or construct (L1 or alternative) identities, and thus resistance can be viewed as a strategy for students to negotiate between two discourses and as a resource for teachers to utilize in pedagogy design.

Accommodation as an Essentialist Paradigm in Writing

While resistance is a powerful strategy for ELLs to challenge the dominant ideologies and to negotiate different language varieties, not every student adopts the strategy. Canagarajah (2006) clarified that ELLs in different places take on different strategies to negotiate between L1 and L2 written varieties, arguing that black students tend to perform resistance while users of World Englishes (WE) tend to accommodate to Standard Written English (SWE):

> It is a reflection of an understandable bias in composition circles that the black vernacular is permitted, even glorified in certain composition circles, but WE is not tolerated in academic writing . . . perhaps AAVE and certain North American class and regional dialects are validated because they come from ―native English speaking‖ communities; WE varieties are not given the same treatment because they come from multilingual speech communities. (p.603)

Users of WE and AAVE adopt different patterns of accommodation and resistance in composition classes; strategy of accommodation is important for certain students to negotiate different language varieties.

It is worthy of noticing how some multilingual students tend to accommodate to a new discourse community by choosing their present identities over the past ones. Considering how selfhood is constructed during the process of writing, Canagarajah (2004) explored how multilingual writers shape the self in complicated ways. For

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instance, in her American composition class, one L2 writer from the Ukraine found conflicts in her past and present identity. She chose to accommodate to dominant discourses and institutions in order to obtain approval and respect from her teachers. The student thus wrote decent paragraphs to claim a voice for herself. The choice of her present identity positively motivated the Ukrainian student to accommodate to academic English writing conventions.

Lippi-Green (2004) stated that ELLs choose to accommodation because their linguistic identities in the target language are devalued and assimilation to L2 might bring them success:

> People are told that the language that marks them is ugly, unacceptable, incoherent, illogical . . . The things being said about their home languages, about family and community make them uncomfortable and unhappy. The promises they hear about the rewards of assimilation may be very seductive: money, success, recognition. (pp. 296-297)

While some students choose to assimilate or accommodate to dominant writing instructions and conventions, teachers should not take students' accommodation for granted. Benesch (1993) adopted a critical stance and criticized those who see language teaching as neutral as accommodationist. Benesch (1993) asserted that ―education is political and ideology is unavoidable" (p. 715) and that ―whether L1 or L2 teachers enable or inhibit critical thinking, they are taking a political stance toward learning and society" (p. 714). For Santos (1992), the so-called realistic approach or neutral pedagogy is an avoidance of ideology. As for Benesch (1993), however, those practices such as pragmatism in EAP, indicates ―an accommodationist ideology, an endorsement of traditional academic teaching and of current power relations in academia and in society" (p. 711). She accused the

accommodationist ideology:

> all assume that it is unrealistic to expect the university to adapt itself to the
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> cultures, world views, and languages of nonnative-speaking students and that
>
> it is realistic to accommodate students to the content and pedagogy of
>
> mainstream academic classes. (p. 711)

Viewing teaching instruction and students' accommodation and resistance as neutral

and having no ideological implications is thus problematic. It provides teachers

justification to implement the essentialist view of teaching and composing, and it fails

to recognize students' negotiation as ideological struggles.

Ideology in ESL Composition

Issues of ideology in relation to composition were first addressed by Berlin

(1988) and Johns (1990) in L1 and L2 composition respectively. Berlin (1988)

claimed that rhetoric is ideological in nature, which means that ―any examination of a

rhetoric must first consider the ways its very discursive structure can be read so as to

favor one version of economic, social, and political arrangements over other versions"

(p. 477). Similarly, Johns (1990) addressed the importance of clarifying one's stance

of ideology since it is fundamental in deciding ESL writing pedagogy. Johns (1990)

argued that a teacher's view of reality and truth will ―undoubtedly influence the focus

of classroom activities and assignments" (p. 32). Since then, political and ideological

issues have gained much attention in the field of education.

In the field of ESL composition, critical scholars (e.g., Auerbach, 1991;

Benesch, 1993; Mckay, 1993; Santos, 1992; Severino, 1993) have questioned the

appropriateness and accountability of the mainstream L2 writing education without

acknowledging and examining ideological and political issues.

While Johns (1990) provided issues of ideology in ESL composition, Auerbach (1991) criticized the status quo of ESL composition education which neglects sociopolitical forces. Arguing that politics, pedagogy, and professionalism have functioned to marginalize ESL, Auerbach (1991) examined how immigration history sets up the structural context, how ESL education serves as implicit sorting tools, and how professionalism works as a means of differentiation and preserving hierarchical system. The reason Auerbach (1991) claimed that both ESL educators and students are marginalized because teachers' work is defined as training not education. Students are seen as learning a language that is viewed as a neutral tool as well as learning a set of decontextualized skills in order to gain access to the mainstream. Auerbach (1991) argued that the marginal status of ESL serves to maintain the status quo in which ESL educators are marginalized as service workers in the academy, since ESL students can be marginalized as workforce in the society. Additionally, politics affect the marginalization of ESL educators and students. Through an examinination of labor history, Auerbach (1991) demonstrated how economic imperative has shaped immigration patterns. That is, whenever there was a need for cheap labor, the population of immigrants increased; when factory did not need laborers (e.g., during the Depression), quota laws limiting immigrants were passed. Also, under the cover of the democratization of education, differential education is justified for continued inequalities. Auerbach (1991) pointed out that although education opens door for ESL schooling, its curriculum focuses on occupational training and lower-order thinking. In contrast with upper class education which emphasizes creativity, decision making and higher levels of competence, the democratization of education serves as an agent for socializing students for different roles in the workforce as well as manipulating social inequality. Since politics and

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pedagogy have been used as tools for reproducing social and academic stratification, Auerbach (1991) encouraged ESL professionals to struggle against marginalization within the political and cultural frameworks, saying, "it means struggling to adapt the curriculum to allow for a diversification of voices and experiences rather than trying only to adapt our students to a mainstream standard" (p. 7).

Auerbach's (1991) work definitely initiated a new dimension of researching and teaching in SLW. Other work that takes up the issues of politics and ideology in SLW includes Santos (1992). Contrasting L1 and L2 composition theory by taking up the social constructionist view, Santos (1992) indicated that literature of ESL writing lacked attention to ideology, while its counterpart, L1 composition, places more emphasis on sociopolitical issues. Santos (1992) attributed the lack of attention to ideology among social constructionists in SLW to the different backgrounds of L1 and L2 composition teachers. While L1 composition has been influenced by leftist political theory and thus sees itself ideologically, ESL composition, being a branch of linguistics, applied linguistics, and TESOL, sees itself pragmatically or scientifically. Santos (1992) encouraged collaboration between L1 and L2 composition specialists in writing courses and programs, hoping to see ESL writing pay more attention to ideology with the lead of L1 compositionists, as well as shift its focus from the cognitive perspective to the sociopolitical context of ESL writing.

Santos' (1992) work has raised many important issues in SLW as well as stirring up many lively discussions about ideology and politics in ESL composition. For example, Johns (1993) responded to Santo's (1992) article by stating reasons for the absence of ideological discussion in ESL composition. Johns (1993) argued that the primary reason for the absence is because ESL composition faculty have been oppressed by English departments and these ESL faculty members were too busy

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struggling in the hostile and incompatible environments. The other reason for the absence, according to Johns (1993), is the lack of rhetoric and composition degrees among ESL writing teachers. Johns (1993) reasons that due to the lack of training in theory and research in composition, ESL writing teachers who possess education, linguistics, or foreign language degrees teach L2 writing in a traditional way without paying attention to ideological issues. Moreover, responding to Santos' (1992) call for collaboration between L1 and L2 specialists, Johns (1993) encouraged ESL professionals to shape their own views in finding questions and ways of solving problems, instead of accepting ideology from L1 composition theory. She argued that it is dangerous to adopt L1 composition ideology or pedagogy without revision or questioning students' backgrounds and teaching contexts.

In addition, a number of articles and studies have discussed and investigated the issue of ideology in ESL writing since the publication of Santos' article. For example, McKay (1993) suggested an alternate framework and clarifies L2 composition ideology in the field of literacy education. McKay (1993) questioned the assumption of the needs of preparing ESL students for the academic discourse conventions, and argues that this is asking students to conform without questioning power relations rather than the universities adjusting themselves to ESL students through a negotiation process. Also, agreeing with Santos (1992) that ESL pedagogy is politically charged, Severino (1993) argued that the sociopolitical implications need to be articulated and discussed openly. She exemplified her point by showing her responses to college writing students and explaining how teacher responses influence students differently if taking different stances (assimilationst stance, separatist stance, and accommodationist stance). Severino (1993) claimed that ESL teachers need to be aware of the politics and ideology of their stances when teaching ESL writers.

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While assumptions of critical research and pedagogy, which pay attention to sociopolitical and ideology implications, have gradually established and have its own supporters, they receive several objections as well. For instance, responding to Benesch's (1993) charge, Allison (1994) referred the discourse concerning ideology as ―ideologist discourse" (p. 618), and argued that ―it assumes a particular ideological stance incorporating a priori judgments about the ideological nature of other discourses and discourse communities" (p. 618). Allison (1994) claimed that the ideologist discourse is an imposition of personal political agenda. He then revealed his concern that the practical obligations of EAP teachers might be replaced by discussions of politics and ideology. In his defense of pragmatism, Allison (1994) stated that EAP pragmatic practitioners have not avoided debates that are ideological laden in order to remain and perpetuate certain monolithic ways of thinking in EAP and all education contexts. Although this may be true for ESL educators who focus on practical obligations, Tollefson (1995) noted that language education and ESOL has focused on language acquisition, teaching methods, and linguistics without placing these fields in social, political, and economic contexts. Tollefson (1995) contended that traditional ESL education has not yet linked general teaching practices to broader sociopolitical forces.

Despite Tollefson's (1995) assertion about importance of power issues in language education, Allison (1996) continued to defend pragmatism in EAP by arguing that it bases context-sensitive approaches in EAP curricula, rather than representing a unified and unexamined educational status quo. His position remained that:

general catergorisations of EAP pragmatist discourse and practice, whether

these are presented as conformist, reformist, or quietly revolutionary, will be

less insightful, more misleading, than a (pragmatic) willingness to recognize

and investigate the diverse goals, strategies, tactics and contexts that actual

EAP experience subsumes. (p. 98)

Allison (1996) further defended EAP pragmatism by demonstrating five EAP

practices which have designed classes to contextualize the EAP learning experience

and incorporate varying degrees of negotiation and cooperation between EAP faculty

and teachers.

Confronting these concerns and objections to political and ideological issues

in the L2 literature, Pennycook (1997) argued that pragmatism in EAP to some extent

is still considered vulgar rather than critical pragmatism, and is most likely to

strengthen the status quo in the academic community and society. Pennycook (1997)

stated that there is a need to make an effort to distinguish between *vulgar* and *critical*

pragmatism (Cherryhomes as cited in Pennycook, 1997). While *vulgar pragmatism*

values functional efficiency and presupposes unreflective acceptance of explicit and

implicit standards, conventions, rules and discourse-practices that we find around us

(Cherryholmes as cited in Pennycook, 1997, p. 256), ‒critical pragmatism . . .

continually involves making epistemological, ethical, and aesthetic choices. . . and

translating them into discourse-practices" (Cherryholmes as cited in Pennycook, 1997,

p.256). To illustrate the differences between vulgar and critical pragmatism,

Pennycook (1997) indicated some available discourses that allow the enhancement of

vulgar pragmatism by showing several conceptualizations that help construct the

neutrality of EAP. Viewing language as neutral based on its functionalist approach

and treating English as an international language premised on its neutral medium,

English language and English teaching are merely products and factories in the world market; universities are neutral sites, and EAP are constructed as universal scientific enterprise. Such ideologies of neutrality, Pennycook (1997) argues, tend ―once again to reproduce an uncritical approach to knowledge‖ (p. 621), and allow ―for a view that EAP operates as a service industry to provide students with access to a neutral body of knowledge‖ (p. 263).

What is more, considering possible objections of such critical framework, Pennycook (1997) proposed a suggestion hoping to balance the tension between obligations to satisfied students‗ linguistic and academic needs and challenges of norms of the academic community. The gist of Pennycook‗s (1997) central idea is that education is never neutral and that we should consider ―the possibilities of pluralisation of knowledge‖ (p. 264). He argued that instead of choosing an approach from either emphasizing giving student access to the cultures of power, or paying attention to the exploration of difference, EAP practitioners should work with both. At the end, Pennycook (1997) envisioned an EAP that:

> see[s] language, both locally and internationally, as political; . . . an EAP that sees contents, whether academic university content or more general ―serious issues‖ as always political; an EAP that acknowledges that the way we teach and what we teach is always a question of cultural politics; . . . an EAP that seeks to do more than just tolerate difference, but moves towards a more direct engagement with the confrontation between the cultural, educational and linguistic practices of the students and the practices of the academy. (p. 266)

Despite increasing interests in politics and ideology in ESL composition, Santos (2001) speculated on the application of critical pedagogy to L2 writing classes. In disagreement with critical applied linguistics, Santos (2001) embraced pragmatism

in EAP. Santos (2001) argued that it is essential for L2 students to accommodate or assimilate to the dominant academic discourse in order to achieve academic success. It would be unethical for ESL educators if they did not address students' needs and expectations. Santos (2001) stated that instead of discussing the omnipresence of ideology, it is more practical to accept the existence of social inequality, saying, ―Hierarchies do exist, and most of us have learned to work out our lives within them; this, too, is part of the socialization process in any culture" (p. 184).

Obviously, scholars of vulgar pragmatism and critical EAP take essentially opposing attitudes toward each other, and Benesch (2001a; 2001b) argued that it is unnecessary to do so. While vulgar pragmatism focuses on access to the academy and critical EAP stresses exploration of diversity, Benesch (2001a; 2001b) proposed to adopt critical pragmatism to bring these two researches together. Benesch (2001a; 2001b) described an example of critical pragmatism in EAP, showing that the demands of academic works in EAP can be balanced with ―the critical goals of situating the pedagogy in the students' social context and encouraging them to question the status quo" (p. 167).

Adopting Benesch's (2001a; 2001b) concept of critical pragmatic EAP, Harwood and Hadley (2004) tried to strike a balance between Pragmatic EAP and Critical EAP. Harwood and Hadley (2004) first reviewed three approaches— Pragmatic EAP, Critical EAP, and Critical Pragmatic EAP— commonly identified to the teaching to EAP. They claimed that Pragmatic EAP is concerned with the access to power and that Critical EAP is concerned with the exploration of diversity, while Critical Pragmatic EAP fuses focus of both approaches in search of balance. Harwood and Hadley (2004) critiqued that although Pragmatic EAP has a clear goal, it fails to acknowledge difference in community. They are neither satisfied with Critical EAP

since its perfectly argued theory is not supported and provided with suitable and practical pedagogy. Thus, Hardwood and Hadley (2004) tended to accept an approach that seeks a balance in between which is Critical Pragmatic EAP. As Hardwood and Hadley (2004) stated,

> Critical Pragmatic EAL attempts to reconcile these seemingly irreconcilable approaches. On the one hand, it acknowledges that students should be exposed to dominant discourse norms, in line with Pragmatic EAL; while on the other hand, like Critical EAP, it stresses that students have choices and should be free to adopt or subvert the dominant practices as they wish. (p. 357)

As I have shown, the debate is between what has been termed ―vulgar‖ pragmatism and critical ELT/EAP. Discussions of politics and ideology in the critical research and pedagogy oppose standard curriculum and mainstream classrooms and the search for alternative approaches in local settings and conditions. Meanwhile, opponents of critical EAP criticize those who are not serious pragmatists as imposing their own social agenda. Pragmatists see themselves as taking realistic positions of neutrality and worry that discussions of politics and ideology will overwhelm the field, and thus hinder the pragmatic obligations of L2 teaching. In other words, critical EAP is explicit about sociopolitical forces, while pragmatism points out the implicit and hidden in the screen of neutrality. While critical EAP is working toward social transformation, pragmatism claims that it would be unethical to help prepare students for the demands of academic courses in EAP. Finally, critical pragmatic EAP tries to strike a balance between two extremes and fuses critical EAP‗s focus on difference in the academy with pragmatic EAP‗s focus on access to the academy.

Identity and Language Learning

Languages and discourses are used as means for constructing knowledge, meaning, and identity; thus, people's identity can be manifested in their language use. Researchers (e.g., Norton, 2000) of English language learning have claimed that social identity and identity positioning play important roles in the literacy development of language learners. As I have mentioned earlier, students' identity formation might influence their behavioral patterns of language learning and vice versa. In this section, I will focus on the relationship between identity and language learning. I begin with a discussion of communities of practice, which many researchers claim is where L2 learning takes place. Then I talk about the social identity theory purposed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979, which is the starting point of discussions on social identity. After defining the concept of identity, I focus on how the concept of investment proposed by Peirce (1995) highlights the interrelationship between identity and language learning. Finally, I discuss how identity is manifested in English academic writing.

Communities of Practice and Learning

Many researchers pay attention to the importance of community and claim that learning takes place through the process of social participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Many researchers also claim that a learner's social identity is socially and culturally constructed as well as is affected by their literacy practices in the new community.

I would interpret Lave and Wenger's (1991) model of legitimate peripheral participation in situated learning to say that such participation is participation in a discourse community. Learning involves participation in a community of practice. At first, newcomers learn at the periphery of the new community. Through the process of

participation in sociocultural practices, newcomers become more competent and master the knowledge and skills of the community. Hence, learners move toward the center of the target community, where group members participate fully in the community. Lave and Wenger view learning as a process of social participation. The nature of the situation influences the process.

What is more, Wenger (1998) claimed that learning takes place in a social participation framework. He argued that ―learning is caught in the middle. It is the vehicle for the evolution of practices and the inclusion of newcomers while also (and through the same process) the vehicle for the development and transformation of identities" (p. 4). He explained that participants not only associate with certain activities and certain people, but also actively engage in the ―practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities" (p. 4). Wenger characterized communities of practice as sharing histories of learning where ―meaning arises out of a process of negotiation that combines both participation and reification" (p. 135). Therefore, learning is an act of social participation and identity formation in a certain community; it is through participating in a community and practicing its conventions and knowledge that a learner becomes a member of the community and learning takes place. I adopt the framework of communities of practice in the present study and view L2 learners' negative/positive literacy practices and behavioral patterns as social participation in a certain community of which they desire or do not desire to be a member.

Social Identity Theory

In the field of sociolinguistics, many researchers have suggested that social identity is socially and culturally constructed. Social identity is the presentation of a person's identity of himself or herself as a member of a group. Believing that identity

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is derived from group membership, Tajfel (1974) defined social identity as ―that part of an individual‗s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 69). Social identity theory was proposed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979 to interpret psychologically based intergroup discrimination. Tajfel (1974) indicated minimal conditions under which a group member is in favor of people who belong to the group and against those who do not. Social identity theory claims that group membership creates in-group categorization, which helps group members indicate their in-group favoritism sufficiently. When individuals are categorized as group members, the positive distinction between in-groups and out-groups leads individuals to gain positive self-esteem. This indicates that self-esteem and personal orientation are derived from a position of we or in-group membership as opposed to I or independence. According to Hogg and Vaughan (2002), social identity is a self-concept derived from perceived social group membership. Thus, ―us" is defined by a self-concept and associated with internalized group membership.

The concept of identity has been gaining increased attention and interest in the field of second language learning. The term *identity* is used differently in different fields and even by different theorists. For example, sociopsycholinguists and poststructuralists use the term *identity* in different ways. While sociopsycholinguists pay attention to individual biology and internal factors/variables, poststructuralists examine the influence of social factors on language learning. Arguing that the sociopsychological approach fails to theorize social aspects of L2 learning and use, Pavlenko (2002) stated,

The key weakness of the sociopsychological approaches is, however, the idealised and decontextualised nature attributed to language learning, which is presented as an individual endeavour, prompted by motivation and positive attitudes, and hindered by negative attitudes and perceptions. (p. 281)

Building on a sociopsychological paradigm to SLA, poststructuralists view language acquisition as language socialization. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) notion of cultural capital and the view of language as symbolic capital and the site of identity construction, poststructuralists have viewed L2 users as agents who have multiple and fluid social identities. Also, poststructuralists suggest paying attention to L2 learners' social, cultural, and political contexts when examining language learning of L2 learners. As Holland, Skinner, Lachicotte, and Cain (1998) clarified,

Identities are a key means through which people care about and care for what is going on around them. They are important bases from which people create new activities, new worlds, and new ways of being. (p.5)

In this sense, identity is not just a listing of distinct characteristics of an individual, but rather, it is how one understands one's individual personality through interaction with and participation in a community.

Taking on a feminist poststructuralist theory of subjectivity, Norton (2000) explicated the notion of identity and claimed that identity is nonunitary and contradictory, a site of struggle, which changes over historical time and social space. Norton (2000) defined identity as —how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p.5). That is, identity does not necessarily reside within individuals in a static, perpetual manner, but is constantly and dynamically constructed in specific sociocultural contexts. Such a definition of

identity helps the researcher understand and interpret students' behavioral patterns during the language learning process by closely examining sociocultural factors. Drawing on the poststructualist view of identity, I pay attention to my student participants' social, cultural, and historical contexts of language learning as well as their relationships/interactions with language teachers and peers.

Moreover, Norton (1997) contended that identity is related to desires for access to material resources in society. The access to the resources is inextricably connected to power and privilege in society, so issues of identity entail issues of power and ideology. That is, one's desire for material resources, which might be caused by a certain ideology, can affect one's identity construction. The section explores the intriguing relationship between desire and identity in language learning.

Identity and Investment

Investment is one key notion in relation to identity and language learning. This term, introduced by Peirce (1995), is based on a critique of the concept of motivation. The thrust of her critique was that motivation is conceptualized as a unitary, fixed, and ahistorical personality trait of a language learner and cannot account for the complex relationships between language learners, learning, identity, ideology, and power. In contrast to motivation, the notion of investment assumes that a language learner is a social being who has a socially and historically constructed relationship to the target language. Additionally, language learners have multiple and often ambivalent desires. Peirce (1995) clarified such positions in the following:

> When language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own

identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space. (p.

17-18)

Based on this conceptualization of investment, change in learners' investment in

language learning influences their identities and vice versa. In addition, Pierce (1995)

explained investment by using the term of ―cultural capital‖ in the study of Bourdieu

and Passeron (as cited in Pierce, 1995) who referred to the term as ―the knowledge

and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups in relation to

specific sets of social forms‖ (p. 17). She argued that language learners invest in the

target language in order to obtain symbolic and material resources that will raise the

value of their cultural capital. In short, language learners expect to gain access to

resources in return for their investment. This implies a dynamic relation between

language learners' investment and the power they possess, and that this relationship is

strongly linked to their identities.

While Pierce's (1995) concept of investment has been widely employed in the

recent research on language learner identity, some researchers extend it in

constructive ways. Among them are McKay & Wong (1996). In their study on

Chinese-speaking immigrant adolescent students in the United States, they

demonstrated the selective nature of their participants' investment in language

learning:

> Investment can be highly selective in any one or combination of the four
>
> language skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The four skills also
>
> have different values for the learner in terms of how his/her identities are
>
> defined and how well they help meet his/her social and academic demands. (p.
>
> 604)

This view of investment helps the researcher to observe the learners' investment more closely as well as to better interpret students' behavioral patterns of language learning.

Another study that considers the concept of investment is that of Pomerantz (2001). Her research showed how students' investments in English shapes the patterns of their language use in classrooms. Her findings reflected how her participants' use of Spanish in the classroom is contingent upon their investments in different identities. For instance, participants like Fatima and Rachel had desirable investments in good language learner identity and thus negotiated their identities in ways how language learners should act in a classroom. As such, they were able to utilize resources of access to literacy practices which boosted their linguistic repertoires. On the other hand, by resisting positioning and being positioned as good language learners, Jim and Ravi seemed to perform contrary to classroom identities in which they were more deeply invested. Taking up identities as a cooler and class clown respectively, Jim and Ravi often resisted participating in classroom activities. Consequently, they lost access to target language input and opportunities for interaction. As the participants in Pomerantz's (2001) study drew on different linguistic resources, they invoked different social identities. Their investments in social identities indicated the socially and historically constructed relationships between language learner and target language, and the various complex attitudes learners have toward using the language. In conclusion, such anecdotes indicate that there is a need to look more closely at the relationship between language and identity and that, in this, the concept of investment serves superbly as an interpretive tool for L2 identity negotiation and resistance to writing instructions.

Identity in Writing

Although the concept of identity has gained much attention in second language learning, there is not much research on identity in writing. Ivanič (1998) stated that a writer‗s identity is an important but has not been theorized dimension in the act of writing; she argues that identity should be put on the agenda when theorizing writing, and that the writer identity should be put on the agenda when considering teaching and learning of academic writing. Likewise, Canagarajah (2004) claimed that texts should not be deemed as ―simply reflecting a pre-linguistic and pre-defined subjectivity." Instead, researchers must ―consider how selfhood is constructed in the process of writing" (p. 270). In this section, I will focus on identity as manifested in writing discourse since ESL writing is central to my study. I first identify four aspects of identity in written discourse. Then I talk about how and why student writers construct identity in written texts. Finally, I discuss connections between writer identity and resistance in negotiating/struggling in the dominant academic discourse.

Ivanič‗s (1998) four aspects of identity in written discourse, which are the *autobiographical self*, the *discoursal self*, the *self as author*, and *possibilities for self-hood*, help me better understand how identity is manifested in written discourse . As Ivanič (1998) explained, the *autobiographical self* ―is associated with a writer‗s sense of their roots, . . . and that this identity they bring with them to writing is itself socially constructed and constantly changing as a consequence of their developing life-history" (p. 24). A writer‗s *discoursal self*, Ivanič (1998) states, is

the impression—often multiple, sometimes contradictory—which they

consciously or unconsciously conveys of themselves in a particular written

text, . . . [and] is constructed through the discourse characteristics of a text,

which relate to values, beliefs and power relations in the social context in which they were written. (p. 25)

The *self as author* emphasizes the authorial stance a writer claims: ―This aspect of writer identity concerns the writer‗s ‗voice‘ in the sense of the writer‗s position, opinions and beliefs" (p. 26). Finally, the fourth writer identity, *possibilities for self-hood*, ―is concerned with prototypical possibilities for self-hood which are available to writers in the social context of writing" (p. 27). Although Ivanič‗s (1998) central focus is on the discoursal self, she claimed an interrelationship among these four aspects of writer identity by demonstrating an interplay between each aspect as well as a possible co-existence in a single text. In the present study, I draw on the four aspects of identity in written discourse proposed by Ivanič (1998) to understand and analyze identity manifested in students' writings.

Focusing on conflict of identity for students in higher education courses, Ivanič (1998) contended that writing is not merely expressing content; it is also a self representation. In other words, the act of writing involves identity claim. Ivanič addressed the impact of social interaction on writers‗ social presentation in writing, taking a social constructivist view and viewing writing as a social act. As Ivanič focused mainly on the discoursal self, she demonstrated the complex interrelationship between writer identity and a writer‗s values, beliefs, interests and power relations. As she revealed, every written text is a statement of a writer‗s identity as well as a form of social action.

Many researchers have claimed that a writers‗ discourse/linguistic choices in a text manifests their identity formation in social interactions (e.g., Graves and Maguire, 2001; Ivanič, 1998; Ivanič and Camps, 2001; Matsuda, 2001). Graves and Maguire (2001) pointed out that L2 writers are able to negotiate meaning through social

interactions in which their discourse choices are shaped in particular contexts. Textural analysis through micro and macro approaches reveals that when L2 learners write, they not only develop linguistic skills, but also negotiate multiple contexts. Graves and Maguire suggested that L2 writers have different personalities, different ways of representing self, and constructing identity in their journal writing.

Ivanič (1998) showed how student writers claim academic discourse community membership through discourse choices in writing; she developed and elaborated the concept of self representation in writing and illustrated the discoursal construction of identity—which discourse communities the writers identify with, what roles they play, and which interests, values, beliefs and practice they align with. For example, Ivanič provided a different angle to interpret student plagiarism. Instead of viewing plagiarism as a crime, she proposed to regard it as students' desire to identify with the academic discourse community. For students, copied words are not intellectual property, but rather ―a means whereby they can construct the discoursal self which they understand to be required" (p. 330). In other words, student writers plagiarize to claim an academic discourse community membership. Plagiarism is no longer treated as crime in this case, but rather as an avenue to claim identity.

Matsuda (2001) discussed how Japanese language-specific features that are not available in English provide for construction of voice in Japanese written discourse. He analyzed a Japanese woman's web diary and found that using these discourse features enabled the diary author to communicate her social positioning and allowed her readers to distinguish different voices established by her. Thus, writers consciously or subconsciously draw on discourse features to construct identity in written language. In Matsuda's study, L1 discourse features played an important role in writers' self representation of English written discourse and in communication with

intended readers. In my study, I will pay attention to how L1 discourse features might affect ESL learners' identity construction and their interactions with instructors and peers in composition classes.

In addition, Ivanič and Camps (2001) argued that L2 writers construct their identities through adoption of particular voices which locate L2 writers historically and culturally. Through negotiating and choosing writers' own voice types, they present a unique voice. Text analysis shows that writers take on different roles (as self-assured, deferential, and impersonal) by using different lexical, syntactic, semiotic choices situated in different social settings, relationship and tasks (Ivanič and Camps, 2001).

While student writers may desire to occupy certain subject positions through linguistic/discourse selections, they may choose to resist other identities the same way. As Ivanič (1998) addressed:

> Writers may not be willing to compromise their identity by becoming party to the dominant practices of the community. Non-standard syntax can be understood not so much as a failure to conform to conventions as a signal that the writer may be drawing uncomfortably on contradictory, possibly jarring voices in the construction of a discoursal self. (p. 332)

Such a view showcases that student resistance to dominant discourse practices might be observed from linguistic/discourse features since writers are constructing contradictory or unpleasant identities in written discourse. Therefore, L2 learners' resistance to English writing instructions might result in identity conflicts or different investments of English learning.

Ivanič (1998) strongly argued that achieving conventional academic standards is not the literacy issue per se, rather, it is student struggles in the academic

community—how they negotiate the hegemonic beliefs and practices of their
disciplines. That is, taking on voices in writing is related to compliance with or
resistance to dominant ideologies instead of acquisition of literacy per se. As a result,
student writing manifests writers' stances and identity as well as their negotiation
while learning academic writing. The present study is conducted with the premise that
L2 writers struggle with dominant discourse practices through negotiation of identity
which is manifested in their writings.

In sum, L2 literacy learning is a social act which involves identity negotiation
and power struggles. L2 students construct identity through language use, and I have
discussed how and why students construct identity in written discourse. It is also
important to recognize that ESL writers assert or resist a position through a discoursal
construction of self in writing.

Identity plays a significant role in exploring L2 literacy. However, theories
and concepts of identity, investment, or resistance can not be generalized to all L2
learners; they must be investigated under particular contexts. Critical research, which
is generated from postmodernism, observes that the discursive practices to interrogate
truth are situated in different social constructions. In order to provide a more detailed
description of the study participants, Taiwanese ESL students, in the following I
discuss the historical and cultural background and languages in Taiwan. A key aim of
the following review is to link identity and ideology to language policy and education
in Taiwan.

<center>Historical/Cultural Background
and Languages in Taiwan</center>

After understanding the ideological implications and identity construction in
second language learning, it is necessary to situate the impact of languages and

<center>79</center>

language learning in cultural and sociopolitical contexts of Taiwan. Understanding the Taiwanese historical and cultural background helps in interpreting Taiwanese identities in a macro-level context of Taiwanese society. It also shows the complexity of identity construction that is unique to Taiwanese society. In what follows, I begin with a landscape of Taiwanese history and then discuss the influences of language policies in terms of producing language ideologies and hierarchy in Taiwan. Finally, I discuss an alternative position concerning the English language as the future of Taiwan in constructing national identity.

An Overview of the History of Taiwan

According to the *Taiwan Yearbook 2004* by the Taiwanese Government Information Office, in its early stages, Taiwan was isolated, undeveloped, and neglected. But during the era of European exploration and navigation in the mid-sixteenth century, Taiwan was noticed because of its important strategic location and abundant natural resources. Before the seventeenth century, Taiwan was an island inhabited by many native Malayo-Polynesian aborigines. The Dutch were the first to establish a colonial reign in Taiwan (1624-1661). The Dutch and Spanish colonized parts of northern and southern Taiwan. After the Dutch and Spanish colonization, Zheng Cheng-Kong (also known as Koxinga) and his family were the next sovereignty (1662-1683). In 1662, Koxinga, who was loyal to the falling Ming dynasty, defeated the Dutch and established a government in order to defy the Manchus, who had created the Ching dynasty. The Manchus of the Ching dynasty defeated Koxinga and royalists of the Ming dynasty, and ruled Taiwan for about two hundred years (1683-1895) until Japan overtook it in 1895. In 1895, the Ching government lost Taiwan to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War, and fifty years of Japanese colonization began (1895-1945). After the close of World War II in 1945,

Japan relinquished Taiwan to the Chinese Nationalists or Kuomintang who ruled

China. Four years later in China, the Kuomintang (KMT) was subdued by the Chinese

Communist Party (CCP) in 1949. At the end of a civil war, the Chinese KMT fled to

Taiwan and founded a contemporary government. In 1949, the central government of

the Republic of China moved to Taipei. The KMT ruled Taiwan until 2000 when the

Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the presidential election. The government

power was transferred from the KMT to the DPP. The command of the DPP lasted

eight years and the KMT took over the political power in 2008. (See Table 1 for the

colonial history of Taiwan.)

Table 1

Chronological Scope of Taiwanese Colonial History

Year	Sovereign/Political party	Era
1624-1662	Dutch & Spanish	European Imperialist Colonization
1662-1683	Zheng Cheng-kong (Koxinga) of the Ming dynasty	Chinese Settlement
1683-1895	Manchus of the Ching dynasty	Chinese Settlement
1895-1945	Japanese	Japanese Occupation
1945-2000	the Nationalists of Republic of China	Post War Period: 1. The Chiang Kai-shek Period (1949-1975) 2. The Chiang Ching-kuo Period (1978-1988) 3. The Lee Teng-hui Period (1988-2000)
2000-2008	DPP	The Chen Sui-bian Period
2008-present	KMT	The Ma Ying-jeou Period

After the KMT came to Taiwan in 1949, two major groups of ethnic Chinese

emerged. People who came from China with the KMT and their children who were

born after 1949 were labeled as Waishengren or the Mainlanders; early settlers who lived in Taiwan before the KMT governance and were more nativized were referred to as Benshengren (the Natives—the Hakka and the Holo or the Southern Min). Both the Southern Min and the Hakka were descendants of the Chinese Han immigrants. While the Hakka have a unique dialect, the Holos, who reside primarily in the southern parts of Taiwan, principally speak Taiwanese. As a consequence, ethnolinguistically, the Taiwanese population is composed of four major ethnic groups: the Southern Min (73.3%), the Hakka (12%), the Mainlanders (13%), and the native Malayo-Polynesian (1.7%) (Huang, 1993). The Chinese immigrants outnumbered the indigenous native Malayo-Polynesians and have exceeded the aboriginal people in social, cultural, and political development. The ethnic Chinese people who came to Taiwan from various provinces in China with distinct dialects are the main population in Taiwan.

Language differences often demarcate ethnicities. Mainlanders traditionally speak Mandarin, the Natives speak Taiwanese or Hakka, and the aborigines have ten or so different languages. Price (2005) suggested that languages and ethnicity distinguish the Natives from non-native people. Language was a form of power for ethnic groups. In addition, when the mainlanders came to Taiwan, they collided with the Natives. Languages (Hakka, Taiwanese, and Japanese) became tools for separating ethnic groups and thus became symbols of intragroup unity and solidarity.

Wu (2005) believed that the reasons for ethnic problems in Taiwan are complicated. Such factors include the wounds of great conflicts between the Mainlanders and the Natives (i.e, the Hakka and the Holo), the disfavor of the CCP's totalitarian governance and continuing discrimination against the second generation children of the Mainlanders, problems of adaptation and communication brought by

intermarriage, and the continual manipulation of historical wounds between ―Taiwanese" and ―non-native" controversies by Taiwanese politicians who only aspire for power, both political and social through f election, and re-election. During the foreign imperialist colonization and Chinese rule in Taiwanese history, each reign implemented different language policies and language education. According to Tse (2000), during the Dutch colonization, language served as a means for administration and religion. The Dutch in the south and the Spanish in the north helped design romanized spelling systems for aboriginal languages. A variety of native languages were promoted, and the language policy was pragmatic but not discriminative or suppressive. The romanization of language codified and preserved local languages which gained much respect. Language education in Taiwan during the Ming and Ching dynasties was based on traditional Chinese education. Chinese (referred to as *Mandarin* as opposed to other Chinese dialects) was a teaching subject as well as medium, while Hakka, Taiwanese, and aboriginal languages were not taught at all. Sinicization was encouraged in opposition to the romanization policies of the past. During the period of Japanese rule, language policy and education in Taiwan aimed at assimilation and complete Japanization. Chinese and all dialects were prohibited in the public domain. Under the discriminatory and suppressive policy, ethnic Chinese and aboriginal people were treated as second-class citizens in their own country.

After Taiwan was returned to Chinese sovereignty, Mandarin became the national language due to the promotion of the KMT government. The National Language Policy was so successful that native languages were endangered. Before 1987, Taiwanese, Hakka, and the aboriginal languages were not valued, preserved or cultivated. Martial law, which was imposed by KMT, was lifted in 1987, and marked a new era of multicultural and multilingual Taiwanese society. The social and

educational aspects of Taiwan were more liberal and policy was democratic. A party

for the native Taiwanese, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was founded in

1986. While Mandarin is still the national language and lingua franca in Taiwan, the

government has paid more attention to other local languages resulting in a revival of

native languages (Tse, 2000).

In recent years, the Taiwanese government (DPP) has tried hard to advocate

for the preservation of Taiwanese culture in order to foster Taiwanese identity and a

sense of belonging. Such advocacy is demonstrated through taking affirmative action

such as implementing education in local and mother tongue languages in elementary

schools and developing Taiwanese and Hakka TV channels. The government often

associates speaking Taiwanese with people who love Taiwan. While politicians are

advocating local languages, arts, and culture, there is no consensus on what

Taiwanese culture is.

It is important to clarify what I mean by Taiwanese culture in this study.

According to Wu (2005), Taiwan is an emigrant country. Originally it was peopled by

aboriginal inhabitants of Malayo-Polynesian descent. Then a large number of Han

people (known as the Hakka and Holo) from mainland China crossed the Strait of

Taiwan and went to Taiwan. A subsequent wave of new immigrants followed when

the KMT fled Mainland China to seek refuge and autonomy on the island which was,

at this point, increasingly taking on the characteristics of an independent state. As

previously mentioned, Taiwan was once governed by Chinese, Dutch, Spanish, and

Japanese. Therefore, agreeing with Wu (2005), ―Taiwanese culture" refers to a group

of people who live on the Island of Taiwan and together create every survival means

needed. This blending of cultures can be found in different aspects of the collective

cultures. For example, Taiwanese songs often have a pronounced Japanese influence.

Of course, there are other influences from Chinese culture, such as the use of Chinese characters for writing, adopting concepts of respect for the elderly and the enshrinement of ancestors, following Chinese festivals and customs. Additionally, under the influence of a Western democratic consciousness, Taiwan successfully shifted political parties in 2000, which ended the rule and power of the KMT (Wu, 2005). The DPP won the presidential election in 2000, terminating the powerful rule of the KMT which had lasted for over fifty years. At that juncture, Taiwan became a country with a political system quite different from China's. The reins of government were peacefully shifted, which achieved a landmark of democratization in Taiwan. Taking perspectives from economy, politics, kinship, and culture, however, Wu (2005) argues that Taiwan is destined to face its intertwined relationship with the mainland Chinese.

Language Shift and Language Revival

Language plays an important role in shaping its speakers' perspectives. Understanding the phenomenon of language shift and language revival in Taiwan helps to know Taiwanese perspectives on languages and attitudes toward learning languages. When the KMT came to Taiwan and formed the contemporary government, Mandarin became the official language. Taiwanese was banned in schools. This marked the beginning of a period of language shift. Young (1989) indicated that ―there is increased used of Mandarin with succeeding generations" (p. 55). When the KMT came to Taiwan in 1949, most people spoke Taiwanese, Hakka, and Japanese. Their children were bilingual in Taiwanese (or another indigenous language) and Mandarin, and they spoke Mandarin with an accent. Their grandchildren spoke standard Mandarin and a kind of corrupt Taiwanese (Young, 1989). Subsequent generations were mostly monolingual in Mandarin. They could not speak Taiwanese,

and some parents even made their children attend private institutes to take Taiwanese language classes. In this, language shifts demarcated the change in people's patterns of language use in different domains over time.

According to Holmes (2001), ―limited use of the minority language leads to limited exposure to that language, which results in decreasing competence, lack of confidence in using the language, and increasing reliance on the dominant language" (p. 284). When the National Language Policy was carried out by the KMT government, schools were the most prevalent domain where Taiwanese children used and were expected to interact in Mandarin. For these children, Mandarin gradually became their normal language when talking to other children, including their siblings. Mandarin gradually filtered into the Taiwanese home through the children in many families. Therefore, many Native families shifted from using Taiwanese or Hakka to using Mandarin.

Recently, Taiwanese and other indigenous languages have been revived successfully due to the promotion by the new government. Price (2005) pointed out that ―Promoting ‗local' languages and cultures has a degree of importance for Taiwan's national identity, in that linguistic pluralism or at least linguistic equality contributes to social cohesion" (p. 4). However, Baran (2005) claims that although the new Taiwanese government emphasizes ethnolinguistic equality and enhances ―nativization," including promoting local languages; Mandarin still holds the status of primary cultural language preeminence. Baran (2005) stated that the idea that one variety of a language is more prestigious could be expressed implicitly by the fact that it is the official language of education and it is the prerequisite for success in an educational system. While Mandarin carries its prestigious and valuable status, Taiwanese and Hakka are still downgraded as ―dialects". As Shih (2002) stated:

Ostensibly, the so-called National Language Policy promulgated after the war was designed to promote mutual understanding between the [most recently arrived] Mainlanders and the reunited Taiwanese Compatriots, it was generally understood as one of the KMT's attempts to Sinicize the Natives, which, reflecting political domination, in turn had persistently degraded native culture as vulgar and thus inferior. (p. 3)

In brief, language shift and revival influence language learning attitudes of Taiwanese people. The shift and revival of languages was influenced by language policy and changed the Taiwanese ideology and use of languages. However, as languages are attached to different ideologies, the use of one language can sometimes cause ambivalence and conflicts among different ethnic groups.

English as a Privileged Language

As mentioned above, while awareness of local languages has been heightening, Mandarin remains as the official language in Taiwan. At the same time, in addition to Mandarin, English also has a privilege of status in Taiwan. After World War II, the KMT government had heavy reliance on American economic, cultural, and political support. The modernist literature that had thrived in the 1960s had a twofold important influence on the intellectuals in Taiwan. On the one side was the liberation to appreciate Western literature rather than confining to primarily Chinese literature models. On the other side, modernist literature promoted the wholehearted acceptance of Western cultural colonization because Taiwanese intellectuals valued modernist literature and discredited local literature (Chen, 2002). As a result of the modernist ideology of the 1960s, English became the most promoted vehicle for access to Western thought and science. Still today, English is the only compulsory foreign language in elementary and middle schools.

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The important role English plays in the world, the fact that Taiwan subscribed to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2002, and governmental policies of language education in favoring of English each reinforced the prestige of English in Taiwan. To illustrate, in the early 2000s, in addition to learning local languages, more Taiwanese adults and students dedicated themselves to learning English in cram schools or through private tutors for utilitarian purposes (Tetrault, 2003). Also, in 2002, some people suggested making English as a second official language in Taiwan; in 2003, the Ministry of Education (MOE) joined the debates on whether to seek native speakers of English abroad in order to enhance English proficiency of Taiwanese students in elementary and middle schools. Therefore, because of the admiration of Western culture, the desire to meet the challenges of economic globalization and the governmental policies of endorsing English language education, English became a linguistic capital alongside Mandarin (Law, 2002). Language policies not only demonstrate a hierarchy of languages in Taiwan, but also indicate the Taiwanese people's desire to learning English as well as an acceptance of the fantasy of whiteness.

As I have said, Taiwan is a multilingual and multicultural society. Language ideology is closely connected with ethnolinguistic identity. Many researchers have agreed that different languages are attached to different kinds of social status in Taiwan. In his research on Identity in Taiwan, Tetrault (2003) found that there were different social stati attached to speaking Mandarin, English and Taiwanese in Taiwan, and that race was an issue of significance. English is deemed as the most prestigious language in Taiwan. Myths of native-speaker, standard, and accent have contributed to the privileged status of English in Taiwan. Price (2005) claimed in Taiwan, the North American rather than the British accent is considered ‒standard" in English

education institutions. Analyzing 100 job postings for English teachers on www.tealit.com, an acronym for Teaching English and Living in Taiwan, Price (2005) found that 45 postings require ―native speaker"; there are 14 positions that specifically request a North American accent, while only one position requests a British accent. He argues that a more valid explanation is that the ―KK" phonetic system is used in Taiwanese public schools, and that this pronunciation system is based on the perceived North American accent. Obviously, the white prestige promulgated by Taiwanese social, political, and economic forces has not only shaped the population of English teachers, but also created the hierarchical ideologies toward people from different ethnicities.

Whiteness and English Learning

The positive attitude toward English language is related to whiteness, Americanism in particular, in Taiwan. Chen (2006) claims that whiteness in Taiwanese society is related to Taiwan's relationships with China and the West. At the end of the Civil War in China in 1949, China became a communist society, and Taiwan decided to implement a democratic system to ensure a separation from China. Meanwhile, America supported Taiwan as much as possible to make sure Taiwan was separated from communist dominance. During the period of 1950-1970, the so-called American Aid Period, America was like a protector, supporting Taiwan militarily, politically, and economically. This created a strong dependence on America and caused Taiwanese to view Western countries and America as modern, developed, and economically powerful countries. Chen (2006) pointed out that Taiwan successfully transformed into a capitalist society from an industrialized one because of the adaptation of Western theories; this unspoken dependency on Western countries and the effect of globalization have made Taiwanese culture inevitably influenced by

Western culture. By extension, such an influence has also created a tendency to be submissive and respectful to the Whites. Moreover, since the KMT receded to Taiwan, the political status of Taiwan has been challenged and threatened by China; this unstable political condition has made the Taiwanese people long for the perceived democratic, stable, and liberal life in America. In all, whiteness is prevalent and visible in Taiwanese society due to factors such as Taiwan's relationships with China and America, its developing economic situations, and political movements (Chen, 2006).

The whiteness discourse in Taiwanese society is associated with capitalism and modernity. According to Chen (2006), the whiteness discourse include the following views: Whites hold higher social class and income, Whites have advanced civilization, Whites have the privilege of being native speakers of English, and the White world possesses political, economical and technological domination. The discourse of whiteness in Taiwanese society often translates to respecting the Whites and worshiping the West.

As a result, English language curriculum and pedagogy is influenced by America and English language is strongly promoted in Taiwan. For example, English is the only compulsory language as a subject in both elementary and middle schools except for the official language, Mandarin. English language teaching was first introduced in secondary schools in 1949, which held English classes six hours per week (Zhang, 1992). In 1998, the Ministry of Education (MOE) announced that English language education would move from junior high schools to elementary schools beginning in the year of 2001. The important role that the English language played in the world and the fact that Taiwan gained admission to the World Trade Organization in 2002 reinforced the prestige of English in Taiwan. For instance, in

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2002, some people suggested setting up English as the second official language in Taiwan. Also, in 2003, the Ministry of Education joined the debates of proposing to seek native speakers of English abroad to teach middle and elementary schools in order to increase the quality of Taiwanese students' English ability.

In addition to English language policy, the requirement of English proficiency and the current trend of studying English each show how whiteness functions in Taiwanese society. Since there is an increasing demand for English education in the name of globalization and joining the WTO, expectation in employment and education for good English in Taiwan increases as well. It is easy to see how English is promoted throughout Taiwan, especially in formal education and in terms of the language's perceived international importance. For example, recently, many companies set their own standards and criteria for recruitment, and many universities set thresholds of graduation asking that students achieve certain levels in tests of English language proficiency. Without a doubt, English is a hegemonic language in Taiwan. One result of the process of globalization is that investment in English language training is highly valued. It is often believed that English ability is a key to competing with others on the international scale. It is not surprising that there are more and more parents encouraging their children to learn English from kindergarten (before the official age of learning English). Many private institutions, the so-called cram schools, have been created to dissuade this anxiety. Business people think highly of the English teaching market including English teaching and learning materials and testing instruments, and derive a great deal of profit from them. The aspiration of learning English among Taiwanese people reflects their white prestige ideology. As Chen (2006) explained:

[T]he dominance of whiteness has been internalized by Taiwanese society.

Taiwanese are eager to adapt the white way of operating in the global society

with hopes of establishing a more prosperous economic future. To become

―white‖ is to obtain the privileges Whites have with regards to class and

wealth. Race is a symbol of wealth, better quality of life and social mobility.

(p. 184)

Hence, the discursive practices of English teaching and learning permeate the

ideology and privilege of whiteness as well as English language. People who can

better associate with ―white‖ or can speak good English are often associated as highly

educated, higher classed, and wealthy.

In brief, the background of language education policy in Taiwan not only

shows a hierarchy of desirability among languages in Taiwan and the use of language

as identity markers, but also reflects the desires of learning English and the fantasy of

whiteness among Taiwanese people. Languages, such as Taiwanese, Mandarin

Chinese, and English in Taiwan are often attached with different values, and

Taiwanese people use different languages to construct their identities. Taiwanese is

associated as being peasant or informal, but recently people tend to consider it as a

symbol of patriotism. Mandarin Chinese is viewed as a language of good education,

but influenced by the promotion of Taiwanese, perspectives on Mandarin Chinese

have become neutral. Influenced by the construction of whiteness in Taiwanese

society, English is usually seen as a language of the elite, and it represents high social

status, power, and privilege. The understanding of cultural, historical, and linguistic

background of Taiwanese people helps examine Taiwanese students' acceptance and

resistance to ESL composition classes. Understanding Taiwanese students' aspirations

of learning English and their internalization of the fantasy of whiteness help me

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interpret their acceptance and resistance as ways of identity construction and ideological implications. In the next section, I will discuss how the white prestige ideology embraced by Taiwanese students might influence their English learning.

English and National Identity

While the previous discussion asserts languages as markers of ethnic identity in Taiwan, Tse (2000) argued that rather than claiming a Taiwanese national identity through languages, Taiwanese people construct a sense of belonging through their identification with Taiwanese society, history, and culture, saying,

> There is surely a rising sense of group identity in Taiwan today, but this emergent new identity is characterized more by the shared feelings among the people toward the island on which they live, Taiwan, toward modernity, toward successful economic development, toward the affluent life style they cherish, toward the uncertainty in relations with mainland China, and toward the newly obtained political freedom through democratization, than toward language as such. (p. 163)

What is more, some scholars (e.g., Kowal, 2002; Tetrault, 2003; Price, 2005) have pointed out that functions of English language are not only for utilitarian purposes, but also for fostering national identity as well as gaining international recognition of Taiwan. Kowal (2002) has made the presumption that the broad use of English in Taiwan will help cut the bond with China. Since Taiwan has joined the membership of WTO, local business people are encouraged to improve their English to escape from the fetters of trading with mainly Chinese-speaking people in China. Avoiding isolation in the world, Kowal (2002) has suggested that Taiwan needs a new language, saying,

The unpleasant implication of staying entirely within a Chinese-speaking

commercial fold is that Taiwan becomes economically bound to China. The

alternative is to develop stronger economic ties with the rest of the world by

accelerating the use of the international medium of English. In a time of

economic uncertainty, the lure of financial gain through the use of Chinese as

the main language of commerce serves as a bait in a trap. It also paints Taiwan

into not only a linguistic corner, but a political one as well. (p. 8)

Similarly, Tetrault (2003) has pointed out while English and Americanisms are often

subconsciously associated as unquestionably good in competing in the global context

by Taiwanese people, ―English is able to open Taiwan up to alternative international

discourses and cultural spaces that may facilitate the rejection of the corporate world

view" (p. 119). Finally, Price (2005) has asserted that Taiwan wants to increase its

visibility on the international stage and maintain its superiority in global export and

international finance, thus the political and financial elite are required to speak

English which is the dominant diplomatic and economic international language.

Moreover, he noted that Taiwan is internationally considered to be one of the

provinces of China; the trend of English teaching in Taiwan reflects the fact that

Taiwan is seeking international recognition as a legally sanctioned country.

The learning of a language can shape the ways a nation thinks about itself and

represents itself to the world. The issue of how Taiwan can gain a new standpoint in

the international stage through English learning can be analogized with the Hong

Kong experience of English use. Hong Kong English is likely to become a distinct

variety of English in the near future (Joseph, 2004). There is a close analogy between

these two phenomena (i.e., Taiwanese English and Hong Kong English). According to

Tsui (2007), Chinese (referred to Mandarin) as an official language movement from 1964-1971 and the growth of China had influenced people in Hong Kong to carry more positive attitudes toward Mandarin and Mainland China. However, in the 1970s, the development of economy in Hong Kong resulted in shaping a new Hong Kong identity. Because of economic growth began in the 1970s, people in Hong Kong became affluent, social welfare was improved, and the establishment of highways and mass-transit railways changed the outlook of Hong Kong. Also, from 1970s-1980s, local history, local culture, and local identity gradually emerged through Cantopops, Cantonese drama series, Cantonese movies, and narration of documenting social and economic success in Hong Kong. A shared memory for people in Hong Kong is thus created and Hong Kong becomes a city of opportunities that rewards hard work, a city with a promising future, a cosmopolitan city where the East and the West meet, and a city every Hong Konger should be proud of (Tsui, 2007). After the British retreated from Hong Kong and transferred sovereignty to China in 1997, a decline in English standards and an emergence of Hong Kong English have been observed because there is an "emergence of a syntactically distinctive Hong Kong English with clear interlanguage features" (Joseph, 2004, p. 139). Joseph (2004) argued against the observation of the decline in English standards, stating that ―From this point of view the ‗myth‗ of declining English in Hong Kong is a type of linguistic snobbery" (p. 139). So far Hong Kong English is considered as a mistake-- a derogatory fashion compared to Standard English. The distinction between good English (Standard English) and bad English (Hong Kong English) has influenced Hong Kong students' attitudes toward and perspectives on language learning. However, Joseph has claimed that Hong Kong English will begin to emerge and be granted its standard status rather than as a departure one "when teachers come to recognise that the 'errors' in Hong

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Kong student's English . . . are precisely the point at which a distinct Hong Kong identity is expressed in the language" (p. 161).

The process of localizing English language in Hong Kong is relevant to Taiwan in three ways. First, the deviation of English (Taiwanese English) is also considered as bad English. The second similarity is the possibility of developing Hong Kong English and Taiwanese English as distinct varieties of Standard English. Finally, local languages (Cantonese or Taiwanese) and English might become a linguistic habitus in creating a national/cultural identity different from China's. In all, languages do not merely identify their speakers' ethnic and social identities, but also play an important role in constructing national identity and social solidarity.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how the promotion of English and dominant ideologies perpetuates unequal relations between local and Western white countries. I have also talked about how multilingual writers' adopt stances of accommodation and resistance to such ideological forces. I further discussed how identity and investment play an important role in learning of L2 literacy. Finally, I contextualized the study by reviewing historical, cultural, social, linguistic backgrounds in Taiwan and connecting previous literature within the Taiwanese context.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The Goals of the Study

A group of Taiwanese exchange students studying in an English language program in an American university inspired me to conduct this research. As a student adviser in the language program, I had regular meetings with these students, and thus had more chances to become aware of students' perspectives as well as their true voices. Sometimes they complained, and sometimes they talked about classes or teachers they enjoyed. Most of these Taiwanese students were strongly motivated and were eager to learn about the English language and American culture. Based on my own observation through regular meetings and informal conversations, most of the time, they would enjoy one class because they felt that they learned something useful. In contrast, they would dislike a class or a teacher because they could not apply class materials to their needs. Like most students, they participated and worked hard in classes they loved; they skipped classes and forgot homework in classes they did not enjoy that much.

But how do these students define ―useful classes‖ and what is the defining process? This is my assumption: the white prestige ideology of Taiwanese students influences their expectations of English writing classes. I have indicated how Taiwanese students are eager to learn ―good English writing‖ from ―white‖ teachers due to the prevalent white prestige ideology in Taiwan. If Taiwanese students can write in an ―American way,‖ meaning logical and well-organized, they are more likely to be able to construct prestigious identities such as good writer, well-educated student, etc. When these students go abroad to study English language carrying white prestige ideology, they are expecting to learn ―authentic‖ academic writing from their

American teachers. Therefore, when a teacher in the language program asks the students to write narratives or design a travel brochure, they might feel that the class is not meeting their desires and needs. This is one possible way of how the students define a useful class. The so-called disruptive behaviors become means for the students to resist teaching instruction and to negotiate alternative identities.

Having the experience with these students and as a teacher myself, I feel that there is a need to hear students' side of the classroom story and see what they have to say about their so called "disruptive behaviors." As a teacher, sometimes I judge students based on their performance in class and on homework. I viewed those students who skip classes or homework as bad students and felt that they were wasting their time having fun. However, after being a student adviser and having more contact with these Taiwanese students, I have a different perspective on students' disruptive behaviors. I found that those who were good students in my eyes sometimes slept in class or skipped classes. But that did not necessary mean that they were bad students. Many questions came up: why do these Taiwanese students like or dislike certain courses? What do they need? What do they mean by useful classes? How are their preferences or ideology influenced by cultural, historical, social, educational factors? How do these factors influence their learning patterns and behaviors? I started to think that there might be hidden stories behind the so-called disruptive behaviors as I illustrated in the above anecdote. Therefore, I would like to explore Taiwanese writers' disruptive behaviors as ways of resistance and identity construction through student perspectives and possible social factors causing their learning performance. Understanding factors influencing learning patterns of second language writers can help teachers better understand their students and adjust teaching pedagogy.

Qualitative Paradigm

My purpose of doing this study is to explore how abstract sociopolitical forces influence second language (L2) learners' behavioral patterns in L2 composition classes. The study analyzes, explains, and describes student's accommodation and resistance to ESL composition classrooms and factors for the benefit of ESL teachers, administrators, and students. This work adds to previous ESL writing research by evaluating and describing how ideology and identity affect students' accommodation and resistance to ESL teaching practices, and ultimately, L2 students' language development. Rubin and Rubin (2004) stated that qualitative research is good at describing social and political processes—how and why things change. In this study, the main question is how L2 students' identity constructions and white prestige ideology influence patterns of their learning behaviors. I am looking for an approach that can allow me to explain and describe in depth. Because I need an exploratory research design to investigate students' behavioral patterns in ESL composition classes, using qualitative methods will best address my research questions.

I chose to conduct a qualitative study for many reasons. The distinction between qualitative and quantitative methodologies was the first issue I consider, pondering ways to approach my research questions. Considering assumptions and characteristics of qualitative research helped me find connections between research design and research questions. Although Denzin & Lincoln (2003) stated that definitions of qualitative research might mean different things in seven historically divided moments, generally speaking, qualitative research:

is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations,

including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p. 5)

In addition to offering the general definition, Denzin & Lincoln (2003) identified three key assumptions of qualitative studies in comparison with positivistic quantitative research:

1. Qualitative studies capture the individual's point of view, focusing on perspectives of the participants and their diversity.

2. Qualitative studies examine the constraints of everyday life, unlike quantitative studies which seek an etic science that tend to abstract the world.

3. Qualitative methods value and secure rich descriptions in social world.

Flick (2006) added one characteristic to qualitative studies which is important to my study:

4. Reflexivity of the researcher and the research—unlike quantitative studies, qualitative methods view communication of researchers as a part of knowledge instead of a hindering variable. The subjectivity of researchers and the researched become parts of the research process.

The characteristics and assumptions of the qualitative paradigm were well suited in my study where I explored student accommodation and resistance. The qualitative paradigm was helpful to examine relationships and interactions between students and teachers as these were exemplified in classroom behavior and represented in writing. The purpose of the study is to investigate reasons of accommodation and resistance from the students' standpoint with the goal of better

understanding their behavioral patterns and contributing to L2 teaching writing methods. The qualitative research paradigm allowed me to understand a phenomenon through consideration of various factors that influence student accommodation and resistance, rather than to control or isolate a single factor.

Moreover, I chose qualitative methods because they allowed a researcher to understand each participant individually and to communicate with readers. According to Rubin and Rubin (2004), quantitative research cannot necessarily communicate because numbers do not tell stories that are easily understood. Qualitative methods of data collection such as observation and interview allow a researcher to understand participants and their perspectives individually. Since I was looking for information about how and why L2 writers' disruptive behaviors take place, my study focused on description and process; thus, I decided the best methods of data collection to be class observation, student and faculty interview, and document analysis. It is important to note that in this dissertation, when I mention ―behavior,‖ I am referring to the behaviors manifested from the class observation, and not the theory as an action.

Considering my purpose of the study with the qualitative paradigm in mind, I developed a more specific research methodology which I discuss in the following sections. I first describe research settings and participants, then discuss data collection and analysis.

<div align="center">Research Settings</div>

After I have goals for research, I need to select a suitable research site. Marshall and Rossman (1989) suggested:

> The ideal site is where (1) entry is possible; (2) there is a high probability that a rich mix of many of the processes, people, programs, interactions, and/or structures that may be a part of the research question will be present; (3) the

researcher can devise an appropriate role to maintain continuity of presence

for as long as necessary; and (4) data quality and credibility of the study are

reasonably assured by avoiding poor sampling decisions. (p. 54)

Next, I explain how the research site met these criteria and followed by a description

of the site.

Language Institute in America

The research site, a language institute in a university in western Pennsylvania

in the United States, met Marshall and Rossman's (1989) criteria for the present study.

First, with a strong commitment to effective curriculum, the language institute permits

and encourages research, and thus provides the entry Marshall and Rossman

suggested. The second criterion was also fulfilled because of student and teacher

diversity in the institution. The language institute serves students from all over the

world; ESL instructors are a mix of American, European, Asian, and Middle East

teachers. As an ESL instructor in the language institute, the chosen site, I had entry to

the institute with director's permission. Also, collegial relationships with instructors

allowed me to have entry to the ESL writing classrooms. My access to the institute

and writing class met Marshall and Rossman's third criteria for an ideal research

setting.

The language institute offers an intensive ESL program of non-credit courses.

Courses are offered each fall, spring, and summer semester. The intensive program

includes Provisional (P), English for Academic Purposes (EAP), English for Specific

Purposes (ESP), English for Visitors (EV), and the Bridge Program. When

international students do not meet the language proficiency requirement to enter the

university, they study language as P or EAP students for one or two semesters before

they enter a full time degree program at the university. ESP and EV are offered only

with special arrangement. Advanced students who get a TOEFL score no lower than 20 points (paper test) below a department's admission requirement can begin taking credit courses while studying at the language institute. Normally, a Bridge student takes three language courses and one or two credit undergraduate or graduate courses.

There are usually four or five levels of classes in the language institute, and students are assigned to different levels according to their English language proficiency (i.e., TOEFL score). Students who have lower English proficiency are placed in the Green level as a beginner level. Courses offered in this level introduce basic English language skills with a focus on cultural exploration, such as American Idioms, Write from the Start, Exploring American Life, Listen to me, Speaking Out, and Intro to English Grammar. The next level is White level which is for high-beginners. Courses in this level teach daily life vocabulary and literacy with a focus on language fluency and English communicative skills, such as Interactive Listening, Reading Stories, Conversation Practice, Communicative Grammar and Basic Writing. The Orange level is for intermediate students. Instructors in this level introduce basic English academic skills such as Reading Academic Themes, Listening to Academic English, and Writing for Academic Purposes. High-intermediate students are placed in the Yellow level. Courses taught in the level help enhance ESL students' English academic skills, such as Advanced English Grammar, Advanced Written Communication, and Academic Reading. Finally, the Blue level requires advanced English proficiency and prepares students to enter the academia. It offers courses such as Writing for TOEFL, Advanced Oral Communication, and Read Across the Curriculum. Table 2 shows the five levels and their required language proficiency.

Table 2

Five Color Levels and English Proficiency Based on TOEFL Scores

Level	English Proficiency	TOEFL Scores (PBT)	TOEFL Scores (iBT)
Green	Beginner	300-350	17-20
White	High-beginner	350-400	20-32
Orange	Intermediate	400-450	32-45
Yellow	High-intermediate	450-470	45-52
Blue	Advanced	470-490	52-57

The levels and courses offered vary depending on student enrollment and student needs. When I collected data in the Fall 2008 semester, the language institute offered five levels and four writing courses, namely: Write from the Start with Photography (Green and White level), Writing for Academic Purposes (Orange level), Advanced Written Communication (Yellow level), and Writing for the TOEFL (Blue level). Instructors of the writing courses were able to choose their own teaching materials and design their own courses based on the descriptions offered by the institute. In the following I provide a description of each writing course and introduce each instructor in terms of their backgrounds, teaching philosophy and goals.

Write from the Start with Photograph

> Course Description (Section I): This course is designed primarily to give students practice in writing skills. Students will practice writing sentences, descriptions and short stories that coordinate with the photographs they take. Students will express ideas with a wide range of written English sentences, utilizing the photographs as inspiration.

> Course Description (Section II): This course is an introduction to writing and composing in English. It is the first course in writing for the EFL students intending to study at an American college or university. We will progress, step-by-step, through the writing process. Students will focus on the development of the paragraph as they primary skill to master.

This course was for Green and White-level students. When I collected data, the writing instructor, Cat, had personal emergency and could not continue teaching. Thus, one of the teachers from the institute, Yunhee, took over the course from the second section. Although both instructors used pictures as main resources for generating ideas in English writing, they had very different teaching philosophy and teaching practices.

Cat, who taught the course in the first section, was a female white American. Her main goals of the writing class were to help students to be more comfortable speaking and writing in English. The course centered on taking photos outside of the classroom and writing about the pictures. The class met twice a week; students went out to take pictures in one class, and organized photos, made PowerPoint slides, and wrote about the photos in the other class. Cat took the class to various places for picture taking, including downtown, university campus, and a museum. Students also took photos in social activities such as Halloween party. Cat gave a lot of space and freedom to the students. She wanted students to take pictures they like, and asked them to write one to two sentences for each photo according to their feeling and creativity. Also, Cat invited six American graduate students to the class as conversation partners. The class was usually broken down into small groups lead by one American conversation partner who would assist students in English writing as well as oral practices. Cat's approaches of using photos and having conversation partners in the writing class fulfilled her goal of helping students to write and speaking English comfortably.

In the second section, Yunhee started to teach the class since Cat could not continue teaching. Having a different teaching philosophy than the previous teacher,

Yunhee made some adjustments in terms of class goals, activities, and assignments, while trying to retain the approaches of photo taking and American conversation partners. Being educated in Korea, Yunhee told me that her teaching styles were more traditional, teacher-centered, and text-based. Her class was well-organized, and she gave explicit instructions with the aids of PowerPoint slides or handouts. Yunhee's main goal was to help students to write a paragraph instead of one or two sentences. The main focus of her teaching was on the development of a paragraph. That is, she wanted students to learn basic organization and transitional words in a paragraph. She mentioned many times in the interview about the importance of topic, supporting, and concluding sentences in a paragraph. Therefore, while asking the students write couple sentences about each photo, she also asked them to select three pictures and write a paragraph for each.

Writing for Academic Purposes

> Course Description: This course continues the learning to write process in English. Students will learn to write about short academic themes as well as journal responses to readings. In these writings, students will evaluate and revise drafts, use appropriate language and rhetoric, and communicate to reader. Themes are drawn from the content of various academic disciplines—business, science, technology, history—students will encounter as undergraduates.

Students in the Orange level took this class with Ingrid who was Swedish. The teacher's goal for the writing class was to help ESL writers be more comfortable with and confident in writing in English. She planned the course in a way that students would learn to express their ideas and organize their thoughts. In terms of writing skills, Ingrid was expecting a good mixture of content, organization, and the form from students' composition. That is, students would be able to develop ideas and at the same time pay attention to organization, grammar, coherence, and transition.

Ingrid used a textbook which was organized by different modes of writing with reading articles, example writings, language exercises, and writing prompts.

The class read articles about education, business, ethics, etc., and the teacher led class discussion about the issues. Then the teacher would show the example writings in the textbook and asked students to practice writing in different modes (i.e., compare and contrast, argumentative writing, opinion essays.) In class, students shared peer editing and revising, and sometimes the teacher corrected some common grammatical errors appeared in students' writings. As for class evaluation, Ingrid had simulation of the TWE (i.e., TOEFL writing) for midterm and final exam.

While the students practiced writing English academic essays, they had a chance to write narratives. One of the writing activities in the class was to pick ten new vocabularies from the readings and write a story with those words. Ingrid felt that building vocabulary was important, and she assigned this activity so that students could practice using new words.

Advanced Written Communication

Course Description: This course focuses on essay writing and writing development at an advanced level. Students will learn the structure and components of essay writing (i.e. Topic sentences, organization, transitions, etc.)

The writing class was offered at the Yellow level. The instructor, Rachel, structured the course around different styles of writing (i.e., descriptive, explanatory, argumentative, cause and effect, and opinion writing). Her goal of the writing course was to help students learn writing skills that they would need for academic writing and to prepare them for academic requirements in university. Rachel's main purpose was to introduce the fundamentals of Western writing. She thought that good writing consists of a thesis statement, supporting arguments, and enough examples and details.

She did not expect students' grammar to be perfect, but she did work on specific points.

Students in the class were asked to research online on topics they did not know and write about it. They were given TWE prompts as midterm and final exams. Rachel wanted them to practice writing TOEFL writing and work on the five paragraph essay. In both exams, students wrote 30 minutes on topics assigned by the teacher. Rachel graded the paper the way similar to TWE so that students could get a sense of what their scores might be in a real TOEFL test.

Writing for TOEFL

Course Description: This course delivers daily-changing materials to help a student improve in writing essays for the Test of Written English (TWE), a required part of the TOEFL test. By following lectures and writing essays, students will observe incremental progress in their overall writing proficiency.

The course aims to offer a comprehensive introduction to the TOEFL writing along with academic writing. Specifically, it attempts to enhance learners' writing proficiency by offering substantial writing practices on a broad range of topics, and introducing genre features of academic writing.

This course was designed for advanced ESL students who were getting ready to undergraduate or graduate programs in universities. As the instructor of the course, Anna's main goal was to prepare students for TOEFL writing and academic writing in American universities. She wanted to familiarize ESL students with American academic writing styles (i.e., five-paragraph essays) and give them the idea of standard academic writing. In addition to organization, Anna also paid attention to grammar, spelling, and transition. She hoped that students could write not only for TOEFL essays, but also academic papers required by college professors. She had students work on peer editing and encouraged them to go to the Writing Center where

tutors could check students' writing in terms of organization, contents, grammar, and mechanics.

      She selected TOEFL writing topics for students to write in different writing styles: description, opinion, and agree/disagree. She would first introduce one writing style by explaining the purpose and organization of the kind of essay. Then she would give students sample essays so that students could get an idea of what it looks like. Anna would ask student to bring a draft next time to work on peer editing. After the peer reviewing and revising, students would bring their final draft to class have individual conference with the writing teacher. Sometimes Anna pointed out common mistakes students made and put them on the board, and sometimes she asked students to work on the grammar exercise on the Diane Hacker's website.

Table 3

ESL Writing Courses and Instructors

Course Name	Course Level	Instructor (Pseudonym)	Gender Race/Ethnicity	Teaching philosophy/ approach
Writing for TOEFL	Blue	Anna	Female White/ Russian	Prepare Ss for TOEFL writing and academic writing in American universities/ Ss write TWE prompts, work on organization & grammar
Advanced Written Communication	Yellow	Rachel	Female White/ American	Prepare Ss for university academic requirements/ Ss practice writing different styles of writing and TOEFL writing
Writing for Academic Purposes	Orange	Ingrid	Female White/ Swedish	Help Ss gain confidence in English writing; good mixture of content, form, and organization/ Ss write essays after reading articles in the textbook; simulation of the TWE for midterm and final
Write from the Start with Photography	White & Green	Section I: Cat	Female White/ American	Give Ss space & freedom; fluency in English speaking & writing/ Ss take pictures, write about it, and present it
		Section II: Yunhee	Female Asian/ Korean	Organized and explicit instructions; teacher-centered & text-based/ Ss write a well-organized paragraph with transition; remain parts of the photo taking assignments

University in Taiwan

  In this section I would like to describe the university my participants attended

in Taiwan, which informed their previous educational background. Before the

participants came to America as exchange students, they studied in Tamkang University at Lanyang campus. Tamkang University was established in 1950. It has four campuses: Tamsui, Taipei, Lanyang, and Cyber campus—each has a specialized area. Tamkang University has 11 colleges comprising 47 departments, 50 master's programs, and 17 doctoral programs. It has total student enrollment of 27,845 students with 2,181 faculty and staff members.

The Lanyang campus is situated on scenic Mt. Linmei in Chiao-hsi, I-Lan. It has been recruiting new students since 2005. The Lanyang campus comprises three colleges and eight departments with a student enrollment of 726. The College of Entrepreneurial Development has departments in Software Engineering, Information and Communications Technology Management, and Tourism and Hospitality. The Lanyang campus also has the College of Global Research and Development and the College of Community Development which consist of the departments of Global Politics and Economics, of Multiculture and Linguistics Studies, of Leisure Industries, of Operations Management in Service Industries, and of Landscape Architecture and Management. Moreover, it is noteworthy that 90% of the classes are taught in English, that students are required to go abroad in their junior year, and that all students and faculty are provided accommodation on campus.

<center>The Researcher</center>

The researcher's background, beliefs, and perceptions were important in a qualitative inquiry as they might influence data collection, analyses, and interpretations. Lather (1991) pointed out the importance of positionality and reflexivity in postmodern research, suggesting researchers accounting for the ways in which ―our invested positionality shapes our rhetoric and practice‖ (p. xvii). This view obliges me to give a description of my background and my investments in this

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study. I decided to study this topic with this group because of my background as a middle class Taiwanese student and teacher who has participated in the learning of English writing, first from an inferior position and subsequently from an empowered position in America, where I have observed my own accommodation and resistance to Standard English academic writing.

In Chapter One, I described the widely spread white prestige ideology and strong investment in English learning in Taiwan. Belonging to this background, I never questioned learning topic sentences in college composition classes in Taiwan. Whatever came from the West was good at least that was what I thought as a college student. In my junior year, I had a chance to go abroad to study at an American university as an exchange student for one year. I complied with English writing rules and norms in order to be accepted in the community; meanwhile, I felt my L1 heritage was downplayed. After graduating from college, I came to America to pursue my Master's degree. Upon my arrival in the new academic community, I felt a sense of inferiority and othering by my non-native accent. Later on, I realized that white prestige is fallacious; I am empowered by the concept of multi-competent language users (Cook, 1999). Two years later, I began my journey as a doctoral student and found myself resisting the native norms. (See Chapter One for a more detailed description.)

I struggled in my experiences of learning English writing, as I was constructed as inferior and other to the norm of native speaker English writing. These encounters with nativespeakerism and white prestige ideology had negatively influenced my identity formation. The learning experience was also liberating as I no longer see myself as a deficient English user and begin to value my L1 rhetoric as well as alternative ways of writing. My experiences of English writing, especially the

possibility that identity formation and white prestige ideology can influence ESL learners to respond differently to English writing instructions, inform this study. I assume that my participants who had grown up in a similar background would have similar experiences and struggles. One of my goals in this study is to explore more about ESL writers accommodating/resisting to English writing instructions because I realize that my experience is only one of the many stories of learning English writing.

Research Participants

In order to study student accommodation and resistance to English writing instruction in a language institute in America, two important criteria in the study were that students had to be raised in Taiwan and enrolled in composition classes in the language institute in America. Although I have discussed the historical, cultural, and linguistic background of Taiwanese students, I will more specifically describe the methodology in this study. In the following I describe the participants' background in terms of age, English proficiency, previous education, the homogeneity of the populations, etc.

All of the participants speak Mandarin as their first language, and some of them can speak local languages such as Hakka or Taiwanese. Their levels of English proficiency vary from TOEFL score of 300 (iBT=15) to 523 (iBT=69). The placement in the language institute was based on students' TOEFL score. Students were placed into five levels according to their English proficiency. The participants were enrolled in composition classes in one of the five levels.

The participants were exchange students from Tamkang University at Lanyang campus in Taiwan studying at a midsized university in the Middle Atlantic States region. They were 19-20 years old from different majors. Many of them came from middle class families with a mixture from big cities and rural areas. Most of the

participants had been good and motivated students. Since most of the courses were taught in English when they were in Taiwan, these students had been exposed to English language and instruction in their freshman and sophomore year. The amount of English writing assigned to students varies depending on their majors and teachers. Most of the courses were taught by Taiwanese teachers.

In addition, the homogeneity of the participants is observable. My research participants are very similar in terms of their prior education, economic status, and socialization. They have been educated in the same university for two years and socialized in the Taiwanese community which shares similar values and habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). Hence, it is likely that they share similar ideologies (e.g., white prestige ideology, native-speaker ideology, and English language ideology). Finally, the population was a self-selected group of students who elected to study in the United States. As a self selected group, they may have adopted the same ideologies even more than the typical population of Taiwanese before coming to the United States.

Table 4

Background information of the research participants

Name	Gender	Age	Yrs of English Instruction	Placement in the language institute
Gill	Female	20	8	Green
Brian	Male	20	10	Blue
Angela	Female	20	12	Green
Meg	Female	20	10	Yellow
Vicky	Female	20	12	Orange
Nick	Male	20	12	Orange
Jeremy	Male	20	9	Green
Lee	Male	20	8	Orange
Danielle	Female	20	11	Orange
Monica	Female	20	12	White
Gloria	Female	19	15	Blue
Wei	Male	20	13	White

Participant Selection

Erlandson et al. (1993) noted that ―purposive sampling‖ is central to naturalistic and qualitative research since the purposes of the researchers are to ―maximize discovery of the heterogeneous patterns and problems that occur in the particular context under study‖ and to ―increase the range of data exposed and maximize the researcher‗s ability to identify emerging themes that take adequate account of contextual conditions and cultural forms‖ (p. 82). Patton (1990) also pointed out that the reason to use purposive sampling of selecting research participants is to collect ―information-rich‖ data, saying:

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 research, thus the term *purposeful sampling*. For example, if the purpose of an evaluation is to increase the effectiveness of a program in reaching socioeconomic groups, one may learn a great deal more by focusing in-depth on understanding the needs, interests, and incentives of a small number of carefully selected poor families than by gathering standardized information from a large, statistically representative sampling of the whole program. The purpose of purposeful sampling is to select information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the questions under study. (p. 169)

I considered criteria in selecting research participants. My original plan was to collect data from eight students (two from each level) from whom I might get information-rich data; I ended up having twelve students. The first step was to observe four writing classes with instructors' permission. Then I sent out recruitment email to 19 Taiwanese exchange students who were registered in the language institute. 12 out of 19 students responded and showed interest in my project. After selecting the student participants, I also asked their writing teachers to participate in the study.

<div align="center">Ethical Concerns</div>

All of the participants volunteered to participate in the research and were willing to spend the requisite time and cooperate with the research activities. A consent form was signed by each participant. All participants retained a copy of the consent form with my contact information so that they could contact me if they have

any questions or wish to withdraw participation anytime. The aim of the research and methodology used for the study were explained to the students. They were also informed that participation in the study was entirely voluntary, and that no incentives would be offered. I let them know that their name and information would be kept confidential and that they could choose their own pseudonym. They also understood that they would be free to withdraw from the study at anytime without harming their grades and that their documents would be demolished. An IRB Protocol for the Protection of Human Subjects was filed with the Graduate School.

<p style="text-align:center">Research Design</p>

Research design is like a blueprint which guides research in construction. Researchers will be lost or lose their focus if a study is not well-planned. Thus, I tried to map out my plans ahead so that I would not get lost. In this section I present design decisions which aim to develop a clear and reliable plan along with flexibility of data analysis and interpretation in qualitative research.

The context of my research was ESL composition classes in a language institute in America. My participants were twelve Taiwanese exchange students in four ESL composition classes. In order to gain access, I obtained permission from their writing instructors. After I gained permission to observe in the writing classes, I selected students who were willing to participate in my research based on my detection and observation of students' participation and discussion in class. Then I examined the participants' writing assignments and conducted interviews. Table 5 outlines a basic research design, showing data collection and data analysis methods organized by research question. In the section that follows, I point out my research questions and describe specific procedures of data collection and data analysis related to them.

Table 5

Relationship between Data Collection/Analysis Methods and Research Questions

	Research Question	
	How do Taiwanese students accommodate and resist ESL writing instruction?	How do identity and white prestige affect their reactions to writing instruction?
Data Collection	Student interview Classroom observation Document analysis	Faculty interview Student interview Classroom observation
Data Analysis	Transcription Examining and arranging field notes Categorizing and designating behavioral patterns Identifying emergent themes	Transcription Editing field notes Categorizing and identifying emergent themes

Data Collection

Data collection took place over the course of a 14-week semester. This study used a combination of three qualitative methods including class observation, document analysis, and faculty/student interviews, so that the research would be more credible. Student interviews and classroom observation were the main instruments designed to answer two research questions; document analysis particularly addressed the research question of how students accommodate and resist ESL writing instructions; faculty interviews identified approaches of teaching ESL writing and helped answer second question of how identity and white prestige play a role in student reactions to writing instruction. I analyzed data collected from the three

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sources from twelve Taiwanese students at the language institute in an American university. I investigated the participants' attitudes and engagement in academic discourse communities as well as emotional reactions resulting from teaching practices.

Class Observation

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) proclaimed that qualitative inquiry focuses on the richness of a world that is socially constructed, so it is multimethod in focus. Multiple methods of data collection can capture as many aspects of the lived world as possible in a particular educational context. Adler and Adler (1994) characterized observation as ―the fundamental base of all research methods" (p. 389). Also, Guba and Lincoln (1981) explained the power in observation, stating:

> Observation . . . maximizes the inquirer's ability to grasp motives, beliefs, concerns, interests, unconscious behaviors, customs, and the like; observation . . . provides the inquirer with access to the emotional reactions of the group introspectively. (p. 193)

The power of observation indicates that class observation is appropriate in answering the research questions posed above. To understand behavioral patterns and emotional reactions of students in ESL composition classes, I needed access to participants' learning practices, attitudes, and reactions. Classroom observation allowed me such access.

Moreover, class observation aided me in refining my interview questions. As Erlandson et al. (1993) suggested, sources of data interact with and enrich one another. They particularly point out the interaction between interview and observation, saying, ―The interview provides leads for the researcher's observations. Observation suggests probes for interview" (p. 99). Whereas interviews allow a researcher to travel back

and forth in time, observations enable one to gain first insight in the constructed realities (Erlandson et al., 1993). Observation thus plays an important role connecting experience and language with the constructed realities of the participants. These direct class observations provided insights into my research topics and led to interview questions. For instance, students' behaviors and attitudes such as lateness and indifference indicated the students' investment in the classes. Similarly, observations of class interactions added new dimensions for understanding power relations between teachers and students. In the data gathering process, interviews served to reinforce and clarify the whole picture.

Class observation also helped me identify student engagement or disengagement. Students' interactions with teachers and peers as well as their non-verbal cues in class indicate the degree of their resistance or accommodation. In order to do this reliably, a scale of student engagement (see Table 6) was created using patterns of resistance and definitions from McVeigh's (2002) categories. I decided the degree of student engagement in accordance with the scale in class observation, especially in the first couple observations when trying to do purposive sampling.

After the first two class observations, I conducted several class observations for each participant throughout a 14-week semester. Multiple observations per participant were needed because each observation allowed me to focus on one participant. Individual participant had different experiences and stories. After editing field notes, analyzing interview transcriptions, or written texts, I focused on a particular theme/issue with certain participant. Every single case was important in different ways. Because of this commitment to individuality, 2-3 observations per participants were conducted. The first two class observations served as a means of selection of research participants and understandings of general class climate, so I did

not focus on one particular participant. I adopted Erikson's (1986) general strategies

to reduce the amount of information lost in the process of classroom observation,

which are 1) take a different angle each time observing, 2) take notes and take time to

think after each observation, 3) try various kinds of participation, 4) systematically

look for discrepant cases, and 5) include machine recording. Also, during the class

observation, I took field notes and did member checks on my own observation

through informal conversations with students. This allowed me to build a rapport with

the students and increase trustworthiness in later individual interviews.

Table 6

Scale of Student Engagement

Student engagement	Resistance	Neutral	Accommodation
Frequency	Always/Often	Sometimes	Occasionally/Seldom
Category & definition	Absence: Repeating absences and absent during important evaluation period		
	Not responding & pretending not to know: Ignoring the teachers or pretending no to understand the question or instructions		
	Neglect & forgetfulness: Students tend to forget things such as pens, notes, papers, texts, assignment deadlines, last week's lecture, and etc.		
	Indifference: Sleeping in class, daydreaming, not taking notes, not completing assignments		
	Inaccuracy: Disregarding lecture points, failing exams, appalling term papers		
	Rudeness: Incessantly arriving to class late, making noise, chattering, snickering at lectures, ignoring simple requests		

Documents

Addressing my first research question: how do Taiwanese students resist and accommodate to ESL writing instruction, I collected all student written assignments which were requested by writing instructors and made photocopies. The question aims to identify Taiwanese students' responses to composition classes and the ways they responded. In addition to classroom behavior and teachers'/students' own perspectives, students' writing assignments helped answer this question. In other words, examining students' writing assignments helped understand how students resist and comply with ESL writing instruction. Student writing indicated the degree of their collaboration with teachers and thus showed students' attitudes and reactions to the teaching practices they experience. I made a copy of student writing assignments and reviewed them with the cases once they were available. If I discovered insights or signs of resistance from a writing of a particular student, I paid more attention to the student during the class observation (I discuss how I find out about the presentation of the assignment in the section of data analysis). I compared the examination of student writings with my class observations and combine two sources of data. The student writings and class observations led to interviews with the participants. The conclusions or interpretations drew from the two sources could be further validated and explained by subsequent individual interviews. As I have mentioned above, observations offered experiences of how students construct realities, and shape interview questions.

Student Interviews

Although written text documents were good for illuminating writers' presentation and engagement in academic communities, interviews provided the

perspectives of the insiders. According to Patton (1990), qualitative interviews view others' perspectives as meaningful and knowable and as an access to others' perspectives. Therefore, one of the data gathering instruments in this study was an (one to one, a half hour) individual qualitative interview with each Taiwanese participant. During a 14-week semester, I conducted three semi-structured interviews with each student. The first interview asked for biographical information and educational experiences focusing on prior and current English literacy learning as well as perceptions of racial categories, English language, and the participants' native language. The second interview was mainly for the discussion of the students' written texts. The third interview addressed issues of identity, resistance, and accommodation in ESL composition classes. Follow up interviews will be conducted if necessary.

Patton (1990) pointed out that direct quotation from interviewees shows their emotions, thoughts, and perspectives in depth. I examined participants' viewpoints regarding their perceptions as a multilingual writer and affective responses within the L2 writing context. The participants' emotions, feelings, attitudes and opinions are important. I adopted Patton's model to conduct interviews, asking 1) behavior or experience questions, 2) opinion or value questions, 3) feeling questions, 4) knowledge questions, 5) sensory questions, and 6) background/demographic questions.

The six types of interview questions addressed my research questions in various ways. Behavior or experience questions helped me to understand students' participation and engagement in class, reactions to writing instruction, and their interactions with peers or students. For example, I asked the students: ―What did you do when class instructions did not meet your needs?" This type of questions helped indicate how students resist and accommodate to teaching instructions. The second type of interview questions asked opinion or value questions. This type of questions

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was likely to find out students' perspectives or ideologies of white prestige, English language, learning, teaching, etc. I asked questions such as: "What does "better English" mean to you?" "In your opinion, what comprises 'good writing'?" "Who decides what is better or good?" Feeling questions in my study showed participants' overall feelings concerning learning experiences and interactions in ESL composition classes. For instance, I asked students whether they think writing in English is different from writing in Chinese; if yes, I would ask them how difficult it really is to write in an American way. I invited students to express personal thoughts and feelings. As to knowledge questions, they provided students' understandings of learning English writing. In the present study, I view knowledge as understandings gained by actual experience. I found out whether students achieve expectations of their writing teachers or they simply did not want to follow teachers' instructions. One of such questions was: How would you write [a topic] in your first language and in English? Sensory questions identified subtle and instant feelings of students concerning a particular event or interaction. To illustrate, I asked students to recall a situation when their writing teachers asked them to do something but they did not want to. After they described the instance, I asked how they feel about it. Finally, background and demographic questions revealed background information of participants, such as age, first language, and previous (English and writing) education. In all, Patton's (1990) model of interview questions helped me think through the design of questions in a more holistic way.

Moreover, as Erlandson et al. (1993) suggested, I used the same vocabulary that the interviewees use, used words that they understand, and avoided jargon, avoided multiple questions, leading questions, and yes/no questions. All interviews were semi-structured in design. According to Erlandson et al., it is important for a

semi-structured interview to have a well-organized plan which is feasible to explore

issues around the central idea. Providing flexibility in the interview process, I

developed questions as the interview progresses. I tried to relax students and

encouraged them to talk freely about their experiences regarding learning to write in

English. I hoped that the participants were able to talk about not only their resistance

to writing instructions, but also their perspectives on white prestige and identity.

Throughout the interviews, I viewed my informants as worthy and tried to let

them feel respected. At the end of the interview, I thanked the participants for their

cooperation and knowledge. I followed up with thank-you notes (Erlandson et al.,

1993) indicating that their information is valuable.

Member checking. After each interview, I reviewed and summarized my

understandings and interpretations. Then I emailed the participants my summaries and

asked for their feedback. I also asked them to explain or elaborate if I was not sure

about their points. Erlandson et al. (1993) claimed that this helps provide the

participants opportunities to clarify the researcher's mistakes or confusions.

Faculty Interviews

Faculty interviews with writing instructors were explanatory in nature, trying

to understand teaching goals, objectives, and materials used in ESL composition

courses. Although the faculty interviews did not directly answer the research

questions, they helped me understand what kinds of approaches students were

accommodating to and resisting, and thus were indirectly related to my second

question about white prestige and identity as factors influencing students' investment.

After first two class observations and selection of student participants in two

weeks, I conducted one interview with each instructor. I obtained and read syllabus of

each writing instructor prior to the interview. During the interview, I invited teachers

to discuss their approaches to ESL writing instruction. Then I used their syllabus of their writing courses and textbooks they were using. I asked them how and why they selected and developed the materials. Finally, we talked about their requirements and evaluation for the writing courses. Some possible interview questions include:

- How do you structure your ESL writing course?

- What do you expect your students will learn from the course?

- What characteristics a good writing contains in your class?

Data Analysis

I analyzed data during the data collection period as well as afterward. Stating that data analysis is tied closely with data analysis, Erlandson et al. (1993) contended that data analysis in qualitative research is engaged with a twofold approach: ―The first aspect involves data analysis at the research site during data collection. The second aspect involves data analysis away from the site following a period of data collection" (p.113). Therefore, I started the process of coding and analyzing once the data was available. In addition, coding was done according to authentic information, and the themes that emerged were based on these codes. The analyzing of data from the student writing and class observation was especially important because it made the subsequent interviews and observations more productive. The next two sections describe how I analyzed each type of data collected.

Interview and Observation Data

The data received from classroom observation and faculty/student interviews included journals of field notes as well as transcriptions of interviews and class observations. They were used to investigate the participants‘ identity construction and white prestige ideology of their English learning experiences in ESL composition

classes in influencing their resistance and accommodation to English writing

instructions. To analyze data obtained through observation and interviews, I followed

the procedure found in Erlandson et al. (1993) of analyzing data: 1) unitizing data, 2)

emergent category designation and 3) negative case analysis.

Initially, I broke the data up into units. Then, I read the first unit and created a

category, and then read the second unit; if it had similar characteristics with the first

category, I put it into first one. If not, I created a second category. I continued with

this until I put all the units of data into classified categories with titles or descriptions.

The precise definitions of the individual categories tended to emerge as the data were

examined, so I described clearly after I analyzed data. After the first and second steps,

I repeated the same steps until all units were put into fitting categories. Erlandson et al.

(1993) also noted that a researcher must allow new categories to emerge and empty

old categories into new ones. When I saw new categories that were more appropriate

than previous ones, I retired the old categories. Furthermore, there were some units

that fit multiple categories. After examining the title and description of categories, I

classified units into multiple categories if I thought that they still fit into many places.

After all units were put into one or more categories, I organized these

categories by creating themes such as cognition, emotion, language, people, social

context, and identity. Then I went back to each theme and tried to answer my research

questions. For the first research questions, I created seven stances of accommodation

and resistance; I listed all the units that showed the participants' behaviors under each

stance. This step helped me understand the students' behavior tendencies and come up

with a clear definition of each stance. For the second research question, I created four

categories that directly answered my question: identity, white prestige ideology,

discourses of identity construction, discourses of white prestige ideology. The

category of identity was organized by individual participant. I listed all the units of each participant's identity construction so that I could better understand how each student constructed their identities. The category of white prestige ideology was organized by themes which emerged in earlier analysis such as Americanism and white superiority. The discourses of identity construction and white prestige ideology were organized by discourses shared by most of the participants (e.g., It is important to pass exams and get good grades).

Next, I started to conduct individual analysis. I listed all stances an individual participant took and all units related to the participant's ideology, identity, and investment. The listing of units was followed by creating individual categories for each participant (e.g., good/hardworking student). After individual analysis, I tried to summarize the results of analysis. Addressing my research questions, some points I made in answering the first question include: Even though they thought they were not learning what they wanted, some students tended to find excuses to accept the courses; some students preferred their own way (Chinese way) of writing, but still adjust to a way that the teacher would accept. For research question two, part of the note include: English prestige in Taiwan→ White=American=good English proficiency→ native-speaker prestige is based on skin color→ English language is the social capital that Taiwanese desire.

I also thought about alternative interpretations of the data. Erlandson et al. (1993) recommended using dissenting or minority opinions after carefully reviewing the data and member check, saying:

> The researcher should feel comfortable including such report as dissenting opinion, given that this reflects the complexity inherent in the setting's context and that it enhances the opportunities for thick description. (p. 121)

This step was important as it raised the issue of contingencies of students'

accommodation and resistance.

Student Writing Assignments

As I mentioned above, student writing samples served to identify Taiwanese

students' main responses to composition classes and ways they responded.

Canagarajah (2004) created five categories of writing strategies multilingual writers

adapt when they negotiate for voice between two discourses based on his research

findings. To analyze the written texts, I adopted Canagarajah's categories of strategies

ESL writers use in composition classes: avoidance, transposition, accommodation,

opposition, and appropriation (see chapter two for more explanation of the five

strategies). These categories were helpful for the current study because they presented

different degrees of student engagement particularly in ESL written texts.

Utilizing the five categories, I tried to find out whether these categories

generalize to Taiwanese students in US context. After analyzing, I designated each

participant's behavioral patterns in English writing. During the process of data

analysis, new categories emerged since the participants' behavioral patterns did not fit

in the five categories. I created seven stances of accommodation and resistance that

the participants took in responding to ESL writing instruction. Then I compared the

behavioral patterns of the participants with each student participant's tendency of

responses based on interviews and classroom observation. I hoped this triangulation

would strengthen my interpretation about factors leading to students' resistance and

accommodation to writing instructions in ESL composition classes.

Trustworthiness

Multiple methods were used to triangulate the data and increase the credibility

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of the study. Also, Erlandson et al. (1993) stated that all data should be verified through member checks, saying ―member checking provides for credibility by allowing members of stakeholding groups to test categories, interpretations, and conclusions" (p.142). In order to see if my reconstruction was recognizable, I conducted member checks in several ways. After examining students writing and field notes taken during class observation, I tried to come up with interpretations. In the interviews, I had a member check to clarify or add information to my interpretations as mentioned in the earlier section. After the data collection, I had a member check in my informal conversation with my participants. After individual interviews with each participant, I gave the respondent a summary and interpretation of the interviews and asked for oral or written feedback. Finally, all the participants got a copy of the final analysis, and revisions were made in accordance with the participants' feedback.

Procedure

The study was based on a one semester-long research project. The data collection began in fall, 2008 and was finalized in December, 2008. Over one semester period, I gathered the participants' textual documents and conduct qualitative interviews as well as class observations. I ensured the triangulation of three sources (documents, interviews, and observations); consistency checks were made to coordinate the validity of data. Data analysis was processed during and after data collection. In the next chapter, I present the findings and data analysis of the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

International English language learners (ELL) have begun to show a wider

range of responses to composition classes than ever before. While much research

evaluates the struggles of L2 writers to fulfill assignments and evaluation, it does not

address the process of students' resisting or accommodating to teaching authority, nor

the roles of ideology, desire, and identity in the process of that resistance or

accommodation. This study discusses behavioral responses of L2 learners in ESL

composition classes and posits how sociopolitical factors, such as identity

construction and white prestige ideology, play roles in these responses.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how ideology and identity

construction influence ESL learners' accommodation and resistance toward college

composition classes in America. I intend to report findings that focus both on English

language learners' accommodation and resistance to writing classes and sociopolitical

factors such as identity and white prestige ideology. That is, I discuss the process of

students' accommodating and resisting authority, their identity investment in doing so,

and the roles of ideology, desire, and identity in the process of accommodation and

resistance. Using qualitative research and communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) as

well as imagined communities (Norton, 2001) as the theoretical framework, I focus on

and analyze behavioral patterns, as well as discourses of ideology and identity, of

twelve Taiwanese ESL writers who enrolled in American composition classes in the

fall of 2008 through students' classroom behaviors, interview transcripts, and writing

samples. The data analysis draws on assumptions underlying critical, postmodernist,

and poststructuralist theory in the ELT profession. Some essential elements of critical

theory are to question the unequal power relations of dominant sites and to unravel social, cultural, and political factors manipulating the status quo. Therefore, I attempt to offer an analysis which discusses how sociopolitical factors such as white prestige ideology and identity construction affect ESL learners' attitudes toward college composition instruction.

Results of this research indicate that various responses to ESL composition classes are manifested: unreflective compliance; active, suppressive, or transformational accommodation; meta-aware adaptation; and passive or oppositional resistance. More specifically, L2 students strategically adopt stances of accommodation and resistance that often involve identity (re)construction and ideological implications. I argue that their various responses are contingent and dynamic in nature, and that this contingency can be accounted for by the students' identity claims as well as by the white privilege ideology conveyed by the ESL composition teachers and students.

In this chapter, I argue that the participants in my study strategically took on stances of accommodation and resistance which involved ideological implications and identity construction responding to their ESL composition classes. My discussion begins with seven stances of accommodation and resistance that emerged in the process of data analysis. Here, I characterize the stances of accommodation and resistance and describe each category in terms of behavioral patterns, desires, attitudes, and beliefs. I continue by describing dominant discourses of white prestige ideology upon which participants drew to construct their identities as English language learners. Next, I explain how these discourses were mobilized in an ideological fashion to create and maintain certain identities when responding to the ESL writing curriculum. I follow by demonstrating how sociopolitical factors affect

student accommodation and resistance using individual cases. Finally, I discuss issues of contingencies and the dynamic nature of student accommodation and resistance in response to the authority of the ESL composition class teacher.

Stances of Accommodation and Resistance

Canagarajah (2004) pointed out that multilingual writers adopt strategies in five positions in ESL composition class: avoidance, transposition, accommodation, opposition, and appropriation. Canagarajah's model of English language learners' writing strategies was helpful for my data analysis in terms of interpreting student behavioral patterns. However, the five categories could not fully represent my participants' responses to teaching authority since they did not capture issues of identity and ideology; hence, new categories emerged in the process of data analysis.

In my study, students' accommodation and resistance of ESL composition instruction could be roughly divided into seven levels based on students' interviews, papers, and class observations: unreflective compliance; active, suppressive, or transformational accommodation; meta-aware adaptation; and passive or oppositional resistance. These levels which I call *stances* represent responses the research participants had during a certain period of time or to certain writing instruction. They are not discrete and unrelated; instead, the stances blend into each other. In other words, the seven categories are a continuum from the greatest accommodation and least resistance to the least accommodation and greatest resistance. In the following paragraphs, I will first define each stance and then describe the behaviors that manifest each from greatest to least accommodation.

- Unreflective compliance

Students tend to follow whatever a writing teacher says without thinking. They do what they must do or are asked to do. No matter what the teaching practices

are, they tend to conform to the teacher's authority and institutional requirements unreflectively.

- Active accommodation

Students have positive attitudes toward writing instructions; they try to follow the instructions on purpose. They desire to learn writing strategies introduced in the ESL composition class and change their original ways of writing. Some of them might complain a bit, but would blame themselves for their mistakes. Students tend to think the teachers' ways are the best.

- Suppressive accommodation

Students have negative attitudes toward the writing instruction but still accommodate to whatever teachers are asking for. They write according to instructed even when their goals of learning English writing are different from the teachers'. They might joke about the class or play around with classmates without letting the teachers know.

- Meta-aware adaptation

Students are treating the teachers' writing instruction as one possible way of composing and therefore make use of that instruction to the extent they find it useful, but they are aware that there are other ways of composing that may be more suitable to their needs in different contexts.

- Transformational accommodation

Students are trying to come up with a written "product" that has accommodated the teacher's writing conceptions either wholly or in a transformative way. In other words, they tend to take or accommodate or accept the teachers' writing instruction, but they discard or change what they see as unsuitable or unacceptable.

- Passive resistance

Students do not follow writing instructions that do not address their needs. If students desire to learn American ways of academic writing, they would resist to teaching practices that are irrelevant or have conflicts with their writing goals. They do not seek ways to improve the status quo, neither do they confront or negotiate.

- Oppositional resistance

Students tend not to follow the teachers' instruction and use their own ways to achieve their goals. If a writing teacher is not teaching academic English writing standards, students might see acquiescence to and identification with ―white prestige" English norm as their goal and therefore resist teachers' attempt to subvert that goal.

The following table shows each stance in detail in terms of its behavioral manifestations.

Table 7

Students' Behaviors of Accommodation/Resistance to Composition Instruction

Stances	Behavioral manifestations
Unreflective compliance	go to class on time; do homework; participate in class; do what is asked; minimal effort
Active accommodation	go to class on time; do homework; participate in class activity; complain a bit; blame self for mistakes
Suppressive accommodation	follow instructions; joke about the class or play around for fun without T's notice; complain in mind/private
Meta-aware adaptation	only follow instructions that are useful; selective accommodation
Transformational accommodation	partial accommodation; blend in own ideas with T's instructions
Passive resistance	go to class late or be absent; sleep or do other things in class; not respond or interact in class; be indifferent
Oppositional resistance	go to class late or be absent; sleep or do other things in class; put effort in doing things own way

Some behaviors were similar and some were distinguishable from one another. These behaviors showed how participants resisted or accommodated to ESL composition classes as well as how they took on stances differently or similarly.

Students who took on a stance of unreflective compliance tended to follow the teachers' instruction consistently. They attended classes on time and were rarely absent. They participated and interacted in class activities and discussion. They completed their homework and submitted assignments on time. Although these students were submissive, their efforts were minimal attempts to meet requirements. The level of active accommodation is similar to unreflective compliance in the sense

that students in both levels followed class instructions and fulfilled such basic responsibilities as going to class on time, completing homework, and participating in class. What makes these two categories different is that students who accommodated actively to class instruction occasionally complained about it, but they tended to blame themselves for their mistakes. Slightly different from unreflective compliance and active accommodation, suppressive accommodation is characterized by limited resistance. Like the previous two levels, students who fit this category followed instructions and conformed to class requirements. However, they complained about their writing classes to themselves or to others privately. Instead of blaming themselves for their mistakes, they shared their dissatisfaction with classmates or friends outside of class. Sometimes they joked about the class or played around for fun in class without the teacher noticing.

The level of meta-aware adaptation is selective accommodation: students only followed instructions that were useful for them. Similar to meta-aware adaptation, transformational accommodation is partial accommodation, in which students blend their own ideas with the teachers' instructions in doing required tasks in class. Finally, passive resistance and oppositional resistance are similar in that students did not do what they were asked to do. For example, they went to class late or were absent. They slept in class or did irrelevant things. They did not respond to teachers, nor did they interact in class. Their behavior was somehow indifferent or rude. However, students who took on the stance of oppositional resistance are aware of an alternative way of doing a task assigned; they disregard writing instructions and write in their own ways to achieve their goals.

I have discussed how Taiwanese students resisted/accommodated to ESL writing instruction in terms of the behavioral manifestations of the different stances

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they took on. For the purpose of the present study, I would like to further demonstrate how sociopolitical factors influence and interact with these behaviors. Students' accommodation and resistance to the writing curriculum was intertwined with their desires, attitudes, and beliefs (see Table 8).

Table 8

Attitudes/Beliefs/Desires vs. Stances

	Unreflective compliance	Active accommodation	Suppressive accommodation	Meta-aware adaptation	Transformational accommodation	Passive resistance	Oppositional resistance
Desires/ goals	Meets parents', teachers' & society's expectations; identity as good Ss	Legitimate membership in white academy; obtains social capital; white identity	Legitimate membership in white academy; obtains social capital; white & good Ss identity	Writes in different contexts appropriately; identity of equality	Maintains self identity; identity as good Chinese writers	Legitimate membership in white academy; obtains social capital; white identity	Legitimate membership in white academy; obtains social capital; white identity
Attitudes/ intentions	Just gets things done: exams, attendance, assignments	Positive attitudes toward instruction; tends to think T's way is the best	Negative attitudes toward instruction; obligated to accommodate	Follows rules/ institutional requirements; no better methods, just different	Obligated to accommodate; but modifies/changes if instruction is not adaptive	Negative attitudes: boring, not useful, too simple; lay back	Negative attitudes: boring, not useful, too simple; needs to improve it
Beliefs	Respects/accepts T authority; used to conforming to institutional requirements	White prestige ideology; inferior to L2 (culture); strong investment in English; respects/accepts T authority	T is not meeting S' desire to be identified with white academy; respects/accepts T authority	Aware of different ways of doing things; is practical	Strong/positive L1 identity	T is not meeting S' desire to be identified with white academy; avoids confrontations	T is not meeting S' desire for the tools or means to assimilate into the white academy; does what it takes to achieve goals even resisting instruction in class

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Students' beliefs came from their backgrounds and educational experience, cultural heritage, and commonly shared ideology in their L1 country. For example, respecting teachers and other authority is an importance ethic shared by Chinese people. Coming from that background, Taiwanese students are more likely to conform to their writing teachers' desires and they tend to construct identity as *good students* who follow teaching authority accordingly. Similarly, students' beliefs also interweave with their desires or goals to form their behavioral patterns in composition class. To illustrate, students' desires to gain legitimate membership of certain communities would affect their attitudes and behaviors toward writing instructions. Finally, attitudes or intentions of students depict their perceptions of the participants, which shed light on how each stance is different or similar. In what follows, I explain how the three components (desires, attitudes, and beliefs) are interrelated with students' accommodation and resistance in each stance.

Students who took the stance of unreflective compliance had beliefs which were used to respecting and accepting teacher authority and conforming to institutional requirements. Their goals were to meet the expectations of their parents, teachers, and society and to construct identity as *good students*. Their attitudes are mainly to get things done: go to class, submit homework, and prepare for exams.

The stance of active accommodation indicates students who were not only used to respecting and accepting authority but also had strong investment in English. Their behaviors were influenced by white prestige ideology which caused them to see themselves as inferior to members of the English community they are trying to join. Therefore, this group of students desired to obtain legitimate membership in the white

academy to gain social capital. They desired to construct white identity and learn about writing conventions in the target community. Most of the time, they had positive attitudes toward writing instruction, and they tended to think the teacher's ways of teaching and writing were the best.

When teachers were not meeting students' desires to be identified with the white academy, some students performed suppressive accommodation to instruction. They accommodated to the instruction because they had been taught to respect and accept teaching authority and they felt obligated to follow instruction, but when they were unable to become legitimate members in the white academy and obtain social capital, they tended to possess negative attitudes toward instructions that did not meet their needs or expectations. Constructing identity as *good students* was important for these students and that what kept them from resistance.

Students who fit the meta-aware adaptation category were aware of different ways of composing. They understood that there were no better methods. They tried to be practical and followed rules to meet institutional requirements. They were able to recognize varied conventions and to do things differently to fit into contexts appropriately. They constructed identity of equality in which different languages, cultures, and races had equal relations.

Students who had strong or positive L1 identity were more likely to accommodate to writing instruction in a transformational way. They desired to be able to maintain their self or L1 identity; they tended to construct identity of good Chinese writers. Therefore, while feeling obligated to accommodate, they also modified or changed instruction that was not adaptive.

When teachers were not meeting students' desires to be identified with the white academy, some students resisted composition instruction. Those who wanted to avoid confrontations (with teachers) resisted passively. They had negative attitudes toward instruction that could not offer them legitimate membership in the dominant (white) academy. They tended to describe their writing classes as boring, not useful, and too simple.

While some students were laid back and resisted passively to avoid confrontations, some took the stance of oppositional resistance when teachers did not provide the tools or means to assimilate into the white academy. They did what it took to achieve goals even resisting instruction in class because the teaching practices failed to address their needs to construct white identity. Although they had negative attitudes toward the class, they tried to improve themselves in their own ways to achieve their goals.

I have discussed thus far seven levels of students' accommodation and resistance in terms of four major components: behavioral manifestations, attitudes and intentions, desires and goals, and beliefs. The categories of students' accommodation and resistance are viewed as a continuum and the four components help better describe and provide criteria for each stance. Nevertheless, these levels are not discrete. They overlap somewhat but are distinguishable from one another based on criteria described in the four components. Next, I would like to present the sociopolitical factors that influence the student accommodation and resistance discussed above.

<center>White Prestige Ideology
and Identity Construction</center>

Having described seven stances which characterized students' accommodation and resistance to ESL writing instruction, I now turn to a discussion of the participants'

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discourses of white prestige ideologies and identity construction. The results of qualitative methods clearly linked students' behavioral patterns in ESL writing class to sociopolitical factors including investment, identity, and white prestige ideology. In what follows, I illustrate six discourses of white prestige ideology and five discourses of identity construction that influenced students' accommodation and resistance in ESL composition class. These discourses were most prevalent among the narratives of the participants and most mentioned by them. However, it is important to note that these discourses do not represent each individual. Thus, I will talk about each case individually in later sections.

From Discourses to Ideology

In the interviews, most of the participants expressed positive or even worshipful attitudes when they talked about their perspectives on white people and Western countries, as well as on English as a language and English learning. I call these perspectives that are commonly accepted by Taiwanese *white prestige ideology*. The data analysis indicated that whiteness is not a biological category; rather, it is discursively constructed. In what follows, I illustrate whiteness as a privileged signifier and describe the social construction of whiteness in Taiwanese society by summarizing common discourses manifested in the qualitative interviews with the students.

I view white prestige ideology from two perspectives: white superiority and native-speaker/English privilege. *White superiority* is mainly about the racial preference and prejudice of Taiwanese students. Generally speaking, Taiwanese students pointed out (1) their preference for white people, (2) the superior status and privilege of white people, and (3) racial discrimination against non-white people in Taiwan. The other perspective

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of white prestige ideology is *native-speaker/English privilege* which is a by-product of white superiority. Taiwanese often associate white people with native-speakers of English. Partially influenced by white superiority and the myth of the native speaker, therefore, the English language and native speakers of English enjoy predominant and prestigious status in Taiwan. The discourses of the two perspectives reveal white prestige ideology in Taiwanese society. It is important to understand the ideology because it is related to students' investments in the composition class as well as their accommodation and resistance to the teachers' authority. In the next section, I will first discuss discourses of white prestige ideology and then I demonstrate how the ideology plays a role in students' accommodation and resistance in ESL composition class.

White Superiority (Americanism)

In this section, I present four discourses that participants spoke about regarding white superiority and discuss how their learning was interrelated to such discourses. The first discourse shows the superior position of white people in Taiwanese society and the second discourse goes on to reveal privilege and special treatment that white people receive from Taiwanese. The third discourse further indicates the racial hierarchy in Taiwan: White (i.e., American and European) on the top, Taiwanese in the middle, and Southeast Asian and sometimes black people at the bottom. Finally, the fourth discourse illustrates how Americanism is predominant in Taiwanese perception of white superiority.

> *Ideology Discourse 1: White people are superior to Taiwanese in terms of such things as economy, politics, race, class, social status, skin color, and appearance.*

White prestige is an ideology commonly shared in Taiwanese society. Most of my participants showed their admiration of white cultures, people, and countries in the

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qualitative interviews. According to the participants, white people were superior to them in many ways. White, in their minds, represented a more civilized, advanced, powerful, wealthy, and high-class society than their own, which many Taiwanese worshipped. Kelly (2007) contended that this phenomenon stems from an absolute division that has been constructed between West and non-West. As Kelly (2007) noted, ―by viewing cultures as separate and bounded entities existing in isolation, the Orient appears as radically other. The West is constructed as masculine, democratic, progressive, dynamic, rational, and moral; the Orient as feminine, sensual, backward, and duplicitous" (p. 265).

In Taiwan, the phenomenon of white superiority was manifested in four aspects based on the perceptions and personal experiences of the participants: (1) interpersonal relationships between White and Taiwanese, (2) definition of beauty, (3) political interaction with the United States, and (4) studying English abroad.

Many of the participants pointed out that it was a great privilege to have white people as friends or to be in a relationship with them. When they saw white people in Taiwan, they would assume that the white people were rich and that they were in Taiwan to teach or travel, or on a business trip. Therefore, being with white people allowed Taiwanese to have higher social status and made other Taiwanese admire them. In a pub or club, Taiwanese girls were more likely to be on the initiative to accost male Caucasians so that the girls would possibly be able to go abroad, get a green card, and be a citizen in a white country. In that way, they could boost their social status and have many other Taiwanese covet them. White people were superior in that they were so wealthy and high-class that many Taiwanese people would like to be associated with

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them. The assumption of whiteness as a superior and privileged signifier revealed white prestige ideology in Taiwanese society.

Furthermore, Taiwanese were fond of white people because they admired and desired white skin color, which was perceived as charming and beautiful by Taiwanese. White skin color signifies lack of labor or outdoor work, in opposition to western view of tanned skin as indication of leisure and beauty. Almost every participant mentioned an old saying, ―A white complexion is powerful enough to hide seven faults," when they talked about why many Taiwanese preferred white skin. Some participants believed that the white race was better than other races and that many white people were more handsome and beautiful than Asians. As a result, the fact that Taiwanese desired white complexion indicated that their values of beauty were consciously or subconsciously influenced by the white prestige ideology.

The way the Taiwanese government interacted with the American government also affected Taiwanese people's perception of white superiority. For most Taiwanese, the United States was a big, strong country, and Taiwan was relatively small and weak. As the participants understood it, Taiwan was paying a good deal of money to the United States for old, used warships and airplanes. Since Taiwan was a small country, even though the prices were unreasonable, they would buy them. For the participants, Taiwan was pouring money on the United States to please the American government. ―White" then also means powerful and dominant. Some of the participants, thus, expressed their desires to be White and to become better educated and have a higher income so that they would not be oppressed by other countries.

Finally, Taiwanese people, especially parents, believed that by going abroad to study in white countries they could learn better English and get better education. For example, many participants told me that they were under great pressure to be smart and have good English ability when they came to the United States as exchange students because their families, relatives, and friends admired them and expected them to be outstanding in Taiwan after being educated in the United States.

To conclude, the discourse of white superiority was manifested in daily life practices such as interpersonal relationships, education, and the definition of beauty, as well as Taiwan's political policy with foreign countries. According to the participants, white culture, people, and education were superior and thus were looked upon by Taiwanese people as a means to boost their social status.

Ideology Discourse 2: Taiwanese people tend to give white people privilege or special treatment.

White people often received better and courteous treatment in Taiwan. Many participants spoke about how Taiwanese treated white people in a friendly manner, like they were precious. They reasoned that it was because white countries are powerful and better and because many Taiwanese worshipped foreign things and fawned on foreign powers. This attitude can be illustrated in terms of daily life interactions between Whites and Taiwanese, as well as in the job market. First, in normal daily life in Taiwanese society, Taiwanese were friendly with white people, and it is easier for white people to get away with behavior that would be unacceptable for Taiwanese. If they shopped in a store, they were more likely to get better service or discounts than Taiwanese people. Kelly (2007) pointed out similar experiences of white Americans being flattered in intercultural communication between U.S. American and Japanese:

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Japanese were almost always expected to speak English, show interest in the United States, compliment and flatter white Americans, and do what was possible to make white Americans feel good. When white Americans said something, Japanese were not supposed to contradict it. At the same time, though, we would criticize Japanese for being so reserved and unable to express themselves. (p. 269)

Kelly (2007) critically reflected on her experiences of communication between American and Japanese and argues that it is white American arrogance that is taking place. She admitted that she was taking advantage of her skin color, nationality, and culture. This situation is an ongoing phenomenon not only in Japan but also in Taiwan and other Asian countries.

In addition, the job market in Taiwan, especially in English teaching positions, privileged white people. When Taiwanese and white people applied for the same job with similar qualifications, white people had better chances to be hired and probably got higher salaries. They got the job because their employers assumed that white people were native speakers of English. Kelly (2007) pointed out the similar hiring policy in Japan: "It was generally understood that English teachers would be white, even if not native speakers and that native speakers of other colors would usually not be hired under 'nomal' circumstances" (p. 270).

Moreover, even under-qualified white applicants could easily get English teaching positions in Taiwan. One participant pointed out that she had heard about a white truck driver going to Taiwan and becoming an English teacher. Kelly (2007) also described her experience of getting better offers in Japan despite her hardly satisfactory life in the United States:

Not unlike the adventurers and misfits who partially made up European colonial society, many of us did not experience comfort or success in our own country. Consequently, it was pleasant to have status, money, and popularity merely on the basis of being white. (p. 268)

In all, white people were privileged and better treated in Taiwan and Japan, and it is important to note how European came to be labeled as white. White people were overly valued in the English teaching positions, but often their qualifications and native-speaker status were determined by race and appearance rather than their nationalities. That is, Taiwanese people would prefer European white people to teach them English over African or Asian Americans whose native language is English.

Ideology Discourse 3: Taiwanese prefer white people over black or Southeast Asian.

The previous discourse mentioned by the participants indicated a certain degree of racial discrimination against nonwhite people in Taiwanese society. Actually while Taiwanese feel inferior to white people, they feel superior to Southeast Asians. When the participants talked about their desire to be associated with white people or how white people were privileged in Taiwan, I asked them whether they had the same feeling toward nonwhite foreigners, and they all said no. They told me that Taiwanese treated only white people courteously. They particularly pointed out their dissociation with Southeast Asians and African Americans in terms of language learning and interpersonal relationships.

The participants described Taiwanese parents as liking their children to learn English with ―real" foreigners. But they would not care much whether they were European, Australian, or American, as long as they were white. The parents would not

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want black people to teach their children English. They probably would want to learn about Asian Americans' backgrounds before approving of them. Again, teaching ability was determined by native-speaker status, and the native-speaker status was judged based on skin-color.

Nonwhite foreigners, Southeast Asians in particular, had lower social status in Taiwan because of the weak economic power of their countries. Most participants were aware of their racial discrimination against black or Southeast Asians. Many Taiwanese would not treat African Americans and Southeast Asians as friendly as they would with white people nor initiate conversations with them. The participants reasoned that this was because most Southeast Asians were laborers or maids in the working class, and they were usually poor, dirty, uneducated, and scary. Taiwanese perceptions of African Americans came from stereotypes portrayed in American movies and described by older Taiwanese. Black people were often associated with crime and poverty. As a consequence, Taiwanese would not prefer them in terms of interpersonal relationships. In a sense, white prestige ideology and racial discrimination in Taiwan were strongly related to the economic status and power of the others' country of origin.

Racial discrimination is common in Taiwan; it is manifested through different attitudes toward Whites and Southeast Asians. Taiwanese people view and treat these two racial groups differently. White people are always superior to Southeast Asians in such areas as interpersonal relationship and the definition of beauty. One of the participants, Vicky, described her unpleasant experience with Thai workers in Taiwan. Her example showed that Southeast Asians were discriminated against and that white people were viewed as superior.

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E: What's your impression of white people?

V: … I would feel foreign (white) kids are really cute. But there's discrimination in Taiwan. For example, when we see Thai laborers in Taiwan, we discriminate against them, don't we? Actually we shouldn't discriminate, but we still do in our mind. Like I think Thai laborers are gross. I met many of them because I live in Tao-Yuan where many Thai laborers live. When I was waiting in line in a buffet restaurant, some Thai laborers were standing in front of me. They were very dirty and kept talking. They talked and talked very loudly. One time one of them dropped his food; he picked it up from the floor and put it back in his plate. Another example was when we took the same bus. Thai laborers were very gross; they made the sound of eliminating phlegm. They were sitting behind me, making the sound of eliminating phlegm and laughing. I didn't know why they kept laughing. There was one time the bus driver got irritated and yelled at them. It seemed that they did something bad to me, but I was not aware of it. Anyway, they were at the back, and I was frightened. (Vicky, Interview 1)

Vicky first showed her fondness for white children by saying they are really cute. Then she pointed out her discrimination against Thai workers despite her conviction that discrimination is wrong. It is easy to perceive the contrast between white prestige and the inferiority of nonwhites.

Ideology Discourse 4: When Taiwanese talk about foreigners or white people, they are usually referring to Americans.

I have discussed how the participants spoke about the way Taiwanese judged social status, education, appearance, and native-speaker status based on the person's skin color; the way Taiwanese determined a person's nationality was no exception. Many participants told me that they were interested in foreigners and foreign cultures. When I asked them to define ―foreign,‖ they told me they were referring to the United States in particular. When they said ―foreigners,‖ actually they meant Americans. Also, when they talked about how Taiwanese worshipped ―foreign‖ things and fawn on ―foreign‖ powers, actually they meant worshipping anything American. The Americanism played an important role in the white prestige ideology which was commonly shared in Taiwan

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society. Many Taiwanese would assume that any Caucasian was American. When the participants came to the United States to study, they perceived their European teachers as American at first. Therefore, while race was an issue of significance in Taiwan, Americanism further influenced positive attitudes toward white culture and English language learning; meanwhile, it also reinforced white prestige ideology in Taiwan.

Native-speaker/English privilege

Nativespeakerism and English privilege were expressed among my research participants. The privileges of native speakers of English and the English language were deeply rooted in the white prestige ideology discussed in the previous section. In this section, I explain two discourses about native-speaker and English privilege given by my participants. These two discourses also illustrate the desires of Taiwanese students to learn English and to be identified with the white community.

Ideology Discourse 5: White people speak good or Standard English without accents.

As mentioned earlier, white people were often associated with good English ability. More often, white people were perceived as not only speaking and writing good English, but also speaking and writing Standard English without ―accents.‖ To begin with, when I asked the participants about the advantages and disadvantages of white people, many of them told me that being able to speak English was crucial. They assumed that English was all white people‗s native language. When it came to English language learning, many participants preferred being taught by white teachers, acknowledging their better and Standard English and flawless accent. One student said that she did not want an Asian teacher because Asians were notorious for poor English proficiency. Another student told me that he did not care whether the teachers were white or nonwhite, as long

as his nonwhite teachers were well-qualified with no problems with accent. However, still, his use of the phrase ―standard accent‖ indicated his native-speaker ideology and his belief that there was one better and standard accent.

Ideology Discourse 6: English language has predominant status in Taiwan.

The English language, according to the participants, had predominant status in Taiwan and internationally. Many participants believed that better English ability guaranteed better job opportunities. Some were told so and took it for granted, while some were able to explain why English was important in getting jobs in Taiwan. They understood that tests of English proficiency (e.g., TOEFL) were set up as a threshold by many companies. That is, one did not get an interview if one did not pass the required score of those tests. Also, many international trading companies preferred people who could speak English in order to communicate with foreign customers or partners. English ability was required by many international companies which were perceived as prestigious; it was believed that those having good English ability would have a promising future. Furthermore, English language had its international significance. For example, one participant mentioned that those without good English language skills would find it difficult to communicate with people from different countries and thus would be limited to their own country and culture. Mutual communication and job opportunities were some reasons why people learn English. To gain respect and higher social status were other possible reasons of learning English because English was associated with white culture which was superior. Expertise in English contributes to one‗s identity as a competitive person. English was regarded as a form of symbolic

capital. In qualitative interviews, Monica talked about how she would feel more confident and superior with better English proficiency.

> E: Can you tell me why? Would you please explain why [you'd feel more confident and superior if your English is good?]
> M: Because... you can… because of a sense of superiority. You can communicate with foreigners and you'd feel the sense of superiority, the white superiority. That is, being able to communicate with foreigners fluently means you have… means you can do something other people can't. So I think it'd be better. I'd feel more confident. Yeah, it's because you can do something others can't. (Monica, Interview 1)

In a close look at this excerpt, echoes of previous discourses are clearly evident. Monica represents English as a definite part of being white and thus superior. The predominant status of English in Taiwan is interrelated to white prestige ideology in Taiwanese society.

Documenting Discourses of Identity Construction

In addition to ideological implications, Taiwanese students' English language learning process involves identity (re)construction. Discourses of white prestige ideology indicate the participants' tendency to favor a certain race, and discourses of identity construction further explicate their desires to be someone or to be identified with a certain community that influence their reactions to the writing curriculum. In this section, I discuss the most prevalent discourses that reveal the participants' identity construction of who they were as well as their desires of who they wanted to be and which community they hoped to join. I document five discourses of student identity construction that strongly influence the participants' investment of learning and accommodation and resistance in English writing classes.

A Good Student

According to the analysis of interview transcriptions, most participants tended to play the role of the good student, which influenced their behavioral patterns in class and attitudes toward teaching authority. The definition of a good student, according to the participants, was a person who gets good grades, respects teachers, and complies with the teachers' instructions. The identity construction of being a good student often caused the participants to take stances of unreflective compliance or active accommodation in ESL writing class.

In the following, I will discuss discourses of identity construction the participants mentioned. Understanding these discourses allows exploration of students' identity construction in composition class and reasons behind them. Also, these discourses influence students' accommodation and resistance to teaching authority, which will be discussed in the next section.

Identity Discourse 1: It is important to pass exams and get good grades.

Passing exams and getting good grades help students to position and be positioned as good students. Examination and grading systems play an important role in Taiwanese education. Test scores are set up as thresholds for entering schools and companies as well as being a standard by which a person is valued. As Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005) proclaimed, under the influence of Confucian meritocracy, parents and society expect children to succeed in exams in order to bring honor to their families:

> Individual success in the exams reflected positively not on individuals, but on families and clans . . . The Confucian relationship was upheld in such a way that studying for the exams was part and parcel of family success. (pp. 613)

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This explains Taiwanese students' great attention to exams and their desire to construct identity as good students to make their families proud. According to the qualitative interviews, my research participants studied because of exams, paid much attention to grades, and even judged the courses based on whether they would help improve institutional test scores. Their investment in preparing for exams came from parents' and teachers' expectations, peer pressure, and self responsibility as students.

To begin with, the students' accommodation or resistance to teaching authority was strictly utilitarian. Important exams such as entrance examination and TOEFL require English writing skills, which became purposes for students to study English writing. Entrance examinations determine whether a student can enter a good university, and TOEFL is broadly applied in many schools and companies as a (graduation) threshold. Also, when the participants came to the United States as exchange students, TOEFL scores decided whether they could take credit courses or noncredit language courses. Passing these exams thus became important as the participants desired to take credit courses for example. When the participants talked about the importance of English, many of them said that it is only for testing purposes. When I asked them why they would want to improve their English writing skills, they also said that it was because of the TOEFL scores. They wanted more practice so they would get higher scores. It was clear that students' investment in learning English writing was linked to exams and test scores.

Exams and test scores not only influenced the participants' investment in learning, but also their emotions, attitudes, and behaviors regarding English learning. When a writing teacher gave low grades to one participant, he was frustrated, ashamed, and even thought about committing suicide. He was afraid that his classmates would laugh at him.

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On the other hand, when he received better grades, he was very happy and proud of himself. When the student got good grades, he was more confident and would be expecting praise. Getting good grades allowed the student to position himself and to be positioned as a good student, and thus felt a sense of achievement. Moreover, the participants were more likely to follow writing instruction which emphasized helping them pass important exams (in this case, TOEFL). If a writing teacher taught English writing that was somewhat related to TOEFL writing, the participants would follow the instructions accordingly in order to get higher grades both in class and on the TOEFL.

It seemed that students' desire to pass TOEFL directly influenced their definition of a good writing course. A teacher who taught TOEFL writing tended to get more positive feedback than a teacher who taught something else. When the participants spoke about the most useful things that were taught in class, many of them said that the TOEFL writing was the most useful. They learned about organization and topic sentences, which would help them in the Test of Written English (TWE). The preparation for TWE in a writing class would help the students to become familiar with Standard English writing as well as to practice writing in English. Courses that included teaching of English academic writing norms were deemed good. In contrast, non-TOEFL or non-standard writing approaches such as creative or narrative writing was easily viewed as simple, boring, and useless because it could not satisfy the students' desire to pass exams, get good grades, and construct their identity as ―good students."

In addition to peer pressure and teacher authority, parental expectation played an important role in the participants' investment in preparing for exams and getting good grades. Most of the participants had been told the importance of English by their parents.

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Their parents viewed English as a capital asset which would raise the students' ability to compete in such situations as schools and job markets. Many participants were sent to cram schools (English institutes) or had studied English with private tutors since childhood. They were brought up with a high expectation of good English proficiency, and exams and TOEFL scores were means to evaluate that proficiency. Therefore, getting higher test scores would be more likely to get a compliment from parents. The effect of parental influence on students' investment in English learning could not be ignored.

Identity Discourse 2: Teachers are always right and I should respect them.

The identity of a good student also involved accommodation to and respect for teachers' instruction and authority. Since teachers held the power of giving grades, many participants would comply with whatever their teachers said in order to get good grades. They recognized the power of the teachers and tried to meet their teachers' expectations of good students. While some participants accommodate to teaching authority to get good grades, some complied with teachers' instructions out of respect for teachers and their authority. Many participants tended to think that the teachers' ways were right or better despite their own competence and knowledge. When teachers gave feedback, the students treated their own ways as problematic and the teachers' ways as better. Teachers' feedback was broadly accepted by the participants because the teachers' comments were right or convincing. Some of them respect the teachers' speciality and knowledge and decided to follow their instruction and correction. Some participants thought that English was not their native language and thus they would never be better than their English teachers. Some courses met the participants' expectation because the teachers pointed the student participants to mistakes to correct. Also, even when students felt bored in class,

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some of them tried to stay focus in order not to offend teachers. The following is one of the examples of how students felt obliged to follow teachers' instruction and accept teachers' comments.

> E: Have you ever insisted on doing something your writing teacher didn't like when you were in writing class or when writing English composition?
> D: No, I didn't.
> E: So you'd follow whatever your teachers asked you to do?
> E: Of course. I accepted her [writing teacher's] comments because I thought that I was not that good. So, OK, I'd listen to her. Also, what teachers say should be correct, isn't it? (Danielle, Interview 3)

In the conversation, Danielle never questioned her teachers but followed the teachers' instruction and feedback accordingly. Following teachers' instruction was a common way for the Taiwanese students to construct identity as a good student.

Superior to Taiwanese but Inferior to White

When the participants were studying in the United States, the possibility of being identified with a white community was created. The English language is privileged in Taiwanese society, and a Taiwanese who is proficient or fluent in English consider themselves superior to other Taiwanese. When it comes to learning English, Taiwanese always consider themselves inferior to white people, who are viewed as ―native speakers." Therefore, while Taiwanese consider themselves superior to others when they are associated with White or English, they consider themselves inferior to Whites and less confident in their English ability. The following three discourses explain how English can make people feel both superior and inferior. English proficiency makes Taiwanese people feel superior to others because their better English proficiency means better job opportunities and higher social status. But when it comes to English learning, Taiwanese students see their interlanguage as deficient. They feel inferior to native

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speakers of English because they perceive their —imperfect" language as poor and problematic. Taiwanese people consider themselves inferior also because they feel the moon is better-looking in foreign countries than at home.

Identity Discourse 3: Better English proficiency means better job opportunities and higher social status.

Better English proficiency gave the participants superior job opportunities and social status than those available to non-English-speaking Taiwanese. Their investments in English learning helped them construct identities as people who have a promising future and as people who are excellent and honorable.

Many of my research participants pointed out that the reason for learning English was to get a good job. English ability was deemed a necessity to enter big companies. The participants believed that they had to have good English proficiency in order to be able to work in a good corporation. Better English proficiency then means better job opportunities, a brighter future, and a nicer quality of life. One who does not understand English would get a lower class of job. In consequence, better English proficiency, according to the participants, would help them be competitive in the job market, find better jobs, and be promoted faster.

What is more, being competent in English symbolizes high social class in that English is often associated with racial superiority, good education, and wealth. Many of the participants expressed their desire for English proficiency when they spoke about their attitudes toward English language. They said that they would feel proud, accomplished, and superior to others if they were fluent in English. They would also feel more confident. Some of them committed themselves to learning English simply because they felt that English was high class.

The participants made English competence the cornerstone of a superior identity based on their imagination of a better life and higher social status in the future. They were learning English in the United States and constructing an imagined superior identity in the future. When it came to classroom practice and real language use, however, the participants tended to feel inferior.

Identity Discourse 4: My English is poor and my writing is problematic.

Whereas English proficiency could help the participants imagine a superior identity for the future, they were less confident in their actual use of English. In general, Taiwanese students were not comfortable using English and not confident in English proficiency in terms of listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills. As to English speaking and listening ability, the participants were shy and slow to communicate. They felt ashamed when other people could not understand them, and they were afraid their peers would laugh at their poor English. Some of the participants have had unpleasant experiences communicating with Americans in English. Some Americans had difficulties understand them and became impatient and rude to them. That is why the students were afraid and felt inferior.

If English speaking and listening skills were difficult for the participants, the English writing ability of the participants was considered as immature and problematic. That is, the participants felt that their sentence structures were too simple and that their English writing had many mistakes. Many participants would have liked to learn more about sentence variation because they were not satisfied with their ―childlike‖ writing style, which always began sentences with the subject. They felt ashamed of their poor English writing skills. They couldn't write well and compose mature English writings

even though they had been learning English for a long time. Moreover, the participants thought the Chinese way of writing was one of the reasons their writing was problematic. Their native language, Chinese, according to the participants, limited their English writing ability. The participants tended to use Chinese logic in composing English writing or to translate Chinese words, phrases, and sentences directly into English. Their English writing was thus problematic because there were ―weird" words and mistaken expressions which American would not understand. Their definition of good English writing was writing that accorded with English format and convention rather than a translation of Chinese. The Taiwanese students constructed an inferior identity when they were using English and tended to accommodate to American teachers or English ways of composing which were superior to them.

   Identity Discourse 5: The moon is better-looking in foreign countries than at home.

   This discourse is rooted in white prestige ideology and indicates that in such things as culture, social status, education, and race, Whites are superior to Taiwanese. The participants showed their intention to worship foreign (White) culture and fawn on foreign powers and thus constructed an inferior self and imagined a future superior self. Their white prestige ideology reinforced their inferiority as nonwhite, and their investment in English learning created the possibility of a superior self.

   As mentioned in the previous section, white people are considered superior to Taiwanese in terms of such things as economy, politics, education, race, class, social status, skin-color, and appearance. When it came to learning English, the participants felt that American (White) education and English ways of composing were better. Commonly shared by the participants, education in white countries (i.e., the United States) was better

and teaching methods were more advanced. In comparison with the American and European education systems, which were democratic, the education system in Taiwan was nothing more than slavish cramming. Moreover, the aim of education in Taiwan was the persistent pursuit of higher education, which resulted in a noninteractive and uninteresting learning and teaching environment. Thus, many parents sent their children abroad (to the United States in particular) to study because foreign (i.e., American) education was better and more advanced, and people who studied abroad would be outstanding.

In addition to viewing Taiwanese education as inadequate and as worse than American (White) education, many of the participants preferred American standard writing practices and perceived English ways of composing as better. As opposed to the logical and clear ways of English writing, Chinese ways of composing were treated as lengthy, stereotypical, and lacking in originality. Therefore, many of the participants would rather follow the instructions of their writing teachers in the United States because their ways of writing would look better. While following the writing instruction of teachers would enable them to produce papers of good quality, the participants viewed their own writing that did not follow instructions as awkward, messy, and digressive. As a consequence, many participants reported that they took classes in the United States more seriously than classes in Taiwan. They felt their writing improved after they took composition classes in the United States.

In conclusion, Taiwanese students desired to be good students due to expectations from teachers, parents, and society. They tended to be submissive in class so that they could meet those expectations and be good students. These participants also had

imagined a superior identity compared with other Taiwanese people who did not own the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) of proficient English ability and an American education. At the same time, they felt inferior in comparison with Whites or native speakers of English, whom they deemed more civilized, educated, and wealthy.

These discourses of ideology and identity construction serve as background knowledge and generalizations of key sociopolitical factors that could possibly affect Taiwanese students' accommodation and resistance. They give a sense of the set of assumptions through which the majority of Taiwanese students view race and language. In what follows, I would like to take individual cases into account and discuss how the individuals strategically adopt stances of accommodation and resistance that involve identity construction and ideological implication.

<div align="center">Stories of Accommodation and Resistance</div>

So far, I have briefly presented various stances students took in responding to ESL composition class, as well as their white prestige ideology and identity construction underlying these stances. As discussed above, responses to ESL composition classes were varied. The pattern of resistance and accommodation can be accounted for by the students' identity claim and white privilege ideology. In other words, these students strategically adopt stances of accommodation and resistance that often involve identity (re)construction and ideological implications. In this section, I would like to present my analysis of the role of identity and white prestige ideology as they impact writers' accommodation and resistance in ESL composition classes.

Lave and Wenger (1991) proposed the theory of communities of practice, suggesting that newcomers can increase their expertise in performing in communities by

learning from experienced members. When applying this concept in second language

classrooms, second language learners are the newcomers and the native speaker of the

target language will be the old-timers, the experienced members of the communities.

However, it is important to note that not every case fits this context. That is, in my

research, every student in the classroom was a newcomer and there were no native

speakers of English (except for some teachers). In this case, it would be impossible to

identify the communities of practice in which students participated. Norton (2001) drew

on Wenger's (1998) discussion on identity and modes of belonging and argued that it is

the community of the imagination that students participate in. This community of

imagination is rooted in Wenger's (1998) discussion on three modes of belonging:

engagement, imagination, and alignment. Norton (2001) employed the concept of

imagination and claimed,

> This mode of belonging [. . .] is a creative process of producing new images of
>
> possibility and new ways of understanding one's relation to the world that
>
> transcend more immediate acts of engagement [. . .] Thus although these learners
>
> were engaged in classroom practices, the realm of their community extended to
>
> the imagined world outside the classroom—their imagined community. (pp. 163-4)

My research has similar research settings to that of Norton (2001), so the notion of

imagined community (Norton, 2001) is utilized to interpret my data to better illustrate my

participants' investment in their identity and imagined community.

In addition to providing better understanding of the investment of my participants,

the concept of imagined community can help explain student accommodation and

resistance because students' imagination will cause their participation or nonparticipation

in class. As Wenger (1998) stated, ―Imagination can work by both association and opposition, defining our identities both by connecting us and by distancing us" (p. 194).

In this section, I demonstrate stances of accommodation and resistance taken on by students and sociopolitical factors affecting students' behavioral patterns using the framework of imagined community (Norton, 2001). That is, I describe students' investment in their imagined communities and illustrate how the levels of student accommodation and resistance involves identity (re)construction and ideological implications. Whereas no stance of accommodation and resistance stands alone exclusively, some students leaned toward certain stances. Some students were identified with certain category of accommodation and resistance and thus could best represent each case. In the following, I describe each stance by telling a student's story of accommodation and resistance.

Unreflective Compliance—Wei's Story

While Norton (2001) contended that the different goals between a teacher's curriculum and a student's identity tend to cause nonparticipation by a student, the present study found that English language learners took on different stances to satisfy their desires when they experienced conflicts between their needs and the teachers' instruction. For example, one of my participants, Wei, took the stance of unreflective compliance in his ESL composition class even though his desired identity and imagined community are different from his writing teacher's goals for the curriculum.

To begin with, learning how to write in English was not an identity in which Wei hoped to invest. He had no investment in learning English composition; rather, he desired to improve his English speaking ability. His parents had great influence on this attitude

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toward learning English. Wei's father was a businessman and often emphasized the importance of good proficiency in oral English to success in international business. During one of our interviews, I asked Wei about his expectations toward the ESL composition class. He told me that his main interest was in English speaking rather than writing, and that this indifferent attitude toward English composition came from his parents.

> E: What are your expectations in this writing class?
> W: Eh, actually I don't really have any interest in English writing . . . My parents think English speaking is way more important than English writing. They said that being able to communicate with a foreigner is much better than getting perfect scores and being incapable of speaking in English . . . So, I don't pay a lot attention to English writing because what I want to improve is to be able to speak with foreigners fluently. (Wei, Interview 1)

In this excerpt, Wei shows his desire to be a proficient English speaker and how his parents influenced his investment in English language learning. Wei was expected to be a successful businessman with excellent English communication skills and so did not really care about learning English composition and had no investment in his identity as a multilingual writer.

Although the ESL writing curriculum did not fulfill Wei's desire to be a fluent English speaker, he still complied with the teacher's instructions in an unreflective way. He did not think much about the teacher's instructions or learning how to write in the class. His attitudes were just to get things done and to do whatever the teacher asked for but with minimal effort. The compliance was out of his belief in respecting and accepting the teacher's authority. For example, when I asked whether he had differences of opinions with his teacher, he told me that he accepted his writing teacher's instruction

and correction and respected her knowledge as a teacher. In this conversation, Wei talked about his interaction with his writing teacher and why he conformed to the teacher.

> E: Have you ever had different opinions from your teacher's? For example, you wanted to write this way, but the teacher said no, or similar things happened in class. Any incidents like this?
> W: Actually I was OK [with the teacher's instruction] because I thought the teacher must have her reasons for correcting my mistakes when I gave my papers to her. I would ask her whether I could write the other way, and sometimes she would tell me that my way was just… not smooth and clear. Then I would think, oh I see, so I couldn't write it this way next time. I'm not saying she's right because she's a teacher, but after all, she had certain level of specialty and ability. Since she's teaching me [English] composition, why didn't I just accept her comments? Yeah. (Wei, Interview 3)

Wei was compliant with his writing teacher because he respected her speciality in the field, but he did not have reasons for accepting the instruction and correction of his writing teacher. Although he tried to negotiate alternative ways of writing with his teacher, when his suggestion was denied, he agreed with the teacher without questioning.

As a result, his classroom behaviors were obedient and unreflective. He went to class on time, completed assignments, participated in class activities, and did whatever the teacher asked for. But he invested minimal energy into the class and his effort was quite limited.

All in all, Wei's minimal investment was because of the different expectations of the composition course between Wei and the teacher. He would like to meet his parents' expectations to improve his English speaking proficiency so he can engage in the imagined community of international business. He would rather spend time talking with his American roommate than work hard in the composition class. Due to the conflict between the teacher's goals and Wei's needs, Wei was unreflective about and not interested in the writing curriculum. Despite his unwillingness to invest in the class, his

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beliefs in respecting and accepting teaching authority kept him compliant and obedient. This pattern is depicted in the following table 9.

Table 9

Unreflective Compliance—Wei

	Unreflective compliance
Desire	to meet parents' expectations to improve English speaking instead of English writing to join imagined community of international business
Attitude	just got the assignments done did whatever T asked for
Behavior	went to class on time completed homework did what was asked minimal effort
Belief	respected/accepted T's authority no investment in English composition

Active Accommodation — Jeremy's Story

Jeremy was one of the Taiwanese exchange students studying in a language institute in the United States. Generally speaking, his class performance fell into the category of active accommodation. Throughout the semester, he worked hard and tried to meet teachers' expectations. Jeremy was a student who was not confident in his English ability and L1 (first language) identity. Toward the end of the semester he was becoming a more confident and empowered student in an imagined community of prestige through his active accommodation to ESL writing class.

At first, Jeremy constructed an inferior and less-competent Taiwanese identity as an English learner. He was placed in the beginner level in the language institute. His low

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English proficiency and his perception of the United States as an advanced country positioned him as a more inferior student to other language learners as well as to American students. In a sense, Jeremy's L1 identity was less developed. He had to gain confidence through learning from American classes; he tended to deny his own ideas and abilities. Jeremy told me that learning how to write in American ways of writing made him happy because he was less competent in English writing and he wanted to learn how to better communicate.

> E: Why does learning these writing skills make you happy?
> J: I think people can better understand me if I write this way in the future. My readers won't feel unable to explain why something appears in my writing suddenly. Because if you're writing to share with people, at least you need to make people understand you easily and at least make your writing *logical and systematic*.
> E: So your previous papers were more difficult to understand?
> J: Mm, based on my previous composing skills, *my writings were disorderly*. I was unable to describe a thing from head to foot; I would talk about something else in the middle of developing an idea. So, I was less competent in writing before; I just followed my instinct because I hadn't really learned how to compose [in English]. (Jeremy, Interview 2; emphasis mine)

In this excerpt, Jeremy construed his identity as a less-competent but hard-working English writer. As he said, his writing was not orderly and he was less competent in writing before coming to the class. After learning some writing skills, he saw the possibility of making his English writing logical and systematic. He viewed ESL writing instruction as an opportunity for self-correction and self-improvement. Although he was less competent, he was able to gain confidence by working hard in the writing class.

Moreover, Jeremy's attitude toward American education was positive and confident. In comparison with Taiwanese education, Jeremy enjoyed studying in American classes. He gave credits to good interaction between teachers and students and

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to group discussion as a form of learning. According to Jeremy, American teachers' ways of teaching were more interesting than those of Taiwanese teachers, and he was convinced that he could learn more things that he could not get in Taiwan. He did not like the cramming and utilitarian way of education in Taiwan.

Because of his inferior status in the L2 (second language) culture, Jeremy tended to have positive attitudes toward writing instruction and actively accommodated to teacher authority in the United States. He enthusiastically learned English ways of composing thinking English ways were better then Chinese ways of writing. For example, when Jeremy was shown by his teacher that he had more than two ideas in a paragraph, he thought that his Chinese ways of composing was not as good as English ways.

> E: Why do you think that your Chinese way of composing was unacceptable for your teacher? It's fine when we write that way in Chinese. Why would they question your way of composing?
> J: Maybe they, mmm, I don't know. *Would it be because their way of composing is better?* I'm not sure.
> E: Do you think it is [better]?
> J: I think maybe they are about the same.
> E: Then why would your teacher not accept it and want you to correct it?
> J: Mm, *I think maybe it is because their writing format is better or they think [my way of composing] is messy.* (Jeremy, Interview 2; emphasis mine)

Jeremy's perception of English ways of writing as better than Chinese ways triggered his strong investment in learning English ways of composing in class. He actively engaged in classroom activities and worked hard on his assignments. Despite his strong investment, his L1 identity was downgraded. It is important to note that Jeremy was devaluing his cultural identity not only because of his own inferiority but also the writing teacher's implicit hint of ―our way of composing is better."

Generally speaking, Jeremy was satisfied with his ESL composition class even though some parts of the curriculum were not helpful. He thought that the class was good and helpful enough that his English writing skills had improved and previous writing mistakes had been corrected at the end of the semester. When Jeremy did not learn anything, he found excuses for the class. It had been a month since the class had started, but the class was having group discussions or going out to take photos instead of learning how to write. The following conversation illustrates how Jeremy justified the writing teacher when he figured that he was not learning anything related to English composition.

> E: What has been taught in the writing class or what have you learned?
> J: The writing class. Well, so far we haven't written anything yet. The teacher had us do group discussions. We asked questioned to each other; we took notes and shared with the class. Maybe what we discussed wasn't so much related to composition because basically we were speaking. But I think next class, like next Monday … Our assignment tomorrow will be selecting photos to describe; that way, we'll be able to practice, like what's the topic of the photo, and just to practice, yeah. (Jeremy, Interview 1)

Jeremy first told me that they had been practicing speaking and taking photos in the writing class. He then explained that they would do something more relevant to English writing soon. As the conversation continued, Jeremy justified the teacher's decision to use photos as a way of learning English composition.

> J: Oh, maybe because if you take photos, you'll know where you've taken them. Also, with a photo, it will be earlier to help inspire association in thinking. We will be more capable of thinking… mm… you will have an image showing why you took the photo, so you can write that story. I think it will be easier to write if I'm describing daily life. (Jeremy, Interview 1)

He explained that using photos would help him write in English. He did not question the activity at all, and he followed the teacher's instruction with a positive attitude. Although Jeremy was not learning English writing, he was still hopeful and positive about the class.

E: Are there any homework?
J: As to homework, so far, we don‘t have any, either.
E: Are there any class activities?
J: Eh, class activities… so-so. So far we just went out to take photos and group discussion. And she would…
E: Organizing photos?
J: *Maybe it's just the beginning*. (Jeremy, Interview 1; emphasis mine)

This conversation shows Jeremy‘s positive attitudes toward American education. Even though he understood that the instruction might not help his English writing, he never questioned the course.

Furthermore, although Jeremy talked about the lack of class assignments with his classmates, he enjoyed the class and tried to find the value of it. Sometimes he felt that the class was easy and that they had been taking photos forever. While other classmates thought it was OK to skip a class if they would be taking photos, Jeremy went to every class and enjoyed taking pictures as well as practicing English with his American tutors.

E: Have you ever felt reluctant to go to class even when you attended class or reluctant to do your homework? Or have you ever felt lazy participating in class?
J: Basically it won‘t happen unless I‘m sick . . . Well, I think this course was not boring. It was so-so. Plus I could interact with my tutors. *They are Americans; I could, I had opportunities to practice speaking [English] with them.* Maybe I would learn something more by accident. (Jeremy, Interview 3; emphasis mine)

In this excerpt, it is clear to know that Jeremy desired to be associated with American. Jeremy‘s goal was to learn as much English as he could with American and tried to engage in the imagined community of prestige. As long as his need was met, Jeremy did not really mind if his writing class turned out to be a conversation practice.

All in all, Jeremy accommodated to the writing instruction actively with positive attitudes because the goals of the writing curriculum were steps toward becoming part of the identity and imagined community that Jeremy would like to invest in. The ESL

writing class provided opportunity for self-improvement and an upgrade and gave him a

vision of being a member of the American community. However, although Jeremy was

able to gain self-confidence by engaging in the imagined community of prestige through

learning L2 academic writing and practicing speaking English with American tutors, his

white prestige ideology was reinforced through discursive teaching practices in the ESL

composition class. Table 10 summaries these conclusions.

Table 10

Active Accommodation—Jeremy

	Active accommodation
Desire	to obtained social capital to be a legitimate participant in English academic community to be part of imagined community of prestige
Attitude	thought English ways of composing better than Chinese accepted T's instruction and thought his own writing was bad; with T's help, corrected all mistakes and improved positive attitudes toward practice with American tutors, practice writing if followed T's way, writing would be better
Behavior	made excuses for T tended to follow T's instruction participated in class actively
Belief	L1 identity less developed than other students respected and accepted T's authority L1 culture inferior to L2 culture

Suppressive Accommodation—Vicky's Story

Vicky's responses toward ESL composition class were similar to Jeremy's. They

both accommodated to the teaching authority and engaged themselves in the communities

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of prestige. While Jeremy actively accommodated to the teaching practices, Vicky took the stance of suppressive accommodation because she was not satisfied with the writing instruction and the class did not meet her need to be identified with the white academy. Therefore, Vicky joked around and tried to have fun in class without letting the teacher know. Although the writing class did not meet her expectations, she still accommodated to the instruction because she respected the teacher's authority and she wanted to be a good student. Thus Vicky followed the teacher's instructions despite her dissatisfaction. Vicky's accommodation came from her desires to participate in the imagined community of prestige and her identity construction as a good student.

Vicky desired to join the community of prestige because of her fantasies about White or American culture as well as her lack of confidence in English writing. When I asked her about her expectations for the writing class, Vicky expressed her strong investment in and fantasies about English in our interviews. She even admitted that she worshipped White or American culture.

> V: To learn skills to write well. Like when I watched American movies, I felt that they were all very good at writing. If it was romance, they wrote very romantic scripts . . . When I was in high school, I was really interested in English because I wanted to be good at it. So I practiced writing English journals, but the writing was not so good.
> E: Why did you write journals in English?
> V: I wanted to improve my English, and I thought English was exclusive.
> E: What do you mean by exclusive?
> V: Writing in English . . . it's not as graceful as Chinese writing, but I worship foreign White/American cultures, just a little bit. I worship foreign culture because I don't like Chinese. Although I should respect Chinese for its long history, I still adore foreign things. (Vicky, Interview 1)

As explained earlier, the word ―foreign‖ was used interchangeably with ―White‖ or ―American.‖ In this excerpt, Vicky frankly spoke about her white prestige ideology and

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how this very ideology influenced her investment in learning English writing as well as her desire to be part of the community of prestige. For example, Vicky thought that the English language was privileged, and it was through mastering the language that she also would be able to enjoy the exclusiveness. Moreover, Vicky constantly expressed her lack of confidence in English writing. In the above conversation, she mentioned that her English writing was not good even though she practiced writing journals in English. She wrote about a similar concern in one of her papers, ―My experience learning to write in my first language and in English." In her writing, she expressed her frustration and shame about her bad English writing skills:

> When it comes to learn writing in English, I think that it's difficult to me. In fact, I learn English over ten years, but my TOEFL IBT writing scores just got twelve. It's shame on me. I really don't know how to learn English, listening, speaking, reading and writing. My experience learning to write in English is very bad. (Vicky, Essay 1)

Vicky narrated that the time spent in learning English was not correlated with her English proficiency and that she was ashamed. In one of our interviews, I showed her writing and asked her why she would feel ashamed.

> V: It's a shame for me because I've been learning English for so long, but my English writing is still awful.
> E: Why do you think it's awful?
> V: The grade [of TOEFL] is bad. I feel that my writing is like a kid's writing. . . Also, when I read English magazines, there are articles written with really good writing skills. But somehow I just can't write like them. (Vicky, Interview 3)

Again, this excerpt indicated Vicky's desire to be identified with the white academy and be part of the community of prestige. In her last comment, she expressed her frustration at failing to write good articles like those in the English-language magazines.

Vicky expected to learn as much English writing skills as she could in the ESL composition class. However, her desire was not realized because according to Vicky, the writing class was too easy and somewhat boring for her. She had negative attitudes toward the writing class despite her accommodation. Vicky felt that the instruction did not meet her needs. She wanted to learn more but the teacher did not teach enough. When I asked her what had been taught in the writing class, she complained about the teacher's free style introducing American geography and ineffective use of technology in class.

> E: What had been taught in the writing class?
> V: That would be really boring. She's really negligent. Not only had I said so. You know what, sometimes she just muddled along in class. At first she'd ask how things went. And then, for example, if we mentioned a place in America, she'd go get a map. She liked to leaf through maps very much, and she'd tell us where the place was. Sometimes she kept talking about one place and the class was over. It's more like a geography class. In addition, she often taught us how to use WebCT. She'd upload something we might not… for example, she taught us how to use WebCT; but I think it took a long time. Not everyone was… like student S, she's not good at computer, so we had to wait for her. But actually I felt what she taught was not really useful. It might be useful, but there were too much information. For instance, at the beginning, she introduced some what she called good websites to us. Usually the class was over after she finished introducing the websites. Or, she introduced the TOEFL last class, like how to write for the TOEFL. She introduced some websites about TOEFL writing to us, and then the class was over. I felt I wasn't learning anything yet. (Vicky, Interview 3)

In this long excerpt, Vicky expressed her negative attitudes toward the ESL composition class. She was disappointed because she was learning about American geography and technology instead of how to write good articles like those in English magazines.

Vicky took the stance of suppressive accommodation in response to the not-so-satisfactory writing class. She accommodated but tried to have fun or joke around. She complained about the class with her classmates. Despite these negative attitudes and

playful behaviors, she still tried to follow instruction because she felt obligated to accommodate.

Although Vicky was not learning what she expected, she still accommodated to the teaching instruction because she respected the teacher's authority and she wanted to be a good student. In one of our interviews, Vicky talked about an exercise in class that made her sleepy and about her struggle to stay awake. She considered sleeping in class disrespectful and impolite.

> V: And today nothing was taught and class was over . . . Ha-ha, time went fast today because she had us work on [an exercise] for a long time. I almost fell asleep . . . See, I told myself not to sleep (showed what she wrote in her textbook).
> E: ―Stay awake, don't sleep, Taiwan, hold on," why?
> V: I must not fall asleep.
> E: Why not?
> V: It's not polite; ha-ha . . . It's impolite to the teacher. (Vicky, Interview 3)

Vicky wanted to be respectful to the teacher and tried hard not to fall asleep in class. She accommodated to the class not because she enjoyed the class but because she felt obligated to. Moreover, her identity construction as a good student influenced her accommodation in class. Continuing the previous conversation about the boring exercise, I asked how she dealt with the class. She said that she had to attend the class, and she positioned herself as an obedient and well-behaved student.

> E: How do you deal with such a boring class? What did you do?
> V: I encouraged myself.
> E: Mm, how?
> V: I have to go to class obediently. I paid the tuition, ha-ha. I have to go class. I did attend every class. I was well-behaved in class. (Vicky, Interview 3)

All in all, Vicky desired to engage in the imagined community of prestige because of her white prestige ideology and her inferiority in English writing proficiency. She took

the stance of suppressive accommodation when she realized that she was not learning what she expected she would. Vicky complained and joked about the class and played around when the teacher was not paying attention. While the ESL writing class did not fulfill her desires, she still accommodated to the instruction because of her identity construction as a respectful, well-behaved, good student. Table 11 summarizes her profile.

Table 11

Suppressive Accommodation—Vicky

	Suppressive accommodation
Desire	to be a legitimate member of the white academy and imagined community of prestige to obtain social capital
Attitude	negative attitudes toward instruction felt obligated to accommodate
Behavior	followed instruction joked and complained about the class tried to play around and have fun in class without T noticing
Belief	fantasies about American/white culture less confident in English writing proficiency respected T's authority

Meta-Aware Adaptation—Nick's Story

In the ESL composition class, Nick took the stance of meta-aware adaptation and treated the writing instruction as one possible way of doing things. He had developed an L1 identity and saw Taiwan as equal to other countries. He recognized that there were no ―best‖ methods and that they were just different. Nick tried to make use of the writing instruction to the extent he found it useful. He desired to write appropriately in different contexts to get good grades as well as to prepare for his undergraduate and graduate

studies in the future. Although he was aware of different ways of composing, Nick passively followed the norms without trying to validate his L1 identity in his L2 writing.

Among the Taiwanese exchange students, Nick was one of those who had a stronger sense of L1 identity. He valued his own country and sought for an equal relationship between his own country and other countries (dominant countries in particular). For example, Nick expressed his nationalism when we were talking about the phenomenon of how some Taiwanese girls liked to go to bars looking for White or American boyfriends in Taiwan.

> N: I think maybe they are not satisfied with their own culture . . . Maybe they feel that the West is a symbol of advanced countries, which is a problem shared by many Asian countries. I don't agree with their behavior. I think it's only the difference of culture, and there's no developed or underdeveloped . . . We should be proud of being Taiwanese because we are born in this country. Maybe I have strong spirit of nationalism. (Nick, Interview 1)

In this excerpt, Nick talked about how some Asian people viewed white countries as developed, which he deemed as problematic. He disagreed with the attitudes of Taiwanese girls who treat white males as superior. According to Nick, there was no hierarchy among countries. He recognized the difference in terms of cultures rather than status.

He had a similar attitude toward different ways of composing. He was aware of different writing styles, and he did not have special preference based on the assumption that one way of writing was better than another. For instance, Nick described different writing styles in English and in Chinese; he characterized English writing as more direct than Chinese. The following excerpt showed how Nick understood different ways of composing in English and in Chinese in terms of directness.

E: Is it difficult to write in such a direct way?
N: I was not used to it when I started to write. But now I'm used to it. I can write a lot in the beginning of Chinese composition and I don't need to point out my main idea directly . . . But English expression is to point out what I want to say in the first paragraph. (Nick, Interview 2)

Nick's attitude toward English and Chinese composition was that there were no better methods; they were just different. He was aware of different writing styles, and he recognized advantages and disadvantages in each rhetorical tradition. After Nick described different characteristics of English and Chinese composition, I asked him whether he would prefer any of them:

N: I think they both have their advantages and disadvantages. In Chinese composition, maybe the wording is more graceful. But if you are writing an editorial, using the English way of composing might be a good idea because everyone can understand what you want to express. (Nick, Interview 2)

He was able to make use of each writing style despite his simplistic way of characterizing Chinese and English rhetorical traditions. Nick saw both strength and limitations in both composing styles and was able to utilize the strength in different contexts of writing.

While he had a neutral attitude toward English and Chinese writing, Nick always tried to write in accordance with academic writing conventions. In other words, he would follow American norms when he was writing English papers, and he used Chinese composing rules to write Chinese essays. Nick understood that different languages had different writing styles, and he wanted to write accordingly. The following conversation indicated his desire to adapt to different conventional norms.

E: You said that you made a detour at the beginning of Chinese composition. Did you also make a detour when writing in English?
N: No.
E: No, why not?
N: I tried to change the habit.

E: Why?

N: Because I need to follow everyone's rule . . . They are just two different languages and different writing styles. (Nick, Interview 2)

This shows Nick's awareness of different writing styles as well as his willingness to adapt to English composition. He adapted to the teaching instruction because he felt the need to follow rules.

Nick followed rules to be practical and to achieve his goals. In order to take undergraduate courses, language students have to pass TOEFL 500 (PBT). Also, the Test of Written English (TWE, part of TOEFL) was used as an evaluation tool in the ESL composition class for midterm and final exams. Thus, Nick tried to follow the writing instruction hoping to fulfill his desire to be able to take undergraduate courses. TOEFL was viewed as the means by which Nick would achieve his goal, and he thought that in order to pass TOEFL, he should follow the teacher's instructions. Nick saw values in practicing English academic writing in the composition class, since the teaching instruction and evaluation was based on TWE. He viewed TOEFL as a threshold:

N: TOEFL is an indicator meaning that you are able to take the course you want. It is a threshold you have to go across before doing what you want. It is down to earth. Sometimes you have to achieve something to get other things done. (Nick, Interview 3)

According to Nick, adapting to instructional and academic conventions would help him gain access to the academy. Other reason for his adaptation to the teaching authority was his awareness of the consequences of violating those rules. About academic writing and TWE, Nick said,

N: It's lacking in originality because writers are told to follow certain steps. But if they don't follow the steps, they don't get good grades. So they can only write in a certain way without developing what they really want to present. (Nick, Interview 2)

Therefore, Nick adopted the writing instruction to the extent he found useful. He followed rules and the teacher's instructions to get good grades and to enter the American academy. He followed the format of TOEFL writing to gain access to undergraduate programs in the American university. He thought that TOEFL writing might be useful when taking undergraduate courses or graduate school in the future.

His behaviors in the ESL composition class were adaptive, for he saw the instruction valuable for his future success.

To conclude, Nick took the meta-aware adaptation stance in his ESL composition class. His meta-awareness of different writing styles was due to his more developed L1 identity as well as his desire to obtain an equal relationship between Taiwan and other countries. He had a neutral attitude toward different rhetorical traditions, whereas some Taiwanese students preferred and worshipped English writing styles and American culture. Despite Nick's meta-awareness of different writing styles in Chinese and English composition, he was adaptive in the ESL composition class. He wanted to write appropriately in different contexts and he wanted to get good grades as well as to prepare for his undergraduate and graduate studies in the future. Although he was aware of different writing conventions, Nick passively adapted to the teaching instruction without validating his L1 identity. That is, Nick did not utilize his developed L1 identity in his learning of English writing. Even though Nick viewed Chinese and English writing as equal status, he did not challenge the status quo and actively think about how to validate his L1 identity as well as how to make good use of his L1 repertoire in learning English academic writing. Table 12 summarizes his profile.

Table 12

Meta-Aware Adaptation—Nick

	Meta-aware adaptation
Desire	write in different contexts appropriately obtain equal relationship between Taiwan and other countries get good grades prepare for graduate study
Attitude	no better methods; just different
Behavior	followed rules and institutional requirements made use of T's instruction to the extent he found them useful
Belief	was aware of different ways of doing things developed L1 identity was practical (i.e. exams and grades)

Transformational Accommodation—Angela's Story

Angela strategically took the stance of transformational accommodation in the

ESL writing class. She validated her L2 identity and empowered her self-esteem without

conflicting with or violating her writing teacher's expectations through her

transformational accommodation.

Angela was not confident in her English proficiency, and she was placed in the

beginner level in the language institute in the United States. She tried as hard as she could

to avoid using English when she was in Taiwan. Despite her lack of confidence and low

proficiency in English, she was very comfortable and confident in Chinese writing. Her

investment in Chinese writing was strong. Angela's parents taught her Chinese

composition when she was little and sent her to private schools for extra lessons in

Chinese composition. She developed an interest in Chinese writing after that. She

enjoyed reading Chinese books to learn how to write, as well as practicing writing. Angela constructed her identity as a good Chinese writer based on her parents' influence and her investment in Chinese composition.

Angela continued to construct her identity as a good Chinese writer when she was taking ESL composition class in the United States. She was in favor of Chinese ways of writing in comparison with English ones.

> E: How is [English writing] different from Chinese composition?
> A: Ha, very different. Chinese composition pays attention to the FULLNESS of the whole article. That means English composition only has… if you use English and Chinese to write about the same topic, using English to write, I'll only ask for getting words as graceful as possible; Also, I'll try to be *simple*, try to get to the main idea as soon as possible, and not [make the composition] too long. On the other hand, Chinese composition requires a certain number of pages, as well as structure like qi-cheng-zhuan-he [beginning-transition-turning-synthesis]; it also requires using a variety of words or different implied meanings, such as analogies, to strengthen the main idea again and again. (Angela, Interview 2)

This excerpt shows Angela's positive attitudes toward Chinese composition. She begins by pointing out the ―fullness‖ of Chinese composition and the ―simplicity‖ of English writing. For Angela, English writing was all about getting beautiful words, mentioning main ideas at the beginning, and making it brief. Chinese composition, however, was sophisticated in a way that was very organized and required many writing devices, such as use of analogy. Her knowledge and experience with Chinese composition allowed her to construct a positive and strong identity as a writer in the English composition class, where she was paradoxically less competent and confident.

While Angela preferred Chinese ways of writing over English ways, she tried to be obedient and respectful and follow the teacher's instructions in class. She constructed her identity as a good and smart student in the writing class. She was one of the few

students who interacted with the teacher. She enjoyed answering the teacher's questions. She was also a helper in the class. When her Japanese classmates did not understand the teacher's instructions, they would ask Angela for help. For her, being a good student meant being obedient to and respectful of teachers. Usually Angela would follow the teacher's instructions and be a good student. But she would modify the instructions when they conflicted with her identity as a good Chinese writer.

When the teaching instruction was different from her writing habits or styles, Angela tried to include her own writing style. She accommodated to the teacher's instruction in a transformational way so that she could maintain her identities as both a good Chinese writer and a good student. In other words, Angela would like to include her Chinese identity in her English writing without violating the teacher's expectations. When I asked how she could manage to do that, she said,

> Mmmm, first, I needed to know exactly what she wanted . . . For example, she wanted the main idea in the first paragraph, so after that, I could add some of my own sentences to extend. In other words, she wanted a topic sentence; main idea was what she was asking for, so for those supporting details, I felt that I could include a bit of my own style, yeah. The way of describing things wouldn't be that direct, like the main idea. (Angela, Interview 3)

Angela was able to negotiate her identities between being a good student and a good Chinese writer. She realized that she had to make a point in the introductory paragraph and she tried to follow that instruction. She was also able to find space to include her own writing styles. When I asked her for specific examples, she talked about one of her writings that she wrote in a transformative way:

> Like this one I wrote the main idea she wanted. She asked us to come up with a topic sentence first. So I wrote, I wrote about how I enjoy each time passing by the trees because they're lovely. When those leaves falling from the trees . . . I mean these sentences sounded like me. Ha-ha, yeah. It's a bit like Chinese writing.

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But she'd think that I should write specifically. Like English writing requires you to write down your point first. But after my topic sentence, I wrote something poeticized, like Chinese. (Angela, Interview 3)

The following is the example Angela mentioned about how she included her L1 identity into English writing.

Grant Street is my favorite side in IUP. I enjoy every time I go through it. Because it is beautiful when those leaves fall from trees. Sometimes I saw those fallen leaves to fly about a bus passing the street. And I stop by footsteps to observe those people who pass away or those leaves change their colors. It is a romantic thing to stop my steps and be with trees. That doesn't matter that people are busy or leisurely, when they pass Grant Street. The street is always quiet and smile to people (Angela, Essay 1; italics added)

Angela tried to point out her main idea in the first sentence by saying, ―Grant Street is my favorite side in IUP," and then she applied her poetic Chinese writing style in the rest of the paragraph. She tried to depict an image of tree leaves falling gracefully and peacefully. She strategically accommodated the teacher's instructions in a transformational way. She was able to make her point and at the same time satisfy her desire to be both a good student as well as a good Chinese writer.

All in all, despite Angela's low confidence and proficiency in English, she was able to negotiate and validate her identity as an English learner through transformational accommodation in the ESL composition class. She was engaged in the imagined community of good Chinese writers, and her investment in Chinese composition empowered her in a meaningful way. That is, she did not blindly accept whatever her teacher asked her to do; she was able to negotiate between English and Chinese writing styles, and her L1 was constructed as a resource that helped her gain confidence in learning to write in English. Table 13 summarizes her profile.

Table 13

Transformational Accommodation—Angela

	Transformational accommodation
Desire	to be a good student to maintain self identity to be a member of imagined community of good Chinese writers
Behavior	tended to accommodate to T's instruction included her ideas or L1 writing styles and came up with a writing in a transformative way modified or changed if instruction was not adaptive
Attitude	felt obligated to accommodate if T's instruction conflicted with her writing style, she'd try to find a way to include her voice without violating rules
Belief	strong/positive L1 identity confident in Chinese writing

Passive Resistance—Gloria's Story

Gloria actively constructed her American identity and desire to learn and do things in American ways. Her ideology of nativespeakerism and whiteness influenced her attitudes and behaviors in learning the English language. Gloria had a strong investment in American culture, language, and ways of doing things in daily life and in the academia. She took the stance of passive resistance in her ESL composition class when she figured that she was not learning American ways of writing. Gloria resisted the class because her writing teacher did not meet her desire to be identified with the white academy. She went to class late, slept and browsed on the Internet in class. However, she resisted passively and avoided direct confrontation with the teacher recognizing teacher authority and the power relations between teachers and students.

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Gloria subconsciously expressed her Americanism and nativespeakerism. These factors influenced her perspectives and values about everyday life and the accommodation and resistance stances she took in ESL composition class. For example, she had strong investment in American language and culture. She was asked to compare Taiwanese and American cultures in the interview, and she said,

> G: I went to Los Angeles for a half month when I was a senior high. It was just for fun. Because I had liked American culture and wanted to study abroad, I didn't want to go back to Taiwan. I don't like Taiwanese culture. I think that American people are more open and better. My impressions about American people are that they are passionate and open-minded. Plus *lao-wai* (foreigners/Westerners) are good-looking. (Gloria, Interview 1)

Gloria had positive attitudes toward American culture and *lao-wai*, which came from her Americanism. She expressed her desire to construct an American identity. She wanted to stay in the United States and did not appreciate her cultural heritage. It was the American identity she constructed that made her happy.

Gloria's mention of *lao-wai* led to a further exchange. In Taiwan, people call Westerners *wai guo ren* or *lao-wai* which literally means ―foreigners.‖ It is important to note how Gloria referred to *lao-wai* as Americans in particular.

> E: You mentioned *lao-wai*. Who are you referring to?
> G: Usually I mean Americans.
> E: American or European.
> G: Not European. I like American, *lao-wai*. When I say *lao-wai*, I'm referring only to Americans. (Gloria, Interview 1)

In this dialogue, Gloria directly pointed out her preference for Americans. It was the American identity that she desired to invest in and it was the American community that she wanted to participate in.

Gloria constructed her American identity by trying to assimilate to American ways of doing things, hoping to gain social capital. She expected herself to be able to speak and write like a native, an idea reinforced by her ideology of native-speaker prestige. The following excerpt shows Gloria's nativespeakerism as well as her conception of the United States.

> E: What does better English mean to you?
> G: Because I like, because I like English, plus I hope to be able to speak with foreigners fluently, just like ABC [American-born Chinese]. I don't want to stammer when I speak English. I want to speak naturally and my accent to be the same as foreigners [Americans], so that I can be friends with them earlier . . . Also, as long as my English is very good, it will be a lot earlier for me to find a job. Just by having good writing skills, I'd have greater chance to be hired than others . . . If I want to work in a prestigious company, I need to have good English proficiency. So I have to improve my English ability here. (Gloria, Interview 1)

Here Gloria talked about how she desired English fluency and native-like accent as well as how she could be superior and better qualified in the job market. It was Gloria's desire to speak English like Americans. Her belief in a standard English accent reinforced her view of native-speaker prestige. The English language was prestigious, and its ownership belonged to Americans. Better English proficiency meant a better possibility of being a member of the American community. Thus, she wanted to master the language to be part of American society. Gloria believed that she could make friends with Americans easier if she could speak English fluently with an American accent. In addition to the imagined community of Americans, Gloria invested in learning English because she viewed English language as a privilege. It was by engaging in the imagined community of privilege that Gloria was guaranteed a promising future job. For her, English was an important qualification in the job market; better English proficiency was a valuable asset to enable her to compete with other job applicants.

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Constructing her American identity, Gloria also desired to learn the American way of composing. She was not satisfied with her ESL composition class because the teacher was not teaching what she expected. Gloria was expecting to learn American ways of academic English composition. She complained that the writing formats provided by her writing teacher would not help her write like a native.

> E: Do you think there are any unnecessary things in class or things that are lacking?
> G: Lacking something… I think…mmm… at the beginning the teacher talked about how to compose, like how to write an introduction or conclusion. She gave us some sample writings. But I think the teacher should talk more about like… *normal* articles that don't follow patterns in the sample writings… she should teach us how to make our English writings *more lively*, rather than English composition written in Taiwan. She should tell us ways to write more *American-like*; instead of an *unnatural* style of writing … the teacher should teach us how to compose like American. I wanna know how to … Because that way people would know the paper was written by an Asian student. An American student won't write like this. (Gloria, Interview 3; emphasis added)

Americanism and nativespeakerism influenced Gloria's identity construction as well as her perception on learning English composition. She tried to make her identity and English composition different from that of Taiwanese or Asian in favor of American. She talked about how she desired to learn how to write "American-like" and "more lively," while she depicted non-American writing as not normal and "unnatural." She had certain ideas about what is natural and what is not; and it is highly possible that white prestige ideology influenced her perspectives and thus her attitudes toward the teaching practices. She carried negative attitudes toward non-American culture and composition due to her perspectives on English language and Americanism. Therefore, she desired to be identified with the American academy to be "normal" and "lively."

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Moreover, Americanism and nativespeakerism further resulted in negative attitudes toward classroom practices as well as resistant behaviors in the ESL composition class. For example, peer editing was a boring and unhelpful activity for Gloria because she was not getting direct feedback from her ―American‖ teacher who was a valid and better-qualified ―corrector.‖ I noticed her indifferent attitude and resistant behaviors during the period of peer editing in the ESL writing class. Instead of following the instructions, Gloria was browsing on the Internet, reading Yahoo news. Sometimes she chatted with her Taiwanese classmates in Chinese, and sometimes she joked with her other classmates. When her classmate finished editing her essay, she lay prone on the table, looking at her draft mindlessly. In one of our interviews, I asked Gloria to comment on peer editing, and she said,

> G: … I haven't tried [peer editing] before, so at first I thought I could learn something from editing other students' papers. But later on I felt it was a bit boring.
> E: How would your peers' editing help your English writing?
> G: Because we were all international students, maybe my peers couldn't see my grammatical errors, but foreigners [Americans] can. My papers edited by my classmates were only… I felt that actually they didn't dare to correct my sentences and teach me how to write because they were not certain. They would think maybe my ways were right. Therefore, my classmates usually checked ―S‖ (plural form) or verb tenses, and they wouldn't tell me how to write a sentence. They only checked these kinds of small aspects, so I think it was not really a big help. (Gloria, Interview 2)

Gloria disagreed that peer editing was a useful way to learn English composition based on her assumption about who the better editors were. According to Gloria, only Americans could help with her writing because they were knowledgeable in their own language. Therefore, she preferred to get feedback from her writing teacher rather than her international classmates. However, it was ironic that the writing teacher was not

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American. She came to the United States from Russia 7 years ago. The student assumed the teacher's nationality based on her skin color. The assumption that white people are American, that is, native speakers of English, was the main reason Gloria thought that her Russian teacher was a legitimate corrector. In consequence, she resisted peer editing activity in her ESL writing class because her essays were reviewed by unreliable international students instead of valid American editors.

Furthermore, Gloria's resistance was passive. She did not negotiate with her writing teacher; neither did she try to invest her American identity in the composition class. Despite her strong desire to participate in the community of the white academy, she did not want to negotiate with or confront her teacher to achieve her goals. Her passiveness in resistance was due to her awareness of the power relations between teachers and students. In other words, Gloria did not want to confront the teacher to express her needs, since the teacher had control over her grades. Gloria complained about not having enough homework in the ESL composition class, so I asked whether she would communicate with her teacher about her concern. She stated,

> G: No, ha-ha . . . I was afraid that the teacher might be unhappy . . . I felt it. I felt it was scary. I'd better not tell. Well, she had control of my grades, so I'd better not. (Gloria, Interview 3)

Being afraid of the teacher's power, Gloria avoided direct confrontation with her teacher in the ESL writing class. She resisted teaching practices that were not helping her fulfill her desire to be a member of the American community. However, she did not dare to initiate negotiation with the teacher nor challenge the teacher's authority; she was worried about getting bad grades.

In brief, from the transcription of the classroom observations and interviews with Gloria, passive resistance behaviors emerged in negative discourse about peer-editing which she couldn't fulfill her desires to construct American identity and to be engaged in the imagined community of privilege. Her profile is summarized in Table 14.

Table 14

Passive Resistance—Gloria

Passive resistance	
Desire	be a legitimate member in white academy acquire American identity join imagined community of privilege learn American ways of doing things learn American ways of composing (―native-like")
Attitude	negative attitudes toward the writing class: boring, not useful, too simple, etc. laid back in class and in doing homework
Behavior	went to class late slept or did other things in class was indifferent
Belief	T was not meeting her desire to be identified with the white academy needed to avoid confrontations with T strong investment in American culture, language, etc.

Oppositional Resistance—Monica's Story

Like Gloria, Monica worshipped white culture and saw English as social capital. Although they were at different levels of writing classes, they were both unsatisfied with their writing classes because their teachers did not meet their desires to join the white academy. Therefore, Monica manifested resistance behaviors similar to those of Gloria. However, while Gloria's resistance was passive, Monica took the stance of oppositional

resistance; she tended not to follow the teacher's instructions and used her own means to fulfill her desires.

To begin with, Monica carried white prestige ideology with her to the ESL composition class and viewed English as social capital. For example, Monica showed her white prestige ideology by talking about how she felt Taiwan had lower status than Western countries

> E: In your opinion, what advantages/disadvantages do white people have?
> M: I feel that white people are richer. Foreigners have a feeling of wealth . . . Wealthy, and their race is better. Sometimes I feel that white people have better race. Yes.
> E: Why do you think that way?
> M: Maybe it's because their countries are superior, like the whole countries are stronger. Also, America is rich with wide range of spaces, right? And Taiwan is a little, tiny country, ha, yeah.
> E: What are disadvantages do you think white people have?
> M: … Disadvantages … I've never thought about this aspect. I've always thought about their positive aspects. (Monica, Interview 1)

This conversation indicated Monica's perception of her inferior status to white people. She associated white people with wealth and she perceived the white race as better and superior. Also, Taiwan as a country was very small in comparison with the United States; this fact made Monica feel even more inferior, and thus she worshipped white culture.

One way to make her feel superior to other Taiwanese was through learning English. Monica constructed a confident and superior identity in the imagined community of prestige through learning English abroad in the United States. The following excerpt indicates her positive attitudes toward English as well as her desire to be engaged in the imagined community of prestige

E: What does better English mean to you?
P: I'd feel that I'm marvelous, imagining people saying, ―Oh, your English is so good." For example, my previous high school classmates who knew I went abroad said to me, ―Now your English must be very fluent" or something like that. Yeah, it seems that if my English is good, I'd be more superior to others. (Monica, Interview 1)

Monica's friends in Taiwan positioned her as a fluent English speaker because she was studying in the United States. Monica enjoyed her superior identity as a fluent English speaker in her imagined community of prestige. She viewed English as social capital and desired to advance her social status. Therefore, her investment in learning English was strong. Monica also desired to write well in English. She thought her English writing was simplistic without much variation. She wanted to learn and improve her English writing skills:

M: I think I need to learn more sentence patterns to be able to write beautiful sentences. More sentence patterns, yeah. I want my sentence patterns to have more variation, and don't just write simple sentences with subject and verb and begin sentences with I or she. Yeah, I want to learn something different. (Monica, Interview 3)

Nevertheless, the ESL composition teacher failed to fulfill Monica's desire to engage in the white academy as well as in the imagined community of prestige. The writing teacher would like her students to be confident in writing English with the aid of photography. Therefore, much of the class time was spent taking, organizing, and describing photos. The teacher's goal was for student writers to better express themselves and gain confidence in writing English. The amount of writing was not emphasized; neither were English writing conventions. Hoping to learn sophisticated academic writing skills, Monica expressed negative attitudes toward the writing class in the interviews. She

thought the class was too easy and not useful. The following conversation illustrated her

dissatisfaction of the photograph activity in the writing class:

> E: So you thought these things were too basic and you wanted something more
> advanced.
> M: Yes. This photo thing was really too… Yeah. Maybe my notion was more like
> the Taiwanese teaching style . . . Previously, when I was in Taiwan, I was asked
> to write one essay per week preparing for entrance examinations. We had to write
> at least three hundred words in order for it to be considered a good essay . . . So I
> think a good essay should look like this . . . I didn't think [the ESL writing class]
> could be called a WRITING course. She just asked us to write two sentences at
> random. In my opinion, a course should be teaching students that will make them
> improve. (Monica, Interview 3)

Previous learning experiences in Taiwan shaped Monica's definition of good writing,

which was the writing of a long essay. She wanted to improve her writing skills and write

longer essays, so she thought that taking photos would not help.

As a result, Monica took the stance of oppositional resistance in the ESL writing

class that she thought was not helping her learn how to compose good essays. She was

reluctant to go to class because she thought she would be taking photos anyway. Ignoring

the teaching instruction, she started to write longer paragraphs. Monica also felt that there

was no need to get the teacher's feedback.

Because Monica thought the class was too simple, she was reluctant to go to class.

Sometimes she was late, and sometimes she just skipped the class. The following

example shows her reasoning behind her resistance:

> E: You said that sometimes you were late to class and that sometimes you were
> reluctant to attend class. Why was that?
> M: Because I was tired of it. Sometimes I thought that what the teacher taught
> was not what I wanted. Also, sometimes I felt that courses here were too simple.
> Yeah, I've learned those in Taiwan. They taught even more in Taiwan. (Monica,
> Interview 3)

Another example of the resistance behavior was apparent when Monica wrote

longer essays for homework and neglected the teacher's instruction to include photos.

> E: What did you do to change the status quo when the course didn't meet your
> expectations or when you thought it was not helpful? Like the photo thing.
> M: That's why I wrote more [than required] . . . When I worked on the [final]
> project, I just wrote a lot. We were supposed to have a topic with four or five
> photos, followed by one paragraph, then more pictures, and then one more
> paragraph. But when I worked on it, I just wrote paragraphs without including
> photos. So [in the class the teacher] asked, ‒How come you didn't insert any
> pictures?" She also said, ‒You wrote really long paragraphs," and then she left.
> She didn't comment on anything because I did not complete the assignment. Yeah,
> I wrote pretty long essays. (Monica, Interview 3)

Monica's way of resisting the teacher's instructions was to write longer essays. She put

more effort to make up the dissatisfactory class in her own way. She wanted to practice

writing in English, and at the same time she showed her teacher that she could write more

than required. She constructed her identity as an advanced writer who could write more

than a few sentences describing photos. Monica did not follow the teacher's instruction

and used her own way to achieve her goal to be identified with the white academy.

Moreover, Monica felt that there was no need to ask for the teacher's feedback.

Since the writing teacher was not teaching academic English writing standards, Monica

saw acquiescence to and identification with the norm of white prestige English as her

goal and therefore resisted the teacher's attempt to subvert that goal. She tended to write

in her own way without getting the teacher's feedback.

> E: Has your teacher ever given you any feedback, like how you can write or
> change things in your papers?
> M: I didn't have much interaction with my teacher because I usually wrote by
> myself. I didn't think there was necessity to ask her anything. Yeah. (Monica,
> Interview 3)

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Since Monica could not benefit from the ESL composition class, she was pretty much on her own trying to improve her English writing skills by writing longer essays without following the teacher's instructions. She was not afraid of disobeying the teacher; instead, she thought that she could prove to her teacher that she was a competent English writer who could write longer essays.

To sum up, Monica took the stance of oppositional resistance in the ESL writing class because the teacher did not fulfill her desire to fully provide the tools or means to assimilate into the white academy. She did what it took to achieve her goals, even resisting instructions in class. Her profile is given in Table 15.

Table 15

Oppositional Resistance—Monica

	Oppositional resistance
Desire	to be a legitimate member of white academy to join imagined community of prestige
Attitude	negative attitudes: class boring, not useful, too simple not satisfied with the teaching instruction wanted to improve the status quo
Behavior	tried her best to achieve her goals even resisting instruction in class went to class late or was absent neglected T's instruction to write short paragraphs with photos; wrote longer essays without photos
Belief	white prestige ideology English as social capital T wasn't meeting her desire to provide the tools or means to assimilate into the white academy

Thus, responding to the teacher's authority, the Taiwanese participants in this study strategically adopted stances of accommodation and resistance. In this section, I

have presented identity construction and white prestige ideology as factors influencing patterns of student accommodation and resistance in ESL composition class. Identity factors include the desire to maintain L1 identity, to be identified with the white academy, and to gain higher social status. Ideological factors include Americanism or white prestige ideology and the concept of native-speaker privilege or nativespeakerism (Holliday, 2005). I have discussed each stance of accommodation and resistance adopted by students with an individual study to illustrate each.

Nevertheless, none of these stances of accommodation and resistance were completely discrete categories; nor did individuals take only one stance when responding to authority. The stances were contingent and dynamic in nature. The contingencies caused variation in the stances of accommodation and resistance. In the following section, I am going to discuss issues of contingencies and the dynamic nature of students' accommodation and resistance.

<div align="center">Issues of Contingencies</div>

As I have discussed, the participants strategically adopted stances of accommodation and resistance in their ESL composition classes. These stances are contingent and dynamic in nature. The contingencies of student accommodation and resistance include different teaching practices, writing assignments, time periods, and teacher background. In other words, the Taiwanese students in my study did not adopt only a single stance throughout the semester in their writing classes. In fact, they took on different stances responding to different teaching approaches, writing genres, and activities. During different periods of time, the students responded differently to different teaching practices, as well as to teachers of different racial backgrounds.

First of all, the contingency of stances was strongly affected by teaching practices. In one writing class, when the teacher changed writing genres, two students in my study changed their stances of resistance and accommodation. In this writing class, the teacher focused on English academic writing conventions and adopted TOEFL writing (TWE) as a means of assessment for mid-term and final exams. She had students write assigned-topic essays in accordance with patterns of TOEFL writing. For example, writing modes such as comparison and contrast and argumentation were common. However, toward the end of the semester, the teacher asked the students to write a story instead of a formal academic paper. This change of writing genres caused ELL learners to take different positions responding to her teaching practice. Vicky switched her position from suppressive accommodation to active accommodation; Nick changed from meta-aware adaptation to oppositional resistance.

Vicky accommodated to her writing class with suppressive attitudes because the class did not fulfill her desire to be engaged in the imagined community of prestige. When the teacher switched to have students write a story, however, Vicky changed her negative attitudes and actively accommodated to the teaching instructions because she enjoyed writing stories and finding her own voices in the stories.

Before the assignment of story writing, Vicky's identity as an ESL writer was downplayed and her white prestige ideology was reinforced. Vicky often felt inferior and less confident when she wrote academic essays in the ESL composition class. She admired Americans who wrote beautiful movie scripts and well-written magazine articles. She was ashamed when her TWE score was not as good as she expected. She felt that she could never achieve the level to be able to join the imagined community of prestige.

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A transition of writing genres from academic essay to story writing transformed Vicky's inferior identity to that of an empowered one. When she was writing a story for the composition class, a new identity emerged; Vicky reconstructed her identity as an author. While writing academic essays was soulless for Vicky, she took the authorship as she wrote the story. She found her own voice in the story and enjoyed writing it:

E: Which assignment or project do you enjoy the most?
V: The story making one because I can think and write my own. But these [academic essays] have assigned topics.
E: Which writing are you most satisfied or dissatisfied with?
V: I think I'm most satisfied with the story writing because it is written by me.
E: You didn't write other essays?
V: Well I wrote them all, but the story, at least, how to say that, well, these [academic essays] are just, not me. (Vicky, Interview 3)

As this conversation shows, Vicky no longer felt inferior or less-competent when she talked about her experience writing the English story. On the contrary, she claimed the authorship of her story writing and was satisfied with it. Instead of viewing American writing as her model and goal, Vicky validated her identity as an ESL story writer.

Vicky enjoyed the assignment of story writing and followed the teacher's instructions actively. In this writing exercise, Vicky no longer desired to be engaged in the imagined community of prestige; rather, she simply enjoyed positioning herself as an ELL story writer. It was because of the alternative writing practice that Vicky's self-esteem and identity as an English writer was legitimized and empowered.

Similarly, the story writing exercise aroused Nick's identity as an author. Generally speaking, Nick took the stance of meta-aware adaptation in the ESL writing class. But he transformed his stance to oppositional resistance when he was asked to

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write a story in the composition class. His identity as a writer was thus aroused, and he tried his best to maintain his identity as a writer even resisted the teacher's instructions.

Nick had enjoyed writing in Chinese since high school; he liked to imagine and put his thoughts into words. He desired for self-expression and he enjoyed sharing his creativity with friends. He started to publish long and short fiction in his blog online when he went to college. In Taiwan, he constructed his identity as a Chinese novelist. Nick desired to be heard and so he wrote. The following conversation illuminates Nick's strong investment in his identity as a story writer.

> E: Which writing assignment do you enjoy the most?
> N: Mm, of course the story writing. Academic papers have limitation, and the story one is more like, it can open, open your imagination. I don't know. I have always enjoyed imagining since I was a child. The reason why I like to write is because one day I realized that it would be a wasted if I didn't express my ideas with others since there were so many things in my mind. So I started to write. (Nick, Interview 3)

Although Nick had never written fiction in English, he changed his position from adaptation to resistance when he knew about the assignment of story writing. Nick as no longer a good student who adapted to teaching authority and institutional requirements; instead, he reconstructed his identity as a writer of fiction. Ignoring the teacher's instructions and deadline, Nick delayed handing in his writing and spent more time organizing and writing the story. According to Nick, he failed to meet the deadline because he was interested in writing fiction and would like to make it perfect.

> E: Which writing or project did you enjoy the most?
> N: Story writing. Because I'm very interested in story writing, I really enjoy writing it. When you are writing something interesting, you feel enjoyable and won't be tired.
> E: So the story-writing project was the one you worked the hardest?

N: Yes, I procrastinated for several days to hand it. I spent a lot of time on the story and I wrote seven pages continuously. The story writing is my own interest. Hence, I was duty-bound and not to turn back; I strived for perfection. (Nick, Interview 3)

In general, Nick took the stance of meta-aware adaptation in the ESL composition class, but when the teaching practice conflicted with his identity as a writer of fiction, he resisted the teacher's instructions and insisted to write his own style. He even delayed the due day in order to make his story better. Nick switched to take the position of oppositional resistance to achieve his goal as an author:

E: Can you recall a situation when you insist to do things that your teacher doesn't like in class or in English writing?
N: Not that I can think of, except for handing in my story writing late. I was a bit resistant to that. At first I didn't have any ideas, and I was still working on the story when it was due. I delayed for several days because I didn't want to rush to finish it. I didn't want it to be lighthearted. Maybe that's the only situation. (Nick, Interview 3)

To sum up, different teaching practices and writing genres influenced how the students took on stances of accommodation and resistance in the ELL curriculum. The exercise of story writing provided space for the learners to reclaim authorship and to reconstruct identity as English writers of fiction.

In addition to writing genres, the participants took on different stances of accommodation and resistance when they had teachers of different racial backgrounds. In the ESL composition class in the beginner level, the teacher was changed. The American writing teacher who taught in the first session had personal reasons and thus could not continue teaching the class; a Korean teacher then taught in the second session. The contingencies of students' accommodation and resistance were thus varied. Because of the white prestige and native-speaker ideology, the students expect to be taught by white

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or American teachers who were deemed native speakers of English. The students tended to accommodate to their white teachers and some students resisted when their teachers were nonwhite. Although the students had negative attitudes toward their nonwhite teachers, some of them changed their negative conception and gave credit to the teachers at the end.

To begin with, many students had doubts when their writing teachers were changed from American to Korean. They questioned the Korean teacher's ability based on their first impression. For example, Wei talked about his doubts when he first saw his Korean teacher:

> E: What was your first impression on your new teacher?
> W: I felt awkward. I came to America, and a Korean was teaching me [laugh]. But, although, maybe this was just my first impression; maybe she excels at English composition or maybe she is very professional in this area. But my first impression was like, eh, how come she's a Korean? (Wei, Interview 2)

Wei portrays his ideal English writing teacher as American and implicitly shows his white prestige ideology and myth of native speakers. Although he considered the expertise of the Korean teacher, he had negative attitudes toward the class and took the stance of passive resistance, responding to the teacher's instructions.

> E: Which activity or content do you think is the most useful?
> W: None of them. To be honest, I didn't pay attention to er lecture because I thought what she said was useless. What she taught and the PowerPoint slides, actually, I didn't think they were helpful at all. Maybe it's because I knew those stuff already. (Wei, Interview 3)

In this excerpt, Wei shows his resistance to the writing class. He did not pay attention to the class because he thought that what the Korean teacher taught was not useful. Similarly, Monica expressed her doubtful attitudes toward the new Korean teacher. She

thought that the class was out of control, and the teacher's Korean accent made it even difficult to communicate:

> E: What was your first impression on your new teacher?
> M: She seemed to be nervous. I think she was out of control in the first class; it was chaotic. It was a big class, but her voice was not as loud as [the first teacher]; her voice was fainter. Also, her Korean, maybe her Korean accent couldn't, like our [American] tutors seemed not to understand what she was talking about. At the beginning, it was chaotic. Both the teacher and tutors didn't know what was going on. (Monica, Interview 2)

Although the students had negative attitudes toward the teacher and the writing class at the beginning, some of them changed their perception toward the end of the class. In the previous excerpt, Monica was doubtful for the new teacher's ability to manage the class; however, she was more satisfied with the class in the second session than the first one because she had more writing practices that would help her join the imagined community of prestige.

> E: Do the writing curriculum meet your expectation?
> M: Eh, my hopes in the first session were totally crushed. The second session was not bad. It was OK; at least, I like to have something done. A writing course should be practicing writing. I think it was meaningless to write two sentences describing a photo. Maybe this was the most basic thing; maybe writing for fun was the goal for the green and white level. But I want something different. I want to write essays; I want to learn about sentence structure, grammar, and useful phrases, and I want to know how to write graceful and longer essays, yeah, I want something more advanced. (Monica, Interview 3)

Despite her doubtful attitude toward the Korean teacher, Monica preferred this class because she was given an opportunity to learn and practice English writing skills to be a member of the imagined community of prestige.

Jeremy also had changing attitudes toward the two writing teachers. He actively accommodated to the class in the first session despite his awareness of the lack of

practice and assignment in English writing. After comparing with the class in the second session, however, Jeremy admitted that he was learning more writing skills with the Korean teacher. Comparing with the two writing classes taught by the American and Korean teachers, Jeremy said,

> J: I learn more in the present class because I can learn more writing skills. The teacher in the previous session had us spend more time taking pictures and interacting with tutors in small groups. The present teacher taught us writing skills before writing and told us where to pay attention to when we write. So generally speaking, I think this teacher taught more. (Jeremy, Interview 2)

Jeremy gave credit to the Korean teacher and approved her teaching practices. He felt that he could learn more in this class and thus put more effort in it:

> J: I needed to pay more attention in class because the teacher only presented PowerPoint instruction once. Also, she usually told us what to write next class, so I needed to prepare for the next writing a bit. This was not like photography. I knew what to write when I saw the photo; this one, she gave us sample writing, and we had to think about how to write our own. (Jeremy, Interview 2)

After changing the writing teacher, Jeremy also changed his attitudes toward the first writing class. In the first section, Jeremy tried to justify the teacher's instruction and find value from the class. He thought that photography was a way to help writing fluency and that conversation with American tutors was a good speaking practice. His positive attitudes changed when he learned more about English composition in the second session. He paid attention to and put more effort into the class. He actively accommodated to both teachers' instructions, seeing the possibilities of engaging in the imagined community of white academy. His accommodation to the class in the first period was based on his white prestige ideology, assuming the good quality of American education; nevertheless, Jeremy valued the good quality of the writing class in the second session and thus actively accommodated to the teacher's instructions.

The students also took on different positions in different periods of time during the semester. In the previous section, I discussed how Gloria took the stance of passive resistance in the writing class because of mismatches of goals between herself and the teacher; however, she did not take this position when she first entered the class. As time went by, Gloria changed her position responding to the teacher's instructions in the ESL composition class. At first, she was excited about learning academic English writing and expected to be assimilated into English writing styles. Her investment in learning the English language and American culture had been strong because of her positive attitudes toward American education and culture. Therefore, at the beginning of the semester, she actively accommodated to the teaching instructions, hoping to learn American ways of English composition. In the middle of the semester, however, she started to feel that the writing class could not fulfill her desire to be engaged in the imagined community of prestige. Negative attitudes began to appear in her classroom behaviors as well as in our conversations. In this period, she adopted the stance of suppressive accommodation. Toward the end of the semester, she gave up her hope to join the white academy and took the stance of passive resistance in the writing class. Although neither the teaching practices nor Gloria's goals changed, as time went by, Gloria took on different stances in the writing class.

To begin with, Gloria perceived American education as better than Taiwanese one and thus desired to be assimilated to be a legitimate member in the community of white academy. Comparing and contrasting learning experiences in the United States and in Taiwan, Gloria expressed positive attitudes toward American education the terms of teaching styles:

G: I think the teaching styles are very different. In America, because there are fewer students in class, only ten or so people, teachers would ask for your opinions in class. It is different in Taiwan: Usually teachers lecture and students listen. There is not much interaction. In America, however, students are very active in expressing themselves. Interaction between teachers and students are pretty good. Therefore, I would pay more attention in class to listen to their conversation because it seems interesting. But I don't really want to listen to the lecture, nor go to class in Taiwan. (Gloria, Interview 1)

Thus, at the beginning of the writing class, Gloria followed the teacher's instructions and tried hard to invest in her American identity and in the imagined community of prestige. She took the stance of active accommodation, expecting to learn American ways of composition. She went to class on time, paid attention to instructions, asked questions, worked hard on writing assignment, and was engaged in class discussions. The writing teacher suggested a reference book of sample TWE writing and Gloria read the book even though it was not required. She also tried her best to improve her writing papers; she went to the Writing Center and asked her American friends to check her papers before handing in.

In the middle of the semester, Gloria started to complain about the class. According to Gloria, instead of learning the American way of writing, she felt the way she was taught to write was unnatural and too form-focused. The teacher's instructions about English composition were not what Gloria hoped to learn. In addition, she had negative attitudes toward peer editing. When peer editing was first introduced by the writing teacher, Gloria thought that she might learn something from the activity and thus followed the instructions. After few weeks of practices, she started to question the activity. She wanted her papers to be corrected by her teacher who could give legitimate

and useful feedback, instead of her unhelpful international peers. As a result, Gloria started to lose faith in the class and took on the stance of suppressive accommodation.

Toward the end of the semester, Gloria changed to passively resist the teacher's instructions, realizing that she would never learn American way of writing in the class. Instead of accommodating to the class, Gloria no longer worked hard. She was indifferent and tended to do different things than the teacher's order because her desire and the teacher's goals of the writing class were different.

Gloria's example along with other stories discussed in this chapter is not uncommon in a composition classroom. Students take on different positions of accommodation and resistance because of different teachers, their teaching approaches, and writing genres during different period of learning process. Multilingual writers (re)construct their identities and show their investment in the imagined communities, taking on a variety of stances of accommodation and resistance. Exploring sociopolitical factors of students' accommodation and resistance, I found that the participants' white prestige and native-speaker ideology was often reinforced by the ESL teaching practices. When teachers fail to recognize students' accommodation, they fulfill the students' desires, and at the same time, the might reinforce the students_ white prestige ideology with unreflective teaching practices. In other words, although students successfully engage in the community of prestige, their cultural heritage was devalued and they still feel inferior to white culture. Understanding sociopolitical factors of students_ accommodation and resistance, a teacher can be better prepared to give space for students_ negotiation of identities and to help students appreciate their L1 cultural heritage.

In conclusion, results of this research indicate that various responses to ESL composition classes, including unreflective compliance, active, suppressive, or meta-aware accommodation, transformational adaptation, and passive or oppositional resistance, are manifested. More specifically, multilingual students strategically adopted stances of accommodation and resistance, which often involved identity (re)construction and ideological implications. Identity factors include desires to maintain L1 identity, to be identified with the white academy, or to gain higher social status. Ideology factors include Americanism or white prestige ideology and the concept of native-speaker privilege or nativespeakerism (Holliday, 2005). Furthermore, the findings show that Taiwanese students expressed their investment in the imagined community of prestige through taking stances of accommodation and resistance. I found that these stances sustain white prestige within the ESL composition class. Generally speaking, the research participants tended to accommodate to classes that would fulfill their desires to be identified with the white academy; they resisted classes that did not help them to be engaged in the imagined community of prestige. I illustrate how Taiwanese students' stances of accommodation and resistance sustain ideology of racial, class, and linguistic privilege in the United States and in Taiwan. In the next chapter, I discuss how an essentialist view of teaching and learning reinforce multilingual writers' identity of inferiority and legitimate unequal power relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

I have chosen to investigate how multilingual writers respond to teaching authority in composition classes because I feel students' behaviors of accommodation and resistance are often misinterpreted. When students fail to conform to teaching instruction, their non-participation and resistance tends to be categorized as ―bad‖ and ―problematic,‖ and their writing is viewed as ―deficient.‖ The purpose of the research is to better understand student behaviors in language classrooms and how the patterns of resistance and accommodation can be explained in terms of students' identity claims and the white prestige ideology of ESL composition teachers and students. The study offers a complex picture of multilingual writers' acceptance and rejection of various aspects of their English literacy education.

I adopt a critical, postmodernist, and poststructuralist view of language and teaching, one that challenges to unequal power relations. Applying a sociopolitical viewpoint and the communities of practice framework (Wenger, 1998), I take a critical stance, viewing language and discourse as a means of constructing and manipulating knowledge, meaning, and identity. This study has offered an examination of students' stances of accommodation and resistance from a sociopolitical perspective. I have argued that the learning of English writing should be embedded in a complicated social, cultural, economic, and political context rather than one that assumes writing instruction and students' views of language are neutral and have no ideological implications. Therefore, the study attempts to explore how sociopolitical factors such as white prestige ideology

and identity construction affect multilingual writers' attitudes toward ESL composition instruction.

In chapter four, I answered my first research question how Taiwanese ESL learners accommodate and resist composition curriculum and instruction, by discussing how Taiwanese participants in this study strategically adopted stances of accommodation and resistance in ESL composition class, including unreflective compliance; active, suppressive, or meta-aware accommodation; transformational adaptation; and passive or oppositional resistance. I also discussed the contingency of the stances. The study found that the positions students took were fluid and dynamic. The participants took on stances due to their particular desires, different teaching approaches, and teachers' racial backgrounds; they also switched to various other stances during different periods of time in the composition classes. In all, the research participants were active agents taking stances of accommodation and resistance that depended on their needs and more importantly, on identity construction and ideological implications. And such stances were not static instead, the students constantly changed from one position to another.

Addressing the second research question how sociopolitical factors such as identity, ideology, and investment play a role in student accommodation and resistance in ESL composition classes, I first talked about the construction of whiteness as well as the narrative that privileges white people and the English language in Taiwanese society. In particular, I discussed the hierarchy of languages in Taiwan, the use of language as identity markers, the desires to learn English, and the fantasy of whiteness among Taiwanese people. Then I illuminated how sociopolitical factors such as ideological implications and identity construction significantly influenced the patterns of students'

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stances of accommodation and resistance in ESL composition classes. Ideological factors include Americanism or white prestige ideology and the concept of native-speaker privilege or nativespeakerism (Holliday, 2005). Identity factors include desires to maintain L1 identity, to be identified with the white academy, and to gain higher social status. Furthermore, I showed how Taiwanese students expressed their investment in the imagined community of prestige through taking stances of accommodation and resistance. Generally speaking, the research participants tended to accommodate to classes that would fulfill their desires to be identified with the white academy; they resisted classes that did not help them to be engaged in the imagined community of prestige.

In this chapter, I begin with a discussion of the findings. I explain how the study shifts its view of L2 students from considering them strugglers to considering them active agents who adopted stances of accommodation and resistance. Then I discuss how students' behavioral and rhetorical patterns in ESL composition class often involved ideological perceptions and identity construction that were interrelated with students' investment in the imagined communities. Next, I talk about two models, the model of assimilation and the model of empowerment, derived in the study and how they explain and illustrate the research findings. Through these two models, I argue that L2 writers' discursive practices in learning English composition can be dangerous because they construct students' identity as inferior and reinforce unequal power relations. I also argue that students who had developed L1 identity were able to resist the identity of inferiority, challenge the unjust ideologies, and so empower themselves in the learning of ESL composition. Finally, I conclude the chapter by discussing the implications of this study for ESL literacy research and pedagogy.

An Agentive View of Multilingual Writers

As I have discussed in chapter four, Taiwanese students strategically took different stances of accommodation and resistance in ESL composition class, hoping to fulfill their desires to be someone or join certain communities. While a deterministic view of writing and constructing knowledge has been criticized in recent research, most of it focuses on students' struggles and passive roles in learning. This study shifts the focus from L2 writers as strugglers to a more agentive view of L2 writers as those who adopt stances of accommodation and resistance.

Previous research on L2 writing, which focused on ESL students' experiences of learning to write academic English, described how ESL writers struggle to learn the conventions and expectations of the American academic audience. For example, in Spack's (1997b) longitudinal case study of a Japanese girl enrolled in an ESL composition course in the United States documented how the student struggled to complete the course and why she failed the course in her first year. However, in my study, I looked at multilingual writers' learning experiences from a different angle. Instead of characterizing L2 writers' learning experiences as struggling to comply with the English academic conventions and instruction, I found my participants were active agents who chose to take on various stances of accommodation and resistance to fulfill their needs.

To illustrate, one of the participants, Angela, took the stance of transformational accommodation and challenged the privilege accorded to standard American English by negotiating spaces to bring her Chinese rhetoric into the dominant rhetorical conventions. As an active agent, she negotiated competing rhetorical demands between Chinese and English composition by constructing her identity as a multi-competent language user

(Cook, 1999). Angela legitimated herself as a valid English writer as well as maintained her identity as good Chinese writer by taking the stance of transformational accommodation in ESL composition class. Instead of blindly accepting whatever her English instructor taught, Angela was her own agent who negotiated with the dominant discourses and brought her native cultures and languages into the literacy classroom.

<div align="center">Determinants of Behavioral Patterns</div>

I have discussed how students actively took stances of accommodation and resistance in learning English writing; now I would like to talk about the determinants of these behavioral patterns. In what follows, I argue that students' various responses to ESL composition classes involved ideological perceptions and identity (re)construction, and that these factors were interrelated with the students' investment in the imagined community of prestige.

Ideological perceptions include white prestige ideology and the concept of native-speaker privilege or nativespeakerism (Holliday, 2005). Students who accepted white prestige ideology thought that white people had superior status and privilege. Native-speaker privilege means that native speakers of English had superior status and privilege. To illustrate, the following excerpt shows Gloria's white prestige ideology:

> E: Do you think there are any unnecessary things in class or things that are lacking?
> G: Lacking something… I think…mmm… at the beginning the teacher talked about how to compose, like how to write an introduction or conclusion. She gave us some sample writings. But I think the teacher should talk more about, like… normal articles don't follow patterns in the sample writings… She should teach us how to make our English writings more lively, rather than English composition written in Taiwan. *She should tell us ways to write more American-like*; instead of unnatural style of writing … *The teacher should teach us how to compose like Americans*. (Gloria, Interview 3; emphasis added)

The writing teacher gave Gloria the five-paragraph sample writings that Gloria had learned in Taiwan. She was expecting to learn something more ―American‖ and ―natural‖ instead of something she had learned in Taiwan. This excerpt clearly shows how Gloria desired to write in American ways to enter the white academy.

Also, identity construction played an important role in the students' behavioral and rhetorical patterns; they would set goals in light of such constructed identities as the white academic community, the prestigious White, and good Chinese writers. Some students desired to be identified with the white academy, so they accommodated or resisted teaching instruction and instead constructed a white academic identity. For example, with white prestige ideology in mind, Jeremy actively participated in the ESL composition class in hopes of gaining access to the white academic community. A similar identity to this is the prestigious white identity: students desired to gain higher social status by learning American (White) ways of doing things. However, while some students desired to be associated with white academy and culture, some hoped to maintain L1 identity in English writing and thus constructed an identity as good Chinese writers.

In addition to ideological implications and identity construction, the findings show that Taiwanese students expressed their investment in the imagined community of prestige through taking stances of accommodation and resistance. For instance, Gloria invested in the imagined community of prestige through passive resistance. I have shown that her white prestige ideology explained her desire to invest in the imagined community of prestige: if the English writing instruction did not meet her desires, she would take the stance of passive resistance, manifesting indifferent and lazy behaviors. For example, in one of the writing activities, the teacher asked students to do peer editing. Gloria was

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bored; instead of working on the peer-editing, she browsed online and lay prone on the desk. She explained why she did not engage in the peer-editing activity:

> G: My papers edited by my classmates were only… I felt that *actually they didn't dare to correct my sentences and teach me how to write because they were not certain*. They would think maybe my ways were right. Therefore, my classmates usually checked *s* [plural form] or verb tenses, and they wouldn't tell me how to write a sentence. They only checked these kinds of small aspects, so I think it was OK, not really a big help. (Gloria, Interview 2)

Gloria saw her American teacher as the only legitimate corrector. This example indicates the interrelationship between students' identity construction, ideological perceptions, and investment in the imagined communities. To sum up, determinants such as identity, ideology, and investment had great influence on students' behavioral and rhetorical patterns in L2 writing class. Figure 2 shows the complex relationships between sociopolitical factors and how they affected students' stances of accommodation and resistance.
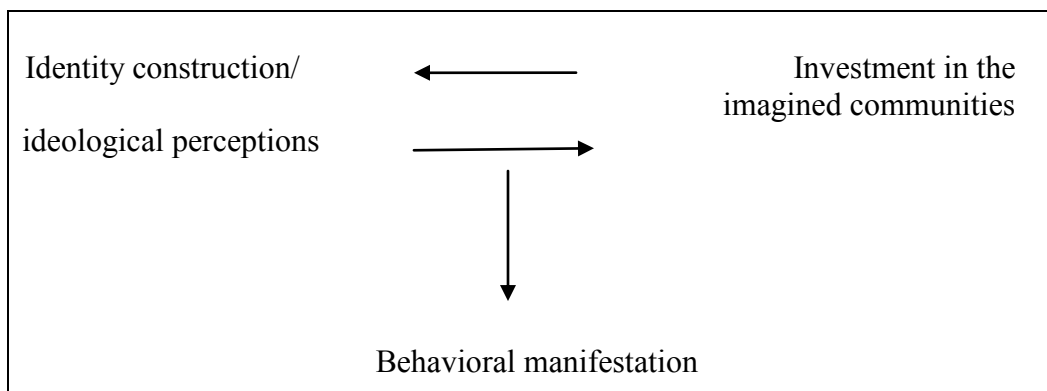

Figure 2 Determinants of behavioral patterns in L2 writing class.

Model of Assimilation and Empowerment

In this section, I argue that (1) Taiwanese students' stances of accommodation and resistance sustain the ideologies of racial, class, and linguistic privilege in the United States and in Taiwan; (2) an essentialist view of teaching and learning reinforces

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multilingual writers' identity of inferiority and legitimates unequal power relations; and (3) students who position themselves as good Chinese writers are able to resist the ideology of the ESL composition class and the identity of inferiority. Also, I present the model of assimilation and the model of empowerment derived from the study to illustrate my arguments.

Reinforcing Unequal Power Relations and Ideologies

The findings indicated that students' accommodation and resistance was interrelated with their investment in learning ESL literacy. Most participants in the study had a strong investment in learning English academic composition; they accommodated to teaching instruction that would help them become familiar with conventions of English academic writing, and they resisted when the class instruction was unable to provide means to gain admittance to the white academy. A partial explanation for this may lie in the fact that white prestige and native-speaker prestige ideology is commonly accepted in Taiwanese society. Whites and native speakers of English are discursively constructed in Taiwanese society as privileged signifier through language policy, media, etc. Teachers and parents have transmitted and reinforced the superior status of white people and the myth of native speakers of English by demanding that their students and children be involved in learning as much ―standard‖ English as possible with native speakers, who are determined by skin color.

What factors have led to the overwhelming ideology of white prestige? The major reason it is prevalent is probably that the global view of white dominance is (re)produced through the process of globalization. Under the name of globalization, the spread of English is promoted. However, the spread of English often produces and perpetuates

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Taiwanese students' white prestige ideology and further reinforces unequal power relations between the White and the Other. For example, students in my research actively participated in the ESL composition class because they hoped it would fulfill their desire to enjoy prestigious status. In the process of learning and learning English composition, writing teachers and students subconsciously or consciously accepted and reinforced white prestige ideology and unequal power relations. Grant and Lee's (2009) research confirmed my argument, as they pointed out that language is often related to race and social class and that it often sustains privileging ideologies:

> Hegemonic ideologies of language and of the relationships between language, race, and social class have played an important role in official constructions of difference. We find that these differences sustain White middle-class privilege within the United States and solidify U.S. political, military, and material economy worldwide. We contend that the political economy of language pivots around commodification and global capitalism. This is to say, language (i.e., English) has come to represent capital and power and symbolizes a kind of dividing rod of class and racial disparity within the United States and around the world. (p. 44-45)

Holliday (2005) also challenged the notion of nativespeakerism and the myth of the superiority of native-speaker teachers of English. He addressed cultural chauvinism in TESOL, in which the ideology of nativespeakerism is to correct the Other culture of the nonnative speakers. Therefore, while promoting the learning of English language in the era of globalization, language ideologies inevitably create differences and hierarchy. The learning of English literacy is embedded within unequal power relations and ideologies.

This phenomenon is also manifested in ESL composition class, where Taiwanese students construct identity of inferiority.

Identity of Inferiority

While the spread of English (re)produces white prestige ideology, it also results in Taiwanese students' considering themselves as people of inferior status. Most Taiwanese students in my research constructed an identity of inferiority in their English composition classes because of their white prestige and native-speaker ideology. They felt unconfident in their English composition and viewed their writing teachers as legitimate correctors. Thus, they viewed themselves as inferior goods waiting for opportunities to upgrade. Taiwanese writers accommodated or resisted teaching instruction to invest in the imagined community of prestige so that they could enjoy social capital and higher social status. They gained superficial empowerment when investing in the imagined community of prestige. I interpret this to mean that an essentialist view of learning and teaching constructs an identity of inferiority and reinforces white prestige ideology and unequal power relations.

Jeremy is an example of one who constructed an identity of inferiority through active accommodation.

> E: Why does learning these writing skills make you happy?
> J: I think people can better understand me if I write this way in the future . . . Because if I'm writing to share with people, at least I need to make people understand me easily and at least make my writing *logical and systematic*.
> E: So your previous papers were more difficult to understand?
> J: Mm, based on my previous composing skills, *my writings were disorderly*. I was unable to describe a thing clearly. . . So, I was less competent in writing before. (Jeremy, Interview 2; emphasis mine)

Jeremy actively accommodated to writing instruction in hopes of fulfilling to be part of the imagined community of prestige. Although he was able to gain self-esteem by engaging in the community of prestige, his confidence was a result of his successful assimilation into English academic writing conventions, not the notion of multicompetent language users introduced by Cook (1999). These discursive practices of learning of English composition, hence, often reproduced and reinforced Jeremy's and other Taiwanese students' identity of inferiority and white prestige ideology.

Taiwanese students constructed an identity of inferiority when they were learning English composition or writing compositions. They tended to accommodate to their American teachers or English ways of composing, which they viewed as superior. The findings indicate that Taiwanese students viewed their own English writing as immature and problematic and saw L1 as a barrier that prevented their English writing from being understood by American readers. Their definition of good English writing was writing with English formats and conventions rather than a translation of Chinese. In other words, these students wanted to be assimilated to English academic writing conventions rather than to negotiate with their L1 linguistic repertoire; they saw the English way of composing as universally valid rather than as a social or ideological construct. This essentialist attitude showed how student accommodation and resistance and identity of inferiority are interrelated with white prestige and native-speaker ideology.

This argument leads to Grant and Lee's (2009) statement about the danger of unjust ideologies in promoting English language. They contended that the spread of English has social and ideological implications that marginalize heritage languages and cultures:

The crafting of English as economic and cultural commodity means that

hegemonic constructions of identity around language often situate people of color

in competing, and frequently hostile, positions relative to one another . . . As a

result, the evolving hegemonic notions of race and language continue to subjugate

[and] marginalize . . . varieties of English, and indigenous and heritage languages.

(p. 45)

The learning of English composition is embedded in social and political contexts.

Through the spread of English under the name of globalization, the unequal power

relations between the dominant White and the Other maintain. The process of learning

English writing is part of the vicious circle that produces and reproduces unequal power

relations and ideologies. In my study, the Taiwanese students carried white prestige

ideology when they entered ESL composition classrooms and they worked hard to invest

in the community of prestige through taking various stances of resistance and

accommodation. These stances empowered the students by helping them gain social and

economic capital, and these same stances also devalued the students' L1 heritage. The

students viewed American or white culture as superior than their own, and they treated

their own way of doing things (e.g., composition) as inferior and problematic. The

learning of English composition for these multilingual writers did not really empower

them; instead, they constructed an identity of inferiority that resulted from their

agreement with subscription to white prestige ideology. In turn, these discursive practices

reinforced the unequal power relations in learning ESL composition. This cycle is clear

and demonstrates how social and political factors such as identity, investment, and

ideology are intertwined with students' accommodation and resistance, which reproduces

inequality. After I conducted the research, I derived the model of how this operates.

Figure 3 illustrates the circle of assimilation that reinforces unequal power relations.
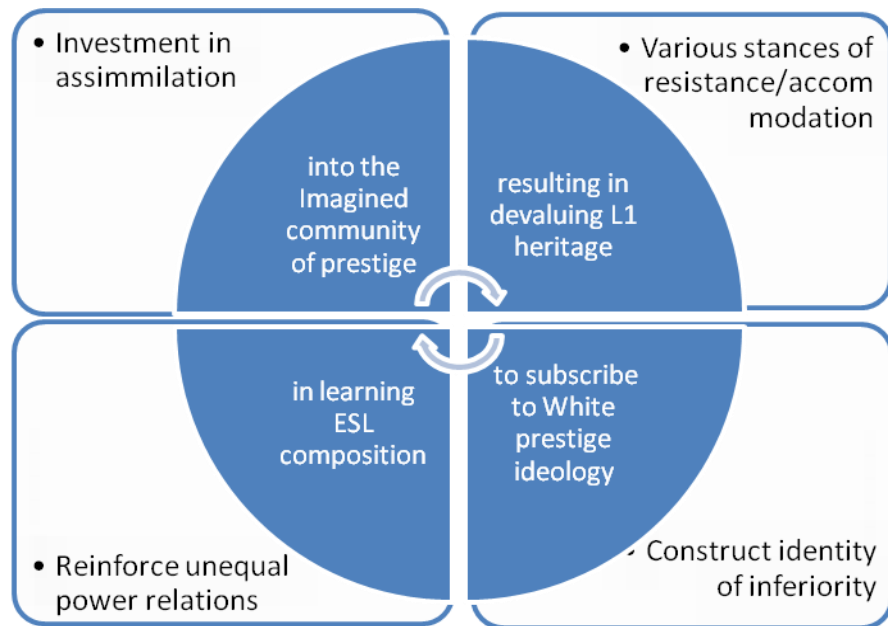
Figure 3 Model of assimilation: Reinforcing unequal power relations.

Developed L1 Identity

While the previous section pointed out that most Taiwanese students constructed an identity of inferiority and took stances of accommodation and resistance to be accepted by the imagined community of prestige, not all students did so. Students who positioned themselves as good Chinese writers were able to resist the ideology of the ESL composition class and the identity of inferiority; furthermore, they could channel that resistance via the stances of meta-aware accommodation and transformational adaptation. Both Angela and Nick constructed identities as good Chinese writers, which empowered them in the learning of English composition in terms of enhanced negotiation capability. I will give an example of how Angela took the stance of transformational adaptation to invest in the imagined community of multicompetent language users.

The following except showed how Angela resisted identity of inferiority through transformational adaptation in her writing.

> *Grant Street is my favorite side in [the university].* I enjoy every time I go through it. Because it is beautiful when those leaves fall from trees. Sometimes I saw those *fallen leaves to fly about a bus passing the street*. And I stop by footsteps to observe those people who pass away or those leaves change their colors. It is a romantic thing to stop my steps and be with trees. That doesn't matter that people are busy or leisurely, when they pass Grant Street. *The street is always quiet and smile to people.* (Angela, Essay 1; italics added)

Although the piece of writing is not one hundred percent clear, I think it is very poetic, and in fact, this is also the writer's intention. In our interview, she talked about how she managed to maintain her L1 identity without violating the teacher's instructions.

> Like this one I wrote the main idea she wanted. She asked us to come up with a topic sentence first. So I wrote, I wrote about how I enjoy each time passing by the trees because they're lovely. When those leaves falling from the trees . . . I mean these sentences sounded like me. Ha-ha, yeah. It's a bit like Chinese writing . . . English writing requires you to write down your point first. But after my topic sentence, I wrote something poeticized, like Chinese. (Angela, Interview 3)

Angela reclaimed ownership in the English writing and empowered herself through taking the stance of transformational adaptation. The following figure illustrates Angela's investment in empowerment as well as the process of redefining unequal power relations.
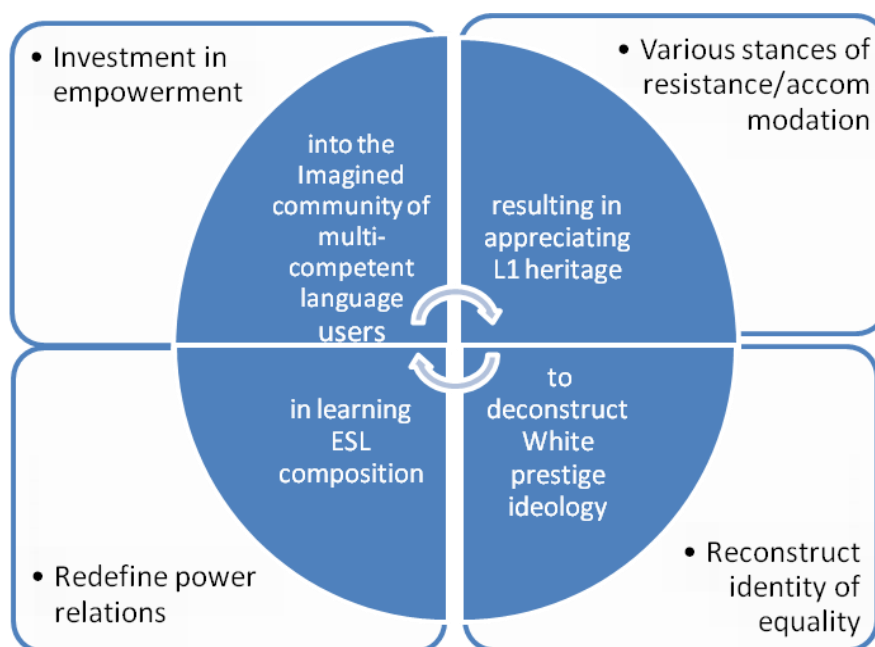
Figure 4 Model of empowerment: Redefining power relations.

In this section, I have discussed how Taiwanese students' stances of accommodation and resistance sustain ideology of racial, class, and linguistic privilege in the United States and in Taiwan; I have also illustrated how an essentialist view of teaching and learning reinforces multilingual writers' identity of inferiority and legitimates unequal power relations. Finally, I have contended that students who position themselves as good Chinese writers are able to resist the ideology of ESL composition class and the identity of inferiority. Next I turn to the discussion of implications for research and pedagogy in L2 writing.

Implications for Research in L2 Writing

As I have mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, I adopted a critical framework with a focus on sociopolitical viewpoints. This approach pays great attention to individuality and the cultural heritage of multilingual writers. It views language and discourse as means of constructing and manipulating knowledge, meaning, and identity.

More importantly, the framework challenges unequal power relations and seeks equality and empowerment in L2 writing education. This sociopolitical approach allows me to ask how identity, ideology, and investment might account for students' behaviors in terms of how they respond to teaching authority in ESL composition class.

While traditional research studies how micro-level variables, such as cognitive factors, influence students' behaviors in the language classroom, it offers only one approach to understanding the problem. The current study adds another dimension to this line of research by exploring macro-level factors. Therefore, this framework offers the possibility for a more complicated and complete picture of students' behavioral and rhetorical patterns in L2 writing (classrooms).

In this regard, the sociopolitical perspective has some implications for future research into students' behaviors in ESL composition classes. First, a sociopolitical approach considers the social and political dimensions of L2 literacy learning and behavioral manifestations. It asks L2 writing researchers to investigate L2 writers in a worldwide setting instead of in an isolated, world-free classroom context. This means that researchers need to situate findings and consider historical, cultural, social, and political relations. For example, measurements of student motivation will be completely different in different research settings. Therefore, a sociopolitical approach invites future research to contextualize traditional research on student behavior and considers sociopolitical factors, which will yield different realization.

Second, a critical sociopolitical perspective asks researchers to view language as a means of manipulating people and knowledge in the world. I have drawn upon the scholarship on the ideology of nativespeakerism (Holliday, 2005) and the concept of

investment (Pierce, 1995) as an analytical framework for understanding how multilingual writers accommodate to and resist teaching authority. Students are complex social beings who have particular needs and desires. My study shows how students' ideologies are intertwined with their investment in the identity of privilege and the imagined community of the white academy. While ELLs become members of the English academic community, they also become members of the multilingual community; this requires them to constantly negotiate between different rhetorical discourses and challenge the status quo and the implicated power relations.

Finally, while my research has focused on how sociopolitical factors play a role in Taiwanese ELLs' behaviors, I hope that it will inspire other research that explores how ideology perspectives, identity construction, and investment influence multilingual writers' accommodation and resistance in other contexts.

Implications for L2 Writing Pedagogy

Regarding the issue of L2 writing pedagogy, this study has several implications for teaching. To begin with, it shows the importance of the politics of ESL writing instruction. If writing teachers fail to address issues of power and history, U.S. ethnocentrism will be promoted instead. Therefore, this study is significant in that in helps ESL writing teachers and multilingual writers recognize the existence of power difference and ideology, deconstruct hierarchy, and challenge unequal power relations. According to Fairclough (2001), the exercise of power is increasingly achieved through ideology in modern society. Because of white prestige ideology and the ideology of native-speaker privilege, some of the participants did not recognize the existence of American organizations' power and imposition of knowledge, instead taking both for

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granted and accepting whatever the organizations said. They accepted American ways of education and composition, disregarding their own needs and their applicability. It is important to help ELLs rethink whose norms are operationalized in ESL composition classes. In addition to students' awareness of power being raised, the issue of race should not be neglected. Results of the study indicated that the racialization process is mutual. Not only did white people take advantage of white prestige, ELLs were often overly self-conscious about their nonwhite and nonnative speaker status. If teachers fail to bring racial issues to students' attention, teaching of L2 writing might help reproduce racial prejudice.

Addressing unequal power relations of language and culture, Canagarajah (2002) suggested teachers and educators help students grow an identity of equality. Canagarajah agreeed with the Contact Zone perspectives and proposed that instead of switching or infusing discourses, students should appropriate the dominant discourse critically and bring their experiences, interests, values, and identities to their writing projects. Concerning the implications of teaching critical contrastive rhetoric, Kubota and Lehner (2004) also encouraged L2 writing instruction help students express themselves freely and bring their own identities into their writings. Finally, Canagarajah (2006) proposed the concept of *code meshing* in which multilingual writers employ World Englishes to represent their own voice and identity in Standard Written English (SWE).

The perspective of bringing students' identities to their English writing reminds teachers and educators to view students' L1 as a resource instead of interference. Academic discourse and experience can either empower or silence ELLs. It empowers them when it includes students' cultural practices and silences them when it excludes

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those outside the mainstream. The findings indicated that a developed L1 identity helped students negotiate in the midst of conflicting rhetoric and resist the identity of inferiority. Thus, language teachers can empower students by appreciating their L1.

In addition, the present study suggests that L2 teachers should not take the students' accommodation for granted and they should constantly reflect on their own teaching practices, especially when learners resist teaching instructions. Student resistance needs to be grapple with so that student voice can be heard, especially the developing voice of competing discourse. As Canagarajah (1997) proclaimed, ―students' behavior and discourses which need to be critically unpacked for their hidden values and implications" (p. 193). He argued that student resistance can seek for pedagogical values from seemingly irrelevant and disruptive student behaviors.

Furthermore, the study promotes a vision of pedagogy that reimagines, repositions, and reconceptualizes the imagined community of prestige to a multilingual user community. Drawing on Cook (1999, 2002), Pavlenko (2003) asserted that language teachers should create a space for reimagination of identities that is multicompetent and bilingual/multilingual. Examples in my study show that it is through the process of reimagining that students are able to reconstruct an identity of equality and ultimately to redefine unequal power relations. Some students actively participated in the ESL composition class hoping to be engaged in the imagined community of prestige. But in fact, through the process of assimilation, they were constructing an identity of inferiority and reinforcing the unequal racial ideologies that work against them. Hence, it is the teacher's job to give space for student negotiation.

Concerning the above issues in L2 writing pedagogy, I would like to propose using *multicultural rhetoric* as a way of negotiating identities between two discourses. The pedagogy of multicultural rhetoric helps multilingual writers perform persuasively for disciplinary audiences while maintaining their own values; it integrates the Western academic approach and students' cultural heritage and makes it possible for students to write themselves into the academy.

Asante (1998) and Mao (2006) demonstrated how to negotiate and find a space between Western standards and the home culture. Working toward multicultural rhetoric, both Asante and Mao established agencies and promote social equality in searching social and political transformation. Asante and Mao provided good examples of multicultural rhetoric that challenged the dominant discourse, appreciated home culture, and disrupted unequal power relations. In their projects of multicultural rhetoric, L2 writers are no longer being oppressed and considering themselves inferior; instead, they are able to establish agencies and negotiate/find a space to represent their own identities.

In his book *The Afrocentric Idea*, Asante (1998) challenged the weakness of the Eurocentric conceptions and proposes an Afrocentric method that seeks structural equality. He argued that African behaviors and reactions are often examined from the Eurocentric perspectives and thus produce misunderstandings. The misunderstandings between the Eurocentric and other perspectives triggered Asante's (1998) creation of an alternative world view, which he called ―Afrocentricity.‖ Afrocentricity, according to Asante, meant ―literally placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior‖ (p. 2). Asante used an Afrocentric method to interpret

African studies, aiming to establish African agency in the creation of equal social and political transformation and rejects any forms of domination. As he stated,

> In the spirit of pursuing the American guest, the Afrocentric idea is projected as a model for intercultural agency in which pluralism exists without hierarchy and respect for cultural origins, achievements, and prospects is freely granted. (p. xii)

In the processes and products of the Afrocentric project, Asante (1998) not only criticized European culture, but also glorified African culture. He successfully promoted the legitimacy of African epistemology by contrasting the rhetoric of the two cultures. Asante pointed out different ways the Eurocentric and Afrocentric perspectives view society. He argued that Eurocentrists take a linear view, seeking to predict and control, whereas an Afrocentric view is circular in nature and tends to interpret and understand. Distinguishing the Western Eurocentric orators from the Afrocentric orators, Asante claimed that Western Eurocentric orators attempt to establish a stimulus-response relationship with the audience. In contrast, spoken or written discourse of Afrocentric orators cultivates and promotes group harmony rather than stimulation. Also, according to Asante, the Afrocentric ideology focuses on community rather than individuality, and it pays attention to harmony in communication. Drawing on a massive literature, Black studies in Asante's Afrocentric project embody the spirit of multicultural rhetoric with expansive concepts.

The Afrocentricity demonstrated by Asante (1998) is a good practice of multicultural rhetoric in which home culture and L1 heritage is appreciated. Asante validated Africans' identity, injected African agency, and presented ways of negotiation between home and dominant discourses. While Asante disrupted traditional ideology of

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white supremacy centering on his home culture, Mao (2006) attempted to find balances between Chinese and American cultures instead of focusing mainly on one culture.

In his recent book, *Reading Chinese Fortune Cookie: The Making of Chinese American Rhetoric,* Mao (2006) disrupted the boundary between practices in American and Chinese rhetoric and promoted a sense of togetherness-in-difference through the making of Chinese American rhetoric. As he stated, Chinese American rhetoric ―selects and invents from *both* Chinese rhetorical tradition *and* European American rhetorical tradition, and it engages these two traditions in a way that blur boundaries and that may disrupt asymmetrical relations of power" (p. 22).

Mao (2006) used the Chinese fortune cookie as an analogy of the making of Chinese American rhetoric. He contended that the Chinese fortune cookie serves as finale in Chinese restaurants in America, like multicultural rhetoric is a combination of two traditions: Chinese and Western European traditions. The use of Chinese fortune cookies is an ancient tradition of covert communication with message-stuffed pastry beginning in the fourteenth century in China. Meanwhile, serving desserts after meals is a Western European tradition; Chinese restaurants in places such as China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, never serve Chinese fortune cookies. Mao thus argued that the making of Chinese American rhetoric is similar to the birth of Chinese fortune cookies. Multicultural rhetoric, according to Mao, is processed and produced in a border zone where two cultures come into contact and their rhetorical experiences combine with each other. Mao used the Chinese fortune cookie to represent an example of a hybrid cultural creation that is both unified and contradictory, instead of detached and exotic artifacts.

The framework of multicultural rhetoric helps me see textual possibilities of minimizing teaching practices and institutional structures that oppress or silence the individual's voice. I hope to help students to validate target culture expectations as well as to value their own culture and to create hybrid discourses, instead of learning the target cultures and discourses passively.

In summary, there is no best method for teaching writing and writing pedagogy is situated and should be localized. It is important to understand that L2 composition is embedded in both cognitive processes and in a sociocultural and political context. Second language writing is intricately related to such various factors as learners' multiple identities, ideologies, audiences, and genres of writing, which are inseparable from their particular sociopolitical and cultural contexts. In other words, the whole process of literacy practices is socially and culturally constructed.

When considering the implications of teaching ESL composition, teachers need to view students' L1 as an important resource rather than a hindrance. ESL composition teachers should empower students by helping them appreciate their own cultures and languages, address the unequal power relations of languages, and raise students' awareness of the operation of language hierarchy. Students should be empowered to better appreciate their own culture and language and be encouraged to express themselves freely, bringing their own identities into their writing.

Finally, it is important to view L2 composition educators as transformative intellectuals (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993) who advocate individual empowerment and social transformation (Weiler, 1988). When addressing the unequal power relations of languages and cultures, teachers should help L2 writers grow aware of language

inequality. The most important thing is to help L2 writers learn to express their native linguistic and cultural identities, instead of writing to imitate native-English-speakers' texts and proficiency.

Directions for Future Research

Further studies on the significance of L1 in the students' accommodation and resistance to ESL composition instruction would benefit the field of second language writing. The findings of the present study are primarily limited by the fact that multilingual writers' L1 proficiency was not examined. Students' L1 writing proficiency might influence how they negotiate between dominant and local discourses. Future studies might explore the same questions in this study with evidence of students' L1 writing proficiency, such as writing samples in Chinese and test scores of Chinese composition, to discover if Chinese writing proficiency is linked to the ways students negotiate in their English writing.

Moreover, future research that replicates the framework of this study, but compares classroom writings of multilingual writers' with non-graded writings, would provide insight into how writes resist dominant written conventions. One of the limitations of the study is that students' resistance to L2 writing instruction was mainly manifested in their narratives (from interviews) and not in their texts. Students tend to accommodate to L2 writing instruction because writing assignments are high-stakes, grade-related tasks. While my research participants clearly expressed resistance to the ESL composition class, most of them tended to follow the teachers' instruction. Future studies could compare classroom writing and non-graded writing (e.g., diaries, notebooks,

and blogs) which students write throughout a semester to find out if low-stake writings provide more space for student negotiation.

Furthermore, a future study comparing how students write in both L1 and L2 would also be useful in learning ways in which multilingual writers accommodate and resist English academic writing. As mentioned above, students' accommodation to writing instruction could be due to high-stakes writings that were assigned. Examining whether students internalize and appropriate English ways of writing in their Chinese composition would manifest whether students truly accommodate to English language ideology or just conform to the institutional requirements.

Finally, a future study that explores the same issues with different groups of students might have different results. The population in the study was a self-selected population, and cannot be generalized. The research participants came from the same educational and economic backgrounds with similar level of English proficiency. Therefore, it is important to compare my findings with those of other populations who have different learning experiences and different English proficiencies.

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APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Form (for students)

White Prestige, Ideology, and identity: ESL Composition Class as a Site of Resistance
and Accommodation for International Students

You are invited to participate in this research study being conducted by Pei-hsun Liu (Emma).
The following information is provided in order to help you make an informed decision whether or
not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask. You are eligible to
participate because you are a Taiwanese student enrolled in an ESL composition class at
American Language Institute (ALI) in Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP).

In investigating your developing thoughts in relation to your learning experiences as an exchange
student, the purpose of the study is to explore your attitudes toward writing instruction of the
composition class. Over a one-semester period, I will observe your writing class (2-3 classes) and
collect course papers you write for your composition class. Also, I will interview you regarding
your writing experiences and adjustments in the new learning environment. Maximum of 3 hours
will be involved in your participation.
I will be recording and transcribing all interviews, and pseudonyms will be used for all
participants. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research. Participating
in the research, however, may help you find the learning experience enjoyable and examine your
English learning development.. The information gained from this study may help us better
understand English learning experiences as well as an identity-searching journey of Taiwanese
exchange students in the United States.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to
withdraw at any time without adversely affecting you relationship with me, ALI, or IUP. Your
decision will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you choose
to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying me. Upon receiving your request I will
destroy all information pertaining to your participation. If you choose to participate, all
information will be kept in strict confidence and will have no bearing on your academic standing
in current or future courses, nor on services you receive from IUP. You will receive a summary of
results at the end of the study.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below. Take the extra
unsigned copy and this letter with you.

Researcher: Project Advisor:
Pei-hsun Liu   Dr. Dan J. Tannacito
PhD Candidate, Indiana University of Pennsylvania   Director, American Language Institute
78 Regency Sq. Apt.   212 Eicher Hall
Indiana, PA, 15701   Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: 724-463-0458   Phone: 724-357-6944

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review
Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724-357-7730).

Informed Consent Form (Continued)

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understood the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to as a subject in this study under the condition I have selected below. I understand that any information I share is completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this Informed consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT) _____

Signature _____

Phone number where you can be reached _____

Best days and times to reach you _____

E-mail _____

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

Date _____

Investigator's Signature _____

Informed Consent Form (for teachers)

White Prestige, Ideology, and identity: ESL Composition Class as a Site
of Resistance and Accommodation for International Students

You are invited to participate in this research study being conducted by Pei-hsun Liu (Emma). The following information is provided in order to help you make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask. You are eligible to participate because you teach ESL composition class at American Language Institute (ALI) in Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP).

The purpose of the study is to explore ESL students' attitudes toward writing instruction of the composition class. Over a one-semester period, I will observe your writing class and collect course papers students write for your composition class. Also, I will interview you regarding your writing instruction and teaching goals. 30-40 minutes will be involved in your participation.

I will be recording and transcribing all interviews, and pseudonyms will be used for all participants. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research. Participating in the research, however, may help you understand academic needs of ESL writing students. The information gained from this study may help us better understand English learning experiences as well as an identity-searching journey of Taiwanese exchange students in the United States.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting you relationship with me, ALI, or IUP. Your decision will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying me. Upon receiving your request I will destroy all information pertaining to your participation. If you choose to participate, all information will be kept in strict confidence and will have no bearing on your academic standing in current or future courses, nor on services you receive from IUP. You will receive a summary of results at the end of the study.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below. Take the extra unsigned copy and this letter with you.

Researcher: Project Advisor:

Pei-hsun Liu   Dr. Dan J. Tannacito
PhD Candidate, Indiana University of Pennsylvania   Director, American Language Institute
78 Regency Sq. Apt.   212 Eicher Hall
Indiana, PA, 15701   Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: 724-463-0458   Phone: 724-357-6944

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724-357-7730).

Informed Consent Form (Continued)

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understood the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to as a subject in this study under the condition I have selected below. I understand that any information I share is completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this Informed consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT) _____

Signature _____

Phone number where you can be reached _____

Best days and times to reach you _____

E-mail _____

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

Date _____

Investigator's Signature _____

APPENDIX B

Recruitment Email

Dear [name of potential participant]:

I am a doctoral student at IUP. I am currently conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Dan Tannacito on Taiwanese students' writing resistance or accommodation to ESL writing instruction. As part of my dissertation research, I am conducting writing class observations as well as interviews with Taiwanese students enrolled in composition classes at ALI.

I would like to ask for your participation in my study. I will interview you three times (30-40 minutes each), collect your writing papers, and observe your writing classes.

If you are interested in participating in the research, I can provide you with more information.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Pei-hsun Liu
Student Advisor
American Language Institute
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

APPENDIX C

Permission Email from Teachers

Dear [Teacher's name]:

I'm in the process of studying English language learning behaviors of Taiwanese ESL writers. I would like your permission to observe your ALI writing classes in Fall 2008. I will observe students' interactions and behavioral patterns in class, and data collected will be used to indicate ESL students' resistance or accommodation to writing instruction.

Please indicate your approval of this permission by replaying this e-mail. Otherwise, please ignore this message.

I would greatly appreciate your consent to my request. If you need any additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me. I can be reached at: 724-463-0458.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Pei-hsun Liu
Student Advisor
American Language Institute
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

APPENDIX D

Interview Questions

1. *First Interview*

- What is your purpose/goal of learning English?
- What does ―better English‖ mean to you?
- Why do you learn English academic writing?
- In your opinion, what comprises ―good writing‖?
- What do you expect to learn in the writing class?
- How does learning how to write in English affect your thinking and identity?

2. *Second Interview*

- What are the similarities and differences between English and Chinese writing styles?
- What are some difficulties you encounter in writing in English?
- Can you express your personal thoughts and feelings in English writing?
- How would you write about this (one of the students‗ writings) in your first language?
- Why would an American professor or your writing teacher accept some writings and not other writings?
- What are the differences between your essays and academic discourse?
- What are the strengths/limitations of both discourses?

3. *Final Interview*

- What is taught/learned in the class?
- Can you talk about the organization/textbooks/assignment/activities of the class?
- Which subject or what content in the textbook do you enjoy the most? Which do you think is the most useful?
- Which assignment or project do you work the hardest? Which do you think it the most useful? (If necessary, please define useful.)
- How much effort do you put for the course outside/inside the class?
- Are you satisfied with the curriculum/pedagogy of the course?
- What suggestion would you give to improve the course?
- Can you recall a situation when you insist doing things your teacher doesn‗t like in class or in English writing?

APPENDIX E

Course Syllabus

Writing for TOEFL

Instructor: .
Room: Leonard Hall 212
Day/Time: MWF 2:30 – 3:15
Office: By appointment only
E-mail: ;

Course Overview

This course delivers daily-changing materials to help a student improve in writing essays for the Test of Written English (TWE), a required part of the TOEFL test. By following lectures and writing essays, students will observe incremental progress in their overall writing proficiency.

The course aims to offer a comprehensive introduction to the TOEFL writing along with academic writing. Specifically, it attempts to enhance learners' writing proficiency by offering substantial writing practices on a broad range of topics, and introducing genre features of academic writing.

Course Objectives

- Understand what TOEFL requires for a top-rated essay
- Be able to plan an essay in the style TOEFL demands
- Gain confidence in how to write an effective TOEFL essay
- Improve one's score on the TOEFL Test

Course goals

By the end of the course students are expected to be able to:

- compose in standard written English on an assigned topic
- generate and organize ideas and to support them with examples and evidence.

Required Materials:

Sample Essays for the TOEFL Writing Test (TWE)

Language Policy
Speaking in English is preferred. However, it is allowed to use L1 when there is a need to express oneself more clearly and effectively.

Course policies and requirements:
To accomplish the course goals above, you'll complete the following requirements and should plan to do the following each week:

IV. Attendance and absences: Attendance is mandatory for all scheduled meetings of the course and all absences will be noted in the roster. Students will receive daily grades for each meeting of the course. Grades will be assigned on the basis of each student's participation in and contribution to discussions. Students are allowed **three (3)** unexcused absences during the semester. If a student misses more than 3 hours of class meetings for a course without getting the absences excused by the instructor, his/her grade will be lowered by 1/3. For each additional 3 hours of class missed, the grade will be lowered by 1/3 again. To receive an excused absence, the students should inform the instructor about the reason of their absence beforehand, either personally or by e-mail. Class attendance will be taken at the beginning of each class session by my watch. As is expected in college courses generally, ARRIVE ON TIME, bring paper, pen/pencil, course handouts, and required materials.

You should come **prepared** to discuss the materials assigned and to participate in class discussions, if you come to class unprepared and won't participate in class activities, your participation grade will be low. Your learning will occur from the interactions during class sessions and in group work and discussions. Your peers will depend on you as much as you will depend on them this is why your presence in this class is valuable and imperative. Always inform me about your absences beforehand!!! Please take every absence seriously because it is serious, even though absences are understandable and necessary in some cases. Again, you may miss 3 class periods for any reason (excused or unexcused) without any penalty.

Keep in mind that **absence is not an excuse for being uninformed: you are responsible for any and all information presented at class meetings.** Therefore, following the university policy on attendance, the first three absences will not be penalized, after that we will need to discuss what can be done, I do understand sickness and emergency situations.

Lateness. If you are more than 15 minutes late, I will mark you absent.

Grading Policy

ALI Grading scale:

A   = 100 – 94%
A- =   93 – 90%
B+ =   89 – 87%
B   =   86 – 84%
B- =   83 – 80%
C+ =   79 – 77%
C   =   76 – 74%
C- =   73 – 70%
D   =   69 – 60%
F   =   59% and below

11/7

Week 12
11/10
11/12
11/14

Final drafts of comparative/contrast essays due.

Argumentative essay.

Week 13
11/17
11/19
11/21

Editing for success: putting your TWE essay in its brightest light possible. Peer – reviews of second drafts. Argumentative essay is due.

Week 14
11/24, 11/26, 11/28

Thanksgiving recess – no classes

Week 15
12/1
12/3
12/5

American Language Institute
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Advanced Written Communication

Fall 2008   T/TH 2:00 – 3:00
Instructor: E-mail:
Leo 212

Course Description

This course focuses on essay writing and writing development at an advanced level.

Course Objectives

Students will:

- *Learn the structure and components of essay writing (i.e. Topic sentences, organization, transitions, etc.)*
- *Discover and consider audience in their writing*
- *Learn and develop their writing skills. This includes the following:*
  - Generating ideas
  - Drafting/Revising/Editing
- *Learn and develop critical thinking skills*
- *Learn to make connections between chapter content and personal experience*
- *Be able to form opinions, responses, and arguments about the content material*
- *Write from their own knowledge as well as incorporate perspectives of the chapter topics and synthesize information*
- *Write a variety of coherent essays, which includes the following:*
  - *Generating ideas*
  - *Drafting/Revising/Editing*
  - *Differentiating between different styles and genres of paragraphs*
  - *Providing/using feedback*
- *Learn to write sentences that function to relate between persons and to represent ideas.*
- *Develop self-confidence, voice, and appreciation in reading and writing*
- *Build and develop English Vocabulary*

Required Course Materials

- Hot Topics 3
- A notebook

Communication

I am usually available through e-mail at ary618@yahoo.com. Feel free to contact me about your work or make an appointment. I will be more than happy to meet with you!

Resources

I encourage you to make use of the "open lab" time to receive help on your assignments. The lab is located in Eicher 208.

Requirements

Assignments (30%) Because this is a writing class, we will learn to write by writing. Assignments, for the most part, will be completed outside of class. You will receive detailed assignment sheets in class with instructions for your assignments. We will go over these in class so that you may ask questions and receive clarification about the expectations of your assignments. Your assignments may become part of your final project and we will devote time to workshops and revisions.

Midterm (20%) Your midterm will be test of written English. Additionally, you will be asked to choose two entries from your journal and polish them. You will be graded on your use of writing conventions (sentence structure, grammar, punctuation, etc.) as well as content. **Your midterm will take place on Feb 25—NO EXCEPTIONS.** Oct. 3

Final Project Class publication (20%): Our final project will involve the creation of a volume containing one essay from each member of the class.

Final Exam (20 %): Your final exam will be a test of written English. It will take place on **APRIL 21st –NO EXCEPTIONS!** Dec. 3

Participation (10%): In order to get participation points, you must come to class prepared and be actively engaged in the class (Discussions, tasks etc.).

Applications

A. Assignments

As this is a writing class, your grade will depend heavily on your written assignments. You will be given detailed instructions for each paper assigned. Please do your best to keep up with the work, especially if you miss a class. Do not let your assignments pile up or leave them until the last minute.

B. Midterm

You will have a test of written English similar in format to the TOEFL. The topic may or may not be announced in class. **There will be no make-up midterm exams given unless prior arrangements are made!**

C. Final Project

You will write an article about some aspect of your experience at ALI and IUP. Together, we will make a class magazine with the articles that you write. More information will be given in class.

D. Final Exam

Your final exam will be similar to the Test of Written English (TWE) section on the TOEFL Exam. This will not only help me to assess your writing but also give you practice in taking the TWE before the exit exam. **Your final exam will take place on Dec 2nd . There will be no make-up final exams given unless prior arrangements are made!**

E. Participation

It is essential to the class that you participate by completing the writing assignments, coming to class prepared, and being active in class discussions and workshops. Participation means that you may also share your ideas and writings in class and be respectful of your classmates when it is their turn to share. Use comments to encourage your classmates and help them to improve their writing.

Course Policies

Attendance Policy

Learning is enhanced by regular attendance and participation in class activities and discussions. As such, attendance is indirectly linked to participation. **More than 3 absences will reduce your grade by a full letter** (Ex. An A- would be lowered to a B+) unless you notify me in advance of any circumstances that may prohibit you from coming to class. Tardiness is unacceptable. If you are consistently late for class, you will lose participation points, thus lowering your grade. **YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORK YOU MISS!**

Late Work

Your assignment grades will be dropped 1/3 for each day they are late. For example, a B+ grade on an assignment would be dropped to a B.

Plagiarism Policy

The University has very strict rules concerning plagiarism. Plagiarism is copying what somebody else has written or taking somebody else's idea and trying to pass it off as your own. If you use something in your writing that comes from another source (i.e. a book, a poem, a song etc.) you must "cite" the original source—that is, you must say where the information came from. If you are unsure whether or not you need to cite something in your writing, do not hesitate to ask! Intentional plagiarism is not acceptable and will result in failure of the course and will be reported immediately to the ALI Program Administration.

Grading Scale

A	94-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D	60-69
A-	90-93	B	84-86	C	74-76	F	59 and below
		B-	80-83	C-	70-73		

IUP   IUP   IUP   IUP   IUP   IUP   IUP

INDIANA UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

ali

AMERICAN LANGUAGE INSTITUTE

WRITING for ACADEMIC PURPOSES
LEO 212 MWF 2:30-3:20

>WebCT

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course continues the learning to write process in English. Students will learn to write about short academic themes as well as journal responses to readings. In these writings, students will evaluate and revise drafts, use appropriate language and rhetoric, and communicate to a reader. Themes are drawn from the content of various academic disciplines—business, science, technology, history—students will encounter as undergraduates.

Hard writing makes easy reading. Easy writing makes hard reading. **William Zinsser**

The difference between the right word and the almost right word is the difference between lightening and the lightening bug. **Mark Twain**

If you wish to be a writer, write! **Epictetus**

COURSE OBJECTIVES

* Build academic vocabulary through readings, discussions, and purposeful usage of the new words/expressions in your writings.
* Understand the writing process: prewriting, writing, revising, and editing.
* Write effective thesis statements and topic sentences.
* Organize information and ideas.
* Develop and support ideas.
* Give and receive peer feedback. Revise your writing with suggestions from classmates, and instructor.
* Connect writing and grammar with a focus on major points.
* Learn editing skills for content and form. For instance, for form, check tenses, punctuation, sentences, passive and active voices, transition words, and spelling.
* Practice with paraphrasing and summarizing texts.
* Write different genres, such as description, narration, information, and argument.

Writing for Academic Purposes Syllabus   1

- Develop critical thinking skills that may include evaluating arguments, distinguishing fact from opinion, checking chronological order, diagramming ideas, making comparisons, and avoiding overgeneralizations.
- Use technology (including your text's website) to explore topics, practice vocabulary and grammar, and gather reliable information to support your arguments.

Some of the potential topics that we will cover include Education and Student Life; Business and Money; Jobs and Professions; Global Connections; Language and Communication, and New Frontiers.

REQUIREMENTS FOR EACH CLASS

Pavlik, C., & Segal M. K. (2007). *Interactions 2 writing: Silver edition.* NY: McGraw-Hill.
http://highered.mcgraw-hill.com/sites/0073533866/student_view0/index.html

 and REGULAR ACCESS to your WebCT course pages for accessing handouts, and numerous helpful links; checking the calendar; posting your work, and much more.

http://webct.iup.edu
> *First time users: your password is the same as your WebCT ID (username) Enter your WebCT ID and password in lower case. Then, change your password.*

- **Your homework.**
- A dictionary
- A notebook and writing utensils (pen, pencil, eraser)
- A folder to keep your handouts
- A way to access your electronic work (if it is not on WebCT/H drive), such as a flash drive/USB, CD, etc.

COURSE POLICIES
1. **Attendance is MANDATORY.** If you have more than 3 unexcused absences, your grade will be lowered by 1/3 of a letter grade (ex: a B becomes a B-), and for each additional 3 absences, your grade will be lowered by 1/3 again. These results will be reflected in your midterm and final grades; in addition, the Grade Report (ALI Transcript) will state the reasons why the grade was lowered. Continued failure to attend classes will be reported to the ALI Director and the Foreign Student Advisor, which may result in a status visa violation or a non-recommendation for IUP admission. **Excused Absences** are as follows: absences with a doctor's note or health center take-in form, a personal emergency (subject to the teacher's discretion), an approved educational visit (subject to the discretion of the teacher, Assistant Director or Director) or other serious reasons (approved by the teacher, Assistant Director or Director). **Tardiness is inconsiderate.** You are part of a

learning community and you have a responsibility to that community to be on time. While being late can be excused in rare cases, if persistent, you will be counted as absent for the day; thus tardiness will affect your grade.

2. **Missed Class Work:** students who miss class are responsible for finding out homework assignments from classmates and/or the instructor and are expected to complete those assignments. Late work will be accepted but points will be deducted:1/3 of a letter grade per day late, unless you have received an extension from me PRIOR to the due date (and I don't mean the night before!) Not understanding your homework is NOT an excuse. If you have questions, ASK me in person or via email, ask a tutor in the open lab, or ask another student.

3. **Communication is key!** I can't help you if you don't ask or if I don't know about something very important that may be affecting your studies.

4. **Be prepared** for each class and complete the assignments by the assigned dates. Participate and contribute to each class.

5. To Academic Honesty BUT Plagiarism. You are to do your own work and expected to adhere to the standards of academic integrity and honesty described in IUP Course Catalog, the student handbook, and elsewhere. Plagiarism is submitting someone else's work as your own (including copying from classmates, books, magazines, the Internet, etc.). It is cheating and stealing and IUP does not tolerate it. Students who plagiarize will get an F and will get reported to the ALI Program Administration.

6. Grading Scale:

A =	94-100	A-=	90-93		
B+=	87-89	B =	84-86	B-=	80-83
C+=	77-79	C =	74-76	C-=	70-73
D =	60-69	F =	59 and below		

ASSIGNMENTS AND ACTIVITIES

Participation: 10%
Learning takes place when **students take responsibility** for their own learning and are actively engaged in class activities. Participation is MUCH more than showing up! Rather, it means that you should be prepared to discuss assignments, ask and answer questions, express your opinions, read aloud, share your work and more! Any unexcused absence will affect your participation grade above and beyond the attendance policy.

Tutoring: 10%
Regular attendance, preparation, and engagement during tutoring sessions. Your tutor will assign a grade that counts for 10% of your final course grade.

Writing for Academic Purposes Syllabus   3

Homework and other Assignments in and out of class, including your journal 25%
You will have regular assignments and are expected to come prepared for each. For example, you will write journal entries or responses to the class lessons, discussions, readings, or activities found in your textbook. Each journal submission should be the equivalent of **2 pages typed** (double-spaced). The journal offers you a good opportunity to utilize the vocabulary/expressions you are learning and practice the elements of each chapter. Turn in your journal every two weeks.

Vocabulary and Idioms Log 15%
The vocabulary log (form on WebCT or create your own) will help you to keep track of the new vocabulary you encounter in and outside class, learn the meaning of words and expressions, pronounce them aloud, and make sentences with them. I will collect it every two weeks. Anticipate sharing your logs with your classmates. You are to have at least 20 new words/expressions for each submission (10 a week). Your class, text and handouts will provide many new words that will add to your vocabulary bank.

Midterm 20%
The midterm will evaluate the course objectives and ascertain how we are doing. It will test your abilities to apply your writing skills to produce competent (for this level) academic essays within an allotted time. It will be akin to the TOEFL (TWE) writing section.

Final 20%
The final will follow the format of the midterm and will gauge your progress during this semester.

TENTATIVE COURSE SCHEDULE

Depending on academic needs, progress, and students' interests, this schedule may change. Changes will be announced in class and on WebCT Calendar. Check your calendar!

			TOPIC AND CLASS ACTIVITIES	ASSIGNMENTS (for the following class)
Week 1	M 8/25		TOEFL Testing	
	W 8/27		Introduction to course: students and teacher. Syllabus, textbook, and WebCT.	Understand the syllabus and course expectations. Fill out the questionnaire and goal setting form. Start keeping your vocabulary log.
	F 8/29		Getting acquainted with Interactions 2. Chapter 1:	For your journal, write about your experiences learning to write in your first

		Education and Student Life.	language and in English (guidelines on WebCT).
Week 2	M 9/1	LABOR DAY NO CLASS	
	W 9/3	Ch. 1	Exploring ideas and organizing ideas.
	F 9/5	Ch. 1	Developing cohesion and style. Your first vocabulary log is due Monday.
Week 3	M 9/8	Ch. 1	Choose one of the topics from the chapter to write in your journal. You could use the ones at the end of the chapter.
	W 9/10	Ch. 1	Developing cohesion and style.
	F 9/12	Ch. 1 review	Editing and revising, Your first journal is due Monday. Be prepared to share it orally.
Week 4	M 9/15	Ch. 3: Business and Money	Explore the chapter's readings.
	W 9/17	Ch. 3	Analyze the letter to the editor.
	F 9/19	Ch. 3	Obligations and opinions with modals. Vocabulary log 2 is due Monday.
Week 5	M 9/22	Ch. 3	Check your reasoning. Are your statements logical?
	W 9/24	Ch. 3 review	Learn and practice peer editing.
	F 9/26	Ch. 4: Jobs and Professions	Choose one of the topics from the chapter (or elsewhere) to write in your journal. Journal 2 is due Monday.
Week 6	M 9/29	Ch. 4	Discussing accomplishments.
	W 10/1	Ch. 4	Writing thesis statements and topic sentences.
	F 10/3	Ch. 4.	Introductions and conclusions. Vocabulary log 3 is due Monday.
Week 7	M 10/6	Catch up and review	Review and prepare for your midterm. Understand TWE topics and scoring.
	W 10/8	MIDTERM	
	F 10/11	Ch. 4.	Tenses. Journal 3 is due Monday.
Week 8	M 10/13	Ch. 4 and review.	Paragraph unity and editing practice.
	W 10/15	Ch. 6: Global Connections	Definitions.
	F 10/17	Ch. 6	Organizing ideas. Vocabulary log 4 is due Monday.
Week 9	M 10/20	Ch. 6	Relative clauses and punctuating them.
	W 10/22	Ch. 6	Expansion activities for your journal.
	F 10/24	Ch. 6 and review	Journal 4 is due Monday.
Week	M 10/27	Ch. 7: Language and	Browse the whole chapter.

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10		Communication ·	
	W 10/29	Ch. 7	Interviewing someone and expressions to describe feelings.
	F 10/31	Ch. 7	One paragraph: one idea or keeping to one subject. **Vocabulary log 5 (last one) is due Monday**
Week 11	M 11/3	Ch. 7	Using gerunds.
	W 11/5	Ch. 7 and review	More editing practice.
	F 11/7	Ch. 9: New Frontiers.	Visual literacy. **Journal 5 (last one) is due Monday**
Week 12	M 11/10	Ch. 9	Inferences and speculations.
	W11/12	Ch. 9	Making comparisons.
	F 11/14	Ch. 9	Passive voice.
Week 13	M 11/17	Ch. 9 and review	Varying word order.
	W 11/19	Catch up	Review the chapter.
	F 11/21	Practice for final.	Prepare for the final.
Week 14		THANKSGIVING BREAK	Macy's Parade
Week 15	M 12/1	Review and understand how you could improve your last essay.	Prepare for the final.
	W 12/3	**FINAL**	
	F 12/5	Going over the final and Party!!!!	LAST DAY OF CLASS
Week 16	M 12/8	TOEFL EXIT EXAM	Good luck! Relax and do your best!
	W 2/10	ALI GRADUATION	CONGRATULATIONS!

All words are pegs to hang ideas on. **Henry Ward Beecher**
Put it before them briefly so they will read it, clearly so they will appreciate it, picturesquely so they will remember it, and above all, accurately so they will be guided by its light. **Joseph Pulitzer**
You can't wait for inspiration. You have to go after it with a club. **Jack London**
My aim is to put down on paper what I see and what I feel in the best and simplest way.
Ernest Hemingway
http://www.motivational-inspirational-corner.com/getquote.html?categoryid=96

American Language Institute
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Write from the Start with Photography

MW 3:00-:4:45   Davis 109
Instructor: E-mail:

Course Description:

This course is an introduction to writing and composing in English. It is first course in writing for the EFL student intending to study at an American college or university. We will progress, step-by-step, through the writing process. Students will focus on the development of the paragraph as the primary skill to master.

Course Objectives: You will

- Take pictures outside of class for ideas
- Generate ideas Brainstorming, list, and clustering
- Understand the properties of a paragraph
- Learn sentence structures, spellings, and proofreading
- Present power point

Course Materials:

- A USB drive to save all your work/photos

- A notebook to write note

- A digital camera (if you have)

Evaluation: Final grades will be based on four components:

1. **Class Participation (30%)** Attendance, Preparation, and Participation in class writings and activities are expected and will be considered in the course grade.

2. **Open Lab (10%)** You are required to go to open to get extra help for your language
   skills. The participation in the open lab will be counted in this writing course. You can bring your writing assignments and get help from your tutors.

3. **Four Writing Assignments (30%)** During session II, you will learn to write by writing. You will write paragraphs with the following topics.

   10/13: Downtown Indiana: write one paragraph
   10/22: Fall at IUP: write one paragraph
   10/31: Halloween party: write one paragraph
   11/10: My classmate: write two paragraphs

When writing a paragraph, have at least seven sentences including a topic sentence, several supporting sentences, and a closing sentence.

4. **Final Power Point Presentation (30%)** You will present your final power point project. Throughout the semester, you will take pictures, <u>select 18 pictures, and write two sentences for each picture</u> (20%).
<u>On your presentation day, you will show your PPT, select 3 pictures</u> that you would like to explain more: why I like this picture, why this picture is special for me; why I liked the day or activities and so on. You can bring notes for explaining the three pictures. <u>Finally, you will read one of your writings aloud</u> (10%).

Attendance Policy

The ALI attendance policy states, ―If a student misses more than three hours of class meetings for a course in one semester without getting the absence excused by the teacher, his/her grade should be lowered by the teacher by 1/3. For each additional three hours of class missed, the grade will be lowered by 1/3 again.‖**Attendance** is mandatory. Excused absences include any absence covered by a doctor‘s note or health center take-in form, a personal emergency, or other serious reason approved by me, Assistant to Director, or Director. The results will be reflected in both midterm and final grade. **It is your responsibility to let the teacher know your absences.** If you miss more than 3 times of class meeting in one semester without getting the absences excused by me, your grade should be lowered by 1/3. For each additional 3 times of class missed, the grade will be lowered by 1/3 again. For example, a B+ average will be lowered to a grade of B. If you miss 6 times of class, your grade will be lowered from a B+ average to a B-. The results will be reflected in both midterm and final grade.
Excused absences include:
 ❖ Personal emergencies
 ❖ Approved educational visits
 ❖ Doctor‘s note or health center take in form

Grading:

A	940 - 1000	B+	870 – 890	C+	770 – 790	D	600– 690 pts.
A-	900 - 930	B	840 - 860	C	740 – 760	F	590 and below
		B-	800 - 830	C-	700 - 730		

Session II Course Schedule:
Depending on academic needs, the schedule is subject to change and any change will be communicated in class.

Week/ Date	Topic & Class Activities	Assignment Due
10/13	Taking pictures: Downtown Indiana/Architecture	
10/15	Getting pictures/ Making PPT	Email PPT to the instructor
10/20	Writing Workshop: Paragraph Writing one paragraph about downtown Indiana	
10/22	Taking pictures: IUP campus We will meet in front of the library at 3:30pm	Bring your digital camera
10/27	Getting pictures/ Making PPT Writing one paragraph about IUP campus	Bring your digital camera
10/29	Halloween **10/31(Fri):** Come to the ALI Halloween party at College Lodge- Bring your digital camera	
11/3	Halloween: Getting pictures / Making PPT	Bring your digital camera
11/5	Writing one paragraph about the Halloween party Or personal experience	
11/10	Interviewing my classmates: Taking photo in class Bring your favorite pictures/belongings	Bring your digital camera
11/12	Writing two paragraphs about my classmate	
11/17	Writing Workshop- Finishing your paragraphs	
11/19	Writing Workshop- Proofreading your writing	
11/24-26	Thanksgiving week: No classes	
12/1	Presentation	Email PPT to the instructor
12/3	Presentation	Email PPT to the instructor
12/8	Exit TOEFL Exam	
12/9	Graduation	

Final Presentation Guideline: Use Microsoft Power Point
Session I: **Write at least two sentences for each picture**.
    Have 7 pictures (slides) with a short explanation.
Session II: **Write at least two sentences for each picture**.
        Write at least seven sentences for one paragraph writing.
  1) 10/13:Downtown Indiana: 4 pictures and one paragraph writing
  2) 10/22:Fall at IUP: 4 pictures and one paragraph writing
  3) 10/31:Halloween party: 5 pictures and one paragraph writing
  4) 11/10:My classmate: 3 pictures and two paragraphs writing
Final Presentation:
You should have 18 pictures and four writings for your final PPT presentation (5min).