

**THE PROMOTION OF NATIVE CULTURAL EDUCATION IN
TAIWAN SEEING FROM A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE:
ISSUES AND CONTROVERSIES**

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Abstract

Taiwan is in the throes of curricular reform. This study explores the early stages of the development and implementation of the promotion of native cultural education as a key element of that reform. It sets the historical context against which the present reforms are being pursued. It looks at the promotion of native cultural education through the lens of multicultural education. It addresses these issues by drawing upon the perspectives of administrators, academics and teachers on the promotion of native cultural education.

Having outlined key events (past and more contemporary) in Taiwanese history that have influenced the current reform movement, the literature chapter identifies some of the conceptual foundations of multicultural education. To give a global context to multicultural education before focusing on the case of Taiwan, a wide range of foreign experiences are surveyed.

My methodological stance is qualitative in kind. Through three research stages (exploratory, pilot and main) a series of interviews exposes the conflicts, controversies and enthusiasms informing the outlooks of those I researched towards the promotion of native cultural education.

The research findings reveal how problematic the compulsory teaching of native cultures is. The contentious nature of the use and teaching of native languages is highlighted. Ambivalent attitudes towards the teaching of aboriginal cultures are indicated. The problems confronting teachers as they try to deliver on these new curricular challenges are brought to the fore.

Arising out of the research findings, it is suggested that the promotion of native cultures under the aegis of native cultural education might be to the detriment of the government's ambition to encourage multiculturalism within Taiwanese society. There are some final reflections on strategies that might advance both the causes of native cultural education and multiculturalism.

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Defining the terms

Native: The term 'native' in this thesis is used to distinguish the people who have lived in Taiwan for many generations. This mainly refers to aborigines and the early Chinese immigrants, HoLao and Hakka people.

Cultures signifies a whole way of living, their customs, traditions, a whole range of human activities, that identifies a particular group. (e.g. the cultures of the groups of people in Taiwan, such as Chinese culture, Amis culture etc.). Other characteristics of cultures include music, rituals, mores, diet and art.

Native Cultures: I use the term 'native cultures' to identify those cultures that have existed on the island of Taiwan before 1949. Those cultures have been suppressed by the great-Chinese traditions before the termination of Martial Law in 1987.

Aborigines refer to the specific native groups who have lived on the island before the first wave of Chinese immigration in 17th century and the successive foreign colonisers.

Mother tongues / Native languages primarily refer to the main or original languages of the different ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Dialects mean the sub-division of any mother tongue or native language.

Curriculum Specifications alludes to 'Ko-Cheng-Piao-Chun':

Ko-Cheng-Piao-Chun is a formal government statement of the prescribed curriculum expressed in educational administrative regulations and requirements specified by the Ministry of Education. In my thesis, I use the terms 'Curriculum Specifications' and 'Curriculum Standard' to mean 'Ko-Cheng-Piao-Chun'

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study looks at the promotion of native cultural education (NCE), as part of the latest educational changes in Taiwan. This promotion is a key feature in the current educational reform movement. Wu and Lin's analysis (1995) notes that 'promoting and implementing native cultural education' is one of the ten traits recognised in the latest revised curriculum specifications. (p.233) In the first instance, my research was set up to explore how native cultural education (officially introduced in 1993's curriculum specifications for the first time since 1949) is being developed in Taiwan. With the establishing of democracy in the recent years (e.g. in the form of multi-party politics and freedom of speech and with the expression of a multiple value system in the society) pressure has emerged for major revisions in the curriculum. The President of Taiwan echoed this message declaring:

Educational reform is one of the important tasks after political reform, pluralism, the ability of critical thinking and problem-solving should be emphasised in the school curriculum. (*Central Daily News International Edition*, 30/9/1994, p.2)

The educational reform and the revised national curriculum specifications therefore are key measures the government has taken in response to the great demands made for educational changes to keep pace with the country's social and political changes. Kelly (1989) observes a close link between educational innovations and other changes in society, stating:

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The education system is a social institution which should be expected to change along with other such institutions. ...And it is the need to ensure that it continues to develop, and that it responds appropriately not only to other changes in society but also to our increasing understanding of the educational process itself. (P.1)

Educational development in Taiwan now is described as being “a double transition” (Chen, 1999, p.2) from uniformity to diversity, and from authoritarian centralisation to deregulation and pluralism. The promotion of native cultures in education is a key feature that reflects these transitions. Devolving the power of curriculum development, for teaching of native cultures in schools, to local educational authorities for the first time in Taiwanese history, for instance, indicates the tendency towards decentralisation. Native cultural education, according to the new curriculum specifications, aims to give pupils “a better understanding of the place where they live in and the cultures of Taiwan” (MOE, 1994). Under the government’s previous military rule, before the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, learning about Taiwan did not feature on the curriculum because of the domination of Chinese ideologies in education. Taiwanese society has a colourful and diverse nature rooted in its tribal and cultural aspects. At the same time, teaching of native cultures illustrates the government’s ambition in pursuing multicultural education in the current reform movement. This multicultural aspect is emphasised in the curriculum specifications, as the teaching of native cultures aims to “enhance social harmony by cultivating pupils’ respect for cultural differences and broadening their perspectives...through the recognition and celebrations of native cultures” (MOE, 1994). Therefore, celebrating the diverse native cultures of Taiwan in education is observed as a sign indicating a shift in educational policy from mono-cultural to cultural pluralism.

Looking at the current development of native cultural education, several approaches have been employed as vehicles for its implementations. To encourage the use of native cultural materials, when relevant in teaching practices in general, new subjects, including ‘Homeland Study Activity’ (primary schools); ‘Getting to Know Taiwan’ and ‘Native Art Activity’ (lower secondary schools), have been set up in compulsory education. Similarly, promoting native language teachings in schools and aboriginal native cultural education are other key measures observed in the current development. The initial interest of this research study is therefore to look at how these approaches are developed and practised and what issues are perceived to be most important to those taking part in the process of delivering the changes.

Section One: The Motivations of the Study

Motivations for this research study have resulted from my experiences as a child being brought up within the educational system of Taiwan and a post-graduate student in the UK. The origin of this study lies initially in personal interests influenced by being nurtured in a family that held traditional Taiwanese cultures in high esteem. Second, I was inspired by my analysis of the ways in which cultural materials are incorporated into teaching practices in a British local primary school during my MA research thesis on ‘Teaching Arts in A Primary School - A Case Study’. In addition, I have also been impressed by the notion of utilising available resources from the community, with its cultural norms, for teaching in schools after my year’s experience as a volunteer in a local primary school. Finally, my motivation was also gained from the experience of being an

overseas student in England. As a consequence of the state's mono-cultural policy, I have been moulded in the educational system within which little chance was given for learning about my birthplace, Taiwan. In being a foreign student abroad, I have learnt the significance to individuals of their native cultures.

Section Two: Locating the Research and the Questions to be Asked in My Study

Many, (Huang, 1994; Chang, 1997; Lin, 1998), have pointed out that native cultural education was not on the agenda until the late 1980's. It is interesting to acknowledge that there was an increasing emphasis on native cultures and research into education after the termination of Martial Law in 1987. Evidence can be found in Lin's (1998) observations on the research studies associated with native cultural education which shows that there are in total around sixty studies conducted in the field and more than 90% of those projects have taken place since 1988 (p.17-18).

In early studies, many have claimed that teaching native cultures were interrelated with other curriculum subjects (Chien, 1977; Chen, 1979; Wang, 1988). In contrast, more recently, growing independent interests and emphasis on the development of native cultural education in Taiwan has been observed after the changes made in the latest curriculum innovation. According to Lin's analysis of the nature of the research studies in the field, six categories are identified (1998, p.19):

1: native cultures and their values in geography education (e.g. Chen, 1979; Shia, 1988, 1989, 1990; Chiao, 1993; etc)

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2: native cultures and their use and values in social studies (e.g. Chien, 1977; Wang, 1988; Shiu, 1990; Chin, 1993; Chen, 1995; etc);

3: native cultures and their values in science education (e.g. Huang, 1994; Choan, 1995; etc);

4: native cultural education: concepts, contents, curriculum design and practices (e.g. Choan, 1993; Ou, 1994; Hunh, 1995; Lin, 1996; etc);

5: research on the development of native cultural education in Taiwan (e.g. Huang, 1994; Lin, 1995; etc);

6: analysis on published materials for teaching of native cultures (e.g. Deng, 1995; Liu, 1995; etc).

Yet, there is still little systematic analysis of the whole development of native cultural education in Taiwan within its unique historical and educational context and its significance in the current educational reform as a whole.

At an earlier stage of my study, I conducted an analysis on the most recent research studies in the field. These reviewed studies included the government funded projects after the teaching of native cultures was officially introduced into the formal school curriculum and studies undertaken by individuals looking at native cultural education from different aspects. Overall, the following points have been identified as shaping my research focus at an initial stage. First, it is widely recognised in most studies that the current promotion of native cultural education results from significant political initiatives. It has also been described as a movement, by examining recent developments, that challenges the government's formal authority and centralised educational policy. Though many have pointed out the motivations in the progress of native cultural education, there is no research looking at how the values of native cultures have been regarded in education at

differing times. Such perspectives seem to be important in providing a background to the current changes, within the context of Taiwan.

The introduction of native cultures in education is perceived to have resulted from a 'bottom-up' approach. At the same time, there was no curriculum development designed when these new subjects for teaching of native cultures were set up. In most recent studies, consequently, the emphasis is placed on finding theoretical foundations for teaching native cultures. It is common to find the concepts and goals of multicultural education being closely linked with the pursuit of native cultural education. However, no one has surveyed whether or not this 'assumed' link between teaching of native cultures and the pursuit of multicultural education exists, or how these paradigms could be connected in practice. Bearing in mind the lack of standardised textbooks, to help practitioners overcome difficulties in implementing the teaching of native cultures, the provision of relevant guidance and instruction has become a main focus in many of the recent studies. Having aimed to provide sufficient support for practice, there has been little in the way of resources to undertake research to examine further the appropriateness of policy and approaches employed for the implementation of native cultural education. From the methodological aspect: literature review and questionnaires are the main instruments observed for data collection in most studies. Although interviews have been adopted in some studies, there is still a lack of in depth qualitative data reflecting the development of native cultural education.

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In this climate, instead of thinking of ‘how to implement’, I consider there is a need for exploring ‘why’ and ‘how’ the changes have occurred and ‘what’ is the significance of these changes before moving to development as a further step. Then, my research study is set up to look at the development of native cultural education from two dimensions, vertical and horizontal. The vertical represents an inquiry into the historical context within which implications for the development of native cultural education can be observed. This appears to be essential in drawing a clearer picture of how and why native cultures are being brought into education at this time. Also, this inquiry aims to look into those factors that seem to have an impact on the changes taking place in the current reform movement. The horizontal dimension represents the immediate context in which this study investigates how those approaches are being developed and implemented. To be able to identify what emerges as the most important issues at the present stage, interviews have been carried out as the main research method for gathering the different opinions of key players from the areas of theory, policy making and practice.

The study also aims to look at the development of native cultural education through the lens of multicultural education. Through cross-cultural experiences learnt from being an overseas student in Britain and my understanding of multicultural education obtained from initial reading, I have become aware that multicultural education could have a different meaning from one social context to another. In Taiwan, it appears fundamentally important to closely examine the pursuit of multicultural education through the teaching of native cultures (proposed by the government and in most studies) and ask if it can be achieved through the current practices before looking elsewhere for guidance. Speaking

from a Western viewpoint in developing policy for multicultural education, J. Gundara (1997) has clearly stressed the importance of assessing the needs of one particular society when developing its educational policy. In his paper presented at the **International Symposium on Multicultural Education: Theory and Practices** that took place in Taipei, Taiwan in 1997, he asserts:

Many Asian and Pacific Rim countries are multicultural in nature and there is a need to develop policies and practice which is directly related to the different nature of these societies, their values and institutions.... As stated earlier different factors and needs in contexts like Taiwan may lead to different sets of policies and practices. (p.2)

Section Three: Research Questions:

Taking these points and considerations into account, I set out to answer the following research questions.

- 1: How were native cultures regarded in education in the past, and why?
- 2: Why are the values of native cultures being re-appraised in education and brought into school curriculum at this time? What are the implications?
- 3: How is native cultural education being developed and implemented in different areas?
- 4: What are the emerging issues and problems encountered?
- 5: How does the current development of native cultural education bear upon the pursuit of multicultural education? What are the ongoing and projected philosophical and policy issues arising in the context of education reform in Taiwan?

Section Four: Outlines of the Chapters

The thesis forces into five parts and comprises eleven chapters. After the introduction, the second part presents the contextual and theoretical background of the study. In Chapter Two, a brief picture of the studied context, including Taiwan's society, its people and education is outlined. Emphasis is placed on the need to inquire into the historical context against which the implications of native cultural education can be observed. Chapter Three and Four present the theoretical framework of this study. In Chapter Three key concepts and issues in the field of multicultural education are identified and explained in the light of native cultural education. Chapter Four refers to those empirical studies conducted in other countries which might cast light upon the development of native cultural education in Taiwan.

In the third part, methodological issues are raised and discussed in Chapter Five. Much thought has been given to the discovery and employment of the most appropriate methodological tools that would yield valid and reliable data in responding to research questions. The whole research process consists of three main phases (the exploratory stage, the pilot study, and the main study) and qualitative methodology is employed for the collection of data. This study also identifies cross-cultural experiences which I have become aware of through being both an outsider and insider to the research context during the data collection process.

The fourth part of the thesis deals with research findings. A descriptive analysis on the current development of native cultural education is presented in Chapter Six. Those

issues that have emerged from empirical data are tackled and discussed in Chapter Seven to Ten. Each chapter deals with a theme that arises from the findings of the analysed data.

In the last chapter, the significance of the data is reflected on in the light of multicultural education. Having offered critical reflections on my work, some educational implications also are suggested on the grounds of what appears to be valuable from the empirical evidence provided by participants from the aspect of theory, policy making and practices for native cultural education further development. Finally, limitations of the research are also assessed and some thoughts and contemplation are put forward that could lead to further research in the field.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter aims at clarifying Taiwanese history that has had great impact on my research. In the first instance, there were two reasons for writing a history. First, this chapter aims to demonstrate the complexity of the history that has resulted from Taiwan's succession of colonisers. Having been governed by different consecutive outsiders, Taiwan is characterised by an intricate cultural and tribal diversity. The second reason is to look at the contextual influences, caused by different groups of rulers, in terms of cultural and educational preferences. These factors, again, have had implications for the research issues pursued in the present thesis.

The chapter consists of four sections; starting with identifying the components of Taiwanese society, and the four major groups of people according to the times of their settlements. The second section gives a brief picture of Taiwanese history over the past four hundred years. Emphasis is placed on those eras in which implications for the current educational changes can be observed; followed by a section which particularly focuses on educational development at different times. Issues regarding educational development, cultural and language concerns, in particular, are addressed to identify those factors related to the research interests within the historical context. Finally, the discussion concentrate on the current educational reform movement which is stimulating changes in

research approaches in Taiwan. It is hoped that the information provided can be the basis for further discussion in the subsequent chapters.

Section One: Taiwanese Society

The origin of Taiwan and its people

Taiwan is an island of 35,824 square kilometres situated to the south east of Mainland China, with Korea and Japan to the north and Hong Kong to the south. Taiwan is surrounded by the Pacific Ocean on the east and the Taiwan Strait on the west. Due to its geographical location, Taiwan started to attract colonisers from the 16th century when the Portuguese first 'found' the island in 1545 and called it "Ilha Formosa" (The Beautiful Island). In the next century, it became part of the Chinese Ching Empire in 1684, having been dominated by Holland, Spain and the Ming Dynasty during most of the 17th century. In the nineteenth, 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the Ching Empire. The governing Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) established the Republic of China in 1912. After the Second World War and its defeat by the Communist Party in the Chinese Civil War, the Kuomintang (KMT) lost control of Mainland China and moved to Taiwan in 1949. A more detailed description of each historical period is presented later in this section. Due to geographical and historical factors, from its early history, Taiwanese society has been formed by colonizers and immigrants. However, four main groups of people compose the present Taiwanese society: aborigines, HoLao people, Hakka people, (both early Chinese immigrant groups), and those Mainland Chinese who moved to Taiwan with the KMT government in 1949.

The aborigines

The Taiwanese **aborigines** originated from Austronesia (the islands located in the middle and south of the Pacific Ocean) and are divided into Pin-Pu Tzvu (tribes of the plain; 'Tzvu' means tribe) and Gau-Shan Tzvu (mountain tribes). Living at the foot of mountains or on the plains, close to the Chinese immigrants, the Pin-Pu Tzvu were deeply assimilated into the immigrants' culture. (Hsu, 1991; Jean, 1983)

Gau-Shan Tzvu are formed of ten tribes, spread along the eastern coastal plains and among The Central Mountains Range which bisects Taiwan from north to south. In comparison, the ten tribes of Gau-Shan Tzvu were able to maintain their traditions and cultures more than Pin-Pu Tzvu since the former were isolated in the mountains and consequently, had less communication with the Chinese immigrants. The following figure shows the geographical locations of the ten mountain tribes.

The Chinese immigrants

The **HoLao** and **Hakka** people were the early immigrants from China and currently represent the majority of the society. Historically, they gradually moved from the north to the south of Mainland China between the 3rd and 17th centuries in order to escape from the numerous civil wars or to find an easier living. Many of them were attracted by the rich natural resources in Taiwan and emigrated from the south east of Mainland China (Fujian and Guangdong prefecture) in the middle of the 17th century. During their stay in Taiwan, these immigrants formed a new way of life and, at the same time, also have

embraced divergent foreign cultures throughout the last three centuries, generating a rich and distinctive Taiwanese culture. However, close attention should be paid to the aborigines, the Ho-Lao and the Hakka people as their ways of life are recognised as the main basis of traditional Taiwanese culture. (Lin & Liou, 1990)

Later **Chinese** immigrants are mainly those who moved to Taiwan in 1949 after the Kuomintang lost their control through the Chinese Civil War. It is necessary to note that because those immigrants were mainly from military or were students, most of them were men who married "native" Taiwanese women. As a result, it is still common to see families with a *Chinese father* and *Taiwanese mother* in the present society.

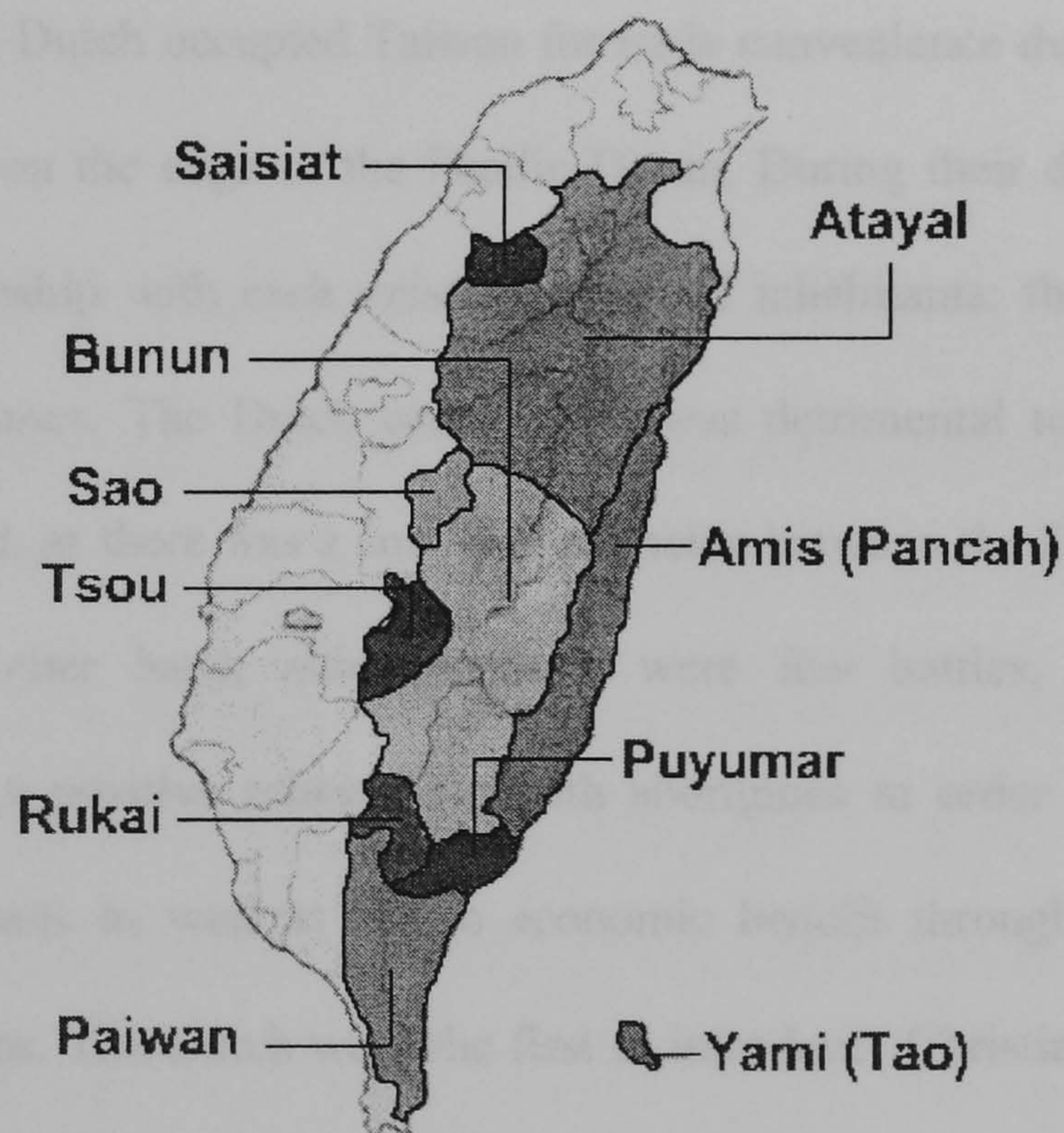


Figure 2-1: The geographical locations of the ten mountain tribes. (Hong, 1993, p.27)

Section Two: A Brief History of Taiwan

Due to the complex nature of Taiwanese history, it is necessary to include a brief introduction. This section is presented in six parts, each identifies a distinct period of time. In addition, the complexity and distinctions during different periods are seen in relation to political circumstances, especially after 1949 when the dominant government, (KMT) evacuated from Mainland China. The political changes and influences, therefore, are considered.

A.) The period of Holland's domination

From 1624 Dutch troops invaded, starting Holland's 38 years rule of Taiwan (Guo, 1954; Lin, 1992). Largely, the Dutch occupied Taiwan for trade convenience due to the island's advantageous location on the edge of the Pacific Ocean. During their domination, they had a different relationship with each existing group of inhabitants: the early Chinese immigrants and aborigines. The Dutch colonisation was detrimental to the Taiwanese people, on the one hand, as there was a continuous tension between the Dutch and earlier immigrants. On the other hand, although there were few battles, Dutch military authorities established a positive relationship with aborigines in order to fight against those Chinese immigrants as well as obtain economic benefit through exploiting the island's natural resources. The Dutch were the first to introduce 'Christianity' to Taiwan and the aboriginal population converted readily to the new faith. Similarly, they also gave aboriginal children an education (Lin, 1992). Early Chinese immigrants took a more antagonistic approach to the Dutch.

Spain was the other nation with strong ambitions toward Taiwan during this period. In fact, Spanish forces once successfully invaded Taiwan and ruled the northern part of the island for 16 years. Economically, the Spanish traded with Pin-Pu Tzvu as well as the immigrants. In addition, they built churches and provided education for the residents in Taiwan. The Spanish domination of the north ended with a battle against the Dutch in 1642. Subsequently, the control of Taiwan was taken from the Dutch in 1662 by Cheng Cherng-Kung, who moved to Taiwan with around 25,000 soldiers from Mainland China and treated the island as a base from which they could fight against the Ching Empire across the strait for the Ming Dynasty. Although the Cheng family (three generations) had greatly developed Taiwan, the family's domination soon ended through the conquest of the Ching Empire in 1683.

B.) The period when Taiwan was part of the Chinese Ching Empire

The Chinese Ching Empire took over Taiwan and established an administrative system in 1684. As a consequence of its strict policy that prohibited immigrants from bringing their families to Taiwan, the plain aborigines, Pin-Pu Tzvu, were deeply assimilated by mixed marriages with male Chinese immigrants. The rules imposed on the Taiwanese also caused several serious conflicts between the Ching Empire and earlier immigrants on the island.

Furthermore, after the flow of immigration increased from the middle of the 18th century, conflicts among immigrants themselves occurred, (especially between HoLao and

Hakka). In the Sino-British Opium Wars (1839-1842) the Ching Empire was forced to open four ports for foreign trading after losing the battle to England. Thus, the English, particularly through missionaries, started preaching Christianity and bringing western medical knowledge into Taiwan.

In the war between China and France (1884-1885), the Ching Empire recognised the importance of Taiwan after disregarding it as an unimportant territory for nearly 200 years. In 1887, Taiwan was upgraded to a separate prefecture instead of being treated as only part of the Fujian prefecture (Lin, 1992).

C.) The period of being a colony of Japanese government

Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the Ching Empire in 1895 and came under Japanese government's control for 50 years. In order to make the Taiwanese fully 'Japanese like', the government firstly encouraged Japanese immigrants to Taiwan after it took over the island. In the same way, the Japanese government announced that preferential treatment would be given to those Taiwanese who, for example, spoke Japanese or had Japanese names, as a pretext for colonising Taiwan. In reality, even those Taiwanese who conformed could not obtain the same level of social status as resident Japanese.

During its domination, Japan established the railway, general road, postal and telecommunication systems in Taiwan in order to exploit its resources more effectively. Those constructions, conversely, were seen as the foundation for the island's modernisation. Guo (1954) claims: "We admit that Japan did help to build Taiwan, but it

was all for the sake of Japan's own profit"(p.232). Above all, it is argued that a consciousness of national identity initially emerged among the Taiwanese due to the consequences of Japan's colonisation (Chien, 1995; Chang, 1993).

D.) After the Second World War (1945-1949-1987)

Taiwan was returned to China in 1945 when Japan surrendered at the close of the Second World War. Before the Nationalist Party (KMT) moved to Taiwan, people suffered from the changes made by the transition from one government to the next, as well as from damage caused by the war. At the same time, the KMT was fighting the Chinese Communist party on Mainland China between 1945 to 1949. This transition period led to conflicts between Taiwanese residents and the in-coming Mainland Chinese. A massacre, the 228 Event¹, was one result. This tragedy, caused by dissension among native Taiwanese and the army who came to the island as representatives of the Chinese government in 1947, is still seen as a persistent regret between these two groups of people in Taiwanese history.

As the result of the civil war, the KMT no longer had control of Mainland China, therefore, they evacuated to Taiwan. In 1949, the Taiwanese looked forward to KMT arriving after being under Japanese domination for 50 years. But they soon found that the KMT did not treat the Taiwanese as Chinese. This discrimination caused a complex

¹ The 228 Event refers to a massacre which happened on the 28th/ Feb, 1947. Many Taiwanese, including intellectuals and members of the Taiwanese elite were killed. There is not yet an official report on the extent of the number who died or enough details about the victims. There was thus born "an ethnic division that had linguistic, cultural, class and political aspects". (Harrell & Huang, 1994, p.14)

political circumstance in Taiwan for the next 40 years. Many of the soldiers who came with the KMT were not, or only lowly, educated, and despised the Taiwanese after their arrival. In addition, Taiwan, due to Japan's occupation, was more fully developed and modernised in comparison with China at that time. Lii Tian-Lung (1991), a master of the traditional Taiwanese puppet show, describes how disappointed he was when he first met the KMT army:

We were all astonished by seeing a group of scruffy soldiers who wore straw sandals, carried paper umbrellas on their shoulders and made funny noises which came from the saucepans and bowls tied around their waists. To compare with the tidily dressed Japanese army, the kuomintang soldiers were rather like beggars. This made us worry about Taiwan's future. (p.15)

Initially, the KMT government did not regard Taiwan highly but treated it as a temporary place of refuge, expecting in the near future to return to Mainland China. As a consequence, KMT's policies were directed towards recovering Mainland China. On the island, the government enforced Mainland Chinese cultures on the inhabitants. Language policy was therefore fundamental and has remained a critical debate. The Taiwanese were, for instance, prohibited from speaking their own language but had to speak the official language, Mandarin, on all occasions. In the same way, pupils were educated in Mandarin. Moreover, it has been shown how pupils who spoke the Taiwanese language were punished with a fine, or forced to stand at the back of the classroom during the lessons, doing extra cleaning work and so on.

Also, the government exercised a regime of Martial Law which can be seen to have done serious damage to the development of democracy in Taiwan. In 1992, Chang and Shio observed that there are three main implications of Martial Law:

During the time when the society was under the Martial Law, people's basic right to participate in public affairs was controlled and restricted. The government controlled the market and economic activities. From the cultural perspective, the state modeled people's ideologies through media and education. (1992, p.5)

Liu (1995) also points out that the state's control over education is one of the main methods in addition to the restrictions on press and media, used by government to ensure its ideological control of the society during this period of time (p.15). In the same way, Martial Law is criticised as giving unnecessary advantage to the Chinese who came with the KMT in 1949. One relevant statement claims:

Those Mainland Chinese who came with the Kuomintang government after 1949 have been defended by the Martial Law in Taiwan. As a result, they had most advantageous positions within the society in comparison with native Taiwanese. Similarly, the native Taiwanese were treated as ruled groups in the society as the Chinese were given most of the privileges in terms of political, social and economic activities. (Chien, 1995, p.174-175).

To meet the great public demand as well as to reflect the complicated politics between Taiwan and Mainland China during last decade, the government finally announced the termination of Martial Law in 1987. This announcement ended 40 years of domination that proscribed freedom of thought, speech and the press. However, in regard to the less conspicuous causes² of the cessation of the Martial Law, the relationship between different ethnic groups within Taiwanese society has emerged as the most controversial issue. As mentioned, there were many mixed marriages between Chinese and Taiwanese

² After Chiang Kai-shek's death in 1975, his son Chiang Ching-kuo took over. Near the end of his presidency, he became more open-minded about the KMT's policies towards Taiwan. In particular, he recognised the present reality in the relationship between two sides of the Taiwan Strait. In addition to the termination of Martial Law, he chose Mr. Lee Teng-hui - the current president of Taiwan - a native Taiwanese, as the vice president before Chiang Ching-kuo died in January, 1988.

after 1949. Consequently, those Chinese have adopted Taiwan, bringing up their children within the society in which they have lived for forty years. In the face of this assimilation, whether or not the government should base national policies on the intention of recovering Mainland China became the most critical and radical debate before the end of Martial Law.

E.) After 1987

To give an overview of the current society, I survey the socio-economic development and political reform that have taken place since the end of Martial Law. Taiwan's development has been described as "an economic miracle" and "a model that inspires other developing nations" (Young, 1995, p.120). Its achievement is mainly measured in terms of rapid economic growth and industrialisation. The economy became more flourishing especially after the government lifted the ban on foreign-trade in 1987 (see also Chien, 1995). Taiwan has turned from an agricultural into an industrial economy in just four decades. Correspondingly, economic growth has produced a profound effect on the society. Since the last decade, the increasing number of Taiwanese students studying overseas is a phenomenon directly reflecting economic growth.

At the same time as its economy grew at a stable pace in the past few years, Taiwan's development has been shaped by dramatic political change. The political changes, as many point out, are the significant factors which have led Taiwan towards a democratic society. A series of critical events in the past years, according to Young's (1995) observation, "has given rise to the dawn of a new political era" (p.121). The establishment

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of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the first political opposition in Taiwan's history in 1986, was seen as the starting point of the new era. Following in 1987, the lifting of the Emergency Decree which had kept Martial Law in force for nearly four decades, a series of liberalisation measures, including the abolishment of most newspaper restrictions, permission for Taiwanese residents to visit Mainland China and official toleration of public demonstrations, were enacted. After the major political reform in 1987 and 1988, President Chiang Ching-Kuo died and was succeeded by Vice-President, Lee Teng-Hui, who is regarded as "Taiwanese native son"³ (*Times*, 1988). The national legislative elections in 1989, in which the ruling party Kuomintang (KMT) faced serious challenges from the opposition for the first time in Taiwanese history, indicated the "beginnings of a two-party system and a fundamental change in Taiwan's politics" (Mcgregor, 1989). Furthermore, the government adopted more democratic measures such as the reform of Congress and amendment of the Constitution in order to meet public demand for reform.

Allowing the public to establish legal opposition parties has been regarded as the biggest step in shaping a democratic society in Taiwan. Consequently, people have begun to participate more in social affairs and politics since they have more freedom of speech, thought, and opportunities to express their opinions in the press. Freedom of movement has also been considered as greatly improved and for the first time since Communist Party dominated China, communication between people from both sides of the Taiwan

³*Times* Magazine uses the term "The Native Son" as the title of the cover story reporting Mr. Lee Teng-Hui's succession to the Presidency. (See *Times*, Journal 25, 1988, Asian edition, pp. 4-10.).

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Strait is open and legal. Controversially, it is thought, that many who have been back to China begin to reassess their own identities after encountering the great differences in terms of economic development as well as social structure between the two sides. Likewise, a closer relationship between the two societies has been built up in recent years by unauthorised communication and economic investment. A further development is the success of the first presidential election, held in March, 1996, that suggests the idea of democracy has taken root firmly in Taiwan.

It is also believed that Taiwanese students studying overseas as well as other professionals who have been abroad have made significant contributions to the development of democracy in Taiwan. Finally, the highly developed mass media and computer technology have also provided people on the island of Taiwan with easier access to diverse cultures and information about the outside world. Consequently, Taiwanese society presents a more multiple outlook in various ways in comparison with when it was under the previous authoritarian regime.

Altogether, great demands made on recovering the native Taiwanese culture and forming a democratic and multicultural society observed during recent years reveals the background of the current social evolution. I now intend to discuss the educational dimension within the historical context. And distinct events - education innovation, social and economic changes - believed to have had assisted Taiwanese education are also considered.

Section Three : Educational development in Taiwan

The period prior to 1945: Foreign Influence

Prior to 1945 foreign influence on Taiwanese education mainly consisted of 50 years of Japanese domination. Generally, the Taiwanese were prevented from practising their own cultures and traditions during the time when the island was under the sway of Japan's oppressive policy. Traditional Taiwanese music and theatre, for instance, suffered in particular from the consequences of the "Imperialistic Movement" in the late 1940s which was intended to eliminate Taiwanese consciousness by the Japanese empire. Nevertheless, it is believed that the educational system in Taiwan was greatly enhanced by the Japanese colonisation. (Lin, 1987; Huang, 1995). In this section, I explore the educational development in Taiwan during the period of Japanese rule and then move on to evaluate its cultural and language policy in particular.

To describe the educational development in Taiwan during that period, two features can be identified: modernisation and 'Japanisation'. The results of its policy can be seen in three major aspects. First, the Japanese compulsory educational policy is regarded as the most significant achievement during this time. Although directed towards Japanese colonisation, the policy reduced the numbers of illiterate people in Taiwan. Furthermore, the economy and modernisation in Taiwan have been erected on the foundation of

universal education firstly introduced by Japan (see also Chang, 1993). Correspondingly, Lin (1987) states: “The ground of why nowadays Japan plays an influential role in the world is ...particular its universal school education” (p.15). He further points out: “having a high rate of illiterate people is the major weakness of Mainland China” (p.15). In educational terms, Taiwan has been more progressive than Mainland China, where great upheavals have taken place. Table 2-1 below shows the different rates of illiteracy between Japan, Taiwan and Mainland China during the past century.

Second, under Japanese rule, great relevance was placed on the development of teachers education in Taiwan. Thus, apart from learning medicine, studying to be a teacher was the most popular subject for Taiwanese students. Patronage for teachers education at that time has been regarded as constructing a firm basis for subsequent development in teacher training. Thirdly, the Japanese promoted the ‘Imperialistic Movement’ which prohibited Taiwanese people from practising ancestor worship and other traditional religious activities. This movement also influenced education. Taiwanese students, for instance, were not allowed to study subjects which could arouse their national awareness such as law, politics and philosophy. In contrast with their Japanese counterparts, Taiwanese students did not have equal right to use educational resources as well as to gain access to higher education though they could have obtained better academic standards.

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Year	Japan	Taiwan	China
1890	60.8		
1900	45.9		
05	25.5		
10	15.6		
15	11.6		
20	3.4		
25	1.7		
30	0.8		
35	0.5		
52		42.1	
53		41.5	
54		39.7	
55		37.9	
56		37.1	
57		32.3	
58		30.9	
59		28.9	
60		27.1	
61		25.9	
62		24.8	
63		23.6	
64		22.4	33.75 (38.1)
65		23.1	
66		23.1	
67		19.4	
68		16.4	
69		15.3	
70		14.7	
71		14.0	
72		13.3	
73		13.8	
74		13.3	
75		12.9	
76		12.1	
77		11.7	
78		11.2	
79		10.7	
80		10.3	
81		9.9	
82		9.6	
83		9.1	31.87
84		8.8	
85		8.4	
86		8.0	
87		7.8	
88		7.4	
89		7.1	
90		6.8	
91		6.4	

Table 2-1 The illiteracy rate in Japan, Taiwan and China (Chang, 1993)

Cultural and language policies

With special regard to these policies, assimilation was the main strategy used by Japan during its domination. In the late 19th century, education in Japan was heavily influenced by Western societies, especially Germany which already promoted a form of native culture education. This was introduced and practised in Japanese schools. As a result, teaching of local geography and history became an important part in Japanese primary school curriculum. At the same time, in Taiwan, native culture education was also promoted in 'small schools' to which only Japanese pupils had access. Around 1920, according to Chang (1997), native cultural education was brought into the 'public schools' that were for Taiwanese pupils. Also relevant changes were made in the school curriculum and subject of social education. (p.16) Yet, this kind of native culture education prescribed Japan as the motherland for the population of Taiwan. Many believe that promoting native culture education in public schools was a tactic to prevent Taiwanese people from developing a 'Taiwan consciousness'. This imperialist attitude resulted in an anti-colonisation movement promoted by Taiwan intellectuals and elites at that time. (Chang, 1997, p.16; Lin, 1987, p.17). In other words, native culture education in Taiwan during that period was designed with the aim of remoulding the Taiwanese people's native consciousness and identities. As Jan (1993) analyses and argues:

Native cultural education in Taiwan was promoted in the public schools from 1922. Yet, this education at that time aimed to cut the relationship between Taiwan and China in terms of blood, history and culture. It was to cultivate Taiwanese people's awareness to see themselves as part of Japan and see Taiwan native cultures as one stream of Japanese culture. Thus, focus of native cultural education was directed toward the Japan's contributions to Taiwan and neglected materials relating to Chinese history and culture in order to re-educate Taiwanese people to be proud of being Japanese. (pp.56-57)

When the Second World War began, the 'Imperialistic Movement' was promoted to 'Japanised' and native culture education was used as a method to glorify the 'national spirit' in Japan.

The language policy in Taiwan at that time operated under the principle of assimilation though different approaches were employed at different stages. At the very beginning of Japan's rule, mother-tongue teaching was still practised in schools along with its colonised education policy for pupils from HoLao and Hakka backgrounds. Direct assimilation was the only strategy for aborigine pupils. Only with the Imperialistic Movement when the war began, did mother-tongue teaching become totally prohibited in schools. Deng (1995) argues that the main purpose of teaching mother tongue was not to maintain local languages of Taiwan but rather to win over the Taiwanese people through conciliatory gesture (p.57). The imperialistic movement, as Chang (1997) points out, finally proved that both native cultural education and mother-tongue teaching in schools for Taiwanese pupils were used in Japan's assimilation policy of colonisation (p.17).

In short, Japanese influence in education on Taiwan during its 50 years rule can be shown to have both bright and dark sides. From the bright side, promoting compulsory education and the establishment of teachers education system are believed as the main achievements made in the process of modernisation in education. From the dark side, control over Taiwanese students in education under the principle of Japanisation, including limiting

educational resources, restricting access to those subjects related to Chinese cultures or Taiwanese awareness are signs of the oppressive colonial policy of the Japanese. Consequently, development of cultural and national education was hindered and even damaged by Japan's imperialistic strategy.

Educational development in the Post War Taiwan prior 1987 <1945-1949-1987>

1945-1949

Before examining Taiwan's education in general and influential policies for native cultural education in the post-war era, it is necessary to review the situation before 1945. In Winckler's (1994) writing on the cultural policy in post-war Taiwan, the culture of Taiwan by 1945 is described as consisting of three layers:

....., is that by the post-war era Taiwan's culture contained three layers: an under-stratum of Austronesian aborigine culture, a main body of late-traditional agrarian Chinese culture, and an over-layer of Republican-period Nationalist-urban culture. (p.29)

After Taiwan reoriented from Japan to China, the principle of policies for governing Taiwan, in general, was to direct Taiwanese people back to their association with their motherland, China. Thus, removing Japanese cultural influence and promoting national spirit education were the major strategies in education at that time. The following statement made by the governor Chen-Yi who was the first officer coming to take over Taiwan from Japan, explains the official attitude towards Taiwan.

The Taiwanese had been "slaves" of the Japanese, and would therefore have to complete re-sinification before exercising full political-cultural rights. (Winckler, 1994, p.30)

With respect to education, he further states that Taiwanese people should learn the language and history of China in order to become Chinese⁴. He claims:

The government aims to promote a national spirit through its psychological reform of Taiwan. Taiwanese people have to be able to speak the language of China and understand the history of China, since Taiwan is now part of China. (Huang, 1994, p.56)

Thus, under the premise of ‘national spirit’, language become an important aspect of education. As a consequence, the provincial educational authority then started promoting ‘Mandarin policy’ (Ho, 1980, p.6; Lee, 1984, p10-11). Subsequently, this policy was promoted not only in schools but also in the society and was practised as the official language. Local languages on the island were therefore regarded as the media for learning Mandarin and for communication. In other words, it was on the premise of “learning mandarin from Taiwanese dialects approach”; the local languages, excluding aboriginal⁵ languages, were not fully prohibited at that time. (Chang, 1996, p.321). Many writers (Huang, 1994; Deng, 1995; Ou, 1996; Chang, 1997; Lin, 1998) have also argued that Mandarin policy was a main approach employed by the government to deliver notions of Chinese cultures as well as to ultimately cultivate pupils’ sense of a national spirit. Referring to the period between Japanese rule and the early stage of the KMT

⁴ During the New Year Eve speech to the people in Taiwan, the governor Chen-Yi (1945) stated that government’s initiatives on promoting Chinese cultures and languages in Taiwan. As a result, national spirit education and language education then became the major focus in education. Subsequently, Mandarin policy was one of measures undertaken by the government. (see also Ho, 1980, p.6; Lee, 1984, p.10-11; Huang, 1994, p.56; Huang, 1997, p.17).

⁵ The local languages, including HoLao and Hakka dialects, were still used in schools on the premise of “learning mandarin from Taiwanese dialects” at that time while Japanese and aboriginal languages were then fully prohibited. For written languages, Chinese was the only one to be addressed since there were no characters developed among local languages on the island. (see Chang, 1996, p.321)

administration, Huang (1994) states that the time allotted to language learning in Taiwanese primary school timetables increased markedly after the KMT government took over Taiwan in 1945. (see Table 2-2)

Similarly, Chinese consciousness was also highlighted in the history curriculum and in history textbooks that were either brought from China to Taiwan, or developed on a Chinese-centred basis in Taiwan (Jan, 1993, p.147; Shu, 1987, p.207). As a result, few materials related to Taiwan were found in the curriculum and textbooks. It appears that native cultural education preferred learning about China and Chinese cultures that had, as Huang (1994) cites, no connections with pupils' real life and living experiences. To sum up, since the main cultural policy at that time was away from 'Japanisation' towards a stress on 'Chinesiation', every policy on the island was considered on the basis of the aims or needs of the Mainland government. In either context ('Japanisation' or 'Chinesiation'), there was no emphasis placed on teaching or learning Taiwanese cultures. From 1949, the situation worsened because it became government policy to suppress all Taiwanese cultures, including through media and educational control.

Grade	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Total
1944	520	600	480	440	280	280	2600
1946	480	480	560	560	480	480	3040

Table 2-2 The time allotted to language learning in primary school:
A comparison between 1944 and 1946. (Huang, 1994, p. 42)

1949-1987

As a consequence of Chiang Kai-shek moving his government in 1949 (KMT) to Taiwan after the civil war with the Communists, Taiwan and Mainland China have been

separated. There was, and still is, a military confrontation between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, and there is no official communication between the two authorities who have competed for international recognition. From 1949 onwards nearly two million immigrants (almost twenty percent of the total population of the island at that time), both soldiers and civilians, have crossed to Taiwan from the Mainland following the national government. As a result, diversity and complexities in Taiwanese cultures have become greater. During the first stage of KMT's rule in Taiwan, it treated the island as a temporary home and tended to prepare the Taiwanese people for being Chinese after the recovery of Mainland China. Ideological reform of the state, in order to retake the Mainland, was the principal state cultural programme. Immediate Mainland military priorities left little for long-term investment on the island in physical science, social science or humanities. The state's main objective was re-sinicizing the Taiwanese, particularly teaching them standard Mandarin and Nationalist doctrine, by making primary education universal. Winckler (1994) further argues:

Taiwanese intellectuals faced crushing burdens - not only language change and political repression, but also occupational displacement and professional marginality, as mainlanders claimed cultural posts and dominated cultural life (p.30).

Moreover, "building Taiwan to be the model province under the philosophy of the "*Three People's Principles*"⁶, enunciated by Sun Yat-sen (Founding Father of the Republic of

⁶ The "Three People's Principle", was enunciated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Founding Father of the ROC). These three principles are nationalism, democracy and social welfare. In 1927, the Ministry of Education in Taiwan endorsed the "Three people's Principles" as the philosophy of education. (Tsai, 1996, p.2).

China, ROC), was the main state policy following the KMT government's launch of "Martial Law". Consequently, this initiative had a great impact on education. In the guidelines for promoting 'national spirit education' promulgated by the government in 1952, for instance, the Ministry of Education stated that:

the education in Taiwan shall be based on the teaching of Dr. Sun Yen-sen and on the Eight Chinese Moral Virtues taught by Confucius: loyalty, filial piety, mercifulness, love, faithfulness, righteousness, harmony and peacefulness and it is also aimed to develop national spirit as well as traditional Chinese cultures in schools. (Ministry of Education, 1957, p.153)

Similarly, McCusker and Roninson (1962) have also argued that the concept of the "Three People's Principles" underlies those statements in education policy prescribed by the government during this period. (p.13). However, education in Taiwan – based on ethical, democratic and scientific concepts of the "Three People's Principles" – was designed to raise the people's intellectual levels and to enhance traditional Chinese cultures.

In this context, the issue of national identity in Taiwan has been highlighted. There has been political controversy over the question of whether the Taiwanese should regard themselves as Chinese, sharing the same identity as the people in Mainland China, or as non-communist Chinese nationalists, or independent people of Taiwan. Many argue (Huang, 1994; Tsai, 1996; Chang, 1997; Lin, 1998. etc) that there has been a historical and cultural preference for traditional Chinese cultures by the government in Taiwan as described above. Since 1949, this political and cultural identity has had an impact on education in Taiwan. To obtain a brief picture during the years of the KMT's

administration, before the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, there are three main themes in education that are identified here.

Centralized education administration

In order to cultivate “Chinese-like” pupils, educational policies and administration were directed towards centralism at the early stage of the KMT’s rule. As a result, the educational system was seen to lack flexibility and diversity. The idea of centralisation reflected upon most aspects in education. First, standardisation could be found in school architecture, uniform, teachers’ salary, pupils’ hairstyle, textbooks, teaching materials and curriculum. Among these, the standardisation of textbooks was the most controversial issue. Textbooks were mainly designed and compiled by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation and were used in all schools throughout the country according to different grades. Thus, education in Taiwan has been criticised as ‘feeding the geese’, as pupils were crammed with knowledge by the requirement of having to give standard answers in examinations. In the same way, most teachers also regarded textbooks provided by central government as the only teaching resources in the classrooms. It is argued that pupils were not encouraged to probe into the essence of questions, and that this is a result of less creative and more inflexible teaching in Taiwan (see also Lin, 1987).

To further standardise the academic level of schools, in the same category, the Ministry of Education prescribed the ‘Curriculum Specifications’ (i.e. Ko-Cheng-Piao-Chun). These

were set primarily with reference to the government's goals for education. The main objectives of this policy of standardisation, as Tsai (1996) argues, were meant to be "anti-communist" and promote a Chinese "national spirit" in education. Many claim, even with government revisions, in 1952, 1962, and 1975, for the changing needs of Taiwanese society, the standardisation of textbooks still remained as an important tool used by government in its cultural policy of 'Chinesiation', and for political propaganda in the past few decades. (Huang, 1994; Liu, 1995; Tsai, 1996; Chang, 1997). Moreover, Tsai (1996) also argued that it often took a long time to change or revise the curriculum specifications. It has taken twenty years for the latest curriculum specifications to be amended. (p.4)

Nationalist curriculum

In order to meet the state's policy, national spirit education became another approach during the period of time under discussion. Using Tsai's (1996) definition, national spirit education in Taiwan, "has been not just about national pride, but also about the spiritual and moral values which the country stood for and which have made it different from other countries. It was about nationalistic education or education about national values and national identity". (p.3) In other words, national spirit education has meant not only developing a sense of patriotism in the face of the threat from the Chinese Mainland, but also developing an attachment to moral values and virtues of Chinese traditions. The influence of these was found in education as a whole and changes were also made to meet the demands of national spirit education in the curriculum.

In primary education, for instance, great emphasis was placed upon teaching materials in relation to developing the concept of national spirit, anti-communist consciousness, and expounding as well as advocating the ‘Three People’s Principles’ in the curriculum specifications revised in 1952 (MOE, 1957, p.123). In addition to the relevant revisions made in civil education, Chinese literature, history and geography, similarly, ‘Three People’s Principle’ was then added to the higher secondary school syllabus as a formal subject. (MOE, 1957, p.188). Effectively, the curriculum was employed and controlled by the government under its authoritarian rule as the main means to develop pupils’ national spirit and to deliver the state’s ideology.

Mono-cultural policy in education

Chinese traditions domination of the curriculum

The National Compilation and Translation Committee gradually took back the power of textbooks compilation after the KMT government moved to Taiwan. Chinese ideologies and traditions were esteemed in Taiwan and redeveloped as its mainstream in curriculum and textbooks. Hence, pupils were forced to identify with Mainland Chinese cultures and study nothing related to Taiwan - their birthplace - in schools. With respect to school arts and music, pupils studied nothing relating to Taiwanese styles but looked at a few examples from Mainland Chinese cultures such as the Peking Opera, along with others from Western cultures. As Chen (1996) cited, pupils in Taiwan were brought up with little opportunity to recognise their own cultures and country (p.14). It was suggested in the government guidelines for textbook compilation that materials in relation to Taiwan

and its cultures should be included. But many still argue that in real terms there is still little material about Taiwanese cultures. (Yeh, 1993, p.85; Huang, 1994, p.43). The following observation made about primary social studies textbooks provides further evidence to support this argument:

There are in total twelve editions of primary social studies textbooks and each on average is 100 pages long. This subject is based on two principles. It aims to extend the younger generation's knowledge of Chinese cultures and traditions in its historical context, and secondly to provide chances for pupils to understand and further appreciate their living environment.... The total pages for all the textbooks are twelve hundred, of which only thirty pages concentrate on Taiwan. This disproportion raises the question: if the concerns in textbooks are for pupil to understand their living environment, then why is Taiwan represented in merely one-fortieth of the total? (Lin, 1987, p.117-118)

In order to develop pupils' better understanding of Chinese traditions and cultures, more emphasis on aspects including national music and Chinese painting, for example, were observed in the school curriculum. This was a response to the Cultural Renaissance Movement set up after a Committee had been formed in 1967. (MOE, 1974, p.205-206 & p. 440-441)

According to Lee's observations (1992), however, it can be argued that the new generation is unfamiliar with their birth place, Taiwan, and only knows little about the island's history and cultures as a result of being brought up with an education in which Chinese cultures and ideologies dominate. (p.123-127). In the same way, Chen (1991) argues the mono-cultural policy has resulted in a "cultural hegemony" and prevented native cultures in Taiwan representing and creating their colourful diversity. (p.188)

The 'Mandarin Movement'

The government started the 'Mandarin Movement' after taking over Taiwan from Japan. At a very early stage, this policy aimed to remove Japanese influence and also, as Chang (1996) observes, build a bridge for Taiwanese people to identify with their "mother land, China", specifically by breaking down the boundary of languages (p.319). Although native languages were still in use as means for learning and communication, when Mandarin policy was being promoted early in the KMT's rule, some still contend that native languages did not receive respect and were suppressed under the premise of regarding Mandarin as the orthodoxy. (Hunag, 1994, p.43; Chang, 1996; p.321). In this context, speaking Mandarin seemed to develop a sense of being "superior", as Deng (1995) argues. This has also resulted in a disregard among the Taiwanese for their mother languages, as he (1995) observes:

In general, those with Hakka or HoLao backgrounds were afraid of speaking their mother tongues in public at that time. And the same happened to the aborigines. For them, they were even afraid of being recognised as aborigines while trying to make their living in a competitive society dominated by non-aboriginal cultures. As a consequence, aborigines did not want to be identified with their own cultures and languages, this further resulted in native cultures and languages being overwhelmed by the Mandarin Movement during this period. (p.57-58)

Curriculum specifications revised in 1964 clearly promulgated that "Characters for teaching should be Chinese and language for teaching should be in Mandarin, and native languages fully prohibited in schools" (MOE. 1962). Similarly, in the plan of promoting Mandarin practice in schools proposed in 1968, it specified:

Teachers and students are encouraged to use Mandarin at any time in schools and punishment would be imposed on students who are not following the

rules.... In addition, native languages are also prohibited at any public places.
(Huang, 1994, p.99-117)

Consequently, Mandarin became an important and formal subject in education. In 1971, Shi's study looked at the time allocated for Mandarin in the primary school syllabus, showed that teaching Mandarin took 35% of the total teaching hours in six years primary schooling. (Chang, 1995, p.330) Teachers were also required to use Mandarin as the only language both in teaching as well as in school life⁷. In addition to assessing teachers' performance in Mandarin teaching, further training was required, or punishment imposed, on those who were not meeting the standard of speaking and teaching. (*Taiwan Provincial Government Bulletin*, Summer 40, 1951). Although the time given for Mandarin teaching had been gradually reduced in the specifications revised in 1968 and 1975, learning Mandarin was still the most important part of the primary curriculum⁸. In this context, Chang (1996) claims that in schools pupils were brought up in a Mandarin environment, both visible and invisible, in addition to learning Mandarin in formal lessons. (p.331)

Native cultures in education

With special reference to the development of native cultural education during this period, Huang (1994) and Chang (1997) have pointed out there were times when native cultural

⁷ In the revised curriculum specifications in 1983 and 1985, it was clearly stated that "teachers are required to use Mandarin as the only language in instruction and school life in order to lead pupils to get used to Mandarin speaking environment". (MOE, 1983; 1985).

⁸ In the revised curriculum specifications both in 1968 and 1975, there was still a high percentage of time, 29%, allocated to Mandarin teaching in the primary school timetable.(Chang, 1996, p.330-331)

education was observed to have found acceptance in a context dominated by Chinese ideologies and national spirit education. Three times are investigated below:

Community School Movement during 1950s

Taiwanese education was influenced by the 'Community School Movement' in America during the 1950s. The 'Community School Movement' is described as the reaction to the isolation of schools from communities resulting from the 'textbook centred education' and 'children centred education' which dominated American education after the Second World War. This movement aimed at involving communities in teaching and learning by emphasising issues selected from pupils' real life, experiences and community. Under the influence of this movement, experimental schools and LEAs in Taiwan were established, and collected and compiled teaching materials accordingly. As a result, teaching materials relating to native cultures emerged from this movement⁹ (Huang, 1994). Thus, some claim that there is similarity between community school education and native cultural education. (Pong, 1960, p.15)

The community school education did not develop well after being transplanted to Taiwan, according to Huang's observation (1994), as a notion of community were not well developed in Taiwanese society at that time. Chang (1997) similarly argues that due to the

⁹ During the Community School Movement, compiling relevant native cultural materials was a major focus. Materials were developed on the premise of emphasising Chinese-centre ideology and national spirit education. (Liao, 1960; p.34-36; Pan, 1957, p.1-2) Therefore, the native cultural materials published in this movement have a more limited scope compared with those that have emerged since the lifting of Martial Law. (Huang, 1994, p.57-58)

different educational system in Taiwan, ideas of community school education were not well practised. He writes:

The community school education in America was developed on a basis of decentralisation and life-centred perceptions that allowed flexibility in developing education according to individual needs. However, in Taiwan, the need for more flexibility in this form education was not well represented and practised in the context of Taiwanese centralised education where there were only standardised textbooks and curriculum specifications. (p.19)

By contrast, Huang (1994) claims that though teaching and learning about native cultures could be seen in this movement, native cultural is different from community school education (p.45). But many others still believe that this movement created a foundation for the later development of native culture education. (Huang, 1994; Chang, 1997)

Life-Centred Curriculum during 1960s

In the revised curriculum specifications in 1962, teachers were encouraged to draw teaching materials from the natural environment and the broader society to engage real life experiences in education. (MOE, 1974, p.200-201) It is also clearly stated that “teachers need to guide pupils in knowing their native cultures and living environment and further to develop affections for the homeland...” in the revised specifications in 1968 (MOE, 1974, p.209). Many have claimed that the ideas proposed in life education were meeting the requirements of native cultural education. (Chang, 1997; Lin, 1998)

However, applying teaching materials in relation to native cultures in social studies or other curriculum subjects has been described as only “written decorations” by Chang.

(1997, p.20). In his analysis, he argues it was due to the political and educational context of the time that native cultures were still not well presented in education. He writes:

First, being able to pass entrance examinations is more important than anything else under the great emphasis on academic achievement in our educational system. People only care and learn what is useful for examinations rather than things to do with basic knowledge or their lives. Second, Mandarin policy was being promoted everywhere in the society and schools and no native language speaking was allowed. Third, schools and teachers were only encouraged to emphasise Chinese traditions and cultures not any other cultural issues.... It is hard for the teaching of native cultures to find a place in education in this context... (p.20)

Native Cultural Consciousness Movement during the 1970s

Taiwan was in a crucial position in international society during 1970s as it encountered a series of political difficulties with other international organisations. Examples include a confrontation with Japan over disputed fishing islands in 1971, leaving the United Nations 1972, and the termination of formal official contact between Japan and Taiwan. This gave rise to an anti-imperialistic movement in the society. Many observe (Huang, 1994; Chang, 1997; Lin, 1998) this movement differed from the national consciousness after the Second World War and culturally reflected the intentions of understanding, examining, assessing and appreciating native cultures among Taiwanese people. This native consciousness was generated and spread through the society as a result of external hostilities encountered at that time.

The 'Local Literature Polemic Movement' in 1977 was one of the consequences of growing native consciousness in the society. During the movement, different perspectives

and conflicts were observed through the media, as people such as intellectuals, professors and writers debated the issues. The exponents of native literature insisted that "literature could only find its place and grow when rooted in the people's lives and the land". (Liu, 1987, p.272). However, the strong native consciousness implicit in local literature invited criticisms from conservative nationalists who argued that over-pursuing native consciousness would result in a "left-wing" bias. (Huang, 1994, p.47). Nevertheless, in a context still dominated by great Chinese ideologies, that the trickle of local literature became a flow.

It is widely recognised that the growth of native consciousness during the 1970s subsequently had great impact on the development of native cultures in general. Research studies related to native cultures, native arts and folk traditions were carried out and started to attract the attention of the public. Though the issue of native cultural education was simultaneously raised, it was portrayed as part of the social studies curriculum and not imagined as a separate subject. The nature of native cultural education, as Huang (1994) points out, was not discussed or represented during this period of time. (p.47)

Post martial-law period: de-centralised education

Many observe that a great demand for educational reform has accompanied political and social changes, especially after the lifting of Martial Law in 1987. After this date, there is a clear tendency towards 'de-centralisation' observed in educational policy and development and this is one of the key features identified in the current reform

movement. In the following discussion, I will look at the implications of these key factors which have given a new context to the education system in Taiwan.

The aspect that differs most from previous conditions is that in 1991 the Government has given the right to private publishing companies to compile textbooks for subjects such as music, arts, and physical education in primary schools. Subsequently, this permission was extended to all subjects in 1996. The control of compiling textbooks in Taiwan has been continuously debated, as the Government occupied 100% of the publishing market before the latest official announcement was made. (See also Chu & Dai, 1996). As a precaution, private publishers are required to follow the guidelines set by the central educational authority. Nevertheless, many teachers and educators are concerned about controlling the quality of textbooks at present.

Secondly, giving more power to local educational authorities also indicates the idea of de-centralised administration. As a consequence of de-centralising the compiling textbooks, each local authority has become responsible of ensuring that schools and teachers are consulted in the process of selecting teaching materials. In order to meet local needs for teaching of native cultural education, each local authority is also responsible for preparing for the introduction of this new subject, and its implementation.

Also, many politicians and educators have severely criticised the extreme Mainland China orientation in education and have pushed the Government towards educational reform. Revision of the national curriculum standards has become a crucial element in the reform. As a consequence, teaching of native Taiwanese cultures appears to be a key feature in

the latest curriculum changes and further indicates the move towards de-centralisation. For the first time in Taiwanese history, each local authority has been given responsibilities and power for the curriculum development of teaching native culture education. A more detailed discussion with regard to current education reform and the introduction of Taiwanese native cultural education will be presented in the next section.

Section Four: Educational Reform and its Features

Taiwanese education, as Chang (1997) describes, is in a state of "great transformation". This requires a process of reshaping Taiwan's educational framework. Clearly, such a major task is going to take time, it must be remembered that the reform movement only began in 1988, a year after the lifting of martial law. (Hsieh, 1995). Few acts of reform were taken before 1987 due to the state's tight control over the entire school system. The termination of martial law, a 'distinctive turning point', meant both the acceptance of democracy in government and also liberalisation of the school system. The changes generated from this turning point can be assessed at present as on-going. From the lifting of Martial Law, a close link between social transformation and education is recognised.

Fagerlind and Saha (1989) describe in general the relationship between education and society as "dialectical". They argue that "the link between education and development is complex and contingent on the economic, social and political development goals". (p.29).

In the situation in Taiwan the observations of Fagerlind and Saha also seem appropriate. The social changes brought into effect after 1987 have had complex repercussions on educational development in the country. In this section, I will identify key features of the current innovations and discuss their consequences as related to my field of study.

A movement which is both governmental as well as non-governmental

Concerns over educational problems and issues grew in the early 1990s to produce a sense of crisis, resulting in a feeling that major changes in the educational system should be undertaken by those in academic fields as well as the general public. It was this circumstance, calling for drastic action that led to the Premier's approval for the establishment of the Council on Educational Reform in September 1994. There were 30 members, under the leadership of Dr. Lee Uan-Tze, Nobel Laureate in chemistry, assigned the task of reviewing the current school and educational system and its problems. The goal of this council, as the former Minister of Education, Kou Wei-Feng states, is to "propose an appropriate educational framework for meeting the new requirements of the coming century" (1994). This led to the establishment of the cabinet level task force, Council on Educational Reform (C.E.R) in 1994.

According to the council's report (1996) four stages were proposed. In the second stage the Council has set out six principal directions to follow:

- (1) improvement of the entrance examination system to reduce the students' work load;
- (2) democratisation and deregulation in favour of instructional autonomy and

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decentralisation; (3) re-allocation of resources to assure equality of educational opportunity; (4) developing of a life-long learning system; (5) overall revision of school curriculum and textbooks; and (6) restructuring of teacher training programmes and teacher organisations. (1996)

As discussed earlier, there were also several voluntary organisations and semi-professional groups dedicated to promoting education reform before the C.E.R was set up in 1994. In addition to contesting the state's authority at the first instance, these pressure groups have made efforts to draw public attention to the educational crisis and extend their participation in relevant issues through legislature lobbying and organising public meetings (conferences as well as demonstrations). The recent event, '410 Public Consolidation for Educational Reform', for instance, was a public demonstration demanding changes in the teaching of Taiwanese history. It was held in the capital Taipei on 10th of April, 1994. More than ten thousand people from 200 organisations across the island, including students, academics, lawyers, doctors, as well as people from religious, business, cultural and political organisations gathered to march for immediate governmental action for "fundamental innovation in education". (Shiue, 1997, p.269)

In addition to the '410 Public Demonstration', the '410 Education Reform Union' has drafted a proposal presenting both issues in education and recommendations. Apart from those issues to be examined by the C.E.R, the '410 Education Reform Union' places great emphasis on issues such as deregulation of private schooling that challenges the structure of the state controlled educational system. Both the government task force, C.E.R, and

non-governmental voluntary organisations such as ‘410 Educational Reform Union’, ‘Humanistic Education Foundation’ (HEF)¹⁰, ‘University Reform Union’ (URU)¹¹ indicate an increasingly wide recognition that the current educational system has to be changed structurally to meet the demands required at domestic as well as international levels.

Promoting democracy and autonomy in education

The post-martial law educational reform movement seeks to retrieve from the government the people’s right to prioritise their own education, rooting it in Taiwan. Borrowing Dai & Chu’s words, education reforms strive for the “deregulation” of state’s control. (1996) Different groups, both governmental and non-governmental, focus on various aspects of education, co-operating and supporting one another as called for by circumstances. These efforts have united to become an irresistible and irreversible trend for change in education. According to Dai & Chu’s analysis (1996), the major aspects of education which need the state’s deregulation include: the control over establishment of private schools, control over curriculum and teaching materials, and access to teachers’ education and qualifications.

¹⁰ In 1988, a group of college and university scholars founded the Humanistic Education Foundation (HEF). It proposed to correct such long-standing abuses as “rampant corporeal punishment, rigid tracking, and neglect of those junior high school subjects not required for the entrance examination (music, physical education and so on)”. All the abuses are associated with educational advancement merely on the basis of entrance examinations. (Heish, 1995, p.3)

¹¹ The University Reform Union (URU) was formed by several university professors in 1989. It aimed to advance academic autonomy and democracy on the country’s university campuses. An alternative draft to the Ministry of Education’s revised revision of the University Law was proposed in the same year. (Heish, 1995, p.4).

A Reform Movement which is both educational and cultural

Cultural issues, as Liu (1995) writes, have become the major concern for people after the de-construction of the state's control over politics and economy (p.19). During the late 1980s a cultural move aimed at building up an awareness of Taiwan history and the uniqueness of its society. It was promoted by a group of enthusiasts in different fields, including art, language, history, literature and films. In this context, Taiwanese intellectuals increasingly asserted themselves, demanding more attention to Taiwanese history and culture in education and the media. As a result, the promotion of native culture in education became a key feature in the current reform movement. At the same time this should also be acknowledged as a sign of a shift in educational policy from the mono-cultural ideal which has dominated during the past few decades, to the direction of cultural pluralism.

Removing restrictions on the use of native languages in schools was an initial act. Additionally, a series of measures related to native cultural education have taken place in the current reform movement. In the new curriculum specifications (revised in 1993), for instance, teaching of native cultures is described as one major distinguishing change. Apart from encouraging the use of native cultural materials in teaching when relevant, new subjects have been established for the teaching of native cultures in both primary and secondary schools. In secondary education, 'Getting to Know Taiwan', (including history, geography and social studies), together with 'Native Art Activity' are two new subjects set up for Year One pupils at lower secondary schools. Similarly, 'Homeland Study Activity' has been created for pupils from Grade Three to Six in primary schools.

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According to the latest curriculum specifications, there are five areas, including history, geography, science, art and language, constituted in this subject. (Hunag, 1994, p.51)

Government encouragement is also shown in supporting relevant research on native cultural education. For instance, the research report on 'Native Language Education and Native Culture Teaching Materials Project' in which the importance of preserving and developing native languages and cultures are recognised by MOE, is described as another step in the promotion of native culture in the current movement.

Finally, encouraging pupils to learn their native languages while at schools and teaching of aboriginal cultures are major approaches for the promotion of native cultural education at present. More details in relation to the current development of this form of education and approaches employed for the implementation will be presented in later chapters.

To summarise, this section has indicated the colourful and complex nature of the Taiwanese society through an overview of the island's history. However, the successive colonisers identified in Section One also brought foreign influences and ideas to Taiwan. Some of these ideas provoked changes and are still influential. The fundamental urban plans made during the Japanese domination, for example, still provide the basic framework in many cities.

There are two key strengths, identified in Section Two, which aid understanding of contemporary educational issues in Taiwan. Firstly, the foreign influences, particularly

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those related to the Japanese government, established the initial educational system in Taiwan at an early stage. Secondly, the main measure, the centralised educational administration has been described in terms of the complicated political context of Taiwanese education under the KMT government's authorities before 1987. Their damaging influences affected education during this period and reveal the grounds for the necessity of the latest education reform.

In conclusion to this section, there are three key points. Firstly, the brief history recognises the picture of Taiwan as complex. Secondly, there is no simple definition of native Taiwanese culture because of its multifarious social composition. Finally, putting policies into practice for the teaching of native cultural education is likely to be difficult and complicated. The research presented below aims at examining the problems and finding solutions that can help improve the implementation of current changes in education.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Section One: The Concepts and Historical Development of Multicultural Education

Concepts

Multicultural education, as Banks (1989) has defined, means at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform, and a process. Firstly, it is an idea emphasising that all students, regardless of the groups to which they belong, such as those related to gender, ethnicity, race, culture, social class, religion, or exceptionality, should experience equality in schools. Multicultural education aims to provide those students, who have disadvantaged characteristics, a better chance to succeed in schools currently structured to favour students from other groups. Secondly, multicultural education is described as a reform movement designed to “bring about a transformation of the school” (p.23) so students from both genders and from diverse cultural and ethnic groups can experience school success. It attempts to transform the school to ensure educational equality not only in curriculum content but also in school environment, policies, and cultures or in the hidden curriculum. As a consequence, multicultural education views the school as a “social system” which aims at providing equal opportunity for those highly interrelated components and variables (p.23). Finally, multicultural education is viewed as an ongoing process because the “idealised goals” it attempts to actualise -- such as education equality and the eradication of all forms of discrimination -- can never be fully achieved in a human society (Banks, 1989, p.23).

Multicultural education, borrowing (1989) words of Leicester, is “an umbrella term used to refer a variety of approved or demanded practices in educational establishments”. These practices include mother tongue teaching, the elimination of ethnocentricity in history, and so on. “Which of these practices a given individual approves of reveals an implicit concept of multicultural education, arising from specific concerns”(p.22). However, it is believed that various perspectives on multicultural education identified in the past are seen as closely interrelated and subsumed within one all-embracing conception. According to Leicester's analysis, furthermore, there are at least three perspectives distinguished in the current literature seen as principles for actual practice. Each of them is acknowledged as entailing the educative provision subsumed under both of the other two. They are:

- 1: equality of opportunity perspectives: which involves provision to compensate for underachievement;
- 2: the individual and group fulfilment perspective: which comprises the development of language skills and the discussion of social issues such as prejudice and discrimination;
- 3: social and political justice perspectives: which requires remedy for alienation through the provision of ‘black studies’ or ‘mother tongue teaching’ (p.23).

In Burnett’s (1998) writing concerning variations in the term ‘multicultural education’, three typologies, including *content-oriented programmes*; *students-oriented programmes* and *socially-oriented programmes*, (pp.1-2) have been proposed according to the strategies that fall under one of the categories. Developing a typology, as Burnett puts forward, “can provide a useful framework for thinking about multicultural education, giving educators—and others—a clearer understanding of what people mean by the term” (p.1).

In her book, *Multicultural education: from theory to practice*, Leicester (1989) attempts to identify different models of multicultural education in terms of an initial emphasis placed on the schooling. Three interpretations emerge: *education through many cultures*, *education in many cultures*, and *education for a multicultural society* (p.23). Table 3-1 illustrates the faction, conception, issues and metaphysics identified in each of the three models. (p.36)

MODEL	FACTION	CONCEPTION	ISSUES	METAPHYSIC
1. Education through several cultures	Conservative	Absolutist	Integration e.g. E2L. Cultural tokenism	Absolutism
2. Education in several cultures	Liberal	Relativist	Pluralism e.g. Community languages, Curriculum Pluralism	Relativism & Limited Relativism
3. Education for a multicultural society	Radical	Moral/anti-racist	Anti-racism e.g. Elimination of discrimination and equality of outcome	Limited Relativism

Table 3-1 The faction, conception, issues and metaphysics of Leicester's three models of multicultural education

Historical development

According to the reviewed literature there are several stages that indicate different contents and characteristics of multicultural education during separate periods in the process of its development. In brief, it could be illustrated as follows:

a:) Assimilationist Ideology

As a result of the mass settlement in the Western nations of many immigrant groups from former colonies after the Second World War, Western societies have become characterised by tremendous culture and ethnic diversity. The assimilationist ideology has been dominant in most nations. A main goal of assimilationist ideology has been that the diverse ethnic and cultural groups making up these nations, dominated by a single culture - the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic - should give up their original cultures in order to become effective citizens of their nation-states. In other words, the assimilationist ideology was basically proposed to maintain the dominant groups' identities and cultural hegemony in those newer Western nations (Banks and Lynch, 1986).

Since the Second World War, Western social scientists studying race relations believe that the idea of assimilation of ethnic groups in the Western nations is the most appropriate and inevitable goal. However, this ideology has depended heavily on the ideas in Park's writing (1950) which proposes four basic processes of social interaction within human societies. These four stages are contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. To Banks (1989), the difference between accommodation and assimilation is in the former case ethnic groups can still maintain their own culture, values and identities by living in peaceful interaction with the dominant group, and in the latter they are expected to accommodate a set of beliefs and assumptions that promote one dominant culture within a society. (p.7)

Assimilationist ideology has become divided into two streams, traditionalism and liberal assimilationist, because of their different beliefs and development. Traditionalism and cultural pluralism emphasise group rights over the rights of the individual, and further regard the group rather than the individual as primary (Patterson, 1977). By contrast, the liberal believes that individuals must be free of their ethnic and cultural attachments in order to participate fully and equally in the society in which diverse cultures and ethnicity exist. Further, liberal assimilationists argue that traditionalism promotes inequality, racial and ethnic awareness, group favouritism, and ethnic stratification by placing group rights as the priority. Subsequently, they believe that it is necessary to have a common national culture into which all individuals might be assimilated and public policies that are neutral on questions of race and ethnicity in order to overcome the problems that traditionalism raises. (see also Banks, 1986)

The liberal assimilationist vision dominated Western societies when the ethnic revitalisation movements emerged in the 1960s. During this period of time, the ideas of the assimilationist were accepted not only by the policy makers and social scientists in the Western nations, but most ethnic groups have since tried to be assimilated into their national societies largely because of powerful economic and political incentives (Banks, 1986, p.4). Nevertheless, the rise of ethnic revitalisation movements has simply indicated the failure of Western nation-states to further close the gap between the democratic ideals and societal realities, and the existence of discrimination and racism.

b.) Ethnic Revitalisation Movements

The ethnic revitalisation movements were originally triggered by the civil rights campaigns led by blacks in the United States. It soon became an international movement echoed by different ethnic groups throughout the world. Ethnic groups expressed the rage and anger they had experienced, and tried to achieve the goal of the movements which aimed to eliminate discrimination. Similarly, they demanded jobs, political participation, and the legitimisation, recognition and incorporation of their cultures and languages into general culture and the state school system (Banks, 1986, p.5). It is claimed that multicultural education first emerged as a response to the ethnic revitalisation movements which arose in the Western democratic nations during the 1960s and 1970s (Banks, 1989, p.5; Banks and Lynch, 1986, p.201). As a consequence, the significant influence on educational institutions after the ethnic revitalisation was that ethnic groups demanded schools and other educational institutions to reform their curricula to reflect their life experiences, histories, cultures and perspectives.

The first phase of the development of multicultural education was primarily ethnic studies; the scientific and humanistic study of the history and cultures of diverse ethnic groups. Moreover, multi-ethnic education developed due to the influence of the liberal assimilationist and was a reform movement proposed to change the total school environment in order to ensure that students from various ethnic and racial groups would

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attain “education parity” (Banks and Lynch, 1986, p.201) with students from majority groups.

Since the 1960s, many Western nations have experienced ethnic revitalisation movements in different phases from diverse social backgrounds. Consequently, varying types of educational paradigms have been formed in response. Banks (1986) has attempted to outline major phases of the development of ethnic revitalisation movements in Western societies and further identify response paradigms which schools use to answer revitalisation movements. The four major phases are conceptualised as: the precondition; the first; later phase; and final phase. Table 3-2 illustrates the characteristics of each of these phases.

The precondition phase	The first phase	The later phase	The final phase
This phase is characterised by the existence of a history of colonialism, imperialism, racism, an institutionalised democratic ideology, and efforts by the nation-state to close the gap between democratic ideals and social realities. This creates rising expectations among victimised ethnic groups that pave the way for ethnic protest and a revitalisation movement.	This phase is characterised by ethnic polarisation, an intense identity quest by victimised ethnic groups, and single-cause explanations. An effort is made by ethnic groups to get racism legitimised as a primary explanation of their problems. Both radical reforms and staunch conservatives set forth single-cause explanations for the problems of victimised ethnic groups.	This phase is characterised by meaningful dialogue between victimised and dominant ethnic groups, multiethnic coalitions, reduced ethnic polarisation, and the search for multiple-cause explanations for the problems of victimised ethnic groups.	Some of the elements of the reforms formulated in the earlier phases become institutionalised during this phase. Other victimised cultural groups echo their grievances, thereby expanding and dispersing the focus of the ethnic reform movement. Conservative ideologies and politics become institutionalised during this phase, thus paving the way for the development of a new ethnic revitalisation movement.

Table 3-2 Phases in the development of ethnic revitalisation movements. Banks, 1989p.7)

Response Paradigms: Schools reaction to ethnic revitalisation movements

To be able to participate and exercise their power, structurally excluded ethnic groups in the various Western countries demanded changes in a range of social, economic and political institutions. Much of the response then took place in schools and universities as they are viewed as “potentially powerful vehicles that could play a pivotal role in their liberation” (Banks, 1989, p.9). Although schools are limited in their ability to improve the social, economic and political conditions of ethnic groups, there is still a strong belief among the general public that education plays a powerful role in the life chances of children and youths. Consequently, specific types and patterns of institutional responses in schools are made. In reacting to the ethnic movement, there are ten paradigms identified and examined by Banks (1989) which are illustrated below. Table 3-3 explains the major assumptions, goals, and school programmes and practices in each of those paradigms.

Paradigm	Major assumptions	Major Goals	School programs and practices
Ethnic additive	Ethnic content can be added to the curriculum without reconceptualizing or restructuring it.	To integrate the curriculum by adding special units, lessons and ethnic holidays to it.	Special ethnic studies units; ethnic studies classes that focuses on ethnic foods and holidays; units on ethnic heroes.
Self-concept development	Ethnic content can help increase the self-concept of ethnic minority students. Ethnic minority students have low self-concepts.	To increase the self-concepts and academic achievement of ethnic minority students.	Special units in ethnic studies that emphasise the contributions that ethnic groups have made to the making of the nation; units on ethnic heroes.

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Cultural deprivation	Many poor and ethnic minority youths are socialised within homes and communities that prevent them from acquiring the cognitive skills and cultural characteristics needed to succeed in school.	To compensate for the cognitive deficits and dysfunctional cultural characteristics that many poor and ethnic minority youths bring to school.	Compensatory educational experiences that are behavioristic and intensive, e.g. Head Start and Follow Through programs in the United States.
Language	Ethnic and linguistic minority youths often achieve poorly in school because instruction is not conducted in their mother tongue.	To provide initial instruction in the child's mother tongue.	Teaching English as a Second Language programs, bilingual-bicultural education programs.
Racism	Racism is the major cause of the educational problems of non-white ethnic minority groups. The school can and should play a major role in eliminating institutional racism.	To reduce personal and institutional racism within the schools and the larger society.	Prejudice reduction; anti-racist workshops and courses for teachers; anti-racist lessons for students; an examination to determine ways in which racism can be reduced, including curriculum materials, teacher attitudes and school norms.
Radical	A major goal of the school is to educate students so that they will willingly accept their social-class status in society. The school cannot help liberate victimised ethnic and cultural group because it plays a key role in keeping them oppressed. Lower-class ethnic groups cannot attain equality within a class-stratified capitalist society. Radical reform of the social structure is a prerequisite of equality for poor and minority students.	To raise the level of consciousness of students and teachers about the nature of capitalist, class-stratified societies; to help students and teachers to develop a commitment to radical reform of the social and economic systems in capitalist societies.	
Genetic	Lower-class and ethnic minority youths often achieve poorly in school because of their biological characteristics. Educational intervention programs cannot eliminate the achievement gap between these students and majority-group students because of their different genetic characteristics.	To create a meritocracy based on intellectual ability as measures by standardised aptitude tests.	Ability-grouped classes; use of IQ tests to determine career goals for students; different career ladders for students who score differently on standardised tests.

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Cultural pluralism	Schools should promote ethnic identifications and allegiances. Educational programs should reflect the characteristics of ethnic students.	To promote the maintenance of groups; to promote the liberation of ethnic groups; to educate ethnic students in a way that will not alienate them from their home cultures.	Ethnic studies courses that are ideologically based; ethnic schools that focus on the maintenance of ethnic cultures and traditions.
Cultural difference	Minority youths have rich and diverse cultures that have values, languages and behavioural styles that are functional for them and valuable for the nation-state.	To change the school so that it respects and legitimises the cultures of students from diverse ethnic groups and cultures.	Educational programs that reflect the learning styles of ethnic groups, that incorporate their cultures when developing instructional principles, and that integrate ethnic content into the mainstream curriculum.
Assimilationism	Ethnic minority youths should be freed of ethnic identifications and commitments so that they can become full participants in the national culture. When schools foster ethnic commitments and identifications, this retards the academic growth of ethnic youths and contributes to the development of ethnic tension and balkanization.	To educate students in a way that will free them of their ethnic characteristics and enable them to acquire the values and behaviour of the mainstream culture.	A number of educational programs are based on assimilationist assumptions and goals, such as cultural deprivation programs, most Teaching English as a Second Language programs, and the mainstream curriculum in most Western nations. Despite the challenges that they received during the 1970s, the curricula in the Western nations are still dominated by assimilationist goals and ideologies.

Table 3-3 Multicultural education paradigms (Banks, 1986, pp.12-13)

C.) from multi-ethnic to multi-cultural

Following ethnic studies, courses were developed and implemented at the early stage of the civil rights movements, the boundaries of multi-cultural education were therefore expanded. The women's rights movement, for instance, followed and demanded that political, social, economic, and educational institutions act to eliminate sex discrimination

and to provide equal opportunities for women to actualise their talent and realise ambitions. Subsequently, other victimised groups, such as disabled persons, demanded that institutions be reformed so they would face less discrimination in obtaining more human rights after being stimulated by the social ferment for change during the 1970s. The Education For All Handicapped Children Act (Public Law 94-142) which requires that “children and young people identified as handicapped be educated in the least restrictive environment” (Schulz, 1989, p.252) was the leading example regarding the development of multicultural education during this period of time.

Multicultural education emerged from varying courses, programmes, and practices that educational institutions devised to meet the demands, needs, and aspirations of the various groups. It was consequently developed and used as, according to Grant and Sleeter (1986), a *total school reform* effort designed to increase educational equality for a range of cultural, ethnic and economic groups, including race, gender, social class, and exceptionality. From this, there was the work of the Inter-group Education Movement, the continued tradition of research into prejudice, the burgeoning of the civil rights movement, the burst of studies of ethnicity and race relation in the 1970s and 1980s and the rise of the feminist movement (Lynch, 1992, p.12).

Since the late 1980s, multicultural education is set and seen within a broader world and an international context. Lynch (1989) points out, the world is interconnected and indeed interdependent and the consciousness of the indivisibility of responsibility for the ecosystem within which we live with a growing appreciation of issues, such as the

destruction of the ozone layer, is increasing and needing to be borne in mind across cultural, social and environmental dimensions. Similarly, he proposes that “the basic ethic of multicultural education and therefore human values which draw upon it are beginning to be seen as applicable to all people everywhere” (p.viii).

Furthermore, according to Lynch (1989), global education, World Studies, human rights education, development education, law-related education, peace education, and environmental education, all “share many common aims and objectives, concepts, and much content and vocabulary with multicultural education” (p. ix). Equally, a statement that indicates the expansion of the boundary of multicultural education appeared in Lynch’s recent book, *Education for citizenship in a multicultural society* (1992), in which he points out:

The imperative of the 1990s is to share internationally the values of democratic pluralism in a process which will reinforce global interdependence and active membership of a world society. For educators the challenge of the 1990s is to deliver not just education for citizenship of a pluralist democracy, but education for active global democracy, founded on universal values about the nature of human beings and their social behaviour. (p.2)

The consideration given to the educational implications of cultural diversity is seen in and associated with the context of global interdependence and human rights for the 1990s. Lynch (1992) further states that it requires a new multi-layered approach to education for democratic citizenship within a global context of cultural pluralism and growing aspirations for democracy in response to the challenges of the 1990s (p.2).

Section Two: Dimensions, Approaches and Curriculum Model

The dimensions of multicultural education

Even though the high level of consensus about aims and scopes in the literature on multicultural education is noted by many (Gay, 1992; Banks, 1995), it is believed that there is still a tremendous gap between theory and practice in the field. As Gay (1992) points out that theory has outpaced development in practice, and a wide gap can be observed. Consequently, a variety of typologies, conceptual schemes, and perspectives within the field have been identified in the recent years. By looking at the responding measures observed in multicultural education, Banks (1995) argues that there is not yet a complete agreement about its aims and boundaries attained. (p.3) As a result, five dimensions of multicultural education are proposed, described and conceptualised on the ground for multicultural education to be better understood and implemented in the ways which are more consistent with theory. Each of these dimensions deals with an aspect of a cultural and social system: the school. They are illustrated and discussed below:

(1) Content integration

Content integration is mainly dealing with, according to Banks (1995), “the extent to which teachers use examples, data and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalisations, and theories in their subject area or

disciples” (p.4). Content integration emphasises the information that should be included in the curriculum and where it should be located within the context of whole school curriculum. Questions of whether it should be taught within separate courses or as part of core curriculum are considered.

(2) Knowledge construction

The knowledge construction process illustrates the procedures through which social, behavioural and other knowledge, and the manner in which the implicit cultural assumption, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways that knowledge is constructed within it (Gould, 1981; Harding, 1991; Kuhn, 1970). Scholars in the field of multicultural education in general uphold that knowledge reflects the social, cultural and power position of people within society. Knowledge, as Tetreault (1993) asserts, could only be valid when it “comes from an acknowledgement of the knower’s specific position in any context, one always defined by gender, class and other variables” (p.142). When the knowledge construction process is implemented in classrooms, it is believed that teachers would then be able to help pupils to understand how knowledge is created and influenced by the factors including racial, ethnic, and social-class positions of any individuals and groups.

(3) Prejudice Reduction

In terms of reducing prejudice through multicultural education, it aims to define the characteristics of pupils’ racial attitudes and further suggests strategies that could be used to develop more democratic attitudes, values and behaviours. Much of the attention

observed in writings concerned with helping students to develop more democratic attitudes and behaviours is about investigating the process of how children actually develop their racial awareness, preferences and identifications. Recognising the nature of children's racial attitudes and identities, it is suggested, would help teachers to modify pupils' racial attitudes.

(4) Equity Pedagogy

Since the civil right action began in the 1960s in the United States, educational concepts and theories have been developed to reflect the national concerns for low-income citizens as well as to help teachers and educators develop methods and strategies to improve the academic achievement of low-income pupils. An equity pedagogy, according to Banks (1995) "exists when teachers use techniques and methods that facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, ethnic and social groups" (p.4). Responding strategies, including cultural deprivation paradigm developed in the early 1960s and cultural difference theory emerged in the 1970s, were developed under principles of equity pedagogy.

(5) Empowering School Culture

Arguing that the school represents one social system, many believe that it is therefore an institution that "includes a social structure of interrelated status and roles and the functioning of that structure in terms of patterns of actions and interactions" (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p.395). In the same way, it is pointed out that the school can be conceptualised as a cultural system with a specific set of values, norms, ethos, and shared

meanings. (Bullivant, 1987) The concept of an empowering school culture and social structure explains the process of restructuring the culture and organisation of the schools so that students from diverse racial, ethnic and social-class groups will experience educational equality and cultural empowerment. There are variable aspects, according to Banks's analysis (1995), that need to be examined to create a school culture that empowers students from diverse ethnic and cultural groups. These include grouping practices, labelling practices, the social climate of the school, and staff expectations for student achievement. (p.5)

Addressing the distinct nature of the five dimensions above, Banks (1995) argues that these categories are also "interrelated and overlapping, not mutually exclusive" (p.5). Yet, several of the strategies might need to be adopted and implemented according to different needs and concerns of a specific case or context.

Approaches

Several writers (Gibson, 1976; Bennett, 1990; Gay, 1990; Banks, 1990; Grant and Sleeter, 1986, 1989; etc.) have attempted to provide conceptual and developmental framework for organising various approaches to multicultural education. Reviewing the current literature in the field, different measures and approaches have been suggested for a successful implementation of multicultural education in real practice.

The five approaches proposed by Gibson during the 1970s, for instance, are regarded as the first set of systematic and conceptual classifications made for teaching for and about

cultural pluralism based on ethnicity. These include education of cultural diversity; education about and for cultural pluralism; bicultural and multicultural education as normal human experience (Gay, 1995, p.36). Though broader units are included in the field at the present, it is believed that much research has been developed and built upon through the use of the conceptual framework introduced by Gibson. Grant and Sleeter (1989), for example, generated five prevalent techniques that parallel Gibson's specific categories as well as underlying themes. Their five approaches are listed and explained as follows:

(1) *Teaching the culturally different approach* emphasises teaching to students who are different from mainstream cognitive skills, languages and values required to function in existing structures;

(2) *Human relation approach* aims to give priority to promoting inter-group harmony through a variety of instructional strategies to teach cultural awareness, prejudice and stereotype reduction as well as group identity and pride;

(3) *Single-group studies* refers to multicultural education with special focus on acquiring knowledge, awareness, respect and acceptance of one group at a time. The target group of analysis can be based on ethnicity, social class, gender or exceptionality;

(4) *Multicultural education approach* deals with multiple groups at the same time, reforming the total schooling process, as well as making all students benefactors of culturally sensitive education in addition to emphasising prejudice reduction, equal educational opportunities, social justice and affirmation of cultural diversity;

(5) *Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist* is committed to developing the critical and analytical thinking abilities of students to improve understanding of socio-political stratification of one society. It also aims at teaching pupils how to engage in social action to reconstruct society as well as empower themselves in order to control their own destinies. (pp.55-56)

Moreover, Banks (1992) also looks at concepts, strategies and classifications of multicultural education and identifies three major groups. According to his analysis, these are curriculum content, achievement and inter-groups education approach (p.83).

1) *Curriculum content approaches* conceptualise multicultural education as a process that involves additions or changes in the content of the school or university curriculum. The primary aim of these approaches, as Banks claims, is to ‘incorporate the voices, experiences, cultures and struggles of cultural and gender groups into curriculum’ (1992, p.83). Moreover, there are various approaches that vary in conceptions, aims and results as contained within this category. These include the contributions, the additive, the transformation, and the social action approach (Banks, 1986). However, teacher education students are required to complete one or more multicultural education courses in attaining certification at a number of major universities. Similarly, the number of universities that require multicultural education courses is increasing yearly.

2) *Achievement approaches* are described as seeing multicultural education as ‘a set of goals, theories and strategies designed to increase the academic achievement of lower-class students, students of colour, women, and students who are handicapped’ (Banks, 1992, p.84). The cultural deprivation and the cultural difference paradigms (Banks, 1988) are the two major conceptions within these approaches. The former paradigm dominated the discussion of the education of people of colour and low-class students in the 1960s but was later seriously challenged by the cultural difference paradigm during the 1970s up to the early 1980s. However, because the economy in modernised Western nations is understood to be becoming increasingly less industrialised and more knowledge and service oriented, great demands are made on multicultural education and the academic achievement of students of colour and low-class, who will constitute a disproportionate share of the US workforce in the next century, in order to provide them with the knowledge and skills required for their jobs (Banks, 1992, p.85)

3) *Inter-group education approaches* aim to help pupils to develop 'more positive attitudes towards people from various racial, gender and cultural groups'. Moreover, the goal of these approaches is to help those victimised groups, such as racial groups, women, and the disabled, to develop more positive feelings toward their own groups. (Banks, 1992, p.84)

In addition to the achievement approaches currently viewed as being important, inter-group education approaches have been renewed and revitalised due to the increase in racial tension in the United States caused by a new wave of immigrants from Latin America. On the other hand, the increased racial tension has also encouraged many educational institutions to support multicultural courses as well as other kinds of intercultural experiences.

Models for multicultural curriculum development

Another major aspect in the development of multicultural education can be observed in constructing curriculum models that clarify, illustrate and visualise key principles, concepts, components and relationship in the area. Yet, disciplines and elements from different spheres, such as social and development theories (Gay, 1985); critical theory traditions (Sleeter, 1989; 1991; Sleeter and Grant, 1988; Ladson-Billings and Henry, 1990; Darder, 1991) are also identified. Others employ elements from representative democracy, interpersonal communications, ecological psychology, social construction of knowledge to communicate more effectively what multicultural education means.

Arguing that “multicultural education is an eclectic field” Gay (1995) points out that it is not surprising that theorists borrow elements from different conceptual models in other disciplines to construct their own (p.38).

In the “Integrative Multicultural Basic Skills” (IMBS), a model created by Gay (1979), important principles of ‘developmental growth, routine curriculum planning and systemic change, and their implications for infusing multiculturalism into core learning skills and educational operations’ are identified and explained. The IMBS is a model comprised of a set of three concentric circles that are reciprocally, interactively related.

(1) The first set shows the core of curriculum decision-making that includes universal basic skills routinely taught in schools.

(2) The second layer of circle consists of the activities, such as determining students’ needs, selecting instructional content and materials, student activities and teaching behaviours, that educators view as essential to curriculum creation.

(3) The last circle is multicultural resource that surrounds and encases the other two. This configuration suggests that multicultural resources need to provide the ecological settings and points of reference for all operational decisions made about curriculum planning for teaching basic skills to all students. (Gay, 1995, p.39)

Banks (1981) has also attempted to propose two curricular models for teaching in a multicultural setting which aim to achieve and maintain an “open society” ([a society]) in which individuals from diverse ethnic, cultural and social class groups have equal opportunities to participate...while preserving their distinct ethnic and cultural

traits”.(p.141) The first of the two models, the *‘shared power model’*, assists excluded minorities to obtain power and control in political and social institutions. The alternative model is the *‘enlightening powerful groups model’* which modifies the attitudes of the dominant population so that they are willing to share power with previously excluded minorities. Banks focuses on what constitutes an effective curriculum for excluded and powerful cultural groups. Consequently, he proposes twenty-three guidelines for establishing a multicultural curriculum. The *Curriculum Guidelines for Multicultural Education*, prepared by the National Council for the Social Studies Task Force on Ethnic Studies Curriculum Guidelines (NCSS, the United States), which was adopted by NCSS Board of Directors in 1976 and revised in 1991 (see also *Appendix No.1*). He further outlines four approaches for the integration of ethnic content into the curriculum. These, often mixed and blended in actual teaching situations, are the *Contributions approach*; *the Additive approach*; *the Transformation approach*, and *the Social Action approach*. More detailed descriptions of each, together with their different strengths and problems, are illustrated in *Appendix No.2*. (Banks, 1993, pp.203-204).

Moreover, many have worked on providing substantive guidance and suggestions for actual curriculum development. Jeffcoate (1981), for instance, has created a classification of objectives that he believes are indispensable in creating an effective and just multicultural curriculum. These objectives are grouped under two principal categories: (1) respect for self, and (2) respect for others. He declares that multi-racial issues are primarily affective, although possession of certain facts is necessary in the development of respect for self and others. A more complete illustration of Jeffcoate’s curricular

objectives is detailed in *Appendix No.3*. Equivalently, Saunders (1982) puts forward another model of multicultural curricular development. Differing from the above model, it includes curricular strategies to combat 'accommodation' problems of all pupils as well as those of ethnic minority pupils. He further emphasises problems of the hidden curriculum that must be confronted in order to facilitate effective multicultural teaching. More details regarding Saunders' model are enumerated in *Appendix No.4*.

In brief, regardless of the curriculum model adopted, most educators agree on at least one point: multicultural education cannot be taught as a single class or a short-term unit. On the contrary, the varied nature of multicultural studies requires a multi-disciplinary approach. The curriculum models, therefore, need to be appropriate for all subjects on the school agenda.

CHAPTER FOUR: ISSUES AND CONTROVERSY

In this section, discussion concentrates on two main themes: the key issues and controversies identified from the practices of multicultural education in the reviewed literature. Information related to substantive policies adopted and their subsequent implications observed in other countries are employed along with the associated discussion. Thus, it is hoped that relevant experiences can be obtained from empirical evidences gathered from different societies in dealing with cultural pluralism in education. It is necessary to note that the substantial evidence revealed in different societies is not used to illustrate a full account of any of these practices, but to demonstrate various measures undertaken by authorities in responding to issues raised in the practice of multicultural education in different social contexts.

Section One: The Issues in Multicultural Education

There are three relevant issues regarding the implementation of multicultural education presented and discussed in this section. They are: *Curriculum for a Multicultural society*; *Language Issues in Multicultural Education*; *Teachers' professional development for multicultural education*.

Curriculum for a multicultural society

The first issue is how the notions and purposes of multicultural education can be co-operated and implemented in the school curriculum? Curriculum issues, as Tator and Henry (1991) point out, have “provided a focal point for multicultural policies and practices”(p.16). According to Mallea and Young’s (1997) recent writing addressing inter-cultural education in Canada, there has been a range of initiatives for the pursuit of multicultural curriculum in different societies. These include the development of guidelines for identifying bias in materials; the development of new curriculum units and courses; efforts to infuse a multicultural or anti-racist perspectives across the curriculum and in a few instances, the development of ‘culturally focused schools’ such as aboriginal focused schools in Canada (pp.99-100).

Taking the example of Britain, consideration of a multicultural curriculum was first seen in “Education in School: A Consultative Document (DES, 1977)” which states that:

Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society... the curriculum of schools.... must reflect the needs of this new Britain (para.10,11; Modgil, *et al.*, 1986, p.11).

Following this, The Rampton Report (DES, 1981) within which the notion of designing the school curriculum to reflect the cultural and ethnic diversity in British society is regarded as the central concern. Until very recently, ‘education for life in multicultural society’ still remained a key element in the dimensions covering all aspects of equal opportunities that need to permeate the school curriculum and be the responsibility of all teachers. Relevant documents which indicate the latest curriculum development for

multicultural education in Britain include: the Education Reform Act (1988) publication, *From Policy to Practice* (NCC, 1989), the guidance documents *Curriculum Guidance No.3: Education for Whole Curriculum* (NCC, 1990) and *Curriculum Guidance No.8: Education for Citizenship* (NCC, 1990). Also, in a recent publication of the National Curriculum Council (NCC), *Starting Out in the National Curriculum* (1992) makes it clear that multicultural education should be ‘an explicit part of the curriculum policy in every school and integral to (its) planning, development and evaluation’.

The California History-Social Science Framework, adopted in 1987, is another example of multiculturalist currents in society and in the world of education from the past two decades. The American tradition of “social studies”, in part, a training in the values and virtues required for participating in a democratic polity provides “a plausible general description of those core values and virtues” (Blum, 1996, p.23). The Framework also makes “a multicultural perspectives” a basic component of the historical studies it established (Fullinwider, 1996, p.4). In other words, the California Framework regards multiculturalism as a distinguishing feature of its approach, and states the following as one of its fundamental principles:

This framework incorporates a multicultural perspective throughout the history-social science curriculum. It calls on teachers to recognise that the history of community, state, region, nation and world must reflect the experiences of men and woman and of different racial, religious, and ethnic groups. California has always been a state of many different cultural groups, just as the United States has always been a nation of many different cultural groups. The experiences of all these groups are to be integrated at every grade level in the history-social science curriculum... The framework embodies the understanding that the national identity, the national heritage, and the national creed are pluralistic and that our national history is the complex story of many people and one nation.. (Bulm, 1996, p.32)

Despite the significance of pursuing multicultural education through the curriculum vehicle advocated by many, it is argued that teaching all children about cultural differences in societies might reinforce instead of reduce the sense of distinctiveness. As Bullivant (1981) claims, “in essence, culture is a form of ever-evolving ‘survival device’ based on adaptive change that enables social groups to cope with the problems of living in a particular habitat. It is *this* kind of culture children from ethno-cultural groups have to master, rather than a romanticised, fossil-culture based on utopian views of pluralism” (p.85). The recent controversy over New York State’s multicultural reform movement, for instance, exemplifies the present multicultural debate about the curriculum. A task force, established by the Commissioner of Education to review how well New York schools provided “quality education in a pluralistic society”, submitted a report called *A curriculum of inclusion* in 1989. According to the report, New York schools were “contributing to the miseducation of all young people through a systematic bias toward European culture and its derivatives.” (Fullinwider, 1996, p.4). European cultures, Fullinwider (1996) writes:

Had assumed the place of “master of house,” seated at the head of the educational dinner table looking down at his other cultural guests, who had been invited “through his beneficence”.... (p.4)

In order to replace this objectionable state of affairs, the report proposed that “all curricular materials be prepared on the basis of multicultural contribution to all aspects of our society”. Such a change, according to Fullinwider’s analysis (1996), would supply “Native American, Puerto Rican/Latino, Asian-American, and African-American children

with greater self-esteem, and give children from European cultures less arrogant perspectives” (pp.4-5).

The release of the report of *A Curriculum of Inclusion*, caused a public retort from the “Committee of Scholars in Defense of History”. They charged that *A curriculum of Inclusion* “contemptuously dismisses the Western tradition” and transforms the teaching of history into “a form of social and psychological therapy whose function is to raise the self-esteem of children from minority groups” (Fullinwider, 1996, p.5). Subsequently, a panel of scholars and educators was then set up to review the New York social studies curriculum and the panel released its report, *One Nation, Many Peoples: A Declaration of Cultural Interdependence*, in 1991 which has attracted great public attention. The report of *One Nation, Many Peoples* clearly states that the purpose of social studies is to teach students “the significance of our democratic rights and principles, and the importance of playing an active role in preserving and extending them to everyone”. It also suggests teaching history from “multiple perspectives,” exploring all the applicable viewpoints of the historical and social protagonists involved, “paying special attention to the ways in which race, ethnicity, gender and class generate different ways of understanding, experiencing, and evaluating the events of the world”. (Sewall, 1996, p.54) In response to the earlier report of *A curriculum of Inclusion*, opponents such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (1991), one of the panel’s consultants, argued that multicultural education has resulted in the “cult of ethnicity” and threatens to divide students along racial and cultural lines, rather than unite them as Americans. (May, 1999, p. 15) More details relating to the debates and controversies over multicultural education are presented in later discussion.

Language Issues in Multicultural education

The importance of language to culture is recognised by Verma (1988) when stating that “language is the primary vehicle for the maintenance of one’s own culture” as it is a “means to achieve identity, and a means to recover self-esteem” (p.5). Ovando (1989) has identified that there are five culture-related domains which illustrate the subtleties and cultural components of the process of learning a language for communicative competence. These domains include discourse, appropriateness, paralinguistics, pragmatics, and cognitive-academic language proficiency (p.209). Multicultural education seeks to promote equality and excellence across such variables as race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, social class, regional groups, and language background. However, Ovando (1989) further points out that the role which language plays in the field of multicultural education means that educators need to understand “the function language can play in either helping or inhibiting the educational fulfilment of individuals” (p.210).

Reviewing the literature, it appears that current research within this area is basically concerned with how language diversity is related to educational outcomes. Language diversity is therefore acknowledged to have a strong impact on the content and process of schooling practice in the case of the academic achievement of minority students. The ‘Case Studies Project’ launched by the California Office of Bilingual Education in 1980, for example, was developed on the basis of leading theories including cognitive development, second-language acquisition, and cross-cultural communication. It set out to investigate the implications of language diversity for minority pupils’ academic

achievement. The research findings have suggested that “an integrated curriculum incorporating home language instruction, communication-based sheltered English and mainstream English has produced excellent results in reading, language arts, and mathematics for language minority students”. (Ovando, 1989, p.223)

Mother tongue teaching, however, has long been a focal point in debates over language education for a multicultural society. In his discussion on mother tongue learning in schools, Nixon (1985) identifies its importance:

The use by pupils of their mother tongue is the basic requirement of any educational system which aims beyond a mere instrumentalist transmission of skills and facts. (p.104)

In a recent study in Guatemala and Senegal investigating the issue of producing educational materials in local language, the benefits of mother tongue learning are considered as significant. It states:

Investments in local language education are justified on the basis of greater student participation in schooling as well as improved student learning and achievement. Although evidence confirming the benefits of mother tongue instruction is varied, research indicates that mother tongue (MT) instruction results in improved learning achievements, lower dropout rates, better adjustment to school, cultural preservation, and self-confidence in Children.... (Vawda and Patrions, 1999, p.287)

In their paper looking at the research conducted, related to language issues, in multicultural context in the past few decades, similarly, Minami and Ovando (1995) conclude two major factors are: *parental participation* and *community participation*. These they describe as lessons learnt from successful cases on helping language-minority students to achieve positive learning outcomes.

A.) Parental participation:

According to their analysis, evidences in several researches (Snow, 1983; Ovando, 1984, 1994; Cummins, 1986, 1991; Lucas, *et al.*, 1990; Williams & Sinpper, 1990; Snow, *et al.*, 1991; Cazden, 1992; Ovando & Collier, 1995) have indicated that one of the factors in language-minority students' success is parental involvement. Reporting on language-minority students success in secondary schools, for instance, Lucas, *et al.* (1990) have isolated, in particular, the following factors as related to successful outcomes with language-minority students in terms of the parental participation:

- a) Value is placed on the students' language and cultures;
- b) High expectations of language-minority students are made concrete;
- c) School leaders make the education of language-minority students a priority;
- d) Staff development is explicitly designed to help teachers and other staffs serve language-minority students more effectively;
- e) A variety of courses and programs for language-minority students are offered;
- f) A counseling program gives special attention to language-minority students through counselors" who understand those students linguistically as well as culturally;
- g) Parents of language-minority students are encouraged to become involved in their children's education; and
- h) School staff members share a strong commitment to empower language-minority students through education. (pp.324-325)

On the other hand, many have warned that a dangerous situation can result from "increased parent-teacher miscommunication and misunderstanding, as well as teachers' biases against children with certain background" at the high school level. (Minami and Ovando, 1995, p.439)

B.) Community Participation:

A community's active participation in school curriculum design is the second factor identified to be significant in catering to the needs of a particular student population. Evidence can be found in Nulato, a remote indigenous Athapaskan village in Alaska, according to Ovando (1984), where the community's efforts have achieved a positive school environment in which there is little conflict in socialisation patterns between the primary speech community (home) and the secondary speech community (school). In addition, taking the form of preserving the community's traditions is reported as another positive outcome of the community's participation in school curriculum and activities. (Minami and Ovando, 1995)

Proposing the necessity of a "common language", Nixon (1985) criticizes the fact that mother tongue provision can serve to separate pupils from mainstream school learning, thereby increasing the likelihood of their continuing underachievement (p.104). In the study looking at the language education in Nigeria, similarly, Ufomata (1999) also argues that the situation of promoting mother tongue learning in Nigeria became more complicated "when children who had initial instruction in the mother tongue and a later one in English were given a written examination at the end of the primary education course in English". (p.319) Such complications have resulted in either some schools adopting the "straight-away-English policy" (p.319) or the "elite and policy makers continue to send their children to private school where it is the norm to have English as medium of instruction even from Kindergarten". (p.321).

Moreover, many are concerned that mother tongue teaching might increase divisions between different ethnic groups and separate pupils from experiencing different cultural activities. As Ufomata (1999) tries to warn us:

Are schools to be divided along linguistic and therefore ethnic lines, thus encouraging the very ill of sectarianism that language policies seek to remove? If schools were divided along ethnic lines, wouldn't it ultimately restrict children's social circle to only those who share their mother tongue and thus narrow their world view? (p.321)

Demonstrating the importance of community languages, Tockoman and Shutnaab-Kangas (1977) found that full development of a child's personality and self-image largely depends upon the maintenance of their home language. Without this, they argue, minority children may see school as a place where neither their language nor culture is accepted. In addition, Christian (1976) concluded that when a minority child learns to read and write in the majority language exclusively, the child will almost inevitably consider their home language as second-rate. Consequently, children would therefore see their cultural companions as second-rate people as children's conclusions about their home language are often generalised to speakers of that language.

Nonetheless, the mother tongue issue remains controversial. In his paper discussing language issues in school, Edwards (1984) reminds us that mother tongue teaching can be commended from a number of very different perspectives. He argues:

It can be espoused as a cause just as enthusiastically by those of a radical persuasion who want members of ethnic minority communities to be able to compete on equal terms, as by racists who advocate the repatriation of

migrants and their children. Within the radical camp there are also those who argue that mother tongue teaching will operate more effectively as an agent of social control than as a means of promoting cultural diversity. (p.82)

Yet, language policies and planning therefore require thoughtful considerations on the one hand developing pupils' full range of cultural and linguistic resources in school education and for recognising the rights of minorities to develop their own initiatives in the society on the other. To outline a practical and sensible policy for language education in a multicultural society, it is therefore suggested in the report *The Linguistic Minorities Project* conducted in Britain (1984-1984):

It is our view, however, that this general area of educational debate and the more specific question of developing the skills of bilingual children should also be firmly grounded in its social context, which involves an analysis of factors beyond the school affecting cultural processes in general and language learning in particular. (The linguistic minorities project, 1984, p.115)

Linguistic Communication, Language Planning and Language Education: A Few Examples

Problems, concerning language use, language choice and language planning in multicultural and multilingual societies, are numerous and serious. Issues, controversies, or conflicts as to which language(s) should be used in a culturally and linguistically pluralistic society can often stem from pure egoism, from an ethnic, cultural or national chauvinism, or in simpler terms, from personal preference or prejudice. In this subsection, a couple of substantive accounts are illustrated and discussed to demonstrate the possible policies and strategies adopted in different societies where great cultural and linguistic diversity can be observed.

Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Canadian Experiences

Multiculturalism in this nation is therefore unique due to the particular nature of Canadian history. The most distinct feature that makes Canada different from Australia and the United States is that Canada has traditionally two different charter groups. Each, with its own language and culture, with apparent religion, ethnic and cultural difference, still exists. The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the mid-1960s, and the official Language Act of 1969 conferred equal status on both French and English as the official languages of the Government of Canada and Parliament. And the Government finally developed a policy of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” in 1971. The core of the policy as presented by the then Prime Minister, Trudeau, emphasised government’s assistance and intentions for cultural maintenance, stating:

The policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the Government of Canada as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one’s own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help to create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all. (Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 1971; In Bhatangar, 1982, p.167)

Consequently, there have been many language and culture maintenance programmes and educational responses from different provinces introduced in response to the federal government’s policy of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework”. These programmes and approaches, according to Moodley (1995), include:

(1) programmes for newcomers to acquire fluency in one of the official languages;

(2) cultural maintenance programmes—interested ethno-cultural groups in which are offered support to retain their cultures of origin through non-official language instruction and /or the cultivation of aspects of folk culture;

(3) multicultural education as an antidote to the conventional portrayal of ethnic groups—Canadian social studies curricula have depicted them for the most part as “marginal” Canadian, as “contributors to the dominate society,” as “beneficiaries” of the dominate society, and as “problems” (Werner *et al.*, 1980, pp.7-35); the acknowledgement of the valued diversity it sought;

(4) anti-racism education, which recognises that prejudice and discrimination are potent forces that need to be addressed in a multicultural society. (p.807)

Bilingualism, in particular, is described as the apparent characteristic of the Canadian brand of multiculturalism. There have, therefore, been two main developments in the field of bilingual education in Canada. In addition to the Official Language Act in 1969 when French language gained equal rights and status with English, schools are required to broaden their educational approaches for students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in response to the vastly increased numbers of immigrants to Canada. (Shapson & D’olyey, 1984, p.1) Variety of bilingual programmes, such as immersion programmes, is described to have enjoyed enormous success. In response to the debate over students’ academic difficulties resulting from a mismatch between home and school languages, Cummins (1987) argues in favour of bilingual education and states:

Virtually every bilingual programme that has been evaluated (including French immersion programmes) shows that students instructed through a minority language for all or part of the school day perform, over time, at least as well in the majority language (e.g. English in North America) as students instructed exclusively through the majority language. (p.306)

Shapson & D’olyey (1984) concludes that bilingualism has become the “educational innovation which has been so thoroughly researched and successfully replicated across the country”. (p.6)

Language Planning and Language Education: the Singaporean Case

Due to its specific history, Singapore is seen as a pluralistic society which is racio-ethnically, cultural, and linguistically divergent. Among the total of approximately three million residents, according to the recent census report, the city consists of 77.6% of Chinese, 14.1% of Malays, and 7% of Indians, together with the rest of 1.7% from quite a number of other racio-ethnic sources (mainly with European origins). (Hong, 1992, p.8).

Singapore can be said to virtually have four official languages, namely, English, Chinese, Malay, and Tamil. Language choice among these alternatives in diversified communicative sites is therefore complicated.

The bilingualism policy introduced by the Government in 1966, required pupils to learn two of these four official languages, first and second languages, during their primary schooling. Parents make the choices. Consequently, as Huang (1995) observes, English is chosen as the first language and mother tongue as the second language in most cases. (p.420) According to Chiang's (1997) analysis on the language policy and education in Singapore, there are three kinds of resource classes for language to be chosen for pupils starting from the 5th grade of primary school under the principle of bilingualism policy, at the present, in Singapore. The first kind of resource class is for those with "high average school performance or/and those who are linguistically gifted", who take both English and their native as their first language. The second kind of resource class is for those with medium average performance, who take English as the first and their native as a second

language. The last resource class regards those with below-average school performance, who take English and are expected to learn only a “minimum, intelligible amount of their native language”.(p.33) It is seen the teaching and learning of native languages, (Chinese, Malay, or Tamil), emphasises listening, speaking, and reading about the communicative function of language in all divisions of the programmes. Many believe there are social, economic and political implications in the attitude that regards English as the first language by the majority in Singapore. According to Huang’s (1995) observation, there are two points to be made. He argues that making English, which is the mother tongue of neither Chinese, Malay nor Indians, the first official language is initially a strategy to avoid possible conflicts between different groups. In terms of economic development, it is also believed that developing pupils’ abilities in English language enables them to gain access to foreign experiences adding to the modernisation of Singapore. (p.421) Though many, especially the majority, Chinese (77.6%), criticise the language policy, since it might result in pupils being unable to inherit their own native language and cultures, Chiang (1997) concludes that “language is well planned in Singapore” as none of these native languages are “socially, politically, economically or educationally underprivileged or discriminated”. (p.24)

Teachers’ Professional Development for Multicultural Education

As mediators of the curriculum, as Mallea and Young (1997) points out, “it is individual teachers who to a significant degree define whether or not multicultural and anti-racist education will be a reality in specific schools and classrooms”(p.100). In this section, I

look at the role of teachers in implementing multicultural education and what needs to be taken into account in the professional preparation of teachers.

Multicultural Attitudes of Teachers

Another issue closely bound up with multicultural education is the attitudes of teachers. This has been focused on in several studies since the early 1970. One of the most comprehensive of these was carried out by Brittan (1976), who surveyed over 500 teachers in a number of primary and secondary schools in Britain. Her research findings indicated that 94% of the teachers thought that schools needed to be responsible for promoting good race relations among pupils. As much as 75% suggested that RE and assemblies should reflect diverse faiths existing in the community. Of these 67% expressed that coverage of the cultures and homelands of ethnic minorities needs to be considered and included in school syllabi. On the other hand, less than 50% of the informants supported the idea of accommodating various cultural traditions into school settings, and even over one-third of them were strongly opposed to this. Brittan (1976) points out that teachers find superficial modification of the curriculum acceptable, even desirable, because teaching methods and school policy are minimally disrupted. However, teachers' resistance arises if adjustments include the whole curriculum and underlying values and assumptions of the school. Subsequently, she concludes that this phenomenon might be due to the fact that most teachers still adopt assimilationist goals. Nevertheless, many believe that relationships between pupils and teachers in the multicultural classroom are a major contribution to the pupils' awareness of himself and herself

(Bagley and Verma, 1983). This awareness, once assimilated into pupils' self-concept, might become an influential element in learning, and thus could operate as a significant factor in educational attainment.

By the time of the Swann Report, there appeared to be big progress in teacher attitudes. The research done by Little and Willey (1983) was considered to be the leading study during this period. Following the publication of the Swann Report (1985), however, it appeared that teachers' attitudes had changed less than expected. Matthews and Fallows (1985), who were assigned by the Swan commission to study the views and practices of teachers in all-white schools, concluded the following:

Teacher attitudes displayed the whole gamut of racial misunderstandings and folk mythology.... racial stereotypes were common and attitudes ranged from unveiled hostility of a few through the apathy of many and the condescension of others to total acceptance by the minority. (in the Swann Report)

In the same way, some teachers expressed a fear that any move to institutional diversity would generate controversy among the community and staff and create tensions between pupils. Yet, teachers' fears were particularly apparent on questions of racism. The teachers were normally not oblivious to racist incidents within the schools, but only few believed that teachers' interventions would accomplish anything more than exacerbating the situation. The implications of the research findings indicate that a teacher who is unconvinced by the purpose and nature of multicultural education would not incorporate this notion into teaching. Besides, the research illustrates an urgent need for effective pre-service and INSET provision of multicultural education.

In a recent experimental course conducted at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, developed the belief that ethnic and cultural self-discourse strategy (*see Appendix No.5: self-discourse questions*) would help student teachers build up positive and correct attitudes towards multicultural education. (Davidman, 1996, p.66) Providing opportunities for the trainees to explore, describe and share one's cultural, ethnic, and racial connections during the 14 weeks course, it is assessed as having a positive enduring effect on teachers' views and attitudes to actual classroom practices of multicultural education. As the course planner, Davidman, (1996) points out:

If such teachers, working in small, diversity structured, co-operative discussion groups (five or six students to a group), can see that their efforts to study and communicate with fellow teachers are enhanced because of the prior knowledge gained from the teachers' self-discourse, it is quite possible that these same teachers will be more likely to create opportunities for their students to discover each other as sources of cultural information and insight. (p.70).

According to Davidman's qualitative impression of the outcomes of this strategy, it is strongly recommended that the "positive human relationships help to produce candidates who have a more positive attitude towards the content and goals of multicultural education" (p.70).

The Preparation of Teachers for Multicultural Education

In general, most teachers begin their careers with uncritical acceptance of their profession and professional institutions. (Straker-Welds, 1984). A teacher needs to personify a harmonious, a political view of life in terms of a traditional point of view; this job is carried out by many teachers subconsciously, unaware that their selection, interpretation

and presentation of knowledge is in itself a highly political activity. Understandably, the main educational model that operated effectively in such a traditional classroom was basically assimilationist, within which minority pupils were the target of change rather than the educational institution of the teachers themselves. But how to alter teachers' education to meet the demands required in a multicultural classroom, and the importance of teachers' training for multicultural understanding, are stressed by many educators. According to Rodriguez (1983), for instance, "the degree to which multicultural education becomes a reality in our schools depends largely upon the attitudes and behaviours of classroom teachers" (cited in Gay, 1986, p.154). Pang (1994) also states that preparing teachers for a culturally diverse society is one of the most exciting and rewarding endeavours in education.

It goes without saying that teachers cannot be expected to be effective in teaching multicultural content and working with ethnically diverse students without having had professional preparation for these tasks. However, efforts made in relation to the implementation of multicultural education in teacher preparation programmes have been fragmented and have proceeded largely without the legal incentives of teacher certification laws and mandates of college or education (Gay, 1986, p.154). In the UK and Western European nations, for example, some exemplary practices in multicultural teacher education are evident in local education authorities (LEAs), but, overall, system wide success has not been achieved (Craft, 1981). Moreover, relevant policies and programmes of multicultural teachers' education vary markedly from state to state (Bullivant, 1981).

The assimilationist teaching model has been seriously challenged since the presentation of the Plowden Report (1967) and with the subsequent publication of the Swann Report (1985) in Britain. The Swan Report suggests that teachers in both predominantly white and minority schools need to have the facility to teach from a multicultural perspective. Subsequently, there has been strong demand for a critically based inspection and introspection of school's values toward multiple faiths, languages, and cultures. The Swan's urgent call for INSET and pre-service multicultural provision concludes that a multicultural perspective has not yet been well incorporated into teacher training. The research carried out by Townsend and Brittan (1972) involving teachers working at 260 different schools, for example, indicates that only 11% of teachers received college tuition concerning the education of minority pupils. Moreover, only 3% had more than ten hours of this kind of instruction.

In Britain, there have been three major thrusts in government policy on ITE (Initial Teacher Education). All impact on the delivery of the whole curriculum in multiethnic society affect both primary and secondary ITE (Hill, 1994, p.218). The first thrust is that the increased regulation of the ITE curriculum has resulted in a prescriptive and restrictive National Curriculum for ITE. Secondly, the government started in 1990 both the introduction of new school-based routes into teaching, the almost totally school-based "Licensed Teaching Scheme", and the two-year overwhelmingly school-based Article Teacher Scheme for postgraduates. Moreover, circular 14/93 allows consortia of Primary Schools to set up their own totally school-based ITE from September 1994 (see Hill,

1994, p.218). Thirdly, there is the vastly increase in school-based programmes in the two major routes into teaching, the 4-years B.Ed and the 1-year PGCE. Two common themes are found in the tripartite policy. They are first, a move from college-based, towards school-based preparation of new teachers; and second, stricter control of the college-based course work, with less theory, less critical reflection, and less questioning. It is contended that issues of race and education already are, and will be, progressively, squeezed out of the ITE curriculum. Hill (1994) has further analysed the causes of the above findings and found that the time available for courses on race in education was one concern, and those media and ideologists which attack anti-racism and multiculturalism are, in effect, frightening off ITE course designers and teachers (p.219).

Bilingual, Cross-cultural, Language and Academic Development (BCLAD): New College of California

In response to the great demand made for teachers' professional development in multicultural education, New College of California adopted as its basic teacher education programmes the new Bilingual, Cross-cultural, Language and Academic Development (CLAD/BCLAD) credential recently advanced by the state of California. This credential emphasis integrates inclusive multicultural and bilingual teaching perspectives and pedagogy. (McCaled, 1995) As the Director of Teacher Education at New College, Sudia Paloma MaCaleb (1995) points out, new college has endorsed diversity and multiculturalism from inception by emphasizing "innovative and interactive pedagogy and the vital importance of education to a democratic and just society". (p.167)

There are three main phases in the one-year course as briefly illustrated below:

(1) Pre-programmes reader

Before the programmes start, students are required to complete a reader. Accepting the importance of teachers having philosophical vision and taking theoretical foundation into account, the course aims to provide the incoming cohort of students with a common text for reflection and discussion.

(2) Three week intensive: a look at the big picture

In addition to introducing many of the philosophical, instructional, management, and subject content areas that will be studied in depth during the one year long course, students are also asked to introduce themselves to the group—their learning cohorts, with whom they will be learning and working throughout the year - by bringing two objects which express their personal and cultural meanings for the students themselves. This is designed, according to McCaleb (1995), to be a model for inclusive pedagogical practice. It is designed to connect the development of literacy in the classroom with teaching in the student's home and community.

(3) The programme and its visions and goals:

The programme closely follows seven philosophical and pedagogical goals throughout the one year course. These include:

- a: celebrating diversity: unlearning prejudice
- b: building communities of learners
- c: working with families through family literacy
- d: teachers as researchers
- e: integration of music and arts
- f: development of personal philosophy

g: societal and political context

(McCaleb, 1995, pp.19-22.)

In addition to the programme above, many others have also attempted to propose different models and strategies for teacher preparation programmes to advance multicultural education. Gay (1993), for instance, offers four themes that she believes need to be covered in teacher preparation programmes. They are:

a: teaches as cultural brokers;

b: acquiring cultural knowledge;

c: becoming change agents;

d: translating knowledge into practice. (pp.290-294)

Similarly, Craft (1989) also gives suggestions to teacher educators while designing strategies for the preparation course. Three aspects in association with the possible strategies are identified: first, preparing students to meet particular needs of minority pupils; second, strategies concerned with the needs of all pupils in a plural society and finally, ways to focus on issues related to intercultural relations. (pp.135-143)

With regard to the issue of In-Service Education, it is evaluated as a “particularly urgent requirement, given that most practising teachers had no opportunity in their pre-service education to consider issues relating to multicultural education.” (Nixon, 1985, p.165)

Many believe that a well defined structure of in-service provision, possibly with specified levels of achievement, would provide serving teachers with the opportunity of developing a theoretical and practical understanding of what is involved in educating pupils for life in

a multiethnic and culturally diverse society. Nevertheless, as the Department of Education and Science (in Britain) inquiry on 'In-Service Teacher Education in a Multi-Racial Society' has indicated, this provision in the area of multicultural education is incomplete and fragmentary (Nixon, 1985). Consequently, Nixon (1985) attempts to recommend certain kinds of publications might help to bridge the gap between the practical demands of on-site in-service work and the general concerns of the traditional off-site course when he states:

School-based evaluations, records of work in progress and local working party reports can help to inform and extend discussions within individual schools. The significance of this kind of literature for the purposes of in-service education is that it creates valuable links, facilitating dialogue between teachers and strengthening existing networks. (p.167)

Besides the above discussion, Mukherjee (1984) developed an issue-based training course for experienced teachers. Participating teachers helped to define the course and devise a framework to increase awareness of the role of the teacher in combating racism. The most positive approaches defined, according to Mukherjee, are:

- 1) To confront the issue of 'race' head on, examine its effects on teachers, semi-professionalism, alienation and personal growth;
- 2) To disabuse people of the notion that multicultural education is for 'black people';
- 3) To argue with clarity and show clearly why white teachers need to be anti-racist, not because of black alienation, but because an ethnocentric racist approach and structure is denial to all pupils; a distortion of teachers' own integrity.

Therefore, the negotiated content of the course must examine the following:

- 1) Our fears and expectations of the courses
- 2) Critical analysis of multicultural studies and racism --the black perspective
- 3) Definitions: racial prejudice, racism, ethnicity and institutional racism. (1984, pp.182-183)

Furthermore, Houlton proposed (1986) an action programme for the development of multicultural teaching skills and knowledge. This programme, as a self-monitoring guide for practising teachers, outlines the subsequent components of professional knowledge:

Conceptual Awareness

- 1) Understanding the main concepts of multicultural education and their implications in the classroom;
- 2) Understanding the historical background to multicultural education and how the concept has evolved;
- 3) Becoming familiar with the founders and framers of multicultural education.

Ethnic Literacy

- 1) Understanding the way of life of different ethnic groups;
- 2) Learning how to process information about different cultures and life-styles;
- 3) Understanding the presence and influence of ethnic minority groups in British history, life, and culture.

Professional Applications

- 1) Translating knowledge about multicultural education and cultural diversity into classroom practice;
- 2) Acquiring the ability to analyse and clarify one's values, attitudes, expectations and behaviour towards ethnically different groups and individuals;
- 3) Developing appropriate teaching styles and professional methods of working;
- 4) Knowing how to evaluate the school climate, curriculum, and resources. (1986, pp.56-57)

To summarise this analysis, preparing teachers to work better with pupils from diverse cultures and communities demands action now. It is concluded that conventional

approaches urgently need to be transformed at their fundamental core, if teachers are to be fully prepared to instruct pupils of the 21st century who will be increasingly “racially, culturally, ethnically, socially, and linguistically pluralistic” (Gay, 1993, p.299).

Section Two: Debates and Controversies

Pluralism Dilemma

To respond to a wide range of differentiation such as cultural and linguistic diversity in a society, the difficulty of state school system to adopt a dual role of instigating innovation and critical thinking, and passing on the culture or cultures of the state is widely recognised. Wilson’s (1986) philosophical argument, for instance, concludes that multicultural education is neither politically nor educationally justified as a part of the curriculum. He claims:

The general trend of my argument has proved hostile to anything seriously to be called “multicultural education”.... because it turns out that there is a mismatch between the concept of education and the use of criteria which have nothing necessarily to do neither with learning nor with personal security (the criteria of race and culture). The aims of education remain constant, and must include the idea of helping pupils stand back, in the light of reason, from all particular backgrounds or commitments, so that they may make up their own minds autonomously and on the basis of certain general truths about what is important. (pp.13-14)

Wilson further suggests that, if anything, multicultural education must be taught as some type of moral education. There is no justification, he contends, for the inclusion of multicultural education as a topic on its own or as a multidisciplinary concept in the curriculum.

The tension between the two competing aims of ‘civism’ and ‘pluralism’ in state education is recognised and termed by Bullivant (1981) as “the pluralism dilemma”. This dilemma is “the problem of reconciling the diverse political claims of constituent groups and individual in a pluralist society with the claims of the nation-state as a whole” (1981: p.x). In the same way, Craft (1984) suggests a similar distinction: “conformity” and “diversity”, and warns that “diversity may be preferred to conformity, but without a good measure of agreement there is likely to be social breakdown” (p.9). Schermerhorn (1970) has described these countervailing social and cultural forces as centripetal and centrifugal tendencies in his early analysis. He observes:

Centripetal tendencies refer to both cultural trends such as acceptance of common values, styles of life, etc, as well as structural features like increased participation in a common set of groups, associations, and institutions...Conversely, centrifugal tendencies among subordinate groups are those that foster separation from the dominate group or from societal bonds in one way or another. Culturally this most frequently means retention and presentation of the group’s distinctive tradition in spheres like language, religion, recreation, etc. (p.81)

All these distinctions emphasis, according to May (1999), “the apparent polarities involved in the task of national integration”; the difficulties of reconciling social cohesion with a recognition and incorporation of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity within a nation state. (p.14)

This dilemma is as real for a modern state and its constitutions and educational systems as they are always open to criticism from one or the other side of the debate while attempting to find a balanced solution. In the new post-communist Bulgarian, for

instance, the educational system espouses the “adoption of universal and national values, virtues and cultures” in schools as well as supporting minority languages in an attempt to resolve some of these issues. But the system finds itself short of the actual resources to put such aspirations and policies into practice in an effective manner. (Jones, 1997, p.3). Many observers (Craft, 1984; Sewall, 1996; Jones, 1997; May, 1999) suggest the consequences of addressing pluralism and how it needs to be taken into account in state educational plan is still under-investigated.

Potential of Divisiveness

Addressing the importance of individual rights rather than group claims, some conservatives are concerned that excessive emphasis on race and ethnicity might result in greater social division. Bloom (1989) argues the purpose of schooling is to cultivate reason, so that citizens can rise above their particular backgrounds and participate rationally in a common culture based on “shared goals or vision of the public good” (p.27). The attention currently given to ethnic origins of minority groups, it is remarked, “subverts the trend towards inclusivity, commonality and universalism.” (Sleeter, 1995, p.84) In his book: *Disuniting of America*, in addition, Schlesinger (1991) argues, to much public acclaim, against the “disuniting” of America by the “cult of ethnicity”:

The ethnic upsurge (it can hardly be called a revival because it was unprecedented) began as a gesture of protest against the Anglo-centric culture. It became a cult, and today it threatens to become a counterrevolution against the original theory of America as “one people,” a common culture, a single nation. (p.43).

In the same way, he detected in the New York report, *A curriculum of Inclusion*, a “cult of ethnicity” in education which goes too far. He writes:

The new ethnic gospel rejects the unifying vision of individuals from all nations melted into a new race. Its underlying philosophy is that America is not a nation of individuals at all but a nation of groups, that ethnicity is the defining experience of most Americans, that ethnic ties are permanent and indelible.... (1992, pp.15-16)

Furthermore, Schlesinger also extends his trenchant critique to an attack on bilingualism and the bilingual movement in the USA. He rejects out of hand the official recognition of minority languages in the public sphere and argues:

Alas, bilingualism has not worked out as planned: rather the contrary.... indications are that bilingual education retards rather than expedites the movement of Hispanic children into the English-speaking world and that it promotes segregation more than it does integration. Bilingualism shuts doors. It nourishes self-ghettoization, and ghettoization nourishes racial antagonism.... using some language other than English dooms people to second class citizenship in America society. (1992, pp.107-108)

The California History-Social Science Framework, in opposition, is described to be an “excellent full-length multicultural curriculum” (Ravitch, 1990a, p.18) as it includes diverse groups in a grand narrative of America’s extension of equality and freedom for all. In his analysis on the Framework, Blum (1996) makes the following comment:

The Framework cuts through this philosophically interesting but pedagogically constraining concern about relativism largely *by grounding, or attempting to ground*, its conception of ethical education in a framework of “*civic education*”. (p.23, emphasis in the original)

The framework, as Ravitch (1990a) explains, that Americans share histories of immigration to North America, but over time have become united by “the moral force of the American idea”. (p.19)

Under Achievement

Some conservatives object to multicultural education because it offers a poor analysis of minority student underachievement, “replacing old fashioned work with gimmicks such

as self-esteem exercise” (Sleeter, 1995, p.85). Arguing that it is “dubious to assert that programmes to bolster racial pride will raise children self-esteem or their academic performance”, Ravitch (1990a) believes that doing so locates pupils’ identity “on another continent or in a vanished civilisation” rather than in contemporary America and in realising better academic performances (pp.46-47).

Moreover, D’Souza (1991) criticises multicultural curricula in higher education for encouraging minority students and faculty to “blame the system for their underachievement”, rather than actually helping them to master academic materials. Reflecting further, Ravitch (1990b) pin-points the following essential factors in trying to improve minority students’ underachievement:

They would fare better in schools if they had well-educated and well-paid teachers, small classes, good materials, encouragement at home and school, summer academic programs, protection from the drugs and crime that ravage their neighbourhoods, and higher expectations of satisfying careers upon graduation. (p.349)

Acknowledging the importance of improving necessary resources, she argues that concentration on issues such as self-esteem deflects attention away from problems of how to make resources fully and equally accessible.

Visions of Structural Equality

Radicals especially argue that multicultural education primarily represents a promoting of “individual mobility within an economic hierarchy more than collective advancement and structural equality, and for reducing problems in the larger society to school solutions.”

(Sleeter, 1995, p.89) Radical exponents are concerned about an absence of a critique of

the systems of oppressions. Mattai (1992), for instance, points out that although multicultural education was a response to the racial debates during the 1960s, its discourse has shifted from racism to culture. Culture, as he further concludes, became reified as a de-politicised expression of “otherness,” and systems of oppression are ignored. Arguing that the emphasis on culture rather than structural inequality is problematic, Ogbu (1995) attacks multicultural education for failing to deal with culture in the context of a particular group’s historic experiences within White racism (p.584).

In his article ‘multicultural education as a curriculum strategy’ (1985), lastly, Jon Nixon claims that all attempts to deal with multi-racialism present forms of social control, including assimilation, integration and pluralism. The only way in which those movements differ is in their interpretation of social control. Multicultural education, he contends, treats diversity as an uncomplicated facet of life, and the realities of cultural imperialism are masked by social naivety. Arguing that none of those movements have challenged the entire system, he asserts that society requires a fundamental systemic change, eradicating institutional racism in order to foster true justice and promote mutual tolerance.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY

Section One: Justifications of My Research Strategy: A Qualitative Case study

Quantitative or Qualitative?

This research study arose from my interest in the promotion of native cultural education as a key feature in the current educational innovation in Taiwan. The pursuit of native cultural education is part of a government inspired desire to promote such schooling. My study aimed to explore the perspectives of key players involved in different aspects (including theory, policy-making and practice) of the development of native cultural education. Due to the complex and diverse nature of the people and cultures in Taiwan, current promotion of native cultural education is therefore regarded as an indication of the government's ambition to pursue multicultural education. The research questions set out in this study were: why this form of education is being promoted at this time in the context of Taiwan, and what are the historical, social and cultural implications of the current movement? How is native cultural education being developed and implemented in the different local areas and which problems are encountered by participants from different sectors? Can the practices of native cultural education be valued in the light of multicultural education and what are the messages perceived from people in theory, policy-making and practical aspects at the early stage of implementation for its further development?

In selecting the research approach, a qualitative investigation seemed in the first instance to be the most appropriate strategy to adopt. First, there is no set of formulated hypotheses to be assessed in my study. This research study can be called a pioneering project in the field as it started in 1996, at the early stage after current educational innovation took place in 1994. In addition, I have experienced difficulties in gaining a clearer picture of the on-going process of the innovation while being far away from the research context. In this context, there was no sufficient literature or information available to construct a set of predetermined categories that could be used to gather data to answer research questions. As Munn and Drever (1990) argue: “hypotheses about things usually come from reading, thinking, experience and intuition” (p.8).

The second reason lies in the orientations of this study and the ambition of filling the gap noted in previous studies undertaken in the field. This study’s major concern is to investigate how the new curriculum’s changes and policies are being implemented in the context of the educational reform movement in Taiwan. I aimed to conduct an inquiry which represents as closely as possible how people feel, what they know, and what their concerns, beliefs, perceptions and understanding are in the process of current educational innovation. It is similar to the task of a naturalist inquiry researcher who strives to obtain a detailed understanding of the variety and coherence of what Simons (1987) calls, “life in the pond” and to link this with the world beyond (p.22). Qualitative measures can permit the researcher to record and obtain a detailed understanding of the studied people in their own terms. As Patton (1990) puts it:

Basically, qualitative data consists of quotations from people and descriptions of situations, events, interactions, and activities. The purpose of these data is to understand the point of view and experiences of other persons. (p.36).

Quantitative instruments, on the other hand, such as questionnaires, seem to be unlikely to give an accurate portrayal of the realities of the innovation. Arguing that traditional evaluation methods have been partly responsible for the absent of recognition of the divorce between policy and practice, Vulliamy (1985) believes that “questionnaires tend to reproduce the rhetoric of policies” (p.40). He further explains:

Questionnaire surveys cannot penetrate the gap between ‘words and deeds’ (Deutscher, 1966) and are prone to the reproduction of rhetoric, where respondents are often unwilling to admit ‘failure’ for fear they will be partly blamed for them, and questionnaires also have difficulty focusing upon either the process or the unanticipated outcomes of an innovation. (p.37)

Similarly, many argue (Deutscher, 1973) that traditional positivist research strategies adopted in social science studies have been “over-preoccupied with reliability at the expense of validity” (Vulliamy,1985, p.37). Becoming familiar with recent research conducted in the field, I recognise that quantitative measurement has been employed as the main research strategy in most previous studies. Though the research findings shown in the review of the literature have helped to identify general themes and issues, most have failed to provide explanations for the causes and implications behind observed problems. In other words, there is little understanding of why the problems emerged, how participants responded to the changes and the innovation in practical terms; what needs to be addressed to enable innovation to function as its policy aims desire. My research aims to address just such concerns.

Other methodological problems related to the use of quantitative approach in researching educational policies or changes are widely discussed. In his study, looking at the implementation of an educational innovation in Papua New Guinea, Vulliamy (1985) argues that the results of traditional quantitative input-output research design “are often difficult to interpret, because they assume, first, that the adopted policy is actually implemented and, secondly, that this process of implementation corresponds to the policy directive itself” (p.42). Adams and Chen (1981), in the same way, condemn traditional research methods for being partly responsible for “the unfortunate gaps existing in education between research and policy making and educational practices” (p.5). Their critical comment about the use of traditional evaluation by objective is to the effect that such model begs the following two questions:

The first is whether the original objectives were viable. The point here is that if subsequent events come to indicate that the objectives were inappropriate, why should the original aims be pursued regardless? The second question is related. Evaluation by objectives assumes that time will not change. In other words, conditions will remain constant. In almost every instance of innovation, however, this last assumption is patently false. (1981, p.221)

The use of qualitative research techniques thus seems to be appropriate for my research.

Qualitative research techniques, as Filstead (1970) defines:

Those research strategies, such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing, total participation in the activity being investigated, field work, etc., which allow the researcher to obtain first-hand knowledge about the empirical social world, in question. Qualitative methodology allows the researcher to ‘get close to the data’, thereby developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself rather than from the preconceived, rigidly structured, and highly quantified techniques that pigeonhole the empirical social world into the operational definition that the researcher has constructed. (p.6)

Why I chose case study

In order to gain the type of data I require, a case study was therefore chosen to be the most appropriate strategy to achieve the “thick description” of the studied case which could make the experience of innovation accessible to public and professional judgement. (Simons, 1971, p.122) This can offer a foundation for a more analytical approach to educational changes. Since this study aims to contribute to a dialogue between policy and practice at the early stage of the curricular changes, I have chosen a case study approach. According to Walker’s (1983) definition, this method is primarily documentary and descriptive in character, but is marked by the attempt to reach across from the experiences of those who are subjects of study and those who are the audience (p.155). Another strength of a case study is its uniqueness and particularity as it can offer a comprehensive range of information and questions derived from people’s experiences about the nature and variety of transactions involved during a process such as educational innovation. The case study approach enables the researcher to “describe broadly the complexity of the studied situation and thus to provide an opportunity to understand problems in a far more profound way than on the basis of statistical number games” (Tasi, 1996, p.18).

I was aware of the importance of taking account of the wider context in which the studied programmes operate and the weakness associated with the use of the case study which can fail to “situate action in a social or historical context” (Vulliamy, 1985, pp.43-44). Thus essential information related to historical, social, cultural and political aspect of the studied case, Taiwan, is illustrated and discussed in the thesis. The limitation of its generalisability is a weakness of the approach as implicit in the case study as a respect for

cultural and educational uniqueness and diversity (Norris, 1990, p.131). Instead of producing generalisation, a case study is often a systematic enquiry conducted by the researcher as an attempt to illuminate specific instances by using various data collection techniques. As Merriam (1988) argues:

One selects a case study approach because one wishes to understand the particular in depth, not because one wants to know what is generally true of the many. (p.173).

In addition, Bassey (1981) takes the similar view that,

An important criterion for judging the merit of a case study is the extent to which the details are sufficient and appropriate for a teacher working on a similar situation to relate his decision making to that described in the case study. The relativity of a case study is more important than its generalisability (p.85)

Nevertheless, Stake (1995) has suggested that some “naturalistic generalisations” could enable the audience of research to achieve vicarious experiences as well as be constructed that they feel as if it happened to themselves. (p.85)

Another possible weakness of employing a case study to be borne in mind is that as Nisbet and Watt (1978) contend case-study researchers are often influenced by their past experiences, prejudices and interests which may bias the study in unanticipated and unacknowledged ways (p.81). Bearing the above problems in mind, different research techniques (such as interviews, documentary collections, field diary) have been used not only as a means of data collection but also employed as sources for triangulation to ensure the rigour and intersubjectivity of the data as a whole. More details related to triangulation will be provided in the further discussion.

Recognising the strengths of a qualitative case study - presenting a range of opinions and interpretations; identifying and explaining problems of a setting; recognising the complexity of the studied context and highlighting the on-going process of educational innovation - I attempt to employ a qualitative approach to explore and obtain insights into the relevant processes.

Section Two: Research Design and Implementation

The Timing and Procedures of the Research

The whole research consists of three phases: exploratory phase, pilot study and main study phase. As mentioned, difficulties in obtaining enough knowledge in formulating specific research questions have resulted from the lack of literature in the field. The exploratory phase aimed to develop research questions by observing what appeared to be key issues on the ground from the limited literature reviewed. It was followed by a pilot study with a small fieldwork component. A pilot study was conducted for a period of three months between January to March, 1996, to explore the on-going process of the development of native cultural education in the actual context where the innovation operates. In addition to obtaining a general understanding of how this form of education is being developed, the pilot study was intended to validate instruments of the research and examine its do-ability.

Since I did not have a specific hypothesis to be tested at the initial stage, the key questions asked were simple and it was essential that I was open-minded while

undertaking the pilot study. Conscious of the time constraints as well as the possibility that the research process would be hindered to a degree by the Chinese New Year Holiday (between 17th and 28th of February, 1996), I sought background knowledge from documentary sources and relevant literature while trying to secure permission to interview informants.

In order to look for evidence to my research questions, the main data collection phase - the fieldwork - took place in Taiwan between November, 1996 to July, 1997. As a result of the analysed data from the preliminary work, more specific questions have been set out. The main aim of my fieldwork was to explore and extend the key issues that emerged from previous gathered data. More details related to the overall data collection process and problems encountered during the process will be given while the discussion develops.

The following table shows the overall research procedure and its timing:

	Process	Research Focus
Oct – Dec, 95	Exploratory phase	Initial reading stage; Preparing for the conduct of pilot study
Jan – March, 96	Pilot study	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Undertaking the preliminary research in Taiwan – the first phase of data collection;• Validate research instruments and examines the do-ability of the research;
Nov, 96 – July, 97	Main study	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conducting the main fieldwork in Taiwan – the second phase of data collection process.

Table 5-1 The overall research procedure, timing and focus.

Sampling and Access

The fieldwork in this study consists of two main stages: the pilot study and main data collection phase. The research foci and framework for the second stage of fieldwork were refined and further developed on the basis of analysed data from the pilot study. From the experiences and difficulties encountered in the pilot study, lessons have been drawn on in the formulation of the main study. Consequently, different approaches for sampling and achieving access to the researched subjects were employed according to the various circumstances in which the two stages of data collection process took place. This subsection identifies and discusses concerns and implications connected with the ways in which sampling and access to informants were approached.

First phase of the field work: the Pilot study

The pilot study aimed to verify research instruments and examine do-ability of my methods of gathering data. My absence from Taiwan for some years meant I did not have sufficient knowledge or personal connections with those who might be useful to my research. Recognising that LEAs were now responsible for the preparation and implementation of native cultural education, it appeared in the first instance that access to LEAs was important for my research. Sampling in the pilot study was rooted in the following two considerations. First, consideration was given to those local authorities that have a reputation for initiating the development of native cultural education before other LEAs. Secondly, I deliberated whether or not a possible help could be obtained from the people who I know to gain first access to the potential institutions and informants. There

were in total eleven informants (including informal conversation) involved and data were gathered from six local educational authorities (including paying visits to four LEAs and receiving merely documentary data from the remaining two LEAs by post). The Figure 5-1 illustrates the geographical location of the areas and Table 5-2 explains what research instruments were employed in each of the studied cases.

	Documentary	Interview	Informal Interview
Pineapple	√	√	
Mango	√	√	
Banana	√		√
Grapes	√	√	
Plum	√		
Lichee	√		

Table 5-2: The research instruments employed in the studied cases.

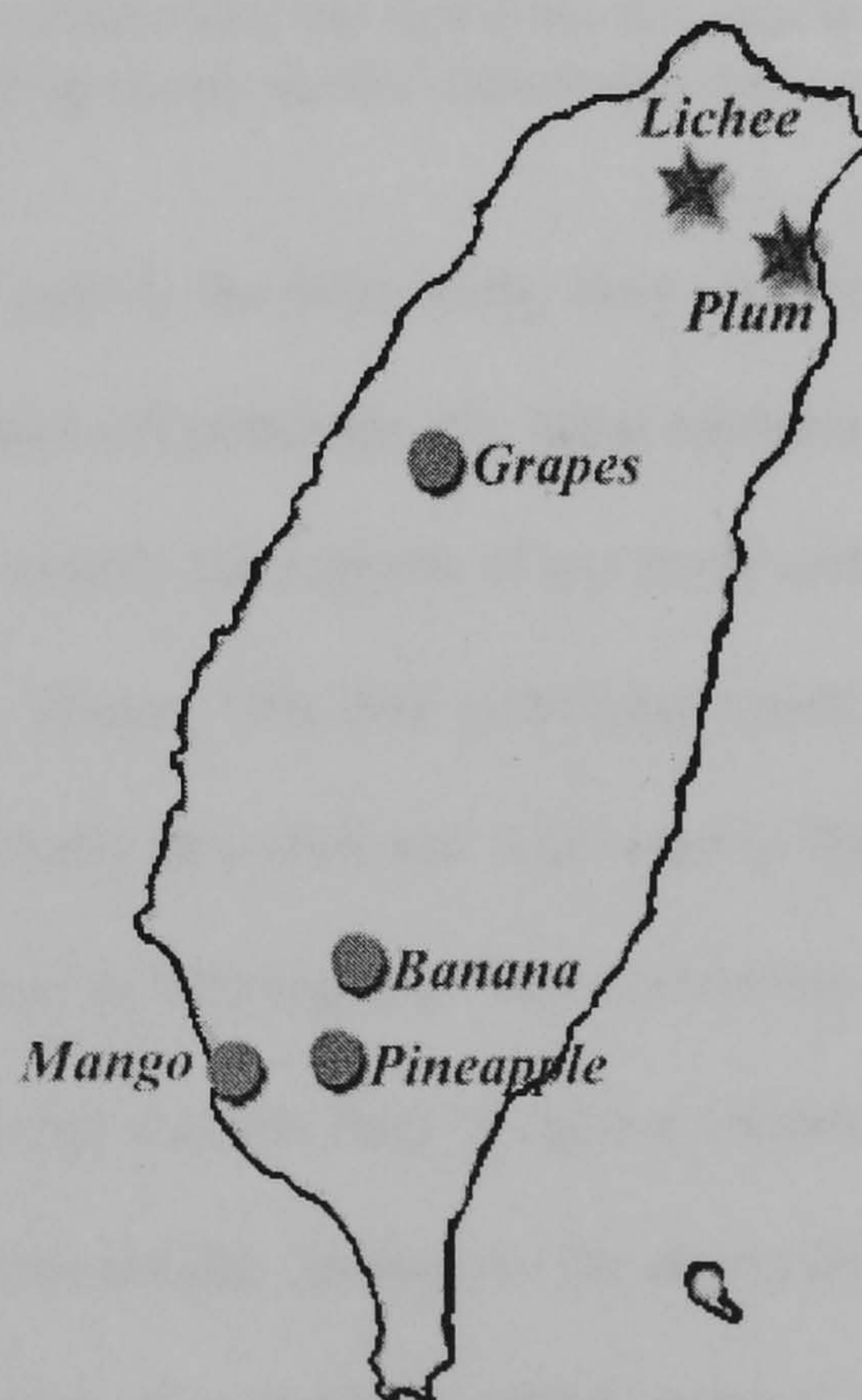


Figure 5-1: The geographical location of the studied areas in the pilot study.

Obtaining access to the informants in the first place was very difficult. Apart from a couple of initial contacts established with the help of known people, most of the contacts were made directly by phone to the local educational authorities and their numbers were obtained from the *Yellow Pages* at the initial stage. After making contact with the local authorities, I soon learnt that there was normally a preparatory committee consisting of officers of the authorities, head-teachers, teachers and academics in each LEA with the responsibility for the development of native cultural education. Securing information about the members of those preparatory committees and negotiating access to them was the next step considered. As Woods (1986) claims that the process of negotiating access is continuous:

Negotiating access, therefore, is not just about getting into an institute or group in the sense of crossing the threshold that marks it off from the outside world, but proceeding across several thresholds that mark the way to the heart of a culture (p.24).

Eleven informants took part in the pilot study, they included officers (4), head teachers (2), teacher (2), academics (3) publisher (1). Most contacts were made by phone and it was difficult to explain exactly the purpose of my study and what I wished to learn from the respondents on the phone. This had surprising result. The Officer Shen in LEA Banana, for instance, finally provided me with merely documentary data and a short informal discussion instead of offering time for an interview, which we had agreed on the phone. She told me that she was too busy to have a formal interview before the start of the long Chinese New Year holiday. Moreover, the discussion with the publisher who had participated in the project of compiling native cultural materials, promoted by the previous county magistrate in local government Pineapple, was unexpected and informal.

Yet, information related to the research interests came from an unexpected dimension. The following table shows how I managed to acquire access to the informants and what type of communication proceeded to gain information from each of the respondents.

	By Phone	Personal Network	Formal Interview	Informal Discussion
Officer Lee	√		√	
Officer Huang 1		√	√	
Officer Huang 2		√	√	
Officer Shen	√			√
Officer Tsai		√	√	
Academic Tsai		√		√
Academic Liu	√		√	
Academic Chin	√		√	
Head Teacher Lao	√	√		
Head Teacher Wang		√	√	
Teacher Kuo		√		√
Publisher Chen		√		√

("By Phone" means that I have contacted with the informants directly without any links with or knowing them before.

Table 5-3: Access to the informants and types of communication employed in the pilot study.

Second phase of the field work: the Main study

After the first stage of the field work, it became clear that great differences could be identified: first, the ways in which LEAs employed the development of native cultural education differed from area to area in terms of the political stand-point of the local government. Different approaches were identified as a result of the various definitions of native cultural education proposed by different political parties. These definitions mainly differ between the ruling political party (KMT) and the major opposition party (DPP). Secondly, discrepancies were found in terms of the cultural components of each locality.

In those local areas where there were large aboriginal settlements, for instance, greater emphasis could be observed on developing aboriginal native cultural materials.

In addition to these points, geographical location was another element considered for sampling in the main study. Data were gathered from varied local areas in different regions of the Taiwan island, including North, Middle, South, and East. This was not undertaken to make comparisons between different LEAs but to obtain an comprehensive picture of how native cultural education was being developed region to region and to provide information allowing LEAs to learn from each other. In total I visited eight LEAs during the second stage of data collection. Table 5-4 shows the political stand-point of each of the visited LEAs and Table 5-5 details the cultural components of each locality. Figure 5-2.. illustrates the locations of the visited LEAs in the different parts of the island.

	Kuomintang	DPP	Non – Partisan
Plum		√	
Papaya		√	
Lichee		√	
Grapes	√		
Pears			√
Mango	√		
Pineapple	√		
Guava	√		

Table 5-4: The political stand-point of each studied LEA in the main study.

	Aborigines	HoLao	Hakka	Chinese after 1949
Plum	(2)	√	√	√
Papaya	(2)	√	√	√
Lichee	(1)	√	√	√

Grapes	(1)	√	√	√
Pears	(1)	√	√	√
Mango	(2)	√	√	√
Pineapple	(1)	√	√	√
Guava	(1)	√	√	√

((1) means there is still a big number of aborigines settlement in the area in comparison with it is in other areas. (2) means that aboriginal groups only present a small number of population in the area.)

Table: 5-5: The cultural components of each studied localities in the main study.

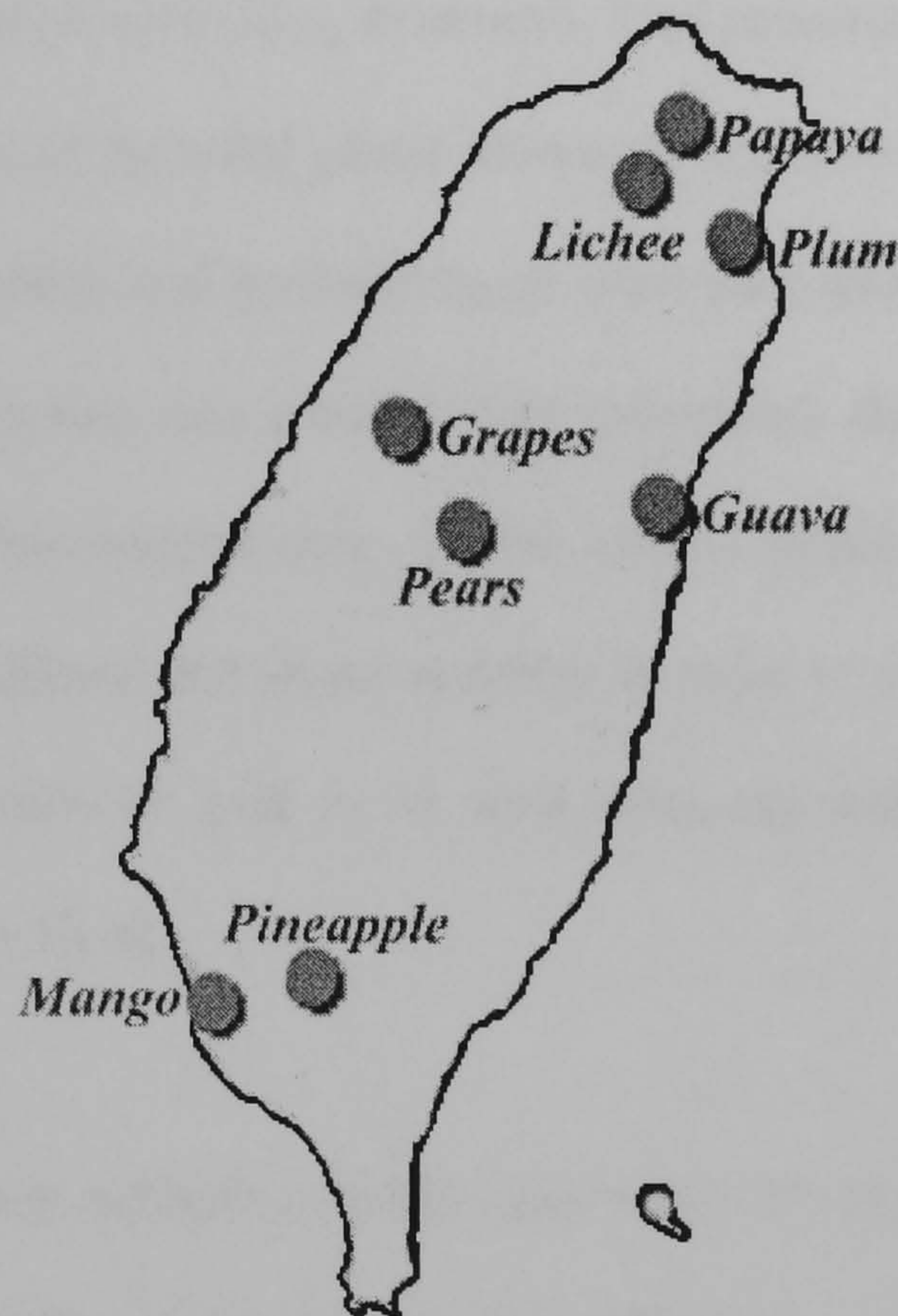


Figure 5-2: The geographical location of the visited LEAs during the main study phase.

Data collection: Research Instruments

The research aimed to explore the perspectives of key players involved in different aspects (including theory, policy-making and practice) of the development in native

cultural education. Four groups of people (policy makers both at local and central levels, academic, head teachers and classroom teachers) were targeted for interviews. Conscious of the different roles performed by head and classroom teachers in the development of native cultural education revealed in the pilot study, they are separated into two different categories. Interestingly, the informants that took part in the pilot study helped establish a personal network for me by providing useful information about potential informants or even making initial contacts with the interviewees. This assistance has benefited my main data collection activities of the third phase. However, access was primarily obtained by directly phoning respondents and the majority of interviews were arranged on the phone. In addition, some permission was granted from informants during free sessions at the conferences at which I encountered them. I often offered verbal explanation of my study and asked for contact address and phone numbers in order to make further arrangement for my visit and interview as well as to send them my written study proposal and questions. (see *Appendix No.6*)

In order to find answers to research questions (set out in this study), different techniques were utilised. These include: document collection, interview, as well as field notes taking.

Documentary

Due to the nature of the study, documentary materials have played a vital role in providing valuable resources and information. The documentary evidence was of various kinds. Since my research looks at current educational innovation, official documents were evidently important. Document analysis of relevant official regulations and records, at

both central and local level (about the development of native cultural education) provided me with a better understanding of the on-going process. To a further extent, it also has helped me to draft appropriate questions for interviews while developing a research framework. As noted by Patton (1990):

Document analysis, however, provided a behind-the-scenes look at the programmes that might not be directly observable and about which the interview might not ask appropriate questions without the leads provided through the documents. (p.245)

In the same way, native cultural teaching materials published by LEAs offered another pertinent source. These materials illustrated the development of native cultural education in each of the visited LEAs. The studied field is a main focus of the current educational reform movement and has attracted attention and criticism from both the educational sphere and the general public. Throughout the data collection period (noted in newspapers, newsletters and papers and conference proceedings), these were also gathered as documentary evidence in this study. As contextual implications appear to be very influential, this study has a historical dimension. Materials related to historical, social and cultural background of my research are employed not only to set the research scene but also to provide some background information that is essential in appreciating the studied field.

Interview

As the research aims to explore the subjects' perceptions about the research topics, interviews seemed the most appropriate approach. Their major advantages have been noted by Robson (1993):

The interview is a kind of conversation; a conversation with a purpose. Interviews carried out for research or enquiry purpose are a commonly used approach, possibly in part because the interview appears to be a quite straightforward and non-problematic way of finding things out. ...The interview is a flexible and adaptable way of finding things out. The human use of language is fascinating both as a behaviour in its own right, and for the virtually unique window that it opens on what lies behind our actions.... (pp.228-229).

Interview is considered a main data collection method in social studies for its adaptability and enabling the investigation in depth of motives and feelings. Bell (1993) argues:

The way in which a response is made (the tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation, etc) can provide information that a written response would conceal (p.9).

Different forms of interviews were adopted in my work to meet the changing needs of the research at different phases. As explained, I did not have pre-set questions or a hypothesis while conducting the pilot study. As a result, during the initial stage of interview, I remained as open as possible on the question of what information was relevant. Therefore an unstructured interview style was adopted. Later, when I became clearer about the sort of information that was most relevant, I shifted towards a more structured approach to find out more details related to specific issues of interest. This process has been described as “progressive focusing”, as Tasi (1996) in referring to his own research experiences explains:

This was a process of “progressive focusing” (CARE, 1994, p.85), in which the case studies evolved as the researcher reflected on the data collected (p.25).

After the first stage of data analysis, different sets of question (some common and some specific) were drafted for each targeted group, including policy makers, head teachers, teacher and academics. In addition, another set of questions was prepared for those

informants who are also members of the preparatory committees in different local governments. So some informants received two questionnaires. After the interview was arranged, I always sent each interviewee one copy of my study proposal and the question sheet based on their professional role. The intention in giving out questions to informants beforehand was not to ask interviewees to provide answers but to offer a clearer idea about what sort of issues were of most interest. Thus, a semi-structured approach was chosen. I asked certain pre-set questions while allowing interviewees freedom and time to discuss and raise their own topics as the interview progressed. This method was the main strategy during the second phase of my fieldwork. The semi-structured interview, as Wragg (1984) states, “allows respondents to express themselves at some length, but offers enough shape to prevent aimless rambling” (p.184). This approach is also known, according to Robson (1993), as the *focused interview* “which allows people’s views and feelings to emerge, but which gives the interviewer some control” (p.240). Sarantakos (1994) makes a claim for the focused interviews, which appear to confirm with the needs of my study:

The aim of the focused interview depends primarily on the research goals and the specific interests of the researcher and the study. In general, however, this method aims towards maximisation of the potential of the study, in at least two ways, namely by allowing the discussion to go beyond the originally planned themes and topics, and by encouraging the respondents to discuss as many issues of the themes as possible (p.185).

Tape-recording was only used with the permission of interviewees. During the pilot study, most of the interviews were conducted with detailed-notes taking but without being tape-recorded. It was very difficult to explain in detail about the intention of my visit to the informants and impolite to make too many requests (e.g. time for interviews,

permission for tape-recording) of the informants on the phone as I was a total stranger. Largely, therefore, I did not have a chance to ask permission to use a tape-recorder before meeting the interviewees for the first time. Some of the informants, especially those officers who are in charge of official affairs, refused to grant permission whereas some informants, such as academics, agreed to being recorded. Aware of the lessons learnt from the pilot study, permission for tape-recording was mainly negotiated during the time between the informants received my written document (including study proposal, name card and questions) and the date scheduled for the interview. In those cases when I did not have an opportunity for negotiation before the time scheduled for interviews, I then asked permission from the informants just before their interview took place. Most of the interviews were tape-recorded. Following each interview, a card was sent out to every individual thanking them for participating in this study. There were in total 60 interviews conducted, covering informants from the four targeted groups. The following table presents the numbers of informants interviewed in each group.

	Head Teacher	Teacher	Academic	Officer
Number	13	13	16	18

Table 5-6: The numbers of interviewees in each of the targeted groups.

Field notes

In addition to carefully keeping information about the process before interviews took place (such as negotiation made on interviews, date, location, travel and so on), each

interview conducted was recorded with detailed notes on the discussions, whether recorded or not. At the same time, I also kept my research diary. The diary included notes about my own feelings, ideas inspired by the interactions with interviewees or by talks given at the attended conferences, reflection on dilemmas, bias and what had appeared to be important in terms of the methodological aspect (e.g. implications observed from using the native dialect during some of the interviews and any inter-cultural complexity between myself and interviewees, misunderstandings, or differences in values and assumptions) throughout the research process.

It is necessary to mention the reason why observation was not employed for data gathering while designing this study. Although some schools had taken the teaching of native cultures on board while the research was in progress, there did not seem to be much related activity in most classrooms (as the study took place) before the official implementation for native cultural education. Though unexpected chances emerged to participate in some lessons and teachers' training programmes during the data gathering process, observational data obtained from those occasions were only used as another source for cross-checking where relevant.

Problems Encountered during the Research Process

Gaining Access: Negotiation and Travelling

One of the ambitions of this study was to investigate how native cultural education was being developed in current educational innovation and how it was being implemented in

different local areas. As a result, the first question for data collection was ‘how actually to approach the information required?’ I decided to rent an apartment in Taipei, the capital city of Taiwan, during data collection period for the following two reasons: to facilitate access to potential resources (such as governmental documents, relevant literature, conferences, key players: policy makers, academics) from the major educational institutions all mainly located in Taipei, (including national libraries, Ministry of Education, Taiwan National University, and other educational organisations). Second, considerations were given to communications as there are often more means of transport from the capital and therefore access to a wide range of areas.

Apart from difficulties experienced in reaching informants, the importance of gaining their trust was another lesson learnt at an early stage of the first phase of data collection process. As mentioned, in the pilot study most contacts were made by phone without having sufficient time to give an explanation for my study before meeting them. These restrictions have caused one informant in LEA Pineapple to be suspicious of my identity. Though we had talked on the phone, prior to my visit, she still thought that I was a newspaper journalist. I had to show her my student card in order to identify myself as a research student before she agreed to carry on our conversation. The importance of building up trust and rapport with informants at an initial stage, is recognised by Woods (1986) who comments:

The same major attributes, revolving around trust, curiosity and unaffectedness, are required in interviewing as in other aspects of the research. People will not just talk to anyone. ...but above all, there is once more a need to establish a feeling of trust and rapport. A good test as to what

is involved in these qualities is to consider the sort of person you would be prepared to confide some of your own innermost secrets in (p.62).

Bearing this in mind, identifications such as name cards, a school letter (a proof of my identity from the Department of Educational Studies, University of York) were then prepared while I conducted the main study. Every informant was given a copy of my study proposal, questions and name card after the initial contacts were made. An unexpected benefit of using name card was it also provided information to respondents to get in touch with me when needed. For example, there was a change in the scheduled date for the interview with Head Teacher Chang and she phoned me at home a day before I was due to visit her. Her having my number saved me a journey that would have taken approximately 3 hours one way.

Being unfamiliar with most areas where data were gathered, travelling was a major problem. For a research study like mine, a great amount of time needs to be spent for travelling as data must be gathered from far ranging parts of the Taiwan island. Apart from being time-consuming, I often felt stressed when having to travel to a new place for the first time. To make sure that I would arrive at the meeting place on time, I normally drove to places that were about two hours from where I was on the date of scheduled interviews. However, I had to travel by public transport one day before the appointment (including air-plane, train and bus) to other areas which involved longer distances. Taking stress levels and time-consumption into account, I always tried to arrange all interviews in the same area in one visit. Thus, I sometimes stayed in one area for a few days. Yet, I

often needed to pay several visits to one area when the scheduled date of my visit was not convenient. As Bell (1993) has reminded us:

People who agree to be interviewed deserve some consideration and so you will need to fit in with their plan, however inconvenient it may be for you (p.96).

Apart from demanding time, data collection is also an expensive process. In addition, to the rent of an apartment in the capital, Taipei, during the main study, the travel costs were also high. (I have had to take more than thirty domestic flights together during the whole data collection process, significantly adding to the transport costs).

Difficulties Experienced in the Actual Contact of Interviews

Reflecting on the actual contact of the interviews, several points stand out. Except for a couple of interviewees, encountered when carrying out pilot study, most interviews involved me meeting informants for the first time. Although I have always made initial contacts (e.g. talking on the phone, sending written information and so on) prior to the meeting, I was still a stranger to them. Sensitive to this, I tried to start the discussions by giving a more detailed explanation about my study or expressing my appreciation for their participation and avoid opening with challenging or intimidating questions. I have, in fact, noticed that most interviewees became more relaxed responding easier as the interview proceeded. Also, I tried to be as natural and humble as possible when encountering interviewees and that resulted in a more productive interaction between informants and myself, which will be illustrated further. An appropriate attitude that an interviewer adopts, as Wood (1986) advises, determines the quality of his and her research. He explains:

The more 'natural' the interviewer is, the more chances of success there will be in this task. 'Being natural' means just that - one does not adopt a special pose as 'researcher', 'expert', 'bureaucrat', but relates to people on a person to person basis (p.65).

Further, contrary to Becker's (cited by Sarantakos, 1994) suggestions which emphasises that interviewer should be "controlling the interview situation" (Sarantakos, 1994, p.189), I have experienced that it was nearly impossible to control the interview when the respondent was too dominating. One interviewee, encountered during the pilot study, Officer Huang 1, for instance, started giving his prepared responses before I began to ask my questions. Although the information was provided for research purposes, I still felt as an interviewer I needed to adopt the role of "a listener" (Chen, 1996, p.85).

Similarly, sometimes I allowed for digressions and would contribute to the conversation. Being an overseas student in Britain conducting research in my own country, interviewees often showed wide-ranging interest in my student life in general and British educational system in particular. Interviewees inevitably contribute a lot during interviewing as discussed by Potter and Wetherell (1987). They claim that the orthodox requirements for an interviewer to produce steady, unambiguous and systematic responses that can be analysed are problematic. The ideal interview under the orthodox requirements is to have minimal social interaction between the interviewer and the respondents by limiting interviewer's role to the production of clear responses that reveal 'reality'. They dispute this model, arguing:

In fact interviewing is a very interesting piece of social interaction, where the interviewer contributes as much as the interviewee. There the orthodox idea that the interviewer should be as neutral as possible, becomes highly problematic. (1987, p.99)

Vigorous interaction between interviewees and myself sometimes resulted in interviews being too time-consuming. Some of the interviews took two to four times longer than expected (between 50 minutes to one hour). The interview with Head Teacher Hu, for example, in the end took three and half instead of the expected one hour.

With regards to location, Wragg (1984) has reminded interviewers of the importance of an appropriate interviewing environment. I was aware of the lesson learnt from my previous study (conducted in a British primary school) that the location can affect the interviewing to some degree. For instance, the noise from pupils in the playground disturbed my concentration as well as that of the interviewees when interviews took place in classrooms. When tackling my research in Taiwan, I have learnt that I was not in a position to negotiate where to conduct interviews. In most interviews, especially with officers and head teachers, the discussions were often disturbed by continuous interruptions although the interviews normally took place in the respondents' offices. The interview with Officer Tsai, for instance, the conversation needed to stop six times (I kept record on that) because of phone calls as well as people coming in to discuss with the informant. I often wrote my research diary and field notes when interviewees were occupied by other matters.

It is necessary to mention that I once needed to conduct two group interviews (with a group of four class teachers in the County Plum and a group of two class teachers in the County Grapes for the sake of the interviewees' convenience. During the interview, I

noticed that respondents shown some hesitations in expressing their opinions in front of their colleagues. In the same way, I found that the interviewees tended to ask the senior teacher in the group to give his opinions before revealing their own ideas. Therefore, I needed to encourage some to speak in order to obtain responses from the entire groups, as Fontana and Frey (1994) advise, to “ensure the fullest possible coverage of the topic” (p.365). Further, Fontana and Frey (1994) remind researchers to be sensitive to the interaction within the interviewed group when conducting a group interview. They explain:

The emerging group culture may interfere with individual expression, the group may be dominated by one person, the group format makes it difficult to research sensitive topics, “group-think” is a possible outcome, and the requirements for interviewer skills are greater because of group dynamics. (p.365)

Another problem of the use of interviews as a research tool is the great amount of time required for transcribing interview tape into text. According to the figure shown by the Minnesota Centre for Social Research, the ratio of transcribing time to tape time is 4:1. One needs four hours to transcribe an hour of a taped interview. (Patton, 1990, p.349) Though the interview was conducted in my own language, it was still very time-consuming because of the complexities of writing in Chinese characters. On average, it took six hours to transcribe an hour interview tape and an hour interview data is normally transcribed into eight to twelve A4 pages. It became frustrating when dealing with interview tapes which lasted more than two hours. It is necessary to comment that I kept recording specific information about that interview (e.g. necessary follow up questions; unexpected issues; inspirations from the interviewee’s responses and so on) on an A4

paper(s) along with the transcribing process. That information then became another source of reference for identifying key themes from interview transcripts at the early stage of data analysis.

Transcribing Interview Tapes

Considering the amount of time needed for transcribing all interview tapes in my study, another problem arose - should interviews be transcribed verbatim or in summary. Potter & Wetherel (1987) suggest that the whole interview should be transcribed word-for-word, as interviews are pieces of conversation within which both researcher and informant play equal roles. Some disagree (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) saying that one only needs to transcribe the main focal points of interviewee's response.

After deliberate considerations, I decided to transcribe the tape verbatim for two reasons. Acknowledging the lesson learnt from dealing with the interview data gathered from the pilot study, first of all, it was not possible to employ the information without transcribing it word by word. Although attempting to summarise key points from the data at the first instance, I experienced great difficulties in translating the summarised data from one language into another when writing up my research report (from Chinese to English). As a result, I had to go back to start the transcribing process from the beginning. Secondly, misinterpretations could occur when applying data from one to the other language, without having information from the whole interview conversation. Despite the stress and exhaustion experienced during the long as well as tiring process, I found I was becoming more familiar with the data and did not need to worry about missing out information from

the tapes. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) have also pointed out the advantage of transcribing:

Transcribing is for the most part a slog. However, it does have one major advantage. The length of time the researcher has to spend with the data in order to transcribe them accurately means that she is also developing familiarity with the data. (p.265)

Taking field notes

The major problem confronting me in using field notes as another data collection technique was the limited time allowed for note-taking. As mentioned, detailed note-taking in the pilot study phase had become important evidential sources as some of the interviews were not tape-recorded. During the interviewing, I had to record as many details as possible when trying to concentrate on the conversations with informants. However, some informants were very thoughtful to stop for a couple of minutes to wait for me to write my notes.

Apart from my research diary, detailed field notes were kept along with interviews throughout the main study process regardless of the use of tape-recording. Notes were normally made by scribbling down the key points or writing in verbatim words that appeared to be valuable to my research. (Southworth, 1995, p.45; Spradley, 1979, p.73). I tried to complete more detailed field notes by expanding the key points and phrase jotted down during the interviewing on the same day when my memory was still fresh. But it was a challenge to do so when I had an intensive schedule for interviewing during my visit to one area. As mentioned, some interviews with people in the same region were scheduled together during my short stay (2-5 days). I sometimes had to conduct a few

interviews in a day. It was therefore important to keep a clear record on each of the interviews conducted on the same day to avoid confusion. Nevertheless, I sometimes experienced difficulties in doing so as there was not enough time left between interviews (e.g. I normally had to travel to meet interviewees within the same region, such as moving from one school to the next) and I often felt exhausted after an intensive schedule. Yet, both research diary and field notes were the important evidential sources for cross checking with data gathered through the use of other research tools.

Ethical Issues:

Simons (1977) has argued that in case study research the inter-personal dimension is an integral part of the research and trust is the basis for the exchange of information. In the same way, Burgess (1989) emphasises the importance of dynamics in the relation between the researcher and those researched. In respecting and appreciating every participant involved in the study, I have aimed to be as honest and open as possible throughout the process of data collection and analysis. The informants were given a copy of the following documents including my name card, study proposal and a list of interested research questions prior to the scheduled interview date. Before the interviews took place, I also explained to every informant in person that the information provided would remain confidential and would be only used for research purposes. I was very aware that my research was 'sensitive' because: first, it was sometimes hard for informants to make statements without involving their personal political stand-point. As one of the interviewee encountered at an early stage, who refused to grant me permission for tape-recording the interview, said:

I am not criticising the government. I am not in the position to speak for any political party or support a particular pressure group. They are merely my personal opinions. That is why I said that there is no need for tape-recording. (field notes, 10/03/1997, p.35.)

Secondly, the research field was sensitive in that it aims to look at different perspectives (theory, policy and practices) of key players in the development of native cultural education, in which conflicting and contradicting views can be found. One interviewee, a member of the preparatory committee in LEA Grapes, complained about the ways in which the local educational authority is implementing native culture teaching and asked me not to pass on her comments to the officer leading the committee.

As mentioned earlier, further, some of the initial contacts with interviews were made through a personal network. Although it was very useful to have help from people I know in gaining access to informants, it has also resulted in difficulties in scheduling the time for interviews. It often took a long time to arrange an interview convenient for both sides through another person. In addition, it sometimes caused great inconveniences and pressure. For instance, one of the interviewees kindly scheduled an unexpected interview for me with a close friend of hers without consulting me about the time. Since I very much appreciated the help and kindness offered, it was not easy for me to say 'no' to her after the arrangement had been made though the scheduled time was very inconvenient for me. I was only told about the appointment the evening before and had to rush to catch the earliest flight in the next morning to reach the meeting on time. (I was back at home in Kaohsiung and the interview was arranged in Taipei, four hundreds kilo meters away).

METHODOLOGY

As a mark of respect for my informants, I asked them whether or not they would like to have a copy of the interview report and have an opportunity to comment on it if necessary. None felt this need and agreed to allow me to employ the collected data in any way in which I felt appropriate. I believe the trust given by the interviewees partly resulted from the respect, honesty, and openness I tried to show when listening. Also, most informants expressed appreciation for my efforts in travelling to visit them and for my enthusiasm in conducting this research project. Some of the interviewees, especially teachers, mentioned that they felt surprised and respected to be able to talk about their opinions with me in person rather than filling out questionnaires, which they are often asked to do for other research studies.

The trust shown by informants, nevertheless, also placed a special ethical responsibility on me as a researcher (Tasi, 1996, p,26). As mentioned, the interviews were conducted in Chinese; therefore I have been aware of the responsibility involved in representing the opinions of my interviewees fairly and precisely in another language. In order to achieve this, a massive amount of time has been spent on checking and re-checking transcripts, making the effort to find exact expressions for the Chinese in English. All sources were fully protected by anonymity though none of them requested it. Interviewees are identified by their roles and with only their surname presented in the report. In a few exceptions where the last name is the same, I further identify sources by using numbers (e.g. Academic Chen 1, Academic Chen 2). Referring to local authorities, I assigned to each the name of a particular fruit, for example, County Pineapple.

Section Three: Data Analysis

Data analysis, as described by many writers (Southworth, 1995; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Horbury, 1990; Merraim 1988; Burgess, 1084), is an on-going process which takes place throughout the research. Merriam (1988) has claimed:

The final product of a case study is shaped by the data that are collected and the analysis that accompanies the entire process. Without ongoing analysis one runs the risk of ending up with data that are unfocused, repetitious, and overwhelming in the sheer volume of material that needs to be processed... (p.124)

On-going analysis has been undertaken throughout with a specific focus at different stages of my research study. Documentary analysis (e.g. official documents, relevant literature) was the main task during the pre-field work phase and has provided essential background knowledge for designing the study at a very early stage. In the same way, the findings analysed (from the first phase of my fieldwork, the pilot study) have provided substantive information for formulating a clearer research framework for my enquiry before seeking evidence and explanations from the field. Further, the main data collection process was also accompanied with continued analysis and research formulation. To demonstrate how the findings presented in the thesis were developed from the collected data through the on-going analysis process, details relating to how the different sources of data were managed, interpreted and presented at different stages of research process will be provided in the following discussion. The task of analysis, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) have described, is to provide:

The best means to ‘make sense’ of the data in ways that will facilitate the continuing unfolding of the inquiry, and, second, leads to a maximal

understanding (in the sense of *Verstehen*) of the phenomena being studied.
(p.224)

Interview data

With regards to this data (from both pilot study and main field work), several steps have been taken during the process. After each interview tape was listened to and transcribed. They were kept in four files according to the role of respondents (officers, head teachers, teachers and academic). Each copy of transcription was labelled with numbers and colour stickers. (e.g. red stickers for the interviews with Academic; A4 means the fourth transcriptions of in this file).

Much time was spent on reading through the transcriptions. This was doubly important in that all the interview data were in Chinese. The importance of becoming familiar with transcripts has been stressed by Hitchcock & Hughes (1995) who state:

The process of reading and re-reading the materials will engender a sense of their coherence as a whole...This process of familiarization then is a fundamental prerequisite to the successful analysis of these kinds of materials.
(p.173)

I then started a process of coding with highlighter pens and colour stickers. Coding, as Hitchcock & Hughes (1995) argue, is itself part of the process of analysis and helps the researcher assign 'meaning' to events and activities. (p.299). In the same way, Miles and Huberman (1984) also comment:

To review a set of field-notes, transcribed or synthesized, and to dissect them meaningfully, while keeping the relations between the parts intact, is the stuff of analysis. This part of analysis involves how you differentiate and combine the data you have retrieved and the reflections you make about this information. (p.56)

Under the influence of “grounded theory” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), three forms of coding (open, axial and selective coding) were used when analysing data before themes were finally identified and developed. (Sarantakos, 1994, pp.303-304).

Open coding

In this report, I started the open coding process by working on very large sheets of paper, analysing responses question by question. Studying four files of transcripts separately, all answers to the same question within the same group of informants were dealt with by using key words written on the sheet. The key issues or emerging categories in relation to a particular question were noted. In order to identify similarities and differences in the emerged categories among four groups of transcripts, I then compared and constructed key words written on the big sheets of paper. In addition, the notes taken from the process of transcribing interview data from tapes into texts were also used for reference along with open coding. A set of initial codes and concepts were then developed at the end of this stage.

Axial coding

Axial coding is a process that involves “ studying the initial codes, attempts to identify the axis of key concepts” (Sarantakos, 1994, p. 303). Before I carried out the axial coding process, I went back to study and summarise every interview transcript. Each was analysed and classified on the basis of key concepts identified earlier. This analysis was worked out on A4 papers and each interview transcript was summarised by using short

extracts. To identify and locate the extracts later, each of them was written with a page number. There were two reasons for doing this: first, it was hoped that the gathered data could be reduced on the basis of the initial codes learnt earlier. Taking the large number of transcripts into account, secondly, I assumed that a chart or table summarised from each transcript would help to make retrieving data more effective later on.

The axial coding process started from studying the sheets summarised from each interview transcript and the initial codes learnt from previous stage. In order to discover information related to preliminary concepts, patterns including causes, consequences, interactions and strategies were noted and grouped. As a result, categories and sub-categories began to emerge and concepts identified earlier became evident. In the end of this process, I was able to draw charts for each of the main themes identified within different dimensions addressed in the thesis.

Selective coding

After the major themes were clearly identified, I started looking for substantive evidence, both positive and negative, that would illustrate and explain the themes (including the categories and sub-categories under the themes) from the data. To assist in handling a large quantity of data, I used two notebooks (each of them consisted of five sections and each section distinguished by different colours) when undertaking selective coding. Sub-categories and categories under a certain theme were then grouped in the same section. By using the summary charts as the index, information and quotations connected to certain sub-categories started falling into place from the transcripts. Locations of relevant

statements became clearly noted along with each of the patterns identified under different sub-categories. It is interesting to note that the summary sheets for each interview transcript have provided me with quick access to approach to relevant information without having to go through all the transcripts page by page once again.

Translations

I analysed the data mainly in Chinese before completing the selective coding process. Sharing this language with the interviewees, I first transcribed and analysed in Chinese considering this would help me draw out the most relevant comments and ensure accuracy of the data. Following the three coding steps, I started translating into English those statements and quotations that were possible to employ in discussion. These I typed out and saved in different files according to the categories and sub-categories identified above. Though translation was another time-consuming process, nevertheless, I was able once again to verify the data since I could go back and read through transcripts before translating them into English.

Field Notes

As mentioned, each interview was recorded with detailed field notes whether a tape recorder was used or not. A coding process was also carried out on the field notes after the main themes were identified. Details associated with emerged themes, categories and sub-categories were noted and highlighted by different colour pens for cross checking the data later on.

Documentary

The documentary data were numbered and stored into five categories according to the nature of the source throughout the whole project. These five categories include: A - articles in English; P - papers and articles in Chinese; N - newspaper articles; O - official documents; and B – books, in English and Chinese. After the completion of the pilot study, documentary data were classified under issues and themes derived from the first stage of fieldwork as well as from research interests. (e.g. historical context of Taiwan; introduction of native cultural education; native cultural education and multicultural education). I used different colour stickers for each of the initial categories employed when grouping the data at this stage. Also, notes were taken from reading throughout the research project. Every reviewed document, including articles, papers, and books, was attached with a sheet(s) on which key points and issues from the reading were summarised and identified. After the major themes had been isolated from the interview data, I went back to review them in detail and carried out a selective coding of this source. Information related to categories, concepts and themes that have been grounded in the empirical data were noted. In addition, I used another notebook with sections divided according to themes and locations of each relevant source recorded under the categories and sub-categories within a certain themes.

In qualitative research, there is a need of the researchers to delay their detailed review of literature so that their research primarily is influenced by the empirical data rather than published results of previous studies and research projects. Many have discussed (Vulliamy & Webb, 1992; Riley, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) the advantages of the

method of gathering and analysing the data before undertaking a detailed reading. For example, Riley (1990) expresses the same opinion, arguing the researcher should, “try really to hear what your own data have to say” (p.47) before listening or reading established sources. Vulliamy and Webb (1992) explain:

There are two reasons for this. Firstly, such prior reading is likely to create pre-existing categories and concepts which may then be inappropriately imposed on the data... Secondly, many of the categories emerging from qualitative data are likely to be unanticipated ones and therefore researchers will be unaware of which themes in the secondary literature to pursue until their data analysis has been completed. (p.221)

Acknowledging the themes that emerged from the previous data analysis process, I found helped me to select data, which were really ‘relevant’, from the massive amount of documentary sources collected. Further, the summary sheets for each reviewed publication produced at an earlier stage has been very useful when approaching the data. Before applying potential quotations (selected from the analysed documentary sources in Chinese), a great amount of time was spent on trying out different translations in English. They were saved in different files under the categories and sub-categories identified earlier and filed with those from interview transcripts when relevant.

It is worthwhile mentioning that I also had to return and look for new literature to help me further explore and explain the unexpected issues that emerged and other substantive areas identified from the analysed data. (e.g. the possible approaches for native language teaching identified in other empirical accounts). This process, as Hughes (1994) illustrates from her experiences in conducting her PhD study, is “more in a realms of a leaning process in itself” (p.42). My search for new literature and consequently new

knowledge has enabled me to connect my own study with other 'foreign' research accounts in the field. These link-ups broadened my research analysis and have informed the final shape of my thesis.

Trustworthiness

Despite the strengths of case study, this approach is still criticised on the grounds that it lacks scientific rigour as the data analysis process is not often "fully disclosed and may therefore be unduly influenced by the personal bias and prejudices of the researcher." (Stone, 1994, p.65) To remedy this, establishing trustworthiness of enquiry has become a major task in qualitative research study. Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp.294-301) have proposed four criteria that appear to reflect more faithfully the assumptions behind the strategy of dealing with qualitative case study data. They are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (see also Robson, 1993, p.403-407). In order to achieve these components, I adopted 'triangulation' as the technique to examine and cross-check data. Triangulation, as Burgess (1984) argues, refers to the use of more than one method of data collection within a single study (p.163). In other words, the use of triangulation, according to Cohen and Manion (1994), is to "help to overcome the problem of 'method-boundedness', as it has been termed" (p.223). Further, Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) have identified the importance of using triangulation in case studies, stating:

Such triangulation can, in addition, also help the researcher to establish the validity of the findings by cross-referencing, for example, different perspectives obtained from different sources, or by identifying different ways in which the phenomena are being perceived. Triangulation is commonly used in social research but, clearly, case study researchers will inevitably become involved in the triangulation of data sources. However, this will be within-case triangulation, at least to begin with (p.323).

Nevertheless, Hammersley and Atkison (1983) have reminded us to be cautious when using triangulation:

Triangulation is not a simple test. Even if the results tally, this provides no guarantee that the inferences involved are correct. It may be that all the inferences are invalid, that as a result of systematic or even random error they may lead to the same, incorrect conclusion. What is involved in triangulation is not the combination of different kinds of data per se, but rather an attempt to relate different sorts of data in such a way as to counteract various possible threats to the validity of our analysis (p.199).

There are therefore two types of triangulation applied in this study. The first type is triangulation of perspectives (e.g. perspectives obtained from different interviewed groups). Data were assessed *within method* in terms of different viewpoints for the research issues obtained from various parties involved (see Delamont, 1992). During the analysis process, secondly, data was examined *between methods*, including interview, documentary and field notes, through which data were gathered. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) describe this as a process during which the research is:

constantly moving backwards and forwards between data and analysis, and between data and any theories and concepts developed, and between the data and other studies or literature. (p. 297)

To avoid possible misinterpretation in a process of translation that might alter the meaning from the original language (especially from my interview data in Chinese) all translated statements and quotations have been double-checked with the original transcripts before being accepted.

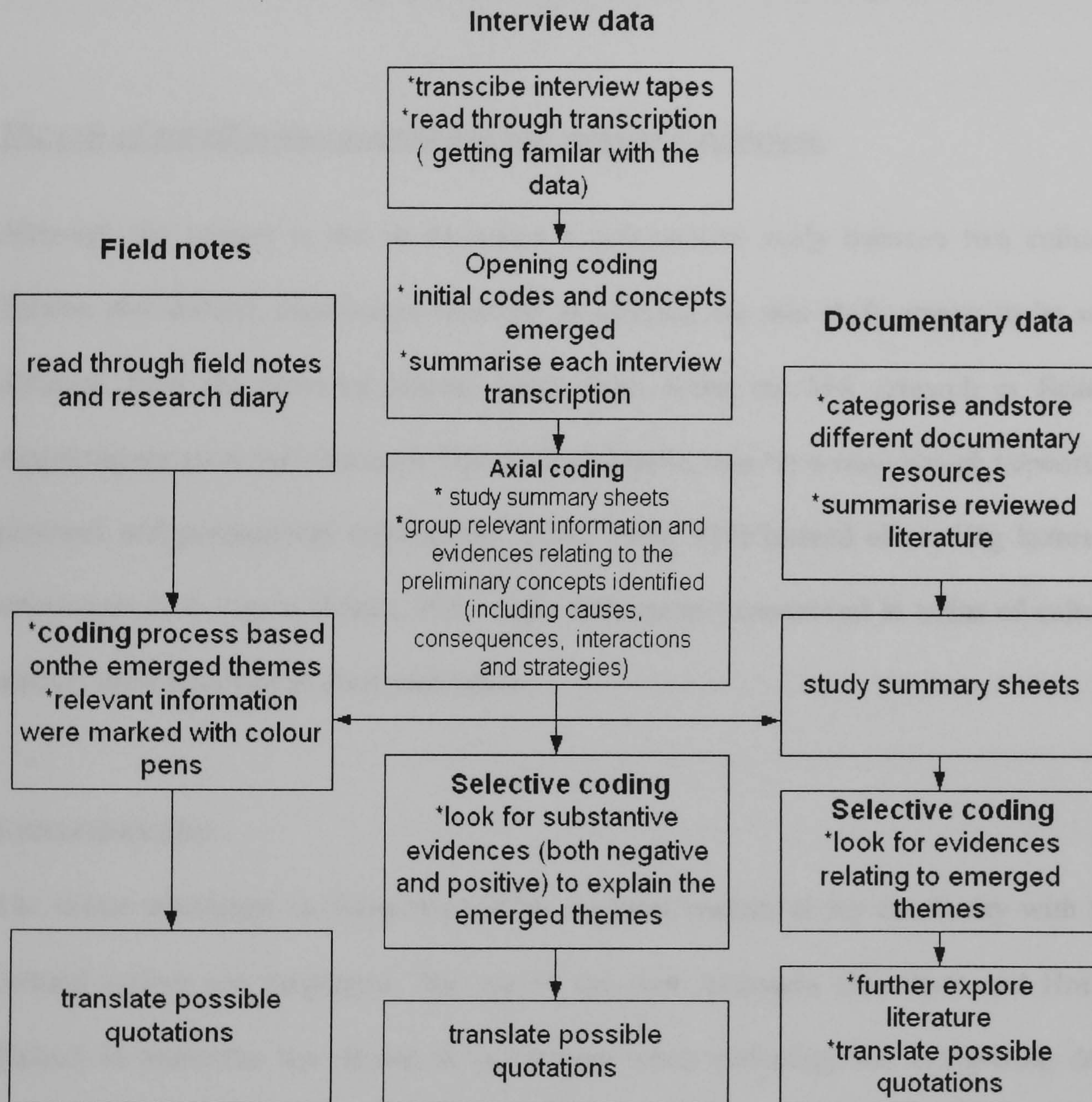


Figure 5-3: The whole data analysis process.

Section Four: Reflections on Methodology: Lessons Learnt from the Research Process

I would like to conclude this chapter by reflecting on some methodological issues, in turn cultural, personal, as well as professional concerns thrown up by my process of research.

The role of myself in the research process: cultural experiences

Although the project is not in its nature a comparative study between two cultures, Taiwan and Britain, experiences obtained in carrying out this study appear to be very different from the previous lessons learnt from doing my MA research in Britain. Acquiring access to informants in Taiwan, for instance, was “in a way through network of personal and professional relationship’ (Tsai, 1996. P24) instead of sending letters to informants as it was in Britain. Yet, major differences experienced in terms of cultural aspects were observed as discussed below.

Cultural Insider

The major advantage in doing research in my own country is my familiarity with the cultural setting and languages. The use of my own languages (Mandarin and HoLao dialect) in particular has shown its advantages when collecting and interpreting data. During the interview with Academic Chen 3, for example, I learnt that the interaction with the informant became more active and fruitful when I started talking in HoLao dialect. The interviewee told me that he was very happy to see young people like me who are able and happy to speak the dialect. (as a result of Mandarin policy, most of the young generation are not familiar with their own native language). He then offered me extra time

for a second interview on the next day when our discussion could not be completed during the time scheduled. Another major advantage in using my own languages in conducting the research was it became easier to evaluate the data, including empirical evidences and documentary sources in Chinese. I was able to comprehend data without having to struggle with the lack of confidence that I encountered when using a foreign language.

In contrast, there are disadvantages in carrying out research in a language different from the language that the data is intended to be presented in. Apart from the pains experienced in translating the data from Chinese to English, I have encountered great difficulties in finding proper and precise ways to represent expressions within which I can record unique cultural elements. As a result, a great amount of time and effort have been expended during the data analysis process in order to translate accurately data from one language in another. This is in contrast to what was learnt from doing research in a primary school in Britain when I experienced difficulties in dealing with the gathered data in a second language but was able to use the informants' statements straight away.

Cultural Outsider

Being an overseas student in Britain conducting a research in my home country, Taiwan, I was also seen as a cultural outsider in some respects. First of all, I was aware that the informants appeared to be very relaxed talking to me during discussions. I assumed that it might be partly because the research report is not published in Chinese and I did not belong to any educational institution in Taiwan. Due to the role I was playing, further,

some informants were very curious about my student life in Britain and how the British educational system was run in general. Head Teacher Hu, for instance, kept asking about education in Britain (e.g. what I have learnt from studying in Britain; what I perceived from British primary schools; how do people practice 'native cultural education' in Britain and so on) and also kept taking notes from my responses during our discussion. As a result of being away from Taiwan for many years, before undertaking the project, I was not so confident on my background understanding as I had been about the researched issues and context at the very beginning. Nevertheless, it turned out that I was able to explore the interested issues more freely and broadly without having pre-assumptions or a bias about the whole research context.

Personal Level

Despite the anxiety, stress and high expenses (e.g. the rent for the apartment; cost for travel) involved in completing the study, the whole research process has been enjoyable. I was able to visit many places on the island for the first time and met people from diverse areas. Some of interviewees encountered, especially those from the practical sectors, appeared to have great enthusiasm for developing native cultural education in Taiwan. Having talked to them, I was often inspired and encouraged by their attitudes towards their participation. In addition to giving their perspectives related to my research concerns, the interviewees have been great help by offering their support in different ways. For example, Academic Chi arranged accommodation and his student to help me during my stay in County Guava; Head Teacher Chang and Ho faxed me up-date documentary data one year after the interview; Academic Chang sent me the most recent

research report done in the field, published in 1998; Academic Sung e-mailed me with a reading list for my references. The hospitality, help and support received from the informants encouraged me to go through this research process especially when experiencing difficulties.

Professional Level

Reflecting on the professional level, there are three points needing to be mentioned. The conduct of the pilot study, first of all, has shown its value in many ways (e.g. shaping the research focus and framework; providing methodological lessons in data collection and analysis) for the follow-up main study. Undertaking a pilot scheme is particularly valuable in a research study like mine, which in a way explores a new field in a special context. The newness of my research field meant there was a lack of literature about the subject, therefore the preliminary study helped to broaden the scope of my research at a preparatory stage.

Despite the pains and difficulties experienced in translating data from one language to another, the process has its benefits. It will provide lessons for other overseas students to be aware of the possible methodological dilemmas when doing research like mine. Also, it will provide people who are interested in Taiwanese education with an easier access to the background information related to its cultural, historical and educational context.

The valuable data gained from my full interaction with the informants, finally, indicate a need for further development in applying qualitative strategy in educational research. This

study has its limitations in lacking statistical evidence for supporting, and generalising about the research findings. Nevertheless, I have perceived from the whole process as well as from the respondents a need for researchers to engage more with informants and with the immediate on-the-ground context. This approach would benefit future studies in educational research.

CHAPTER SIX: APPROACHES

Section One: The Recent Development of Native Culture Education - Central Level

It is widely recognised that ideas about native cultures were current in education before the establishment of the new subjects. As many academics (Chen, 1979; Shia, 1988, 1990; Wang, 1988; Shui, 1990; Chin, 1993; Huang, 1994; Lin, 1997) point out, native cultures materials were considered to be integrated into other curriculum subjects, such as history, geography, science, art, music and so on instead of being a single subject. For instance, the curriculum specifications amended in 1948 required pupils to learn some local and national history and geography in order to develop their affection for their homeland, the country and further to comprehend the world (Ministry of Education, 1948, p.214)

Emphasis was placed on developing the Taiwanese people's national spirit and identity in the government policies during the immediate post-war period. Under these circumstances, native cultural education was seen as attached to national spirit education (Huang, 1994; Lin, 1997, San, *et al.*, 1997). The notion of native cultures at that time was still under the shadow of the promotion of great Chinese traditions in the society. But the termination of Martial Law in 1987 is described as "a turning point"; since then Taiwanese native cultures have become visible once again in the society. (Huang, 1994;

Ou, *et al.*, 1996; Liu, 1995; Huang, 1997; Lin, 1997; San, *et al.*, 1997). Political reform towards democracy coincided with a revival and new recognition of Taiwanese native cultures generally. Inevitably, this had implications for education including re-appraisal of native cultural education by local governments. This was especially true for those who stand by the progressive political parties before native cultural education was recognised by the central educational authority. (Huang, 1994; Ou, 1995b; Lin, 1997; San, *et al.*, 1997). As a result, through the ‘bottom-up’ approach, an official announcement was made on promoting Taiwanese native cultures in education and it became a key feature in the current educational reform movement. For the recent development of native cultural education and the process of establishing these new subjects (‘Homeland Study Activity’, ‘Getting to Know Taiwan’, ‘Native Art activity’), six points have been identified which are presented below.

The Recent Development of Native Cultural Education

A.) The termination of Martial Law

After the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, central control over press, media and political parties was terminated. When President Lee succeeded in 1988, he proposed the idea of “Republic of China, Taiwan” and being “rooted in Taiwanese cultures, looking respectfully towards China, and out towards the world” as the major principle of present state policy.

B.) The 1990 Symposium on “Issues of Native Language Education”

Looking at the teaching materials published before the official promotion in the current reform movement clearly demonstrates that the early development of native cultural education is more concentrated in local governments who were in opposition to the ruling political party, KMT. In 1990, a symposium was held by seven of the local governments from opposition political status to discuss issues in relation to native language education in Taiwan. Relevant themes widely discussed included promoting bilingual teaching as the formal educational policy in these seven areas; methods for compiling native languages teaching materials; and which set of symbol correspondences for pronunciation to adopt.

C.) The deliberation of latest revised curriculum specification

The Ministry of Education, in 1993, promulgated the latest curriculum specifications. In his writing on the analysis of the nature and features of the new specifications, Ou (1995a) considers that greater humanitarian awareness of both native cultures and global issues are the main objectives which the current innovation stresses. (pp.40-41) In the amended curriculum specifications of 1993, it was clearly prescribed that new subject ‘Getting to Know Taiwan’ (including history, geography and social studies), was set up for Year One pupils in lower secondary schools. This subject would replace the current Year One history, geography and moral education subjects from the 1997 academic year (MOE, 1993). In addition to the existing music and art, ‘Native Art Activity’ was another subject set up in the same syllabus. In primary education, ‘Homeland Study Activity’ (Hsaing Tu Chiao Shiue Huo Tung) was also established simultaneously for pupils from

Year Three to Year Six in primary schools. As there were no standard teaching materials provided by the central educational authority, it was suggested that each area should develop their own curriculum relating to teaching native cultures according to their local needs. Schools have been recommended to develop teaching materials for their own use. Teachers are also encouraged to apply native cultural materials or use native languages where relevant in teaching. Though teaching of native cultures became a key trait in the 1993 curriculum specifications (Wu & Lin, 1995), there was no guidelines prescribed for the new subject of 'Homeland Study Activity' when the specifications were first released in September of the same year. However, in the following year the guidelines were introduced.

D.) Supplementary Materials for Local Use in Elementary Schools Research Project.

The research project was conducted between July, to December, 1993. It aimed to collect relevant native cultural materials both from Taiwan and abroad to establish supplementary teaching guidance for native cultural education, providing reference data for its practice in schools. The research was considered as preparatory work for the prescriptions of the official curriculum guidelines for 'Homeland Study Activity'. In the research project, the use of native cultures in education in Japan, Britain and the United States was reviewed and studied. Afterwards, the following recommendations were made as principles for implementation in schools in Taiwan:

- Pupils should learn to recognise the living environment, history, natural science and folk arts of their local areas better through native culture learning activities;

- Teaching and learning activities should involve pupils' participation in investigation, observation, visits and interviews;
- Native cultural education aims to inspire pupils' interests and enhance their abilities for exploring native cultural issues;
- As a consequence, the teaching also attempts to develop pupils' affections for their homelands and people;
- The ultimate goal is to cultivate pupils' identity and sense of belonging in the context of native history and cultures. (Ou, *et al.*, 1995)

E.) Deliberations over Curriculum Specifications and Guidelines for 'Homeland Study Activity'

For prescribing the specifications and guidance for teaching of native culture education in primary schools, a working committee was set up by the M.O.E in November, 1993 with the involvement of academics and experts. Belatedly, this resulted in the deliberations of September, 1994, on the curriculum specifications for 'Homeland Study Activity'. In the new announced standards, guidelines and principles relating to curriculum goals, time allocations, contents and domains, approaches and assessment were detailed and prescribed.

F.) The MOE's Annual Report, 1994

Teaching of native cultures has also been observed as one of the main foci in educational policies and officially promoted by the MOE. In the annual report to the legislature, on 22nd of September, 1994, the then Minister of Education, Kuo Wei-Fan, stated:

.... In addition to information technology and English teaching in schools, teaching of native cultures is another key aspect that we are putting emphasis on in the new curriculum revision. The new subject, 'Homeland Study Activity', in primary schools, aims to develop pupils' affections for their homeland and further to enable them to respect other tribal cultures through

actual learning activities. This subject consists of five areas (native languages, art, history, geography and science) and teachers and schools can choose what to include in activities according to their specific needs... In addition, 'Getting to Know Taiwan' and 'Native Art Activity' are two formal subjects set up in lower secondary school curriculum for pupils at Year One level. The principle of 'Getting to Know Taiwan', is based on President Lee's idea of being "rooted in Taiwanese culture," . (Kuo, 1994)

The following table illustrates key points identified in the recent development of native cultural education and the process of establishing the new subjects for teaching of native cultures.

Stage	Time	Major Development
1	1987	The termination of Martial Law
2	June, 1990	The 1990 Symposium on 'Issues of Native Language Education'
3	20 th /September/1993	The deliberation of latest revised curriculum specifications
4	July – December, 1993	Supplementary materials for local use in elementary schools research project
5	1994	Deliberations over curriculum specifications and guidelines for 'Homeland Study Activity'
6	22 nd / September/ 1994	The MOE's Annual Report to the legislature
7	1996	'Getting to know Taiwan' becoming a formal subject
8	1998	'Homeland Study Activity' and 'Native Art Activity' becoming formal subjects

Table 6-1 The recent development of native cultural education. (Lin, 1998, p.43)

Furthermore, government has promoted various programmes of supporting projects in response to the changes resulting from the new curriculum innovation.

Encouraging relevant research projects and studies

Sponsoring relevant research projects and studies is another aspect which the central educational authority is encouraging. 'The Compiling Committee for Aboriginal Essential

Cultural Teaching and Reading Materials’, for instance, was established by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation under the auspices of Ministry of Education in 1993. The major task which the committee wished to achieve was to compile a series of ‘Essential Taiwanese Aboriginal Cultural and Ethnic Materials’ (Taiwan Nan Tao Min Tsu Wen Hua Chi Pen Chiao Tsai). This is expected to become the main reference in further selection and compilation of supplementary native cultural materials for pupils at different stages. The ‘Taiwan Provincial Teachers Research Centre’ was asked by the Ministry of Education in 1995 to establish a research team planning to develop supplementary teaching materials for native cultural education. It was suggested that people from diverse cultural backgrounds, including experts in curriculum development, the native cultural field and representatives of the various communities, needed to be involved in the research team to ensure comprehensive development for native cultural education. In 1996, a similar study was also conducted to do research on concepts and curriculum models for teaching native cultural activities. In its report, a conceptual structure was proposed together with details relating to four main aspects in native cultural education, including definitions, characteristics, domains and implementation and evaluation. (Ou, *et al*, 1996) Moreover, in 1995 a working committee on ‘Guidance for Supplementary Teaching Materials for Taiwanese Native Languages’ was set up under the leadership of ‘Humanistic and Sociology Education Instruction Committee’. The research team was initially established for preserving native languages with the further aim of outlining systematic teaching guidance for native languages, including aboriginal dialects, Hakka and HoLao dialect.

In the first instance, the recent series of research provided relevant teaching references and guidance for native cultural education. The latest government funded research study, 'Examining and Programming the Development of Native Culture Education in Compulsory Schooling', was carried out by a group of academics in Taiwan Normal University. In this study, participants from different localities, including schoolteachers, educational officers, as well as academics, gathered to examine how native cultural education is developing in different areas. The initial aim was to draw up a long-term plan for this education by revealing the problems encountered at the early stage. In the research report, issues including those related to curriculum development, teaching material, and teachers' professional training emerged as the most pending. (see San, *et al*, 1997)

Analysis on relevant policy and funding

To promote and implement native cultural education in compulsory schooling, a long-term supporting policy was devised by the Department of Compulsory Education, at the Ministry of Education. It is a seven year long funding project, lasting from 1995 to year 2001. To analyse this policy, key features and foci of the project are summarised as follows:

- Local authorities are encouraged to select and compile native cultural materials on the basis of each administrative area. It aims to provide pupils in their areas with sufficient local information that is considered appropriate for helping pupils in developing their affections for their homelands;
- Mass-media teaching resources, such as pictures, slides, video-tapes, are welcomed and proposed for teaching practice. It is hoped that using mass-media for teaching will stimulate pupils' interests in learning activities;
- It also suggests that local authorities need to provide teachers with teachers' handbooks containing ideas for various activities in their localities to promote better course outcomes;
- It encourages local authorities to conduct in-service training, to develop teachers' understanding for teaching native cultures, as well as to demonstrate different teaching approaches;
- Finally, it is suggested that each local government needs to gather and organise local cultural materials in a systematic way for its long-term development.

In addition, the sequence for the government funding is also listed:

1. Compilation of native cultural teaching materials;
2. Teachers' hand books for teaching native cultural materials;
3. Organising in-service teacher training courses;
4. Production of relevant mass-media teaching resources;
5. Systematic organisation for relevant native cultural resources.

(Lin, 1998, pp.65-72).

Section Two: The Current Development of Native Culture Education— Local Level

The tendency of decentralisation in education is one of the significant changes noted in the current development of native cultural education. Though the 'National Institute for Compilation and Translation' is still in charge of providing standardised textbooks for the new subject, 'Getting to Know Taiwan', which will be applied as the formal classroom materials in all lower secondary schools nation-wide from the 1997 academic year. In the latest curriculum specifications for primary education, for instance, the provision which most differs from past requirements is that no standardised textbooks and teaching materials have been provided by the central educational authority but only teaching guidelines for 'Homeland Study Activity'. As a consequence, each local authority is given power and responsibilities for curriculum development. It is claimed that developing the curricular 'Homeland Study Activity' on a regional basis would better meet local needs,

as the subject initially aims to increase pupils' understanding of the places in which they live.

The question emerges: how each local government can manage to implement, in real terms, changes brought about by the reform movement? From two phases of the research process, data were gathered from eight local authorities visited, and interviews held. The research shows a vast range of methods in implementation have been used at various levels of development in different areas. Furthermore, data also suggest that the nature of different areas, including their ethnic make-up, the political position of local governments, and the geographical locations, have influenced the development of native cultural education. In the following section, different approaches used at the preparatory stage in the introduction of native cultural education are illustrated.

Preparatory Working Committee

It is a 'big challenge' for local education authorities to be completely in charge of developing and implementing a curriculum. The establishment of a preparatory working committee for the development of native cultural education is a common feature in most areas. The members of these committees can be categorised into four groups: officers, head-teachers, teachers and academics. Involving these four groups, as Officer Huang 1 (7/03/1996) pointed out, each committee aims at aiding communications among participants and working on curriculum development. At the same time, each local educational authority generally plays an organising role whereas academics, head-teachers and teachers specifically are responsible for curriculum development and teaching

materials compilation. Academics, including subject experts and experts in curriculum development, provide professional assistance and knowledge. Academics play the supportive and managerial roles of instructors and supervisors. Moreover, it is necessary to mention that head-teachers and teachers, taking part in the preparatory committee, often play leading roles in giving assistance to individual schools and teachers in their area.

However, data also show that along with professional knowledge, these teachers with expertise in children literature writing and art are often invited to take part in preparatory committees. Officer Tasi shared his opinions during the interview, stating:

Teaching materials should suit pupils' abilities in reading and meet their interests. It is under this premise that participants are required to select raw materials which is 'readable and teachable' in our region. Also we invite quite a few school-teachers who have special skills and interests in writing children literature to attend our committee. We are hoping to inspire pupils' interests to learn native cultures by providing them with more relaxed, interesting and vivid materials. (2/03/1996, p.3)

The nature of each visited area

The political position of each local government

Analysing the data from two phases, it is interesting to note that each LEA defines the teaching of native cultural education differently. Subsequently, inconsistencies prevail in the way LEAs implement this teaching from one area to the next. The political position, at the first instance, appears as a main factor. To those LEAs, in favour of the governing political party, the term 'native cultures' is defined as a part of 'Chinese cultures'. LEAs, holding an opposite and progressive political status, assert that native cultural education

should be separate from Chinese cultures and should be developed and taught as the mainstream in school curriculum.

In addition to the national governing political party (Kuomintang), the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, the main opposition party) and quite a few other parties were established after 1987. Most local authorities are basically under the governance of the two main political parties in present day Taiwan. Details relating to the political status of each of the studied cases are given in Table 5-4.

The components of each area

Another factor is the different ethnic backgrounds of each area. This also appears to have implications for the development of native cultural education. Generally speaking, the main composition of the current society is made up of four groups of people (HoLao, Hakka, Mandlander and Aborigines), despite the differing numbers of aboriginal inhabitants and tribes in each area. According to the collected data, the size of the aboriginal population in each area appears as an important factor that affects the development of native cultural education. Cultural components of each studied area are identified in Table 5-5.

Geographical locations

The geographical location is also seen as another influential factor in the development of native cultural education. As many point out, there are at least four distinct districts, north, middle, south and east, within the island of Taiwan. They are believed to express

unique cultural features. The geographical locations of the visited LEAs are illustrated in Figure 5-2.

Urban and rural area

Similarly, whether located in an urban or rural area is the final factor that appears to have impact. The gathered data reveal that emphasis has been placed on different aspects of native cultural education depending on its geographical locations. It is also recognised that geographical location is influential in gaining access to sufficient resources for actual teaching practice.

Current development in the studied areas

In the early 1980's, some local authorities started stressing native cultural education, establishing resource centres and relevant publications. As the head of Taipei Teachers Research Centre, Jeng (1995), describes most early publications were not applicable to classroom practice as the language used was too hard for pupils to comprehend and also there was no time available for native cultural teaching in pupils' busy school timetable. (p.42) However, many also suspect that most of the early projects have been suspended due to insufficient funding. (San *et al.*, 1997, pp.102-103). During the early 1990's, more effort and work for native cultural education were noted particularly in those local areas governed by the progressive political parties after the termination of Martial Law (Lin, 1997; San *et al.*, 1997). Among early initiatives, preserving native languages and promoting native language teaching in schools appears to have been the major focus.

Teaching materials

With regards to the current development, most local governments are putting extensive energy and resources into selecting and compiling teaching materials for classroom practice since no standardised textbooks and teaching materials are provided for the teaching of 'Homeland Studies Activity'. As many evaluate that teaching materials compilations is the most pragmatic and urgent concern since it is due to be put in practice as a single and formal subject by the 1998 academic year. As mentioned, some local areas took the teaching of native cultural education 'on board' before the official promotion programmes began. As a result, there are great variations in levels of development from one locality to the next. In some, teaching materials have been published and put into practice as part of a pilot-scheme before being applied to all schools in their region. In other areas, native cultural education is still at the preparatory stage.

Since most teachers actually need to instruct native cultures in classrooms without having received relevant training and knowledge during their professional education, the question that worries most people is: 'how are teachers going to accommodate the changes?' To overcome the shortage of professionals in instructing native cultural education at the present stage, different approaches have been adopted by LEAs.

Teachers' Professional Training Courses and Relevant Supportive Sources

A.) in-service training course

Holding relevant courses and workshops is a major activity in most local areas. Those relevant programmes are believed, as Officer Ke put it, to provide teachers with

opportunities from which they can acquire further information and education to accommodate the changes brought about through the new curriculum specifications. The programmes in general consist of various kinds of activities, such as native language studies, folk music studies, and native literature appreciation (3/04/1997) At the same time, professional conferences, workshops and relevant publications are also being instituted in various areas.

There are two main categories identified here in terms of the purposes of training courses conducted. First, training courses for designated teachers who report back to each school are in general intended to deliver the notions and principles of teaching native cultures. In addition, teaching demonstrations for different areas, in native arts or native languages, are often included in training courses. Second, teachers participating in teaching materials compilations are also required to attend special training courses which aim to provide professional knowledge and assistance. Subject experts and educators have been invited to give lectures to offer teachers the assistance and guidance needed to resolve problems encountered in their implementation of native cultural education.

B.) Teaching Assistant Team (Kuo Ming Chiao Yu Fu Tao Tuan)

It is necessary to mention the role of 'Kuo Ming Chiao Yu Fu Tao Tuan' and the way it works in the compulsory education in Taiwan. This is a committee group often of teachers from the same region, working voluntarily as consultants for each of the school subjects, under the organisation of LEAs. They are also responsible for disseminating new methods and concepts in their specific subject area. These voluntary teaching

consultants often travel to different schools to demonstrate new ways of instruction. In County Grapes, for instance, there was a committee team called 'Hsiang Tu Chiao Yu Kuo Ming Chiao Yu Fu Tao Tuan' (a team of teaching assistance for 'Homeland Study Activity'). This team was established after the new curriculum specifications were announced. Officer Liu in County Grapes explained how the group works in the development of native cultural education in their region. She described the team as made up of:

mainly teachers and head-teachers who have special interests in native culture education and are working as volunteers to deliver the notions of this new form of education or provide demonstrations in different training courses and in individual schools. Also they take part in our preparatory committee in developing native cultural curriculum and to provide help to teachers in schools in developing materials. Though they might not be regarded as 'professional' in curriculum development, they are really helpful since they devote so much of their off-work time to publicise the new curriculum specifications for native cultural education and curriculum development. I often say that teaching native cultures might be new for every teacher but we are learning and working by trying things together. I really appreciate those members of the team. (13/05/1997)

However, 'Social Studies Fu Tao Tuan' (social studies teaching assistant team) is often the group which takes on the work of delivering the notions of new curriculum specifications for native cultural education and organising training courses in those areas where there is not an established recognised 'fu tao tuan'.

C.) central schools

There is normally one central school chosen in each of the administrative areas within one region. Those central schools are basically regarded as communication centres for participants involved in each area. Additionally, they are responsible for organising or

hosting training courses. It is hoped that central schools can provide participants with easier access to local assistance and information when needed.

D.) resource centres

In order to overcome the foreseeable difficulties in getting sufficient resources and information that teachers might need, establishing native cultural resource centres is an approach adopted in most areas. It is believed that teachers would be able to obtain easier access and information if relevant systematic organised data bases could be set up in resource centres. However, in most areas the resource centre is located in the central schools.

E.) community involvement

Looking at the gathered data reveals that there is great community involvement in the development of native cultural education in some areas. The cultural centres in each region, for instance, are often involved in events such as hosting training programmes, holding exhibitions or providing relevant resources. Additionally, local artists or non-governmental cultural organisations are playing supportive roles in the current development of native cultural education in most areas.

F.) teaching aids

Along with providing sufficient resources and support, effort has been made to establish mass-media resources, such as audio tapes, video tapes and CD ROMs for actual teaching practice in some areas.

Section Three: Native Culture and School Curriculum

As mentioned the promotion of Taiwanese native cultures is seen as a main feature in the current curriculum innovation. As well as the establishment of three new subjects in compulsory education, applying the notions of native cultures appropriately to teaching methods as a whole is encouraged. In this section, I look at how notions of native cultures are being taught in school education and move on to analyse the ways in which it is being prepared and presented in the curriculum at its early stage of development.

Taiwanese Native Cultures and the New Curriculum Specifications

In addition to the three new subjects, including local teaching materials in different subjects where applicable is also clearly suggested by the Ministry of Education to advance the promotion of Taiwanese cultures in the classroom.

Native Cultures and Primary School Curriculum

In the recent study (Wu, 1995) looking at the new national music curriculum specifications, she finds evidence of a revival in native Taiwanese music in primary education. Wu (1995) points out:

Apart from traditional Chinese music, a music teacher needs to select music of the HoLao, Hakka or aborigines according to the school's location and the pupils background in order to "cultivate pupils' spirit of regional identity" as the new music curriculum requires. (p.79)

Furthermore, according to Lin's (1998) analysis on the new curriculum specifications for primary education, notions of local cultures are reinforced in different subject areas. Here are a few examples indicating the changes. First, in new curriculum specifications for social studies, issues such as Taiwanese geography, folk arts, development and social changes are listed as the basis and provide guidelines for private publishers to follow in compiling and editing social studies textbooks. Second, for 'group training for socialisation' subject, it has been suggested that schools could add group activities such as 'mother-tongue learning' and 'folk art and craft', according to the resources which schools could obtain from the community, depending as well on students' interests, funds, and teachers' professional expertise. The final indication of change is the emphasis on local issues and their application in the classroom to build bridges between pupils' school education, community and family concerns. This is also suggested in the new curriculum specifications for science, moral and health education. (pp.58-60).

The New Subject in Primary Education: 'Homeland Study Activity'

'Homeland Study Activity' is the new subject set up for promoting Taiwanese native cultures in the latest curriculum innovation and will be a formal subject from the 1998 academic year for pupils from grade three to six. Regarding the official regulations and curriculum specifications deliberated in **December, 1994**, the following points are summarised.

Goals:

1: From the aspect of knowledge; the cognitive feature aims at building up pupils' awareness of the place where they live by introducing native history, geography, language, science and art in school curriculum;

2: From the viewpoint of affections; the specifications propose to develop pupils' affective attachment to their own native cultures; and to further cultivate their appreciation for their own cultures;

3: From the aspect of skills; the changes aim to improve pupils' ability in exploring and solving problems related to their immediate environment;

4: The new standards also claim they will enhance pupils' appreciation of diverse cultures and ethnic groups. To build a harmonious society, they emphasise the value of diverse cultures and are design to encourage pupils to have respect for cultural difference between groups. (see also Hung 1995, p.236)

Time allocation:

including regular and occasional activity.

1: regular: one lesson (40 minutes) per week for pupils from Y3 to Y6

2: occasional: including 'homeland study observation activity and school visit' once every semester and 'teaching results exhibitions' once every academic year, which aim at providing parents and community members with access to schools' performance for teaching 'Homeland Study Activity'.

Contents and domains:

including five domains: native history, geography, science, language and art.

Guidelines:

Four characteristics which official guidelines present have been identified here:

1: Even though 'Homeland Study Activity' aims at adopting an activity approach, the information official guidelines provide are mainly about teaching contents rather than about teaching activity approaches due to the various nature of each of the five areas;

2: In order to present their local area, schools and teachers could choose different topics according to their needs instead of teaching everything listed in the guidelines.

3: Each of these five areas is not separate though relevant information are divided into five parts, schools and teachers could involve different topics from those five areas in their teaching where appropriate.

4: It is suggested to teachers that they should promote cross-subjects teaching since those five parts of teaching contents are interrelated with other curriculum subjects, like social science, music, PE and so on.

Approaches are:

- 1: selecting and compiling appropriate teaching materials;
- 2: designing teaching activity according to different local needs on the basis of cultivating pupils' 'cognition, skills, affections' through learning activity;
- 3: in order to implement teaching activities both in and outside schools, co-operation should be promoted between different subject teachers for more flexible school timetables and also between teachers, schools and communities for sufficient resources and support.

Teaching:

- 1: those teachers and community members who have professional knowledge for teaching 'Homeland Study Activity';
- 2: building resource files of professions;
- 3: holding in-service training for teachers.

Assessment:

- 1: Even if a formal subject, it is suggested a 'non-written' model for assessment be adopted in order to meet the principle of 'teaching activity';
 - 2: assessment should cover three aspects: cognition, skills, and affections;
 - 3: including teachers' assessment through observation and conversation; and pupils' self-assessment through a designed-format assessment chart.
- (MOE, 1994)

Native Cultures and Lower Secondary Curriculum

The promotion of native cultures in lower secondary curriculum in the latest curriculum reform is founded on the following aspects:

- 1: 'Getting to Knowing Taiwan', including sociology, history and geography, is the new subject set up for Year one lower secondary pupils and has been put into practice from

September, 1997. 'Getting to Knowing Taiwan' replaces the former Year one history, geography, and citizenship and moral subjects. In curriculum timetable, there is one hour per week for each of the three areas;

2: In addition to music and fine art subjects, 'Native Art Activity' has been set up to cultivate pupils' ability in preserving and appreciating native arts in the Year One curriculum;

3: Topics like 'local dialects study', 'folk art study', 'local music appreciation' have been added to the new curriculum specifications as references for student society activities from which pupils can choose;

4: In the new curriculum specifications, teachers are expected to apply relevant local teaching materials to teaching subjects like biology, music, fine art and also to employ local information to supplement teaching materials according to the nature of the region. (MOE, 1994).

Current Development in Teaching Materials

Layered Approaches

Looking at the contents of current publications for homeland studies, most are designed to meet the requirements prescribed in the curriculum guidelines by the central government.

One principal requirement identified in the curriculum specifications is that the contents of teaching materials should be presented by a 'layered approach'. In other words, teaching content needs to cover information regarding and in the order of: home, school, community, county, nation, and the international world. In most cases, LEAs devolve responsibilities to schools to prepare teaching materials relating to the primary layers which include home, school, and community. In general a small number of teachers with special interests in native cultures take part in teaching materials compilation regarding those primary layers identified above from each individual school. However, they are still required to follow central curriculum guidelines and also the curriculum structure agreed

by the preparatory committee in each local area. On the other hand, the LEAs and those preparatory committees are in charge of developing curriculum and teaching materials to cover a broader range and context. Nevertheless, as Officer Shie (17/04/1996) states, participants in individual schools can also consult with members of both LEAs and preparatory committee for curriculum development in their own schools. However, it is necessary to mention that teaching material for 'Native Art Activity' have been mainly developed on a regional base, instead of giving that responsibility to individual schools according to the gathered data. As Officer Tasi explained:

There is often great diversity in 'Homeland Study Activity' among different areas even in the same region. In contrast to this subject, there are great similarities in teaching of native arts from one area to another. So we plan to compile a set of standardised materials for native arts instructions which could be applied to all schools in our region. (28/04/1997, p.6)

Category

To implement the new subjects set up in the latest curriculum innovation, preparing teaching materials for homeland studies in primary schools and 'Native Art Activity' in lower secondary schools has become an important task. Especially, since there will be only standardised textbooks for 'Getting to Knowing Taiwan' provided by the central educational authority. The published teaching materials up to current stage can be categorised into two main groups. They are formal teaching materials and supplementary teaching resources. The formal teaching materials refer to materials which will be applied in classrooms and also at the present that are used for trial teaching. It includes students' books and teachers' hand books in most areas and parents' books in others¹. The

¹ In City Mango area, a set of parents' handbooks has been published by the local government.

supplementary teaching resources consist of material related to native cultures published by local authorities and other organisations. As mentioned there had been some material published before the official curriculum specifications were promulgated in 1994. These publications are also included as supplementary teaching resources since they mostly fail to meet the prescribed requirements. However, many point out that teachers are expected to design teaching activities according to their own circumstance since native cultures cover a very broad range of information. It is suggested that teachers' handbooks and supplementary resources are used mainly as reference for teachers to pick up ideas and design their own teaching activities.

Curriculum Structure

With regards to curriculum structures, various ways are employed in different areas. In some cases, teaching content is presented according to the five main domains (history, geography, science, language and art) prescribed in the curriculum specifications whereas 'topic work' is the approach adopted in other areas. For instance, in the series of native teaching material published in Mango city area, there are twenty important sites referred to as topics. The five domains are then used as parameters in which to study the selected topics.

Participants

As has been referred to, the educational officers in LEA are mainly in charge of administrative and communicative work in the development of native cultural education in each local area. There are two main groups identified as responsible for compilations

of teaching material. They are professionals and compilers. The former group includes first subject experts such as historians, second, educators and curriculum experts and finally experts from the environmental education field. In the latter category, the participants mainly refer to schoolteachers. There are two main roles: first, the compilers who write teaching material and second those in charge of illustrations and artistic presentation.

Practice

The new subjects 'Getting to Know Taiwan' and 'Native Art Activity' in lower secondary schools have already been put into practice from September, 1997 while 'Homeland Study Activity' in primary schools is due to start from the 1998 academic year. However, data shows that different approaches have been employed and practised in primary schools in some areas before its official due for implementation in 1998.

First, homeland study has been practised as an extra-curricular activity in most areas. 'Folk arts appreciation', 'native languages learning' and so on are added as optional student activities according to their own interests. Second, some schools have been chosen for trial teaching in areas where the material has been completed. Third, active community involvement can be observed in most areas. Events such as folk arts festivals, heritage visits, local museum visits, have taken place, activities created by co-operation between local government, community and schools to promote native cultures. In addition, inviting local artists into schools to work with children is another approach that has been noticed. In the same way, data indicate that there is a significant involvement

from private organisations dedicated to Taiwanese native cultures. Many also believe that involving community in native cultural education helps provide better teaching outcomes as well as overcome the shortage of required resources which schools might face. (see also Huang, 1994; Liu, 1995; Ou *et al.*, 1995; Chen, 1996; Wu, 1995; Lin, 1998)

Moreover, the nature of homeland studies, (developing pupils' care for places where they live, getting involved in the community) encourages outdoors teaching activities. This provides opportunities for valuable connections between community, environmental, and open education practices. Consequently, integrating native culture elements into other educational activities is another method adopted at the present stage.

Finally, encouraging parents' participation is also observed in the development of native cultural education. In City Mango, for example, parents' handbooks for 'Homeland Study Activity' in addition to teachers' and students' books have been supplied. Building on this initiative, it is hoped that pupils could visit recommended sites with their parents in the local areas as part of family outing. Such familial participation, as Head Teacher Feng puts it, could take some pressure off teachers who otherwise must organise school visits with larger groups of pupils (16/06/1997). One Officer expressed a similar view at a conference held by the Taiwan Normal University in 1997, saying that

we are not promoting native culture education alone in our region. It is being developed together with open education and parental education. Parents could be very helpful by supporting teachers' work, volunteering in school visits or taking their children to visit their local areas.... (in San et al, 1998, p.115)

Section Four: Native Language Teaching

The current development

Native language teaching in schools is another approach employed to promote native cultures as well as cultural diversity in school education in the current reforms. In 1990, the first official statement on encouraging the use of native languages in classrooms was announced by the former Minister of Education, Mao Kao-Wen, who stated:

.....teachers could use their mother-tongue for teaching and teach mother-tongue languages when it is necessary.... (Deng, 1993, p.534)

Following that, the government funded project of 'Supplementary Instructional Material for Native Languages Teaching in Elementary and Secondary Schools' in 1996 is the most significant account. It indicates the official effort to preserve Taiwanese native languages which were "disappearing" under former monolingual policy (see also Deng, 1993). The inclusion of native language as part of the new curricular, 'Homeland Study Activity', is regarded as another big step for preserving native languages and developing its teaching in schools.

Examining early development of native cultural education, it can be observed that emphasis has been placed on issues relating to native languages among local areas which favour the progressive political parties. The symposium on 'Issues in Native Languages Education' held by seven opposition local governments in 1991 is regarded as the first radical and controversial event in promoting native cultures after the lifting of martial law in 1987. At the symposium, several main themes were highlighted and discussed. For

example, the teaching of Mandarin and HoLao dialect in schools was referred to as bilingual education. In addition to teaching Mandarin, participants agreed that HoLao dialect should be promoted and practised since it is the native language of the majority in Taiwan². Subsequently, relevant teaching material compilation and actual classroom practices have then been promoted and consolidated in these local areas. (Deng, 1995). In Pineapple county, for instance, a set of native teaching materials, including HoLao, Hakka and aboriginal dialects, was published with audio tapes. Similarly, teaching HoLao dialect has become compulsory in County Plum since the former magistrate pushed native language teaching as educational policy through the local county council. Also, schools in the participant regions have already implemented the teaching of native languages long before the current promotions undertaken by central government. Yet, this background has caused variations in the development of native language teaching in different areas.

Since official recognition, a key question has become how to address and do justice to the great diversity in linguistic development among existing native languages. Most native languages, but not all, are still at the stage of a ‘spoken’ or oral rather than ‘written’ or scribal form of communication. Diversity is also revealed in the numbers of native languages associated with ethnic and tribal backgrounds. As a consequence, great emphasis has been placed on ‘compiling native languages teaching material’ with particular focus on constructing a set of corresponding symbols for pronunciation. However, there is still no ‘agreed’ way for the pronunciation of native languages in

² According to Huang's (1995) analysis, 73.3% of the total population have a HoLao background. 12% have a Hakka background, Aborigines make up 1.7% and Mainland 13%. (p.21).

teaching and various sets of symbolic correspondence are applied in different areas and schools. In the same way, there is concern about teachers' abilities, since many are required to instruct native languages without having received relevant training during their professional education.

Teaching materials

Teaching materials are being developed at both local and central levels. At an earlier stage, local governments developed their own teaching materials separately according to the cultural components of each locality. However, as alluded to above, a few local governments started teaching native languages long before the current movement, resulting in different levels of development among areas. Due to the need of consistency between different areas, many express concerns that it is a waste of resources to develop separate teaching materials. Officials advocate, to save resources, that similar material for the same dialect should be developed to be used in different areas at the same time.

In Officer Tsai's view:

It is wasting a lot of time and resources if each LEA develops their own native languages material. From my personal point of view, I think that teaching material should be developed by those LEAs who have more experience and other areas could apply for it when needed. More co-operation between LEAs is also necessary and I am sure this would help not only to economise resources but also to improve the quality of teaching material as LEAs could learn from each other (2/03/96).

In response to the above observations, a project of native language compilation has been proposed and undertaken by the Taiwan Provincial Teachers Research Centre (TPTRC). In 1996, eight local authorities and institutions, by which relevant teaching material had been published, were assigned to take charge of compiling and editing one or two native

languages which every area could employ as reference when necessary. In other words, teaching material is now being developed under the organisation of TPTEC with co-operation from different areas instead of being separately produced. Pineapple county authority, for instance, has been given responsibility to create native language teaching material for two tribes of aboriginal dialects on the basis of the county's previous experience and relevant teaching material it has published. (Lin, 1998, p.66). Those areas in which teaching material was published at an earlier stage have been encouraged to use their resources to support the present set of references. Interestingly, the central educational authority eventually took charge of organisation and compilation of native languages teaching material. This latest development is believed to be an attempt to resolve the difficulties arising from the initiatives pursued by local areas.

Collected native languages teaching material and resources include students' books, teachers' handbook, tapes and videotapes. However, it is suggested by many researchers that, on the one hand, students' books are needed to be simple and interesting in order to inspire pupils' interest in speaking native languages whereas, on the other, detailed teachers' handbook are required to off-set the lack of abilities in native language instruction among teachers (see also Huang, 1994, Lin, 1998). Therefore, tapes and video tapes are essential supplementary resources as most teachers are not capable of speaking or teaching native dialects themselves.

Practice

Apart from being included in 'Homeland Study Activity', there is no any specific time allocated for native languages teaching in the formal curriculum timetable except in Plum

county where the local government allocated one lesson per-week in the primary school curriculum. However, diverse approaches have been employed in different areas to encourage the use of native languages in general in classroom teaching and learning.

These include:

First, in most areas subjects such as ‘native dialect learning’, folk song learning’ and so on, are put on the list for pupils to attend as ex-curricular activity. Second, playing tapes of native languages and folk songs during break time or after morning assembly is another approach employed in some areas. In one primary school in Strawberry county where each classroom is equipped with a video tape player, for instance, pupils are taught one phrase in native language per day together with relevant tapes playing five minutes every morning after assembly (San *et al.*, 1997, p, 103). Third, events like ‘native language speaking competitions’, ‘folk songs contests’, ‘folk opera playing’, are also observed to be effective in different areas. Finally, decorating classrooms and school public areas including school hall, corridor walls, with posters or Chinese calligraphy on which native language phrases are written is another method adopted in some schools to encourage appreciation. It is believed the above approach can provide a better and natural environment from which pupils can develop awareness for native languages.

Teachers’ Training Programmes

Due to the factor that most teachers find themselves incapable of teaching native languages, another task most LEAs are working on is organising relevant training courses. These are designed to facilitate a range of dialects, so teachers can choose which to attend

according to their own needs or interests. In the Taipei Teacher Research and Study Centre, for instance, a series of training programmes about native languages, such as HoLao, Hakka, and aboriginal dialects, have been held. However, it is believed that providing formal and supplementary teaching resources is more helpful than training programmes for teachers in the short term. As Teacher Chen described during an interview:

It requires a lot of effort and time to get familiar with one language if you are not used to speaking it. Even if one might be able to speak one dialect, still teaching it is something else. It needs certain knowledge and skills, I think. And also those training programmes are not sufficient for all teachers to attend.... (14/05/19 97)

Section Five: Aboriginal Cultural Education

Aboriginal Cultures and Curriculum

Aboriginal education has become one of the highlighted issues in the promotion of native cultures. In current educational reform the preserving and developing of aboriginal cultures attracts much attention and effort. Further, in the latest curriculum specifications, to include aboriginal cultures in ‘Homeland Study Activity’, relevant projects have been introduced and conducted. Compiling teaching material for aboriginal cultural education, as Huang (1997) describes, is a major focus in the, ‘Five Years Plan Project for the Development and Improvement of Aboriginal Education’, directed by the Ministry of Education. The project sets out a series of plans for developing teaching and learning

materials as well as producing teachers' handbooks for aboriginal cultural education and trial teachings from 1994.

Three goals have been outlined:

First, to enhance pupils' understanding of native history, geography, science, language and art;

Second, to inspire pupils' interests and cultivate their ability to appreciate native cultures;

Third, to develop pupils' broader perspectives and respect for diverse cultures and different ethnic groups in order to enhance harmony in the society. (Huang, 1997, p.15)

By involving schools, parents, community and society, the project aims at "enabling the excellence and merits of aboriginal cultures to be inherited generation to generation, and to enhance both aborigines' and non-aborigines' understanding of native cultures" (Wu, 1995,p.93).

Current development of aboriginal cultural education can be seen at both governmental and non-governmental levels. At governmental level, most emphasis has been directed towards relevant research projects and teachers training courses. Subsequently, to encourage more research and studies in aboriginal native language and preserving and celebrating aboriginal cultures, a sponsorship was set up by the Ministry of Education in 1993. Research and publications in areas such as features and cultural background, phrases and linguistic uses, linguistic analysis on aboriginal languages, are able to apply for this sponsorship. At the non-governmental level, there are many organisations working on preserving and celebrating aboriginal cultures in different areas. Publications

of aboriginal languages, music and cultural issues, for instance, are encouraged and sponsored by one of the non-governmental organisations, Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines³.

Developing aboriginal cultural teaching materials at a previous stage was the responsibility of local governments as part of their native cultural education programme. It is clearly outlined in the curriculum specifications that native culture education should be developed on the basis of the four main cultural groups: HoLao, Hakka, Mainland Chinese and Aborigines. However, data collected in the first phase of research show that in practice there are difficulties in integrating aboriginal native culture materials into other cultural elements.

Officer Lee expressed her views and personal experience:

In our county, we have a large number of aboriginal settlements from several tribes. Aboriginal education is an important dimension that the LEA is working on. But because of the great diversity and distinct characteristics of aboriginal cultures, we need to develop another curriculum in order to cover these cultures independently. (29/ 01/96)

In the same way, Head Teacher Wang, who has conducted research in language education for aboriginal pupils, imparts his personal experience obtained from involvement in developing this form of education in his county:

Aboriginal native cultures consist of great diversity and are distinct from each other. So that it is very difficult to combine them with other cultural elements while developing native cultural education. Thinking of aboriginal languages,

³ This museum was founded in 1991 for the expressed purpose of acquiring, introducing, and exhibiting the cultures of Taiwan aboriginal peoples to the public. The policy of the museum is also to encourage research, cultural preservation, and education. The idea is to promote a better understanding among different ethnic groups through mutual appreciation, respect, joint creativity, and empathy for each people. (Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines Prospectus, Taipei, 1997).

for example, they do not use written characters but symbols. As a result, there is a certain degree of difficulty in developing written teaching material. Besides, I would suggest that LEAs need to develop a separate set of native cultural curriculum by involving more people with aboriginal backgrounds who have received professional training as well as having concerns for preserving aboriginal cultures. (31/ 01/ 96)

A similar debate in relation to aboriginal native languages teaching is going on and being widely discussed among LEAs. Due to the distinct characteristics and the variety, each LEA tends to develop teaching materials for their aboriginal pupils according to their origins. Thus, development varies from one area to another. In Pineapple and Plum counties, the development is far ahead of any other areas. Conversely, many believe similarities still exist between different tribal cultures. As in the development of native languages, however, many argue that it is wasting a lot of resources to develop aboriginal curriculum for cultures and languages if each LEA individually carries on their own work.

Officer Huang 2 argued that:

There are a lot of similarities and of course differences among aboriginal tribes in terms of languages and cultures. But what I am concerned about here is that the same tribe of aborigine might settle in different areas. In other words, different areas might have the same settlement in their populations. I would think that it might be more sensible if native aboriginal culture and languages curriculum is developed on a "tribal" basis rather than being developed locally in different areas. From my personal point of view, it is wasting resources as well as time. (09/Mar/96)

In response to those doubts expressed by participants at an early phase, the central educational authority has decided in the latest development to take charge of organising the compilations of aboriginal native cultural materials. Taking the complexities of geographical spread of the aborigines into account, it is planned in the project that teaching materials should be developed from a tribal rather than a local base. A working

committee was set-up in 1996 with the involvement of academics, teachers from both aboriginal and non-aboriginal backgrounds, experts in curriculum development and LEAs with experience in the field under the co-leadership of Educational Research Committee, Ministry of Education and Department of Education, Provincial government. The committee aims to develop a more systematic set of teaching materials for aboriginal cultures arising from relevant publications and materials, from different areas, previous research and programmes. In charge of this project, Academic Chin, in Taiwan Provincial Teachers Research Centre, explained:

There are two main purposes in carrying out this project. First of all, it aims to help LEAs to overcome the problems of being unable to obtain sufficient information or professional knowledge to develop aboriginal culture and language curriculum. For those LEAs where relevant materials and curriculum have been developed, I believe that they will also be able to gain more relevant information and experience at the same time. Second, it is hoped to save resources and avoid overlapping in curriculum development...
(4/03/1996)

Teaching Materials and Relevant Publications

Looking at the development of teaching materials, two main categories can be analysed: first, material for teaching native cultures in general and second for native languages in particular. Within the former category, Essential Taiwanese Aboriginal Cultural and Ethnic Materials, (Taiwan Nan Tao Min Tsu Wen Hua Chi Pen Chiao Tsai) published by the 'National Institute for Compilation and Translation' is regarded as the first systematic set of references for teachers. The information was connected to a series of programmes for the compilation of aboriginal cultural teaching materials directed by the Taiwanese Provincial Ministry of Education. The main emphasis of this series of programmes has

been placed on compiling native cultural teaching material from the ten tribes of ethnic aborigines within the island.

In relation to the second category, both relevant research projects and supplementary teaching materials have been initiated. The research report proposed by Institute of History and Philology in Academia Sinica in Taiwan, aims to support aboriginal native language teaching and to reserve these languages in the long term. Furthermore, in the research project, ‘ Guidance for teaching of aboriginal native languages’ directed by Ministry of Education since 1995, a group of academics from education and linguistic field have been assigned to work on a supplementary framework for aboriginal native languages teaching. Relevant recommendations were made on constructing and organising teaching materials under the following categories in the research report: first, symbol correspondences for pronunciation; second, teaching materials for both speaking and listening. Third is pertinent literature, including reading and writing materials, finally suggestions have been put forward for possible approaches to ensure actual practice.

(Ministry of Education, 1995, p. 47-57)

To overcome uncertainties caused by the lack of teachers' ability in the field of cultures and languages studies, compilation of the guide books is seen as another important task by most people involved. Funds are also dedicated to provide relevant media equipment such as video and audio tapes for teachers as supporting resources to diversify teaching skills and techniques.

In the latest development, as detailed above, a series of teaching material for aboriginal cultures has been worked out through the organisation of the central educational authority. This series takes into account different tribal characteristics with a total of ten tribes⁴ included in the project. According to Huang's analysis, the main themes in the first volume of this series are tribal customs, traditional worship, legends. (1997, p18). In addition, the MOE is undertaking more work on compiling teaching materials for aboriginal native languages during the period of 1996-2000, which aims to provide systematic references for each of the ten tribes. (Chen, 1997, p.13; Huang, 1997, 16)

Teachers Education and In-Service Training

Since 1991, relevant events such as conferences, workshops, seminars, training courses and so forth have taken place in different regions organised by the Taiwan Provincial Ministry of Education. The purpose of this programme has been to enhance teachers' understanding and appreciation for aboriginal cultures, preparing them for teaching these studies. It includes: introducing aboriginal society and cultures in the areas of music, dance and art in different tribes as well as policies, aboriginal education and cultural development. Also, in-service training introduces methods for collecting and compiling aboriginal native cultural teaching materials and demonstrating teaching approaches in the classroom. These sessions have been mainly organised by local primary and secondary schools which involved teachers from the same region but with giving out

⁴ The ten tribes include: Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Paiwan, Rukai, Amis, Puyumar, Yami, and Sao.

priorities to those teachers without aboriginal identities. The training has aimed initially to help teachers to obtain better understanding of aboriginal native cultures and further to 'inspire their enthusiasm and responsibilities for compilation of aboriginal cultural education'. (Wu, 1995, p.94) by the combined involvement of relevant officials, academics and colleagues.

Through the current movement, another series of programmes has been started to involve participants in collecting and recording information related to legends, customs, traditions, of different tribes. Then academics and experts could incorporate the collected data into supplementary teaching and reading materials. Ten key schools have been chosen and put into charge of preparatory work including collecting primary information, compilation and trial teaching for each of the ten tribes. Five teachers for each tribe are taking part in this series of programmes. Many believe that the latest training programmes are better organised and more practical in comparison with previous courses. However, Wu (1995) still argues that there remain problems such as the lack of professional ability in developing applicable material and the inequality of resources as well as supports which schools can obtain, to be overcome. In five of the nine teachers' colleges in Taiwan, 'Aboriginal Education Centres' were established in the last few years and are in charge of organising different training courses and programmes for teachers in aboriginal schools or where there are more than one third of aboriginal pupils out of whole school population (Wu, 1995, p.95). Also, in different regions relevant training courses have been instituted by LEAs.

Practice

As a result of aboriginal cultural education seeming to be developed separately at present, schools from different areas adopt a range of approaches. First, aboriginal cultural studies being designated as an extra-curricular activity is the most common approach at the present stage.

Second, gathering pupils from the same tribal background together for native language learning is another tactic often observed. In Plum county, for instance, pupils from 'KoMaLan' (one of the plain tribes) background were assembled from different schools in the region for two hours per week for learning their native languages under the supervision of a linguistic expert invited from another region.

Third, data also show that holding summer camps for both aboriginal pupils and parents during school holidays is another strategy being tried out.

Forth, learning activities relating to aboriginal craft, art and music are being undertaken with community involvement in some areas where large aboriginal settlements exist.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PHILOSOPHICAL DEBATES

Section One: Ideological Confrontation

A major controversial debate in the current decision to promote Taiwanese native cultures in education is the confrontation between great Chinese traditions and native cultures. The issue of 'how Taiwanese native cultures are regarded in education' has been widely discussed in relevant literature and among participants. But conflicts are based on the contrasting definitions of native cultural education used in different local educational authorities. The collected data suggest that the political standpoint of each local government and individual plays a vital role in the way in which native cultural education is interpreted and implemented. For those in favour of the governing political party, KMT, described as more conservative, the term of 'Taiwanese native cultures' is defined as part of Chinese cultures. They insist that developing native cultural education in practical terms still needs to be taught under the 'bigger umbrella' of Great Chinese tradition. Many believe that this insistence reflects their desire to declare and support KMT's political standpoint. The government still holds that Taiwan is a part of China rather than an independent nation. (Chen, 1996).

Conversely, the opposition parties argue for a strategy that promotes a distinct Taiwanese consciousness. They stress the need for a process in education which starts with knowing

the particular locality through the identification with Taiwan, then expands towards a global awareness which also includes China. They argue for a separation from Chinese cultures and insist that Taiwanese native cultures should be developed as the mainstream in school curriculum. As many claim, instead of Chinese tradition that has dominated over the past four decades, the root of native cultures needs to be planted in education. (see also Wu & Chiang, 1995; Shih *et al.*, 1995; Chu & Dai, 1996). In Chou's study (1996) which looks at the present policy on deregulating the control of textbooks, an analysis on the confrontation of the two ideologies is proposed so the characteristics of both sides can be identified. Under close scrutiny, according to her analysis, the ideas of the opposition parties include:

- 1: Native cultural education teaches children to know more about their birthplaces and help them appreciate their identity as Taiwanese;
- 2: An emphasis on the specificity of different native cultures of Taiwan as opposed to Chinese cultures;
- 3: In opposition to the Chinese consciousness of the ruling party, they challenge the legitimacy of KMT's right to rule;
- 4: Consolidate a new sense of tribal identity to build up a collective consciousness that is produced by identifying with Taiwan.

By contrast, the policies on native culture education of the ruling party have the following implications:

1. Affirmation of value of the native land - Taiwan;
2. Less emphasis on nationalism;
3. Consolidation of the legitimacy of KMT's political power. (pp. 45-53)

This analysis reveals the ideological conflicts existing in the reform process of Taiwanese native cultural education. As Chou (1996) has further stated:

The opposition political pressure aims to recover native cultures and build up Taiwanese awareness through education. It also desires to obtain public recognition and support in order to form an “anti-great Chinese traditions” force.... By advancing cultural pluralism in the society and education, on the other hand, the government declares its recognition and respect for each cultural group equally and hopes to remove all discrimination in its policy on native cultures. However, there are obvious political contests in native cultural education policy. (p. 59)

In addition, concerns relating to political intervention are widely expressed. In the same way, it is believe that political interference has contributed to the uncertainties and difficulties many people experience in practice at present.

Getting to know Taiwan : A Controversial Introduction

Political implications are perhaps the most controversial issue in the development of native cultural education, particularly debates about whether native cultural education should emphasise Chinese or Taiwanese consciousness? The ruling party and opponents interpret even a same piece of teaching materials to suit their respective ideological interests. The controversies accompanying the introduction of textbooks for the new curriculum – ‘Getting to Know Taiwan’, in 1997, illustrate how the two ideologies actual confronted each other, even before the textbooks were used in the classroom. The case exemplifies the contested and politicised nature of curriculum and its implementation.

Unlike the primary school curriculum, the National Institute of Compilation and Translation still takes charge of providing standardised textbooks for ‘Getting to Know Taiwan’, including history, geography and social studies, for first year pupils in lower secondary schools. Consequently, the working committee of subject experts, educators,

school teachers and members of National Institute of Compilation and Translation has been set up. This series is an attempt to update the textbooks which were brought to Taiwan by the Kuomintang Nationalist Army from China and have been unchanged for nearly 50 years. The release of the textbooks attracted widespread criticisms before they reached the classroom. Criticism came, not only from the educational field, (college academics, school administrators, and teachers) but also from the public and politicians, and was directed primarily at the ideological content of teaching materials. Many conservatives protested outside of the education ministry building when the final version of the history book was released in May, 1997. The editors received threatening phone calls and television discussions on the subject became extremely heated.

Although the education ministry is trying to please all sides and instil some sense of national pride in children by updating textbooks, the texts are accused of being too deeply political. Among the disputes, the debate on what constitutes Taiwan's national identity is most controversial. As Sharma (1997) states:

Almost everything in the series is being questioned, including whether the 21 million inhabitants of this island should be referred to as Chinese or Taiwanese, or even the island's name, officially referred to as the Republic of China, and referred to in the books as the Republic of China on Taiwan.
(5th/Sept/97, TES)

Critics on all sides of the political spectrum, not only conservatives, say the series of textbooks is an attempt to brainwash students though it is generally acknowledged the old

texts were out of date. According to Lee Ching-hua, a New Party (opposition) legislator¹, argues that the government's purpose is to promote the notion of Taiwan's independence from China. Consequently, he held a public hearing, inviting academics and members of the compilation team. He argued that the series was about enhancing Japan's contribution but also distancing Taiwanese from Chinese cultures, and about appraising President Lee's initiatives. The series, as Lee Ching-hua claims, is aimed to sever the links between Taiwan and China. Similarly, many conservative academics contend that these texts are plagued by numerous factual errors and the compilation process is a 'black box' (Tsai and Chang, 5/06/1997)). In contrast, some legislators, from DDP, the main opposition party, assert that the history of Taiwan should not be written from a perspective of being part of China and demand that the texts for *Getting to Know Taiwan-History* needs to be re-written as it fails to address Taiwan's subjectivity.

However, a working team member, Yang, expressed the dilemma of dealing with different points of views when he said:

During the process of compilation, we tried not to become involved in any ideological and political confrontation. However, in three public hearings opposition parties, including New party and DPP, have expressed their criticisms and views which are extremely different from each other. Conservatives complain that the teaching materials are intended to subvert Great Chinese perspectives in school curriculum whereas radicals argue that the history of Taiwan is not well-presented. (Cited by Chang, 6/06/1997)

¹ The members of New Party are mainly former members of Kuomintang who are believed to be more conservative on many issues, particularly on the relationship between Taiwan and Mainland China. These members left Kuomintang and founded New Party. They insist that Taiwan is still a part of China.

In the same way, the former president of the Cultural Development, Chen (1997), expressed his similar experiences after chairing an meeting which involved politicians from different parties as well as academics. He said:

It is not so difficult to get to know Taiwan. It is in fact much harder for people to listen to each other and understand each other. (21/07/1997)

The criticisms angered the committee members. The chairman of the compiling team of *Getting to know Taiwan—History*, Huang Show-Cheng, explained that it proves the series of textbooks is somehow politically neutral and objective as the parties which adopt extreme positions are not pleased with it. He also welcomed any relevant recommendations from all sides for further amendments (6/06/1997). This series, he asserted, is significant in implementing the development of pupils' understanding of Taiwan and encouraging affection for their island. Similarly, Chiang (1997) refers to what Du, the chairman of the working committee for '*Getting to Know Taiwan-Social Studies*', has argued. Chiang expanded:

The debate on national identity seems to be religious since it can not be discussed in our society. I would like to ask those conservatives a question: how can they prove that the history textbook for 'Getting to Know Taiwan' are designed as an attempt to cut off the relationship between Taiwan and China? Has anyone carefully counted the percentage of Chinese entries in our textbooks? ... Since the members of this committee anticipated the possible ideological confrontations that this series of text might cause, yet we decided to avoid any ideology related to the debate about Taiwan's unification with or independence from China while working on the compilations. Also, we were determined to compile a set of textbooks sincerely according to the history and the reality. I think that the criticisms that come from different points of the political spectrum is an indication of the project's objectivity. (7/06/1997)

To overcome the ideological confrontation, a gradual approach proposed by the President of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Du (1997), is seen as the most

appropriate, though some conservatives claim that it is against the guidelines prescribed in the new curriculum specifications. This approach, as it has been advised, 'is a strategy for history teaching which starts from a core position, the history of Taiwan, then move out to the history of China and Asia and finally to Western civilisation and world history'. The aim of this idea, as Lin (4/06/1997) writes, is to enable pupils to be able to start understanding their living and immediate environment, Taiwan, and its value before moving forward into the international society. Further, he claims, this method of teaching also meets the principles for the compilation of *Getting to Know Taiwan-History* in the latest revised curriculum specifications.

In response to the question raised in relation to how the compilation working party was set up, one of the compilers, Yang, explained:

The working team expresses a politically and ideologically free position. The components of the compiling committee for 'Getting to Know Taiwan' includes: academics (recommended by universities and academic institutions); lower secondary school teachers (35% recommended by local educational authorities) and curriculum experts as well as compilers from the National Institute for Compilations and Translations. (reported by Han, 18/06/1997)

Following that, the Chair of the working team for history textbook, Huang (1997), also strongly declared that:

When inviting the members for this working team, I have avoided involving any one who held extreme political stance, both right and left wings, as well as those with strong views on the debate of Taiwan's independence from or unification with China. Those people are not easy to communicate or work with. Yet, it is a big headache for me as people still argue that the textbook somehow is biased towards Taiwan's independence. (cited in Chen, 4/06/1997)

The attempt to provide more information about Taiwan's own history has also not been well received. Those aboriginal Taiwanese groups, for instance, have protested that they

have been referred to as 'barbarians' in the textbook. In the same way, some critics complained that the history textbook is too 'HoLo' culture orientated and totally ignores and discriminates against other cultural and tribal groups, such as 'Hakka' in the society. Trying to explain the opinion of the working committee, Yang (1997) defended:

This series of textbooks [history, geography and social studies] is a result of many discussions and efforts in the past few years and it is not meant in any way to instigate enmity between different ethnic or cultural groups. To those who question that too much emphasis has been put on 'melting' rather than presenting the diversity existing among the tribal and cultural groups in Taiwan, I would like to make it clear that the emphasis has been placed not only on diversity but to a greater extent the project has aimed at improving the relationship between different groups of people in our society. (reported by Han, 18/06/1997)

However, regardless whether or not there are instant solutions to the fractious debates, some academics have conveyed their concerns for the ideological and political interventions in the curriculum development in Taiwan. Arguing that 'political interventions in the academic field is not a common social phenomenon', Academic Huang (6/06/1997) called for more autonomy and independent space in curriculum development.

Similarly, some also predict that there will be more ideological conflicts and debates after the government gradually devolves its power for textbooks compilations and marketing. It is therefore described as crucially important for the Ministry of Education to develop a strategy which overcomes these foreseeable problems otherwise 'opening up the textbook market could be a disaster'. (Yang, 6/06/1997)

The implementations of 'Getting to Know Taiwan' will make a significant contribution to pupils' better understanding of their living environment. But we should be careful, as

many argue, not to attempt to create a new notion of ‘political correctness’, ‘ideological correctness’ or identity correctness’ or a new ethnic identity through the school curriculum. Calling for the history education to return to a rational and enlightening nature, Huang (1997) stated:

‘Identity’ is a result of a process that involves a long period of time and complex psychological interactions. Every individual should be given the right and independence to develop their identities. We should be aware that possibly a new subverting movement will emerge once whenever a new political correctness is established. (11/06/1997)

To sum up, the current ideological division in the development of native cultural education reflects political tensions between the ruling party and its oppositions. On the one hand, opponents insist on continuing to promote a Taiwan consciousness via re-discovery of native cultures. This objective is hoped to be achieved by a form of education based on respect for cultural and ethnic differences rather than Pan-Chinese consciousness. The ruling party, on the other hand, is trying to reduce tribal antagonism through native cultural education by emphasising local cultures rather than their ethnicity. Also their policy aims to reinforce the links between the Taiwanese people and Chinese heritage.

However, it is evident from research findings that ideological disputes, between local authorities with different viewpoints, have great implications for the implementations of native culture education. More details and discussion will be given below in the relevant section.

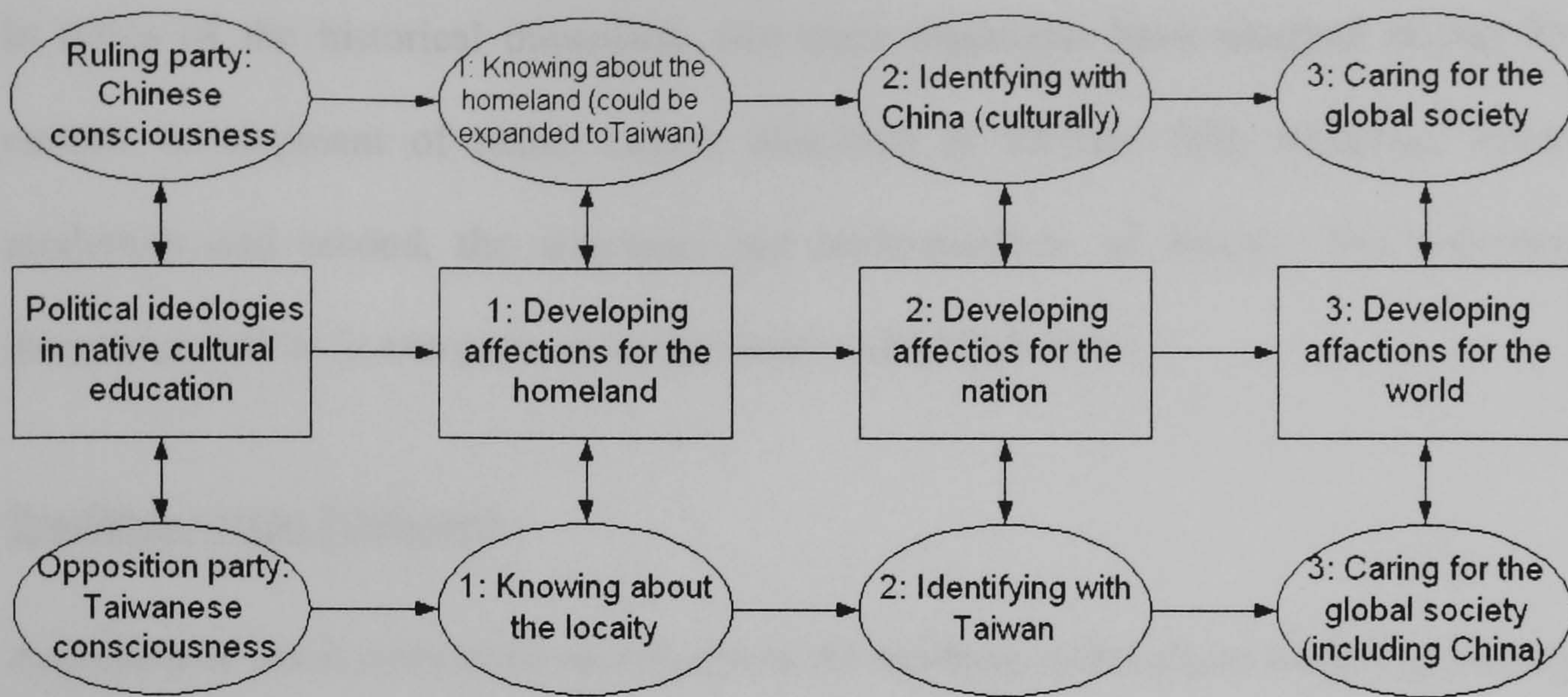


Figure 7-1: The scope and nature of the two conflicting ideologies in the context of native cultural education in Taiwan.

Section Two: Historical Aspect

Another debate is ‘what should native culture education address in terms of the historical dimension’. As Lin (1998) points out native cultural education, indeed the whole educational system, has been criticised for being over nostalgic but also described as suffering from ‘history amnesia’ (p.47). Yet it embraces the question: what knowledge is considered by historians and educators to be historically, socially and culturally significant? The question acknowledges implicitly that the native history curriculum represents “a selection from the culture of a society” (Lawton, 1973, p.9). Addressing this question is fundamental, as “certain aspects of our way of life, certain kinds of knowledge, certain attitude and values are regarded as so important that their transmission to the next generation should not be left to chance” (Lawton, 1975, pp.6-7).

In terms of the historical dimension, two main arguments have emerged during the current development of native culture education in Taiwan: first, traditions versus modernity and second, the selections and representations of history. The following discussion will be in two parts under the themes identified above.

Tradition versus Modernity

According to latest curriculum specifications the teaching of homeland studies in primary school should cover five specific subject areas: native history, native geography, native science, native art and native languages (MOE, 1994). Many still cite that too much emphasis is being placed on the past and history. As a result, a wide range of people question: "Is native cultural education only thinking of past?". In response to the debate, Chen (1996) proposed that native cultural education does not only teach children to understand the past, the history and literature of Taiwan, but more importantly, educates children to be useful members of the community and society in which one is living at the present. This, he claims, is the ultimate goal of native cultural education (pp.4-5). He then specified his statement by saying:

I think that native cultural education does not encourage nostalgia, but lays plans for the future. This education should not only teach about things which are old, traditional, local or things that have been long lost, unless there is something in them that has significance for our practical and future life or it can regenerate the local areas. (pp. 15-16)

Most people agree on what is prescribed in the curriculum specifications that native cultural education should connect pupils' learning with their real life experience and environment. In other words, it should be not only about traditions but should include what is culturally important in pupils' lives and in a modern society at the present. Wu

(1995) explains the importance of taking the social and cultural structure of a society into account while developing native cultural education, or even to a broader context, in the educational reform movement as a whole. He writes:

We need to regard the character of the society as the main influence in an educational reform movement. When we talk about native cultural education, it is essential to take what is needed in the real living environment into account, otherwise native cultures would be criticised as too sentimental. Native cultural education will only be valuable when it is developed through the actual framework of the relevant society and is able to provide pupils with knowledge and skills for their lives. (pp. 264-265)

Yet, how to adjust the balance between traditions and modernity in the curriculum development is still a controversial issue. From the perspectives of one interviewee from the practical sector, it appeared that the message in the curriculum specifications has not been well perceived by participants. It still lacks a link between learning of native cultures and pupils' living environment. She told me:

From my personal experiences and other people's ideas from the working team, we found that too much emphasis is being placed on thinking of the past and history. In fact, I think that we need to ask more how to connect pupils' learning with their life experiences and environment in native cultural education. In native cultural education, of course, history is important but not the whole past. The main focus should be 'what one needs to know as being a member of this area, this community at present'. But what is happening now seems to be going in the opposite direction toward the less relevant past. (Head Teacher Liao, 18/03/1997, p. 8)

The above statement touches on the argument made by Academic Chi who claimed that the confusion among participants resulted from being unclear about the question: 'who is native cultural education for?' This question is fundamental and needs to be answered before moving forward in curriculum development. Everyone inquiries, he explained,

What is native culture? Does it only refer to folk cultures, the past and country life in an agricultural society? For those pupils who are brought up in an urban area where they are more familiar with "Macdonald", how can they

comprehend those things? It is not their native culture. But the question here is what native culture means to pupils in urban areas? So I always wonder what actually do we mean when we talk about native cultures. (2/06/1997, p. 14)

Many (Academic Chang, Academic Chen 2, Academic Yao, , Academic Chi, Officer Tsai, Officer Liu.) suggested that the present confusion and conflicts are once again caused by the political input in the current movement, as some people want to recover the traditions and cultures that have been suppressed under the mono-cultural policy of the past. As a result, native cultural education is presented in too nostalgic a manner. Although it aims to ‘cultivate pupils’ affections for their homeland through learning about their native cultures’, according to curriculum specifications, some worry that it could lead to a negative response from the pupils if native cultural education is too sentimental.

Academic Chi expressed his apprehensions:

If we try to impose this set of native cultures from our points of view on pupils, and once again, the teaching and learning has moved far away from their real life experiences. In other words, we are asking pupils to learn what we think is important to be retained from our past and traditions. I really can not see any connection between learning of native cultures and pupils’ real lives. What I want to say here is that we need to develop native cultural education for pupils not on the basis of our values. If we tend to think of native cultures from adults’ points of view, it will result in another load of information being fed to children which may not connect with the reality of their everyday lives. (2/06/1997, p. 15)

In the same way, Head Teacher Liao told me her similar concerns during the interview.

She said:

It does not make any sense at all if we only want to ask pupils to learn to trace those things which are in the past or have already disappeared. ... pupils will not be able to show resonance if they are learning something that does not exist in their lives. If their learning is closely connected to their life, on the other hand, pupils could develop cohesion between their homeland and cultures. (18/03/1997, p.7)

In his book on the observations of cultural changes in Taiwan, Nan (1993) analysed the move towards native cultures and opinions about the relationship between modernity and native cultures in the context of Taiwan. He writes:

Native cultures and modernity are not actually in opposition to each other. When people start reflecting on their homeland and native cultures, after being tempted by modernisation, they trace the cultural subjectivity to 're-create' new forms of native cultures. In a place like Taiwan where further modernisation is needed, we ought to look at native cultures from the perspective of "modernisation", otherwise native cultures will not fit into further development. (pp. 112-113)

Academic Sung claimed that whether or not native cultural education can be implemented with connections to pupils' lives plays a crucial role for its further development. He expressed his concerns during the interview by saying:

Native cultural education should start from pupils' life experiences to enable them to comprehend issues in their living environment rather than being more attached to materials from the past. If we merely regard 'traditionalism' as the philosophy for native culture education, then it won't be able to progress, I believe. (18/06/1997, p. 3)

The Representations of History

As mentioned by many writers (Lawton, 1973, 1975; Goodson, 1992) the responsibility for the selection of 'historical' knowledge has been entrusted largely to professional historians and educators. But the process is characterised invariably by tension, conflicts and controversy. Historical and other forms of knowledge are contested within a social, cultural and intellectual milieu, which itself, as Parry (1997) puts it, is subject to continual and rapid change (p.3). Another debate raised in terms of the historical dimension is how to select and apply materials from the history of Taiwan to the teaching of native cultures, where conflicts and tensions between different groups of the society. Further, the issue of

how to represent history to pupils under the principles of teaching native cultures is considered 'sensitive'. Academic Chang revealed how he saw the nature of Taiwanese history:

When we talk about the native history of Taiwan, we easily find conflicts and contests rather than common interests between different groups in our society... How we deal with these conflicts is very important. We should not cover up conflicts, instead we need to find out how to build trust as well as understanding between different groups while representing tensions. It is the nature of native cultures in Taiwan that gives rise to many conflicts and confrontations... And, though most people are ethnic Chinese, there also have been conflicts observed among them. (10/06/1997, pp. 8-9)

He further points out that diverting conflicting events into a positive direction is as crucial as the selections of materials. He calls on people involved in the curriculum development to consider this objective before actual classroom practice takes place. He said:

Yet, the selection of material plays a crucial role. I think conflicts are unavoidable and they need to be represented when relevant. But the difficulty is how to explain, comprehend or refocus antagonisms, diverting them in a positive direction. The prevalent thought seems to be that if the teaching of Taiwanese history is very problematic, shall we try to skip over it? These disputes illustrate the most demanding aspect in developing a native cultural education in Taiwan. Though complexities are apparent, people must not be reluctant to reflect on them and come up with solutions. (10/06/1997, pp.9-10)

Take the series of textbooks for *Getting to Know Taiwan-History*, controversies can be observed in relation to the selections and representations of historical materials. A major argument arose because many criticised the books as "praising" Japanese colonisation of Taiwan. It has been suggested that the textbook was written from the perspectives of the colonisers and did not represent the reality of the situation. In response to the criticism, Professor Huang, chairman of the working team, expressed his views at the conference

where historians and academics gathered to discuss the issues raised by the new series. He said:

To answer the question of whether or not the realities of Japanese colonisation have been represented in the textbooks, I think these controversies actually result from the realities represented... It is not fair as some accuse, that the texts have been written from the viewpoint of the Japanese representative office during its rule in Taiwan. There are in fact two characteristics that can be observed in the Japanese colonisation: one colonisation and the other modernisation. In order to reflect on the realities, therefore, we have talked about colonisation in the 7th chapter, analysing the accompanying modernisation in the 8th chapter in the textbook (10/06/1997).

The other main writers for *Getting to Know Taiwan-History*, Professor Wu, echoed the above statement when he declared:

We have aimed at constructing teaching material based on objectivity and realities. We criticise when it is needed and represent the realities where relevant. ... when we talk about the modern history of Taiwan, we can not ignore the modernisation brought into the traditional and agricultural society of Taiwan by the Japanese during their 50 years' rule. On the one hand, we have criticised the dark side of colonisation and on the other, represented the high level of development resulting from this period of time. (6/06/1997)

Another issue raised is that some complained that certain events, such as 228 massacre, were not well presented. The 228 massacre can be described as a painful and sensitive incident which has caused anxieties, confrontations and hatreds among different ethnic groups for the past 50 years in Taiwan. The question of 'whether or not pupils need to be informed of this sorrowful and crucial moment of history' has been posed. And if the answer is yes, the query is how to guide pupils towards comprehension of the historical reality in a more positive way? In his article published in the memory of 228 incident on its 50th year anniversary, Professor Du (1997) urged the people of Taiwan to be "objective', thoughtful and reflective" when interpreting this moment of history. He said:

Talking about the 228 incident is likely to emphasise the hatred involved. Instead, reflections on the incident should encourage us to find out what we can learn from this painful lesson... only when the real history is represented, can the conflicts and hatred be removed. And if we don't try to reflect on this period of history, it will probably be used by some people to reinforce political differences...(28/02/1997)

The historian also has spoken from his professional point of view on how to actually deal with sensitive materials in the teaching of history. He insisted it is not valuable to view history from the present context but claimed that the principle was not to make moral judgements, (who's right or who's wrong), but to provide pupils with the reality of history. (Du, 28/02/1997)

But many doubt the goal prescribed in the curriculum specifications which aims to help different cultural and tribal groups of people to understand each other better and appreciate the difference and diversity through learning native cultures. These critics assert that more conflicts are apparent among the sub-groups as a result of the current movement of native cultural education. The series of 'Getting to Know Taiwan', for instance, is accused by some conservatives to be too "HoLao-ism" centred. They claim:

The contents of the textbooks are dominated by 'HoLao' culture and totally ignore and discriminate against other cultural and tribal groups, such as 'HaKka' in our society. (Cited in Han, 11/06/1997)

In relation to the above argument, Academic Chang when interviewed expressed similar views and suggested:

We need to be aware of that it is not self-evident that people will be able to understand and show more respect for each other through native cultural education. It all depends on how we deal with the historical raw materials. It requires certain skills, knowledge as well as understanding to transmit this information into the practical needs of the curriculum. (10/06/1997, p.8)

In relation to this debate, conflicts often emerge when the same history is observed from the standpoint of different cultural or ethnic groups. For example, the historical relationship between ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese aborigines in the past is a case which exposes the complexities and conflicts involved. Academic Yao produced one example during our interview.

Teaching native cultures or native history could bring implicit antagonism between different groups into the open. For instance, there is a temple in the town where I live. This was built in the memory of our ethnic Chinese ancestors of their development in the locality. For the aborigines in this area, on the other hand, it is a symbol of their sorrowful past when they were oppressed. Thus, when we write the teaching materials, we have to bear in mind that the same history can be defined and interpreted conflictingly by different tribal or cultural groups. (20/06/1997, p.6)

Nevertheless, it is put forward that native history teaching could be based on the perspectives of the ethnic Chinese as they are now the majority in society. At the same time teachers should encourage pupils to look at the same history from the perspectives. Many urge teachers to be tolerant towards multiple-interpretations of the same matter instead of making judgements from their personal or ethnic standpoint. To a further extent, Academic Yao also encourages teachers to hold discussions with pupils once they reach higher grades on different issues. Mature open discussion, he believes, could develop in the pupils a broader perspective and more tolerance for others. He goes on to confirm:

This is a good way for pupils to listen to different points of view and to think more through discussion instead of only being given a 'standard' version of history. I personally think that it would cultivate in pupils a multiple way of thinking and it is a sort of training that could enable them to live in a multicultural society.(20/06/1997, p.6)

Section Three: Geographical Dimension

Two main issues have been raised in terms of a geographical dimension in the development of native cultural education. According to the gathered data, first, the government tends to follow a programme of “globalisation”, which is described as the mainstream in the international society, both in general as well as educational policies. Thus, the value of native cultural education which promotes regionalism is being widely disputed. The second issue concerns the interrelationship between “local and state” in education since for the first time in Taiwanese history a tendency towards ‘decentralisation’, caused by the development of native culture education, can be detected.

Localisation versus Globalisation

The MOE stated in the latest curriculum revision the basic principle should be the teaching is “rooted in Taiwanese history and cultures and, then, and only then, it should look towards China and further towards the global society”. The ultimate goal of this educational reform movement is to educate pupils to have “affections for their homeland and cultures, caring for China as well as global perspectives” (MOE, 1993). As a consequence, new subjects have been put in place in both primary and secondary education along with an attempt to encourage teachers to use where relevant native culture materials to their instruction. Native cultural education, as Chou (1996) defines.

aims to cultivate pupils' awareness for their homeland and native cultures by emphasising the subjectivity and unique nature of one society. (p.49) To a further extent, it is also proposed that native cultural education will help build cohesion between the people of Taiwan, creating a 'Taiwanese unity' before expanding to a concept and awareness of global society.

These ideas have been widely supported by the government. In the closing ceremony of the 7th National Education Conference in 1995, the former Prime Minister, Lien Tan, (currently the vice-president of Taiwan), emphasised that educational reform needs to aim at cultivating pupils to become 'world citizens', and at the same time promoting an education that identifies our native cultures. He explained:

If we want to stand in the international community, we need to identify with our native cultures and at the same time to have open perspectives toward being part of the global society. So educational development should be based on developing native identities and global perspectives.... While addressing the internationalisation of education, we also have to emphasise native cultural education as it is the foundation for us to show the international community the power and values of our Taiwanese way of life. (MOE, 1995, pp.21-22)

The question if there is a link between identifying native cultures, identifying Taiwan, China and further to the world in native cultural education in opposition to globalisation has attracted criticism and wide discussion. Extreme viewpoints from each side are apparent. Academic Chang (1997) questioned the goal set by the MOE that teaching of native cultures helps people build a 'Taiwanese unity' and further care for the international community. He argued, that the logic of moving towards globalisation is

doubtful, especially in the context of Taiwan where historical conflicts and confrontations among different sub-groups of people are prevalent. He expanded on his opinion:

In theory, it is possible that pupils will care for other communities and extend this care to bigger communities such as the nation or global society through learning and understanding their own community. But, in practice, it might not be the case. For instance, if there are confrontations between different community members in their history, then it will not be possible to develop pupils' affections for their community or nation or further outwards to a global society. It will certainly be hard for aborigines to accept ethnic Chinese cultures after they have learnt their history and background, and discovered how much their own cultures have been oppressed by the Chinese. The process of learning is not as easy as the government suggests. (10/06/1997, p.2)

Similarly, Academic Tan contended the position and value of native cultures in education by stating:

I personally question the logic of moving towards globalisation through native cultural education. I really can not see the link. If we are asking pupils to learn other cultures while promoting native cultures in our education, then there is no difference from learning the geography and history as we perceived it before. (19/06/1997, p.2)

Externally, some worry that it might result in Taiwan being an isolated island if too much emphasis is put on native cultural education. Chen (1995) expressed his concerns:

If we become too radical on native cultural education, the consequences will be the creation of cultural isolation or another hegemony. In other words, Taiwan will possibly become an isolated island, culturally, which will have negative consequences on building national identity and global perspectives. (p. 24)

In the same way, Academic Sung projected the further development of native cultural education and its role in the move toward globalisation during our interview. He speculated:

I think that native cultural education will only be able to move forward if developed on the basis of native cultures and connected with wider world cultures. We need to develop a native cultural education that in the end is not only local or regional. We have to accept the ultimate goal is that one should be able to develop and construct his/her world-view through the learning of native cultures. (18/06/1997, p.2)

In contrast, many still believe that having a native identity is essential for living in a global society and that local and global understanding is vitally linked. The idea of how patriotism works in relation to global perspectives has invited serious discussion in North America in recent years. Borrowing from the argument of Professor MacConell (an academic from University of Chicago), the Taiwanese observer, Wu (1996), asserted:

A global identity can only be meaningful when it extends from identification with a particular culture. (19/09/1996)

Furthermore, Bok (a professor from Harvard) also applied this idea claiming that an individual would lose its ability to identify with any culture if he/she was not brought up within an education which is rooted in a particular cultural or traditional context. (Wu, 19/09/1996).

In the same way, Academic Wu argued that education in Taiwan previously failed to provide knowledge and understanding about our past, selves and cultures, though this information is essential for an individual. He interpreted native cultural education, holding it is important for an individual to identify with his/her native culture in order to be able to live in the context where interaction with diverse cultures is required. He said:

Native cultural education is an approach through which we could be able to find our self-identities. From this, one would be able to tell 'who I am', 'where I am from', 'what ethnic background I have', 'what is my living environment like' and so on through learning native cultures before moving on to think about other cultures or where to go. But our education did not tell

us where we were from and teach us about our cultures. Today we easily find ourselves without any cultural characteristics when having contact with other cultures. It is somehow scary to have no identity while being a member of a 21st century global village. (11/05/1997, pp4-5)

In response to the concern that promotion of native culture education might result in isolating Taiwan from the international society, some have attempted to look at the relationship between native and world cultures from historical and geographical aspects. Chuang (1995) claimed that Taiwan has been historically playing an important role in world history since the 17th century. Since, as he further stated, then Formosa, Taiwan, was the centre of military confrontations between major European and Eastern power, Dutch, Spanish, Japanese and Chinese Ching Dynasty. In terms of its geography, at the same time, Taiwan has been one of the most important points for international trading and transmitting of ideas and goods in south-east Asia. Through this background, he argued, Taiwan has a multicultural nature resulting from interactions with world society. (pp.252-254). As far as native culture education is concerned, Academic Yao explained that there is no need to worry about Taiwan being isolated from the world while promoting native cultures. He postulated:

I mean unlike Mainland China, which is far more closed, Taiwan is an island and it is very easy for Taiwan to join in the world system. In fact, it is true that Taiwan has been encountering different cultures and experiencing cross-cultural marriage for a long time. Personally, I have just happened to realise that Hui-Lien area [the place where he lives in] has already been in the world system since the 17th century. (20/06/1997, p.2)

Nevertheless, it is believed that how teaching is taking place, in practical terms, plays a crucial role in producing links between native and world cultures. (Chuang, 1995; Wu, 1995). In slight contrast, Academic Yao further suggested the importance of teachers' professional knowledge and skills in conducting lessons:

I am very positive about linking the learning of native culture with global society. I mean the actual teaching practice is very important. Take this example of contact between local and global contexts: we could bring in a metaphor of the global by teaching pupils to observe the migratory birds in our area, telling them where they come from, how they move according to the seasons... and so on. I mean, I believe that the instructions of native cultures could be linked with the world through different teaching approaches. (20/06/1997, p. 10)

Local versus State

Since the aim is to build up pupils' understanding and affections of the place where they live, each local educational authority (LEA) has been designated power and responsibility for the development of native cultural education to meet these local needs. Therefore, for the first time in Taiwanese education, different LEAs are in charge of curriculum development. This change corresponds with the tendency of 'de-centralisation' in education. Another debate raised here is whether developing native culture curriculum locally could result in 'localism' and separation or fragmentation within the nation. As Academic Chi argued:

I think that if too much emphasis is placed on local cultures, each area might develop their own enclave. (2/06/1997, p.2)

In response to this, different points of view have been analysed. Proclaiming "a state in fact does not have any culture but instead it consists of many sub-cultures", Academic Yao believes that local cultures to the state is like an "egg yolk to an egg":

I think that 'local' is the base and foundation from which one nation constructs its national cultures. I would say local culture is just like 'egg yolk' to a national culture. People start identifying with their 'homeland', local cultures and then further identify with the nation and national cultures. Local is the foundation of national identity. (20/06/1997, p.1)

The education in Taiwan has been severely criticised for not providing pupils with opportunities to identify with or relate to their 'homeland', community and local cultures but instead instilling a national identity in them from the beginning of primary education. As a result of the national spirit curriculum in the past decades, many believe that national identity has been constructed without a root: or to put it in Academic Yao's words, "there is only egg shell and white but no egg yolk". Subsequently, he claimed that native or local cultures is not in opposition to a state culture and needs to be re-emphasised in education before a more solid national identity can be developed in the context of Taiwan.

Academic Chuang defended his position by saying:

People might argue that the point I have made that native cultures are separate entities and at the same time are the foundation for national identity is contradictory and it could cause trouble for national unity. But I think that we need to go in this direction in Taiwan due to its historical context. (18/06/1997, p.9)

In Tsan and Weng's (1995) writing on the shift toward native cultural education in the current reforms, they enumerate the relationship between local and state attitudes. To their analysis, there are actually two features that create a link between these viewpoints. On the one hand, native cultural education practices favour the forming of a national identity or might result in becoming "over nationalised". In contrast, while promoting and helping students identify with their own cultures, this form of education could reduce the dependence on other cultures and become an obstacle for national unity (p.270). Therefore, in promoting native cultures whether each local area will or will not be isolated from the state system is the key dispute. The answer to this question could determine which of these two features prevails. They expanded on the potentials of the options:

The question is if each local area or community is a closed unit. I mean, if there are no communications through emotions, economy or information between people in different individual units, or interactions between areas or communities, then promoting native cultures would most likely become an obstruction to national unification or result in separatism. If a local area or community is an open system and there are public events involving people from different individual units, with different kinds of communications and interactions between areas, then, the promotion of native cultures could help build a national identity and national unification. (pp. 270-271)

In relation to this, a supportive view is also given by the former magistrate of I-Lan county, Mr. Yu Shi-Kuen who was the first one to officially promote native cultural education in a local area. In the statement made in his proposal to the local council for the teaching of native cultures, he declared:

As far as I-Lan county is concerned, we are ready and happy to be in touch with any cultures from which people could benefit as we are living in a multicultural society. Even though we are trying to revive our own native cultures which have been repressed and have almost disappeared, at the same time we welcome different cultures. We are planning to promote a cultural movement which involves different cultures, both old and new, traditional and modern and also Western as well as oriental... so that teaching of native cultures will not result in localism. Instead, it is actually a starting point towards enhancing multicultural understanding and creating a multicultural society... (in Ou, *et al.*, 1996, p.34)

In contrast, some are concerned about localism and still think it could be a problem in the recent development, unless a clear position of its role in the whole curriculum can be identified. Academic Tan suggested that it would help remove insecurities, caused by the great diversity between areas or worries about localism, if native cultural education is developed in a context of Taiwanese cultures being seen as core or mainstream. He expanded this point, saying:

Whether or not native cultural education will result in localism depends on how we deal with teaching materials and curriculum development. For example, pupils might only identify with the place or cultures of the area in which they live after learning about native cultural education.... We need to

be clear about where teaching and learning of native cultures stand in the whole curriculum. If we could still have a general approach or agree to a common ground that native cultural education is developed from the position of a core or mainstream culture, then there would be less worry about localism or separation. (19/06/1997, pp.2-3)

Altogether, there are good reasons for participants in the current reform movement to be cautious about employing a regional approach. Olster (1997) argues “regionalism may be useful for the investigation of particular historical problems, but regionalism can also result in misleading conclusions and a narrowing of perspectives” (p.26). In her paper, presented at the International Conference on Native History Education, in Taipei, 1997, she gave suggestions on developing teaching materials for regional cultures and their histories. After her analysis on ‘Regionalism in American Historiography: the “New Western History”’. She concluded:

No place in the country lacks complex and diverse race relations. From this perspective, although historians should remain attentive to the particular textures of local and regional history, they should be cautious about overemphasising the distinctiveness of the local and the regional and should be always looking for ways to connect the local and the regional to national and world context. (p.26)

Olster’s (1997) comments reflect the conflicts in the present climate of educational reform in Taiwan. Particularly, she adopted a mediating position between the more politicised extremes of emphasising the nation or the locality. The fear of local areas producing insular attitudes needs to be set against the fear that too much emphasis on the nation state could be interpreted as pro-Chinese and retrogressive in the immediate Taiwanese context.

Section Four: Political Assertion or Education?

Looking at the development of native cultural education shows that its promotion can be interpreted a result of political confrontations in recent decades. The termination of Martial Law is regarded by many (Huang, 1994; Ou, *et al.*, 1996; Lin, 1997, San, *et al.*, 1997) as the crucial point, subsequently, native cultures began to emerge in education. In the 70's, Taiwanese native consciousness was still submerged in a larger Chinese consciousness. In the democracy which replaced Martial Law, native cultural education began to be promoted by some opposition local governments through the 'bottom-up' approach. This took place before native cultures were recognised by the central government and introduced more widely into compulsory education. Consequently, new subjects in both primary and secondary schools related to native cultural education have been established.

That political implications have played a key role in the current move to promote native cultural education can not be over-stated. Many believe its promotion, as Chang (1997) states, helps “ to fight back the authoritarian governing power which dominated past decades” (p.9). Thus, many observers are concerned about the further development of native cultural education which is still entangled in the confrontation between different political forces. Academic Chang said in our interview:

In the past, we [Taiwanese people] did not care about teaching native or local cultures. Native cultural education is an immediate reaction to the past and in this sense it is like a force fighting against the legacy of Martial Law. But this symbolic role fulfilling the needs for changes at this moment might not last, whereas native cultural education should initially give us a chance to reform our education. But the political content of the reform is still too volatile in the current development. I am worried that this promotion of native cultures is too attached to the present political power and any political change could lead to people being less interested in native cultures. Therefore, it could be die out. I mean that its future could be endangered as it reflects the political situation not necessarily education in the context of Taiwan. (10/06/1997, p.16-17)

Academic Chen 2 has attempted to look at the development in Taiwan from the perception of sociology and has concluded that:

I was hoping to look at this movement from the perspectives of sociology or civil society in the western world.... but I found that native cultural education in Taiwan is in fact a result of political confrontation. It is an unique issue. I mean that nothing in relation to sociology could be traced from its development. It is more to do with emotional or ethnic interactions. So that notions of native cultures in education are very unclear and there is not a core in its development. It is very different from what is in any Western civil society. (18/06/1997, p.1)

Similarly, some argue that political influence has pushed native culture education forward, but at the same time also resulted in a lack of theoretical foundation for its development. During the interview, Academic Chi claimed:

Looking at its development, politics has been a leading force and that is why people don't have any theory to trace or to refer to while involved in curriculum development.(2/06/1997, p.2)

According to the gathered data, many different interpretations of native cultural education have been expressed. Confusion, conflicts and differences appear in the methods people employ. As Academic Chin (1996), the educational researcher in Taiwan Provincial Teachers Research Centre, described the current development as “chaotic” and far too “politicised” (4/03/1996, p.13). In the same way, Officer Liu was worried that the funding

for the curriculum development relating to native cultural education might be cut off if there is any change in political ideology. (13/05/1997, p.5) These confronting ideologies and political forces observed back up Academic Chen 2's description of native cultural education, as "another political battle field". (18/06/1997, p.2) Related to these battles, the following case studies with evidence drawn from analysed data will be provided together with discussion.

Case One: The Change of Political Power

As has been stated, the political position of each LEA has a great impact on the interpretation of native cultural education. This has reflected its diversity in both policy and implementation of all subjects. The issue of the teaching of native cultures is the most significant difference observed. For instance, in LEA Pineapple, the current county magistrate (KMT) has suspended the projects dedicated to native cultural education undertaken by the previous government (DPP, one of the opposition parties), Teacher Kuo, who took part in the previous projects, told me that:

The emphasis of those projects was mainly placed on preserving native languages as well as promoting native language teaching in schools. As a result, there have been a series of teaching materials published together with audio tapes and teaching aids. In addition, he also promoted co-operation between the LEA and the teachers college in our area to carry out relevant research. But since his power has ended as a result of the last election, the current county government has started another series of works that emphasises completely different dimensions in native cultural education. (22/01/1996, p.4)

In the same way, Officer Lee, who is currently in charge of the curriculum development for in LEA Pineapple, explained what has happened in this change.

I took over this work after the new government took power. Our new magistrate has his own ideas on the development of native cultural education which are different from the previous conditions. For instance, he thought that too much emphasis was placed on language issues in past government's projects. He insists that we need to follow what is prescribed in the curriculum specifications and try to develop native culture as part of Chinese cultures. Instead of laying stress on the language issue, he also suggests that we need to cover and balance the five areas, native history, native geography, native art, native science, and native languages, required in the curriculum specifications. So even though our county was one of the leading areas which started promoting native cultures before the central government's recognition, we have to start again as different things are required. We only use the previous published materials as reference if necessary. (29/01/96, p.6)

Case Two: Whose Mother Languages?

LEA Plum was the first local government which started promoting native cultural education. The local government's programming and regulating the educational policy has been regarded as a significant action indicating the move towards a 'bottom-up' approach. With regard to native cultural education, as a consequence, a series of projects such as compiling teaching materials on native cultures for secondary pupils and teachers' guidebooks for native language teaching, have been established. One out of ten lessons per week designated to Mandarin in the primary school syllabus has been assigned to mother tongue teaching through the county council, without the central government's approval, since 1990. Thus, studying the mother-language of the majority, HoLao dialect, for one hour per week, has become in the region compulsory for all primary pupils, regardless of their backgrounds. From interviewing Officer Shie (who is currently in charge of the curriculum development in LEA Plum), I obtained a more intimate understanding of the project from a very early stage. She told me:

The policy of including mother-tongue teaching in primary schools started by our former county magistrate in 1990. As a result of his promotion, one hour per week for teaching mother tongue became compulsory for pupils in primary schools. What we regard as mother tongue here refers to HoLao dialect as most people in our county are from this background. The main idea of this policy has been basically aimed at providing pupils with a more open linguistic environment in which they could learn their mother languages as well as other languages. This is new for teachers as most of them have not had relevant training or experiences. To overcome this problem and to help teachers in their practice, a series of training courses have taken place together with the project of HoLao Dialect Experimental Teaching Materials compilation. This set of teaching materials are more like teaching guidebooks, as they are mainly for teachers' use not pupils'. In each of our administrative towns, in-service training courses have been held by the county government or central schools. All teachers in our region have had to attend the training courses. The idea has been not to develop teachers' pedagogic skills but to pass on the ideas, the concepts and the goals of this policy. (17/04/1997, p.7)

In contrast to Officer Shie, from a classroom perspective, the way teachers have perceived this policy's messages and reacted to it is a key issue that has emerged from the data. One teacher interviewed unmasked her feelings:

It is actually torture for me to teach *THE* mother tongue in schools as it is not my mother tongue at all. I can not speak or understand it myself. My family is one of those who came over to Taiwan with KMT government in 1949 and I do not have a HoLao background. Teaching HoLao dialect one hour per week has been specified by the county government and I have no choice but to teach it. I have really found it difficult to do it though I have been on several training courses. So what I normally do is play tapes to my pupils during that lesson. I am unclear whether they have learnt anything or not as I have no idea of the language myself. I believe that some of my pupils can speak it much better than me. Personally I hope that we could have specialists for that lesson or change it to being one of the extra-curricular activities instead of being a formal teaching requirement. (Teacher Hu, 17/04/1997, p.3, my emphasis)

Case Three: The "HOT" Issue

In LEA City Papaya, the former city mayor (DPP) announced that from 1997 native cultural materials would be included in the higher secondary schools' regional entrance

examination. According to his proposal, 30% of the questions would be tested on issues associated with native cultures. As a result, native cultural education, as Officer Tzen (20/03/1997) described, has become a 'HOT' topic attracting the attention of teachers, pupils and parents in the region. One of the officers dealing with the development of native cultural education in the local government told me of the impact observed as a result of this policy.

Generally speaking, the mayor did not really push us too hard to promote any policy specific to a particular cultural background as our region is a modern capital city. However, he insisted that we have to actually implement teaching of native cultures in schools. In addition, he also tried to push people to be aware of native cultural education. He announced that 30% of the test in higher secondary school entrance examination would be based on native cultures in our region from this year. It is said that this percentage will be increased to 40% next year. So a lot of people have been to our office to ask for relevant references. Also, we have received more and more phone calls after the mayor recently said that information on one of the historical sites, Chih-San-Ien, will also be part of the test. You know, people became nervous after he said something like that. I mean teachers and parents become more nervous when anything is added to the examination. In fact, whether or not native cultures will be part of the test all depends on the chief examiners' decision. I guess that there could be a lot of complaints if in the end those issues are not tested. (Officer Chiang, 7/04/1997, pp.3-4)

The above cases show that political factors have influenced the development of native cultural education in Taiwan. Though described as a result of the historical and political background of Taiwan, many are concerned that the initiatives for native cultural education could be damaged because of it is allied with certain political perspectives that could change at any moment. Officer Liu worried:

Because native cultural education originated from recent political changes, so it remains unstable. The position of these new ideas in education might be altered by any changes political preferences. And also you know, most of those who are making decisions on educational policies are not from the education field. For instance, I am afraid that the funding might be

discontinued if changes occur and at that point we would have to suspend the current projects. (13/05/1997, pp.2-3)

By contrast, some held more positive views on political interventions and believed that this could be a catalyst for advancing native cultural education, still the major work of the current policy. Academic Ku elaborated:

At this moment, the political condition is not so stable. We never know what could happen to native cultural education if change occurs. So we need to have certain things in place which are important for the development of native cultural education while the issue is 'HOT'. I mean that we need to use the funds and resources that come with the political interventions as much as possible at the present. (17/06/1997, p.6)

Possible negative influences on native cultural education as a result of current political involvement have also emerged from the gathered data. Some argue that confusions in the value system, stopping the growth or undermining the quality of civilisation might be a consequence of over-adoring native cultures. (Nan, 1993; Choun, 1995). Also many have claimed, if the political intrusion continues, another cultural hegemony could result.

These concerns appear to reflect how people interpret native cultures in the current movement. In this regard, Deng's work (1995) looks at the relationship between history, identity construction and Taiwanese nationalism, by analysing the teaching materials in I-lan and Kaohsiung counties. He argues that most confusions come from 'native cultures' being characterised by one or another particular ethnic background or area. (p.53) This emphasis could produce, as Chang (1997) claims, another cultural hegemony. Approximating this point of view, Officer Tasi has related his concerns in dealing with the development of native culture education in his locality. He feared:

It is not easy for different voices to be heard or identified. But when people speak a similar voice, this does not mean they are holding the same views. People like us, who speak a similar voice working in an official department, appear to follow the same as we are told by the higher officers or what is regarded as the mainstream ideology in the current political environment. But I question myself and ask: is speaking the party line right? I really doubt it in the native cultural education. But once we try to express different points of view, people could easily accuse us of stalling the current reform movement. Against this possibility, we tend to keep quiet. With the presence of this threat, I wonder if the current changes in education support the notion of multiculturalism or just another way to impose an authoritarian system? (28/04/1997, p.18)

In the same way, Academic Chang replied with his concerns describing the current development as dominated by HoLao culture. He warned that political confrontation could become an endless cycle of different cultural hegemonies if tolerance and respect for cultural diversity are not rooted in native cultural education. He said:

If you think that you have been repressed in the past, then you need to help those who were also repressed while you stand up and shout about your own culture rather than being the one to repress others. Then we could have peace. But once you are in power, if you then go back and repress those who have repressed you, or have been repressed in the past, then you are going to have hegemony and there will be no end of it. We need to be sensitive to other cultures rather than repressing them for the sake of our own. (10/06/1997, p.10)

Altogether many believe that the confusions and conflicts are consequences of political interventions as well as a lack of theoretical foundations for the development of native cultural education. The analysis in relation to these issues will be the subject of the next part of my discussion.

CHAPTER EIGHT: TEACHING OF NATIVE CULTURES AND CURRICULUM

Section One: Curriculum Development

Single or integrated subject

In addition to encouraging the application of native cultures into teaching when relevant, new subjects, (Homeland Studies Activity in primary and ‘Getting to Know Taiwan’ and Native Art Activity’ in secondary schools), have been established in the current promotion of native culture in education. However, many have argued, looking at recent development, that the setting-up of these new subjects results from political confrontations. This has led on to the question of whether native cultures should be taught as a single subject or integrated into the whole curriculum. In the report by Council of Educational Reform (1996) it recommended that native cultures should be taught in the appropriate area of curriculum rather than becoming separate subjects (p.38). This recommendation is echoed by the research examining the current developments of native culture education in compulsory schooling that finds more than 60% of the informants are against the idea of separating teaching of native cultures as single subjects (San *et al.*, 1997, p.133). Yet, the question of abolishing those new subjects in the next curriculum review remains controversial. From both theoretical and practical sectors, different points of view exist.

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Arguing that native cultural materials were part of social studies in the primary curriculum before the current movement, Officer Liu pointed out that ‘Homeland Study Activity’ and social studies are actually “overlapping” in terms of their nature and scope (13/05/1997). One academic in curriculum development at Taiwan Provincial Teachers Research Centre, Academic Chin (1996) claimed that the establishment of new subjects has resulted in great difficulties and confusions for practitioners. She added:

the sense of native cultures has long been in the curriculum as part of social studies. Since the policy of promoting it as a single subject was made through the bottom-up approach without thoughtful planning in curriculum development and we can see so many problems and conflicts related to teaching materials, teachers’ ability, and so on while each local area is trying to implement it. (27/02/1996, pp.16-17)

Yet, Huang’s analysis (1994) reveals that though the notion of native cultures was included in curriculum specifications for social studies¹, there was in practice little emphasis on native culture materials. She writes:

Taking social studies as an example, developing pupils’ affection for their homeland was one of the key attainments prescribed in social studies curriculum specifications in 1963, 1968, 1975 and the revised specifications of 1980 inherited this tradition.... But previous research has shown that there was little evidence of this found in the teaching materials as well as teaching activities in social studies in classroom practices.(p.38)

Therefore, many believe that there are significant reasons for the establishment of new subjects in the context of Taiwan where native cultures have been neglected. It is argued that the setting up of ‘Homeland Study Activity’ would help pupils recognise and identify their native cultures. After being involved in the promotion of gender and native culture education in primary schools, Head Teacher Feng, sharing her experiences, said:

¹ “Developing pupils’ affections for their homeland” has been one of the principles in the curriculum specifications for social studies revised in 1962, 1968 and 1975. (Huang, 1994, p. 55).

If everyone were aware of native cultural issues, there would be no need to have any specific subjects. Though it is in theory actually better to integrate native cultural materials into the whole curriculum, in practice it would be harder to implement. In the end, it would become something 'transparent' and then 'disappear'. Teaching native cultures as designated subjects has its own value at this moment. It could then push teachers to face this issue, to look for teaching materials, to learn and to teach. At present, being single subjects make a significant contribution. Otherwise, it would resemble the outcome of gender issues, which have resulted in no implementation in actual practice, as it is supposed to be integrated into the whole curriculum without any time or curriculum development put in place. (16/06/1997, p.4)

In response to confusions, conflicts and anxieties, observed among participants, in local areas while dealing with the changes caused by the establishment of the new subjects, Academic Yao positively believes that it is an inevitable process of its development. He made the following statement in support of current policy.

Despite those confusions, I feel very positive about further development. I mean that the process of becoming a single subject is helpful in terms of the growth of Taiwan consciousness and recognition of native cultures which we rarely cared about before.... Since we have been used to the 'top-down' approach in the education before, it is actually understandable that there are so many confusions, contradictions, conflict in the development. We have had to start from zero, I mean from the very beginning. (20/06/1997, p.10)

Favouring the establishment of new subjects, some argue that the approach of integrating native cultural materials into the whole curriculum (suggested by MOE) is in fact impractical. According to analysed data, people mainly from the practical sector have encountered different problems. Taking teaching materials into account, Head Teacher Lee pointed out:

It would be practically impossible to include in other subjects teaching materials related to native cultures. Not only due to standardised textbooks we have in Taiwan, it would also be hard since teaching materials published by private sectors to cover local cultures or issues does not meet the market's need (27/02/1997, p.1).

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He further expressed his views on the foreseeable difficulties in implementation as it would become an extra burden for teachers if they need to collect relevant information themselves. He said:

But if you ask teachers to assimilate native cultural materials into their teaching when relevant, then I could guarantee only one out of ten teachers is going to actually implement it. It is impossible to ask all teachers to collect data or plan their teachings around native cultural issues if there is not a formal curricular requirement or subject. ... And also it is in fact difficult for teachers who are not from a local area to go out and collect information since they are unfamiliar with the areas themselves. (27/02/1997, p.3)

Similarly, in response to the expectations made on teachers to apply native cultures, most teachers interviewed see it as an extra work and claim that it is not manageable to actually implement it in addition to their “overloaded” work.

One teacher told me that:

In actual practice in classrooms, we really don't have any more time or energy to think of applying relevant native cultural materials to our teaching as we have a lot of pressure on keeping up with the teaching schedule everyday. We have already got more than enough to do and really have no time to think of collecting information or data for native cultures (Teacher Hu, 17/04/1997, p.1).

While generally there is a tendency towards integration in primary curriculum, some question if the establishment of ‘Homeland Study Activity’ contradicts this present mood in education. As one class teacher explained:

While we are trying so hard to integrate primary curriculum in general and move towards open education, I really can not understand why more subjects need to be set up. (Teacher Chen, 14/05/1997, p.6)

Those against the establishment of new subjects argue that the notion of native cultures and homeland should be regarded as starting points for every subject. In other words,

many claim that pupils' learning should start - regardless of subject - from their living environment and the cultures in their immediate context. As academic Chen 1 claimed:

The new established subjects are actually a result of political confrontation, whilst native cultural education is aimed to develop pupils' understanding of their living environment. Thus it should be integrated into different subjects, such as music, art, science and so on. Then pupils can be aware of their native cultures through the perspective of every subject. (16/06/1997, p.2)

Those who support the idea of integration argue that the application of a hidden curriculum is crucial to the success of the introduction of native cultural education. Ku (1996) writes:

The concept of native cultural education being concealed should also be taken into account. I believe that this method could produce better outcomes than the subjects being taught on its own as pupils will not be under as much pressure from other learning activities. (pp.18-19)

Furthermore, some insist that native culture education could be implemented both through being taught as single subjects as well as integrated into the whole curriculum. It is argued, on the one hand, that there is no contradiction in developing both approaches and, on the other, this perhaps would be the best solution for actual teaching practice.

Pertinently, Head Teacher Liao disclosed her views during our interview:

I think that there is no doubt that teaching of native cultures could be actually linked to other subjects in the curriculum. Every teacher needs to try to do this. But at the same time, it could also be taught as single subjects as there will be more time and emphasis for its implementation. We could operate both ways at the same time and I can not see any problem in doing this. (18/03/1997, p.1)

A similar view is presented by Officer Chiang who argued:

Even though ideally it might be better that it could be an integrated part in the curriculum but being a single subject could enable teachers to conduct teaching on a deeper level. There is no need to choose one or the other. We could implement both ways together. (7/04/1997, p.3)

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However, it is suggested, that teachers' views on how to best deliver teaching of native cultures should be consulted before the next stage of revision. At present, there is no clear answer. But, as many have pointed out, difficulties in terms of implementation have been observed and are foreseen as consequences of the establishments of these subjects. Informants, from personal experiences, express concern and anticipate problems resulting from the establishment of new subjects. Apprehensions from gathered data can be categorised into four aspects of actual practice and will be discussed in the following session.

How To Implement?

A.) who is going to teach

Since most teachers gain no relevant experience for teaching native cultures during their professional education, the first question to emerge is 'who is going to teach these subjects in classes?' Is it going to be class teachers or specialist from primary schools? Or should schools bring in experts or local artists? As far as the 'Homeland Study Activity' in primary schools is concerned, most people suggest that class teachers are the most appropriate instructors of the activities in terms of allocations of time and curriculum. As

Head Teacher Chang explained:

I think that it would be easier to arrange the time and teaching activities if class teachers could take charge of 'Homeland Study Activity' in primary schools where teachings are conducted on a class basis. (22/04/1997, pp.1-2)

In contrast, arguing that native cultural teaching will not be well delivered by class teachers, as they are in general over worked, some suggest that having specialists or letting social studies teachers take charge would be a better solution. This question has

increased significance, as there are no government regulations about who should teach the subjects in practice, so schools are left to make their own staffing-decisions. In lower secondary schools, with regard to the new subjects, there has been confusion and teachers and the Dean of studies have complained about difficulties and experiences encountered during the first year of practice. The main problem for the Dean of studies concerns the inconsistency between the old and new curriculum specifications in terms of time allocations. The following statement made by a Dean of studies from a secondary school in a workshop (held as part of the recent government funded research project) illustrates the point:

In the new curriculum specifications, coming into practice in 1997 there is only one hour per week for history, geography and civil education for Year One pupils, instead of two hours per week as the old curriculum provided (the other hours are now for 'Getting to Know Taiwan'). As a result of this change, some teachers have been unable make up the teaching hours required. In order to make up the hours, I then have to ask them to teach 'Native Art Activity' instead. I just ask them to study a bit and leave them to decide what to teach themselves, whether they are qualified or not. (Cited in San *et al.*, 1997, p.118)

Due to the broad nature and contents of native arts, practitioners are described as experiencing great difficulties in implementation. 'Native Art Activity', for instance, has generated lots of complaints as well as controversy from people in the practical sector. Consequently, involvement of artists and experts from local community is suggested in order to overcome the shortage of professional instruction. Teacher Chen suggested that teachers can play the role of employing relevant resources and involving experts rather than conducting activities themselves.

Teachers do not need to be the ones who conduct teaching activities. Instead we could look for resources or experts to lead the class and give professional demonstrations. I believe pupils can learn more by working with professionals

than with us. I mean we can only teach something superficial about native arts as we are not experts. We can not teach everything. I urge that schools should open their doors to the community and its rich resources instead of expecting teachers to pass on 'second hand' information. (14/05/1997, p.2)

Though community involvement is believed to be a solution for the lack of professional teaching in native arts, many contend that there are still pragmatic problems to be overcome before bringing community resources into schools. Some problems referred to are: regulations related to teaching qualifications, tight budget, and administrative process, that schools have to face.

B.) school visits/ learning activities

According to curriculum specifications, it is hoped that teaching could be conducted on an 'activity' basis in 'Homeland Study Activity' in primary schools so pupils could have real contact with studied objects or issues (MOE, 1994). Therefore, teachers are encouraged to arrange school visits in the instruction of native cultures. In theory, the idea of expanding pupils' learning environment to broader communities is seen as conforming with the tendency towards open education which is being promoted in Taiwan and is also welcomed by most teachers. Yet, overcoming practical problems for arranging school visits is still a major concern for teachers as well as school administrators. For instance, many informants described safety as the most important factor when taking pupils out of schools. Teacher Chang told me:

Safety is the biggest worry. I mean it becomes my responsibilities if anything goes wrong. Of course, it is a good idea to go out of the classroom and get more involved with the community, but you never know what is going to happen. So, I try not to take my pupils out on excursions to avoid any possible problems. (18/04/1997, p.4)

Similarly, Teacher Chen is concerned about school visits.

In the long term it is even difficult to ask help from teachers who are in charge of administrative work, as most of them also have a teaching schedule to fulfil. Nevertheless, it is unmanageable for one teacher to take 40 pupils out of school. Apart from safety, it is not easy to conduct any teaching during the visit with this many pupils. Also we have to supply all sorts of materials or supporting media ourselves. Well, I think that it makes life much easier just to stay in the classroom and teach. (14/05/1997, p.2)

Another concern is the allocation of time for visits. Although there is one hour a week scheduled for 'Homeland Study Activity' in primary schools, teachers suggest they should be allowed to arrange their timetable to fit in with other subjects in order to have enough time for school visits. Yet, many still feel confused and doubtful about the time allocation. One head teacher told me:

The new specifications provide more flexibility for us to arrange the timetable according to what the government says. But in fact I still find the provided information for time allocation confusing. Also in reality, it is not always possible to make arrangements or changes with other teachers and that makes school visits far more difficult to arrange. (Head Teacher Feng, 16/06/1997, p.5)

Most teachers also point out there is still a lack of adequate resources such as administrative support from schools, sufficient funding to facilitate school visits. In response to the concerns identified, by practitioners, some believe that these problems can be overcome and informants have suggested possible remedies from their own experiences.

In order to take extra burdens off teachers, for example, it is proposed that schools could take charge of all administrative work such as arrangement for insurance, transportation, required for school visits. Further, involving parental support is a strategy to help

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decrease the teachers' worry over safety. In other words, it is argued that teachers would be encouraged to undertake school visits if they were simply required to take charge of teaching activities and not expected to look after large number of pupils. Head Teacher Chang shared her experiences on encouraging school visits in her school. She asserted:

In our school, we are trying to reduce the teachers' burdens by providing administrative support. I mean we have a couple of members of staff responsible for the arrangements required for school visits. Our teachers simply can go to these members with their plans who will then try to sort things out prior to the visit. In addition, there are voluntary parents coming to help. I found that we are doing quite well in our school in this aspect and our teachers in fact feel happier to take pupils out for visits more often now... (22/04/1997, p. 7)

Nevertheless, some urge teachers to conduct schools visits with prepared plans and follow up the visit with discussions, making an excursion meaningful rather than merely 'a day out'. Borrowing Head Teacher Chang's words, school visits need to "start from fun and end with knowledge". Similarly, Academic Chen 3 shared his ideas with teachers who are planning a school visit.

Teachers could give a brief introduction on the topic or issue beforehand by playing video tapes or reading relevant literature so that pupils could have a rough idea about what they are going to see. Teachers also need to elaborate, and ask pupils to take notes or photographs throughout the visit.... After coming back to schools, pupils need to be given time to take part in follow up discussions and have opportunities for questions. (10/03/1997, p.4)

Taking the limitations of time into account, it is suggested that parents' involvement could be helpful. Their help could fulfil the aim of 'providing chances for pupils to have real contact with their living environment' in teaching of native cultures. Instead of using school time, parents could take pupils to visit local sites pertinent to native cultural education during school holidays. In City Mango area, for instance, a set of parent

handbooks for 'Homeland Study Activity' has been published along with students' books and teachers' guides. The intention of this approach, according to Head Teacher Feng, is to enable pupils to actually visit sites listed in their books with the involvement of teachers as well as parents (16/06/1997). During my interview, one class teacher offered an affirmative statement:

Teachers can not do so many things in school within a limited of time. When we prepare teaching materials or information sheets for each site in our local area, we need to make them simple and easy to follow so that parents can understand and use them as guidelines. Visiting the sites could be part of their homework during holidays instead of always asking them to read or write. (Teacher Lin, 14/05/1997, p.8)

C.) assessment

Another controversial issue that has stirred up discussion, since the new subjects have been put into place, is assessment. Parents and teachers, it is argued, will refuse to care for those new subjects if they are not assessed or tested in examinations in the context where academic achievement is highly regarded. Head Teacher Chiang explained:

Once it becomes a formal subject, it then needs to be assessed. Otherwise, parents might complain when we are spending time on something from which they can see no result in their children's learning. (15/05/1997, p.1)

Equally, some stress the need of assessment by arguing that it is one part of the instruction process and at the same time a form of feedback for teachers. Assessment is not only for pupils and parents but also for teachers to judge the effects of their teaching.

Head Teacher Chang described the purpose of assessment as,

to tell teachers and parents on the one hand 'how much their pupils' have learnt and on other hand to show teachers 'how well they have conducted their teaching?'. I mean that assessment is therefore also for teachers to examine their own teaching and show them what needs to be improved. (22/04/1997, p. 4)

In opposition, many worry that the teaching of native cultures might result in it being like other cognitive subjects that require pupils' to memorise data for examinations. This viewpoint is concerned that the teaching of native cultures, if assessment is required, will not be able to meet its aim of 'affective learning'. Officer Tsai felt:

There should not be assessment in teaching of native cultures. Once there is, there will be all sorts of things like names of place, chronology and so on to remember. Having assessment would then make learning activities less animated than they are supposed to be. And as a result, pupils would become less interested in native cultures. (28/04/1997, p. 4)

In addition, Head Teacher Shiue supported this attitude. She expressed her worries about assessing learning of native cultures during our discussion:

I am much concerned about assessment. 'Homeland Study Activity' could become just another subject like social studies in which children have a lot to memorise. If there has to be assessment, it should not be through written examinations, otherwise, pupils will not appreciate native cultures but disregard and dislike them because they have more to remember and more homework to do. (28/04/1997, p. 2)

Indeed, most participants interviewed suggest that adopting alternative forms of assessment, instead of the traditional written examinations, is an appropriate compromise. Alternatives proposed are multiple assessment approaches including teachers' observations, pupils' reports and presentations and so forth. Also, research findings in the most recent survey show that only 1.4% of informants approve written examinations whereas more than 80% uphold alternative methods of assessments. (San, *et al.*, 1997, p.141). Complicating this, Head Teacher Chang urged that there is an immediate need for teachers to receive relevant training or information on how actually to conduct multiple methods for assessment. She claimed:

Most teachers are in fact incapable of applying alternative approaches for assessment. They still tend to give out questionnaires for written examinations because that is the easiest way. So when we talk about adopting other forms, at the same time we have to explain to teachers 'how to do it'. One teacher in my school came to me the other day and said: "Principal, I don't feel confident at all in applying multiple assessment approaches. I am uncertain whether I am doing it fairly and properly or not?" (22/04/1997. P.11)

Yet, providing teachers with information and criteria for different forms of assessment is believed to be essential on in-service training courses as well as in teachers' professional education in the long term.

Section Two: The Development of Teaching Materials

Partiality of experts

In preparatory committees in some local areas there are subject experts and educators working with teachers and local educational officers on the curriculum development for 'Homeland Study Activity' in primary schools as well as for 'Native Art Activity' in secondary schools. To address the nature of 'Homeland Study Activity', that consists of five areas (history, geography, science, art and language), experts are mainly from academic fields such as history, geography, environmental education in the current development of teaching materials. The wide involvement of academics and subject experts has resulted from the shortage of expertise and time of the officers and teachers. Consequently, one debate that has emerged is the partiality of participants, especially

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subject experts, which is described as having great implications for the current development of teaching materials.

Arguing the development in materials is as another 'battlefield' for different subject experts, Academic Chen 2 believed that conflicts are due to the lack of a common understanding about what the new subjects represent.

Because there is no core concept in the development of native cultural education, people tend to apply knowledge from different subject areas to the curriculum. I can not understand why learning of native cultures is being developed on a subject basis, as it seems to me no different from what pupils are learning in other parts of curriculum. I mean that the confrontations between different fields in the bigger curriculum context are at the same time transferred into the development of native cultural education. It is just like moving the battle from a bigger to a smaller field. (18/06/1997, p.2)

In the same way, the preferences expressed by different subject experts have also caused confusions and the danger of in-built biases for teachers taking parts in the development of native cultural teaching materials. Head Teacher Feng shared her feelings about what she has experienced while working with experts in LEA Mango:

The biggest problem from involving experts of different subject areas is that each of them wants to promote to a certain degree their disciplines while we are trying to develop a curriculum for teaching native cultures... Also they look at curriculum development from the perspective of their own subject and not from the viewpoint of native cultures. For instance, there was one historian who openly criticised us recently in the newspaper, claiming that the historical data in the teaching materials published were inaccurate. She accused us of misleading pupils by providing them with the wrong information. She also used a single reference to disprove. But we in fact, before the materials were put into print, checked many other references and found they upheld our opinions. (16/06/1997, p.9)

As the chair in the preparatory committee in the same LEA, similarly, Officer Tsai expressed his views after being accused of misleading the working team publicly. He told me:

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I think, in native cultural education, we are not asking pupils to memorise information, as they would be expected to do in history. If different versions are found in references about the same historical event, then it is the job of historians' to research and uncover the facts. But educating pupils to be 'historians' is not our emphasis in native cultural education. After being accused of misleading the team, I am thinking of the possibility of getting rid of all chronology in our teaching materials in the next revision, so that pupils do not need to memorise all the dates. (28/04/1997, p.7)

In response to the recognised partiality of experts, Academic Chen 2 urged people to make it clear what the teaching of native cultures aims to deliver to pupils. He suggested:

From an academic point of view, it is right and also important to make sure the information is accurate. But school education is different from the disciplines of history. To be able to provide pupils with accurate knowledge is one thing. But we also need to connect pupils' learning with their real life experiences. So it is important also fundamental for those involved in preparatory committee to be clear that they are developing teaching materials for native cultural education and not for history or any other subject. (18/06/1997, p.2).

Nevertheless, there is concern that criticisms made by experts and academics could damage participants' confidences in their commitment to native cultural education. Most teachers, taking part in developing teaching materials, are volunteers with enthusiasm for native cultures in most areas. From Area Guava, Academic Ku urged experts to stay as 'supporters' rather than 'inspectors' when working with teachers. She explained her role in the preparatory committee as follows:

When teachers give us their drafts, they are more or less in the form of teaching materials. It would be too critical if we asked them to make a lot of changes and revisions. So I am trying to help them further develop their work within the framework that they have already used instead of asking them to write or change their work into a totally different format or employ the methods I myself might use. (17/06/1997, p.3)

Further, she enumerated how important it was for experts and academics to be aware of their attitudes and comments when working with volunteer teachers. She went on to say:

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There is one volunteer teacher I know also taking part in developing native culture teaching materials in one local area. I know it is hard for her to manage to write the materials without having previous relevant training or support from her school. She told me to do the work she always has to use time after school. But the experts whom she was working with seriously criticised her primary materials. Of course, she had no choice but to go back to make changes put forth by the experts. She was so upset in the end that she wanted to quit the committee. I can see this is a very bad cycle that might result in discouraging volunteer teachers who initially have great enthusiasm and passions for native cultures. We, as experts, often damage their confidence and potential. (17/06/1997, p.10)

To avoid the problems and partialities resulting from the involvement of experts, some LEAs have decided to leave the development of teaching materials solely to volunteer teachers. For another example, Officer Liu told me how the committee works on the teaching materials in her LEA:

Apart from trying to avoid the debates that might arise from involving experts and academics, another reason why we did not invite them onto our team was the shortage of funds. Also we want to try to avoid a situation in which information collected by volunteer teachers are used by experts for their own ends. (13/05/1997, p. 4).

From a political perspective, some believe that it could also prevent the development of teaching materials leading to ideological confrontations if experts or academics were not involved.

Applicability of teaching materials

Most teachers, during their professional education, taking part in developing materials, have not received relevant training in curriculum development or instruction in native cultures. Therefore, another concern raised is the quality and applicability of the published materials. Though each LEA is given power and responsibility in developing teaching materials for 'Homeland Study Activity' as well as 'Native Art Activity', they

are expected to follow the guidelines set by the government. Consequently, as Academic Chih describes the current development in different areas is in a state of 'chaos'. Academic Chin, as an expert in curriculum development at the Taiwan Provincial Teachers Research Centre (TPTRC, where all curricular for primary education is being developed) outlined her apprehensions about the problems she has observed:

I am in fact very worried about the current development in teaching materials in most areas. Most published work that I have seen is actually lacking in principles for developing the curriculum as a whole and also short on connections between the five different parts. In fact, most people involved in different LEAs at the current stage have neither enough knowledge nor experience. Even though they are able to collect relevant materials, the question of how to transfer information into the context of the curriculum and how to put it into teaching practices is beyond their professional ability. (27/02/1996, p.18)

Further, the concerns identified above correspond with the following statement made by a participant from the practical sector as well as illustrating general difficulties that members of the preparatory committee face.

I experienced a lot of difficulties from many aspects when I participated in writing teaching materials both for my own school and the county's. In general, I have no problem looking for relevant data and information from our own community and county, but it becomes hard to judge and select what sort of raw data could be developed into teaching materials. Taking an example from my personal experiences, I often went out with my camera and took photographs of the heritage, architecture and so on in our local area during weekends, holidays or after school. I normally tried to look for materials related to our local history or cultures by talking to elderly people in the community. Although I can always obtain sufficient information, but I am unable to examine and confirm the accuracy of the gathered data as it is not always possible to find relevant literature to support or prove the primary sources. Therefore, it is very clear that the shortage of professionals [who are trained to make such choices] in the development of native cultural education needs to be recognised and solved as soon as possible. (Head Teacher Wang, 31/01/1996, p.4)

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In reply to my question on the possibility of overcoming the problems through a professional review before data are printed, Academic Chin commented that neither the central, provincial educational authorities nor the TPTEC are able to examine the quality or applicability of those publications. She put forward two reasons:

First of all, it is impossible to review materials published before the curriculum guidelines are set even though LEAs are trying to revise early publications to meet the requirements in the curriculum specifications. Second, because of the nature of the subject itself, 'Homeland Study Activity' is developed on a local base so contents are always characterised in relation to a particular local area. Consequently, we do not know how to review these materials as there is lack of a general standard that we can follow or use to cover the great diversity. (27/02/1996, p.18)

Since the central educational authority is not in a position to provide standard textbooks for 'Homeland Study Activity', she concluded that the role which the TPTRC plays is as 'consultants'. This role, it is hoped, provides LEAs with professional knowledge and help in curriculum development as needed rather than being involved in the actual process of development.

Topic work or subject divisions

Though 'Homeland Study Activity' consists of five areas (history, geography, science, language and art), teachers are encouraged to adopt a 'topic work' approach which integrates information from different areas rather than putting data into five separate categories. It is believed that adopting a 'topic work' method would emphasise the nature of the subject. This should be implemented through 'teaching activities'. However, data reveal that many have employed a 'subject based' approach in writing teaching materials

as a result of the shortage of professional knowledge in curriculum development. Head

Teacher Luo, sharing her own experiences, remarked:

We can always consult those academics in the teachers' college in our county or members of the preparatory committee about curriculum development when we have difficulties. Nevertheless, in practice it is very hard for people like me who are passionate but lack professional knowledge to actually develop collected data into applicable teaching materials for the classroom. For instance, I personally think that teaching materials for 'Homeland Study Activity' would be better integrated rather than divided into five separate segments. But at last we had to separate the gathered data and develop them into five groups as that made it much easier for us to arrange the raw materials. Subsequently, this approach often exposes the problem of overlap between different areas. (30/01/1996, p.6)

As a consequence of the lack of professionals, most published materials are described as far too 'knowledge-oriented'. Many worry that presenting teaching materials according to different subject areas results in making the learning process less stimulating and interesting for pupils. After being an advisory expert on one preparatory committee, Academic Chen 2 shared his views on the difficulty of overcoming the shortage of professional skills:

I have tried to encourage teachers to avoid writing materials on a subject basis by providing as much help as I can while working with them. But in the end, the materials that come to me for review are still divided into the five different subject areas. I can understand that makes things easier to handle but it at the same time it burdens pupils. Also, learning native cultures was originally meant to be affective rather than cognitive process. (18/06/1997, p.12)

In addition, Academic Yao further expressed concern about the possible consequences.

It is ridiculous to divide 'Homeland Study Activity' into different subject areas as the initiative provides a chance for curricular integration... I can see that divisions are only for the convenience of those who are writing teaching materials. But it will bring pupils extra learning burdens if we make the learning materials like other subjects. I am afraid that pupils might eventually dislike native cultures instead of having more affection through learning activities. (20/06/1997, p.8)

Nonetheless, some urge that emphasis should be placed on overcoming the shortage in teachers' professional development instead of on teaching materials. These exponents argue that teachers are in fact the key to the success in implementing native cultural education. Officer Tsai explained the importance of the teacher's role in actual implementation.

From my point of view, teachers' ability is the most important factor in whether or not the curriculum is implemented successfully. As long as teachers have sufficient professional knowledge and ability, there is no worry even though the teaching materials are unrefined. (28/04/1997, p.5)

Correspondingly, Academic Chen 3 pointed out that the ultimate solution in the current development is to promote the teaching profession.

I think that published materials should not be regarded as 'teaching materials' but 'references' or 'readings'. Treating them as authorised materials makes teaching less flexible since most teachers in Taiwan would easily see those materials as 'teaching bibles'... In the end, teachers should be able to write their own plans and materials by picking up relevant information from those published references provided. This is the only solution. (10/03/1997, p.11)

The above statement at the same time clearly indicates the importance of the teachers' role in the delivery of curriculum changes. More information about how teachers perceive native cultural education will be provided later in my discussion.

Section Three: Teaching Practice

How do teachers perceive the teaching of native cultures?

In the issue raised above, concerning who would take charge of teaching of native cultures in practice, the role of teachers has been repeatedly addressed as the most

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important. Furthermore, the data suggests that the shortage of professionals in the teaching of native cultures is widely recognised as the problem that requires immediate attention. Correspondingly, research findings (in the latest project reviewing the development in teaching of native cultures) also reveal that more than 80% of informants rank the lack of teaching professionals as the most serious and difficult aspect in the current development. (San *et al.*, 1997)

Aspect	Numbers	Percentage
Unstable funding	75	53.6%
Lack of teachers' professional knowledge	114	81.4%
Difficulty in developing teaching materials	80	57.1%
Shortage of reference	63	45%
Insufficient administrative support	22	15.7%
Pupils' low interests	6	4.3%
Lack of parental support	19	13.6%
Others	3	2.1%

Table 8-1: Difficulty in the development of native cultural education. (San, *et al.*, 1997, p.143)

Consequently, it appears important to investigate how teachers perceive the teaching of native cultures and are preparing for foreseeable problems. Through my visits to different areas, I have obtained a general perspective on how teachers 'feel'. During the data collection process, the teachers I met tended to be either in charge of material compilations or were implementing native cultural education in the classroom. Data had been collected and accepted before official classroom practices started. But most teachers had opinions and could anticipate possible outcomes, since most have been involved in trial teaching or training courses related to native cultural education. In addition,

information relevant to the short term attempt to overcome the shortage of professionals as well as what recommendations have been made by practitioners for long term development are presented and discussed below.

According to the accumulated data, most teachers do not feel confident about teaching native cultures. This is mainly because they did not have enough knowledge or had failed to receive relevant training during their professional education. Though the idea of connecting pupils' learning with their real life experience (an aim in teaching of native cultures) is welcomed and supported by most teachers, some argue that the current development has not advanced far enough to meet that initial goal. One teacher told me:

I feel that teaching of native cultures is just thinking of the past. And when I look at the published teaching materials, I discover that I am unfamiliar with most of the content. (Teacher Suen, 18/04/1997, p.4)

Another teacher's remarks echoed the above argument:

According to new curriculum specifications, in theory, teaching of native cultures should be rooted in real life experiences and the environment. But I personally think the information passed on to us at present is not useful. The initial goal was good, I know. But how can we learn since the information and messages we have received so far seem to be far removed from our everyday lives. (Teacher Chen, 14/05/1997, p.9)

In addition, some teachers feel incapable of teaching 'Homeland Study Activity' since they do not originate from the local area themselves. Teacher Lee described the situation to me:

Most teaching material is more or less ready in our area. I am unfamiliar with the teaching materials myself, to be honest, as I am not originally from this region. I guess I have to just follow the content to prepare and to teach. But I do not know where to look for relevant resources. (18/04/1997)

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In contrast, some argue that professional ability and willingness are more important factors than whether a teacher comes from a local area or not. It is believed that the technical problems resulted from not being a local could be solved by the attitudes of the teachers. A head teacher claimed:

Whether or not you are from the locality is unimportant. The key point here is your willingness. In fact, there are a lot of useful information and references detailed in the teachers' handbooks for 'Homeland Study Activity' that can be referred to. Also as long as teachers have enthusiasm, there are plenty of resources they can draw from in the community. Once again, it is so important that teachers gain professional ability to transfer materials and present them well in actual teaching situations. (Head Teacher Liao, 18/03/1997, p.7)

In response to the above argument, in the same way, Head Teacher Hu shared his experiences from being in charge of the development of native cultural education in the capital city, Taipei, where most of the inhabitants are migrants. He explained:

Since being involved in this development in the capital city, I have learnt that many people question the value of this education. They complain that it is just like 'one group of outsiders teaching another group of outsiders' as most inhabitants in Taipei are from different regions. Personally I do not see it that way. I mean that if it is a teaching activity, then it is part of the teaching profession. Teachers are supposed to be able to collect relevant information, write their own teaching materials, plans and conduct teaching. Especially since we are living in a 'information technology' society, there are rich resources out there. As long as teachers have the will to prepare their lessons, it is irrelevant whether you are from the local area or not. (21/04/1997, p.5)

Most teachers perceive teaching of native cultures as an extra task. They worry that they might not be able to manage it with their already onerous workload. In addition to the time and energy required for preparation, anxieties prevail about how to convey a subject that appears outside the range of a particular teacher's expertise. These mainly refer to the broad and specific nature of native arts. Teacher Hu suggested:

We are not capable of teaching so many things or everything, to be honest. I particularly feel that native arts are too complex to manage. (17/04/1997, p.1)

Another class teacher corroborates this statement. He claimed:

You can see that we are teaching so many subjects and are supposed to know everything now. I mean even including things like native arts, folk cultures ... Besides, I have undertaken some administrative work for the school. Also, I have forty-four pupils in my class and there are always piles of homework to mark everyday. I personally support the teaching of native cultures but people need to consider more seriously how it can be implemented. We, as class teachers, already have lots to do. (Teacher Shih, 18/04/1997, p.5)

Therefore, many teachers suggest that it would help them to overcome the difficulties if they could have access to resources in their community. Engaging community resources, as many point out, is one of the approaches that could reduce the fear of teaching native cultures. Teacher Wu 1 told me his feelings:

There are so many things that require professional training, like native arts. That is why I think that it might be an idea to involve local artists and professionals, the Taiwan opera, for instance. I am sure that pupils would be more interested in native art if they could actually see it performed rather than read about it in books. I mean teachers can not do everything themselves. Unless we can obtain help and support from the wider community, it is difficult to see how the teaching of native cultures can be well implemented. (19/04/1997, p.5).

Some consider that the causes of resistance and complaints is the results of unstable policies and political interventions in education in the past. Nevertheless, Head Teacher

Chang pointed out:

From my personal observations, most teachers feel that teaching of native cultures is in fact a result of political intervention. They assume that the new curriculum might disappear once we have another Minister of Education who might come up with a new set of ideas and promote something different, just like it has happened before. I think that that is why some teachers are only prepared to wait and see. (22/04/1997, p. 2)

Academic Yao also gave an insight into the reactions of teachers:

Basically, the whole education system has been repeatedly mobilised for political purposes such as the 'Honesty Movement', the 'Chinese Cultures Renaissance Movement' and so on in the past. Also for so long teachers have been mobilised. That is why some teachers have learnt from the past experiences to wait to see what will happen next. They still see the current promotion of native cultural education as perhaps a novelty that has resulted from the emphasis of present government policy. (20/06/1997, p.11).

Above all, some argue, if the problems are examined from a broader perspective, it is understandable that teachers generally experience difficulties in teaching native cultures. It is believed that the historical context in which most teachers were brought up has greatly influenced their reactions to the current development. Giving his interpretation, Academic Chen 3 suggested that we need to take these influences into account when looking at the effects and problems:

Taiwan's development is surely unique in many aspects. Taiwan is largely a migrant society that gathers people from various cultural backgrounds. However, before 1987 the great Chinese traditions have been regarded as the only set of values in the development of Taiwan. In other words, until very recently people were unaware of issues related to Taiwanese native cultures. As a result of the past bias, people have become unfamiliar with their own culture, traditions, customs, and religions to which they were originally attached. In addition, we have also been heavily influenced by western cultures in the past decades. I believe all these factors have had great impact on not only teachers' but also other people's attitudes toward native cultural education in general. (10/03/1997, p.3)

Subsequently, I learned how much these historical implications still influence people after talking to one class teacher. During our interview, she kindly and openly expressed her feelings.

The education dominated by great Chinese ideologies that I have received still affects me. I was taught that speaking my mother language was bad, and punished if I spoke my dialect in school. Also throughout my education I was told that Chinese cultures, traditions and values were the best. Even now living in a time and society that is more open and multicultural, I still feel that what I was told affects me even though I have tried to discard it. Sometimes, I find that I am less able to deliver the information when teaching subjects that

touch on native cultures. I do not know if this is only my problem, or if others feel the same. But those past unpleasant experiences still affect me. It is not for practical reasons that we are unwilling to teach, rather it is the residue of our past experiences that influence our ability to deliver the teaching of native cultures. (Teacher Chang, 18/04/1997, p.4)

Recognising these problems and reflecting on the historical context, Academic Chen 3 urged people to give teachers more time to accommodate the changes as it is not simply a matter of the lack of teaching skills. (10/03/1997, p.3)

The limitation in teachers' ability to instruct native cultures is widely recognised. Consequently, different approaches, including setting up resource centres, holding in-service training course, as mentioned in the previous chapter, are being established in most localities. Those approaches are believed, on the one hand, to reduce teachers' anxieties by providing adequate external support. On the other, the courses aim to develop teachers' professional knowledge through further training and education. I was able to take part on an in-service training course when visiting the LEA Grapes. Through my personal observations as well as by talking to some teachers on the training course, I have learnt how they perceive this training and acknowledge what they feel should be taken into consideration. Moreover, perspectives from local educational officers, normally in charge of organising training courses, have offered different insights into the objectives of certain approaches and programmes observed.

CHAPTER NINE: TEACHING OF ABORIGINAL CULTURES AND LANGUAGES

Promoting in schools aboriginal cultures and languages is one of three current approaches being considered. According to new curriculum specifications, teaching of aboriginal cultures aims to help people from different tribal and cultural backgrounds to understand each other better. Therefore, the responsibility for the development of aboriginal cultures teaching materials has been devolved to each LEA in relation to their circumstances as part of the curriculum development for 'Homeland Study Activity' at the early stage. However, data gathered from the preliminary study show that aboriginal cultures and languages being developed separately has become a contentious issue. In response to the great difficulties encountered by participants in LEAs in developing curriculum as well as in producing teaching materials, the central educational authority has reclaimed responsibility for the compilation of aboriginal cultural teaching materials in the latest development.

Recently, a series of promotional projects and research studies have taken place on aboriginal native cultural education. These studies reveal that many believe that the emphasis on aboriginal cultural education is partly in response to the international trend towards multiculturalism in education. Analysing the data suggests issues related to the

intention and consequences of the promotional policies on aboriginal native cultural education have stimulated serious debate and caused concerns from those involved. The following discussion aims to look at these issues and at the same time examine the implications brought about by related policies.

Section One: Cultural Identities or Cultural Preservation?

The overall objective of teaching aboriginal native cultures, is to recognize as well as celebrate the cultural diversity in the society. Also, the purpose is to help aborigines to build cultural and ethnic identities. But analyzed data have revealed that goals of the current promotions on aboriginal native cultures are not well comprehended or valued. As one aboriginal primary teacher interviewed explained:

From my personal point of view, these relevant approaches are much too political. Even though the government invests lots of money in aboriginal native cultural education, I can not see any positive outcomes so far. I feel, what the officials are doing is not what we really need. (Teacher Kao, 19/05/1997, p.3)

In contrast to the above teacher, officers, in the Ministry of Education are concerns about the dilemma of the government's role in the development of aboriginal native cultural education. For example, Officer Jeng told me:

These days, we receive a lot of complaints from some aboriginal parents and teachers. They are unhappy with what the government is trying to do with their native cultures through school education. To be honest, it is hard for the MOE to decide what to do. Obviously, we can see that lots of effort and money have been invested in teaching of aboriginal cultures. This was inspired by the great public demand [especially those with aboriginal backgrounds] for recognition and celebration of their cultures. Paradoxically they are still unhappy and keep sending us angry complaints about the current government policies. (7/04/1997, p.2)

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Among the objections received, as Officer Huang explained, the teaching of aboriginal languages was the aspect that concerned most parents.

Many question the need for learning native languages in school. Some parents ask us to develop English programmes for their pupils instead of ones related to native languages. They argue that their sons and daughters would be more able to compete with others if they can speak better English. (8/04/1997, p.3).

Educational officers at local level have received similar reactions. Many debate whether in real terms the learning of aboriginal cultures is useful and practical or not. Officer Shie informed me of some of the requests she had received:

Some of the parents want the local government to help their children to learn other languages, such as HoLao or Mandarin, instead of their own mother languages. They believe that being able to speak HoLao or better Mandarin helps their children to communicate better with other people in the society. At the same time it helps them find better jobs. (17/04/1997, p.4)

Many believe that the demands made by aboriginal parents for Mandarin learning results from the observed low academic achievements of many aboriginal pupils. It is argued that one reason aboriginal pupils under-achieve is their inability to comprehend well the official language, Mandarin. Some parents insist on their sons and daughters learning Mandarin so they can achieve higher standards in education by being able to read and write in the official language. Relaying what an aboriginal parent had said to her, Academic Ku believed that it was representative of many parents' view:

What we need most is more learning of Mandarin. The reason our pupils can not gain better scores in other subjects is because they are unable to understand well what is written on their examination papers. How can they improve in subjects such as science, mathematics or social studies if they find the language used in their education incomprehensible. So more emphasis should be placed on Mandarin instead of mother-tongues if schools have spare time. (17/06/1997, p.4)

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In response to the complaints from aboriginal parents, Academic Chen 1 argued that more deliberation is needed in the ways in which the teaching of aboriginal native languages can be delivered:

It sounds reasonable that aboriginal parents complain about learning native languages in school, claiming that this might prevent pupils from other academic learning. But I think that it does not mean that teaching native languages is a mistake. Instead, we need to think more about what approaches are practical in schools. (16/06/1997, p.9)

The issue on whether or not aboriginal pupils need to learn their mother tongues in school remains controversial and has invited wide discussion from both theoretical and practical viewpoints. Taking the use of languages into account, for instance, Academic Chang also urged people to think over what benefits pupils could obtain from learning their mother tongues before assuming that is what they really need:

They would argue that being able to speak their mother languages does not ensure they can live well in the society. This is the crucial point. And also, most of the mother languages are out of use so even parents themselves do not tend to speak their mother tongues. So the question remains: do pupils really have to learn to speak their mother tongues? Who are they going to talk to once they learn how to speak? I mean, unless they are willing to be 'linguistic experts', otherwise, there is no point in forcing them to learn from at an early age. (10/06/1997, p.12)

In addition to these concerns, teaching of aboriginal native cultures in general is under serious debate. The gathered data suggest that many informants question the necessity of native culture learning. Some argue that too much emphasis on preserving traditions and cultures might result in hindering aborigines from further economic development. Due to poorer social and economic conditions from which most aborigines suffer, observers are concerned if it is possible for aborigines to improve their lives while trying to preserve

their traditions. Speaking from the perspectives of aborigines, Teacher Kao presented her views:

We do not want to think that all we are doing is nothing more than tracing and preserving traditions. We have learnt from the past the importance of being able to integrate into the society. I can not see how we can move forward or improve our lives if we only held to the past and traditions. But the current policies do not seem to be doing any good to us, to be honest (19/05/1997, p.2).

Similarly, another aboriginal teacher expressed his concerns, asking:

Do people assume that all we, aborigines, need is to keep traditions and cultures? The point here is whether or not we would be able to improve our life qualities while trying to preserve native cultures. People will not be able to live better by only knowing how to perform traditional dances. (Teacher Chou, 23/04/1997, p.7).

Further, this opinion suggests that for the teaching of aboriginal cultures to be meaningful it must enable pupils to assimilate better to the present society. Reflecting on this ground, many argue that it would be too trivial and useless if teaching of aboriginal cultures is only connected with material forms of traditions. Addressing the significance of handing down native cultures and traditions to the next generation, Teacher Kao claimed that people need to think what aspects from native cultures and traditions should be kept and passed on:

Being an aborigine myself, I agree that our native cultures need to be kept and passed on to the next generation for them to understand their cultures and traditions. At the same time, more importantly, we also have to understand more about other cultures and their changes. I mean we also need to keep pace with the time and changes in order to live in the present society. What we need to preserve from the traditions and cultures should be the value system, the concepts and identity rather than all sorts of objects or concrete forms of traditions. There are many things in the traditions already far away from everyday life. (19/05/1997, p.2).

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In order to explain more precisely, Teacher Kao gave me an example that illustrates what she sees as most important in the teaching of aboriginal cultures:

Taking our traditional costumes as an example, we are not asking pupils to wear these costumes but they should learn the meanings of different colours and styles. It does not make any sense to ask them to wear those costumes just to show off. Unless I feel like it, I personally do not normally wear the costume myself just for visitors or to show off. My parents keep the costumes for us to get to know more about our past and what is the meaning of those costumes. (19/05/1997, p.3)

Some contend that the teaching of aboriginal native cultures in schools is in fact putting pupils under more pressure as well as giving them a further burden in their already busy learning schedule. Through working along with some aboriginal teachers and intellectuals in her research projects, Academic Ku shared her observations and understanding of some aboriginal parents' attitudes. She told me:

Some aboriginal parents complain that learning of their cultures is in fact extra work for their children. They told me that if they practically could, they would prefer to send their children out of aboriginal villages to receive a better education in cities. (17/06/1997, p.4)

She then related the following statement from one parent:

I want to know why the government is saying that there should be respect for, and plans to preserve aboriginal cultures, yet we are the ones expected to take on the work. Our sons and daughters are expected to study mother languages even though they have very poor Mandarin. Equally, they have to use their time to learn native cultures and traditions instead of trying to advance their academic level when there are not so many people who really care about the native cultures and traditions anymore. So I would like my children to study in non-aboriginal schools to avoid the pressure of extra learning. (Academic Ku, 17/06/1997, p.6)

Despite all the controversies and doubts surrounding the teaching of aboriginal native cultures, many still believe that pupils would be more able to formulate their tribal identity through learning about their own cultures. For example, located in a remote

mountain village, Lai-Lai school, with a large number of aborigines enrolled has become a pioneer institution in the development of aboriginal education. Teacher Chou discussed that the pupils of Lai-Lai have become more confident as they learnt more about their native cultures and languages. During my visit to his school, he shared his personal experiences:

The aboriginal pupils in our schools do not have the same problems with cultural identity that I once suffered. I used to be seen as a 'barbarian' while studying at teachers' college so that I had to find myself a pair of glasses to make myself look more 'civilized'. I always had the problems of identifying with my own culture in the past when the society was less open. After teaching of aboriginal native cultures for the past few years, I have found that our pupils have eventually, in many aspects, developed broader viewpoints. At the same time, gradually their confidence in their own cultures has been enhanced. If you ask them: are you aborigine? They would answer, yes, what can I do for you? They do not hesitate like people in my generation would have done. (23/04/1997, p.8)

At the same time it is believed that, while developing aboriginal pupils' cultural identity, emphasis should be placed on cross-cultural understanding to avoid them becoming isolated from the wider society.

Section Two: Moving Towards Cultural Pluralism or Separation?

Since the different series of measures and policies in aboriginal education in the current reform movement, the promotion of the teaching of aboriginal cultures has been described as under the 'spot light'. Apart from debates and concerns about what to address, data also reveal that participants question whether the current development is moving towards cultural pluralism or separations. In the following section, discussion will be mainly based on experiences shared by interviewees who either take part in

delivering and implementing the policies, or are major figures in the field of aboriginal education and research.

According to the analysed data, a growing tension between aboriginal and non-aboriginal groups has been identified in the current promotion of aboriginal native cultures and concerns for its further development have been expressed by informants, both from aboriginal and non-aboriginal backgrounds. Arguing that negative consequences could result from too much attention being given to the current movement, Head Teacher Shie said:

The issues related to aboriginal cultures are very 'hot' at present and that actually worries me a lot. I am afraid that these issues might be ignored once this movement loses its initiative. We hope that its development is long term, a continuous process rather than being under the spotlight for just a certain period of time. Due to the historical background of Taiwan, it is understandable why the government set up an independent committee for aboriginal affairs as a compensatory policy in response to growing aboriginal awareness. However, it might be helpful for recovering and preserving aboriginal native cultures if people on the committee could have broader perspectives to plan its long-term development. Otherwise, it is very worrying, as aboriginal education might end up isolating aborigines from the wider society. (19/05/1997, p.1)

First of all, most tensions come from head teachers in non-aboriginal schools. They think the compensatory policies on aboriginal education could be counter-productive. These policies refer to the measures related to cultural aspects and dedicated only to aboriginal pupils and schools to assure sufficient supports in their education. The Educational Priority Scheme, for instance, is the policy that has attracted most criticism. Government documentation states that the priority scheme introduced in 1996 aims to provide better funding support for schools where there is a large number of aboriginal pupils or for those

located in aboriginal villages. (Liu, 1996, p.3). This scheme, as it can be observed, has angered many head teachers in non-aboriginal schools who feel they receive insufficient resources and funding. Academic Wu pointed out:

Many heads in non-aboriginal schools complain that they are so short of money and resources whereas those schools that are under the educational priority scheme find it hard to use the funds they have been given. It especially angers those head teachers in non-aboriginal schools that are located in remote rural areas. They are seriously suffering from insufficient resources and money. As far as I can see up to now, this scheme is making more problems in terms of ethnic relation. (17/06/1997, p.5)

Interviewees with aboriginal backgrounds have expressed comparable concerns. From the perspectives of an aborigine, Teacher Kao, for example, conveyed her worries about the current development. She argued:

The current policies do not seem to be doing any good for us in the substantive sense. I do not know if we are actually benefiting, to be honest. What I have found so far is that only people's general perception of aborigines has been changed. In the past, we were seen as weak and ineffectual but after the promotional projects, we are seen as powerful and influential. (19/05/1997, p.3)

In addition to these controversies, informants gave evidence of consequences from teaching aboriginal cultures. Information relevant to the background of the two following case studies will be provided along with discussion pursued in order to identify the associated factors.

Case one: Tongtong primary school in Capital Taipei

Apart from pupils from ethnic Chinese backgrounds, including HoLao, Hakka, and Mainlander, there are more than 50 aboriginal pupils from the Amis tribe in the school. For a school located in the capital city, this number of aboriginal pupils is relatively high,

making the school distinct from others in the same area. As a consequence, the school plays a key role in delivering aboriginal cultural education and is also in charge of such activities as holding in-services training course for teaching of aboriginal native cultures. Similarly, the teaching of aboriginal native cultures has become an important aspect of the school's teaching programmes. Regularly, 200 minutes per week¹, are dedicated to aboriginal pupils to learn their native languages and cultures. Other activities, such as school visits or camping during vacations, are also organised by the school with support from local as well as central educational authorities. By involving community resources, teaching activities cover a wide range, including native language teaching, traditional dance, craft and so on.

The head teacher of the school informed me what she has been trying to achieve through the approaches employed by her school. She said:

From the perspective of being the head teacher in a school like mine, I personally feel a lot of responsibility in helping aboriginal pupils to access their cultures through the promotional work we are trying to do. At the same time, to help them build their cultural and ethnic identities, we hope that pupils from all cultural backgrounds will learn to respect others in a multicultural environment as we have in our school. (Head Teacher He, 23/04/1997, p.5)

In response to ways the school delivers the aboriginal education, different points of view have been enumerated by class teachers. Teacher Lee 2, having pupils from different cultural backgrounds in her class, argued that there is increasing misunderstanding in

¹ It consists of 120 minutes for 'self-learning' (40 minutes × 3) and 80 minutes for 'extra-curricular activities' (40 minutes × 2) per week.

non-aboriginal pupils' perception of their aboriginal classmates after the implementing policies of positive discrimination. She explained:

These policies have made aborigines seem like 'movie stars'. They are always busy participating in different events and activities promoted by the school and the government. Sometimes they even have to go out for, I would say, more like showing off, during the school hours.... Other pupils in the school start seeing these people differently. In fact, one of my pupils told me that it must be nice to be aborigine as they go out of school for different activities and also have many extra benefits like free camping during summer holidays. This pupil said that she would love to be an aborigine as well. (2/07/1997, p.4)

Teacher Lee 2 further argued that the division between aboriginal and non-aboriginal groups in school is becoming greater:

Since they [aboriginal pupils] have regular learning activities for their native languages and cultures, they are often separated from other pupils. I feel that they are being isolated in school in terms of learning as well as in their peer relationship with their mates in class. (2/07/1997, p.5)

In addition, concerns are raised in relation to the disruptions to the aboriginal pupils' learning caused by their absence from school. Teacher Shie offered her opinion:

Another problem I, and, I am sure my colleagues have encountered is that it is always hard for teachers to make up those pupils' missed learning hours when pupils were out of the classroom for events... We have to try to help them to catch up with the learning schedule when they come back to class, you know.(5/07/1997, p.7)

The above case indicates that under the current promotion aboriginal pupils are still seen as different by their non-aboriginal mates in school, though in a way that contrasts with the impression of inferiority created in the past.

Case Two: Shinshin primary school in Guava county

In Guava county, Shinshin primary school is regarded as the inherent school for 'Germarlan' culture (one of the tribes of the plain) since there were a large number of

Geramarlan settlements in the area in the past. Statistics show that very few people of this origin in the region exist. Instead, the majority of this community are 'Amen' people (one mountain tribe), and most from a Geramarlan background can also speak 'Amen' dialect after the two ethnic groups have lived together for many decades. Since Shinshin primary school has been chosen as the school to preserve and practice aspects of Geramarlan cultures, all pupils there have to learn 'Geramarlan' dialect regardless their own backgrounds. They sing songs in Geramarlan dialect though it is recognised by most people that those with a Geramarlan background are unable to speak their native language and are unfamiliar with their own culture. Nevertheless, they are still expected to speak and sing in their mother tongue.

Having explained what was happening in Shinshin school, Academic Wu gave me her observations of the reactions of parents and community about this approach. She complained:

This approach has angered many parents from the Amis background who question why their pupils are not learning to speak or sing in their mother tongue but have to use Geramarlan dialect. But the Geramarlan tribe is in minority in the community now. In terms of cultural preservation, it is necessary to make an effort to recover and preserve those cultures that are distinguished. Yet, what happens now seems to be a bit ridiculous. I mean that you see an 'Amen' teacher is instructing a group of pupils who are mainly 'Amis' to sing in Geramarlan dialect. I asked the teacher whether they were singing in 'real' Geramarlan dialect, the answer was 'no'. (17/06/1997, p. 3)

Reflecting further, it is argued that problems emerge from practices that show teaching of aboriginal native cultures is causing disharmony in the community. The tensions have therefore, according to Academic Wu, clearly revealed the gap between policy making and teaching practices. Talking to another academic who works along with school

teachers in teaching of native cultures in the same area, she made corresponding observations:

It seems to be really difficult for those making policies to understand their consequences when put into practice. Though the whole thing in terms of policy and approach looks very logical, but it is in fact making people including local residents, teachers, students and parents more anxious or even causing conflicts in the community. Looking at this community from a different aspect, I think that most Germanlan people have been 'Amis-nised' and have lived together in harmony for years. I personally have talked with some elderly Germanlan people and found that they were unable to speak their Germanlan dialect but 'Amis' dialect. It seems to me that these two tribal cultures and people have therefore integrated naturally without war or conflicts. But it is evident that more conflicts and problems have resulted from the current promotional projects though their initial aim is to 'promote harmony between people'. This is very confusing for me as I try to work out how the policy leads to this chaotic situation. But the current problems also indicate that people are not really impartial and fair in policy making. (17/06/1997, p.3)

Section Three: Education for All ?

As aboriginal cultural teaching materials are being developed separately, another issue comes to the fore: should the teaching of aboriginal native cultures only apply to aboriginal pupils or to all pupils ? Many suggest the initial goal of promoting people's understanding of cultural diversity can not be achieved if teaching is only applied to aboriginal pupils. Opposing, others are concerned about how to implement it in actual practice if teaching is going to be for all pupils. In general, most informants, committed to the development of this educational strategy, claimed that its teaching should be carried to all pupils in practice. Pupils from different backgrounds should be able to learn and celebrate aboriginal native cultures through the compulsory school system.

The chairman of the committee, Head Teachers Shie, on the project of developing the ten tribal native cultural materials, argued that promoting aboriginal native cultures is also intended to reflect the notions of multicultural education. It would therefore be too narrow if non-aboriginal pupils are excluded.

If only aborigines are learning about their cultures but nothing else, the policy leads towards creating enclaves not multicultural education. In the end, we hope that every one will have a basic understanding of the ten tribal cultures and every teacher, regardless his/her cultural background, will be able to apply this set of materials. We are working towards delivering this information to all pupils. For instance, issues related to the fine cultures of 'Atayal' (one of the ten tribes) need to be delivered to all pupils not merely to Atayal pupils. This is the direction we need to follow. It is surely too narrow to limit the learning of Atayal cultures to Atayal pupils. (19/05/1997, p.6)

Academic Chang also believed that if all pupils were taught then they would feel treated as equals, if different cultures were celebrated by all pupils. He suggested:

When teachers talk about one topic or a legend, they could also apply different versions or interpretations made from other cultures instead of always sticking to the one given in the textbooks, or from the standpoint of a certain culture such as ethnic Chinese. Eventually, pupils would then be able to learn the cultures presented by different groups of people in their living environment. I am sure that they would then feel that they are equal through learning from each other. (10/06/1997, p.14)

From the perspective of aborigines, the importance of cross-cultural understanding is also addressed. Teacher Kao thought that it is crucially important for each cultural group to have respect for others while celebrating their own native culture:

When I was in the primary school in which the majority was ethnic Chinese, I used to be seen as 'different'. Because I was an aborigine and people did not learn anything about me and my culture in school, I had very unpleasant experiences during my education. What I have learnt from the past is that we not only need to know more about ourselves but also about other cultures. Every other cultural group should also do the same so no one can be seen as a 'stranger' when different cultures meet together. (19/05/1997, p.4)

Recognising the contribution of the government's effort on the development of ten tribal cultural materials, Academic Chang qualified this, claiming that this set of materials should be only regarded as references. Teachers need to make professional judgements about selecting relevant material for actual teaching. He elaborated his position:

I personally think that this developmental project is heavily influenced by political intervention without taking the aims of education into account. But in terms of cultural preservation, there are at least people working together on systematic collection and organisation. Hopefully aboriginal native cultures and languages can be preserved to a certain degree. However, I am not so positive about how that brings benefits to pupils in terms of learning. I mean that we are not asking pupils to learn everything mentioned in the materials. Using them as reference, teachers should try to select those splendid parts from different cultures for pupils' learning. (10/06/1997, pp.14-15)

This point was also echoed by Academic Chen 2 who has been involved in other governmental projects for aboriginal education:

It is the experts' work to systematically organise references for different tribal cultures. But how to actually incorporate the data into teaching practice is another matter. I mean we can not expect teachers to teach everything in the published materials but instead they should select what is needed. (18/06/1997, p.6)

Though the idea of 'teaching for all' is reinforced in the development, many are still concerned about the ways employed to implement this teaching. Head Teacher Shie, who chaired the project of compiling ten tribal cultural materials, made the following observations:

Involved in this developmental project from the very beginning, I am able to see what people are actually doing in practice in different areas and schools. However, I personally feel more worried after having seen the approaches adopted in most schools at the present. I am afraid that unexpected problems might emerge later if aboriginal native cultural education is not implemented appropriately. (19/05/1997, p.6)

Moreover, questions are raised in relation to the possibilities of causing more conflicts among pupils if aboriginal pupils' learning is isolated from the mainstream culture. Arguing that policies need to be deliberated more before being put into practice, many assume that 'promoting social harmony' prescribed in the current development is rather, borrowing Academic Chi's words, "a slogan more than real understanding". According to his personal observation, he further claimed that people are unclear about the ultimate goal in the current development:

The main purpose in the end should be developing pupils' tolerance, respect and appreciation for others by learning from each other. However, I find that people are not working in this direction but placing great emphasis on 'empowering' minorities. I mean most people are merely thinking of 'strengthening' themselves rather than taking others into account. Though the cultural materials should be designed for all pupils, we can only see that people are trying to help the minorities to be able to be more confident about themselves by knowing more about their native cultures and languages. (2/06/1997, p.11)

With the same concerns, Academic Yao tried to remind people of the unexpected damage that might be brought on aboriginal pupils in the long term.

If people, especially the aborigines, merely aim to fight against the authorities or dominated cultures by accentuating their native cultures and languages through this reform movement, I am afraid their next generation will experience more serious difficulties in accommodating themselves into the mainstream culture. I could project that things would only get worse and worse if they are trying to isolate themselves from the whole society. (20/06/1997, p.6)

It is believed that the phenomena observed in the current process actually results from the former assimilation policy imposed on aborigines and is therefore not inevitable. Stressing the significance of developing non-aborigines' understanding, Academic Tan offered the following statement from his involvement in the past years:

From my personal observation, the issues related to aboriginal native cultures were not recognised in education until the 1990s. The problem resulted from the past situation where little was known and little preserved in aboriginal cultures. So that great emphasis has then been placed on 'how to recover and save' these cultures in the current development... I mean, when people are discontent with what it was like before, assimilation, then they want to emphasise their own culture and identity. But it has resulted in taking pupils out of their original learning environment. So the point here is not only to emphasise aboriginal native cultures but at the same time to promote non-aborigines' understanding of aboriginal cultures and societies. (19/06/1997, p.3)

Acknowledging the value of improving cross-cultural understanding, Academic Chen 1 also pointed out that the government did not really take these factors into consideration when making the recent policies. He recorded the development of aboriginal native cultures from the beginning.

According to my own observation, this move started by the aboriginal elite after the growth of native consciousness in Taiwan. They demanded the recovering and retaining of their native cultures. In response to that great demand, the government then launched quite a few projects such as funding for relevant research, cultural programmes in aboriginal villages and schools and so on. Since those responding projects did not well reflect what was needed to be done in terms of education, they have resulted in the current separations. At the beginning, those members of the aboriginal elite were only thinking of recovering their cultures but did not think of the broader question: how they are going to represent their culture in ways accepted by non-aborigines or find a place for their way of life in the mainstream culture. (16/06/1997, pp.1-2)

Further arguing that there is only little information about aboriginal cultures in the existing textbooks, Academic Tan claimed that a whole curriculum reform is required before 'cross-understanding' can be achieved. According his personal analysis on the existing textbooks, he pointed out:

In general, it is only in subjects like social studies in which a few units highlight aboriginal cultures in whole primary curriculum. In other words, non-aboriginal pupils are not given any chance to get to know about aboriginal native cultures whereas aboriginal pupils are receiving the same

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curriculum throughout their school education. Additionally, most aborigines have suffered from having to identify their own cultures as in the past. As a result, they became unfamiliar with their native cultures themselves and they can be only identified as aborigines by their appearance, like skin colour... But it is already a big headache for the government to try to deal with aboriginal cultures and identity. The question of how to promote cross-cultural understanding is not being considered, as far as I can see. But I suspect that a whole curriculum reform might be needed when it comes to facing cross-cultural issues. (19/06/1997, pp.3-4)

The difficulties of covering cross-cultural understanding in curriculum development have also been identified by other informants. Asked by the Ministry of Education on projecting a set of curriculum for aboriginal pupils, Academic Chen 2 expressed his views as an expert in curriculum development. He said:

The biggest question I have been thinking of is whether this curriculum is going to be applied to all aboriginal pupils or only those who are in certain areas or tribes. And also whether it is going to be another separate set of curriculum or will be eventually integrated into the curriculum practised in the mainstream culture? If it is going to be the latter, then it is for sure a massive work and would be only possible under the premise of being recognised by the mainstream culture. If separated from it, how pupils are going to accommodate themselves into the society afterwards remains to be answered. (18/06/1997, p.5)

Reflecting on this ground, as a result, the idea of setting up a separate educational system for aborigines is seen as not applicable in the context of Taiwan. This concept has been initially proposed by some aboriginal elite and aims to provide a learning environment based on the needs and characteristics of each tribal culture for aboriginal pupils throughout their entire education. Arguing pupils will experience greater difficulties in becoming part of mainstream society after being brought up in an isolated learning environment, Academic Chen 1 outlined how he sees the predicament of this proposed system:

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In terms of cultural preservation and identity, it is sensible to have a separate educational system for aborigines. Yet the question remains: how are those pupils going to live in society when they eventually leave this system? They might not be able to survive. I am not against this idea because I am an ethnic Chinese but I am thinking of the further development of the pupils. These problems need to be deliberated. (16/06/1997, p.1)

Having similar concerns, Academic Chen 2 suggested that the notion of creating a separate system can only apply to some, not all pupils.

This separate system can only be for those who are willing to devote themselves to cultural preservation regardless of the possibilities of being excluded from the society. But it is not for all pupils. I insist that all pupils' learning should be based on a common ground during their basic education. They should be allowed to decide later for themselves. It is not humanistic for adults to decide for young children what they want. (18/06/1997, p.6)

Also, anxieties are expressed in relation to whom would take charge of the teaching of the ten tribal native cultural materials in practice. In addition to the shortage of aboriginal teachers in general, it is recognised that most teachers are often incapable of teaching native cultures whether they have an aboriginal identity or not. Teacher Chou pointed out:

Most teachers are unfamiliar with their own tribal cultures as they normally left home for study from secondary education. Unless they have particular interests in their native culture or have close contact with elderly people in their tribe, most of them are unable to speak their mother tongues and are strangers to their culture. (23/04/1997, p. 2)

To overcome the difficulties identified above, many believe that the teachers' attitudes towards multicultural education could be the solution. In other words, it is argued the more teachers understand multicultural and multiethnic education, the better they would be able to deal with cross-cultural issues in the classroom. Seeing that there are always pupils from different cultural backgrounds in most classes, Head Teacher Shie conveyed his expectations of teachers.

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It is not possible to find any class where all pupils are from the same ethnic or cultural background nowadays. Pupils might come from both ethnic Chinese and aboriginal backgrounds or even from different aboriginal tribes as well. So teachers' professional ability and attitude towards cultural diversity is the key in every respect. Teachers need to have multicultural perspectives as well as professional ability to deal with materials from different cultures and apply them when relevant. Though there is only a small numbers of teachers from aboriginal backgrounds, I personally think it is not always necessary to have aboriginal teachers to teach aboriginal native cultures. (19/05/1997, pp.4-5)

Involved in the project of the ten tribal cultural materials, Teacher Kao argued that it is evident that teachers' willingness and attitude are key factors in addressing cross-cultural issues. She contended:

When we had the trial teachings for the ten tribal cultural materials recently, there was only one set demonstrated by the teachers from the same tribal background. The rest were all presented by teachers from different backgrounds. The key point is teachers' willingness and attitude. I mean the significance should be to impart the meaning, the spirit behind rather than to trace concrete forms of traditions. (19/05/1997, p.8)

In the context of Taiwan with its complex historical background, the teaching of aboriginal cultures and languages has become perhaps more difficult than the initiators of the current reforms perceived. This background has caused a great divide between the present and when aboriginal cultures and languages were naturally a part of everyday life. Along with the inherent complexity of tribal cultures and languages, Taiwan's recent past, to some extent makes it inevitable the teaching of aboriginal cultures is problematic. As different interviewees suggest it is profoundly hard to translate this complex reality into classroom practice. Also, it is difficult to see how the confusion of cultures can be simplified to make government legislation a meaningful vehicle for change. Therefore, the current policies promoting aboriginal culture, as the data show, creates wild anomalies in some cases, like pupils being forced to learn a virtually extinct Germanlan dialect in

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Guava county. Of course, in this example and another examples, teachers are expected to close the gap between government policy and the reality. Some stress the importance of teachers' attitudes in incorporating cross-cultural materials and believe this affects the ability of pupils to respond favourably. But I would argue that teachers are required too often to 'pick up the pieces' and make sense of over politicised educational policy.

CHAPTER TEN: TEACHING OF NATIVE LANGUAGES

As mentioned in the earlier discussion, teaching of native languages has attracted much attention as well as criticism in the current promotion. Initially language issues were perceived as one of five elements in the native cultural curriculum. But data gathered at the initial stage of this study has revealed that teaching of languages is being developed separately. In addition, great diversity can be observed in terms of levels of development between different areas. Two factors can be identified that appear to have implications for the current development in the instruction of native languages.

The first is political input. This is observed to have had great initial impact on teaching of native languages in schools, especially in areas that hold opposite political viewpoints. In localities under power of the opposition, the issue of teaching native languages was regarded as the main aspect in the development of native education even before official promotions were implemented. Observations, from early data, suggest there was massive emphasis on language issues in most opposition local governments before the latest curriculum specifications in 1996. Consequently, differences in terms of levels of development were then identified between areas after the teaching of native languages became a central element in native cultural education.

Secondly, the great linguistic variation in native languages is a major factor that has affected the manner in which their teaching is approached. The differences referred to are not only in the nature of the languages but also related to the numbers of native languages in Taiwanese society. In addition to being developed separately from the whole native cultural curriculum, many believe that the diversity in native languages has been reflected in the government's responses in the latest development. As noted earlier, teaching materials for native languages are now being compiled under the organisation of the central educational authority because of the difficulties encountered by participants in dealing with the diverse nature of native languages at the early stage.

In the following discussion, emphasis will be placed on those issues and controversies that have emerged from the current development and will examine how participants from different outlooks are responding to the teaching of native languages in schools.

Section One: Is It Needed?

It has been mentioned by most informants that the language issues in the current development have been 'politicised'. Looking at this, many have argued that teaching of native languages has been employed in some localities as an approach to fight against the authoritarian and mono-lingual policy dominant in the past few decades. The question that has emerged here: is whether or not pupils need to learn native languages in schools?

The following discussion examines the debates raised from different aspects by informants involved in my research study.

The importance of the official language has been brought up by many while debating the necessity of teaching native languages. Questioning the aim of 'moving towards globalisation through native cultural education' prescribed in the new curriculum specifications, many imply that this logic is doubtful. The link between local dialects and world cultures, for instance, is therefore questioned by Academic Sung, when stating:

We have to answer the question of 'what the connection is between learning native languages and being a world citizen', before we put teaching of native languages into practice. There is in fact not a direct link between local dialects and world cultures. By any case, we always need to have an official language to bridge local cultures and languages with world cultures. (18/06/1997, p.2)

Due to the strong political influences in Taiwan, some people are concerned that encouraging the learning of native languages could result in social separations between different cultural groups. As Academic Chuang pointed out:

From the perspective of social integration, an official language is therefore necessary. Reflecting different aspects, Mandarin policy is not 100 percent negative....However, the language issues in Taiwan now are too politicised and controversial. Unless the political influences can be diminished and people reach a common understanding about a more open language policy, encouraging the teaching of native languages might only result in social divisions between people. (18/06/1997, pp.1-2)

Accordingly, Academic Wu made the following statement in response to these misgivings.

Though Mandarin policy has obviously brought damage to native cultures and languages, at least people from different cultural backgrounds could communicate by using the official language. From this aspect there have been no problems with communications. To avoid further problems, we need to have fair attitudes and approaches while promoting the use of native

languages. But it seems that no one has yet reflected on this account at the present. (17/06/1997, p.3)

Still addressing the importance of an official language, Teacher Kao made the following statement, by speaking from the perspectives of classroom practice. She said:

Language issues are in fact very controversial in the context of Taiwan. Even though native languages are important, it is not possible to complete the teaching process by only using native languages. We still need Mandarin as the main medium for communications. Of course, we could also occasionally use native languages when relevant or appropriate. (19/05/1997, pp.2-3)

Since most of the aboriginal native languages are either lost or mixed with other local dialects due to the historical background, many aboriginal parents are no longer able to speak their native language. The Mandarin policy in the last few decades, similarly has alienated most parents from their own native languages. As a result, many query the need for pupils to learn native languages if they are not used at home or in a major part of their everyday lives. Academic Chang argued:

Not only aboriginal parents are unable to speak their native languages, most parents from HoLao and Hakak backgrounds are also unfamiliar with their own dialects as they mainly have received their education and up-bringing in Mandarin. Also, children do not have so many chances to practice their dialects by communicating with their grandparents or elderly people. Nowadays most children are brought up in nuclear families. I really cannot see a situation in their real lives when pupils are able to make use of the native languages learnt in school. (10/06/1997, pp.14-15)

Apparently, pupils in general do not have chances to practice their mother tongues in their life apart from the learning activities in schools. Learning mother tongues for them has been described, according to Academic Chen 2, as learning a foreign language. He expanded his point:

It is especially hard to learn aboriginal native languages. It seems to me that learning their mother tongues is just like learning alien languages. It requires

several transmissions before a pupils is able to comprehend the languages.(18/06/1997, p.9)

Informal observations in the native language class- Germanlan dialect

Observational data gathered from the fieldwork also reveal similar concerns to those identified above. As mentioned earlier (see Chapter Six), regular native languages teaching activity takes place two hours every week for pupils with Germanlan background in Plum County. For this, there are around 60 pupils from different schools in the region gathered together for learning Germanlan dialect under the supervision of linguistic experts from Guava County. While making my visit to the Plum local government development, I was offered a chance to participate in the learning activity. Since there were no specific themes initially prepared for class observations in my research study, when granted this unexpected opportunity, I was able to be relatively open minded in looking at how the teaching took place and how pupils reacted. The first impression received from the class reminded me of my own time in the secondary school when English lessons started. These, as I remember, were rather unexciting and tiresome. Looking at pupils' learning sheets and notes, I noticed different symbols were then placed beside the words. I asked the pupil sitting next to me why there were many symbols on their worksheets, she explained to me:

No one in my family can speak Germanlan dialect, only me. I have to use different symbols in order to be able to remember the vocabularies and their sounds taught by the teachers. Otherwise, I will forget everything when I go back home. (Pupil Kiki, 19/04/1997, Observational notes, p. 3)

Also, I was able to talk to a small number of pupils during the break time and asked them how they felt about learning their own mother tongue. The following are some of their responses:

Pupil Nana: I do not know. The school asked us about our background before asking me to come for this language lesson. I do not know anything about the language because no one told me in my family. My parents said that they have no idea, either.

Pupil Momo: It is fun. I can get out of school once every week. I meet friends from different schools here, and we get along well.

Pupils Toto: I do not want to come next year. It is so boring. I always feel sleepy in the lessons as the teachers are always talking about something which I really do not know at all.

Pupil Anan: It is difficult for me to learn. I have no one to talk to in this dialect when I leave the class as none of my family or friends can speak it. I want to learn it well but it is not easy at all. I feel there is so much to do if I am going to learn it well. I have to spend a lot of time memorising the words, otherwise I easily forget them as soon as the lesson finishes. (19/04/1997, Observational notes, pp. 4-8)

From the pupils' impressions, it is evident that more deliberations are required when making policies or adopting approaches for teaching of native languages. The statements given by the pupils correspond to the concerns of academics or teachers raised above.

As mentioned earlier, the government has introduced different policies and projects, both in general as well as in education, in response to the great demand for the recognition and preservation of Taiwanese native cultures and languages after the lifting of Martial Law. The promotion of native cultures in education in the current reform movement, for instance, is one of the measures taking place. Nevertheless, many suggest that instead of schools families should take the responsibility of mother tongue teaching. These critics

argue that to preserve languages more than practice of native languages in schools is required. The family also has an important role to play. Academic Chang pointed out:

From an educational point of view, schooling does not have to take all responsibility though education is part of our cultural system. I mean, mother tongue teaching should be the responsibility of the family and parents, not just schools. If families are needing help from schools or communities in mother tongue learning or teaching, then we might have to have a proper curriculum for it. If it is the case that families are unwilling to transmit the traditions and languages themselves, then it would be the job of anthropologists, linguists, not just schools. (10/06/1997, p.17)

Similarly, when addressing the role of families, there is also a concern that the inclusion of teaching of native languages in school might bring teachers extra work. As Teacher Kao pointed out:

I personally do not think that we need to address teaching of mother tongues in school education. If it is a mother tongue, then it should be learnt at home. I cannot see the point of bringing mother tongue teaching into school where there is only limited time and space. It is going to lead to extra workload for teachers, as far as I can see. It is not right that schools and teachers have to take it all on just because current policies are promoting it. (19/05/1997, p. 8)

Though teaching of native languages are described to some extent as a compensatory policy for revival, Academic Chen 2 argued that it is not fair to assume everyone needs to learn native languages through school education. Speaking from the perspectives of curriculum development, he declared:

Teaching of mother languages should be through families not schools. Although some people claim that it is a compensatory approach for preserving native languages, it does not mean that every one has to learn it through school education. Personally, I think the biggest problem in our education is people tend to assume that everyone has limitless needs so that school education has to try to provide them with limitless learning activities. It is against the basic principles in curriculum development. School education can not cover everything. (17/06/1997, p. 13)

Recognising the significance of teaching native languages in school, on the contrary, many claim that this teaching would be useful. It is suggested that schools could help pupils learn native languages in accordance with their real needs. Example given by Officer Tsai illustrates how pupils actually can benefit from the language programmes provided in schools. He told me:

In our county, there is one school with a majority of pupils from the mainland background as there were a big number of mainlander settlements in that area after 1949. The school started providing pupils choice for HoLao dialect learning in the extra curricular activities last year. As far as I know, this programme was placed under great demand, made by parents, as they feel that their children need to learn HoLao dialect in order to meet the needs in their daily life. In fact, pupils would be able to benefit most if schools provide them with the learning activities for their own needs and development. In that case, you do not need to push them to learn, they would just come along and take part. (28/04/1997, pp.11-12)

Additionally, arguing that being able to speak more languages would therefore extend pupils' abilities, Head Teacher Feng believed that there would be positive feedback from pupils through native languages learning activities. During the interview, she shared her experiences after her involvement in similar programmes in the past year:

There are quite a large number of pupils in our school who are not able to speak any other language except Mandarin. However, I have found that pupils have shown great interest in learning native languages after we started the programmes. I think that it is better not to involve any political ideologies when developing such a programme in school. Treat native language just another new language to communicate with. Then pupils could expand their abilities, being able to speak more languages and have easier access to different forms of communications. It does not matter whether the accents and pronunciations are accurate or not. As long as they can understand each other and communicate, it is the key. (16/06/1997, pp.12-13)

Further, identifying the multi-lingual needs of modern society, Officer Tsai assumed pupils would eventually learn to be more tolerant for others through an open environment in which different dialects were spoken. He pointed out:

For pupils living in big cities, like our area, it is not always possible to judge what languages pupils need to learn as I think that one requires multi-lingual abilities in the coming 21st century. From my point of view, the main purpose of promoting native language learning in schools is to provide an environment where pupils can naturally learn by speaking and getting used to different languages employed by others. Consequently, I believe that pupils can learn to be tolerant of each other not only in terms of language but also in everything which differs from themselves. (28/04/1997, p.12)

Head Teacher Hu also agreed with those stated ultimate goals of native language teaching in schools, stating:

In fact, there can not be significant outcomes in terms of linguistic development from those teaching programmes operating one or two hours per week through school education. The main aim should be to develop pupils' tolerance and respect for different cultures and languages through being able to speak or listening to different languages. (21/04/1997, pp.2-3)

Section Two: How to Learn?

Since most native languages in Taiwan are spoken, not written, there is much argument about how the teaching of native languages takes place. To be able to pronounce the native languages, different sets of symbol correspondences for pronunciations are necessary. As the native languages referred to are the mother-tongues of pupils, it is argued by many that learning them through symbol correspondence for pronunciation is absurd. As Academic Chen 1 illustrated:

The way of teaching mother tongues in Taiwan through symbol correspondences for pronunciation is not only ridiculous but unique. I believe that Taiwan is the only place in the world is doing like this. (16/06/1997, pp. 10-11)

In the same way, Officer Tsai gave his views in response to the above argument, suggesting:

From the theoretical aspect, it is also ridiculous to use symbol correspondences. What is meant by mother-languages are those languages used in daily life, not something that has to be taught or learnt by phonetic symbols. (28/04/1997, p. 2)

It was also believed by other interviewees, that applying phonetic symbols in native languages teaching aims to help teachers to overcome the difficulties of being unable to speak native languages themselves. Officer Shie elaborated:

Due to the historical background of Taiwan, some teachers are unaccustomed with the island's native languages, even unaware of their own mother tongues after being brought up and educated in Mandarin. (17/04/1997, p1)

Besides, as Officer Shie alluded to, the applications of phonetic symbols aid teachers to cover the linguistic diversity in class. She clarified the intentions behind the approach employed in her county.

Sometimes there are different native languages spoken in one class, so another reason we try to provide a set of phonetic symbols is also to provide teachers with references in order to meet pupils' needs from different linguistic backgrounds. (17/04/1997, pp. 2-3)

Though now many urge the standardisation of phonetic symbols while teaching materials for native languages are being systematically compiled and organised, there is still no common agreement on which set of symbol correspondences to adopt. At the present stage, there are mainly two sets of correspondences employed in most areas. They are firstly the original symbol correspondences for Mandarin learning, *ju-in*, and secondly, the use of English letters for pronunciation.

Those who campaign for the applications of *ju-in* in native language learning, insist that it will provide pupils with consistency if there is only one set of phonetic symbols employed. In other words, they claim that pupils would be confused if they simultaneously have to adopt different sets of phonetic symbols for learning different languages in schools. These concerns are also expressed about giving pupils an extra learning burden if they need to acquire different sets of symbols. As Officer Tsai demonstrated:

It will be too much work for pupils if they have to start from the beginning to learn another way of pronunciation. I am afraid that pupils will not appreciate their native languages if they are expected to undertake so much extra learning (28/04/1997, p. 3)

In addition, it is considered that adopting phonetic symbols for English might result in confusions for pupils when English lesson start in their later schooling. Arguing that the set of phonetic symbols in English might not always correspond to native language pronunciation, Head Teacher Feng was convinced there will be long term effects on pupils learning in English.

Though in theory the same set of phonetic symbols is used for English, the ways in which people apply them in native languages might be different. In order to be able fully to pronounce those dialects, it would be necessary to change the original rules of their application from what is supposed in English. In the longer term, as a result, pupils might experience difficulties and be confused in learning English when they enter secondary schools. (16/06/1997, p.4)

Agreeably, Academic Chen 3 conveyed during the interview his concerns about the possible confusions in pupils' learning in English.

The ways of using those symbols in native languages will be different from what is needed in English. As far as I can see, pupils will experience great difficulties and conflicts in using the same symbols to learn English when they go to secondary schools. (10/03/1997, pp. 1-2).

Finally, most teachers are not linguistic experts. Therefore, another reason for the employment of *ju-in* is due to the incapability of teachers to adopt English phonetic symbols without receiving relevant training. From involvement with in-service training courses for native language teaching, Head Teacher Chang gave me her observation on how teachers in general respond to the use of English phonetic symbols.

Most teachers feel incapable of applying this set of symbol as we are not experts in linguistics. Generally speaking, teachers find they do not understand how the rules of using these symbols work and have no idea how to give instruction about them. (22/04/1997, pp.3-4)

Those who support the application of English phonetic symbols put forward a contrary criticism. They contend that more confusion can be expected from the application of *Ju-in*. They believe that *ju-in* can not make up the sounds necessary to speak those native dialects. As Head Teacher Feng further explained:

As far as HoLao dialect is concerned, I found that I was not able to make the right pronunciations by using *ju-in* provided in some of the teaching materials even though, personally, I can speak HoLao dialect. (16/06/1997)

In response to these concerns over inconsistencies between the two sets phonetic symbols, an abolishment of the current use of *ju-in* in Mandarin teaching has been suggested by many informants. Many claim that pupils could acquire English phonetic symbols for learning all languages, including the official language of Taiwan, native languages, and English. As Academic Chang justified this approach:

If pupils have to learn another set of phonetic symbols for English after *ju-in*, which is already complicated, I would suggest abolishing the application of *ju-in* from the current system and start all language learning with only one set of symbol correspondences. (10/06/1997, p. 12)

It is evident that there are wider applications of English phonetic symbols in the current development of teaching native languages, especially in the aboriginal native languages. As the influence of churches on aboriginal tribal cultures and lives have been observed since Christianity was brought into Taiwan in 17th century (see historical context chapter), the general usage of English phonetic symbols is acknowledged in most aboriginal native languages at the present.

Apart from controversies surrounding the use of symbol correspondences for pronunciations, another issue has emerged. This is whether or not pupils have to learn yet more new characters along with learning to speak. Looking at the current published materials, it is interesting to note there are many characters created for sounds which do not have any written characters to match. The following statement of Officer Tsai referred to this phenomenon.

There are many 'sounds' without written characters to match in those dialects. So people created a lot of strange characters in order to have both 'sounds and words'. Some people suggest that we could write literature in native languages. I personally think it would be torture to attempt to do so. Anyway, I found a lot of words which I do not know in some of the teaching materials.
(28/04/1997, p. 3)

Despite all the debates over the applications of phonetic symbols, many still insist on pupils learning native languages without having to learn phonetic symbols or written characters. It is argued that the main aim in native language teaching should be that of communication, instead of demanding that pupils are able to speak or write accurately. Arguing that there might only be negative outcomes from asking pupils to learn native languages by the current methods, Academic Deng claimed that it is for experts in

phonetics and linguistics to systematically work on the phonetic systems or organisations of written characters for native languages. He said:

It is however crucial for pupils to learn their mother languages in the ways operated in most areas. It should be left to phoneticians or linguists to decide what set of phonetic symbols would be the best for native language learning. That is nothing to do with pupils' learning. (3/07/1997, p. 9)

Head Teacher Feng agreed that teachers need to encourage pupils to communicate through native languages by providing them with an open environment. She asserted:

If pupils cannot have an open environment for learning or practising native languages, they would easily forget what they have learnt. Even if they are forced to learn different sets of phonetic symbols, it will not work without providing them with an open learning environment. They just need to learn to be able to communicate. The rest of the problems such as phonetic system, written characters and so on is what experts are supposed to do, but not pupils. (16/06/1997, p. 15)

Finally, concerns are raised in relation to the applicability of the current published teaching materials. These materials are under serious criticism for not taking pupils' needs into consideration. Many argue that the materials are basically designed for people who already are familiar with the languages. As Academic Chen 1 signified:

I would be incapable of understanding those published materials if I was not familiar with the dialects..... It is a really strange phenomenon that you have to know the languages first before being able to comprehend the contents of the materials. It is such a nonsensical way to write them. Again, no one is taking pupils' needs into account, but only adults', in developing those materials. (16/07/1997, p.10)

The gathered data show that many informants have expressed disappointments about relevant teaching materials. One of the interviewee told me:

After I looked at those materials, I felt so upset. At first, I was happy that the teaching materials are now being systematically organised and collated under the governmental project. But in fact, so many of us feel let down by the lack of quality in these materials. (Academic Wu, 9/05/1997, p.4)

In the same way, the creation of new characters as discussed were also considered to have caused great difficulties for pupils in learning.

Section Three: Whose Native Languages?

As shown in the earlier Chapters (Chapter Six and Seven) since the earliest stages ideological interventions have influenced development of teaching of native languages. Different levels of development have then been observed between local areas. Especially those in opposition local governments see the teaching of native languages as the key focus in the development of native cultural education. In Plum County, for instance, learning native languages has become compulsory for pupils in school. At the same time in other areas teaching of native languages is assessed as too sensitive to be undertaken. A member of preparatory committee in Mango City Area, Head Teacher Feng addressed the issue:

The local educational authority has not drawn any specific developmental plan for teaching of native languages in schools so far. Many people involved in the committee suggest that now language issues are too controversial. So that we have come to an agreement to wait for further clarification on those debates and questions before moving forward to work on teaching development. At the present, it is left to schools to implement teaching of native languages through such means, as folk songs, along with pupils' learning when they are relevant. (16/06/1997, p.16).

Evidently, since it is hard to find any class consisting of pupils from only one particular cultural and tribal background, pupils have different mother tongues in any given class. The gathered data, however, reveal that teaching of native languages often refers to the teaching of HoLao dialect in most areas. Many believe that this emphasis is because people with HoLao background are the majority in the current society. Thus, HoLao dialect is generally defined as ‘the native language’ when teaching takes place in practice. As a result, the question of ‘whose mother-tongues or native languages?’ has been raised. This has invited a wide range of discussions among people involved in the current reform movement. As Academic Chang cited:

I would like to ask: what do they mean by ‘mother tongue? In fact, many people define mother tongue only as HoLao dialect. In other words, it seems to be me that HoLao dialect is regarded as another official language just like Mandarin. So that learning mother tongue is equal to learning HoLao dialect for all pupils regardless their original backgrounds in some areas. To be honest, it is not acceptable to me. (10/06/1997, p.11)

In addition, some are concerned that possible conflicts and tension among different groups of people might arise from the teaching of native languages in school. Addressing the importance of respecting cultural diversity, many warn that the current approaches employed in the teaching of native languages could result in another cultural hegemony. Speaking from a position of a second generation of Mainlander in Taiwan, Academic Wu expressed her concerns during the interview:

There are often pupils from different cultural backgrounds in our classrooms. So who would you regard as the main group in teaching of native cultures and languages? In terms of population, of course, HoLao dialect appears to be the main. But we can not ignore that Hakka exists, and aboriginal dialects as well as those of Mainlanders. Apart from the official language, Mandarin, we, with Mainland backgrounds, have our own mother tongues. These were originally from different prefectures in China. The question is why HoLao people’s

mother tongue is more important than ours in the teaching of native languages. Looking at the ways in which people are implementing native language teaching seems to me as leading towards another form of cultural hegemony. If native language is only defined as HoLao dialect, its teaching might reinforce conflicts between people more than before [the current initiative]. (17/06/1997, p. 4)

Similarly, in response to the concerns about the possible cultural hegemony, Teacher Chen added that we need to learn from the past and avoid forming another 'Mandarin policy'. He pointed out:

It is an ideological issue in Taiwan. I was talking to another teacher the other day that we need to be very aware of avoiding another Mandarin policy while developing native language teaching. Now, after 50 years, some people have started to complain about being forced to learn Mandarin by Mainlander. Yet, maybe aborigines would then accuse us of forcing on them the learning of HoLao dialect 50 years later. I mean that it is better not to stress too much those language issues but to respect them. (14/05/1997, p. 5)

Such concerns in reply to the possible tension between different groups of people are also found among class teachers. Involved with in-service training courses for native languages, Officer Tsai illustrated how teachers have reacted to native languages being defined as only HoLao dialect.

The question of how to define the teaching of native languages in a class where there are pupils with different cultural backgrounds is also a big concern for many teachers on the training courses. They feel that it would be unfair for pupils from other cultural groups if native language teaching only means HoLao dialect teaching. In fact, some of the teachers with Hakka backgrounds have been angered by this bias. Listening to these teachers' anger, I am worried that more conflicts might emerge from the current classroom practices. (28/06/1997, p. 6)

After talking to a group of classroom teachers in County Plum where learning of HoLao dialect is compulsory, I was able to obtain a better understanding of how teachers and pupils perceive the teaching of native languages. Generally speaking, for those teachers

with non-HoLao background, this teaching is apparently difficult. As Teacher Hu described:

I have no idea of HoLao dialect myself so that I always play the tapes provided by the local government during that lesson. I guess most of my pupils are better in speaking HoLao than I am. (17/04/1997, pp.1-2)

Though most instructors with HoLao background can articulate the dialect, difficulties in terms of practices are encountered and mentioned by many. Speaking from his own experiences, Teacher Suen portrayed the issue:

To be honest, I have found it difficult to pronounce or explain some phrases and words correctly myself. Obviously, I am not able to teach the dialect word by word with detailed explanations. I can only teach phrases and expressions like those we use in the daily life. (18/04/1997, p.2)

Teacher Shih also admitted there were some difficulties in teaching this dialect effectively:

In real terms, it is not easy to make the teaching really exciting or excellent. I can only manage to complete the lesson by involving pupils into some sort of daily conversations in HoLao dialect. As well I need to play the audio tapes to help my teaching. (18/04/1997, p.2)

In addition, most teachers also consider the various accents in HoLao dialect as another problem encountered in teaching practices. Teacher Yeh further identified:

In our county, people speak the dialect with a very strong and special dialect. It is certainly not easy for other teachers from different areas to speak in the way we do here. (05/05/1997, p.3)

With regard to how pupils respond to the teaching of HoLao dialect in class, teachers describe different reactions, according to pupils' background. For the majority of pupils

with HoLao background, learning their mother tongue is denoted as interesting and relaxing. Teacher Suen related how his pupils reacted in the lesson:

They generally feel that it is an interesting lesson and make very active responses in learning. Also they often laugh when hearing phrases they rarely use. In general, they respond quite well to the teaching. (18/04/1997, p.4)

For those pupils from non-HoLao backgrounds, that many pupils experience difficulties in becoming involved in learning activities. As Teacher Suen further commented:

Sometimes during the lesson pupils look 'puzzled' about what is going on. As a result, they become less involved. I often have to point to them and call out their names, asking them to respond so they become involved. (18/04/1997, p.5)

In the same way, Teacher Shih also made similar observations of the pupils' reactions, and discussed how he has been trying to overcome the problem:

I often realise that they are somehow 'out' of the lesson as they find it hard to understand the dialect. From the educational point of view, we can not ignore these pupils. I normally play tapes first and then talk to them both in HoLao dialect as well as Mandarin to help pupils become engaged in the lesson. (18/04/1997, p.4)

It is evident that making HoLao the principal dialect in teaching of native languages has a range of effects on pupils from different backgrounds. But, some see these problems as less significant, arguing that it would help improve ethnic relations if pupils learnt HoLao dialect as the community language. The suggestion is that being able to speak the dialect of the majority, HoLao, would aid understanding between pupils. As Teacher Wu 2 considered:

Living in a society with a majority of HoLao people, I personally think that it is a good idea that all pupils learn a bit of HoLao culture and language so that they can integrate better in their living environment. I had a pupil in my class who used to live in South Africa and he said that he had learnt the dialect of the indigenous people in the community where he lived. I think it is sensible

for pupils to learn HoLao dialect as another language for communication.
(12/04/1997, p.2)

Head Teacher Liao collaborated:

Being able to speak another language for better communication, but, to a further extent, learning HoLao would be useful in promoting more positive interaction between pupils from different backgrounds. (18/03/1997, p.6)

Moreover, many argue it is not possible to cover all dialects in the teaching of native languages in schools because of the diverse nature of those languages. In addition to the numbers of native languages among all groups of people, diversity can be found even within the same dialect. In some aboriginal native languages, for instance, the same tribal dialect may be spoken in different areas, but in a manner which makes them distinct from one another. It is therefore thought impractical to provide mother-tongue teaching to pupils from all different backgrounds in schools. Head Teacher Shie specified the complexity:

Most aboriginal dialects are only spoken languages. Some dialects are not in their original form after having been mixed with other languages from different locations. For instance, Teacher K [whom I met in the same school] can communicate with her family in the Atayal dialect that is however different from the Atayal spoken in TaiLuKe area. What is more interesting is that she also finds herself unable to communicate with Atayal people living in the next village, who use the same dialect as her. In reality it is impossible to cover all native languages in schools. (19/05/1997, p.7)

The lack of teaching resources to address all native languages is also recognised as another problem. Apart from most teachers not being language experts, even if they can speak the dialect, it is difficult to find teachers from every linguistic backgrounds to cover all dialects needing to be taught in schools. As Head Teacher Hu particularised:

The biggest problem facing the teaching of native languages, from my personal observations, is the shortage of finding teachers and the imbalance in

their expertise. So that it is therefore difficult to fulfil the current promotion.
(21/04/1997, pp.2-3)

Nevertheless, it is suggested that surveying pupils' needs prior to deciding which dialects to include in language teaching might overcome the problems identified above. Many are convinced that it would on the one hand avoid forming another cultural hegemony, and on the other, meet most pupils' needs in native language learning. His involvement in native language instruction in his school where most pupils have a Atayal background led to Teacher Chou's comments:

We normally conduct a survey to ask pupils to decide which dialect they would like to learn most before planning for lessons. Some pupils in the end choose to learn the dialect that is not their own mother tongue but the one they need most. (23/04/1997, p.5)

Finally, many informants, taking into account the limited time that schools can provide, have raised concerns about how much do pupils benefit from native language learning. The significance of an open linguistic environment has been broached as the key to the success of native language teaching and learning. Instead of from formal language lessons, many anticipate that pupils would be able to learn better in an open and well-arranged school environment (both inside and outside lessons) in which all dialects are welcomed. Teacher Chang told me how she valued native language teaching and learning in schools:

It will not work if they only use native languages during one lesson per week. What I try to do is to incorporate native languages into my teaching generally. At the beginning, my pupils felt strange and asked me why I used native languages during other lessons. But in time they get more used to it. Also I have found that they speak in native languages more often with their friends in schools. I think that pupils would learn native languages better and quicker

from an open interactive environment that encourages pupils to use dialects instead of a concentrated session of 40 minutes per week. (18/04/1997, p.7)

Arguing that there will be only limited effects from a relevant programme in school, Head Teacher Hu insisted that the ultimate goal should be to develop pupils' respect for cultural and linguistic diversity.

In fact, pupils will linguistically benefit little merely from native language learning through school curriculum. I personally think that the aim of involving teaching of native languages in schools is to provide pupils with an environment within which they would be able to develop respect and tolerance for cultural and linguistic differences through listening to and speaking a range of languages. (21/04/97, p.2)

Despite the problems raised, a pre-school approach for native language education is recommended. It is suggested that it would be more effective to start introducing native language teaching at a pre-school stage, where there is more time and pupils are younger and perhaps more receptive to different languages. Academic Chen 1 illustrated this idea:

I think that pupils could start learning their mother tongues from a pre-school stage. It will on the one hand, avoid adding extra work on pupils' learning during their primary schooling. On the other hand, linguistically speaking, they would also learn better if they start learning at an earlier stage. I mean that we could place more emphasis on native language learning during the pre-school education where pupils could learn through playing rather than formal instruction. (16/06/1997, p. 9)

Most informants perceive some form of a hidden curriculum (learning in a open linguistic environment) is essential in implementing native language education in practice. Related to this approach is the concept of undertaking at a pre-school stage the teaching of native languages. In both strategies for improvement there is an element that the pupil needs to

be prepared or made ready to engage in formal instruction at a higher level of schooling. The attempt to find more imaginative and all-inclusive ways to instruct native languages further suggests the seriousness of the problems faced by teachers and pupils in the classroom.

Native language teaching acknowledged as a major component in native cultural education is also perhaps the most difficult to implement and, at the same time, is susceptible to becoming politicised by one or the other side of the political contest in the context of Taiwan. The examples shown from the above discussion reveal the dilemmas in turning the constructive theory of teaching native languages into practice in the classroom. The concerns of my informants imply that extensive deliberation is necessary before the ideal of celebrating linguistic diversity can be achieved in school or benefit pupils' lives.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

This research study was undertaken initially to look at the development of native cultural education (NCE), which had been introduced officially for the first time since 1949. Promoting the notion of Taiwanese native cultures in school education is identified as a key feature of the latest curriculum revision. In response to great social and political changes of recent decades, a new national curriculum standard was introduced by the Government in 1993 and was implemented in 1996. To meet the demands of recognising Taiwanese native cultures in the society, new subjects including ‘Homeland Study Activity’ in primary schools and ‘Getting to Know Taiwan’ together with ‘Native Art Activity’ in lower secondary schools have been established. In addition to new subjects, the use of native cultural materials in the curriculum is also encouraged in the revised specifications. Teaching of native languages and aboriginal cultures in school education are also observed as other key approaches endorsed by the current reform movement.

Native cultural education, according to the new national curriculum standards, aims to build up pupils’ better understanding of their immediate environment and the cultures of Taiwan. However, many educators believe that the promotion of native cultures in education has highlighted two main trends in the current reform movement. Firstly, instead

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of providing standardised textbooks, local education authorities (LEAs) are now in charge of the preparation and implementation of native cultural education for the first time in the history of Taiwan's education. Devolving power and responsibilities to each LEA reflects the tendency towards decentralisation in Taiwanese education. Secondly, due to the complex history of Taiwan resulting from successive colonisers and immigrants, a diverse culture has emerged. Therefore, some observers assume a link between the promotion of native cultures and the concept of multicultural education. Celebrating and showing respect for cultural and tribal diversity, as part of the current promotion, is seen as indicating cultural pluralism in education. In this context, my study proposed to look at the development of native cultural education at the present stage. These issues seem to be most important to those who have been in the process of preparing and delivering the new curriculum specifications from the early stage for its implementation.

Two main dimensions exist, vertical and horizontal, through which the research looks at how native cultural education is being developed as a whole. The vertical dimension represents my inquiry into the historical context and its implications for this education. Taiwanese native cultures have been overwhelmed by the severe 'Great Chinese ideologies' dominant in education through Taiwan's unique political situation, and its complex relationship with Mainland China over the past few decades. From this historical perspective, in the first place, it is essential to identify the key factors which have implications for native cultural education. These factors (identified in Chapter Two: Historical Context) clarify how and why Taiwanese native cultures have been brought

into education at this time. Through the horizontal dimension (the immediate context), the study aimed to investigate how different approaches for the implementation of native cultural education are being developed in various localities.

Since the promotion of native cultures in Taiwan is believed to have a unique nature in terms of its development, my account begins with a descriptive-analytic overview of educational policy and other contextual influences and their impacts on its teaching. This overview is based on the premise, as Parry (1997) puts it, that “educational policy making and curriculum development efforts are social processes which may be understood only when they are situated within special social, cultural and political contexts” (p.6). These are characterised invariably by significant similarities and differences within as well as across individual societies. There are three distinct stages (prior 1945, 1949-1987, after 1987) within which implications for native cultural education can be identified in the history of Taiwan.

This conclusion will therefore fall into three parts. The first part will briefly recapitulate the key findings of my research under the five main themes of *the current development – approaches, critical debates -- philosophical concerns, teaching of native cultures and curriculum development, teaching of aboriginal cultures and languages, and teaching of native languages*. The second section will explore the implementations of my findings for the ambitions of government policy in the area of promoting native cultural education in Taiwan. Reflecting on the substantive evidence, the final section will make

recommendations that might aid the promotion of multicultural education through the current practice of native cultural education.

Section One: Key Research Findings:

The Promotion of Native Cultural Education: the Current Approaches

To fulfil the promotion of native cultural education, there are three main approaches utilised, both at local and central levels, in the current educational reform movement.

They are:

1.) Native cultures and the curriculum reform

Three new subjects, including '*Homeland Study Activity*' in primary and '*Getting to Know Taiwan*' and '*Native Art Activity*' in lower secondary schools, have been established. In addition, employing native cultural materials during teaching in other subjects when relevant, is also clearly suggested and encouraged in the last curriculum specifications.

2.) Teaching of aboriginal native cultures

Aboriginal education is an issue highlighted in promoting native cultures and appears as a major aspect which has invited much attention and debate in the current reform movement.

3.) Encouraging the teaching and learning of native languages

In the current movement, working towards the use of native languages is argued as the most significant change in government linguistic policy in education since the Mandarin movement in immediate post-war Taiwan. Teaching of native languages is, in theory, one of the elements in 'Homeland Study Activity'. But, in many local areas data has shown that emphasising native languages is now employed *as a separate approach*. Many believe that the separate development results from the diversity of native languages.

Critical Debates: Philosophical Concerns

There are four aspects from which concerns have risen. These include:

1.) Ideological

From the ideological viewpoint, controversies surround the issue of how Taiwanese native cultures should be valued and developed. There are two main confronting ideologies: the great *Chinese traditions* and *Taiwanese native awareness*. Evidence that reveals the conflicts between the two sides comes from the contrasting definitions of native cultural education used by various local educational authorities. These are reflected in the ways in which different areas implement the teaching of native cultures. The political stance of each local government and individual participant appears to be the key factor, having the greatest impact on how native cultural education is defined.

The confrontation between the two ideologies was clearly illustrated by the discussions and controversies observed after the release of the series of textbooks for '*Getting to Know Taiwan*'. The dispute exemplified the politicised nature in the current development. It is evident that the opposition parties desire to promote Taiwanese consciousness via re-discovery of native cultures. They hope to achieve this objective through native cultural education based on the respect for cultural differences in contrast to a Pan-Chinese consciousness. The ruling political party, KMT, on the other hand, looks to rid Taiwan of its tribal complexity. They see native cultural education as a means to put great emphasis on local cultures rather than their contentious ethnic identities.

2.) Historical

Tradition versus Modernity

The teaching of native cultures has been interpreted as *too nostalgic*, but also been described as suffering from '*historical amnesia*'. This conflict shows the need to adjust the balance between traditions and modernity in the curriculum development for teaching of native cultures. The dispute still remains unresolved.

The Representation of the Native History

The representation of the native history of Taiwan is vigorously debated. The conflicts and tensions in the teaching of native history have *divided along ethnic and cultural lines*, for example, the aborigines versus ethnic Chinese. Due to the unique nature of Taiwanese history, how to select and deal with historical materials in native cultural

education can be seen as crucially important to its successful implementation. There is concern about the *growing tensions among social sub-groups* (aborigines, Hakka, HoLao, and Mainlander) in the current development. Therefore, the government curriculum goal (e.g. helping people from different cultural and tribal backgrounds understand each other better and appreciate the differences through the teaching of native cultures), is criticised and considered by some as counter-productive.

3.) Geographical

Globalisation or Localisation

Globalisation is recognised as the ‘mainstream’ in both general as well as educational policy in Taiwan. Many are concerned that the promotion of native cultures might drive educational policies in the opposite direction, that is *regionalism*. They argue that the logic of moving from identification of native cultures towards globalisation is fundamentally flawed. Their argument is that putting too much emphasis on native cultural education might result in Taiwan being perceived as an isolated island, not a part of the world community. Despite all the doubts about connections between globalisation and localisation, on the other hand, many believe that native cultural identity is still an essential element for global citizenship and consider the importance of identifying with one’s own native culture before interacting with different cultures.

Local versus State

Another issue raised in this aspect is whether or not native cultural education being developed locally would result in ‘*localism*’, not only isolation from the world but

separations within the nation. To some extent, this fear is reinforced by the present tendency towards de-centralisation, for example, native cultural materials having been developed locally. Once again, extreme perspectives from two sides have emerged from the analysed data. One side argues that native or local emphasis is not in opposition to state cultures and would be helpful in forming a more solid national identity in the context of Taiwan. The other believe that native cultural education still needs to be developed in a context of one core or mainstream culture, probably Great Chinese traditions oriented.

4.) Political

Finally, in the political dimension, much argument has been stirred up about ideological influences apparent in the way native cultures are being promoted in education. It is evident after the lifting of Martial Law that the early promotion of native cultures began in some opposition local governments during the subsequent blooming of democracy. From that time to this, my gathered data show that *political factors were and still are influential in the development of native cultural education*. Confusion, conflicts and tensions between different political inspirations are still observed in the ways through which people are implementing the teaching of native cultures.

Teaching of Native Cultures and curriculum Development

1.) Single or Integrated Subject?

The use of native cultural materials in teaching practice when relevant has been encouraged alongside the new subjects set up in both primary and lower second schools.

Suggesting that native cultures should be integrated, teaching them as separate and formal subjects is criticised for lack of thoughtful deliberation over curriculum development as a whole. Others claim that the unique historical background should be taken into account. They think that this background is significant in teaching native cultures as separate formal subjects in Taiwan, since these cultures have been suppressed in past decades. Along with the establishment of the new subjects, practical problems, including *who is going to teach?*; *how to instruct teaching on a 'activity' basis?*; and *the need for assessment*, have been raised by many practitioners.

2.) The Development in Teaching Materials

Since there are no standardised textbooks provided for 'Homeland Study Activity', debates relating to the development of teaching materials in different localities appear to be controversial. Concerns about the *partiality held by experts*, *the applicability of teaching materials* and *whether to adopt a 'topic work' or 'subject' basis when develop teaching materials*, have emerged from the gathered data.

3.) Teaching Practices

Due to most teachers did not have enough knowledge or had failed to receive relevant training during their professional education, the question of *how teachers perceive and prepare for the teaching of native cultures* has been repeatedly mentioned by the informants. According to the accumulated data, most teachers do not feel confident about teaching of native cultures and believe that this teaching as an extra task. Some teachers

further complain that the current development has not advanced far enough to meet the government's goals in native cultural education.

Recognising the limitation in teachers' ability to instruct native cultures, different *remedial approaches*, such as the establishment of resources centres; holding in-service training courses, are being adopted in most localities. Yet, I have acknowledged that most teachers feel that their needs and opinions should be taken into consideration when relevant training programmes are outlined by the authorities.

Teaching of Aboriginal cultures and Languages

1.) Cultural Identity or Cultural Preservation?

Many argue that pupils' learning of aboriginal cultures *is isolated from their real life experiences; too much emphasis is placed on traditions and cultures that are no longer in practice*. But it's the learning of aboriginal languages that stimulates most resistance and criticism. Many aboriginal parents complain, instead of mother tongues, that schools should provide opportunities for their children to learn better Mandarin or English to advance their academic achievement. Consequently, officials are faced with the dilemma of balancing people's practical needs with the policy of building cultural identities through aboriginal education. Whether this *teaching can develop pupils' cultural identities or becomes another form of cultural preservation* is still a matter for serious debate, further complicating the issue.

2.) *Moving toward Cultural Pluralism or Separations?*

There is a growing tension observed *between aboriginal and non-aboriginal groups* as a result of government's promotional and compensatory policy. The Educational Priority Scheme, for instance, is one policy that has enflamed conflicts among head teachers (especially of those non-aboriginal schools in remote areas) about obtaining sufficient educational resources. Moreover, aboriginal pupils have appeared to be 'special' and segregated from their schoolmates as a result of participating in the promotional events.

In addition, conflicts have been observed *among aboriginal tribes*. Data has revealed that there is diversity and complexity in terms of the number and nature of aboriginal native cultures. This characteristic has given rise to argument about which tribal culture, among the many, should be emphasised.

3.) *Education for All*

The issue of whether teaching of aboriginal cultures should apply to all pupils, or only to pupils with aboriginal identities is seriously debated. On the one hand, commentators believe that the aim of *enhancing cross-cultural understanding* can only be achieved when aboriginal cultures are celebrated and appreciated by all pupils. The opposing argument takes practical conditions into account. These exponents support the belief that it requires *a total curriculum reform* before cross-cultural issues can be covered. But the two sides of argument agree the proposal of a separate educational system for aboriginal pupils is not germane and possibly harmful in the context of Taiwan.

Teaching of native languages.

1.) Is It Needed?

Many observers argue it is a result of changing political motivation and disagree with the inclusions of these languages in the curriculum. They claim that pupils should *learn their mother tongues at home* instead of through formal education. But since some native languages are not in use in pupils' real lives, controversies surround the debate for the necessity of native language learning in schools. The alternative view holds that being able to speak more languages would *extend pupils' personal ability*. Nevertheless, providing pupils' with *a learning environment that is linguistically neutral and receptive* is seen as the most important factor to be considered in pupils' native languages learning.

2.) How to Learn?

Since most native languages in Taiwan are only spoken languages, different sets of *symbol correspondences for pronunciations* are found in actual teaching practices. Phonetic symbols are thought to help teachers overcome difficulties in speaking native languages themselves, but pupils' learning mother tongues through symbol correspondences for pronunciation is then viewed as ridiculous as well as an unique phenomenon in Taiwan. Moreover, concerns are expressed about *the quality of the teaching materials* applied for pupils' learning native languages. The materials are criticised for not being developed on the basis of pupils' needs. For example, particularly for native languages the creation of new characters is assessed as producing increased difficulties for pupils.

3.) Whose Native Languages?

A subsequent issue has emerged in relation to the disagreements among different groups of people observed in the current teaching of native languages. The research findings reveal that learning of HoLao dialect has been programmed for all pupils regardless of their cultural and tribal backgrounds in some localities. This innovation has resulted in a growing concern for the possibility of introducing *another form of cultural hegemony*, 'HoLao' instead of 'Mandarin policy' further damaging the development of harmony among people in Taiwanese society.

Section Two: Implications for Government Policy and Practices

Prospect for Multiculturalism: Reflecting on the Concept of Multicultural Education in the Context of Taiwan

Chaos and conflicts can be noted in the current development of native cultural education. The government's ambition of pursuing multicultural education through the promotion of native cultures seems to be problematic. Data suggest, contrary to this ideal, that there are growing friction between the pursuit of multicultural education and the goals of native cultural education. Some argue they are incompatible. The gathered evidence implies the aims of developing tolerance and respect for cultural diversity by promoting native cultural education cannot be achieved through the present manner in which the new subjects are taught. Before trying to answer the question of whether or not there is way forward for a successful delivery of native cultural education, it is fundamentally

important to reflect on the conflicts and tensions identified in the light of multicultural education. When the implications are examined through the lens of cultural pluralism, two angles, theoretical and pragmatic, are adopted.

From Theoretical Aspect

1.) Lack of a theoretical foundation: the political implication

From the **theoretical** angle, I have become conscious of certain implications in the teaching of native cultures. First of all, there is a lack of theoretical foundation for this teaching in the Taiwanese context. This has become evident as I have observed the political impact on the recent reforms. The lack of a recognised theoretical framework makes the innovation for the teaching of native cultures more vulnerable to political manipulation. As a result, there are contrasting ideologically inspired definitions of native cultural education being endorsed in different localities. But these differences in interpretation are not only found between areas, but also exist among participants whom are taking part in the current movement in all aspects including policy-making, theory and practice. The variations observed in how native cultural education is seen have subsequent consequences for its actual implementation, such as some districts feel at liberty to put much emphasis on language issues leading to imbalance in the overall programmes. Also the critical debate in philosophical terms reflects the confusions experienced by participants in the process of development, such as in the selection of appropriate native history materials. Since native cultural education cannot be officially defined, concerns are raised about the logic and validity of the government's goals in the

current reform movement in which the topic of the teaching of native cultures plays such a significant role.

2.) *What is NCE& the Link between NCE and ME?*

A union between the promotion of native cultures and the theory of multicultural education has been repeatedly presumed both in government documentation as well as relevant literature, including most of the research studies conducted in the field. Despite this assumption, data suggest that most informants are still not clear about how native cultural education connects with the pursuance of multicultural education. The idea of pursuing this education through the teaching of native cultures whilst being a projected goal in government's policy still remains a hypothesis without being fully recognised, understood and worked out in curriculum development and in the classroom. I would argue that native cultural education represents a necessary preliminary step before multicultural education can be achieved as an ultimate objective.

Taiwanese schooling cannot be said to be equated with the ideals of multicultural education at the present time. Why? Firstly, looking at the development in some local governments, political confrontations appear to be more influential than educational needs. This emphasis contradicts the initiative for cultural pluralism in native cultural education. I recognise the implications of this political involvement and would like to ask whether or not native cultural education can reflect the cultural diversity that was not found in education under the former official mono-cultural policy, or is merely a means to

impose different political ideologies from varying political standpoints. These concerns reinforce the need for a less politicised approach to the teaching of native cultures.

The second answer to above question is without identifying the transmission process from teaching native cultures to multicultural education, of which I am aware, curriculum development for native cultural education simply becomes another ‘battlefield’ in which each tribal and cultural sub-group fights to establish its own culture. For this process to be facilitated, there needs to be a sense of equality created between the different groups and sustained dialogue. Clearly, these ideals are not being realised in the present circumstance. Currently, to those involved in curriculum development, how to address the significance of one’s own culture seems to be more important than developing a multicultural awareness, the prerequisite for practising multicultural education. Instead, teaching of native cultures appears to be exclusively employed as a means to instil pupils’ sense of ‘ethnic’ or ‘tribal’ identities. Emphasis, in the current development, including in published teaching materials, is mainly on identifying with and praising one’s own culture, though the idea was initially to enhance cultural harmony through cross-cultural appreciation. The concern here is that encouraging the teaching of native cultures might result in another form of cultural hegemony, if native cultural education only aims to know about ‘myself’, then this is the very opposite of the supposed outcomes of multicultural education. My argument is not that one should ignore the importance of their cultures, but there needs to be simultaneously tolerance of and respect for other cultures. Only through this interaction, can the preparation for multicultural education, the equality and dialogue between different cultures, be achieved.

Many writers (May, 1999; Jones, 1997; Schlesinger, 1992; Wilson, 1986; Bullivant, 1981) have discussed the difficulty of the state education's paradoxical role of teaching unity and loyalty to pupils, and celebrating cultural and linguistic diversity presented by different groups in the society. In his recent paper of *Nation, State and Diversity*, Jones (1997) discusses the importance as well as the dilemma of promoting inter-cultural education in a modern state. He comments:

The dilemma is a real one for the modern state. The debate about subsidiarity apart, there are real dangers to peace if all groups, defining themselves and/or being defined by others, insist upon self-government. (p.3)

The tension between the two competing aims: civism and pluralism in state education is termed by Bullivant (1981) as the "pluralism dilemma". He defines this dilemma as "the problem of reconciling the diverse political claims of constituent groups and individuals in a pluralist society with the claims of the nation-state as a whole" (1981, p. x). For instance, the debate over the New York State's multicultural reform movement exemplifies the pluralism dilemma in promoting a multicultural curriculum. It is criticised by Schlesinger, Jr, (1992) one of the opponents to the New York Report: *A Curriculum of Inclusion*, that multicultural education has resulted in the "cult of ethnicity" (p.43) and threatens to divide students along racial and cultural lines, rather than united them as Americans.

This dilemma, in my opinion, is inevitable. But Schlesinger's view is too extreme. In the Taiwanese context, based on my findings, more dialogues are essential between the real needs of the different sub-groups to create their own identities and the necessity of social

unity. I interpret the “cult of ethnicity” as being similar to the idea of too much separation between cultures leading to a greater antagonism, as Chang (10/06/1997) observes in the current situation in Taiwan. I think it is fundamental to allow sub-groups to express themselves if Taiwan’s fledgling democracy is to survive. The situation in Taiwan differs from the long history of democracy in the United States. Also, the elements of cultural diversity are much more important than ethnicity partly because most members of the society, apart from aborigines, are ethnic Chinese. This implies a potential social unity could be possible within the context of cultural differences in Taiwan.

Though multicultural education is described as a threat to the state, I claim that a state can merely represent an empty political image without letting the voices of different cultures being heard. At the same time, based on my analysis, I would argue that in the current practice the assumed link between knowing about one’s own culture and being able to appreciate and respect cultural differences through native cultural education remains in question. Being aware of the actual needs of the specific social context while applying relevant theoretical strategies in practice is therefore the key to whether or not the bond between multicultural education and teaching of native cultures can be realised.

From Practical Aspect

As suggested above, in the **practical** sphere, there are many concerns needing to be addressed.

1.) Too Broad to Manage?

Due to the cultural and tribal diversity identified in Taiwanese society, data suggest in the first place that promotion of native cultural education appears to be unmanageable. The 'bottom-up' approach in the curriculum development indicates a tendency towards decentralisation; this means each local educational authority is challenged to take charge of preparing for, and implementing of, native cultural education in their regions. This responsibility is expected without LEAs being provided with clear directions from the central authority on how to teach the new subjects in relation to the curriculum as a whole. Confusions and anxieties expressed by most informants, have echoed what Academic Chin (4/03/1996) describes as "chaotic" in the current development in different regions. Relevant issues including the applicability of teaching materials, the need of assessment, time allocations, and a shortage of suitably qualified teachers have also been highlighted.

Another problem for participants is how actually to incorporate cultural elements from different tribal groups into classroom practices. In Taiwan, as different interviewees said, there is no classroom that consists only of pupils from one particular cultural or linguistic background. Therefore, the teaching of this breadth of differences leads to managerial difficulties. Tribal cultures have distinctive natures. This means it is not easy to incorporate them into curriculum development of established subjects for native cultural education. Problems encountered by informants are not only found in incorporating different tribal and cultural components but also in dealing with the differences identified within a particular tribal group. In the curriculum development for teaching of aboriginal

native cultures, for instance, many people express concerns over the selection of materials for a tribal culture and language where variations in terms of its geographical locations can be observed. One response is the central educational authority resuming charge of the curriculum development. Another is teaching materials being developed on a tribal basis. The issue of how to select what is representative and yet not contentious within the derivations of a particular tribal culture and language is still under serious dispute. Apart from the great diversity that needs to be covered in teaching of native cultures, these complications and changes further make its development more problematic.

The inclusion of teaching native cultures as part of formal curriculum has been criticised as adding extra work to pupils. For instance, teaching of native languages in schools, many interviewees argue that pupils should learn at home instead of at school. In addition to the debates over the inclusion of mother tongue teaching in schools observed in the current development of native cultural education in Taiwan, extreme views about the use of mother tongues in education are also expressed in research studies and literature. Nixon (1985) identifies the importance of mother tongue in schools as “the basic requirement of any educational system which aims beyond a mere instrumentalist transmission of skills and facts” (p.104). In the same way, the research findings of “Case studies project” launched by the California Office of Bilingual Education in 1980 suggests that the benefits of mother tongue learning are considered significant in the minority pupil’s academic achievement (p.223). By proposing the necessity of a “common language” (Nixon, 1985), many are also concerned that mother tongue teaching might result in increasing divisions between different ethnic groups and separate pupils

from experiencing different cultural activities. (Ufomata, 1999). Similarly, the big number of native languages in Taiwan gives further difficulties in classroom practice in terms of acquiring sufficient teaching professionals to cover all linguistic needs.

The question of whether or not learning of native cultures should be included as part of school education is also raised. It is cited as too trivial, as well as being isolated from pupils' real lives. For pupils with aboriginal identity, learning their cultures and languages in schools, for instance, has been criticised as another form of "cultural preservation" as most cultures and languages are either assimilated into Chinese or are out of use. Arguing that aboriginal children need to be provided with opportunities to learn better English and Mandarin in order to obtain higher academic achievement, many parents and members of elite have shown anger about current policies and approaches. They complained that government investments on aboriginal education do not meet their needs and might prevent their children from reaching higher academic standards. Significantly, Jones (1997) has warned that it might lead to wider protest when some form or forms of educational differentiation is imposed on a group without its permission and support.(p.5)

It is evident in the research findings that some aboriginal parents prefer to send their children out of aboriginal village to receive 'a better education'. This echoes what has been revealed in Ufomata's study (1999) which looks at the language education in Nigeria. He concluded that some schools had to adopt the "straightway-English policy" (p.319) or the policy makers and members of elite continue to send their children to private schools where English is the medium of instruction in order to attain better results

from examinations which are in English. (pp.319-321). The same problem can be observed with aboriginal parents. These conflicts lead to the dilemma of trying to reconcile the idea of putting into practice their educational rights and equally meeting their real wants. The recent promotion has exposed the internal contradictions within the aborigines in terms of educational aspirations and doing well in Taiwanese society. One response to this issue is that further clarifications between teaching of native cultures in schools and cultural preservations in general be established before subsequent development in teaching aboriginal cultures and languages takes place.

2.) Cultural Pluralism or Separations: Causes and Implications in the Practical Sector

Along with the concerns related to teaching of native cultures being too broad to manage effectively, the second issue raised implies the possibility of causing greater separation between different tribal and cultural groups. The data indicate that growing tension can be observed between people from different cultural backgrounds in the current development. Tensions identified by participants may reflect the lack of deliberations in the policy making and the adoption of approaches for promoting of native cultures. For instance, the “Educational Priority Scheme”, a compensatory policy for aboriginal education, is thought to have resulted in greater divisions between aboriginal and non-aboriginal groups. It is especially true when accessing educational resources as aborigines now have the priority. These tensions are also found in classrooms. Involving aboriginal pupils in selective cultural events is believed to result in aboriginal pupils becoming isolated from the mainstream cultures, as well as from pupils with other cultural backgrounds, in their learning environment. Thus, promoting aboriginal cultural education through the current

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approaches has magnified problems instead of developing tolerance and understanding between the two sides as was originally projected. Taking the above observations into account, many (teachers and academics) debate if, in practice, teaching of aboriginal cultures should be applied to all pupils or merely to those with aboriginal backgrounds.

Thus, the notion of a separate educational system has been mooted. Many are concerned that it might cause further divisions between aboriginal and non-aboriginal groups.

Coulby (1997) has reminded us of the possible outcomes of a segregated system:

Segregated special schools in the UK serve to enforce the difference and separation between their pupils and those in the mainstream schools. By virtue (if that is the word) of being in a distinct institution, they come to view themselves as distinct kinds of people with different provision, aspirations and needs. In parallel, pupils in the mainstream or in the gymnasium do not have contact with other kinds of pupils and can, all the more easily, come to regard them as abnormal or intellectually inferior. Segregation is a process whereby educational institutions create and reinforce difference. (p.8)

I share Coulby's view to some extent and see the dangers, but in the Taiwanese environment aborigines are vulnerable to cultural assimilation when they amount to only three percent of the total population. The division, that Coulby (1997) refers to, does not represent the Taiwanese situation where some positive discrimination might be necessary to protect certain aboriginal cultures. Nevertheless, some parents are not in favour of the government's compensatory policies because they see it having an adverse affect on their children's education. The problems in Coulby's views in the context of Britain are different from dilemmas in Taiwan where a considerable number of aborigines perhaps still perceive themselves as powerless and therefore are afraid of putting emphasis on

their difference. So in the present promotion the tensions are not only from the non-aboriginal groups but between aborigines themselves.

In addition to these tensions, concerns are also expressed over confrontations between all groups in different areas. For example, people with HoLao background are in the majority, and native cultural education has sometimes been depicted as “HoLao centred”. It represents another case of people being worried about cultural separation. Relevant evidence could be found both in teaching materials and actual classroom practices. Programming the learning of HoLao dialect in native languages teaching for all pupils, regardless their cultural and tribal backgrounds, in some localities is believed to have damaged the development of harmony and a better understanding across different cultures. Consequently, anxieties are expressed by many about possible creating another form of “Mandarin policy”. Instead of being able to achieve the initial goal of cultural pluralism, the collected data suggests that further repression might result from the current promotion of native cultural education if its tendency of being “HoLao centred” intensifies.

Coulby (1997) discusses the possible danger of reinforcing differences among separate groups in native language learning. He states:

Language classes and remedial provision may also serve to reinforce a sense of separateness, difference and possibly alienation among various groups... Segregation in school prepares for segregation in the workplace, the residential area and society. (p.8)

Arguing the potential of divisiveness in the practices of multicultural education, in the same way, Schlesinger (1992) criticises the bilingual education in the U.S.A as “it nourishes self-ghettoization, and ghettoization nourishes racial antagonism” (pp.107-108). To avoid the worries of enlarging the divisions, providing pupils with an unbiased linguistic learning environment seems to be more appropriate than the government programmes for positive discriminations. Differing from Coulby’s and Schlesinger’s observations based on British and American experiences, I have noticed in Taiwan the interactions between different groups are much more natural. Therefore, an impartial learning environment is more important than segregation in its various forms, such as the Germanlan lessons for pupils with that particular cultural background in County Plum.

3.) Teachers’ Professional Development

The last issue of concern is teachers’ professional development for native cultural education. Informants, from different points of view, consistently mention the lack of sufficient professional ability for teaching of native cultures. It is regarded as the most urgent problem. Three points have been identified relating to the current shortage.

The first factor that emerges is the broad range and complex nature of Taiwanese native cultures. Both the large numbers of tribal cultures, and thus languages, plus the diversity which can be detected within each of the tribal cultures poses problems. Teachers can not cover all the elements within one particular culture as well as survey a wide range of cultures. With only a small number of aboriginal teachers, it also appears impracticable for teachers from non-aboriginal backgrounds to take charge of teaching of aboriginal

native cultures, especially native languages. Since a clear concept of native cultures is lacking, many have argued that the current teaching approaches in Taiwan are both too diffuse and superficial. With regard to native arts, I recognise that teachers are unable to conduct relevant classes without specific professional skills and knowledge, necessitating the involvement of professional artists.

The second relates to the implications of history. These have had a great impact on teachers' views of native cultures, and consequently, influence the ways in which teaching of native cultures is implemented. The historical implications are those derived from how native cultures were considered and valued under the government's previous mono-cultural and authoritarian policy. Being brought up and educated within this context in which there was only one culture, Chinese, was recognised and encouraged. This tendency is argued to have resulted in some teachers being unable to identify with their own native cultures and languages. The consequence of this policy meant there were few chances for teachers to appreciate their own cultures, languages and their home environments in Taiwan. The emphasis on Mandarin severely damaged the value of native languages. I agree with the personal experiences of some teachers who argued that the great Chinese ideologies instilled under the government's mono-cultural policy seem to have become obstacles for the teaching profession in perceiving the quality of native cultures.

As a result of government control over education under its authoritarian and military rules, some observers in Taiwan have criticised teachers for being "consumers" of

educational knowledge. This means that teachers have been left with no choices in making professional judgements on what to teach and how to teach. For the first time, teachers have not been provided with standardised textbooks for a subject – ‘Homeland Study Activity’. Therefore I think the current curriculum reforms are a big challenge to many. Though relevant materials are provided by LEAs as references, demands are made on teachers’ professional performance, including in collecting information, preparing teaching materials and planning. But how teachers can actually fulfil these demands has become controversial and as a result resistance and concern can be found among teachers.

The third point is the ‘bottom-up’ approach adopted in the development of native cultural education. Previously, the curriculum was developed through a ‘top-down’ approach. In response to the present grass-root movement, the government has included teaching of native cultures as part of formal curriculum. This move is seen as a sign of recognition of different Taiwanese native cultures. Initially, when the subjects of native cultural education were officially established, there were no prescribed curriculum, planning and dissemination guidelines. In this context, data clearly reveal the lack of sufficient preparatory work on the delivery of the new curriculum, as well as on teachers’ professional development.

Despite all these problems I have found, I see the teachers’ role as vital for the successful promotion of native cultures. It is claimed that the teachers’ professional abilities could overcome, in practice, such issues as the applicability of materials. With regard to the pursuit of multicultural education through the teaching of native cultures, teachers’

attitude towards cultural pluralism is therefore considered by many as the most important factor for making positive links. Apart from the in-service training courses, held in different local areas, there seems to be little effort for enhancing teachers' awareness and professional abilities in dealing with cross-cultural issues among the agents and organisations for teachers' education at present.

Section Three: Suggestions and Recommendations

Reviewing relevant documents and literature as well as talking to key players in the current reform movement, I was able to obtain a better understanding of how the promotion of native cultures is being developed and implemented. My aim was to find out what were the most important issues in the current development and how participants from different perspectives perceived the multicultural education in the light of teaching native cultures in the context of Taiwan. The data I have gathered reveal a significant growth in tension and conflicts between different parties in terms of tribal as well as political dimensions. I discover that unless native cultural education is developed on the premise of multicultural education, there is a strong possibility of creating a new form of cultural hegemony and repression. Nevertheless, to be just, I acknowledge the gathered data clearly reveal that promoting the teaching of native cultures and pursuit of multicultural education in the present context are not compatible. My research suggests that the approaches currently employed in promoting native cultural education are unable to meet the government's ambitious goals of pursuing multicultural education. Taking the significant factors identified into account, I make the following recommendations. These

attempt to project a successful future for native cultural education whilst at the same time fulfilling the relevant objectives of multicultural education.

The Curriculum

To avoid the teaching of native cultures becoming another battlefield for different tribal groups in finding the scope for their cultures, it is proposed that new subjects established in the latest curriculum reform should be abolished. By doing this, it is hoped that teaching of native cultures can be neutralised ethnically as well as culturally. It is also believed, that the political and ideological confrontations would be removed from the agenda if native cultural materials were presented through the whole curriculum, rather than designated to particular subjects. This designation, it is argued, gives too great a focus to political aspiration that a more diffused implementation through the curriculum could prevent.

In order to realise this diffusion and neutralising, the relaxing of control of the teaching content prescribed in textbooks appears to be essential. Though the government has recently opened up textbook markets to private publishers, they are still required to follow guidelines set down by the central educational authority for compiling each subject. Materials, for example, before being published, are inspected by the Taiwan Provincial Teachers Research Centre. Nevertheless, many (Chien, 1996; Chen, 1997; Hunag, 1997) criticise that there still is little material related to cross-cultural understanding in the curriculum, although recognising and celebrating native cultures is publicised as a major feature in the latest revision. A recent study investigating the use of aboriginal cultural

materials in latest revised social studies textbooks in primary education (published by National Institute for Compilation and Translations). Huang (1997) concludes that the curriculum continues to be dominated by ethnic Chinese ideology and cultures. According to his analysis, information associated with aboriginal cultures is present only in four out of the total of thirty-five units among the twelve textbooks (two editions for each grade; there are six grades in primary education) a small part of these four units. The consensus appears to be that giving basic principles instead of detailed guidance would reduce the Chinese bias in textbook compilation and publication.

Similarly, isolated promotion of selective subjects does not represent the reform initiative. Instead, promoting a whole curriculum reform towards multicultural education appears to be significant and inevitable in the light of the public demand for approving cultural diversity in general as well as in education. Widely aligned with this demand is the remarkable development of democracy taking root in Taiwanese society. As a result the mono-cultural ideology instilled in the nationalist curriculum, under the government's formal authoritarian and military rules, seems to be no longer applicable. The introduction of two or three new subjects with limited timetable allocation is not enough. The best solution is to harmonise the different existing tribal cultures' distinctive characteristics with a conception of multicultural education in curriculum design as a whole. This will enable pupils, while learning about their own native cultures, to be aware of and show respect for cultural diversity. This holistic approach would help diminish the possibility of reinforcing instead of reducing the sense of distinctiveness in teaching children about cultural difference.

Adopting a 'bottom-up' approach in future curriculum development is recommended. In my opinion curriculum should be developed on the basis of classes, schools and localities instead of being directed by the state. Taking the diverse cultures found in most Taiwanese classrooms into account, it is hoped that a curriculum should be designed to engage the cultural elements of different groups and represent the multicultural nature of contemporary Taiwanese society. To support this multicultural emphasis, I would argue that waiving the detailed curriculum specifications would leave teachers with more flexibility and chances to make professional judgements on the selections and applications of cultural materials in classroom practices. To reinforce these formal teaching strategies, I also propose that the role of a 'hidden curriculum' should be used as another channel through which pupils can develop tolerance and appreciation for differences in a more culturally open, creative and unbiased learning environment.

Lastly, it is also essential in future curriculum development to distinguish the utilising of native cultural materials in the curriculum from the social issue of cultural preservation. Though applications of native cultural materials are to be encouraged, it appears to be important in the present political climate to not let school education being misused as a form of cultural preservation. There is a danger of causing ideological confrontation if too much stress is put on preservation as this would invariably lead to the conflict of which culture should survive. Rather, emphasis should be placed upon developing pupils' awareness of cultural issues only when relevant in school education. In other words, multicultural education should be pupil-directed not politically directed, as a general

principle. Then in particular cases there should be open access to information, about all or any culture, provided for pupils with special interests in cultural studies in their future education. Future curriculum development must reflect this overall principle and be flexible enough to meet the needs of specific students interested in comprehending their own cultures.

Language Policy and Communications

Looking at issues emerging from current teaching of native languages, further deliberations on related policy and communications are required. Although the use of native languages is now encouraged, the tensions and confrontations identified in the teaching of native languages illustrate their political implications. To overcome the concern that this teaching might result in another 'Mandarin policy', programmes for native languages teaching and learning need to be developed according to pupils' needs and interests. Schools should provide pupils with different choices for learning native languages, instead of presuming pupils' needs. To discover what pupils would prefer I recommend that a survey be carried out before any implementation is made official. Operating native language programmes as extra-curricular activities appears to be more appropriate than teaching it as a formal subject. Also building a more open linguistic environment and the use of a hidden curriculum strategy in schools are seen as complementary approaches to improve the pupils' learning of native languages.

What further policy and problems need addressing in the teaching of native languages?

Before further development can take place, as in the more general cultural case, a

differentiation needs to be established between pupils' native language learning and linguistic preservation. For the same reasons above I consider a stress on language survival has too powerful political connotation to be treated neutrally in school, to the detriment of pupils' own needs. Perhaps because of a similar fear of indoctrination, whether or not to adopt pre-school or bilingual approaches for native language learning requires further consideration. To decide how either or both approaches can be practically implemented, a more specific investigation of public opinion on native language learning within the conditions of Taiwanese education would be valuable.

Finally, in the long term, there is a definite requirement for the government to form a language policy that reflects the needs of a multi-linguistic society like Taiwan. The possibility of introducing a bilingual education needs to be assessed by other contextual factors such as the development of national education policy and curriculum, and the specialised teachers training required for bilingual education. As Vawda and Partions (1999) remind us the cost of bilingual education programmes:

Therefore, before a country can invest in bilingual education, it is necessary to consider not only the demand for such education, but also the cost of specific components of such a reform, including the production of learning materials in local languages and teacher training in the use of these materials. (p.288)

The foreign experiences related to language policy and communication in the multi-ethnic and linguistic societies, such as Singapore and Canada, are suggested as models for investigation and reference (See Chapter Four). However, there is an equal need to recognise the specific and varied linguistic contexts in present-day Taiwan, especially in

relation to the recent historical background in which certain languages suffered more censorship than others.

Teachers' professional development

The role of teachers has been repeatedly mentioned as the most significant factor for a successful conveying of native cultural education, as well as in pursuing multicultural education in the current development. On the other hand, the debate on how teachers might meet the expectations in teaching of native cultures has also invited most concern and discussion, as there is little of relevance found in teachers' professional development at present. This problem was intensified by the government's urgency to set up new subjects such as 'Homeland Study Activity' without providing or putting in place resources and programmes to train teachers to implement these curricular changes. For an overall teachers' professional development in the instruction of native cultural education, the following recommendations are proposed, from the three stages: teachers' professional education, interim development and in-service training courses.

First, in teachers' professional education, more emphasis needs to be placed upon acquiring general skills and abilities for preparing student teachers to approach confidently their professional careers. It is suggested that such abilities as selecting and writing teaching materials, as well as designing plans and course outlines, would help them overcome problems that emerge from dealing with different cultural materials and issues in actual practice. In addition, instead of being options, courses connected with

multicultural, inter-cultural schooling, educational anthropology, general understanding of native cultures, and cultural anthropology should become compulsory requirements. Along with this, more focused courses addressing aspects of particular tribal groups and the integration of materials into methodology should also be programmed for student teachers. These would develop general awareness and understanding of issues including cultural diversity, cultural development and integration, and should be considered essential elements in teachers' education. Promoting interaction between student teachers from different cultural backgrounds through non-formal curriculum activities is equally important in shaping perceptions and attitudes towards cultural differences and pluralism. Altogether, general understanding and awareness of cultural pluralism should be presented as the basic qualification necessary for teachers to be able to approach cultural diversity and differences in classrooms that are often multicultural and multiethnic in nature.

Secondly, possible approaches are proposed for teachers' professional development during the interim period before their professional careers begin. In the first place to limit overload in learning requirements in teachers' professional education, operating relevant courses during an interim period would be suitable. Courses, addressing theory and practice of multicultural education, could be allocated at the stage of the 5th year education¹ (footnotes), when student teachers attend training courses at local centres. These courses occupy one third of the total year, while teachers undertake pre-

¹ During the 5th year of teachers' professional education, student teachers are required to attend training courses at each local in-service training centre in addition to their actual teaching practice in school.

professional practice in schools. I can see that student teachers are likely to achieve better understanding of a range of cultures and locations through training courses designed on a local basis. Being able to incorporate theoretical knowledge into interim practice, should be both practical and beneficial for future professional development.

Third, in relation to in-service training, consulting teachers' needs for absorbing the changes brought by the promotion of native cultures is a primary concern. This could be effected through the programming of relevant training courses. Delivering information on curriculum changes in general, meeting teachers' urgent needs in classroom practices, should be assessed as the most important purpose in the design of in-service training courses. There is only a limited amount of time teachers can spare for further professional development during term times. To reduce the discrepancies revealed on in-service training courses in terms of substance and organisation, being able to project an overall training programme based on teachers' needs is crucial for each local educational authority. Regular evaluations on in-service training courses are also essential as they can be employed as references for further improvements, as well as shortening the gap identified between policy and practices. Noting the limitations in time allowances for further education, providing opportunities for teachers to attend in-service training courses that cover broad range of cultural issues during school holidays, including summer and winter vacation, could provide a supportive remedial approach.

Since most teachers now working did not receive relevant knowledge or training related to teaching of native cultures and multicultural education, making sure teachers'

professional development keeps pace with the changes in education is essential. Therefore, making sure teachers' professional development is linked to curricular changes, and making subsequent training compulsory through qualification requirements should also be considered.

Limitation and Recommendation for Further Research

When embarking on this project I already was aware of certain limitations that I want to address in this conclusion. First, the absence of facts backed up by statistics makes generalisation about the researching findings untenable. My findings possibly do not represent wide-ranging professional opinions among practitioners and academics. Limited in personnel and resources my research could only canvass a certain number of people involved or interested in the introduction of native cultural education. Second, this educational innovation of native cultural education is on-going, therefore, perhaps, any overall assessment is premature. It is still hard to find the right direction in which to enter into the current chaotic and challenging debate.

In contrast, through obtaining first-hand information I have a better chance of persuading Taiwanese teachers, educators, academics and policy-makers that the information gained from my work has enough substance and credibility to reflect the reality in the current development. I believe the gathered data from both anticipation of foreseeable problems and early experiences of practitioners have provided valuable information to help redress the present short-comings. Further, my exploration in the field will lay the ground for

future research to really touch on those issues that have emerged from my empirical evidence.

Data revealed that normally policy makers do not tend to take the opinions of practitioners into account. Future research has to consider the viewpoints of teachers in educational development to reduce the distance between theory and practice in the implementation of native cultural education. The need for educational research centred on regions rather than nation is also recommended. In terms of theoretical perspectives, the possibility of integrating native cultural and multicultural education in curriculum development as a whole needs to be addressed and researched. From the viewpoint of teachers' professional education future studies should engage with the already considerable experiences of Western societies in developing multicultural programmes to produce a set of courses that meet the specific needs of Taiwan.

Finally, in the context of methodology I would recommend that future research studies should explore the value of expanding qualitative instruments to approach data beyond the bias of the researcher. To advance research strategies and extend the scope of information-gathering, I further suggest new projects could combine quantitative and qualitative research methods. If future researchers bring together these two approaches the information collected could be more in-depth and still lead to provable generalisations.

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Appendix No. 1**NCSS's Curriculum Guidelines for Multicultural Education**

1. Ethnic pluralism should permeate the total school environment.
2. School policies and procedures should foster positive multiethnic interaction and understanding among students, teachers and the supportive staff.
3. The school staff should reflect the ethnic pluralism within (British) society.
4. Schools should have systematic, comprehensive mandatory and continuing staff development programmes.
5. The curriculum should reflect the ethnic learning styles of the students within the school community.
6. The multiethnic curriculum should provide students with continuous opportunities develop a better sense of self.
7. The curriculum should help students to understand the totality of the experiences of (British) ethnic group.
8. The multiethnic curriculum should help students understand that there is always a conflict between ideals and realities in human societies.
9. The multiethnic curriculum should explore and clarify ethnic alternatives and options within (British)
10. The multiethnic curriculum should promote values, attitudes and behaviors that support ethnic pluralism.
11. The multiethnic curriculum should promote values, attitudes and behaviors that support ethnic pluralism.
12. The multiethnic curriculum should help students develop the skills necessary for effective interpersonal and inter-ethnic group interactions.
13. The multiethnic curriculum should be comprehensive in scope and sequence, should present holistic views of ethnic groups, and should be an integral part of the total school curriculum.
14. The multiethnic curriculum should include the continuous study of the cultures, historical experiences, social realities, and existential conditions of ethnic groups, including a variety of racial compositions.
15. Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches should be used in designing and implementing the multiethnic curriculum.
16. The curriculum should use comparative approaches in the study of ethnic groups and ethnicity.
17. The curriculum should help students to view and interpret events, situations, and conflict from diverse ethnic perspectives and points of view.
18. The curriculum should conceptualise and describe the development of the (United Kingdom) as a multidirectional society.
19. The school should provide opportunities for students to participate in the aesthetic experiences of various ethnic groups.
20. Schools should foster the study of ethnic group languages as legitimate communication systems.
21. The curriculum should make maximum use of local community resources.
22. The assessment procedures used with students should reflect their ethnic cultures.
23. Schools should conduct ongoing, systematic evaluations of the goals, methods, and instructional materials used in teaching about ethnicity.

(Banks, 1996, pp.139-149)

Appendix No. 2

James Banks' Approaches for the Integration of Ethnic Content

Approach	Description	Examples	Strengths	Problems
Contributions	Heroes, cultural components, holidays, and other discrete elements related to ethnic groups are added to the curriculum on special days, occasions, and celebrations.	Famous, Mexican-Americans are studied only during the week of Cinco de Mayo (May 5). Black Americans are studied during Black History Month in February but rarely during the rest of the year. Ethnic foods are studied in the first grade with little attention devoted to the cultures in which the foods are embedded.	Provides a quick and relatively easy way to put ethnic content into the curriculum. Gives ethnic heroes visibility in the curriculum alongside mainstream heroes. Is a popular approach among teachers and educators.	Results in a superficial understanding of ethnic cultures. Focuses on the lifestyles and artifacts of ethnic groups and reinforces stereotypes and misconceptions. Mainstream criteria are used to select heroes and cultural elements for inclusion in the curriculum.
Additive	This approach consists of the addition of content, concepts, themes, and perspectives to the curriculum without changing its structure.	Adding the book <i>The Color Purple</i> to a literature unit without reconceptualizing the unit or giving the students the background knowledge to understand the book. Adding a unit on the Japanese-American internment to a U.S. history course without treating the Japanese in any other unit. Leaving the core curriculum intact but adding an ethnic studies course, as an elective, that focuses on a specific ethnic group.	Make it possible to add ethnic content to the curriculum without changing its structure, which requires substantial curriculum changes and staff development. Can be implemented within the existing curriculum structure.	Reinforces the idea that ethnic history and culture are not integral parts of U.S. mainstream culture. Students view ethnic groups from Anglo centric and Eurocentric perspectives. Fails to help students understand how the dominant cultures are interconnected and interrelated.

<p>Transformation</p>	<p>The basic goals, structure, and nature of the curriculum is changed to enable students to view concepts, events, issues, problems, and themes from the perspectives of diverse cultural, ethnic, and racial groups.</p>	<p>A unit on the American Revolution describes the meaning of the revolution to Anglo loyalists, Afro-Americans, Indians and the British. A unit on 20th-century U.S. literature includes works by William Faulkner, Joyce Carol Oates, Langston Hughes, N. Scott Momaday, Carlos Bulosan, Saul Bellow, Maxine Hong Kingston, Rudolfo A. Anaya, and Piri Thomas.</p>	<p>Enables students to understand the complex ways in which diverse racial and cultural groups participated in the formation of U.S. society and culture. Helps reduce racial and ethnic encapsulation. Enables diverse ethnic, racial, and religious groups to see their cultures, ethos, and perspectives in the school curriculum. Gives students a balanced view of the nature and development of U.S. culture and society. Helps to empower victimized racial, ethnic, and cultural groups.</p>	<p>The implementation of this approach requires substantial curriculum revision, in-service training, and the identification and development of materials written from the perspective of various racial and cultural groups. Staff development for the institutionalization of this approach must be continual and ongoing.</p>
<p>Decision Making and Social Action</p>	<p>In this approach, students identify important social problems and issues, gather pertinent data, clarify their values on the issue, make decisions, and take reflective actions to help resolve the issue or problem.</p>	<p>A class studies prejudice and discrimination in their school and decides to take actions to improve race relations in the school. A class studies the treatment of ethnic groups in a local newspaper publisher suggesting ways that the treatment of ethnic minority groups in the newspaper should be improved.</p>	<p>Enables students to improve their thinking, value analysis, decision-making, and social-action skills. Enable students to improve their data-gathering skills. Helps students develop a sense of political efficacy. Helps students improve their skills to work in groups.</p>	<p>Requires a considerable amount of curriculum planning and materials identification. May be longer in duration than more traditional teaching units. May focus on problems and issues considered controversial by the some members of the school staff and citizen of the community. Students may be able to take few meaningful actions that contribute to the resolution of the social issue or problem.</p>

(Banks, 1993, pp.203-204)

Appendix No. 3

Robert Jeffcoate's Classification of Objectives for Multicultural Education

1. Respect for others

A. Cognitive Knowledge: All students should know:

1. the basic facts of race and racial differences
2. the customs, values, and beliefs of the main cultures represented in Britain and, more particularly, of those forming the local community
3. why different groups have immigrated into Britain in the past and, more particularly, how the local community has come to acquire its present ethnic composition.

B. Cognitive Skills: All students should be able to:

1. detect stereotyping and scapegoating in what they see, hear and read
2. evaluate their own culture objectively.

C. Affective attitudes, values and emotions: All pupils should accept:

1. the uniqueness of each individual human being
2. the underlying humanity that we all share
3. the principles of equal rights and justice
4. and value the achievements of other cultures and nations
5. strangeness without feeling threatened
6. the Britain is, always has been, and always will be a multiethnic society
7. that no culture is ever static and that constant mutual accommodation will be required of all cultures making up an evolving multicultural society like Britain
8. that prejudice and discrimination are widespread in Britain and the historical and socioeconomic causes which have given rise to them
9. the damaging effect of prejudice and discrimination on the rejected groups
10. the possibility of developing multiple loyalties

2. Respect for self

A. Cognitive knowledge: All pupils should know:

1. the history and achievements of their own culture and what is distinctive about it

B. Cognitive skills: All pupils should be able to:

1. communicate efficiently in English and, if it is not their mother tongue, in their own mother tongue
2. master the other basic skills necessary for success at school.

C. Affective attitudes, values and emotions: All pupils should have developed:

1. a positive self image
2. confidence in their sense of their own identities

(Jeffcoate, 1981, pp.4-5)

Appendix No. 4

Malcolm Saunders' Multicultural Curriculum Model

Source of curriculum design and development:

Perceived needs of children
 Demands of the society
 Logic of knowledge

Models for social accommodation:

Melting pot-merge all groups into new society
 Culture Pluralism-parallel cultures exist with 'unity in diversity'
 Multicultural-positive interaction among all cultures

Model for education:

The Human Relations Model: Humans are inborn with tolerance of other humans, and conflicts among people arise due to misperceptions only. Education must seek to change these misperceptions.

The Interracial Model: Token gestures of recognition and acceptance are displayed towards minorities, but the school does not encourage children to fully embrace the idea of ethnic equality.

The human Right Model: All cultural groups have a moral and legal right to the preservation of their heritage; all group differences are of equal worth.

Accommodation problems and planned curriculum strategies:

Of all pupils:

Unfamiliarity with other cultures: Literacy and numeracy skills taken from many cultures; literature, music, art religious studies, social studies and home economics from many cultures. Inadequate awareness of minority issues: Ethnic issues; exploitation.

Inadequate self-awareness: Formal discussions; informal comment; attitude changing techniques.

Inadequate first and secondhand models: Teacher to present a desirable model; discussion with parents; appropriate for resource selection.

Of ethnic minority pupils:

Problems of cultural identity: Ethnic studies including art, music, RE, Black Studies, Asian Studies, Minority group teachers: peer group tutoring; bilingual education.

Problems of personal identity: Minority group counsellors; diagnostic/ remedial

programmes, problem of cultural communication; Mixed culture for all pupils; appropriate criteria for resource selection; peer group teachers.
Problems of linguistic communication: ESL and mother tongue teaching; dialect knowledge for teachers; minority group teachers.
Unfair resource allocation: Education for parenthood; vocational guidance; parent support groups; minority group home-school liaison teachers.

Hidden curriculum problems:

Institutional racism:

- Biases in school organisation favouring majority group pupils
- Majority group modeling by teachers and peers
- Discriminatory control techniques
- Ethnocentric pupil assessment techniques
- Ethnocentric curriculum evaluation

Personal racism:

- Unfavourable teacher and peer group attitudes
- Negative stereotypes
- Exclusive friendship patterns

Appendix No 5:

Leonard Davidman's Self - Disclosure Questions

Self – Disclosure Questions:

- 1: Your name.
- 2: Geographically, where are you from? Where so you live now?
- 3: Your mode of abode (I live with my friends, family, etc.) This is optional.
- 4: How long has your family or ancestors been on this continent?
- 5: Where did your family or ancestors come from before joining the drama “of the Americas”? Or, were they always here?
- 6: How many generations of your family, on both sides, have lived in the U.S.A? In California?
- 7: What languages were or are spoken in your (childhood) home? What languages are spoken in your current domicile?
- 8: Please identify a favourite author, book, film, or ritual you value or have especially enjoyed, and/or a significant event in your life. An important book in your life like the Bible, Koran, or Torah, etc., should also be mentioned.
- 9: Given our opening definitions of race, ethnicity, ethnic group, culture, and cultural group, would you be comfortable in describing yourself as a member of a racial, ethnic and/or cultural group? If so, which groups would you say you are a part of at this point in your life?
- 10: Have you ever experienced interpersonally conflict because of your race, ethnicity, gender, cultural group, or an organisation you were active in? If so, please describe one or more of these conflicts. Was this conflict resolved in any way, and if so, how?
- 11: Do you feel your racial, ethnic, and/or cultural group membership (and the latter includes gender) has been a positive feature in your life? If so, briefly explain why.
- 12: At this point in your teacher education (or graduate school) programme, do you have any opinions about multicultural education which you'd like to share? If yes, please list below.
- 13: Do you have a favourite hobby? If so, please identify.
- 14: If currently employed, please describe where and what your current responsibilities are.
- 15: when you have the licence or credential you are seeking, in what organisation and region would you like to begin, or continue, your career?

(Davidman, 1996, p. 69)

Appendix No. 6:

Study Proposal and Questionnaires

(1) **Research Interest:** *The Development of Native Cultural Education in Taiwan.*

(2) **Research Background and Motivation:**

There have been radical changes in the society along with the development of democracy in Taiwan. As a result, increasing demands for reforms can be observed in different aspects of the society, including education. Promoting equal opportunity in education, for instance, is one of the main objectives proposed by different sub-groups in Taiwan. Influenced by multicultural education as it is practiced in many other multi-ethnic societies, how to develop relevant theory and approaches for multicultural society in Taiwan has become the focus of concern in education.

Therefore, my research study aims to examine the early development of native cultural education through the lens of multiculturalism in the context of Taiwan. Drawing upon foreign experiences and the perspectives of key players in the current promotion and delivery of native cultural education, I hope to project a long term plan for the teaching of native cultures on the basis of our Taiwanese needs and the problems reflected in the current practices.

(3) **Research Aims:**

A: Reviewing and comparing the development of multicultural education and relevant approaches adopted in different counties;

B: Inquiring into the current development of native cultural education in Taiwan;

C: Projecting a long-term plan for the practices of native cultural education in Taiwan.

(4). **Research Focus:**

A: Reviewing and comparing the literature relating to the political, social, cultural and educational context in different multicultural societies;

B: Investigating into the approaches currently employed in the implementation of native cultural education;

C: Analysing how materials related to a.) Chinese Cultures; b.) HoLao and Hakka; c.) aboriginal cultures are proportioned in the curriculum;

D: Examining how native cultural education is being developed in the studied localities and further to identify the similarities and differences in the implementation among different areas;

E: Studying how both central and local governments plan for the practice of native cultural education in their relevant policies;

F: Surveying how practitioners react to and accommodate the changes brought by the teaching of native cultures;

G: Outlining possible recommendations and approaches for advancing multicultural education through the practice of native cultural education.

Questionnaire One – Questions for Members of Preparatory Committee

1: Is there a principal concept that the preparatory committee refers to in the development of teaching materials?

2: How is the preparatory committee composed?

3: In terms of curriculum development, do you have any communications with other preparatory committees in different localities?

4: What are the most difficult problems that you have experienced in developing native cultural materials? From your personal point of view, what would be possible solutions to these problems?

Questionnaire Two – Questions for Class Teachers

- 1: How do you personally define the term of ‘native cultural education’?
- 2: Do you think that the teaching of native cultures should be separated as a single subject or integrated into the whole curriculum?
- 3: How do you regard the teaching of native languages in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 4: How do you consider HoLao and Hakka cultures in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 5: How do you value aboriginal cultures in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 6: What are the most difficult problems that you have personally experienced in developing and implementing native cultural education? How do pupils’ respond to the teaching of native cultures?
- 7: From your personal point of view, do you think that teachers have been given clear ideas or direction for teaching native cultures in the current curriculum development?
- 8: How do you think that teaching of native cultures can be best implemented?
- 9: Do you think that practitioners are well supported in terms of resources for teaching native cultures at the present time? If yes, what supports have you received? If no, what do you think needs to be done?
- 10: Do you adopt any form of assessment for the teaching of native cultures? If yes, what is the method? If no, do you think assessment is necessary?
- 11: What do you think are the most important aspects that need urgent attention before the teaching of native cultures is officially implemented?
- 12: Apart from the above questions, do you have any other concerns about or suggestions for the development of native cultural education?

Questionnaire Three – Questions for Head Teachers

- 1: How do you personally define the term of ‘native cultural education’?
- 2: Do you think that the teaching of native cultures should be separated as a single subject or integrated into the whole curriculum?
- 3: How do you regard the teaching of native languages in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 4: How do you consider HoLao and Hakka cultures in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 5: How do you value aboriginal cultures in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 6: How is teaching native cultures being developed? Is it being developed under the auspices of the local educational authority and/or with co-operations from other schools?
- 7: What are the problems that you and the participating teachers in your schools have experienced in developing native cultural education?
- 8: Before the teaching of native cultures is officially implemented, what approach have you adopted for its practice in the school in the meantime?
- 9: Is there any form of assessment adopted for the teaching of native cultures in your school? If yes, what is it? If no, do you think assessment is necessary?
- 10: What do you think are the most important aspects that need urgent attentions before the teaching of native cultures is officially implemented as a formal subject?
- 11: Apart from the above questions, do you have any other concerns about and suggestions for the development of native cultural education?

Questionnaire Four – Questions for Officers (Policy Makers)

- 1: How do you personally define the term of ‘native cultural education’?
- 2: Do you think that the teaching of native cultures should be separated as a single subject or integrated into the whole curriculum?
- 3: How do you regard the teaching of native languages in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 4: How do you consider HoLao and Hakka cultures in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 5: How do you value aboriginal cultures in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 6: Is there a principal concept that you can follow in the development of native cultural education?
- 7: How is native cultural education being developed in your locality? Can you explain the development from all of the following three aspects? a.) teaching materials; b.) teachers’ in –service training; c.) funding and resources.
- 8: Is a specific committee or team set up for the development of native cultural education in your area? If yes, how is the committee made up?
- 9: Is teaching of native cultures assessed at the present time? If yes, what form of assessment is adopted in general? If no, do you think it is necessary?
- 10: What are the most difficult problems that you have personally experienced in developing native cultural education and teaching materials? Do you have any suggestions to help solve these problems?
- 11: When developing native cultural education in your area, have you pursued communications with other educational departments in different regions? If yes, what have you communicated about? If no, do you think dialogue with other local authorities should be encouraged?
- 12: What do you think are the most important aspects that need urgent attention before the teaching of native cultures is officially implemented as a formal subject?
- 13: Apart from the above questions, do you have any other concerns about and suggestions for the development of native cultural education?

Questionnaire Five – Questions for Academics

- 1: How do you personally define the term of ‘native cultural education’?
- 2: Do you think that the teaching of native cultures should be separated as a single subject or integrated into the whole curriculum?
- 3: How do you regard the teaching of native languages in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 4: How do you consider HoLao and Hakka cultures in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 5: How do you value aboriginal cultures in the curriculum development for native cultural education?
- 6: Is there a principal concept that practitioners can refer to in the development of native cultural education?
- 7: In educational circles, do you think that there is a consensus about the significance of and best way to implement native cultural education?
- 8: From your personal viewpoint, what are the problems that have been revealed through the current development of native cultural education? What are the foreseeable problems in this development? Could you please make observations and offer suggestions in terms of policy and practice?
- 9: Do you think assessment is necessary in the teaching of native cultures? What are your professional views on this issue?
- 10: How appropriate do you think is the official set up time for the teaching of native cultures in schools?
- 11: What do you consider is the most important preparatory work that should be done before the teaching of native cultures becomes a formal subject?
- 12: Apart from the above questions, do you have any other concerns about and suggestions for the development of native cultural education?