# The Impact of Globalization and Localization on Language Policies: The Example of Taiwan

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## Abstract

The field of diversity, multilingualism, localization, nationalism, and globalization has received significant attention in recent years (MacSwan, 2017; Tierney & Kan, 2017). Languages are "the inventions of social, cultural and political movement" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p.2). Language is generally used by political power to privilege some ways of talking and stigmatizing other language or language variety that differs from the one those in power use (MacSwan, 2017). However, some scholars have argued that all groups have the right to promote their language and culture free from discrimination (Hornberger, 2006; Risager, 2006; UN, 2007). This study intends to use Taiwan's experiences in planning and implementing multilingual and multicultural education to examine how language policy can interact with localization, globalization, and identity. Taiwan has begun implementing multilingual education, promoting internationalization through teaching English as a foreign language and localization through instructing local and indigenous languages in schools (Beaser, 2006; Sandel, 2003). By using document reviews, instructional material analyses, and literature reviews, this paper asks two questions regarding the historical language development and people's perceptions about language education. The findings challenge policymakers, principles, and teachers to reform language education that can value decolonization, equity, humanization, diversity and the perceptions of minoritized groups. Concepts such as globalization, nationalism, and localization are continuously debated, defined, redefined, and challenged during the process of education reform.

# **INTRODUCTION**

The field of diversity, multilingualism, and globalization has received significant attention in recent years (MacSwan, 2017; Tierney & Kan, 2017). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) see languages as "the inventions of social, cultural and political movement" (p.2). People often associate languages with nations and states (MacSwan, 2017). Language is generally used by political power to privilege some ways of talking and stigmatizing other language or language variety that differs from the one those in power use (MacSwan, 2017). However, some scholars have argued that all groups have the right to promote their language and culture free from discrimination (Hornberger, 2006; Risager, 2006; UN, 2007). Language diversity is an essential component of human heritage, ethnicity, and culture (UNESCO, 2003). There has been a discrepancy between language ideologies/beliefs and implementation of language policy. In fact, language policies have been utilized to maintain or revitalize languages, to create unity, or division through political alliance, to better economy through international trade, or to promote the education of students (Hornberger, 2006; Hubbs, 2013; Wu, 2011). In this age of language diversity and increasing connectedness, learning with people who are different language speakers in order to increase our awareness of ourselves and acceptance of others (Connell,2007).

This study uses the experiences of Taiwan in planning and implementing multilingual and multicultural education to examine how language policy can interact with localization, globalization, and identity. Taiwan has begun implementing multilingual education, promoting internationalization through teaching English as a foreign language and localization through instructing local and indigenous languages in schools (Beaser, 2006; Sandel, 2003). At the same time, the government continues to offer Mandarin Chinese in schools. To obtain a better understanding of the interaction of the language policies with localization, globalization, and identity in Taiwan, this paper uses postcolonial and critical perspectives, including Memmi's theory of colonization, Said's theory of orientalism, and Freire's theory of pedagogy of the oppressed, to examine the responses of language educational policies to social, cultural and political changes in Taiwan. By using documentary reviews, instructional material analyses and literature reviews, this paper asks two questions regarding the historical language development/shift and people's perceptions about language education:

1. How language policies have interacted with social, cultural, and political contexts throughout Taiwan's history since 1624 till 2018?

2. What are people's perceptions towards language teaching and learning?

# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## Memmi's Theory of Colonization

During the period of colonization, the colonized are stripped of their culture, history, and identity. According to Memmi (1991), the goal of the colonial system, assimilation, will ultimately fail. He insisted that because the colonial system does not provide a democratic system in which the colonized can retain their identity and participate fully in the political process, the only other option is revolt. Through the process of revolt and re-building, the colonized must regain or create their identity. For instance, in school, colonized Taiwanese children were forced to learn the language of the colonizer if they wished to succeed or survive. They were often punished or scorned for using their own native languages in public venues. Under these circumstances, when their native language was taken from them, the identity of the colonized Taiwanese was severely altered. In fact, language is essential to reconstruct and reestablish one's identity. Through the localization movement, Taiwanization movement, Taiwanese have reinstated their local languages in order to retain some sense of their culture and identity. Throughout the history, Taiwan has been dominated by many colonizers, including Dutch, Spanish, Manland Jheng Cheng-Gong, Manland Ching dynasty, Japanese, and Mainland Kuomingtang. Most Taiwanese have multiple identities. Taiwanese to their language through Europeans' misrepresentation according to Said's Orientalism.

#### Said's Theory of Orientalism

Said (1978) attempts to explain the impact of Europeans on how Asians are interpreted. In Orientalism Said argues that Europeans thought that they had the sole right to represent the Orient (the East) in the west. In doing so, Europeans defined Easterners in the way Europeans perceived them. For example, Europeans defined Easterners as lazy, irrational, uncivilized, and crude. Compared to the Easterners, Europeans defined themselves as an active, rational, civilized, and sophisticated race. Orientalism is an image of what is inferior and alien to the West. Said calls into question the system of misrepresentation.

Said demonstrates how the Western scholars have used their discourse and language to misrepresent the East. Said believes that it is difficult to make any distinction between representation and misrepresentation because representations are embedded first in the language, then in the culture, and institutions. However, Said still encourages the use of language and discourse to critically and objectively evaluate the representations of the differences between the West and the East so that to be free from silencing the misrepresentations and stereotypes of Easterners. For instance, during language education policies of Kuomingtang ruling period from 1945 to 1987, the Kuomingtang was in the privileges position to misrepresent the native Taiwanese languages as dialects. Dialects were seen as markers of illiteracy, low socio-ecomonic status, and backwardness (Hsiau, 1997).

#### Freire's Theory of Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1990) characterizes Limit Situations as barriers imposed on the oppressed that prevent them from being humanized. The only Mandarin Chinese national language policy and Chinese Mainland history teachings can be considered as limited situations that continue oppression.

Freire suggests the oppressed people need to become conscious of their limited situations and initiate to fight and emancipate themselves from the oppressors. Consequently, the oppressed can regain their sense of humanity and identity.

## Language Ideologies

Language ideologies are generally defined as the underlying set of beliefs, assumptions, and common sense that a person or society has in regards to language and its users (Hubbs, 2013; Sandel, 2003; Spolsky, 2004). How people and governments perceive language is crucial to understanding language policy planning because it provides contextualization as to how and why different policies come into implementation (Hornberger, 2006; Hubbs, 2013). In particular, an ecological approach suggests that languages interact with its environmental surrounding, including society, culture, and its users (Hornberger, 2006; Hubbs, 2013; Risager, 2006). In this paper, we use Taiwan as an example of language localization and globalization.

# SOCIAL, CULURAL, AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF TAIWAN

Taiwan is located at the southeastern coast of China in the middle of the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Taiwan is multilingual and multicultural in its language disposition because its history has been one of domination by several other nations, including the Dutch and Spanish period, Ching Dynasty, Japanese colonization, and Kuomingtang ruling. Anthropological evidence suggests that Taiwan's indigenous peoples are from proto-Malayan ancestry (Ferrell, 1969; Tse, 2000). The vocabulary and grammar used in Taiwan belongs to the Malayan-Polynesian family of modern-day Indonesia (Li, 1995). These languages are Austronesian languages (Copper, 2003). The following historical review of Taiwan's language planning and policy indicates several shifts in different periods, including evangelization, Japanization, monolingualism, multilingualism, localization, and globalization.

# The Dutch (1624-1662) and Spanish (1626-1642) Colonization

Tribes of indigenous peoples, and many Han people from the Chinese mainland, lived in Taiwan. During the age of exploration and maritime conquest by Europeans, Taiwan attracted world attention because of its strategic location and natural resources. The Dutch (1624-1662) colonized the southern Taiwan and the Spanish (1626-1642) colonized southern Taiwan. The Dutch erected schools and churches. The Dutch missionaries learned local languages and began teaching the indigenous people to read their own languages in Romanized script. It was called Sin-Kang-Bun. Local languages were categorized, grammatical rules were adopted, and the Bible was translated into the native tongues (Heylen, 2001). In fact, the Dutch and Spanish colonial periods respected Taiwan's linguistic diversity, classified the local languages, and exercised tolerance (Wei, 2006). Missionaries were active in converting Taiwan's population to Christianity. In summary, the Dutch respected local indigenous languages and learned local languages to translate Bible into native languages. Evangelization had impact on how language policies were made.

# Zheng Cheng-Gong Period (1662-1683)

In 1662 Zheng Cheng-Gong who fought against the Ching dynasty and failed, came into Taiwan, forced the Dutch out, and then made Taiwan his base for counter-attacking the Manchus on the mainland until 1683. Zheng Cheng-Gong and his followers were Southern Min speakers; therefore, Southern Min language was gradually developed, presented in speaking and studying, and became the majority of language in Taiwan. Zheng Cheng-gong and his son built the first Confucian temple in Taiwan and set up schools to promote Southern Min poem literature, followed Chinese laws and customs, and imported the imperial examination system into Taiwan. Chinese language was a subject but the indigenous Austronesian languages were not taught (Tse, 2000).

# Ching Dynasty Rule Over Taiwan (1683-1895)

Jheng's son and grandson ruled Taiwan for 22 years before surrendering control of the island to the Manchus in 1683 following military defeat. Taiwan was ruled by the Manchus for 212 years until 1895. During the more than two centuries of Ching rule, Taiwan was fully integrated into the Chinese empire, with numerous Taiwanese attending traditional academies and passing civil service examinations. At that time, the Han Chinese began an educational program in Taiwan. Educational opportunities were provided by state schools and county-owned schools. In addition, private academies, community schools, charitable schools, and private tutoring also promoted education. The curriculum of the schools was character recognition and calligraphy and then recitation and memorization of the classical Chinese texts (Friedman, 2005).

Overall, the emphasis was on Confucian ethics. The Mandarin Chinese language was a subject and the medium of instruction (Tse, 2000). However, the Taiwanese native languages were not taught and their language sustainability became jeopardized.

#### Japanese Colonization (1895-1945)

Education changed dramatically when Taiwan was under Japanese colonization from 1895 to 1945. Japan implemented a colonial education policy aimed at assimilation, systematically suppressing traditional Chinese education in support of Japanese language and values. According to Wei (2006), the Japanese language policies comprised three stages: pacification, assimilation, and complete Japanization. Chinese languages were in the beginning tolerated, later banned, and eventually banished from all public domains. Taiwanese children also had far less opportunities to receive an education than Japanese children in Taiwan. In fact, the Taiwanese could only study in a few selected fields. For example, they could only study in the Japanese language school, the medical school, and vocational training institutions. Generally speaking, segregation was adopted in the school system. Discrimination and inequality were reflected in these educational policies and colonization was in full force.

According to Memmi's theory of colonizastion (1991), because colonized cannot retain their identity and participate in the political process, the only other option is revolt. Through the process of revolt, the colonized can rebuild their identity. Resistance to the regime gradually surfaced in Taiwan's urban areas. For example, Luo Fu-shin abandoned his post as an elementary teacher and crossed the Taiwan Strait to join the 1911 revolutionary movement (Humbu, 1971). After returning to the island in 1912, he secretly recruited opponents to Japanese colonial rule, hoping for military assistance from his mainland. In his statement urging the people to join the rebellion, he sternly criticized the colonial government for levying heavy taxes, maintaining monopolies, granting the police excessive powers and compelling the poorer Taiwanese to be coolies (or slaves) in the war against the aborigines, thus jeopardizing their lives in return for a financial pittance (Humbu, 1971). His revolt failed. In 1913, he was arrested. After being sentenced to death, Luo Fu-shin noted in his defense that even if he had violated the Japanese law he had only done what Heaven commanded and he was willing to make his sacrifice for the emancipation of the Taiwanese. Prior to execution, Luo Fu-shin stated that he had only tried to realize the human rights of liberty and equality (Hmubu, 1971).

In 1937, Classical Chinese was banned by the Japanese colonizer in the public school. Taiwanese or Chinese writings were banned from newspapers (Chen, 1993). Those who spoke Taiwanese in school were punished by teachers. All folk activities were strictly banned. That meant no more puppet shows and Taiwanese operas were allowed (Chen, 1993). In 1939, the private schools where the Taiwanese were formally educated in the Taiwanese language through the study of classical Chinese in Taiwanese language were banned entirely (Ong,1995). During that period, the policy of spreading the Japanese language was related to colonization and the imposition of sovereign rule on another race. Moreover, this policy was not only one of administration and economics but of total assimilation of the Taiwanese. In order to have complete Japanization, education and the spread of the Japanese language were indispensable. The percentage of the Taiwanese population able to comprehend Japanese increased dramatically from 0.38% in 1905 to 71% in 1944 (Ong, 1995). These figures show how successfully the Japanese language policy had been implemented during the forty-year colonization.

#### Indigenous People of Taiwan under Japanese Colonization

When the Japanese arrived in Taiwan, they had grand plans to turn Taiwan into their showcase colony, a model for colonial ambitions. In order to exploit the wealth of natural resources, the Japanese had to classify the aboriginal groups and contain the aborigines to reservations. Indigenous people were barred from interaction with people on the plains and were forced to wear aboriginal clothing and practice aboriginal customs to preserve their identity of a tribe that could be contained and barred from land claims. The early campaigns to gain aboriginal submission were often very brutal, with the Taroko tribe sustaining continued bombardment from naval ships and airplanes dropping mustard gas. Beginning in 1910, the Japanese sought to incorporate the indigenous people into the Japanese identity. They erected schools in high mountain villages that were maintained by a police officer/headmaster. The schools taught math, ethics, Japanese, and vocational studies. By 1940, 71% of aborigine children were attending school and Japanese customs were replacing indigenous tradition. In summary, Japanese language policies decreased the functions of the local languages and status of minority languages (Wei, 2006).

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## Education of Kuomingtang (KMT) Ruling Period from 1945 to 1987

After Japan's surrender in 1945 at the end of the Second World War, Taiwan and the Pescadore Islands were returned to the Republic of China (ROC). Tse (2000) points out that there were three stages for Kuomingtang (KMT) language policy. The first Transition (1945-1969) stage emphasized the eradication of all Japanese influence among the general population and discouraged the use of dialects in public domains. The second stage consisted of Solidification of Mandarin as the national language (1970-1986). During this period, local languages other than Mandarin were faced more stringent treatment. The last stage involved a gradual trend toward multilingualism with the repeal of Martial Law in 1987. Policies for homeland languages education, English education, and the preservation of endangered indigenous languages were designed and implemented.

During the 1950s, Taiwan was faced with uncertainty and tensions in the political environment, thus leading KMT officials to stress the nation's philosophical principles in the cultivation of a national spirit in its education curriculum. Those days of Taiwan's educational system were heavily influenced by their environment: military training was compulsory, and uniforms, hair styles, and behavior were all strictly supervised.

From 1950 to 1986, all the language policies showed a negative attitude toward the native Taiwanese languages (Tse, 2000). Details of those policies below reveal such discrimination:

"(1) No dialects can be used as the medium of instruction in the schools.

(2)No dialect is taught as a subject.

(3)Dialect writing is prohibited.

(4)In the military, the governmental organizations, and educational institutions, public use of dialect is banned. (5)The use of dialects in media is curtailed, and any attempt to use it ceases altogether.

(6)The dialects are given no legal status.

(7)The notion that using dialects is unpatriotic is encouraged via the Speak Mandarin Campaign, which equates speaking Mandarin with love and fidelity for one's country" (P. 155).

Civil servants and teachers in the public schools were forced to use Mandarin and set an example for others. By law, instruction in the native languages in school was declared illegal and the dialect programming was reduced. Moreover, language policy was biased toward Mandarin which was the only official medium of communication in school and public occasions for political reasons. The use of dialects (homeland languages) was utterly suppressed. School children who spoke dialect would be punished in many insulting ways, e.g., having a dog collar hung around the neck, or being fined (Ou,1995). In 1957, Taiwanese Romanization was also banned from the Church press. This language policy was biased and has resulted in native Taiwanese under the age of 20 forgetting their native languages and people between 20 and 50 being unable to use their native languages in public speeches (Yang, 2000). Furthermore, corrupt Mandarin spoken by the native Taiwanese was ridiculed as "the Taiwanese National Language." With the same intention, the native Taiwanese on TV are invariably portrayed as those who speak the clumsy Taiwanese National language. This creates resentment among the native language speakers.

In addition, the Taiwanese government forbade all teaching about the history of pre-1949 Taiwan, while on the other hand, they expected students to have a good understanding of the Chinese mainland in preparation for its recovery from the Communist Party. As a result, Taiwanese students knew more about the history, languages (except Southern Min Taiwanese, which about 70% of Taiwan people could speak), and geography of the Chinese mainland than that of their own nation (Deng, 1997), which particularly threatened the cultural and language identity of the indigenous people.

According to Said's theory of Orientalism (1978), the Kuomingtang was in the privileged position to define and describe the native Taiwanese languages as they wish; therefore, this representation often turns into misrepresentation. The term "dialect" blurs the exact extent of the whole picture and is somewhat misrepresentative, since dialect may only suggest differences in pronunciation and tone for the same word. However, the discrepancies between dialects and Mandarin are shown not only in different pronunciations and tones but also in variant grammar and dissimilar words for the same concept (Cheng, 1985). In fact, the Mandarin national language created a hierarchical system by devaluing other native Taiwanese languages as dialects (Hsiau, 1997). Dialects were seen as markers of illiteracy, low socio-economic status, and backwardness (Hsiau, 1997).

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Generally speaking, throughout the four-hundred-year history from the Dutch (1624) to the Kuomingtang (1986) ruling of oppression by several colonizers in Taiwan, most of the Taiwanese people lost their languages, cultures, and identities. From 1987 to present, Taiwanese people had come to realize that they lived as oppressed people and are subject to the decisions of their colonizer's (Freire, 1990). Taiwanese people have started to fight against this. They want to become masters of their own lives. Localization consciousness has begun to occur among Taiwanese people.

#### Postcolonization -- Multilingual and Multicultural Education from 1987 to Present

During the process of Taiwanese identity development, Taiwanese people began to search for their own languages, history, and culture. They were no longer satisfied with the limited situations (Freire, 1990), such as only Mandarin national language policy and Chinese mainland history teaching. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, many civil social groups have taken initiative in acting to transform the language educational system and policies. These Taiwanese groups are attempting to regain control of their languages, culture, identities, and language policies.

## Localization

There are five primary groups: indigenous (2 %), immigrants (1 %), Hakka (15 %), Southern Min (69 %), and Mainlanders (13%) (Ministry of Interior, 2018). Generally speaking, there are more than twenty native languages in Taiwan, including Southern Min, Hakka, and indigenous languages (Grimes, 1996).

Localization involves shifting from a sino-centric curriculum that emphasizes knowledge about China to a more Taiwan-centric curriculum involving homeland studies (xiangtu jiaoyu) and homeland language (xiangtu yuyan). Homeland (xiangtu), in this context, can mean the place of origin, or growing-up, or living; homeland studies refers to the learning of local history, culture, and the contemporary development of Taiwan (Scott & Tiun, 2007). Homeland languages include major local dialects and indigenous languages (Scott & Tiun, 2007).

These localizations were not initiated by the central government, but by civil society and local governments (Huang, 2000). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, many social groups were formed to press for the legality of homeland languages and cultures in school curricula. In 1990, these demands were taken up as political promises by many candidates running in elections to top posts in local governments; after winning the elections, several candidates went on to honor such promises (Chen, 2011). For example, the Ilan County government began to offer courses on Taiwanese in its primary and secondary schools. The Taipei County began to provide courses on two major local languages (Southern Min and Hakka) and two indigenous languages (Paiwan and Rukai) in selected county schools. Teachers also developed, from scratch, their teaching activities and materials covering the geography, history, religion, and culture of different dialect groups (Ministry of Education, 2011). Many local governments, such as that of Taipei County, collected these teaching materials and designed their own sets of reference materials for students in their jurisdictions (Ministry of Education, 2011). The movement then gradually spread to other regions.

Under persistent pressure from social groups and local governments, the Ministry of Education (2011) began to introduce two major curriculum additions for schools: homeland languages and homeland studies. First, the Ministry of Education addressed the problem of local languages and indigenous languages, which had lacked phonetic systems and commonly agreed upon standardized written forms. To facilitate teaching and learning, in 1998, the Ministry of Education promulgated unprecedented official phonetic systems for homeland languages, which are now incorporated as a timetabled subject in the curriculum. However, there is a huge debate regarding which pronunciation system should be adopted to teach homeland languages: the Hanyu Pinyin system implemented by the mainland, versus the Tongyong system, developed by Taiwanese linguistists. Most Taiwanese linguististists argue that the Tongyong system is superior to the Hanyu Pingin system because it is able to cope with not only Mandarin Chinese but also Southern Min Taiwanese and Hakka Taiwanese. Different goals of learning homeland languages are set for primary and secondary schools. From 2001 to 2002 (Sandel, 2003), students from first to sixth grade were required to choose one or two lessons of one homeland language per week, and junior secondary students could take local dialect lessons as electives. Language is the primary means for the preservation and transmission of cultural identity, and although Taiwan has not given homeland languages statutory status since democratization, their emphasis in the school curriculum is a good start. The goals for local languages teaching are basic listening comprehension ability, the use of transcription symbols to sound out words, and simple oral proficiency (Tse, 2001).

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Second, in1996, homeland studies was incorporated officially as a school subject into the basic education curriculum across Taiwan (Ministry of Education, 2011). Elementary students from third to sixth grades have one session of homeland studies per week, whereas seventh graders in junior high schools have one session on homeland art activities and three sessions of an introduction to Taiwan per week. Homeland studies comprises local languages, history, geography, environments, and arts.

## Globalization

Internationalization is defined by R. M. Paige and K.A. Mestenhauser (1999) as "a complex, multidimensional learning process that includes the integrative, intercultural, interdisciplinary, comparative, transfer of knowledge-technology, contextual and global dimensions of knowledge construction." It is an international mind-set leading to the further construction of knowledge and value attitude. As the Joint Statement of the Second APEC (Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation) Education Ministerial Meeting (APEC, 2000) declare the world today, "is now truly the global village it was once envisaged to be." The advancement of science and technology has made all parts of the world much more interconnected and mutually interdependent. Global economic and social trends will have impacts on educational development. Internationalization of education is therefore necessary to open the door for better mutual understanding and appreciation of rich diversities.

## People's Perceptions towards Language Teaching and Learning

The deepening of the processes of localization and globalization in Taiwan's educational system poses a controversial issue concerning the balance between the cultural and utilitarian functions of teaching and learning homeland languages in contemporary Taiwan within the global economy.

First, in terms of students' perceptions towards language, most students view Mandarin and English as favorable languages to learn (Beaser, 2006). Students feel Mandarin is easy and relaxing to use with their classmates and teachers. They think Mandarin is the common language to use in school and on television. In addition, students prefer code-mixing between English and Mandarin in daily conversation with friends (Beaser, 2006).

Second, in terms of teachers' views towards language instruction, English teachers hesitate to teach English in lower grades, because it has the potential to take away from time spent with local languages and indigenous languages (Su, 2006). On the other hand, most local-language teachers think that currently one class per week for elementary school students' learning the native language is appropriate. The teachers think that adding more classes for native language in elementary schools would increase elementary school students' learning burdens and cause most people to object (Hsieh, 2008). They pay more attention on teaching native culture and values in their local language instruction. Third, many parents believe local languages should be taught at home and not transmitted through schools (Sandel et al., 2006).

#### Conclusion

Taiwan has been dominated by many different colonizers. During the process of being oppressed, Taiwanese identity has been diminished and then gradually developed. Localization consciousness is occurring among Taiwanese people in Taiwan. They begin to search for their own homeland languages and cultures. The only Mandarin national language policy and Chinese Mainland history teachings are limit-situations (Freire, 1990). These limit-situations of teachings can no longer fit the needs of the Taiwanese people. Many social groups and local governments have been initiated to analyze educational problems and started to reform the education. By means of creating dialogue between the social groups and the policy makers, the Ministry of Education began to implement a Taiwanization curriculum that emphasizes homeland languages and homeland studies. Multicultural and multilingual education stressing diverse values, respect for difference, and tolerance has been a focus in the education reforms.

Localization of education will make Taiwanese people better aware of their own cultural roots so as to give them points of reference that enable them to determine their place in the world. This cultural self-identity is a starting point of the learning process towards understanding and respect for the cultures and spiritual value of various civilizations. The ideal of education reform in Taiwan should therefore lie in the harmonious integration of localization and internationalization that leads to a better self-understanding and an understanding of the world. Taiwanese model serves as an example of the impact of localization and globalization on language policies. Globalization can drive action towards a language rich society.

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