English for Specific Purposes 38 (2015) 70–84

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

English for Specific Purposes

journal homepage: http://ees.elsevier.com/esp/default.asp

National Journals and Centering Institutions: A historiography of an English language teaching journal in Taiwan

Cheryl L. Sheridan [a,b,*]

[a] National Chengchi University, Taiwan
[b] Graduate Program in Composition & TESOL, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, United States

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:
Available online

Keywords:
Scholarly publishing
Taiwan
Globalization of higher education
National journals
Historiography
Centering institutions

ABSTRACT

This article presents a historiography of the longest-running English language studies journal in Taiwan within the socio-political environment of higher education since reforms beginning in 1994 led to the particular 'publish or perish' paradigm currently faced by Taiwan-based researchers. Utilizing textual analysis and in-depth interviews, the study traces the journal's development from 1995 to 2010. Data collected included: (a) journal front and back covers and tables of contents; (b) editorial and advisory board member lists and editorial communication; (c) first one to two pages of all articles; and (d) transcripts from in-depth interviews with five individuals who have been contributors, reviewers, and/or editors. Findings show ways the journal changed from a local Chinese magazine to a respected English-dominant national journal publishing original research articles and included in a national citation index. Its development coincided with policies established by the government and institutions under market pressures and globalization leading to competition for higher education funding, which have urged scholars to publish research in journals listed in international bibliometric indices. The concept of centering institutions informs the analysis of the multiple influences on the journal's development, and a critical–pragmatic perspective situates recommendations for national journals to succeed in non-center contexts.

© 2014 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

This article explores the development of an English language education journal in Taiwan over 15 years when national and institutional policies dramatically changed the scholarly playing field. Institutional pressure and personal challenge for academics from non-Anglophone countries to publish in English-medium journals produced in center contexts and included in prestigious international databases has been documented in many contexts (Canagarajah, 2003; Flowerdew, 2000; Flowerdew & Li, 2009; Hanauer & Englander, 2013; Lillis, 2012; Lillis & Curry, 2010; Swales, 2004). However, aside from Liu (2014), who interviewed five researchers from various disciplines about their challenges writing in English and publishing in internationally indexed journals, Taiwan-based scholars have received little attention. In evaluation situations, their publications receive points on a sliding scale from local non-indexed journals to SSCI journals, similar to the schemes Englander and Uzuner-Smith (2013) reported in Mexico and Turkey. These conditions, attributed to the rise of English as the

* Foreign Language Center, College of Foreign Languages, National Chengchi University, 64 Zhinan Road Section 2, Wenshan District, Taipei 116, Taiwan.
E-mail address: sheridan@nccu.edu.tw.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2014.12.001
0889-4906/© 2014 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

lingua franca of academic publishing (Delgado, 2011; Lawrick, 2011; Uzuner, 2008) and the influence of globalization on national higher education policies (Englander & Uzuner-Smith, 2013; Mok, 2003), have stoked the drive for 'World Class Universities' and affected scholars in non-center contexts, including Taiwan (Chang, Wu, Ching, & Tang, 2009; Mok & Wei, 2008). Taiwan-based scholars are under pressure because one of the criteria used to rank higher education institutes (HEIs) has been the number of articles faculty members publish in journals included in the citation indexes of Thompson Reuters Web of Science (A. H.-M. Huang, 2009; J. Huang, 2003b), which are overwhelmingly Anglophone center journals (Hanauer & Englander, 2013; Lillis & Curry, 2010). Therefore, as observed in other non-center contexts where scholars send cutting edge research papers to prestigious 'international' journals (Lillis, 2012; Liu, 2014), local journals are less likely to receive manuscripts from members of their own discourse communities (Salager-Meyer, 2008). In this climate, local journals around the world are generally relegated to a lower status than English-medium center journals due to their absence from international indices (Lillis & Curry, 2010) and lower institutional financial rewards for publishing in them (Flowerdew & Li, 2009).

In recent years, research on journals published in non-Anglophone contexts has grown. Several studies are relevant to the current one. In China, Shi, Wang, and Xu (2005) interviewed editors of foreign language education journals to understand the local publication culture there. In particular, they found editors trying to balance practices common in North America with their local culture, such as the review process, expression of academic ethics and freedom, formatting standards, and language of publication. Wang (2006, 2008) and F. Zhang and Li (2003) discussed similar issues from their own experience as editors. Also in China, Feng, Beckett, and Huang (2013) interviewed administrators, national journal editors, and authors to investigate their perceptions of the government's change in emphasis in 2011 regarding research production policy. They explained that, beginning in 1978, the Chinese government encouraged bringing advanced research from beyond China into the country for national development. However, in 2011 the policy changed from this 'import' orientation to a 'going-out' orientation to encourage knowledge from China to be exported to the West (Feng, et al., 2013, p. 253). They found that, despite the quantity of publishing activity in China, impact of this work beyond China was still limited due to language and quality issues. Also related to national and institutional policies, Lillis (2012) studied English-medium national (EMN) journals in Europe, where Anglophone U.S. and UK influences dominate. She interviewed editors and analyzed four EMN journals in four European countries. Corroborating the research in Mexico, Turkey, and Taiwan, she claimed that scholarly work published in English-medium journals connotes prestige and 'international' academic activity. This prestige, embodied in English as a sign, is enabled by commercial interests such as Thomson Reuters through its citation indexes because institutions subscribe to the view that participation in the 'international' knowledge market is crucial. These institutions function as 'centering institutions' (Blommaert, 2005; Silverstein, 1998) by establishing policies that support this Anglophone value system. These studies, which mostly collected interview data from editors, considered the effects of policies on scholars and journals in a globalized academic world on the margins, beyond the so-called 'center' of academic production.

Another type of research on scholarly journal development documents publications as single case studies. Through "textual and linguistic analysis," Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995, p. 81) reported three stages in the development of the journal *Reader,* which began as an informal forum for scholars experimenting with a new approach in the field of literary criticism. They divided the first 12 years of publication into three sections based on editors' tenures and documented shifts in content and purpose as it grew from an informal newsletter to a journal listed in major citation indexes. They explored texts and 'external features' such as the cover, other design elements, and evidence of professionalization, which they defined as "a period during which the routines of academic production that constitute normal science of scholarship become stabilized" (p. 83). They concluded that without adopting standard practices of citation and reference formatting establishing the "production of formal academic discourse, it is unlikely that *Reader* would have had any lasting influence in the profession of English studies" (p. 95).

Lundin, Jönsson, Kreiner, and Tienari (2010) told the story of *The Scandinavian Journal of Management* (*SJM*). In three consecutive autobiographical narratives, they described their experiences as editors from a context on "the margins; from outside the core of a field that is dominated by Anglo-American actors, outlets and traditions" (p. 309). *SJM* started with a local publisher, eventually joined an international publishing house, and ultimately was admitted to the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI). They did not describe article content in detail, but considered aspects of professionalization in the journal's development similar to those in *Reader.* Depending on which phase of *SJM*'s development they were part of, each editor had their own perspective on the struggle to maintain a "Scandinavian' profile" (p. 311) while first resisting, then conceding to, and finally embracing the inevitable internationalization by satisfying Anglo-American standards of academic production.

In the third phases of both of these journals' narratives, a controversial choice was made by the editor or editors to transform them from relatively low-status publications by adopting external standards to join a larger community. The third editor of both *Reader* and *SJM* decided that, despite what might be lost, the way forward to ensure survival in the long run was to adapt and join the mainstream.

Inspired by these two studies and motivated by the limited research from the Taiwan context, this article presents a historically situated analysis via a case study of the oldest Chinese–English bilingual English education publication in Taiwan, *English Teaching and Learning* (*ETL*),[1] established in 1976 by National Taiwan Normal University, the island's premier education

[1] Originally titled *English Teaching and Learning (Magazine)* or *英語教學雜誌* [*Yingyu Jiaoxue Zazhi*], it became *English Teaching and Learning (Journal) 英語教學期刊* [*Yingyu Jiaoxue Qikan*] in 2007, although neither 'Magazine' nor 'Journal' were in the English titles.

university. Therefore, this study explores national and institutional policies and the concurrent development of *ETL* from 1995 to 2010, when the changes began and then came into full force. I am particularly interested in how the external features, editorial communication, number of articles, and language of publication changed over this period, but I also address trends in article content when relevant to the narrative framed by policies that affected scholarly activity in Taiwan.

In the next section, I will address challenges and roles of non-center journals followed by a historical overview of Taiwan's sociopolitical situation as it impacted higher education. Then I will explain the historiographical text analysis and interview methodologies. Findings are presented in three periods of roughly five years each based on major national policy developments and corresponding changes in the journal. Drawing on Lillis (2012), the analysis is informed by the concept of centering institutions (Blommaert, 2005; Silverstein, 1998). Finally, inspired by Hanauer and Englander (2013), a critical–pragmatic approach is taken to propose ways to address national journal development in non-center contexts.

2. Challenges and roles of non-center journals

Salager-Meyer (2008) explained and Hanauer and Englander (2013) reiterated that journals in non-center contexts, especially in the developing world, often face existential challenges because, due to their reputation for low-quality papers, only contributors read them, while established scholars in these contexts, who publish internationally, do not submit papers or cite them in their own work. Therefore, their impact factors remain low, reinforcing their low status. Due to this low status, a lack of funding and advertising leads to instability and inability to adopt new technology. In addition, according to Labassi (2009), journals published in contexts where repressive regimes rule have to deal with "the absence of an academic culture that encourages criticism and avoids censorship" (p. 250). With all these problems many do not survive.

On the other hand, findings suggest that national journals fulfill important roles in the advancement of science. For example, they may function as a base from which scholars can learn and grow in order to publish internationally (Flowerdew & Li, 2009; Labassi, 2009; Lundin et al., 2010). Lillis and Curry (2010) described how national journals provide alternative outlets for scholars to publish cutting edge research beyond the mainstream journals' frame of reference. Furthermore, national journals function as "intellectual infrastructure for developing and harnessing local knowledge and local knowledge making" (Lillis, 2012, p. 1) and "… can make important contributions to the conversations in a discipline" (Hanauer & Englander, 2013, p. 10). However, it is likely that the success of national journals may rest on the "geopolitical location – of scholars, texts, [and] languages," much as Lillis and Curry (2010, p. 5) view academic text production overall.

According to Salager-Meyer (2008), "… there is a strong association between scientific research output and national wealth distribution across the world" (p. 122). Related to this issue, Lillis and Curry (2010) described the relationship between research and development (R&D) spending in various countries to the percentage of article output and number of articles published in journals listed in the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), now known as Thomson Reuters Web of Knowledge (WoK). They showed that the countries or regions with greater R&D investment have relatively more active journals and research output (p. 14–15). Besides the link between R&D investment from the state and/or industry and research output, Labassi (2009) drew on Canagarajah (1996) and pointed out that fundamental conditions such as political stability and national development are critical to healthy academic activity, as can be illustrated by Taiwan's experience.

3. Higher education policy and the Taiwan context

Since the mid-1980s and 1990s, but especially the 2000s ostensibly reacting to globalization pressures (Englander & Uzuner-Smith, 2013), countries around the world began revamping universities to make them more competitive in order to maintain their relevance (Altbach, 2004/2013). Mok (2000) explained Taiwan's higher education development based on its unique history, tracing the reform movement to the end of 38 years of martial law in 1987 (Ministry of Education, 1994; Mok, 2000). Mok argued that, by passing more control to universities, including private institutions, liberalization and democratization of the higher education sector were made possible. Finally, greater political diversification and economic change through corporatization, marketization, and privatization ensued, setting the stage for new policies tying research investment to research production (Chou, 2008). The Ministry of Education (MOE) in Taiwan encouraged higher education institutes (HEIs) to upgrade their performance, especially in terms of research, even as government funding decreased and the number of HEIs increased (Ministry of Education, 2007; Mok, 2003). In turn, institutions raised faculty research output expectations with various carrot-and-stick approaches (Mok, 2000). As did governments in South Korea, Japan, and China, the Taiwan government began investing in research centers and laboratories to push select universities to participate in the international knowledge economy (Chang et al., 2009).

In response to the poor standing in global rankings of Taiwan's HEIs, the MOE developed the "Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centers" (Chang et al., 2009, p. 48). The plan, worth about US$1.64 billion, "targeted the promotion of excellence in 'promising' HEIs" (p. 49). A major review category of institutions' proposals competing for this funding in 2005 and 2009 was teaching and research quality, the latter of which was judged by the number of papers published in and cited by "wellknown [sic] international periodicals, [and] impact factors that include SCI, EI, SSCI, and A&HCI" (p. 56), referring to WoK Science Citation Index, Engineering Index, Social Science Citation Index, and Arts and Humanities Citatin Index respectively. Such programs sponsored by governments to work their HEIs into world rankings have become common around the world and encourage scholars to focus on publishing opportunities beyond their own countries (Hanauer & Englander, 2013; Lillis, 2012). The case of Taiwan illustrates how higher education policies affecting research

publication demands on scholars can be connected to political reform and economic development while also being influenced by global conditions. But how should Taiwan be described in these (contested) terms and where does it stand in global scholarly publishing? Next I will briefly answer this question before moving onto the current study.

After decades of democratic reform and economic development, Taiwan-based researchers no longer face many of the great trials of "peripheral" scholars as described by Canagarajah (2003). Taiwan's GDP per capita in 2012 was over US$20,300 – four times that of China and half that of the United Kingdom – while its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was US$466 billion (Executive Yuan, 2012). Furthermore, Taiwan's Gross Expenditures on Research and Development (GERD) was 2.93% in 2009. While in terms of actual R&D, the United States invests the largest chunk – 31% of the world total, its GERD in 2009 was down to 2.88% and the UK's was 1.85% (National Science Board, 2012). Furthermore, China's GERD was 1.70% and Mexico's was only .37%. Therefore, aside from the contested nature of such descriptive geopolitical terms (Lillis & Curry, 2010), I hesitate to describe Taiwan as 'peripheral.' Lundin et al. (2010) described the Finnish context as 'in the margins,' which seems to avoid the 'third world' connotation of 'peripheral,' yet underscores the geographic and contextual distance from the Anglophone center. Lillis explained Sousa Santos' term 'semi-periférico' from World Systems theory as "countries and regions that cannot easily be classified as either center or periphery" (as cited in Lillis, 2012, p. 701). It seems Taiwan, an EFL context, could be described as in the margins or especially as semi-periférico since it is comparable to the four countries Lillis (2012) investigated (Hungary, Slovakia, Spain, and Portugal) in that, while it is considered a developing country, like them it is also a 'high-income' nation. In addition, in Taiwan English is taught as a foreign language from elementary school and is used in transnational business, education, and diplomatic relationships for example, placing it in Kachru's (2001) 'expanding circle.'

Taiwan-based researchers still face formidable challenges under the governmental and institutional policies that have led to Taiwan's own version of the internationally ubiquitous 'publish or perish' phenomenon. This article hypothesizes that these policies have affected not only individual researchers (Englander & Uzuner-Smith, 2013; Liu, 2014), but also local scholarly publishing. It is within this context that this article explores, through a historiographical case study of the journal *English Teaching and Learning*, how policies in an 'expanding circle' context have intersected with and been influenced by contact with the 'inner circle' (Kachru, 2006, p. 242) through globalization and university ranking systems.

4. Methodology

As a form of metadisciplinary inquiry (Matsuda, 1998), historiography is a rigorous analysis of the narrative of a discipline (Matsuda, 2013), which "opens the possibility for critical self-understanding that can help the field maintain its integrity and rigor" (Matsuda, Canagarajah, Harklau, Hyland, & Warschauer, 2003). In addition, according to Matsuda (2013), in a historiography the inquiry must incorporate an awareness of influences that affect interpretation of the narrative. Therefore, the appearances of major national and institutional higher education policies over the years are signposts in the organization of the investigation.

This study draws on Berkenkotter and Huckin's (1995, p. 20) "historical, text-based study" (p. 80) of the first 12 years of *Reader*, a journal that began as a newsletter inspired by scholars' alternative perspective of the reader's role in literary criticism in the 1970s. The current inquiry is presented as a historical text-based study of *English Teaching and Learning (ETL)* from 1995 to 2010, detailing the journal's development from a teaching magazine to a scholarly journal. However, besides the textual analysis, interviews with five journal stakeholders were also conducted in this study.

Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) split their investigation of the developing publication into three periods based on editors' tenures and analyzed its "external features" and the "policies and agendas of three editors" (p. 82). External features included such attributes as "length of contributions, appearance of citations, table of contents." The 15 years covered in the present study of *ETL* are divided into three roughly five-year periods based on major institutional policy developments and concurrent changes in the journal. Using qualitative and quantitative methods, this study analyzes *ETL* as a "genre set" – a set of documents created by stakeholders who have contributed, and may continue to contribute, to the journal in some way – rather than a particular individual's or "class of individuals'" contributions to a genre network (Swales, 2004, p. 20).

Data gathered from the journal include photocopies of (a) journal front and back covers and tables of contents; (b) editorial and advisory board member lists and editorial communication; and (c) the first one to two pages of all articles. From this data, dates of journal design and editorial changes were noted. The number of Chinese and English articles published was recorded. Titles and, when available, author names, affiliations, and key words were recorded. This data were used to create a database of contributors and their work, and to consider the types and topics of the research published in 384 articles over the 15-year period being studied.

For content analysis, 90 topics in Chinese were identified that the journal used in the table of contents between January 1995 and April 2001. The author translated them into English and then consulted a native Mandarin speaker familiar with the journal to check accuracy. These formed a coding scheme for the articles published during the second and third periods for which three more topics were added to accommodate new subject areas. This resulted in 93 codes for 384 articles published in *ETL* between the January issue of 1995 and the Spring issue of 2010. Similar topics were then placed into 35 categories. Please refer to Appendix A for the codes, categories, and groups in Table A1.

Next I consulted the tables of contents of English language-teaching textbooks (Burns & Richards, 2012; Hedge, 2000; Ur, 2012), and consolidated the 35 categories into eleven groups that constituted the topics published in the journal. As shown in Table 1 below, the eleven are: (a) comments and issues; (b) applied linguistics; (c) language-teaching research (theory, practice, curriculum); (d) language skills theory/practice (listening, speaking, reading, and writing); (e) general teaching; (f)

Table 1
Number of articles published in ETL from 1995 to 2010 and means in topic groups during three periods respectively.

Period	1995–2000		2001–2005		2006–2010	
Total articles/period	200		112		72	
Topic Groups	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Comments & Issues	25	12.500	3	2.679	2	2.778
Applied Linguistics	14	7.000	18	16.071	12	16.667
Language Teaching Research	18	9.000	18	16.071	11	15.278
Language Skills Theory/Practice	34	17.000	33	29.464	23	31.944
General Teaching	14	7.000	2	1.786	0	0.000
Curriculum Components	15	7.500	12	10.714	5	6.944
Assessment	14	7.000	9	8.036	11	15.278
Media, Materials, and Methods	27	13.500	4	3.571	0	0.000
CALL, Internet, Technology, and Multimedia	13	6.500	8	7.143	8	11.111
Community	18	9.000	1	0.893	0	0.000
Other	8	4.000	4	3.571	0	0.000

curriculum components (grammar, pronunciation, spelling, and translation); (g) assessment; (h) media, materials, and methods; (i) CALL, Internet, technology, and multimedia; (j) community; and (k) other. When multiple categories seemed possible, I judged the most appropriate one based on the significance expressed in the title; the order and frequency of mentions in the introduction or abstract; and a holistic view of the introduction or abstract.

Finally, in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted with five *ETL* stakeholders in April and June of 2012. The participants responded to an invitation emailed to randomly selected members of the editorial and advisory boards listed in the journal from 1995 to 2010. Please see Table 2 for information about the interviewees, whose collective contact with *ETL* has spanned the 15 years under examination and, in several cases, continued during and beyond this study's interview process. The interviews lasted from 60 to 90 minutes and were held in locations chosen by the participants. The interviewees, who are referred to with pseudonyms, responded to four open-ended questions (Appendix B) designed to "elicit spontaneous descriptions" (Kvale, 2007, p. 58) of their experiences with *ETL* that inform their particular understandings of its development. The interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed by the author within two days of each interview and sent to the participants for comments; all five approved the transcripts without adjustments.

By tracking *ETL*'s changes over time, a narrative of how the journal developed from 1995 to 2010 in the face of the 'publish or perish' phenomenon is presented. Therefore, incorporating the framework of a genre set with historical inquiry and interviews, this study is a historically situated analysis incorporating two historiography approaches: a history of ideas and a case study (Matsuda, 2013).

5. Findings

The findings are divided into three periods that correspond to major policy and journal changes. These are 1995 to 2000, 2001 to 2005, and 2006 to 2010. Each begins with a brief overview of major policy developments at the national and institutional levels that set the stage for the history of ideas revealed in the analysis of *ETL* during the same period, the case study. When responding to the open-ended question concerning how the journal has developed since 1995, one interview participant outlined its development in similar phases, thereby supporting the original text-based analysis and organization scheme.

5.1. Period one: 1995–2000

5.1.1. Policies: liberalization

The current conditions for faculty at Taiwan universities were initiated in 1994 when the first major revision of the University Act (Ministry of Education, 1994) was passed by the legislature (Chou, 2008; Mok, 2000). The social movement that led to the new law was nested in the broader democratization of Taiwan after martial law was lifted in 1987 (Zhou, 2010). The

Table 2
Interview participants' pseudonyms, education, and years spanning ETL experience.

Participant	PhD study period	Years w. *ETL*
Dr. Lang	early 1990s	2006–2014
Dr. Luo	early 2000s	2006–2014
Dr. Shou	mid-1990s	2001–2011
Dr. Rei	early 1990s	2001–2014
Dr. Yin	early 1990s	2010–2014

Note: Participants have been associated with ETL in one or more roles including as contributor, reviewer, editorial or advisory board member, or editor.

revised law transferred much decision-making power regarding finances, personnel, and curriculum from the MOE to universities, shifting it from an "inspector of individual universities' affairs" to an administrator (Mok, 2000, p. 644). Of the many changes brought by these reforms, two points directly affected faculty at universities. First, the rank of assistant professor was inserted between instructor and associate professor (Mok, 2000; University Act, 2009, Ch. 4). Second was the establishment of faculty committees to "screen employment, promotions and dismissals of their colleagues" (Mok, 2000, p. 644). The 1994 University Act was a major piece of legislation, but it took some years before it affected personnel policies at universities that in turn impacted scholars' imperative to publish. Therefore, analyzing *ETL* in the last half of the 1990s establishes an important foundation for discussion of the changes in the 2000s.

5.1.2. English Teaching and Learning 1995–2000

In the late 1990s, *ETL* was primarily a medium for teachers at National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) to communicate with alumni teaching at schools all over Taiwan, according to interviewee, Dr. Luo. Furthermore, Dr. Lang claimed that *ETL* started as a journal that was "not so academic" but a magazine where "teachers could share ideas and best practice." During this period, *ETL* was published four times a year and at the time of the current research was operating as a quarterly journal.

Except for the occasional article written in English, *ETL* was essentially a local Chinese publication during this period. The cover featured cartoon characters of a teacher and student, and all information, except for the small English title, was in Chinese. The title, *英語教學* (*Yingyu Jiaoxue*), ran vertically down the right side in large characters. Even the volume and issue numbers were in Chinese characters and the year was in Republic of China (ROC) years, where 1911 is Year One corresponding to the revolution overthrowing the Ching Dynasty. Please see Appendix C, Figure C1 for a sample cover of this period. In the table of contents, article titles and author names were shown in English or Chinese depending on the language of the article, but all documentation in the publication, such as information for contributors or subscriptions, was only in Chinese. These aspects of the cover and opening pages identify the publication as a Taiwan-oriented magazine about teaching and learning English.

During this period, *ETL* editorial documents created to communicate with the readership also reflected its local perspective. The "Zhenggao Shuoming [Information about Contributions]" (1995a) shows the informal nature of *ETL* in the 1990s. According to this Chinese document, the publication was an "absolutely open garden" for those in Taiwan including "middle and high school teachers, students above high school level, or anyone that has an interest in learning English." Also, with equal importance placed on theory and practice, article content could include research and discussion of both teaching and study of English from the perspectives of teachers and students. Removing identifiable author information was up to the discretion of the contributor. Then in October of 1995 ("Zhenggao Shuoming," 1995b), the invitation was extended to mention that manuscript acceptance was decided by a review committee. This indicates that a review process became noted, but that they were not sent out to particular scholars known as experts in the research topic. In this issue, style instructions were added and author names and affiliations in Chinese and English were requested for publication and subsequently included in the January 1996 issue. These procedural and format developments, which would later become citation index requirements, appear to be some early moves toward that standardization, although it is not clear why they were implemented in 1995 and 1996.

The number of articles published per issue between 1995 and 2000 varied from five to twelve with an average of 8.3, as shown in Appendix D, Figure D1 and, based on the journal guidelines, were up to 8,000 characters in Chinese or 12 typed pages in English. During this period, five of the 24 issues published no English articles and nearly all other issues had no more than two or three articles in English.

Until April of 2001, articles were grouped into topic sections in the table of contents such as *Jiaoxue Yanjiu* [Pedagogy Research], *Xiezuo Jiaoxue* [Teaching Writing], or *Pingliang Yanjiu* [Assessment Research] depending on the articles in each issue (see Table 1). As shown in Table 2, during this period the two groups with the most articles were 'Language Teaching Skills,' and 'Media, Materials, and Methods,' respectively and comprised over 30 percent of articles from 1995 to 2001. Articles in the top group focused on various approaches to teaching the four language skills and research related to them. In the 'Media, Materials, and Methods' group, authors shared reflections and observations and otherwise wrote about approaches to teaching, activity design, and research on teaching materials.

In addition, exemplifying the English-teaching emphasis and the local context of *ETL* in the mid- to late 90s are articles by teachers describing their particular department's program (e.g., Xu, 1995), articles about classroom activities (e.g. L.-C. Chen, 1995), and pedagogical issues from a Taiwan perspective (e.g. Truscott, 1996). Another type of article was literature reviews or essays on research topics that authors stated had been of interest to ELT scholars around the world. The articles were often written in Chinese, while citations referenced English language texts published primarily in the United States or the United Kingdom, such as S.-M. Chen's (1997) essay on communicative testing. Another example is Luo's (1998) article, "What is Whole Language?", written in English. Noting that this topic had been discussed in various scholarly venues in Taiwan, Luo set out to explain the approach drawing on theorists from abroad. The journal did publish standard academic articles on original research during the 1990s (for a full overview see Chao, Lo, & Yeh, 2006), but from 1995 to 2000, the publication featured a variety of article types. The category with the third highest number of articles was Comments and Issues. These were essays or position papers on various topics, sometimes connected to articles in the same issue, but all related to teaching in Taiwan.

Another aspect of article content made apparent in the journal's headings and article titles was the education level under investigation. For example, as shown in Table 3, of the 200 articles analyzed between 1995 and 2000, 25 per cent mentioned the education level of interest. Of these 50, half were focused on middle school learners and only 8 per cent were on post-

Table 3
Number and means of education level when mentioned in article title, 1st page, or abstract.

	Total articles	N	Mention level %	Pre-school to elementary[a]		Middle School[b]		Secondary[c]		Post-secondary[d]	
				N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
1995–2000	200	50	25.00	14	0.280	25	0.500	7	0.140	4	0.080
2001–2005	112	40	35.71	14	0.350	7	0.175	9	0.225	10	0.250
2006–2010	72	52	72.22	22	0.423	4	0.077	9	0.173	17	0.327

[a] Kindergarten to grade 6.
[b] Grade 7 and 8.
[c] High school and vocational training institutes from grade 9 to 12.
[d] 2 and 4-year college.

secondary contexts. During this period, English education in public schools began in middle school; therefore it would make sense that there was more interest shown in studies in that context.

Though there were fewer non-research-based articles and announcements after 1995 (Chao et al., 2006), 9 per cent of articles still fell into the 'Community News' category between 1995 and 2000 as shown in Table 1. Of these 18, ten were related to NTNU or *ETL*, including announcements for faculty openings (e.g., Volume 21, Number 2), NTNU-sponsored conferences (e.g., Volume 21, Number 1), and excerpts of speeches delivered at NTNU events, or news and responses from journal readers. Another type of article in this group was autobiographical accounts that were usually either classroom reflections by teachers or study experiences by students. These types of articles and announcements support *ETL*'s image as an NTNU magazine catering to English teachers and students in Taiwan. This variety of article types is reminiscent of *Reader*'s early years as a newsletter (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995).

5.2. Period two: 2001 to 2005

5.2.1. Policies: ranking

In the early 2000s, due to globalization and the ensuing political pressure in the push for international academic recognition (A. H.-M. Huang, 2009; Song & Tai, 2007), a report issued by the Ministry of Education ranking universities based on faculties' numbers of publications in internationally indexed journals became a major issue in the scholarly and popular press (J. Huang, 2003b; Lin, 2003). However, the push to add 'I-type' (indexed) publications on one's curriculum vita had begun in the 1990s, according to interview participant Dr. Shou.

In 1999, to address the absence of Taiwan's publications in the citation indices of center countries and China, the National Science Council[2] (NSC) in Taiwan initiated projects to create the Taiwan Social Science Citation Index (TSSCI) and Taiwan Humanities Citation Index (THCI). The TSSCI admitted a limited number of social science journals following a review process meant to be rigorous, though also controversial (A. H.-M. Huang, 2009). However, the THCI was purely a database list of all Taiwan-based humanities journals (Chen, K.-H. 2004). Later the THCI Core (THCI-C) was developed by the Center for Humanities Research of the National Science Council to provide humanities scholars with a list of journals that had passed a review process comparable to the SSCI (Guo Ke Hui, 2009). To get into the THCI-C, for example, a journal must publish at least six peer-reviewed papers in two or more issues per year over at least three years (Guo Ke Hui, 2011). Meeting this basic requirement will earn the journal minimum points in the article number section of the evaluation while more points will be awarded if the journal consistently publishes more issues per year and/or more articles per issue. In addition, the THCI-C set formatting standards for the table of contents, headers and footers, and citations and references, for example. Upon establishment in 2004 and 2008, the TSSCI and the THCI-C respectively raised the status of their journals nationally. However, as a result, Huang argued that publication options for local scholars actually shrunk because, if they wanted to use publications from local journals toward satisfying promotion requirements, they faced pressure to submit articles only to the indexed publications. In this way the initial moves toward competitive funding schemes mentioned by Mok (2000) seem to have begun as lines were drawn between outlets that were or were not useful to researchers.

While the National Science Council was working on local citation indexes, in 2005 another major revision to the University Act included the establishment of teacher and university evaluations (Ministry of Education, 2005; University Act, 2009), which encouraged universities to push their faculty to raise teaching quality while increasing research activities. However, policies establishing mandatory promotion within a number of years of joining a faculty officially adopted at different times at different institutions (Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue, 2010; National Chengchi University, 2001) constituted the official 'publish or perish' declaration. The so-called 'time-limited promotion' review has so far been most stringent at national research universities. The structure of the 'promotion package' is determined by departments or colleges and approved by respective university senates. How many points each piece is 'worth' is based on the index in which the journal is listed, with the international SSCI and A&HCI ranked as superior to the TSSCI and THCI-C, and other local journals or conference proceedings

[2] In 2014 the National Science Council was renamed the Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST). However, I will continue to refer to the entity as the National Science Council (NSC) when discussing its activities in this paper because they predate this development.

counting for few, if any. New faculty must reach their department promotion requirements based on these criteria within six to eight years, or risk probation or even losing their position. Therefore, the two main forces shaping the academic environment for publishers, editors, and contributors of *ETL* during the early 2000s were the increasing international publishing pressure on scholars and the creation of the TSSCI and THCI-C.

5.2.2. English Teaching and Learning 2001–2005

As described previously, in the late 1990s *ETL* was an NTNU publication for Taiwan's ELT community. However, according to interviewees Lang and Shou, other magazines about English teaching from local publishers appeared, making *ETL* less interesting to English teachers. They claimed that the journal's profile changed as a consequence. One interview participant concluded, "gradually the second phase of this journal became more focused on research… and then the review process got a bit more stringent." Illustrating this change, another participant asserted that before going to graduate school in the United States in the early 1990s, one of her professors had published an article in *ETL* about teaching techniques, but by the time she came back in the early 2000s, empirical work from her dissertation could be published there. One interviewee argued that scholars "needed to have a platform for their publications" when evaluation and promotion criteria demanded more research publications. Expressing this new role of *ETL*, an interviewee, who secured promotion at a national university around that time, said that publishing her research in *ETL* contributed to her success with its reputation as a quality journal.

After its 100th issue, a major redesign debuted in July 2001. Besides being slightly smaller and having a new cover (see Appendix C, Figure C2), the journal made greater use of English, but Chinese was still the predominant language and still came before English text. This is illustrated on the cover, with a much smaller Chinese title along the top of the page while the English title under it dominated the upper half on a green background. The volume and number of each issue were shown in Chinese and in English, whereas the month and year of publication were printed in English using Christian Era years instead of the ROC years. The design of this cover seemed to indicate that Chinese was still primary, but that English had grown in importance, acknowledging the "western" world.

However, language use inside the journal appeared less straightforward. Abstracts in English with Chinese articles and vice versa began to appear. One editor said they rationalized the possible language gap for non-Chinese readers stating that "those who are interested enough in the Chinese article will probably find a way, by reading the English abstract, … [to] find out how they can understand the article written in Chinese." This supports the journal's priority at the time to provide a venue for local scholars and seems to indicate that they had not developed much concern for reaching non-Chinese readers. The most obvious change in *ETL*, starting in July 2001, was the inclusion of two tables of contents, one each for Chinese and English, and the separation of Chinese and English articles into two unmarked sections respectively, where the English table of contents was at the back of the publication *after* the English articles. Therefore, readers would see no indication of English content based on the front matter. In addition, subject section headings no longer grouped articles, perhaps because fewer articles were published. This allowed for a simplified appearance and with other editorial and design changes, *ETL* seemed to be adopting some more characteristics now associated with the THCI-C.

Another major change beginning in July 2001 was the establishment of an advisory and an editorial board replacing the small editorial committee. In addition, the affiliations of editors and members of the boards were added in order to show that they included people from other universities. This is important because THCI-C membership requires that journals not be merely department publications serving home faculty, according to one editor. While chief editors were still from NTNU, two of the six members of the editorial board were not, and just three of eleven advisors were from NTNU, with one from a U.S. institution. A former editor claimed that these changes reflected the editors' hope to make *ETL* a "prestigious" Taiwan-based publication with connections beyond NTNU and the island. Contrary to this image, however, other interviewees tended to downplay the actual influence of individuals listed on these pages. Two interviewees also recognized that because of the Chinese value of respecting elders, even the position of publisher was a ceremonial one traditionally assigned to the chair of the department. They maintained that in recent years, editors have been trying to engage board members and advisors in meaningful ways.

In the new 2001 version of *ETL*, there were other indications of its developing role, especially in terms of how the journal was described to the readers in Chinese. No longer an "open garden" ("Zhenggao Shuoming," 1995a,b, p. 3) for everyone interested in English education, in 2001 it became a more strongly academic publication encouraging research on teaching and learning English, promoting academic exchange, and raising the standard of English teaching as indicated in the Chinese introductory pages (ETL, 2001). In addition, a more rigorous attitude was taken in the "Zhengqiu Lunwen [Call for Papers]" (2001), which described in detail that its aim was to publish articles related to English teaching and research. Submission guidelines were further standardized requiring APA style for English manuscripts, now up to 15 pages. Contributors needed to provide a 200-word abstract in Chinese and English, and three keywords. They were referred to the journal's website for Chinese article instructions. In addition, with increased awareness of copyright issues in general in Taiwan, authors now had to provide release forms for reprinting materials.

However, perhaps the most significant change was that authors were told how to prepare a manuscript for blind review, and the review and revision process was explained in Chinese ("Zhengqiu Lunwen," 2001) and in English ("Information for Contributors," 2001). As mentioned earlier, in the past, the "Information about Contributions" ("Zhenggao Shuoming," 1995b) merely stated that the review committee would decide which articles would be published. In a significant change, the guidelines for contributors now stated, "To facilitate the blind review process, the author's name should appear **only** on the cover sheet, not on the title page; all identifying information should be removed from the body of the paper" (bold original)

("Information for Contributors," 2001). Beginning to institute blind review at this time was a major development for a TESOL journal in the region. In China-based foreign language journals, it has generally not been practiced (Shi, 2002; Shi et al., 2005) although Feng et al. (2013) reported that blind review has become more common in some disciplines there in recent years.

Along with the formatting requirements and standardization, article language and content changed. From 2001 to the next redesign in January of 2006, the overall number of articles in each issue decreased and English articles became more prevalent, as shown in Appendix D, Figure D1. Between 2001 and 2005, each issue of *ETL* included five to seven articles with an average of 5.6 per issue. In addition, all 20 issues had at least two articles written in English, accounting for 29 to 100 percent in each (Figure D2). This trend to fewer articles per issue and a greater percentage of articles written in English coincided with increased pressure on Taiwanese academics to publish internationally and in English, while *ETL* pushed for higher quality articles through increasingly rigorous peer review, a development mentioned by all five participants in this study. They asserted that working toward this goal depended on editors who could spot manuscripts with potential and then recruit and nurture qualified reviewers who could provide critical, but useful, feedback to authors that encouraged them to work through the demanding revision process. In this way, according to Donovan (2011), reviewers for "low-impact" journals offer a mechanism of "quality control" unlike "leading journals" that receive an overabundance of submissions and can afford to reject papers outright (p. 536).

Although the trend started in the late 1990s, *ETL* became further focused on standard research articles in the 2000s. For example, as shown in Table 1, community topics nearly disappeared as, according to Chao et al. (2006), greater influence from research abroad began to affect educators' practical teaching and research outlooks. The percentage of articles on applied linguistics topics more than doubled while research studies on language teaching increased from 9 to 16 percent. In addition, topics of teaching-related articles became more specific in that those on particular language skills increased from 17 to 29 percent and general teaching articles decreased more than five percent. Likewise, during this period the percentage of articles that mention the education level being studied increased from 25 to 36 percent. As shown in Table 3, of those mentioned, the greatest percentage was pre-school and elementary at 35 percent, an increase from 28. Many of these articles were concerned with the newly instituted MOE policy introducing English classes to the elementary school curriculum, which began in 2001 (Chern, 2002). Although it is not certain that more articles had not addressed elementary education previously, the increase of papers delineating it in their titles, abstracts, or introductions indicates more attention to reporting on this elementary school context. These developments denote *ETL*'s role in disseminating research conducted on local ELT issues related to Ministry of Education policies and explored in classrooms. Otherwise, the greatest increase was in articles about post-secondary English language students. Perhaps, as HEI faculty came under greater pressure to do research, they turned to their own classrooms as study sites.

5.3. Period three: 2006–2010

5.3.1. Policies 2006–2010: increased pressure

Between 2006 and 2010, aspects of the 2005 University Act were implemented further, meaning universities continued to encourage faculty to do research as faculty and university evaluations were initiated across the island. While National Chengchi University (NCCU) established its mandatory promotion requirements for new faculty in 2001 (National Chengchi University, 2001), NTNU officially adopted theirs in 2008 (Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue, 2010, Article 8). In addition, in 2008 the Taiwan Humanities Citation Index Core (THCI-C) was established (Center For Humanities Research, 2010; J. Huang, 2003a) and *ETL* became a Core member. Soon, universities such as NTNU added THCI-C to the list of approved journal indexes for articles that faculty members could submit as representative work toward promotion requirements (Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue, 2010, Article 12-2).

5.3.2. English Teaching and Learning 2006–2010

One interviewee who has served as an editor maintained that while they were already working toward standards for joining one of the new citation indexes developed in Taiwan, in the third phase *ETL* "…worked very hard to get it into THCI Core." The journal had to carefully respond to the comments of reviewers, who were recruited by the Humanities Research Center and charged with judging if journals matched the requirements of THCI-C criteria, "to follow the standard of a good prestigious journal…." During this period many of the editorial board decisions at *ETL* were driven by the plan to join the Index. One interviewee succinctly stated others' perceptions of the importance the editors and board members placed on joining the THCI-C:

> It is important for a journal to be included in the index because that gives you more prestige, and to get good articles you need to make this journal a prestigious journal because … the way teachers are evaluated at the university—it's not just any publication anymore; it has to be a good quality journal. … so, we want our journal to be the first choice for people who are interested in publishing locally because we are also competing with international journals. When people have a good article, they will probably go for international journals first and that is why we want to be the best, the first one that people consider and that's why we had to get this journal into the … THCI Core. (Interview with former editor)

Because *ETL* was admitted to the index, editors felt more confident that researchers would submit their manuscripts and follow through the review and editing process. However, according to the editor, getting enough submissions of sufficient

quality continues to be a concern while they publish about 40 percent of submitted articles. Acknowledging the importance of reviewers in this effort, a list of them began to be published each year. All five stakeholders interviewed said that the improvement in the quality of articles was a result of more careful selection and training of manuscript reviewers.

Between 2006 and 2010, *ETL* continued to adjust its appearance. In January 2007, the cover changed to a bright blue background with 'English' in huge letters across the top (Appendix C, Figure C3). The format became smaller and 期刊 (*Qikan)* [*Journal*] replaced 雜誌 (*Zazhi*) [*Magazine*] in the Chinese name, which was much smaller than the English. Issue dates changed from month and year to season and year; hence, 'Spring 2007' was the first issue of the year. This provided some flexibility in publication dates so the publishers were not tied to bringing out an issue during a certain month. In this way they could appear more consistent and meet THCI-C requirements. As a result, they seem to have sidestepped the worry of irregular publication, one of the main challenges facing small non-center journals (cf. Salager-Meyer, 2008).

One way the journal recruited more reviewers was to expand and refresh the advisory board. New people, especially 'active researchers' beyond NTNU, were encouraged to join the boards, according to one stakeholder. From 2003 to 2010, there were up to 16 people on the advisory board at one time, mostly from Taiwan but also from the United States (up to four), and one each from Hong Kong, New Zealand, and Australia. Therefore, though still a national journal accepting Chinese manuscripts, *ETL* expanded and updated its community of experts. The aim was to increase contact with other established journals in order to shape it into a high quality and respected publication. The former editor argued, "We want to maximize the experience with other journals to … help shape the journal." The strategy they employed is similar to suggestions for peripheral journals from Labassi (2009) that the *Scandinavian Journal of Management* also used (Lundin et al., 2010).

In addition, the amount of English in the journal increased further during the most recent period. Among the 17 issues, 82 percent of articles were written in English and six issues published no Chinese articles at all (Appendix D). English versions of the journal introduction and call for papers were placed before Chinese ones. Another major change in Volume 30 Number 3 (January, 2006) was the return to one table of contents, now with English articles listed first. Author names of English articles were either shown in English or transliterated from Chinese followed by names in Chinese characters in parentheses. For Chinese articles, author names were first in Chinese characters followed by the transliterated version in parentheses. Article titles followed this same system except that English ones were not translated into Chinese. It is clear that in the mid 2000s, English became the primary language, but Chinese was still part of the publication. While most of these adjustments were based on THCI Core requirements, editors still grappled with the language issue. One editor maintained they considered making *ETL* a strictly English-medium journal, but "decided that we shouldn't do that because we want to include people who are in [language] education that write in Chinese because … some people in education explore [ELT] and we do want to include them." Besides, as a matter of principle, "people who cannot or choose not to write in English should not be left out of the community." The editor also argued that "certain topics are very locally oriented and if you write in English you would lose the flavor." Luo concurred that language of publication has been a recurring issue for *ETL*. If, as all interviewees believe to be the case, they want *ETL* to become an 'international journal,' it seems they would have to give up publishing Chinese articles. Hanauer and Englander (2013) corroborated this perspective: "Regional or non-English-language journals may publish the work, but such journals are often seen as peripheral, and the research they publish is condemned to having little visibility" (p. 11). The former editor noted the dilemma, "on the one hand we want it to become an international journal, but on the other hand we want to preserve the local research."

From 2006 to 2010, 72 articles were published in *ETL*, and the number of articles per issue stabilized somewhat at three to five as shown in Appendix D. The issue of publication lag has been mentioned in other studies (Donovan, 2011; Wang, 2006) as a deterrent to researchers submitting to local journals. Looking for more ways to attract scholars, *ETL* editors decided to keep to four issues per year, when preparing for THCI-C status, in order to have the fastest turn-around possible for authors. Therefore, they decided to continue a quarterly publication schedule with at least 12 articles per year.

Lang, Luo, and Min said *ETL* may play a role in the direction of TESOL research in Taiwan through what has developed into an annual special issue. The call for "specialized topic" issues in 2002 ("Zuexin Shaoxi," 2002) was not realized; however, in 2006 two special issues were published. One was on teaching reading and the other "A Thirty-Year Retrospective of Research on *English Teaching and Learning*," in commemoration of *ETL*'s 30th anniversary. Later, Volume 32 Number 4 (Winter, 2008) was a special issue on "Young English Language Learners." The special issues were part of the switch from each editor being responsible for one issue to a yearlong four-issue editorship. While there was some opposition to the plan among the committee, it was eventually instituted. Part of this development was the annual special issue, usually in the summer. The topics have been chosen based on editors' expertise or the theme of the annual English Teaching and Research Association (ETRA) conference, an organization closely tied to *ETL*. In addition, a tradition of inviting a guest editor, often from abroad, to work on the issue has developed. Besides potentially influencing the direction of Taiwan TESOL research, by inviting a foreign editor the journal hopes to raise its profile in other countries and attract submissions from a wider pool. These were similar reasons to those that the third editor of *Reader* mentioned for organizing guest editors when she first took over the journal (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995). These moves have led editors to feel a greater sense of ownership of the publication and they tend to stay involved with it even after their editorship is over, which is a positive development because it enables greater consistency.

5.4. *ETL's future: internationalization*

Before moving on to the discussion, I will report participants' responses to the final interview question (Appendix B), which asked how they saw *ETL* developing in the future. All five indicated the journal would be published indefinitely.

However, continued institutional financial and material support would be important. They all also suggested *ETL*'s next move should be toward a more international profile. One said, "We are ambitious; we want to make it international; we want to get into [an] international index." Similarly, another said *ETL* should work toward getting into the SSCI. Another perspective of internationalization mentioned by the others was developing relationships with scholars in other countries so that *ETL* becomes known and includes contributors and reviewers in different countries. Another stakeholder, who publishes in international journals in addition to *ETL*, believed internationalizing would mean "bringing in the international perspective and then having a discourse with the local community." This perspective seems to note the value of local–transnational networking (Lillis & Curry, 2010), which may apply not only to individual researchers, but also extend to the journals where they publish. However, these ideas were tempered by practical concerns of funding and manpower. One claimed, "Our worries usually are how to get more quality papers … and meet deadlines," asserting, "the difficulty is …we don't have fulltime staff working on this. We don't have a publishing house in charge so you know everybody is using leftover energy (laughs) – no, this is just one of the responsibilities you have to do [as faculty of the department]." So despite qualifying for the THCI Core and publishing consistently since 1976 through major sociopolitical changes, *ETL,* like journals in other semi-peripheral contexts, still faces many challenges.

6. Discussion

This article began by hypothesizing that government and institutional higher education policies influenced by globalization and Taiwan's particular sociopolitical context have affected not only individual scholars, but also Taiwan-based national journals because those policies ushered in 'publish or perish' conditions that encourage scholars to write in English and submit to internationally indexed journals. The findings have supported the hypothesis in the case of a Taiwan-based ELT journal and have revealed changes in its external features, language, and content. In order to discuss the relationship between various policies and the development of *ETL,* Silverstein's (1998) 'centering institutions' provides a useful framework.

Centering institutions, according to Blommaert (2005), are entities that influence social orientation of institutions in relation to "all levels of social life, ranging from the family over small peer groups, more or less stable communities …, the state and transnational communities, all the way through to the world system" (Section 2.2, para 3). Lillis (2012), who applied the concept to her discussion of journal publishing in Europe, said centering institutions may be distant, such as Thomson Reuters, or near, such as academic departments. However, "they tend to be highly centripetal in nature" (Lillis, 2012, p. 702), constituting a homogenizing force, whether perceived or actual (Blommaert, 2005). However, Lillis indicated there may also be 'pushing with the pulling' as dominant forces are challenged and there may be multiple centers in the context at any one time. Next I will discuss *ETL*'s development in relation to centering institutions. Please refer to Figure 1, which illustrates this discussion.

In the 2000s, HEIs were affected by policies generated from immediate and distant centering institutions such as the Ministry of Education and the Central Government. In this way, HEIs functioned as centering institutions on faculty. Editors realized that local researchers needed a quality journal to meet new review and promotion requirements. Therefore, researchers acted as a centripetal force on *ETL*. Then the THCI was developed, followed by the THCI Core. The influence of Core requirements can be interpreted as a strong homogenizing force and as an immediate centering institution on *ETL*.

In addition, the language shift from mostly Chinese to English articles was more a result of scholars' pressure to publish in English rather than any explicit change in journal policy. The Chinese–English segue between 2000 and 2010 (Appendix D) occurred as national policies continually pushed for more publications in SSCI journals. This centripetal pressure suggests the Ministry of Education and HEIs have operated as centering institutions. These institutions have affected scientists by adopting external standards and measures that are generally identified as impacts of neo-liberalism associated with globalization (Chou, 2008; Lee & Lee, 2013) that function as a distant centripetal influence. Although *ETL* did not make any explicit language policy change, its external features indicated a steady increase of English on and in the journal in its design and editorial communication. In this way, the English language can be interpreted as a symbolic and practical sign indicating an understood prestige (Lillis, 2012). Therefore, *ETL* may have been a centering institution, also exerting normative pressure on potential contributors.

Finally, content and types of articles have developed during 15 years from a variety of relatively short text types to original research articles including abstracts and using the introduction, methods, results, and discussion (IMRAD) structure. It appears that a mix of influences determined *topics* covered in the journal, but that the peer review process impacted the collection of publishable articles. The establishment of double blind peer review is another convention adopted through the normative pressure of centering institutions – the THCI-C and the distant ISI. Therefore, the journal may shape the TESOL conversation in Taiwan to a certain extent, but the journal in turn is shaped by other conversations and influences, as well.

It appears that the changes in *ETL*'s external features, language, and content between 1995 and 2010 occurred as a result of multiple influences acting on multiple entities in multiple directions. However, the overall development has been toward a global standard adopted from distant centering institutions such as the Web of Knowledge. Blommaert (2005) and Lillis (2012) took an understandably critical view on centering institutions' effects on non-center scholars and journals. Hanauer and Englander (2013), drawing on Flowerdew (2007), however adopted a critical–pragmatic perspective (CPP). Harwood and Hadley (2004), who explicated this position, pointed out that postgraduate students should be taught "dominant discourse norms" in order to compete with L1 researchers for publication opportunities (p. 364). Likewise, according to Hanauer and Englander (2013), CPP challenges the Anglocentric conditions of 'international' scientific publishing that disadvantage multilingual scholars, yet recognize English as the language of science, realizing that the advancement of L2 science writers and their scientific discoveries are tied to their access to the means of publishing in center journals. This "middle way"

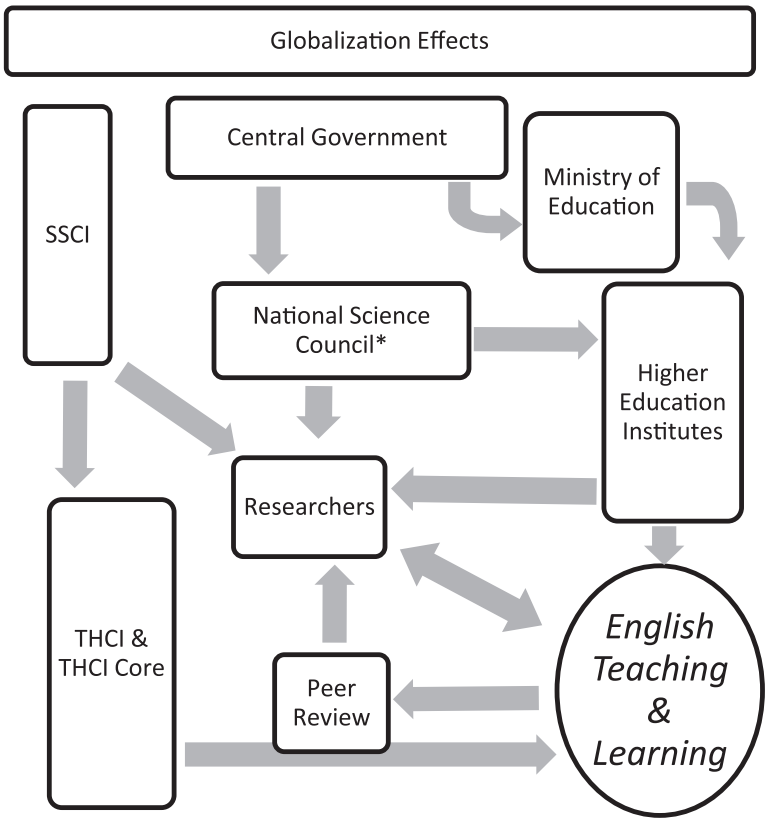

Figure 1. Centering Institutions' Centripetal Influence in Relation to *English Teaching and Learning*. Schematic of the various institutions exerting centripetal influence on each other and *English Teaching and Learning*. Institutions are rectangular and arrows show direction of influence. Change in *ETL* likely occurred as a result of multiple influences acting on multiple entities in multiple directions. The most distant, but overarching centering institution on academia in Taiwan appears to be effects of globalization. *National Science Council (NSC) was renamed, Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST) in 2014.

(Flowerdew, 2007, p. 22) is a useful perspective to consider *ETL's* focus on local research in English or Chinese when other Taiwan-based journals in English studies are English medium[3] while also putting much effort into conforming to THCI Core requirements.

Hanauer and Englander (2013) claimed, "[r]egional and non-English journals are not *always* good publishing choices, and a scientist's contributions therein fall into the domain of lost science [emphasis added]," (p. 11). The findings I have presented suggest that, under certain conditions, national journals can regularly publish quality papers over the long term, making them good publishing choices for researchers. In the case of Taiwan, it appears that while the central government has led the 'publish or perish' push, by establishing its own databases and indexes, a structure to help support these demands was concurrently implemented.

This indicates a critical–pragmatic approach mode of action can be applied to the development of national journals in non-center contexts by first realizing the centripetal homogenizing force of centering institutions near and far and developing an awareness of the larger picture and what the journal can contribute. Then, by adopting the necessary standards, the journals can seek membership in the mainstream. Once this is accomplished, they will be able to contribute their own perspectives to the discipline. The third editors at both *Reader* and *SJM* adopted this tactic. However, just as Hanauer and Englander (2013) concluded, international scholarly publishing is not the sole responsibility of the lone researcher. This suggests that the success of national journals rests with institutions at multiple levels and, I would add, the discourse community. Therefore, I will propose several steps to support national journal publishing in non-center contexts.

7. Implications

The following suggestions are couched in the current study, but can be considered in other peripheral contexts. Change needs to come from all parties working together as Flowerdew and Li (2009), Lillis and Curry (2010), and Salager-Meyer

[3] For example, *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies*, *Concentric: Studies in Linguistics*, and *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics* (see list of THCI Core journals at www.hrc.ntu.edu.tw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=899&Itemid=391).

(2008) have indicated. Also, mentioning these possibilities is not meant to insinuate that no one has attempted any of them. A fundamental necessity is stable political conditions and economic development for open academic culture and scientific advancement (Labassi, 2009). The involvement of national institutions can play a positive role in developing an academic infrastructure such as the National Science Council in Taiwan, now the Ministry of Science and Technology, which has overseen the development of national citation indexes and provides research grants to institutions and individual researchers.

However, support at the institutional level needs to be complemented by members of particular discourse communities. Established researchers need to be able to move beyond the 'publish or perish' mode for the greater good of a younger generation of scholars and a national research heritage. Senior professors can add national journal articles to course readings when appropriate, contribute more articles to them, and act as reviewers and editors for the journals. They can acknowledge the important role of local journals and help break the negative cycle of inadequate quantity and quality of submissions. Concurrently, they can work with editors to provide mentoring support to novice researchers (Lillis & Curry, 2010) to increase the pool of contributors. Ultimately, however, at the institutional and governmental levels, an awareness of the important role of local journals needs to be fostered. Resources need to be dedicated to local publications and researchers concerned with questions relevant to their own contexts so they can be addressed with a local sensibility.

This study has not addressed all the issues related to the success or failure of national journals; for example, journal distribution and access are beyond its scope. However, it has shown that "exploring how institutions direct scholars' activities and likewise how scholars orient to such institutions is an important way of understanding the nature of academic production" (Lillis, 2012, p.702). It has shown that governments and institutions in the "expanding circle" are affected by the standards of the "inner circle" (Kachru, 2006, p. 242) leading to the institutional evaluation of local research based on international perspectives. Rethinking the inherent prestige and effects of citation indexing systems might encourage disciplinary communities to support peripheral journals, not by special favors or influence exerted from the center (Belcher, 2007; Salager-Meyer, 2008) but by enhancing *real* "internationality" (Lillis & Curry, 2010) legitimizing the research published in journals beyond the center.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my appreciation to the English Department of National Taiwan Normal University for providing the digital images of the three journal covers that appear in this article and granting permission to reproduce them. I thank the editorial board at *English Teaching and Learning* for allowing me to study their journal and I especially appreciate the five professors, who participated in this study, for their time and thoughtful responses to my questions.

In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Professors John Flowerdew, David Ian Hanauer, and Paul Kei Matsuda for their insightful comments, suggestions, and encouragement at various stages of this article. I am especially grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their excellent critical feedback and to the editors of *English for Specific Purposes* for their confidence in this project.

A portion of this research was supported by a Graduate Student Research Grant from Indiana University of Pennsylvania School of Graduate Studies & Research.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data related to this article can be found at http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2014.12.001

References

Altbach, P. G. (2004/2013). Globalization and the university: Myths and realities in an unequal world. In R. King, S. Marginson, & R. Naidoo (Eds.), *The globalization of higher education* (pp. 1-23). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited (Reprinted from *Tertiary Education and Mangagement* 10: 3-25, 2004, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publications).

Belcher, D. D. (2007). Seeking acceptance in an English-only research world. *Journal of Second Language Writing, 16*, 1-12.

Berkenkotter, C., & Huckin, T. N. (1995). *Evolution of a scholarly forum: Reader, 1977–1988, genre knowledge in disciplinary communication: Cognition/culture/power (pp. 79–96*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Situating language rights: English and Swahili in Tanzania revisited*. Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies, Paper 23. Retrieved March 10, 2014 from www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/departments/education/research/ldc/publications/workingpapers/23.pdf.

Burns, A., & Richards, J. C. (2012). *Pedagogy and practice in second language teaching*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Canagarajah, A. S. (1996). "Nondiscursive" requirements in academic publishing, material resources of periphery scholars, and the politics of knowledge production. *Written Communication, 13*(4), 435-472. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0741088396013004001.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2003). A somewhat legitimate and very peripheral participation. In C. P. Casanave, & S. Vandrick (Eds.), *Writing for scholarly publication: Behind the scenes in language education* (pp. 197-210). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Center For Humanities Research. (2010). *THCI core Shoulu Qikan Mindan (2008) [THCI core journals added in 2008]*. Retrieved November 21, 2010, from www.hrc.ntu.edu.tw/index.php?option=com_content&;view=article&id=425&Itemid=391

Chang, D.-F., Wu, C.-T., Ching, G., & Tang, C.-W. (2009). An evaluation of the dynamics of the plan to develop first-class universities and top-level research centers in Taiwan. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 10*(1), 47-57. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12564-009-9010-7.

Chao, C.-C., Lo, Y.-H. G., & Yeh, H.-C. V. (2006). You Yingyu jiaoxue kan yingyu shizi jiaoyu shiwu yu yanjiu sanshi nian paidian yanbian [Thirty years of English teacher education in Taiwan: Paradigm shifts in research as revealed by *English Teaching and Learning*]. *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue)*, 111-132 (Special issue 2).

Chen, L.-C. (1995). Mingpianka yu Yingyu jiaoxue [Namecards and teaching and learning English]. *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 19*(3), 71.

Chen, S.-M. (1997). Jianshuo kou shuo nungli ceyan de fangshi [A simple communicative testing method]. *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 21*(3), 5-14.
Chen, K.-H. (2004). The construction of the Taiwan humanities citation index. *Online Information Review, 28*(6), 410-419. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/14684520410570535.
Chern, C.-L. (2002). English language teaching in Taiwan today. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Education, 22*(2), 97-105.
Chou, C. P. (2008). The impact of neo-liberalism on Taiwanese higher education. *International Perspectives on Education and Society, 9*, 297-312. ISSN: 1479-3679. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1479-3679(08)00010-8.
Delgado, J. E. (2011). *Journal publication in Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela: University responses to global, regional, and national pressures and trends* (Ph.D.), University of Pittsburgh, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. Retrieved December 13, 2012 from http://search.proquest.com/docview/908423407?accountid=11652(908423407)
Donovan, S. K. (2011). Big journals, small journals, and the two peer reviews. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing, 42*(4), 534-538.
Englander, K., & Uzuner-Smith, S. (2013). The role of policy in constructing the peripheral scientist in the era of globalization. *Language Policy, 12*, 231-250. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10993-012-9268-1.
English Teaching and Learning. (2001). English teaching and learning. *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 26*(1).
Executive Yuan, R. o. C. (Producer). (2012, Feb. 14, 2014). The Republic of China Yearbook 2012. Retrieved February 14, 2014 from www.ey.gov.tw/2012yearbook/index.html.
Feng, H., Beckett, G. H., & Huang, D. (2013). From 'import' to 'import–export' oriented on scholarly publication in China. *Language Policy, 12*, 251-272. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10993-013-9285-8.
Flowerdew, J. (2000). Discourse community, legitimate peripheral participation, and the nonnative-English-speaking scholar. *TESOL Quarterly, 34*(1), 127-150.
Flowerdew, J. (2007). The non-Anglophone scholar on the periphery of scholarly publication. *AILA Review, 20*(1), 14-27. http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/aila.20.04flo.
Flowerdew, J., & Li, Y. (2009). English or Chinese? The trade-off between local and international publication among Chinese academics in the humanities and the social sciences. *Journal of Second Language Writing, 18*, 1-16. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jslw.2008.09.005.
Guo Ke Hui [National Science Council]. (2009). *"Taiwan renwenxue yingwen xiying gaixin qikan" shoulu shishi fangan ["Taiwan Humanities Citation Index Core" recruitment implementation plan]*. Taipei: Research Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, National Science Council.
Guo Ke Hui. [National Science Council]. (2011). *"Taiwan renwenxue yingwen xiying gaixin qikan" shoulu shishi fangan ["Taiwan Humanities Citation Index Core" recruitment implementation plan]*. Taipei: Research Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, National Science Council.
Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue Jiaoshi Pingshen Banfa [National Taiwan Normal University Faculty Review Guidelines] (2010).
Hanauer, D. I., & Englander, K. (2013). *Scientific writing in a second language*. Anderson, SC: Parlor Press.
Harwood, N., & Hadley, G. (2004). Demystifying institutional practices: Critical pragmatism and the teaching of academic writing. *English for Specific Purposes, 23*, 355-377. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2003.08.001.
Hedge, T. (2000). *Teaching and learning in the language classroom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Huang, J. (2003a). Lawmakers call for index of Chinese research papers. *Taipei Times* (October 28), 2. Retrieved October 20, 2010 from www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2003/10/28/2003073657
Huang, J. (2003b). Survey by ministry of education rankles some in academia. *Taipei Times* (October 21), 4. Retrieved October 21, 2010 from www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2003/10/21/2003072762
Information for Contributors. (2001). *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 26*(1).
Huang, A. H.-M. (2009). Science as ideology: SSCI, TSSCI and the evaluation system of social sciences in Taiwan. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, 10*(2), 282-291.
Kachru, B. B. (2001). World Englishes. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *Concise encyclopedia of sociolinguistics* (pp. 519-524). New York: Elsevier.
Kachru, B. B. (2006). Standards, codification, and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In K. Bolton, & B. B. Kachru (Eds.), *World Englishes: Critical concepts in linguistics* (Vol. 3, pp. 241-269). New York: Routledge.
Kvale, S. (2007). *Doing interviews*. London: SAGE.
Labassi, T. (2009). Periphery non-Anglophone scholarship in English-only journals: Conditions of a better visibility. *Changing English, 16*(2), 247-254.
Lawrick, E. P. Z. (2011). *English in Russian academe: Uses and perceived significance* (PhD), Purdue, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (901113909).
Lee, H., & Lee, K. (2013). Publish (in international indexed journals) or perish: Neoliberal ideology in a Korean university. *Language Policy, 12*, 215-230. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10993-012-9267-2.
Lillis, T. (2012). Economies of signs in writing for academic publication: The case of English medium "national" journals. *Journal of Advanced Composition, 32*(3–4), 695-722.
Lillis, T., & Curry, M. J. (2010). *Academic writing in a global context: The politics and practices of publishing in English*. London: Routledge.
Lin, C.-Y. (2003). Chen pledges to make universities among best in Asia. *Taipei Times* (November 25), 3. Retrieved November 2, 2010 from www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2003/11/25/2003077177
Liu, Y.-C. (2014). Problems, strategies, and impact of SSCI publication in English: Perceptions and negotiations of Taiwanese researchers. In C. Chou (Ed.), *SSCI syndrome in higher education: A local or global phenomenon*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense.
Lundin, R. A., Jönsson, S., Kreiner, K., & Tienari, J. (2010). The changing face of academic publishing: On the past, present and future of the Scandinavian Journal of Management. *Scandinavian Journal of Management, 26*(3), 309-317.
Luo, Y.-X. (1998). What is whole language? *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 23*(1), 76-90.
Matsuda, P. K. (1998). Situating ESL writing in a cross-disciplinary context. *Written Communication, 15*, 99-121. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0741088398015001004.
Matsuda, P. K. (2013). Historiography. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of applied linguistics* (pp. 1-6). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Matsuda, P. K., Canagarajah, A. S., Harklau, L., Hyland, K., & Warschauer, M. (2003). Changing currents in second language writing research: A colloquium. *Journal of Second Language Writing, 12*(2), 151-179. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1060-3743(03)00016-X.
Ministry of Education. (1994). *Documents of legislative Yuan: The university act*. Taipei: Ministry of Education.
Ministry of Education. (2005). *Documents of legislative Yuan: The university act*. Taipei: Ministry of Education.
Ministry of Education. (2007). *Education in Taiwan 2007*. Retrieved October 14, 2010 from http://english.moe.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=8376&ctNode=814&mp=1
Mok, K.-H. (2000). Reflecting globalization effects on local policy: Higher education reform in Taiwan. *Journal of Education Policy, 15*(6), 637-660. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02680930010000236.
Mok, K.-H. (2003). Similar trends, diverse agendas: Higher education reforms in East Asia. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 1*(2), 201-221. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1476772032000105519.
Mok, K.-H., & Wei, I. P. (2008). Contested concepts, similar practices: The quest for the global university. *Higher Education Policy, 21*(4), 429-438. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/hep.2008.23
National Chengchi University. (2001). *Regulations for time-limited promotion for newly-employed faculty*. Taipei: National Chengchi University.
National Science Board. (2012). R&D: National Trends and International Comparisons (4.19) Retrieved Feb. 14, 2014, from www.nsf.gov/statistics/seind12/tables.htm#c4.
Salager-Meyer, F. (2008). Scientific publishing in developing countries: Challenges for the future. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 7*(2), 121-132. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2008.03.009.
Shi, L. (2002). How Western-trained Chinese TESOL professionals publish in their home environment. *TESOL Quarterly, 36*(4), 625-634. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3588245.

Shi, L., Wang, W., & Xu, J. (2005). Publication culture of foreign language education journals in China. *TESOL Quarterly, 39*(4), 765-776. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3588537.
Silverstein, M. (1998). Contemporary transformations of local linguistic communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 27*, 401-426.
Song, M.-M., & Tai, H.-H. (2007). Taiwan's responses to globalisation: Internationalisation and questing for world class universities [Article] *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 27*(3), 323-340. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02188790701594067.
Swales, J. M. (2004). Research genres: Explorations and applications. In M. H. Long, & J. C. Richards (Eds.), *Cambridge applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Truscott, J. (1996). Tree experts lost in the forest: English comprehension in Taiwan. *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 20*(3), 5-13.
University Act. (2009). University act amended November 18, 2009. In *Laws and regulations database of the Republic of China*. Retrieved October 14, 2010, from http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=H0030001
Ur, P. (2012). *A course in English language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Uzuner, S. (2008). Multilingual scholar's participation in core/global academic communitites: A literature review. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 7*, 250-263. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2008.10.007.
Wang, F.-N. (2006). Measures to shorten publication lags for journals in China. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing, 38*(1), 41-46.
Wang, F.-N. (2008). Problems and solutions for social science journals at Chinese universities. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing, 39*(4), 410-416. http://dx.doi.org/10.3138/jsp.39.4.410.
Xu, Y.-Z. (1995). Dongwu Yingwenxi bixiuke de zuofa [Method for required courses at Dongwu's English department]. *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 19*(3), 22-30.
Zhang, F., & Li, L. (2003). Improving the international influence of Chinese academic journals. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing, 34*(2), 101.
Zhenggao Shuoming [Information about Contributions]. (1995a). *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 19*(2), 3-4.
Zhenggao Shuoming [Information about Contributions]. (1995b). *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 20*(2), 3-4.
Zhengqiu Lunwen [Call for Papers]. (2001). *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 26*(1).
Zhou, Y.-X. (2010). *Zhonghua Mingguo Lifayuan Daxuefa [Republic of China university law]*. Taipei: National Taiwan University. Retrieved November 13, 2010 from www.google.com/search?client=safari&;rls=en&q=周盈秀AND大學法&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8
Zuexin Shaoxi [Latest News]. (2002). *English Teaching and Learning (Yingyu Jiaoxue), 27*(1).

Cheryl L. Sheridan is a Ph.D. candidate in Composition and TESOL at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. She is also a faculty member of National Chengchi University Foreign Language Center in Taipei Taiwan. Her research focuses on scholarly publishing in EFL contexts.