

**University of London
Institute of Education**

**Transnational knowledge dissemination and
recontextualisation: The development of
British educational foundation disciplines in
Taiwan, 1968-2013**

**By
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2014.03

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made,
the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Word count (exclusive of appendices and bibliographies):

82,245 words

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to discuss the issue of transnational knowledge flow, with special reference to the transmission and transfer of studies, doctrines and ideas of British educational foundation disciplines into post-1970s Taiwan. These disciplines are philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education. The key question is how and why it was that British educational foundation disciplines were introduced into Taiwan largely and widely from the 1970s.

By analysing official documents and publications and interviewees' testimonies, some research findings are explored.

First, Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Overseas Study played an important role to improve the knowledge borrowing and employing of British philosophies of education and sociologies of education into post-1970s Taiwan, while it did not have the same influence on the history of education.

Second, Taiwan government lasted to support this scholarship for postgraduates to study overseas in educational foundation disciplines from the mid-1970s to the 1980s, while these grantees eventually changed to other educational subjects. After this period, more and more educationalists attained their doctorates on foundation disciplines in the UK since the 1990s, which produced the intensive academic exchange again between British and Taiwanese educationalists.

Third, for Taiwanese educational philosophers, British Analytic Philosophy had its significant influence on the development of Taiwan studies of philosophy of education over these past forty years. For Taiwanese educational historians, they always had interests in some issues British educational historians were concerning. For Taiwanese educational sociologists, they attempted to recontextualise British educational sociologists' theories and perspectives into Taiwanese educational settings, including research and practices.

Fourth, on the process of the dissemination and transfer of British educational foundation studies into post-1970s Taiwan, Taiwanese educationalists criticised and reflected on this trend that borrowing and employing Western educational ideas into Taiwanese context is a suitable way or not.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to those who encouraged and helped me in my learning journey over the past several decades, including my supervisors, Prof. Gary McCulloch and Dr. John Hardcastle, and my family and friends. Besides, I also appreciate Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Overseas Study and Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange's Scholarship to afford my study and life in London for four years. Because of your warm and boundless support, a working-class man's dream of studying his PhD overseas eventually comes true. Many thanks for the God to bring me into the field of the history of education, which took most of my glory days to explore the research interest of this discipline.

Ren-Jie Lin, 10 March 2014, Taipei

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rationale for the research

The cultural interaction and exchange of philosophies, technology and civilisation between China and the West can be traced back to the thirteenth century, when the skill of printing was invented and improved in China in the sixth century and in the West in the fifteenth century, and knowledge and technology was largely and intermediately dispersed.¹ The mutual influence of the knowledge disseminated was expanded deeply and distributed broadly across national borders and geographical boundaries contributed by Chinese and European traders, Catholic missionaries and Islamic commercials.

For example, Islamic traders and scholars, such as Martino Martini of the Italian Catholic Sinologist and Jacob Golius of the Dutch Protestant Arabist can be seen to have become transmitters of the knowledge diffused between China and the West.² Originally encountered in Leiden in 1654, Martino translated the history of the transnational knowledge distribution recorded in Chinese documents into Latin, and Golius simultaneously translated Arabic documents into Latin.³ Therefore, this history can be found to be connected.

In addition to these traders, Catholic missionaries also promoted much of the transmission of knowledge between China and the West. For example, Matteo Ricci,

¹ Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge (Vol. II): From the Encyclopédie to Wikipedia* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 85-108.

² Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 53-80.

³ Ibid.

the Italian Jesuit missionary, not only introduced the achievements of European science, mathematics and philosophy to China, which stimulated Chinese scholars and officials to learn Western academic knowledge, but also introduced the Confucian classics to Europe and translated them into Latin. On the other hand, the German scholar of Athanasius Kircher and the French scholar of Jean-Baptiste du Halde also recorded the Chinese experiences of Martino Martini, Michael Boyd and other missionaries.⁴ This also raised the Chinese fever in Western Europe from the mid-seventeenth century to the eighteenth century.⁵

However, China implemented an isolationist policy from the late seventeenth century, during which time, the West experienced several huge industrial and scientific revolutions, which propelled Western countries to become more modernised. Then, the West's invasion of China in the mid-nineteenth century forced the Chinese government to renew its contact with the West .

Having experienced defeat during several wars with the West and in order to build a new modern education system, the Chinese government and scholars planned to borrow and learn from Western countries' experience at that time.⁶ At that time, the process of disseminating knowledge can be found to have been transformed from the mutual exchange to an unidirectional approach since the late nineteenth century.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Jian-Qiang, Yan, *The use and transmission of Chinese culture in the eighteenth century in Western Europe* (Hangzhou, China: China Academy of Art Press, 2002).

⁶ Tzu-Chin Liu, *Nationalism and the Development of the Study of Education in Modern China, 1897-1919*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2005).

China's contemporary learning journey was mainly influenced deeply by the USA and Germany for a long period. In the field of education, some Taiwanese educationalists' studies have demonstrated how these American and German educational thoughts and doctrines were introduced into China and received and employed by Chinese officials and scholars.⁷

In fact, this research is mainly inspired by Wei-Chih Liou's studies, which explored the way in which German Pedagogy was disseminated, diffused and transferred into modern China by Chinese scholars who had studied for their doctorate in Germany. Liou's research interest was also to analyse the way in which these Chinese scholars were cultivated by the German academic environment and how the German academic training influenced their academic careers.

This research continues to explore this theme based on Liou's discussions. Virtually, the academic exchange of philosophies and technology between China and the UK has also been expanded largely and frequently since the mid-nineteenth century by means of war and trade,⁸ especially the Opium War between China's Qing Dynasty

⁷ Qi-Zhang Kuang, *Pragmatism in China: The Deweyan Influence*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Michigan, USA: Michigan State University, 1994); Yuh-Shin Li, *John Dewey and Modern Chinese Education: Prospects for a New Philosophy*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Ohio, USA: The Ohio State University, 2000); Wei-Chih, Liou, 'Reception and Transformation of German Kulturpädagogik in China and Its Interpretation by Chinese Scholars', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 53, no. 3 (2007a): 93-127; Wei-Chih Liou, 'Knowledge Transfer: The Reception and Transformation of German Pedagogy by Chinese Educationists, 1928-1943', *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Education* 52, no. 3 (2007b): 43-64; Wei-Chin Liou, 'A Historical Review on Dissemination of German Pedagogy in China and Taiwan, 1928-1983', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 54, no. 4 (2008): 19-51.

⁸ Ulrike Hillemann, *Asian Empire and British Knowledge: China and the Networks of British Imperial Expansion* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

and the Victorian Era in the UK in 1848. Having experienced several military defeats, the Chinese central and provincial governments established official scholarships to send Chinese students to study abroad. For example, the first students the Chinese government sent to the UK in 1877 were to study the fields of navy, engineering, technologies and sciences, which were regarded as being essential knowledge to improve China's national power at that time.⁹

It is evident that, among the foreign countries China has learned from since the mid-nineteenth century, the British influence has not been as profound as that of Japan, Germany and the USA, including the interaction in the educational field. Subsequently, with the shifting of the political regime after 1949, the central government retreated from China to Taiwan and was forced to suspend the policy of overseas study scholarships. However, this official scholarship began to be supported again in the 1960s. After completing their studies in the UK and going back Taiwan, they became important mediators to expand the academic interaction between Taiwan and the UK, including the field of educational studies.

The development of Chinese learning experience from the USA and Germany in the field of education was highly regarded by Chinese and Taiwanese scholars in the past according to records of the frequent development. However, it is hard to find a discussion of the academic interaction between modern China and the UK most of the time. Specifically, British educational studies were only introduced and employed largely and widely in Taiwan since the 1970s, so it is worthwhile and necessary to explore this history.

⁹ Xiao-Qin Liu, *The Modern History of Chinese Students Studying in the UK* (Tianjin, China: The Nankai University Press, 2005), 21.

1.2 Research questions

The main aim of this research is to understand the transmission and transfer of educational knowledge from the UK to post-1970s Taiwan with a specific focus on the development of educational foundation disciplines, the definition of which will be discussed in Section 1.3. That is to say, this key question of this research is that

How and why was it that British educational foundation disciplines were introduced and employed in to Taiwan largely and widely from the 1970s?

Since the concern mainly focuses on the distribution of British educational foundation disciplines in post-1970 Taiwan, it will raise some related questions followed by the above main question. These subsidiary questions include,

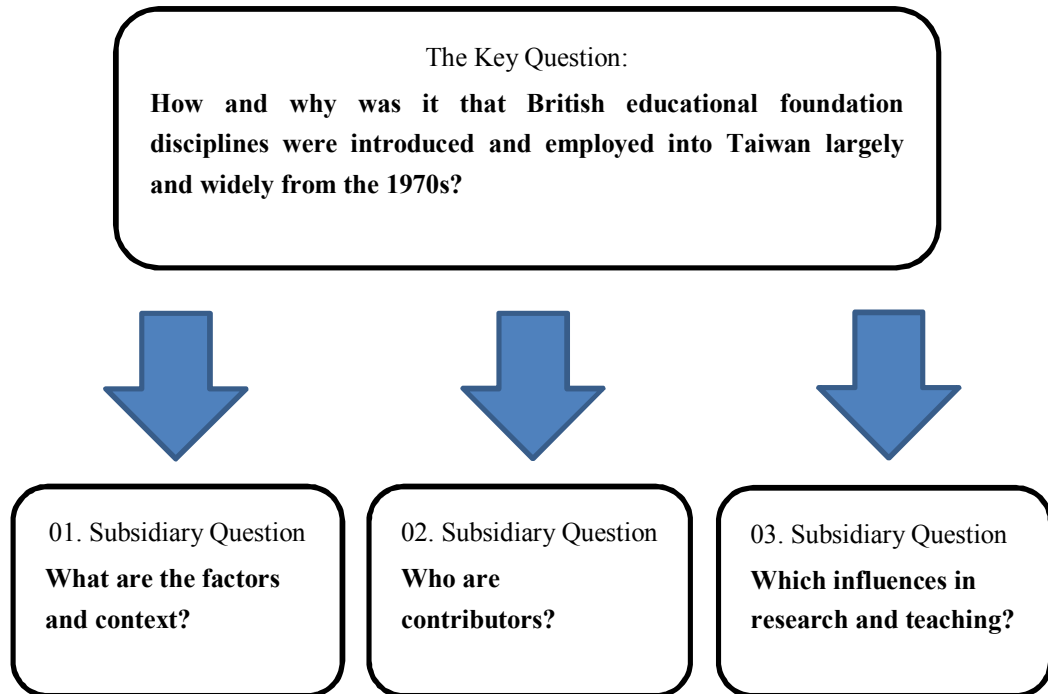
01. What are the factors that led to the selection of particular versions of British educational foundations being introduced into Taiwan in the post-1970s era?

02. Who was involved in introducing British philosophies of education, histories of education and sociologies of education into post-1970s Taiwan?

03. How have British educational foundations influenced research and teaching in post-1970s Taiwan?

Based on the description of the main question and these three subsidiary questions, it can present the concept by Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: The relationship between the main question and three subsidiary questions



Lastly, in order to understand the diffusion of British educational knowledge in post-1970s Taiwan, the context will be described in advance. In other words, the research background, including the introduction and distribution of British educational thoughts and doctrines in pre-1950s China and pre-1970s Taiwan will firstly be explored to understand their development in post-1970s Taiwan in Chapter Three. The influence of British educational knowledge on the development of educational studies in pre-1950s China and pre-1970s Taiwan will be argued simultaneously.

The government scholarship assisted receivers to study abroad, and these postgraduates became significant channels through which foreign knowledge and technology was introduced into modern China and Taiwan. Therefore, the government scholarship became an important and necessary element to expand the

transnational dialogue during the process of disseminating, employing and transferring British knowledge of educational foundation disciplines into Taiwanese educational research and practices. Therefore, the role and function of the official scholarship will be also clarified in Chapter Three by analysing the experiences of these Taiwanese educational foundation researchers who acquired Taiwanese government scholarships and expanded their doctoral studies in the UK.

1.3 Definitions of academic terms of this research

In Section 1.3, some academic terms of this research, including educational foundation disciplines, recontextualisation and professionalisation, shall be clarified and defined.

1.3.1 Definition of educational foundation disciplines

This section mainly examines the debates of the concepts of educational research and educational foundation disciplines since the 1960s, both in the West and Taiwan. Since most of the discussions of educational foundation disciplines in the Taiwanese academic community since the 1970s have mainly been by British educationalists, these Western educationalists' statements will be explored before defining the concept of this term based on the Taiwanese educational context.

British educationalists have argued that educational research should be regarded as being a field or a discipline since the 1960s, and Paul Hirst was the first to attempt to clarify the concept of educational research,

It is not itself an autonomous form of knowledge or an autonomous discipline. It involves no conceptual structure unique in its logical features and no unique test for validity.¹⁰

When extending Hirst's notion, educational research can be considered to constitute a field of theory and practice to which different disciplines can contribute, similar to other fields of social practice.¹¹ John William Tibble also expressed his stance of educational research as a field of study,

It is clear that education is a field subject, not a basic discipline, while there is no distinctively educational way of thinking when studying education. One is using psychological or historical or sociological or philosophical ways of thinking to throw light on some problem in the field of human learning.¹²

According to Tibble, the study of education and educational problems can be conducted by means of a research approach and ways of thinking of psychology, history, sociology and philosophy. In fact, before Tibble made this statement, Paul Hirst and Richard Peters had been expanding their discussion of educational

¹⁰ Paul Hirst, 'Educational Theory', in *The Study of Education*, ed. John William Tibble (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 55.

¹¹ David Bridges, 'The Discipline(s) of Educational Research', in *Fiction Written under Oath? Essays in Philosophy and Educational Research*, ed. David Bridges (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2003), 33; John Furlong, 'Education, A Discipline?' in *Education—An Anatomy of the Discipline: Rescuing the University Project?* ed. John Furlong (London: Routledge, 2013), 3-13.

¹² John William Tibble, 'The Development of the Study of Education', in *An Introduction to the Study of Education: An Outline for the Student*, ed. John William Tibble (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), 16.

foundation disciplines since the 1960s.¹³ Peters declared that education was not a distinctive discipline, but like politics, it was a field that applied to a group of disciplines.¹⁴ Paul Hirst also supported Peters' opinion of educational studies,

It is only by rigorous work within these forms, according to their own critical canons, that valid reasons can be brought to the formation of educational principles. If work or study in the theory is to be anything but superficial it must readily become differentiated out into the serious and systematic treatment of the relevant philosophical, sociological or historical questions that are raised.¹⁵

From the 1920s, the main educational discipline was psychology, but they grew in range and scale from the 1960s to 1970s.¹⁶ Since the view of foundation disciplines of psychology, sociology, history and philosophy in the field of educational research was gradually formed from the 1960s, the expansion of curriculum studies in the UK also contributed to the greater consideration of studies of educational foundation

¹³ Paul Hirst, 'Philosophy and Educational Theory', *British Journal of educational studies* 12, no. 1 (1963): 51-64; Paul Hirst, 'Educational Theory', in *Educational Theory and Its Foundation Disciplines*, ed. Paul Hirst (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 3-29; Paul Hirst, 'Educational Theory', in *Educational Research: Current Issues (Vol. 1)*, ed. Martyn Hammersley (London: Paul Chapman in association with the Open University, 1993), 149-159; Richard Peters, 'The Philosophy of Education', in *The Study of Education*, ed. John William Tibble (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966b), 59-89; Richard Peters, 'Philosophy of Education', in *Educational Theory and Its Foundation Disciplines*, ed. Paul Hirst (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 30-61.

¹⁴ Richard Peters, *Education and Initiation* (London: Institute of Education, 1963), 5.

¹⁵ Paul Hirst, op. cit., 1966, 55.

¹⁶ Martin Lawn and John Furlong, 'The Discipline of education in the UK: Between the Ghost and the Shadow', *Oxford Review of Education* 35, no. 5 (2009): 545.

disciplines between the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁷ History and philosophy were the most active disciplines, and being based on the humanities, these established an opposing pole to the quasi-scientific approach that was already established in educational psychology and the sociology of education.¹⁸ Even though educational foundation disciplines were gradually defined as philosophy of education, history of education, sociology of education and psychology of education, the definition was still challenged and questioned.¹⁹

The rapid massification and expansion in the number of universities and teacher training colleges introduced a range of new subjects of study and ways of understanding or defining them from the 1970s to the 1980s, which also challenged the development of the studies of these four educational foundation disciplines.²⁰ In addition, according to British educationalists' discussions, educational research was gradually regarded as being an interdisciplinary field since the 1990s,²¹ and the

¹⁷ Gary McCulloch, 'Towards a Social History of Educational Research', in *The Moral Foundations of Educational Research: Knowledge, Inquiry and Values*, eds. Pat Sikes, Jon Nixon and Wilfred Carr (Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press, 2003), 18-31.

¹⁸ Gary McCulloch, "'Disciplines Contributing to Education"? Educational Studies and the Disciplines', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 50, no. 1 (2002): 106; Martin Lawn and John Furlong, op. cit., 2009, 545.

¹⁹ Martin Lawn and John Furlong, op. cit., 2009; John Furlong and Martin Lawn eds., *Disciplines of Education: Their Role in the Future of Education Research* (London: Routledge, 2011).

²⁰ Gary McCulloch, op. cit., 2002, 112-116; Martin Lawn and John Furlong, op. cit., 2009, 545; Edwin Keiner, 'Disciplines of Education: The Value of Disciplinary Self-observation', in *Disciplines of Education: Their Role in the Future of Education Research*, eds. John Furlong and Martin Lawn (London: Routledge, 2011), 159-172.

²¹ Brian Simon, 'The Study of Education as a University Subject', in *British Universities and Teacher Education: A Century of Change*, ed. John Bernard Thomas (London: Falmer, 1990), 138.

nature of educational studies became of interest in the context of the broader tensions around disciplinarity and interdisciplinarity.²²

The development of disciplines of educational research in the USA and Germany will also be compared to British educationalists' concept of educational studies in order to examine the different constructs of Anglo-American and Continental contexts.²³

Having been established in the USA since the 1890s, the development of the field of educational research gradually encountered numerous challenges. In addition, teaching and research in the field of education always had a close relationship, rather than the parallel expansion of the process of the development of educational research.²⁴ Besides, American educationalists sketched and criticised educational research as being a kind of contested terrain with a slow evolution, and an elusive science.²⁵ In other words, it was controversial and the professionalisation of educational research was questioned, while the terrain of educational research gradually became considered as being an interdisciplinary field.²⁶

²² Gary McCulloch, 'Introduction: Disciplinarity, Interdisciplinarity and Educational Studies—Past, Present and Future', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 60, no. 4 (2012): 298.

²³ Biesta Gert, 'Disciplines and Theory in the Academic Study of Education: A Comparative Analysis of the Anglo-American and Continental Construction of the Field', *Pedagogy, Culture and Society* 19, no. 2 (2011): 175-192; Edwin Keiner, 'Education between Academic Discipline and Profession in Germany after World War II', *European Educational Research Journal* 1, no. 1 (2002), 83-98.

²⁴ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, 'Contested Terrain: A History of Education Research in the United States, 1890-1990', *Educational Researcher* 26, no. 9 (1997): 5-17; Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).

²⁵ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, op. cit., 1997, 5-17.

²⁶ Ibid.

Lagemann explains why the development of educational research during this period encountered a serious challenge in the USA,

Educational research became isolated from other areas of study in universities and also from practitioners in schools largely because of the narrow problems that characterised the field from an early stage.²⁷

In other words, although the technical and individualistic character of educational research had been well established by the 1920s, its development at a later stage still gradually encountered numerous barriers in the USA, as Lagemann observed,

It was more narrowly instrumental than genuinely investigatory in an open-ended, playful way...useable knowledge, quite narrowly defined, and had become the sine qua non of educational study.²⁸

Compared to the different discussions of the development of educational research in the UK, Germany and the USA, based on these countries' academic circumstances and cultural context, the discussion of this theme by Taiwanese educationalists since the 1950s mainly came from German and British experience. For example, Pei-Lin Tien was one of the pioneers who established the basis of Taiwanese educational research, and he borrowed what he learned in Germany to discuss educational foundation disciplines. For example, Tien quoted the German experience that the development of educational research was initially established based on psychology.²⁹

²⁷ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, op. cit., 2000, 235.

²⁸ Ibid, 236.

²⁹ Pei-Lin Tien, 'The Development of Educational Studies during This Year', *Education and Culture Monthly* 10, no. 11 (1956): 18-20.

Thus, he claimed that the disciplines of Taiwanese educational research could be defined in terms of philosophy, history, psychology and sociology.³⁰

After Tien, the discussion of this topic was primarily led by Jiaw Ouyang, who graduated in the UK. Ouyang introduced the discussions of Richard Peters and Paul Hirst to Taiwan since the 1970s, which caused Taiwanese educationalists to consider the nature of educational foundation disciplines.³¹ On the other hand, foundational disciplines of educational studies were gradually regarded in terms of philosophy, history, psychology and sociology by most Taiwanese educationalists.³²

However, this definition is still sometimes questioned in Taiwan. For example, when *The Development of Western Educational Foundation Studies* was edited by Ching-Jiang Lin in 1972, the authors focused on a discussion of the sociology of education, psychology of education, philosophy of education and administration of education.³³

As for the definition of educational foundation discipline, in this research it embraces the philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education, but not the psychology of education. This is because the discipline of the psychology of education was deeply influenced by the USA for a long time, so the terrain of this subject includes educational testing and counselling.

³⁰ Pei-Lin Tien, 'Preface: The Research Interest of Our Graduate Institute of Education', *Bulletin of Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University* 1, 1958b: 1-2.

³¹ Yu-Wen Chou, 'A Study on the Development of the Study of History of Education in Taiwan, 1949-2002', *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Education* 48, no. 1 (2003): 1.

³² Jiaw Ouyang, 'Analytic Philosophy of Education', in *The Yun-Wu Wang's Dictionary of Social Sciences* (8th vol.), ed. Liang-Kung Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: The Commercial Press, 1970a), 19-22.

³³ Ching-Jiang Lin ed., *The Development of Western Educational Foundation Studies* (Taipei, Taiwan: Youth Culture, 1972b).

On the other hand, apart from two Taiwanese educational psychologists, Chien-Hou Huang and Der-Hsiang Huang, who attained their doctorates in Glasgow and Sheffield before the 1980s, almost all the Taiwanese educational psychology community's overseas study experience has been in the USA.³⁴ Compared to the other three educational foundation disciplines, the development of the Taiwanese psychology of education has no strong relationship with the British experience. So, it can be also found that the division of educational psychology is usually set in the department of counselling rather than the department of educational studies.

Therefore, the influence of the studies and doctrines of the British philosophy of education, history of education, and sociology of education on Taiwanese educational research since the 1970s will be respectively analysed in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

1.3.2 Definitions of recontextualisation and professionalisation

Recontextualisation is a process that extracts text, signs or meaning from its original context in order to introduce it into another context. Since the meaning of texts and signs depends on their context, recontextualisation implies a change of meaning, and often of the communicative purpose too.³⁵ In this research, the term recontextualisation is regarded as denoting the process of domesticating Western educational theories and doctrines into the Taiwanese educational context, contributed by Taiwanese educationalists and policy-makers. In the past, Western

³⁴ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Study of Education Development in the Republic of China in the Twentieth Century', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011), 279-281.

³⁵ Srikant Sarangi, 'Rethinking Recontextualisation in Professional Discourse Studies: An Epilogue', *Text & Talk* 18, no. 2 (2009): 301-318.

educational practical experiences and educational studies were always relied on by Taiwanese educationalists and borrowed and applied into Taiwan. However, the Taiwanese context is different from that of Western countries. So, the nature and the methods of the foreign knowledge should be modified rather than copied thoroughly.

In chapters Four and Six, it can be found that Taiwanese educational philosophers and educational sociologists, as well as other social scientists and humanities researchers in Taiwan, not only disseminated Western educational knowledge into Taiwan over the past several decades but also attempted to transfer these Western educational doctrines and perspectives into the Taiwanese education context to examine its development and to find resolutions for its struggles.

The concept of recontextualisation addresses the way that discourses have altered significance and meaning when they travel from one setting to another. The concept of re-conceptualisation that Basil Bernstein elaborated in the 1970s has been especially influential in educational research and it is relevant in here. In Bernstein's theory, the ordering and distribution of knowledge is governed by identifiable rules. Knowledge is transformed into pedagogic discourse for the purposes of teaching. Further transformation occurs when pedagogic discourse is expressed as educational standards of attainment. Bernstein speaks about three fields of activity: first, where new knowledge is produced (say, in the universities), the field of production; second, where discourses are selected; and third, where teaching takes place, the field of reproduction. This distinctive way of analysing the ways that educational knowledge is produced, distributed and recontextualised gives us a way of looking into the contesting social groups striving to dominate educational knowledge. Above all, and especially relevant in the present study, Bernstein's theory of recontextualisation

draws attention to what is going on at structural levels (beyond individual intentions), and in particular, where social and institutional processes of selection and transformation are at work. The selection and distribution and transformation of education knowledge produced by Western writers occurs principally in Taiwan, where its meaning and significance is different.

Professionalisation as a public project would conventionally involve the negotiation over time of certain attributes for the occupation, including self-government, pensions and salaries, conditions of service, training and qualifications.³⁶ In this research, it refers to the process of educational studies and educational foundation disciplines, more and more professionalised, in post-1949 Taiwan. The development of educational studies and educational foundation disciplines began to develop in Taiwan since the 1950s and Western educational experiences and contributions were always learned by Taiwanese educationalists. Therefore, the term of professionalisation will be involved in some respects, including the establishment of the academic journals, the researchers and programmes in higher education and the academic societies in the development of educational studies in post-war Taiwan in chapter three.

1.4 Research methodology

This research primarily adopts two research approaches. First, documentary research is employed to demonstrate that the development of Taiwanese educational research is strongly related to the transformation of teacher education institutions, the decline

³⁶ Gary McCulloch, 'Profession/Professionalism/Professionalisation', in *The Routledge International Encyclopedia of Education*, eds. by Gary McCulloch and David Crook (London: Routledge, 2008), 456-459.

in the birth rate, and the subsequent reduction in the demand for primary school and high school teachers. These documentary sources include the Taiwanese Ministry of Education's official publications of laws and statistical reports.

In addition to public records, some personal documents are also implemented into this research. For example, Ching-Jiang Lin's biography and other Taiwanese educationalists' autobiographies will be employed into the examination of their British study lives.

However, on the process of these documents employing into this research, I will criticise and reflect some context factors which formed these historical materials. As other researchers mention that documents need also to be interpreted in the light of specific factors involved in their production and context, such as personal, social, political and historical relationships.³⁷

Although documentary sources and methods are very important tools for historical researchers, they do have limitations. Many documents do not survive, are incomplete or are not accessible to researchers. Oral history based on interviews has become increasingly popular over the past decade.³⁸ For example, in this research, Taiwanese government documents and archives were found to throw little light on the process of the introduction and dissemination of the knowledge of British educational foundation disciplines and Taiwanese educational researchers' British

³⁷ Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research: In Education, History and the Social Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2004b), 4; John Scott, *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990).

³⁸ Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000), 113.

study experiences. Therefore, an oral history approach becomes necessary to be employed to explore these factors.

In addition to supplementing the insufficiency of historical documents, an oral history approach can also help researchers to more deeply understand their informants' life processes. Simultaneously, informants are participating in this task of reconstructing their stories, and

they are capable of complex cultural formulation in that they can interpret their own pasts and look at themselves and us critically. It also assumes that they can and do use history, and that they use it to actively involve themselves in cultural dialogue in a fully participatory manner. Therefore, people become not simply objects of study, but part of the community of discourse.³⁹

In other words, in the process of employing an oral history approach to conduct this research, the interviewer and interviewees cooperate to re-build the development since the 1970s.

As for the interview method, semi-structured interviews are regarded as being a good way to conduct studies of oral history.⁴⁰ Hilary Arksey and Peter Knight highlight the disadvantage of an unstructured interview approach for studies of oral history,

³⁹ Ronald Grele and Studs Terkel eds., *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History* (London: Praeger, 1991), 271-272.

⁴⁰ Patricia Leavy, *Oral History: Understanding Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Valerie Yow, 'Do I like them too much? Effects of The Oral History Interview on the

Unstructured interviews are avoided, since they tend to produce a mass of incompatible data, which can be analysed, but which can leave the researcher wondering whether other informants would have endorsed or rejected points that some had made, but which they themselves did not spontaneously volunteer.⁴¹

Compared to unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews can apparently be used well to gather oral history,

It is more usual for oral history to use semi-structured interviews that allow informants to depict the past in their own words, following their own sense of what was important. The researcher, guided by the literature, documents and other interviews, will have a loose agenda of questions to ask and themes to explore, but the answers will be open-ended, and the interview will not be dominated by the researcher in the same way as is the case with surveys.⁴²

When the semi-structured interviews were conducted in this research, seven distinct procedures were followed. First, remember the questions I need to ask. Second, ask questions at proper times. Third, bring the conversation around to my own topics of interest without disrupting the natural flow of conversation. Fourth, sense when a topic of enquiry has been exhausted. Fifth, help the participants to make links

Interviewer and vice-versa', in *The Oral History Reader* (2nd edition), eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 1998), 54-72.

⁴¹ Hilary Arksey and Peter Knight, *Interviewing for Social Scientists* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 82-83.

⁴² Ibid.

between the topics being discussed. Sixth, manage the duration of the interview. Seventh, evaluate the analytic relevance of the information as it is being produced.⁴³

As for the analysis of the interviewees' testimonies, according to Valerie Yow, this is distinguished from the interview analysis of qualitative research conducted by social scientists,

Although you need not analyse the oral history in terms of categories, recurring myths, themes, symbols, rhetoric, and so on to prepare it for deposit in the archives, keep in mind possibilities for analysis as you work with the document. Jot down these thoughts for later development as you begin to use the information in your writing.⁴⁴

Yow indeed claims that the analysis of interview data by means of oral history is very flexible rather than being guided by the rules step by step as other qualitative research.

However, how to implement the documentary analysis and the oral history approach collaboratively on the process of conducting this research also becomes an important lesson when conducting the history research.⁴⁵ For example, in order to supplement the insufficiency of documents and archives to trace back and analyse the history of

⁴³ William Gibson and Andrew Brown, *Working with Qualitative Data* (London: Sage, 2009), 88; Paul Dowling and Andrew Brown, *Doing Research/Reading Research: Re-interrogating Education* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2010), 78-82; Patricia Leavy, op. cit., 2011, 27-34.

⁴⁴ Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (London: Sage publications, 1994), 225.

⁴⁵ Paul Thompson, 'Problems of Method in Oral History', *Oral History* 1, no. 4 (1972): 1-47.

British knowledge and studies of educational foundation disciplines in post-1970s Taiwan, the interviewees' testimonies become necessary. When quoting these interviewees' accounts, it is still necessary to criticise these interview data.⁴⁶

In order to justify these interviewees' testimonies, it will be necessary to compare different interviewees' accounts when they describe the same event. That is to say, to criticise and question these interviewees' accounts all the time is necessary on the process of conducting this research.

The documents were collected and eighteen interviews conducted in Taiwan over a period of seven weeks between 1 December 2011 and 18 January 2012. Subsequently, the testimonies of three British educationalists were added by means of interviews and two Taiwanese educationalists were interviewed by email in order to explore the academic exchange between Taiwan and the UK. There were twenty-three informants in all, and their basic information is listed by their surname, as Table 1.1. Their detailed backgrounds are presented in Chapters four, five and six.

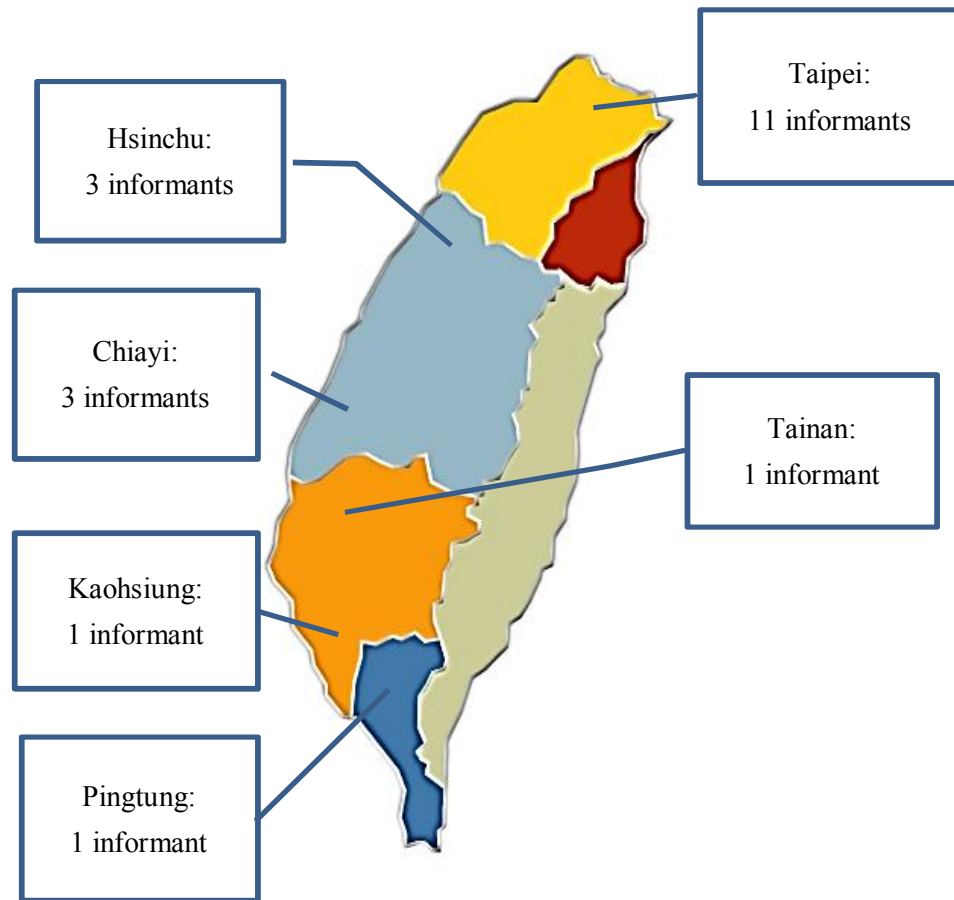
⁴⁶ Gary McCulloch, *op. cit.*, 2004, 101-127.

Table 1.1: Basic background of Taiwanese and British informants

Name	Field	Interview avenue	Date
Richard Aldrich	History of education	London	10 Dec., 2012
Kuei-His Chen	Sociology of education	Taipei	15 Dec., 2011
Yu-Ching Cheng	History of education	Taipei	20 Dec., 2011
Ter-Sheng Chiang	Sociology of education	London and email	13 Feb., 2013
Tien-Hui Chiang	Sociology of education	Tainan	02 Jan., 2012
Yu-Wen Chou	History of education	Taipei	14 Dec., 2011
Sheng-Yih Chuang	Sociology of education	Kaohsiung	03 Jan., 2012
Jau-Wei Dan	Philosophy of education	Taipei	20 Dec., 2011
Guang-Xiong	History of education	Taipei	16 Dec., 2011
Feng-Jihu Lee	Philosophy of education	Chiayi	04 Jan., 2012
Chien-Fu Lin	Philosophy of education	Taipei	20 Dec., 2011
Ferng-Chyi Lin	Philosophy of education	Taipei	14 Dec., 2011
Yu-Tee Lin	History of education	Taipei	20 Dec., 2011
Yung-Feng Lin	Sociology of education	email	03 Nov., 2012
Jiaw Ouyang	Philosophy of education	Taipei	13 Dec., 2011
Huan-Sheng Peng	History of education	Hsinchu	27 Dec., 2011
San-San Shen	Sociology of education	Hsinchu	26 Dec., 2011
Yung-Ming Shu	Philosophy of education	Hsinchu	26 Dec., 2011
Ruey-Shyan Wang	Sociology of education	Pingtung	03 Jan., 2012
Ming-Lee Wen	Philosophy of education	Taipei	19 Dec., 2011
John White	Philosophy of education	London	20 Feb., 2013
Chen-Tsou Wu	History of education	Taipei	21 Dec., 2011
Michael Young	Sociology of education	London	11 Dec., 2012

In addition, Figure 1.2 shows the distribution of Taiwanese informants' teaching universities.

Figure 1.2: The distribution of Taiwanese interviewee's teaching universities



As to the issue of the research ethics, this research follows the ethical standard of British Educational Research Association (BERA).⁴⁷ When the protocol is delivered to these informants to obtain their permission to be interviewed, they are also informed of their rights at the same time. For example, they have the absolute right to withdraw from this research at any time and their interviews will be recorded. When their accounts are quoted in this research, it will be marked by their names rather than anonymously or with the use of pseudonyms.

⁴⁷ <http://www.bera.ac.uk/ethics-and-education-research-2/>

Four key areas receive particular attention to aid the analysis of the interview data. First, problems encountered in the interview, such as difficulties involved in keeping the discussion on track. Second, the identification of particularly useful aspects of the interview was stressed. Third, the consideration of points that were similar to and different from points made in other interviews. Fourth, seeing how the interview process may be developed on the basis of the interview.⁴⁸

After the interviews themselves, their interviews were transcribed and then these transcriptions were given for them to check their testimonies. In particular, in the process of collecting these informants' data, almost all interviewees accepted my recording request except for Chen-Tsou Wu. The introduction of the research ethics to the twenty-three informants can be found in Appendix 1, the informants' protocol.

It should be mentioned that among all kinds of transcriptions, the focused transcription will be adopted in this research to address the research questions. After transcribing, categorising and interpreting these interview data will be the next step. Several steps will be helpful to catch up the key testimonies to address the research questions in the process of interpretation. First, what are my main areas of interest or themes? Second, what kind of picture am I developing through my categories and interpretations? Third, what is the relevance of this analysis to my research question? Fourth, what is the relationship of this analysis to my initial conceptualisation of the phenomenon I am exploring and how does it help me to understand what I am seeing?⁴⁹ Following these guidelines, the analysis results of these interviews will be presented in Chapter Four, Five and Six.

⁴⁸ William Gibson and Andrew Brown, *op. cit.*, 2009, 96.

⁴⁹ William Gibson and Andrew Brown, *op. cit.*, 2009, 134-135.

Let us take an example to demonstrate the relationship between interview data and analysis of documents and the process of analysis. When I interviewed Jiaw Ouyang, the Taiwanese educational philosopher, I asked him some questions from the questionnaire to clarify the development of British philosophy of education in post-war Taiwan. This questionnaire had been submitted to him before our meeting. In the process of our interview, he gave me his answers about his contributions to introduce British analytic philosophy of education into post-1970s Taiwan. Meanwhile, he also told me about some historical events I never expected. For example, when he was invited as the committee consultant, he positively encouraged the Taiwan government to support more scholarships for postgraduates to study in Europe rather than the USA. The reason why he did it actually came from his overseas study experience. In order to check Ouyang's testimonies, I attempted to investigate some official documents, and I found the transformation of the diplomacy policy was usually regarded as the important factor and the implementation of the government scholarship committee was never mentioned in documents. However, my other interviewees who also joined the scholarship committee at that time told me about Ouyang's contributions when I interviewed these foundation researchers.

Like the jigsaw, I gradually pieced together the clues of the picture why more and more Taiwanese postgraduates left for Europe, especially the UK, for their overseas study since the 1980s when I began to demonstrate the frequent academic interaction between the UK and Taiwan since the 1980s in Chapter Three and the development of British philosophy of education into post-1980s Taiwan in Chapter Four.

In addition to this part, other interviewees' testimonies were also analysed in a similar way. This general process underpinned the analysis of interviewees'

testimonies and the interaction of dialogue between interview data and official documents.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. In addition to the introduction in Chapter one, the frames of the other six chapters are briefly presented below.

Chapter Two addresses two issues, the first of which is the transformation of the perspectives, theories and research approaches of the transmission and transfer of transnational knowledge, as discussed by Western social scientists, humanities researchers and educational historians from the perspective of colonialism, imperialism, dependency theory, post-colonialism, cultural imperialism, transnationalism and transnational history. Secondly, not only is the development of the academic trend of Americanisation and Britishness across the globe examined, but also the reflections of Taiwanese, Japanese, Australian and New Zealand educationalists on the Westernised current of educational studies in their countries.

Chapter Three provides the background of this research by firstly tracing the process of the transmission of Western educational ideas into modern China and the context of the establishment of Chinese government scholarships for Taiwanese students to study overseas. Secondly, with the shift of the political regime from China to Taiwan after 1949, the reconstruction of educational studies was expanded and contributed by Chinese educationalists in Taiwan, including the establishment of educational studies of higher education institutions, academic journals and professional societies. Thirdly, some of the factors that influenced the development of educational

foundation studies in post-1950s Taiwan are discussed, including the birth rate, teacher education programmes and higher education policies.

Chapter Four mainly examines the development of British philosophy of education studies and doctrines in post-1970s Taiwan. After World War Two, Jiaw Ouyang became the first Taiwanese educational philosopher to study in the UK from 1965 to 1969, and British Analytic Philosophy was introduced and highly and broadly regarded because of his contribution. After Ouyang, the British study experiences of the next-generation Taiwanese educational philosophers expanded in the 1990s, and this also contributed to the broad expansion of more and more British studies of educational philosophy and British educational philosophers' perspectives in post-1990s Taiwan.

The distribution of British history of education studies in post-1970s Taiwan is discussed in Chapter 5. Guang-Xiong Huang was the first Taiwanese educational historian to expand his study at the IOE between 1974 and 1976. However, compared to the frequent academic interaction between the British educational community and Taiwanese educational philosophers and educational sociologists, Taiwanese educational historians had less academic contact with the British educational history community, which meant that British educational historians' studies were unknown in the Taiwanese educational community. Besides, Taiwanese educational historians preferred to consider Western thinkers' doctrines rather than education reform, educational policies or other issues in the past. Therefore, almost all studies of British educational history in Taiwan focused on a discussion of the doctrines of British educationalists and thinkers.

The diffusion of the British sociology of education studies in post-1970s Taiwan is analysed in Chapter 6. As pioneers of this academic discipline, Ching-Jiang Lin acquired his doctorate from the University of Liverpool from 1966 to 1968 and Kuei-Hsi Chen attained his doctoral degree at the University of Sheffield between 1972 and 1975. The academic exchange between the Taiwanese and British sociology of education communities was based on the contributions of these two educationalists. Subsequently, more and more next-generation Taiwanese sociologists of education graduated from the UK after the 1990s, and British sociology of education studies and the perspectives and theories of British educational sociologists began to be broadly disseminated. In terms of borrowing and learning from the British experience, Taiwanese educational sociologists began to reflect that they should pay more attention to this subject when constructing indigenous theories and knowledge systems or recontextualising Western educational theories into the Taiwanese educational setting.

The research findings from Chapters 3 to 6 are concluded in Chapter 7, and the similarities and differences between the development of the British philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education in the research and teaching in post-1970s Taiwan are also compared in this chapter. Taiwanese educational foundation researchers also began to reflect on some lessons in the process of learning from the West in this period, such as the Westernised and Americanisation trend of educational studies in Taiwan. Finally, the limitations of this research are discussed and some recommendations are made for future research based on those limitations.

Chapter 2: A critical examination of the dissemination and re-contextualisation of transnational educational knowledge

2.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to examine previous studies of the dissemination and re-contextualisation of transnational educational knowledge from various theories, perspectives and examples.

In fact, this topic is of great interest to comparative educationalists, as well as historians and educational historians. They attempt to construct generalisations, models and key contextual elements of cross-national policy-borrowing and explain the process of transnational attraction and the stages of policy transfer between the learner and the learned by undertaking long-term studies.¹ In other words, distinctive from the perspective of educational historians, comparative educationalists tend to explore and reorganise the factors that have a significant influence on the circulation of transnational knowledge in order to stress the importance of the duration of the process.

For example, David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs are concerned with the German educational experiences borrowed by England since the nineteenth century.² These

¹ David Phillips, 'Neither a Borrower nor a Lender Be? The Problems of Cross-National Attraction in Education', *Comparative Education* 25, no. 3 (1989): 267-274; Kimberly Ochs and David Phillips, *Towards a Structural Typology of Cross-national Attraction in Education* (Lisbon: Educa, 2002a); David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs, 'Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education: Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices', *Comparative Education* 39, no. 4 (2003): 451-461; David Phillips, "'Comparatography', History and Policy Quotation: Some Reflections', *Comparative Education* 50, no. 1 (2014): 73-83.

² David Phillips, 'Learning from Elsewhere in Education: Some Perennial Problems Revisited with Reference to British Interest in Germany', *Comparative Education* 36, no. 3 (2000): 297-307; David

two comparative educationalists gave a definition of the concept of learning from others' experiences that the learning involved might result in an effort to improve provision at home but equally it might help us to understand more fully what it is that has helped to form the education system of which we are a part. The concept of borrowing extends the nature of the learning from others' experiences, and it aims to improve the education system by exploring others' educational developments. By investigating the attraction of German educational policy and provision for English education, six aspects are generalised and supported by Phillips and Ochs.³

As to educational historians, they usually adopt the perspective of history to analyse the issue of the borrowing of educational knowledge and experiences. In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the concept and history of the diffusion and transfer of transnational educational knowledge across the globe in modern times are analysed in four main sections.

The transformation of the theories, perspectives and research approaches employed in studies to discuss the concept of the transfer of transnational knowledge since the 1970s will be examined and criticised in Section 2.2. These will include colonialism, imperialism, the dependency theory, post-colonialism, cultural imperialism, transnationalism and transnational history adopted by social scientists and historians.

Following the conceptual analysis in Section 2.2, the next three sections will focus on the experience and development of the diffusion of transnational educational

Phillips, *Reflections on British Interest in Education in Germany in the Nineteenth Century: A Report* (Lisbon: Educa, 2002); Kimberly Ochs and David Phillips, 'Comparative Studies and 'Cross-National Attraction' in Education: A Typology for the Analysis of English Interest in Educational Policy and Provision in Germany', *Educational Studies* 28, no. 4 (2002b): 325-339.

³ Kimberly Ochs and David Phillips, op. cit., 2002b, 329-330.

knowledge in Taiwan, Japan and the West, as discussed and reflected by researchers. Since it is mentioned in Chapter One that this study was inspired by Wei-Chih Liou's research, her series of contributions will be analysed in Section 2.3. Subsequently, the contributions of Taiwanese educationalists, who examined and criticised the transfer of Western educational knowledge into Taiwanese educational research and practice, will be emphasised and reflected.

The area of focus will broaden from Taiwan to East Asia in Section 2.4. Since Japan was the first East Asian country to implement the reform of the Westernised movement since the late nineteenth century in the so-called Meiji Restoration, educational studies in Japan were also gradually deeply influenced by the West at that time. On the other hand, the main Western educational ideas came directly from Japan and were introduced and disseminated in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial rule between 1895 and 1945. Thus, the stream of studies of the history of transnational knowledge from the West into Japan will be specifically observed in this section.

Section 2.5 will examine studies of the transmission of educational knowledge from donor countries to recipient countries in the West with three sub-sections containing educational historians' studies on this topic, including the dissemination and influence of educational knowledge from the UK to countries colonised by the British, the global diffusion of British educational knowledge during the Great Britain era, and the global impact of educational knowledge from the United States.

Therefore, in addition to broadly reviewing various theories and perspectives of studies of the transnational transfer of educational knowledge from dominant

countries to subordinate ones in Section 2.2, Sections 2.3 to 2.5 are mainly divided into three levels from a micro layer to a macro one to examine these researchers' studies of this theme.

The idea is to start examining Taiwanese educationalists' initial reflection of the Westernised development of Taiwanese educational research and practices during the process of disseminating and borrowing a huge number of Western educational ideas into post-1950s Taiwan from the base of this funnel and continue to the 1980s. Therefore, the lens will be further broadened upstairs to the upper floor and will highlight the influence of Western educational knowledge on East Asia for more than a hundred years, especially the Japanese series of Westernised reforms of educational settings and other fields. As for the top level, this will turn the region of concern from East Asia to the West. In other words, the target will gradually focus on studies of knowledge diffusion and the educational influence of the UK and the USA on other countries from the past to the present.

It should be mentioned that Chapter Two also demonstrates which subjects of educational studies are introduced and selected as the foundation subjects by Taiwanese educationalists. When it comes to the development of educational studies by Taiwanese educationalists, it usually involves foundation and practical subjects. For the former, it includes philosophy of education, history of education, and sociology of education, while for the latter, it includes educational economics, educational technology, curriculum and instruction and so on. However, most of educational studies is usually conducted through practical issues and foundation approaches.

In order to focus on the dissemination and transfer of British educational foundation disciplines in post-war Taiwan more deeply, this research will not seek to explore the influence of British studies of educational technology, curriculum and instruction and educational administration in Taiwan. After all, most Taiwanese postgraduates attaining their PhD in educational studies in Britain in the past had their research interests in foundation subjects.

Therefore, the influence of the studies and doctrines of British philosophy of education, history of education, and sociology of education on Taiwanese educational research since the 1970s will be analysed in this order in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

2.2 Transnational transfer, transnationalism and transnational history: The transformation of theoretical and conceptual approaches since the 1970s

The aim of this section is to review the academic debates about the transnational dissemination and transfer of educational knowledge from the West since the 1970s by social scientists and humanities researchers, with special reference to the transformation of the key concepts of transnational transfer, transnationalism and transnational history. Besides, the relationship between the knowledge transmission and the factor of geography will be discussed in another sub-section.

2.2.1 Transnational knowledge transmission: Education and history

The development of the theories and perspectives employed in studies of transnational knowledge transfer, including the study of education, has been adequately addressed by the contributions of numerous researchers using case analyses and theoretical exploration. In the process of exploring this topic, social

scientists and humanities researchers have attempted to develop the theme by applying different theories and perspectives, including colonialism and imperialism,⁴ the dependency theory,⁵ cultural imperialism,⁶ post-colonialism,⁷ transnationalism,⁸ transnational history⁹ and comparative history,¹⁰ and these theories also reflect researchers' thinking models in different periods.

⁴ Stephen Ball, 'Imperialism, Social Control and the Colonial Curriculum in Africa', *Curriculum Studies* 15, no. 3 (1983): 237-263.

⁵ Krishna Kumar, 'Some Reflections on Transnational Social Science Transactions', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 19, no. 3/4 (1978): 219-234; Martin McLean, 'Educational Dependency: A Critique', *Compare* 13, no. 1 (1983): 25-42; Jong Jag Lee, Don Adams and Catherine Cornbleth, 'Transnational Transfer of Curriculum Knowledge: A Korean Case Study', *Curriculum Studies* 20, no. 3 (1988): 233-246.

⁶ Robert Austin, "'Cultural Influence" or "Cultural Imperialism"?: Australian Secondary History Curricula and the United States Information Service Since 1990', *History of Education Review* 30, no. 1 (2001): 91-104; Yun-Shiuan Chen, *Modernisation or Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Reading of Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Overseas Study* (New York: Peter Lang, 2013).

⁷ Ursula Heise, 'Ecocriticism and the Transnational Turn in American Studies', *American Literary History* 20, no. 1/2 (2008): 381-383; Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, 'Postcolonial Models, Cultural Transfers and Transnational Perspectives in Latin America: A Research Agenda', *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 579-600.

⁸ Katharyne Mitchell, 'Education for Democratic Citizenship: Transnationalism, Multiculturalism, and the Limits of Liberalism', *Harvard Educational Review* 71, no. 1 (2001): 51-78; Ursula Heise, 'Ecocriticism and the Transnational Turn in American Studies', *American Literary History* 20, no. 1-2 (2008): 381-404.

⁹ Ian Tyrrell, 'American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History', *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (1991): 1031-1055; Michael McGerr, 'The Price of the "New Transnational History"', *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (1991): 1056-1067; Akira Iriye, 'Transnational History', *Contemporary European History* 13, no. 2 (2004): 211-222; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30-50.

¹⁰ Chris Lorenz, 'Comparative Historiography: Problems and Perspectives', *History and Theory* 38, no. 1 (1999): 25-39; Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope and Perspectives of Comparative History', in *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, eds. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 1-30; Philipp Ther, 'Comparison, Cultural Transfers and the Study of Networks: Toward a Transnational History of Europe', in *Comparative and Transnational History*:

Initially, the concepts of colonialism and imperialism had commonly been borrowed by educationalists to explain the development of the flow of knowledge from dominant countries to subordinate ones before the 1970s. For example, in the classic, *Education and Colonialism*, written in 1978 and the revised edition, *Education and the Colonial Experience*, produced in 1984, American researchers, Philip Altbach and Gail Kelly, discuss the role played by education in the process of the coloniser diffusing knowledge to the colonised.¹¹ At the same time, Martin Carnoy published his study, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, in 1974 to examine the relationship between colonialism and education.¹² The key concept, centre and periphery, is commonly employed in these studies to explain the knowledge flow from coloniser to colonised.¹³ In fact, a similar discussion had taken place in the UK in the 1930s.¹⁴

More and more new theories and perspectives based on the doctrines of colonialism and imperialism emerged after the 1970s. For example, the dependency theory claimed that transnational cultural interaction should be examined within the contemporary relationship of domination among nations and still stressed the key concept of centre-periphery to explain the transfer of transnational knowledge.¹⁵ According to sociologists' statement,

Central European Approaches and New Perspectives, eds. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 204-225.

¹¹ Philip Altbach and Gail Kelly, eds., *Education and Nationalism* (London: Longman, 1978); Philip Altbach and Gail Kelly, eds., *Education and the Colonial Experience*, 2nd rev. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1984).

¹² Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: McKay, 1974).

¹³ António Nóvoa, 'Endnote: Empires Overseas and Empires at Home', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 817

¹⁴ Arthur Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire* (London: Longmans, Green, 1938).

¹⁵ Krishna Kumar, op. cit., 1978, 219-234.

From the perspective of the dependency theory, such transfer occurs within a global network of countries and has resulted in the Americanisation of social sciences, particularly in many less-developed countries. It has also resulted in a global knowledge system and the emerging view of social science as a transnational system.¹⁶

The dependency theory was originally employed in political science and sociology, and educationalists began to borrow this theory to discuss the transfer of transnational knowledge since the 1970s. Martin McLean maintains that,

One prominent example of borrowing has been the use of ‘underdevelopment’, ‘centre-periphery’ or ‘dependency’ theories in the analysis of educational issues in the less developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.¹⁷

He also finds that the trend of transferring transnational knowledge is from the centre to peripheral countries, while there are more huge flows of students from less developed countries to the educational institutions of developed nations.¹⁸

Furthermore, when educationalists examine the diffusion of transnational knowledge from the perspective of the dependency theory, they also highlight the importance of mediators in this process. This can answer the research question in Chapter One that relates to the way in which Taiwanese educationalists studying in the UK have

¹⁶ Chadwick Alger and Gene Lyons, ‘Social Science as a Transnational System’, *International Social Science Journal* 26, no. 1 (1974): 138.

¹⁷ Martin McLean, *op. cit.*, 1983, 25.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

played an important role in the process of disseminating and re-contextualising British educational ideas into Taiwanese educational studies and practices since the 1970s. The function of mediators is defined thus,

The transfer and exchange of transnational knowledge are facilitated by schools and professionals with recognised status who are committed to the ideas and technologies in question. Such knowledge mediators may be affiliated with institutions in the centre or the periphery. However, the recognition of the attitude of social scientists on the periphery is particularly important in understanding the role of these knowledge mediators, as well as an assessment of the relationship between scholars in the centre and those in the periphery.¹⁹

A similar statement is made by Thomas Eisemon, who describes the academic reference groups in the transfer process as being elite groups within the academic community of the recipient country, who function as mediators of the foreign educational model.²⁰ Besides, Thomas also identifies the function and importance of foreign reference groups to the recipient country. On the one hand, these foreign reference groups function as consultants or exemplars, bringing ideas and standards from the central knowledge system and transmitting them to learners' professional activities and the academic environment.²¹

¹⁹ Jong Jag Lee, Don Adams and Catherine Cornbleth, *op. cit.*, 1988, 234.

²⁰ Thomas Eisemon, 'Educational Transfer: The Implications of Foreign Educational Assistance', *Interchange* 5, no. 4 (1974): 56.

²¹ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, foreign reference groups work within the academic community of peripheral knowledge system. In other words, they can serve as a source of professional and educational norms, providing positive guidance as to what faculty outlooks, behaviour and institutional conditions should be and communicating values that facilitate the adoption of foreign educational and professional models.²² As for the relationship between the knowledge flow and mediators, Thomas explains that the interaction between scholars at the centre and scholars at the periphery generates academic reference groups, or groups whose professional outlook and behaviour constitute a frame of reference for others.²³ Therefore, the function and importance of academic reference groups as mediators in the process of transnational knowledge transmission and transfer are demonstrated by the accounts of Lee and Thomas.

Post-colonialism followed the dependency theory and secured its place in the academic and intellectual discourse of the mid-1980s along with other distinguished post-tendencies, such as post-structuralism and post-modernism. Post-colonialism usually refers to the experience that follows on from colonization. Under conditions of colonization, relationships of domination and subordination shape the lives and outlooks of colonizers and colonized. After a period of colonization, the struggle to forge a new lives and outlook among formerly colonized peoples invariably involves engaging with residual structures of knowledge that reflect former political and cultural relationships of power.

Modernisation usually refers to the change from a traditional society to a ‘modern’ industrialised and urbanised one from the late nineteenth century and the Industrial Revolution, with the emergence of new forms of production, government and

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid, 56-57.

administration, with the importation of new forms of educational knowledge and values. However, the typical processes of modernisation, such as those in Western Europe and the USA, take different forms under post-colonial conditions. These new forms often reflect problematic assumptions about attaining the conditions necessary for change. Such assumptions, which include the need to introduce ‘modern’ forms of knowledge and new values may (unintentionally) re-inscribe relationships of implicit domination and subordination in and distort the orientations of the emerging society. Under such conditions, the notion that educational knowledge is ‘universal’ ‘neutral’ or ‘value-free’ may obscure political realities and lead modernising, post-colonial societies to import ideas uncritically in the first instance, with problematic consequences. At a later stage, the importation of ‘modern’ ideas may come under critical review.

Why post-colonialism gradually become popularly employed by educationalists to discuss transnational knowledge transfer since the mid-1980s is demonstrated as follows,

the term ‘post-colonialism’ came to refer to the collective thoughts and views of intellectuals; these views included the reformulation of old geopolitical concepts such as ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’, a new definition of national and regional borders, and the introduction of new categories with which to explain the construction of collective identities.²⁴

Additionally, post-colonialism was given a new meaning,

²⁴ Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *op. cit.*, 2011, 580.

It would come to constitute a new intellectual and cultural tradition, strongly influenced by globalising tendencies, and it is associated with concepts such as diasporas, internationalism, transnational migrations and cultural exchange.²⁵

This account of post-colonialism can be borrowed to explain how Taiwanese educationalists used the experience of their British study lives to shape the specific atmosphere of their own academic community in post-1970s Taiwan and how they transferred what they had learnt in the UK into Taiwanese educational research and practices.

However, the term, ‘transnational’, served as a substitute conceptual framework for ‘post-colonial’ in the analysis of contemporary culture, to the extent that a transnational turn was proposed in the mid-1990s, and the fact that it became a hot topic in the early 1990s was attributed to the influence of post-colonial academics and intellectuals by some historians.²⁶

As for the transformation from ‘transnational’ to ‘post-colonial’, the background and reason for this can be traced back to the concept of ‘transnational’ and transnational turn following the idea of globalisation, which began to be discussed and replaced both post-modernism and post-colonialism as a central category containing analyses of contemporary culture from the mid-1990s.²⁷ Another reason is that the original meaning of the post-colonial concept was considerably broadened, while the definition of ‘transnational’ has remained strictly true to the terms by which it was

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ursula Heise, *op. cit.*, 2008, 381-383.

²⁷ Ibid., 381.

first coined and is still easily identifiable.²⁸ Therefore, the definition, methodology and content of transnationalism and transnational history have gradually been greatly considered and discussed more by historians and social scientists in Continental Europe and North America since the mid-1990s.²⁹

As to the concept of transnationalism, it is usually defined as follows,

The process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relationships that link their societies of origin and settlement. It differs from the standard conceptualisation of international migration primarily in its emphasis on the simultaneous economic, social, and political connections that bind immigrants to two or more nation-states. Rather than moving from the society of origin to a country of settlement, migrants operate in a social field of networks and obligations that extend across international borders.³⁰

As for transnational history, although this is not a new concept, it seems to be the latest incarnation of an approach that has been characterised as being comparative, international, world and global history since the 1990s.³¹ In fact, this concept was originally regarded as being a regional analysis, drawn on the innovation and inspiration of French *Annales* historiography and built on earlier work undertaken in

²⁸ Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, op. cit., 2011, 581.

²⁹ Philipp Ther, op. cit., 2009, 204-225; Ian Tyrrell, op. cit., 1991, 1031-1055; Michael McGerr, op. cit., 1991, 1056-1067; Chris Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol and Patricia Seed, 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441-1464.

³⁰ Katharyne Mitchell, op. cit., 2001, 71-72.

³¹ Chris Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol and Patricia Seed, op. cit., 2006, 1441.

various schools of local and regional historiography in the USA.³² It has gradually come to be defined as the study of movement and forces that cut across national boundaries and has begun to be considered as being a new paradigm of historiography.³³ Therefore, the notion of transnational history is commonly employed to examine units that spill over and seep through national borders, different from international history, which deals with the relationship between nations.³⁴

On the other hand, after French and German historians debated how to transcend the national paradigm in historiography in the 1990s, the essence of the methodological core of transnational history has gradually been developed and understood in its recent reformation by European historians, including the comparative method, the model of cultural transfers and the *histoire croisée* (cross history),³⁵ which draws on the debates about comparative history, transfer studies, and connected and shared history.

Among these three methodological cores of transnational history, cultural transfer can be regarded as follows,

based on the categories of introduction, transmission, reception and appropriation, it is careful to acknowledge the importance of comparing the

³² Ian Tyrrell, op. cit., 1991, 1038.

³³ Akira Iriye, op. cit., 2004, 213.

³⁴ Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, op. cit., 2011, 581.

³⁵ Philipp Ther, op. cit., 2009, 204-225; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, op. cit., 2006, 30-50.

culture of both the importer and the exporter in order to understand how the system of relations reaches across geographical locations.³⁶

Therefore, the study of transnational history examines the themes of cultural transfer and cross history using a comparative method.

Following these debates and discussions by historians and social scientists, educational historians attempted to employ the concept of transnational history and cultural transfer to educational studies and sketches because

this is where education could become a central element in this field of study, given the privileged position it occupies in the observation and interpretation of phenomena such as acculturation and enculturation, the transmission and adaptation of culture, and the relationship between dominant and receptive cultures. Pedagogic culture also has the advantage of being built upon a foundation of ideas, terms, institutions and practices that travel, cross borders, connect spaces and serve as models of transnational history.³⁷

Therefore, the concept of the transfer of transnational knowledge employed in the field of education can be completely defined as

involving the exchange of theories, models and methods for academic or practical purposes among countries which often share little in terms of

³⁶ Gabriela Ossenbach and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *op. cit.*, 2011, 582.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 583.

cultural heritage, historical experience, developmental stage, and economic and political conditions.³⁸

Consequently, the term of transnational knowledge transfer can be further recognised by examining the transition of theories and perspectives of Western social sciences and humanities for the past several decades. In practice, some concepts and approaches of the dependency theory, cultural imperialism, post-colonialism and transnational history can also be borrowed to examine this research, and the distribution and contextualisation of British foundations of educational disciplines into Taiwanese research and practices since the 1970s.

2.2.2 Transnational knowledge transmission: Education and geography

In addition to discussions of the transnational knowledge transmission and transfer involved in theories of social science and the perspective of history, mentioned in the last section, comparative educationalists also conducts the same issue by the perspective of geography of education and searches for the synergy between history, geography and educational studies to explain the trend of transnational knowledge flowing and borrowing.³⁹

³⁸ Jong Jag Lee, Don Adams and Catherine Cornbleth, op. cit., 1988, 233.

³⁹ Colin Brock, 'A Role for Geography in the Service of Comparative Education', *Compare* 5, 1976: 35-36; Colin Brock, 'Comparative Education and the Geographical Factor', in *Contemporary Issues in Comparative Education: A Festschrift in honour of Professor Emeritus Vernon Mallinson*, eds. Keith Watson and Raymond Wilson (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 148-174; Colin Brock, *Education as a Global Concern: Education as a Humanitarian Response* (London: Continuum, 2011); Colin Brock, 'Comparative Education and the Geographical Factor', *Journal of International and Comparative Education* 2, no. 1 (2013a): 9-17; Colin Brock, 'The Geography of Education and Comparative Education', *Comparative Education* 49, no. 3 (2013b): 275-289; Colin Brock and Nafsika Alexiadou, *Education around the World: A comparative Introduction* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

For instance, Colin Brock's studies base his argument on a clear synergy between geography and education as composite disciplines both concerned with spatial operations, especially the issue of information flow. Colin also argues the significance of the symbiotic relationship of geography and history in terms of the basic space/time context of all educational activity.⁴⁰ As Brock mentions,

Cross-border education and increased mobility has created the need for more stringent and conclusive assessment and evaluation of educational services, to be achieved through student, faculty and institutional mobility...The issue, however, as to what extent a policy can be 'borrowed' or transferred in terms of providing the relevant 'solutions' required is ever present.⁴¹

Therefore, as Brock's statement on the importance of geography of education when examining the process of transnational knowledge dissemination and transfer, the context is composed of time and space. History plays the role of time and space refers to geography.

2.3 Taiwanese educationalists' discussions of the transfer of transnational knowledge and reflections on the Westernised current

The main concern of Section 2.2 is to explore the transformation of theories, perspectives and approaches of transnational knowledge transfer in the Western academic community. Section 2.3 to Section 2.5 will contain an examination of the practical research of Taiwanese, Japanese and Western educationalists respectively and their reflections on the influence of the Westernised current and Americanisation on the rest of the world.

⁴⁰ Lorraine Pe Symaco and Colin Brock, 'Editorial: Educational Space', *Comparative Education* 49, no. 3 (2013): 269-274.

⁴¹ Lorraine Pe Symaco and Colin Brock, *op. cit.*, 271.

In this section, Taiwanese educationalists' studies will be examined in two parts, the first of which considers the history of the introduction, transmission and transition of western educational ideas into modern China and Taiwan from their contributions, while the second involves examining the development of their attempts to support demonstrations and reflections on the westernised current in Taiwanese educational settings. Therefore, this section contains a total of four sub-sections.

2.3.1 Wei-Chih Liou's studies of the transfer of transnational knowledge from Germany to modern China and Taiwan

Wei-Chih Liou's contributions will firstly be further discussed. Since it was mentioned in Chapter One that this research was inspired by her studies, her findings and comments will be helpful. In fact, the research background of Chapter Three that discusses the history of the reception, dissemination and transformation of foreign educational foundations in China and Taiwan before the 1970s can be completely clarified by analysing her research. However, this does not mean that this research only follows hers because some issues she never touches on are stressed and analysed in this study. Although her doctoral thesis was written in German, she still makes every effort to conduct her research on this topic, presenting her thesis as academic conference papers and publishing numerous journal articles in Chinese. This is why I would like to discuss Liou's research contributions in Section 2.3.1.

Liou acquired her doctorate at the University of Mannheim in Germany in 2006, and her doctoral thesis was entitled "*Aus Deutschem Geistesleben...*" Zur Rezeption der deutschen Paedagogik in China und Taiwan zwischen 1900 und 1960 ("*Aus Deutschem Geistesleben...*" The reception of German pedagogy in China and Taiwan between 1900 and 1960). In this research, *Aus Deutschem Geistesleben* is a Chinese

journal, which introduced German academic research to Chinese intellectuals and was only published in Beijing between 1939 and 1944.

Liou began to expand her teaching career at the National Taiwan Normal University in 2007. At that time, she devoted herself to her studies by extending her PhD thesis and published numerous journal articles in Chinese to analyse the history of the dissemination and transfer of German pedagogy into China and Taiwan between the 1920s and the 1980s.⁴² In her first paper, Liou analysed how German cultural pedagogy was received and transformed into China by Chinese scholars who introduced and translated it in two academic journals, mainly through Japan and the USA, from the 1920s to the 1940s. She discusses the same topic in her latter two papers, but focuses on German historical materials Chinese postgraduates left in Germany, including their original German doctoral theses and Chinese publications from the 1920s to the 1980s.

These three papers contain some helpful implications for my research. For example, these intellectuals always played an important role in the process of knowledge distribution at that time and the history of their study in Germany can be recognised by performing a content analysis of their publications. In addition, it is essential for researchers to collect these mediators' overseas study stories because these experiences cultivated their minds and thoughts and had a significant influence on

⁴² Wei-Chih Liou, 'Reception and Transformation of German Kulturpädagogik in China and Its Interpretation by Chinese Scholars', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 53, no. 3 (2007a): 93-127; Wei-Chih Liou, 'Knowledge Transfer: The Reception and Transformation of German Pedagogy by Chinese Educationists, 1928-1943', *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Education* 52, no. 3 (2007b): 43-64; Wei-Chih Liou, 'A Historical Review on Dissemination of German Pedagogy in China and Taiwan, 1928-1983', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 54, no. 4 (2008): 19-51.

what they thought and how they behaved in terms of their educational research and practices.

Liou also found that the foreign educational knowledge introduced into China during that period was usually selective.⁴³ For example, German pedagogy could be broadly disseminated in early twentieth century China because its characteristic of nationalism was always stressed by Chinese scholars. At that time, nationalism was regarded as being a vital element and tool for a weak Chinese government to defend itself from Western countries' military and economic invasion, so that nationalism was greatly stressed at spiritual and technical levels, especially in schooling. The studies by Liou and Mei-Yao Wu also emphasise this research finding, which implies that other researchers also explored the relationship between these mediators' motives and the specific context at that time to determine why some Western educational ideas could be introduced and highly regarded in pre-1950s China.

In all her studies, Liou supports some key questions she has not been able to resolve and she thinks that other researchers can continue to consider this theme based on these questions.⁴⁴ Therefore, this research mainly extends her contributions and focuses on these questions. For example, she proposes the reason Chinese students used to study abroad and why they chose to study in Germany at that time. In fact, she mentions the development of Western educational ideas in China before the 1950s, and this will be further discussed in the next chapter, which addresses the development of educational studies in modern China and Taiwan.

⁴³ Wei-Chih Liou, *op. cit.*, 2007a, 121.

⁴⁴ Wei-Chih Liou, *op. cit.*, 2007b, 61.

Meanwhile, Liou also highlights another question, namely, how these overseas Chinese postgraduates were cultivated by the German academic community and circumstances. While it is evident that she also recognises the importance of collecting these students' overseas study experiences and constructing their data, most of her research cases occurred long ago, which means that she was not able to employ the interview approach to conduct oral history research. Compared to her study, my research collects twenty one informants' interview data. Therefore, the main task of this research will be to make an in-depth analysis of the participants' oral data.

In addition to these three articles that examine the scholarly interaction between modern Germany and China, another two of Liou's articles also reflect on the profound impact of the Westernised current and Americanisation in Taiwanese educational settings over the past several decades, including research and practices. In her book of articles collected and published in 2009 as a tribute to Fu-Ming Chia, Liou stresses Chia's irreplaceable status and distinguished contributions.⁴⁵ When referring to the development and building of the Taiwanese educational knowledge system, Fu-Ming Chia's contributions (1926-2008) are always mentioned. Chia devoted herself to reconstructing the knowledge system and pedagogy rooted in Chinese traditional Culture and Confucianism, different from Western educational knowledge.

Chia was born in China, and came to Taiwan in 1949. Having acquired her PhD in educational psychology and counselling in 1964 at the University of California in

⁴⁵ Wei-Chih Liou, 'A Study on Fu-Ming Chia's *The Educational Essence And Its Meaning on The Process of The Development of Pedagogy in Taiwan*', in *The Study on Fu-Ming Chia's Pedagogy*, eds. Kun-Hui Huang and Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Wu-Nan, 2009), 88-115.

Los Angeles, she expanded her teaching career at the National Taiwan Normal University. At that time, Chia observed that borrowing and receiving foreign knowledge to conduct Taiwanese research and practices was very popular, and this included the study of education. In fact, Chinese traditional knowledge was not considered very highly by Taiwanese scholars. In order to raise the awareness of the academic importance of Chinese traditional ideas and reconstruct Chinese pedagogy, Chia transferred her research interest from educational psychology to ancient Chinese educational thoughts. She attempted to trace and reorganise the classical Chinese traditional thinkers' ideas and educational thoughts to support a blueprint of the Chinese pedagogy system in her mind, and then published many scholarly books in the context of traditional Chinese ideas, such as *The Educational Essence*, *Educational Epistemology*, *Educational Ethics*, *Educational Aesthetics*, and so on.⁴⁶

Therefore, Liou wanted to express her opinion in this article, as well as that of Chia, namely, that Taiwanese educationalists should not simply learn to copy and imitate Western educational knowledge while neglecting the academic value of traditional Chinese culture and knowledge. Like Chia, she also considered the possibility of reconstructing the Chinese pedagogy, but at the end of this article she could not support more positive strategies.

⁴⁶ Ping Wang, *The Reminiscence of Dr Fu-Ming Chia* (Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1992); Shen-Keng Yang, 'Fu-Ming Chia's Contribution on Educational Studies in Taiwan', in *The Study on Fu-Ming Chia's Pedagogy*, eds. Kun-Hui Huang and Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Wu-Nan, 2009), 1-15; Yu-Wen Chou and Ferng-Chyi Lin, The Timeline of Fu-Ming Chia's Life, collected in the unpublished conference symposium of *In Commemoration of Fu-Ming Chia* (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2009), 663-665.

Another of Liou's journal articles also reflected this popular Westernised trend and the Americanisation of Taiwanese educational studies.⁴⁷ She aimed to recognise the development of studies of educational history and educational philosophy in Taiwan from 1958 to 2008 by means of a content analysis and selected the most representative academic journal, *Bulletin of Educational Research*, as her research example.

Bulletin of Educational Research was founded in 1958 by the Department of Education at the National Taiwan Normal University. This journal was initially intended for Taiwanese educational historians and educational philosophers to present their research. However, more and more articles related to educational applied fields began to be published in this journal in the 1970s, and these were much more than educational history and educational philosophy articles, especially over the past several decades. While *Bulletin of Educational Research* is no longer solely for educational historians and educational philosophers, it still remains the leading journal to publish studies of the history of education and the philosophy of education.⁴⁸

Liou reviewed and analysed all the educational history and educational philosophy articles published in this bulletin from 1958 to 2008, and concluded that there was an obvious imbalance in that more articles discussed Western educational knowledge than those concerned with traditional Chinese educational ideas. Besides, Liou also found that few Taiwanese educationalists attempted to expand the academic dialogue

⁴⁷ Wei-Chih Liou, 'Historical Review of Articles on Educational History and Educational Philosophy Published in the Past Five Decades', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 56, no. 2 (2010): 1-40.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 4-5.

between these two different cultures.⁴⁹ Apparently, this was an unresolved academic problem and challenge for Taiwanese educationalists. However, Liou was still unable to support any positive implications to improve the Westernised current and the Americanisation of the Taiwanese educational academic community and practical settings.

2.3.2 Mei-Yao Wu's concern about the development of Western educational thoughts in modern China

Although some Taiwanese educationalists were interested in this theme before the 1990s, Wei-Chih Liou and Mei-Yao Wu became the main researchers in the field of educational studies during the 1990s. Wu extended Liou's studies to discuss the development of the flow of foreign educational ideas in modern China and presented scholarly articles to demonstrate the process of modern Western educational ideas into China from their receipt to their dissemination.⁵⁰

Wu worked as a guest doctoral candidate at the Humboldt University in Berlin from 2004 to 2006, and she currently teaches at the National Kaohsiung Normal University in Taiwan. Her research interest includes Niklas Luhmann's theories, the development of modern Chinese educational philosophy, and the history of the reception and transformation of Western educational thoughts in modern China, Taiwan and East Asia.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 33-35.

⁵⁰ Mei-Yao Wu, 'Reconstructing the 1934-1937 Debate over Modern China's Philosophy of Education', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 51, no. 3 (2005): 27-51; Mei-Yao Wu, 'The Reception of Foreign Educational Thought by Modern China, 1909-1948: An Analysis in Terms of Luhmannian Selection and Self-Reference', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 3 (2009): 309-328.

Wu was also the first Taiwanese educational historian to present her study in the professional journal of educational history in the Western academic community. In an article published in *Paedagogica Historica* in 2009, she borrows Luhmann's theory of selection and self-reference to examine the history of the acceptance of foreign educational ideas into China from 1909 to 1948 by means of a content analysis of articles published in the *Educational Journal*, which was one of several Chinese educational journals, which played a significant role in introducing Western educational ideas in the early twentieth century. Additionally, Wu not only aimed to demonstrate how Western modern educational thoughts passed the so-called "China's mode of selection" to be borrowed, received, disseminated and transformed into China, but also to sketch the process whereby China tended to oscillate between turning toward the outside world for new ideas and drawing back into itself to reflect its own traditional educational culture, policies and institutions when facing a huge struggle from the Western progressive and advanced educational knowledge at that time.⁵¹

As for other educationalists' opinions, Wu also believed that American and German educational ideas had a more significant influence on China than those of other Western countries at that time. Although Japan was considered to play an important role in learning by China, it was always regarded as an intermediate introducer for China to understand Western modern educational thoughts.⁵²

In fact, in another of Wu's journal articles published in 2005, she also aimed to trace the history of the great debates regarding the development of Chinese educational

⁵¹ Mei-Yao Wu, op. cit., 2009, 309.

⁵² Ibid.

philosophy from 1934 to 1937.⁵³ In fact, the core of these great debates came from two previous academic disputes by Chinese scholars in the 1910s and the 1920s. At this time, they were mainly instigated by Chinese educational philosophers, although several American pragmatists, such as John Dewey, W. H. Kilpatrick, R. B. Raup, J. L. Childs and A. G. Melvin, also joined the discussion. The key issues that were greatly considered by these Chinese philosophers were still the two main questions, namely, the nature of Chinese educational philosophy and what Chinese educationalists could learn and borrow from Western educational philosophy.⁵⁴

Having experienced the Second World War and the Civil War between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) during the 1930s and 1940s, the construction of Chinese educational philosophy was never professionalised and its development was eventually seen as being a kind of patriotism.⁵⁵ Therefore, Wu's studies demonstrate similar themes as Liou's, which consider the development of Western educational thoughts in modern China and Chinese scholars' attitudes toward the Westernised trend at that time.

2.3.3 Post-1990s Taiwanese educational historians' examination of the transfer of transnational knowledge

Since the 1990s, in addition to Wei-Chih Liou's and Mei-Yao Wu's contributions, other Taiwanese researchers of educational history, Tzu-Chin Liu and Jo-Ying Chu, have also examined the history of the dissemination and transfer of Western educational ideas into China and Taiwan since the 1890s.⁵⁶

⁵³ Mei-Yao Wu, *op. cit.*, 2005, 27-51.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Tzu-Chin Liu, *Nationalism and the Development of the Study of Education in Modern China, 1897-1919*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National

Tzu-Chin Liu's research not only mainly addressed the development of the discipline of education and the discipline of educational history in modern China from 1897 to 1919, but also revealed the relationship between these two disciplines and education reform in research and the teacher education programme.⁵⁷ Additionally, she explored some of the same findings as those of Wei-Chih Liou and Mei-Yao Wu. For example, she pointed out that most of the Western educational ideas disseminated in post-1910s China came from Germany and the USA and they were introduced, distributed and transformed at that time by Chinese students who were studying abroad.

In fact, these Western educational ideas were mainly diffused and translated into Chinese by the Japanese educational community before the 1990s. Apparently, the scholarship for overseas study supported by the Chinese government had a significant influence on this scholarly interaction. When scholarship receivers graduated abroad and gradually came back to China in the 1910s, they expounded what they had learned overseas to Chinese intellectuals and officials.

Compared to Liu's study, Jo-Ying Chu's interest mainly focuses on the development and influence of the dissemination of modern Western educational ideas about teaching methods in primary schools in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period from 1895 to 1945.⁵⁸ Like the research findings of Wei-Chih Liou, Mei-Yao Wu and Tzu-Chin Liu, Chu also demonstrates that the main Western educational theories

Taiwan Normal University, 2005); Jo-Ying Chu, *The Development of Western Modern Educational Discipline During Japanese Colonial Period and Its Influence on the Pedagogy of Public Elementary School, 1895-1945*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2011).

⁵⁷ Tzu-Chin Liu, op. cit., 2005.

⁵⁸ Jo-Ying Chu, op. cit., 2011.

disseminated in Taiwan during this period were German and American educational doctrines. The academic interaction also became frequent with the rule of the Japanese government. Therefore, these foreign educational thoughts were introduced to Taiwan by both Taiwanese and Japanese scholars at that time.

According to Chu's analysis, the German educational foundations included Johann Friedrich Herbart's educational foundation, and Eduard Spranger's Kulturpädagogik (Cultural Pedagogy), Persönlichkeitspädagogik (Personal Pedagogy), Arbeitspädagogik (Physical labour Pedagogy) and Heimatkunde (Local history). As for American educational thoughts, John Dewey's doctrines always occupied the mainstream in Taiwan at that time.⁵⁹ Similar to Liu's research findings, Chu also explores that foreign educational ideas were directly disseminated from Japan into China and Taiwan.

Among these foreign educational ideas, Herbert Spencer was a British thinker whose doctrines were introduced and discussed by Chinese and Taiwanese educationalists at that time, especially his two scholarly books, *What Knowledge Is of Most Worth* and *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical*.⁶⁰ This is because Japanese and Chinese scholars and officials found Spencer's utilitarianism claims useful when discussing what was needed to develop China in the early twentieth century. However, American and German educational thoughts were found to be more influential than Spencer's doctrine.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid, 99-128.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 21-22.

⁶¹ Ibid, 74-75.

When combining Liu's research findings with those of Chu, it can be seen that Japan always made a contribution for Chinese and Taiwanese intellectuals to stay abreast of the up-to-date development of Western educational ideas, even though more and more Chinese students graduated overseas and returned to China to support their contributions since the 1910s. Numerous foreign scholarly publications were translated into Japanese during this period, and then the Japanese version was translated into Chinese by Chinese scholars, who gradually became interested in these Western books and able to translate them.⁶²

Liu and Chu also demonstrate why Chinese and Taiwanese researchers always regarded American and German educational doctrines more highly than other foreign ones before the 1950s. The reason foreign theories were selected, successfully disseminated and transformed in the Chinese context at that time was that they contained the characteristics of nationalism and pragmatism, which Japanese and Chinese governments and scholars needed to improve their countries' education system and schooling.

After analysing studies of Liou, Wu, Liu and Chu, it can be seen that Taiwanese educationalists were not attracted to the topic of the dissemination and transfer of transnational knowledge between the West and modern China and Taiwan in the 1990s. Meanwhile, the topic of the development of the Westernised or Americanisation current in Taiwanese educational research and practices raised on the process of the transfer of transnational knowledge had gradually been discussed since the 1980s.

⁶² Tzu-Chin Liu, *op. cit.*, 2005, 33-35; Jo-Ying Chu, *op. cit.*, 2011, 74-75.

2.3.4 Post-1990s Taiwanese educationalists' reflections on the Westernised and Americanisation trend of Taiwanese educational research and practices

When the Chinese government was forced to suspend its isolationist policy in the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese scholars and officials expanded their long journey of learning from the West. Academic exchange had been mutual in the past, but now it became one-dimensional learning. Therefore, Chinese scholars began to question and criticise if borrowing and applying everything Western countries developed would be appropriate for China to implement its reform and if this learning model would damage the development of the traditional Chinese culture. Meng-Lin Chiang's reflection is a good example of this. He graduated from Columbia University and was supervised by John Dewey. Subsequently, Jiang served as the president of Peking University and China's Minister of Education. In Chiang's autobiography, *Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography*, he outlines how the Western current had a significant influence on modern China and changed the daily life of Chinese citizens.⁶³

After the central government retreated to Taiwan from China, academic development was still deeply influenced by Western countries. Simultaneously, the Taiwanese government supported numerous scholarships for postgraduates to study in the USA, which produced the Americanisation of Taiwanese research and practices. In terms of social sciences, Chung-I Wen and Kuo-Shu Yang criticised Taiwanese researchers for simply transporting Western knowledge and theories into their local research but never considering the lesson of domestication and indigenisation in the 1980s.⁶⁴ At

⁶³ Meng-Lin Chiang, *Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1947).

⁶⁴ Chung-I Wen and Kuo-Shu Yang eds., *The Sinicization of Social and Behavioural Science Research in China* (Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1982).

the same time, Po-Chang Chen and Chen-Tsou Wu also proposed that Taiwanese educationalists borrowed too many Western educational theories to examine their own educational problems rather than constructing a knowledge system based on Chinese traditional culture and the Taiwanese educational context.⁶⁵

After the 1990s, this lesson gradually attracted more and more attention to social sciences and humanities, including the study of education, when the concepts of globalisation and post-modernism became the mainstream in Taiwan. In the field of educational studies, more and more educational conferences and postgraduate studies began to consider this topic, and sociological concepts of internationalisation, globalisation, localisation, post-colonialism and cultural imperialism were applied to examine the trend of the Westernisation and Americanisation of Taiwanese educational research and practices caused by the process of diffusing and transferring Western educational knowledge in China and Taiwan from the past to the present.

Additionally, the history of educational studies had been adopted for half a century in Taiwan after the 2000s, so that numerous educationalists realised that they should consult the contributions of educational studies over the past fifty years to support the implications and strategies for the next fifty years.

For example, an international conference was convened by the Department of Education of the National Taiwan Normal University in 1999, with the theme of “*Educational Sciences: Internationalisation or Indigenisation?*” This aimed to review the process of introducing and applying Western educational ideas to post-1950s Taiwan and its significant influence on Taiwanese educational research and

⁶⁵ Chen-Tsou Wu and Po-Chang Chen, ‘A Critical Examination of Taiwanese Educational Studies over the Past Forty Years’, *China Forum* 234, 1985: 230-243.

practices. The conference papers presented at that time were subsequently collected and published as a volume,⁶⁶ and this led to the development of studies of educational foundation disciplines influenced by Western educational theories and contributions being gradually regarded highly by Taiwanese educational foundation researchers, including educational philosophers, educational historians and educational sociologists.

In terms of the discipline of educational philosophy, when researchers examined the development of these studies in post-1950s Taiwan, they also considered the influence of Western educational philosophers' thoughts and doctrines on the studies of their Taiwanese counterparts.⁶⁷ German Pedagogy, British Analytic Philosophy and John Dewey's doctrines were the mainstream of foreign educationalists' work, and these had been regarded highly in Taiwan in the past.⁶⁸ Therefore, educational philosophers attempted to clarify the contribution and influence of these three doctrines on the construction of the knowledge system of Taiwanese educational philosophy, and this will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

⁶⁶ Shen-Keng Yang ed., *Educational Sciences: Internationalisation and Indigenisation* (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih, 1999).

⁶⁷ Yung-Ming Shu, 'The Development of Educational Philosophy in Taiwan: Measurement between Internationalisation and Indigenisation', in *Educational Sciences: Internationalisation and Indigenisation*, ed. Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih, 1999), 249-275; Yung-Ming Shu, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Educational Philosophy in Taiwan', *Journal of Education Research* 70, 2000: 54-62; Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Educational Philosophy as a Discipline in Taiwan from 1949 to 2005', *Educational Resources and Research* 66, 2005: 1-24; Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'One Hundred Years of Philosophy of Education in Chinese Society: A Sketch', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011a), 327-370.

⁶⁸ Wei-Chih Liou, op. cit., 2010, 21-26.

Compared to the significant influence of Western philosophy on education and sociology of education studies, Taiwanese educational historians had fewer opportunities to interact with foreign educational history communities on a scholarly basis. Therefore, the trend of Westernisation and Americanisation was never discussed by Taiwanese educational historians until after the 1950s. Among these studies, Yu-Wen Chou introduced the development of American and British educational historiography to the Taiwanese educational history community,⁶⁹ while the development of Taiwanese educational history studies was still not influenced by the West. The analysis will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

Taiwanese educational sociologists participated in numerous discussions and reflections compared to educational philosophers and educational historians. In the 1990s, San-San Shen employed the dependency theory to demonstrate that Taiwanese educationalists and educational sociologists often borrowed foreign scholars' perspectives and doctrines to examine Taiwanese educational problems.⁷⁰ After Shen, more and more Taiwanese educational sociologists begin to reflect on the lesson supported by Shen when they retraced the development of sociology of education studies in post-1950s Taiwan. However, whether Taiwanese educational sociologists should construct theories and knowledge systems based on their own

⁶⁹ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Study of Historiography of Education in the UK, 1868-1993', *Bulletin of National Taiwan Normal University* 39, 1994: 63-111; Yu-Wen Chou, 'Development of Historiography of Education in America from 1842 to 1999: A Survey', *Journal of the National Institute for Compilation and Translation* 29, no. 2 (2000): 229-267.

⁷⁰ San-San Shen, 'Taiwan Educational Development: From Perspectives of Theories of Modernisation and Dependency', in *Education reform: From Tradition to Postmodernism*, ed. Chinese Taipei Comparative Education Society (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1996), 137-160; San-San Shen, 'Reflection on the Development of the Status of Sociology of Education', in *Educational Sciences: Internationalisation and Indigenisation*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih, 1999), 357-377.

culture and heritage or re-contextualise foreign theories into the Taiwanese context is still a subject for debate⁷¹ among Taiwanese educational sociologists, and this will be further analysed in Chapter Six.

2.4 Modern Japanese educationalists' reflection on the Westernised trend and Americanisation of educational studies in Japan

The theme of Section 2.3 was to retrace the history of the transfer of transnational knowledge from the West to modern China and Taiwan, and the development of the Westernised and Americanisation trend in Taiwanese educational research and practices.

In fact, Western advanced knowledge and educational studies have had a significant influence on East Asian countries, including China, Hong Kong, Japan, Macau, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, for at least two hundred years, even though Confucianism has been rooted in these countries for more than two thousand years.⁷² As East Asian educationalists, Taiwanese educationalists have also learned the same lessons and attempted to reflect this Westernised trend.

Japan was forced to suspend its isolationism policy in the mid-1850s, and subsequently, the Japanese government introduced numerous reforms to learn from the West from 1885. This revolution is usually referred to as the Meiji Restoration.

⁷¹ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Sociology of Education in Taiwan', in *Educational Sciences: Internationalisation and Indigenisation*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih, 1999), 283-345; Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, 'The Retrospect of Sociology of Education in Taiwan', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011), 405-446.

⁷² Douglas Smith, 'Foundations of Modern Chinese Education and the Taiwan Experience', in *The Confucian Continuum: Educational Modernisation in Taiwan*, ed. Douglas Smith (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 17-21.

Therefore, Japan is considered to have been the first modernised country in Asia because of its Westernised movement. During this period, Japanese scholars transported huge volumes of Western knowledge and translated numerous Western publications, which were gradually introduced and translated in Mandarin by Chinese scholars to reflect the development of the West.

In fact, the Japanese culture originated in China and Japan was also deeply influenced by Confucianism. Therefore, when the Japanese government and scholars transformed their learning to Western philosophies and civilisation, they also faced the problem of accommodating them.⁷³ In other words, learning to think and behave like Westerners became an important task for the Japanese at that time.

Although more and more Japanese scholars have reflected the influence of this Westernised and Americanisation current on the development of educational studies in Japan for the past several decades,⁷⁴ Western educational studies are still regarded highly and borrowed largely by the Japanese educational academic community, as well as Taiwanese educationalists.

⁷³ Inazo Nitobe, 'Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilisation', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), 1-24; Yoko Yamasaki, 'The Impact of Western Progressive Educational Ideas in Japan: 1868-1940', *History of Education* 39, no. 5 (2010): 575-588.

⁷⁴ Kumaji Yoshida, 'European and American Influences in Japanese Education', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), 25-55; Eijiro Inatomi, 'Japanese Culture and Its Education', *New Era* 54, no. 4 (1973): 79-82; Teruhisa Horio, Educational Thought and Ideology in *Modern Japan: State Authority and Intellectual Freedom*, trans. by Steven Platzer (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988).

2.5 Western educationalists' consideration of the dissemination and transfer of transnational knowledge

The distribution of Western educational knowledge in Taiwan and Japan and the influence of the Westernised current, as criticised and considered by educationalists from these two countries, will be examined in the last two sections. Western educational historians' consideration of the diffusion and transition of transnational knowledge will be illustrated in this section, and the Westernised trend of educational studies across the globe will be explored, especially the influence of America and Britain. Finally, Australia and New Zealand will be taken as examples to discuss their development of American and British educational studies.

2.5.1 Western educational historians' contributions and reflections

Western educational historians used to host academic conferences and publish supplementary journals for educationalists to examine and criticise the transmission and transformation of knowledge from learned to learner. For example, the biennial conference theme of the Canadian History of Education Association in 2006 was *The Educational Past: From Margin to Centre*, which mainly explored the flow of educational knowledge from the centre to the periphery from a historical perspective and approach.⁷⁵

In addition, *Paedagogica Historica*, the journal of educational history, twice published a supplementary issue about the flow and transfer of knowledge. The 16th International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) was held in Lisbon for the first time in 1993 with a theme of *Education Encounters Peoples and Cultures: The Colonial Experience (16th-20th centuries)*, and the presenters' articles

⁷⁵ Peter Rushbrook, 'Guest Editorial', *History of Education Review* 41, no. 2 (2012): 88.

were subsequently collected and published as a volume in 1995.⁷⁶ In addition to introducing the history of colonial education, other sections of this volume explained the background and experience of colonial education by regions, including Europe, Africa, Asia, Oceania and North-America. It was mentioned in the editorial that the purpose of this conference was to encourage educationalists to reflect on the role of education among the peoples and cultures across the globe, and the other aim was to attract more educationalists to consider the history of colonial education.⁷⁷

The second supplementary issue in 2009 discussed the diffusion of knowledge from the centre to the periphery under the theme of *Empires Overseas and Empires at Home*. These collected journal articles were presented at the 29th ISCHE annual conference organised in Hamburg in 2007 with the aim of improving the understanding of different approaches to researching the extent to which education has historically contributed to social change in empires overseas and empires at home.⁷⁸

In fact, a link can be found between the transition of theories and perspectives from the discussion of colonialism in 1995 to the consideration of post-colonialism and transnationalism in 2009, and this link demonstrates educational historians' durative concern by applying different theories and perspectives. In addition, educational

⁷⁶ António Nóvoa, 'Endnote: Empires Overseas and Empires at Home', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 817.

⁷⁷ António Nóvoa, Marc Depaepe and Erwin Johanningmeier, 'Preface', in *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*, eds. António Nóvoa, Marc Depaepe and Erwin Johanningmeier (Gent: C. S. H. P., 1995), 9-10.

⁷⁸ Joyce Goodman, Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, 'Introduction-'Empires Overseas' and 'Empires at Home': Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 695.

historians also claimed that colonial discourses were made and remade rather than being simply transferred or imposed by means of geographic connections.⁷⁹

Therefore, this trend reflected the fact that the development of the expansion and networking of transnational educational knowledge across the globe gradually attracted the concern of more and more educationalists and various theories and perspectives were brought into this discussion. This meant that the previous argument of ‘the coloniser vs. the colonised’ and ‘the centre vs. the periphery’ framed by colonialism and imperialism were re-introduced in the current academic concentration of post-colonialism, cultural imperialism and transnational history.⁸⁰

Sections 2.5.2 and 5.2.3 will illustrate educational historians’ examination and reflection of the American and British influence on the process of distributing educational knowledge, specifically focusing on the development of educational studies in Australia and New Zealand.

2.5.2 Westernised trend of educational studies across the globe: Reflection of American and British currents

The transnational exchange of educational knowledge and its mutual influences were frequently seen in the past.⁸¹ However, American educational models, technological

⁷⁹ Ibid., 700.

⁸⁰ Marc Depaepe, ‘An Agenda for the History of Colonial Education’, in *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*, eds. António Nóvoa, Marc Depaepe and Erwin Johanningmeier (Gent: C. S. H. P., 1995), 15-21; António Nóvoa, ‘On History, History of Education, and History of Colonial Education’, in *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*, eds. António Nóvoa, Marc Depaepe and Erwin Johanningmeier (Gent: C. S. H. P., 1995), 23-61; António Nóvoa, op. cit., 2009, 817.

⁸¹ Walter Harry Green Armytage, *The German Influence on English Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); Jürgen Heideking, ‘Mutual Influences on Education: Germany and the United States from World War to the Cold War’, *Paedagogica Historica* 33, no. 1 (1997): 9-23; Pieter

educational and research contributions began to be transported, borrowed and learned more after World War Two when the global influence of the United States became more and more significant.⁸²

With the transmission of American educational experience across the globe, the assimilation of the American model was criticised by educationalists for its intervention in the recipient countries' construction of an indigenous knowledge system and heritage from the perspective of cultural imperialism.⁸³

In addition to the distribution of the American educational model throughout the globe, the UK also had a significant influence on Africa, Asia and its other colonial countries, and although these colonised countries became independent and autonomous in the twentieth century, the development of their educational research and practices is still deeply influenced by the UK, and this has been criticised by educationalists from the perspective of post-colonialism since the 1980s.⁸⁴

Dhondt, 'Transnational Currents in Finnish Medical Education (c. 1800-1920), starting from a 1922 discourse', *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 5 (2012): 692-710.

⁸² Robert Austin, 'The Global Good Neighbour: US Intervention in National Cultures and Education Since the 1960s', *History of Education Review* 29, no. 2 (2000): 84-105.

⁸³ Martin Carnoy, op. cit., 1974; Robert Austin, op. cit., 2001, 91-104; Michael Marker, 'Indigenous Resistance and Racist Schooling on the Borders of Empires: Coast Salish Cultural Survival', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 757-772.

⁸⁴ Stephen Ball, op. cit., 1983, 237-263; James Anthony Mangan, 'Introduction: Imperialism, History and Education', in *'Benefits Bestowed'? Education and British Imperialism*, ed. James Anthony Mangan (Manchester: The Manchester University Press, 1988), 1-22; Norman Atkinson, 'Educational Preparedness for Majority Rule in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa: An Analysis of Official Policies', in *Education and Imperialism: Four Case Studies*, ed. James Anthony Mangan (Hull: The University of Hull, 1989), 51-73; James Anthony Mangan, 'Introduction', in *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*, ed. James Anthony Mangan (London: Routledge, 1993), 1-5; Tim Allender, 'Learning abroad: The Colonial Educational Experiment in India, 1813-1919', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009), 727-741; Tom O'Donoghue,

Besides, an academic network had gradually been formed and connected the UK to its colonial countries in the colonial era since the nineteenth century, and the British influence on these colonised countries' educational settings still endures because of this network even though they have been independent since the early twentieth century.⁸⁵ These educationalists' analyses illustrate that the transmission and transfer of knowledge between the UK and these countries is still regarded as being from the centre to the periphery.

2.5.3 Australian and New Zealand educationalists' reflection of the Westernised trend of educational studies

Since the development of the educational research and practices of many countries had been influenced by USA and the UK, educationalists in Australia and New Zealand also began to examine and reflect on the American and British trend in their educational settings. For example, the Fulbright Education Seminar was held in Wellington in 1988, and the presented papers were collected and published as *The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand's Educational Policy, Practice and Thinking*, in 1989. These New Zealand educationalists highlight the significant influence of American and British educational experience on the educational settings of New Zealand, as well as those of other countries.⁸⁶ Most importantly, these

'Colonialism, Education and Social Change in the British Empire: The Cases of Australia, Papua New Guinea and Ireland', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009): 787-800.

⁸⁵ Clive Whitehead, 'Oversea Education and British Colonial Education', *History of Education* 32, no. 5 (2003): 561-575; Tamson Pietsch, 'Wandering Scholars? Academic Mobility and the British World, 1850-1940', *Journal of Historical Geography* 36, 2010a: 377-387; Tamson Pietsch, 'A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Global History* 5, 2010b: 423-446; Tamson Pietsch, 'Many Rhodes: Travelling Scholarships and Imperial Citizenship in the British Academic World, 1880-1940', *History of Education* 40, no. 6 (2011): 723-739.

⁸⁶ Logan Moss, 'American Influences on New Zealand Education, 1840-1945', in *The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand's Educational Policy, Practice and Thinking*, eds. David Philips,

contributors attempted to clarify how particular individuals have influenced the shape of education in New Zealand and how innovative approaches to educational issues in the US have had an impact on New Zealand's education system.⁸⁷

For example, numerous New Zealand educationalists indicate that American educational experiences were largely borrowed in the process of building a higher education system and developing educational research in New Zealand.⁸⁸ Therefore, the *History of Education Review* published a supplementary issue to trace the history of the significant influence of American educational experiences and models on the development of higher education in Australia and New Zealand.⁸⁹ On the other hand, the history can be retraced to the mid-nineteenth century, when universities and colleges were founded throughout Australia and New Zealand in the context of expanding the British Empire. Therefore, the British influence by the formation of a profound academic network has endured in these two countries' higher education.⁹⁰

Geoff Lealand and Geraldine McDonald (New Zealand: NZ-US Educational Foundation and NZ Council for Educational Research, 1989), 34-49.

⁸⁷ David Philips, 'Preface', in *The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand's Educational Policy, Practice and Thinking*, eds. David Philips, Geoff Lealand and Geraldine McDonald (New Zealand: NZ-US Educational Foundation and NZ Council for Educational Research, 1989), 5.

⁸⁸ Sue Middleton, 'American Influences on New Zealand Sociology of Education, 1950-1988', in *The Impact of American Ideas on New Zealand's Educational Policy, Practice and Thinking*, eds. David Philips, Geoff Lealand and Geraldine McDonald (New Zealand: NZ-US Educational Foundation and NZ Council for Educational Research, 1989), 50-69; Sue Middleton, *Educating Researchers: New Zealand Education PhDs, 1948-1998* (New Zealand: New Zealand Association for Research in Education, 2001); Sue Middleton, 'The Place of Theory: Locating the New Zealand "Education" PhD Experience, 1948-1998', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 28, no. 1 (2007): 69-87.

⁸⁹ Hannah Forsyth, 'Academic Work in Australian Universities in the 1940s and 1950s', *History of Education Review* 39, no. 1 (2010): 40-52; Wayne Urban, 'Australia and New Zealand through American Eyes: The "Eyes" Have It', *History of Education Review* 39, no. 1 (2010): 53-58.

⁹⁰ Maxine Stephenson, 'Learning about Empire and the Imperial Education Conferences in the Early Twentieth Century: Creating Cohesion or Demonstrating Difference?', *History of Education Review*

However, the negative effect of the American and British trend on the education systems of Australia and New Zealand is also investigated and criticised, including making it difficult to identify their own heritage, construct an indigenous knowledge system or asymmetrically develop the transmission of educational knowledge.⁹¹

Examining the educational development and experience of Australian and New Zealand and their educationalists' reflections of the American and British Westernised trend can help to clarify the research questions when discussing the transfer and dissemination of transnational knowledge.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has mainly examined the contributions and discussions of educationalists related to the transfer and influence of transnational knowledge. This involved the transformation of the theories, perspectives and research approaches employed in the discussion of the dissemination of knowledge from the transmitter to the recipient, including colonialism, imperialism, the dependency theory, post-colonialism, cultural imperialism, transnationalism and transnational history.

In addition, different explanations of these theories conducted by social scientists and humanities researchers showed that the dissemination of transnational knowledge from the subject to the object was usually considered to be a relationship of

39, no. 2 (2010): 24-35; Geoffrey Sherington, 'Empire, State and Public Purpose in the Founding of Universities and Colleges in the Antipodes', *History of Education Review* 39, no. 2 (2010): 36-51.

⁹¹ John Hjalmar Jensen, 'Cultural Imperialism in New Zealand Secondary Education and the Struggle for a New Zealand Educational Identity', in *Educational and Imperialism: Four Case Studies*, ed. James Anthony Mangan (Hull: The University of Hull, 1989), 35-50; Jean Ely, 'The Centralisation of a Public System of Education in Colonial New South Wales: The Fate of Two Ideas Transmitted from Imperial Core to Colonial Periphery', *History of Education Review* 32, no. 2 (2003): 46-65.

subordination and power, and researchers defined them as colonisers and colonised, centre and periphery, the dominant and the marginalised, and learner and learned. Therefore, in the process of learning and borrowing foreign technology, philosophies and civilisations, the Western or American trend was criticised and reflected in Taiwan, Japan and other Asian countries, which is demonstrated by educationalists' studies presented in Section 2.3 to Section 2.5. The key question that was always argued was whether researchers should construct their own indigenous theories and knowledge system or re-contextualise these foreign doctrines and perspectives.

On the other hand, having examined these cases, two reasons can be identified for regarding these foreign educational contributions as being superior, distributing them abroad and making them attractive to recipient countries. Firstly, support for learners addressed certain needs of the economic sector and its suitability vis-à-vis the indigenous heritage.⁹² For example, Western educational contributions were always considered to be what the recipient countries needed, so they borrowed and transported Western educational thoughts and policies. Secondly, the transferred models also needed to be generally compatible with the indigenous educational heritage.⁹³ In other words, when the Western educational theories and doctrines were successfully domesticated into the Chinese and Taiwanese context, they were considered, applied and diffused more than others.

Academic reference groups always played a significant role in the process of academic exchange and knowledge dissemination.⁹⁴ Taiwanese educationalists with British study experience will be regarded as one such academic community in

⁹² Thomas Eisemon, *op. cit.*, 1874, 55.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

Chapters Four to Six, in which their role as mediator to introduce and transfer the British foundation of educational disciplines into post-1970s Taiwanese educational research and practices will be examined.

Chapter 3: Historical development of educational studies in modern China and Taiwan

3.1 Introduction

This chapter has two research aims, the first of which is to frame some concrete concepts and increase the understanding of the distribution of Western educational knowledge in pre-1970s China and Taiwan and the transformation of Western educational theories into Chinese and Taiwanese educational research and schooling before engaging in a further discussion in the next three chapters. The continuity of time and space will be closely connected between the pre-1970s background and the post-1970s development by examining the key factors and the past context. Secondly, the development of the professionalisation of educational studies in Taiwan before the 1970s will be retraced as a basis for a further discussion in the subsequent chapters from four to six.

The professionalisation of educational studies has generally been examined from two perspectives, the first of which related to the research field. For example, when this topic was argued by British educational historians, they criticised the influence of internal conditions and the external context of the development of the professionalisation of educational studies.¹ They also considered the contribution made by the establishment and development of educational disciplines to educational studies.² Secondly, the study of education was also observed as a university subject. For example, the process of professionalisation was argued by examining the

¹ William Richardson, 'Educational Studies in the United Kingdom', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 50, no. 1 (2002): 3-56.

² Gary McCulloch, "Disciplines Contributing to Education"? Educational Studies and the Disciplines', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 50, no. 1 (2002): 100-119.

transformation of this subject in higher education,³ and debated by analysing the creation and development of the educational professor and teacher training courses in higher education.⁴ Therefore, the implication of British educational studies' contribution to the argument of the professionalisation of educational studies in Taiwan will be discussed in terms of these two distinctions.

It is clear from earlier research that the establishment and demand of teacher training courses in higher education and the transformation of laws and regulations pertaining to teacher education have had a significant impact on the history of educational studies. The massive expansion of the number of teacher training courses in universities and colleges was accompanied by a huge increase in the number of educational researchers, which led to the foundation and expansion of professional societies and academic journals. Meanwhile, educationalists also began to develop theoretical research to support their accounts for empirical studies and educational practices. Additionally, the study of education was gradually divided into numerous disciplines, including comparative education, administration and management, curriculum studies, and foundation theories, and at the same time, engaged in interdisciplinary cooperation with other fields, such as psychology, philosophy, history and sociology.

³ Fred Clarke, 'The Study of Education', in *Essays in the Politics of Education*, ed. Fred Clarke (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 132-144; John William Tibble, 'The Development of the Study of Education', in *The Study of Education*, ed. John William Tibble (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 1-28; John William Tibble, 'The Development of the Study of Education', in *An Introduction to the Study of Education: An Outline for the Student*, ed. John William Tibble (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), 5-17; Brian Simon, 'The Study of Education as a University Subject in Britain', *Studies in Higher Education* 8, no. 1 (1983): 1-13; Richard Aldrich and David Crook, 'Education as a University Subject in England: An Historical Interpretation', in *History of Educational Studies*, eds. Peter Drewek and Christoph Lüth (Gent: C. S. H. P., 1998), 121-138.

⁴ Peter Gordon, 'The University Professor of Education', in *British Universities and Teacher Education*, ed. John Thomas (London: The Falmer Press, 1990), 163-179.

In order to achieve the goal of this chapter, it is divided into five sections focusing on the distribution of Western educational knowledge in modern China and Taiwan before the 1970s and the development of the professionalisation of educational studies in Taiwan.

It begins by mentioning and categorising the political space and time into three parts, namely, pre-1949 mainland China, pre-1949 Taiwan, and Taiwan between 1949 and 1970. The history of the transmission of Western educational ideas to China is examined in Section 3.3, along with reasons for their broad distribution and application to educational practices during these periods in modern China and Taiwan, especially the dissemination and transfer of British educational knowledge in Taiwan before the 1970s.

This will virtually connect it to the next three chapters. In The process by which the study of education formed its professional status in Taiwan by establishing and proliferating departments and institutes of educational studies and founding academic journals and societies will be demonstrated in Section 3.4.

The transformation of educational foundation courses in teacher education programmes will be explored in Section 3.5 with an emphasis on the relationship between teacher education laws and regulations, educational foundation courses, and teacher training programmes in higher education.

In Section 3.6, the policy of awarding government scholarships for students to study abroad will be analysed because of its great contribution to enabling numerous

Taiwanese scholars to study for their doctorates abroad and bring Western knowledge and ideas back to Taiwan for several decades.

3.2 Transition of the political regime from China to Taiwan

The relationship between modern China and Taiwan is extremely complex and controversial. Taiwan was originally colonised by the Spanish and Dutch governments during the seventeenth century, and was subsequently ruled under the Qing Dynasty of China between 1683 and 1895.⁵ After 1895, the regime was transformed from the Qing Dynasty of China into Meiji Japan as a result of China being defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. During the Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan between 1894 and 1945, the Qing Dynasty of China was overthrown by Yat-Sen Sun, and the Republic of China (ROC) was established in mainland China in 1912.⁶

Based on its defeat in the Second World War, Japan was obliged to relinquish the governance of Taiwan in 1945.⁷ At the same time, China's Second Civil War took place between 1945 and 1949 and eventually, the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) was defeated by the Communist Party of China (CPC, Chinese Communist Party, CCP). In 1949, the KMT retreated to Taiwan to continue its governance of the ROC, while the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established

⁵ Jonathan Manthorpe, *Forbidden Nation: A History of Taiwan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 141-155.

⁶ Harry Lamley, 'Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism', in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray Rubinstein (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), 201-260.

⁷ Steven Phillips, 'Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwanese Political Aspirations under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945-1948', in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray Rubinstein (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), 275-319.

by the CPC in mainland China in the same year.⁸ The transformation of the regime between China and Taiwan can be seen in Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1 clearly illustrates the two different political regimes in China and Taiwan after 1949.

Table 3.1: Transformation of the regime between China and Taiwan⁹

	Year	China	Taiwan
The regime	17th century	Qing Dynasty	Spain: 1626-1642 Netherlands: 1624-1662
	1683-1895	Qing Dynasty	
	1895-1912	Qing Dynasty	Meiji Japan
	1912-1945	Republic of China	Taishō and Hirohito Japan
	1945-1949	Republic of China	
	1949-	People's Republic of China	Republic of China

⁸ Chen-Main Wang, 'A Bastion Created, a Regime Reformed, an Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970', in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), 320-338; Hua-Yuan Hsueh, *The Timeline of Taiwan: 1945-1965* (Taiwan: The Chang Yung-Fa Foundation, 1990), 78-101.

⁹ Jonathan Manthorpe, op. cit., 141-155; Harry Lamley, op. cit., 201-260; Steven Phillips, op. cit., 275-319.

Figure 3.1: Regime in China and Taiwan after 1949¹⁰

3.3 Diffusion of Western educational knowledge in modern China and Taiwan

This section addresses two key research purposes. Firstly, the history of the cultural exchange between China and Europe will be retraced to the late sixteenth century, and the process of the transformation of transnational knowledge from a mutual interaction to a single means of importation will be analysed in Section 3.3.1. Secondly, Western ideas such as Utilitarianism, Herbartianism and Pragmatism, were introduced and discussed in the Chinese intellectual community and disseminated

¹⁰ The Map between China and Taiwan, <http://apac2020.thediplomat.com/flashpoint-asia/%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E6%B5%B7%E5%B3%BD%E5%85%A9%E5%B2%B8%E9%97%9C%E4%BF%82%E7%9A%84%E7%B7%A9%E8%A7%A3%E8%88%87%E4%B8%8D%E5%AE%89/> (retrieved on Nov. 9, 2012).

across China and broadly influenced Chinese educational research and practices. This will be discussed in Section 3.3.2.

3.3.1 History of the knowledge exchange between pre-war China, post-war Taiwan and the West, from a mutual cultural interaction to a single means of learning knowledge

The academic exchange between China and Europe was initially processed by Western priests and traders in the sixteenth century. The Italian Jesuit priest, Matteo Ricci, who lived in China between 1583 and 1610, is usually regarded as being the first contributor among these culture mediators. During his stay in China, he not only introduced the achievements of European science, mathematics and philosophy to China, which motivated Chinese scholars and officials to learn Western knowledge, but also simultaneously translated the Confucian classics into Latin, which encouraged Europeans to consider Chinese culture.¹¹ The cultural communication between China and Europe subsequently became a cultural fever in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹²

However, for many reasons, including the continual widespread conflict of religious cognition, the Qing Dynasty government decided to implement the locked country policy of isolationism from 1723. In fact, the Japanese government had also implemented the same policy in Japan in 1633 for similar reasons. During this period, Western science and technology progressively advanced, while the Chinese

¹¹ Henri Bernard, *Matteo Ricci's Scientific Contribution to China*, translated by Edward Chalmers Werner (Shanghai, China: The North China Daily News, 1935); Michela Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court* (Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011); Cuo Zhang, *A Comparative Study on Eastern and Western Culture: Matteo Ricci in China and Other Essays* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2002).

¹² Jian-Qiang, Yan, *The use and transmission of Chinese culture in the eighteenth century in Western Europe* (Hangzhou, China: China Academy of Art Press, 2002).

and Japanese governments still refused to re-open the doors to their countries. In 1853, Japan was threatened by the US Navy, and was obliged to restart international trade with the United States, which stimulated the Japanese government to reform and learn from the West from 1867. This was called the Meiji Restoration, when Japan witnessed the West's advanced technology and weapons. After the claim of *Departure from Asia* in 1885, the Japanese government strictly monitored the progress of westernisation.¹³

The Qing Dynasty government decided to learn from the West after experiencing defeat in two wars, namely, the Opium War against the Victorian UK in 1840 and the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95. At that time, the interest of the Chinese government and scholars was based on Western technology and military force rather than Western educational knowledge.¹⁴ In terms of the current research, only five of the foreign scholarly books translated and introduced to China by European priests before 1895 related to European education systems and ideas, including the British educationalist, Herbert Spencer's *What Knowledge is of Most Worth*, which was translated into Chinese in 1882, whereas the subjects of most other books appeared to be Western science and technology.¹⁵

From 1897, the Qing Dynasty of China attempted to establish a modern schooling system, teacher education system, and a study of education by borrowing experiences

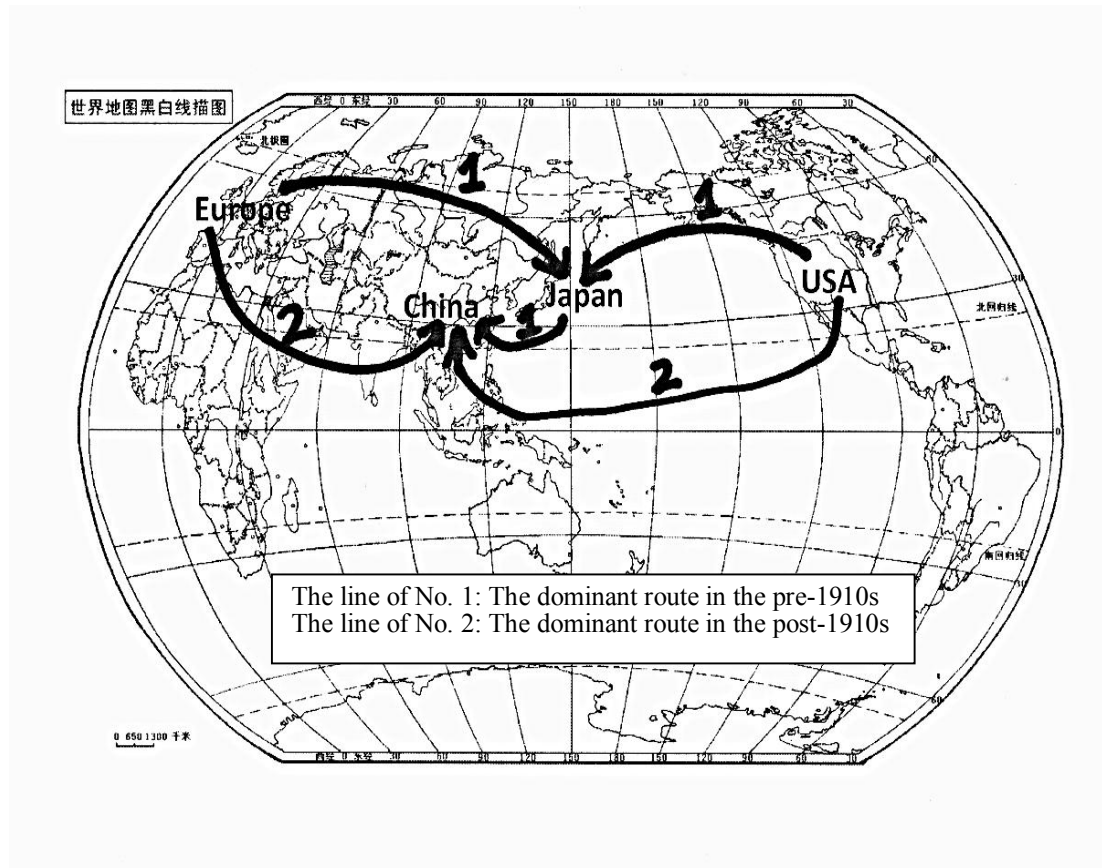
¹³ Inazo Nitobe, 'Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilisation', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Inazo Nitobe (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press & Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 1-24.

¹⁴ Ulrike Hillemann, *Asian Empire and British Knowledge: China and the Networks of British Imperial Expansion* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

¹⁵ Gu-Ping Zhou, *The Dissemination of Modern Western Educational Theories in China* (Canton, China: Guangdong Education Publishing, 1996), 4-5.

from the West,¹⁶ and at that time, the dominant foreign educational knowledge disseminated in China came from the USA and Germany.¹⁷ Figure 3.2 illustrates that there were two routes for the Chinese to learn from the West.

Figure 3.2: Diffusion of routes of Western educational knowledge into China pre- and post-1910



In the beginning, based on the fact that Japan had succeeded in learning from the West since 1867 and numerous Western books had been translated into Japanese, the Chinese government and scholars regarded Japan as being a successful westernised example and considered that learning from Japan would be the fastest approach.

¹⁶ Tzu-Chin Liu, *Nationalism and the Development of the Study of Education in Modern China, 1897-1919*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2005), 56.

¹⁷ Mei-Yao Wu, 'Reconstructing the 1934-1937 Debate over Modern China's Philosophy of Education', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 51, no. 3 (2005): 27-51.

Therefore, the books that had been translated into Japanese were retranslated in Chinese books and journal articles. In addition, from a geographical perspective, since Japan is closer to China than Europe or the USA, the Chinese government only needed a low budget to send numerous Chinese students to Japan to learn Western knowledge. The usage of language was another factor to consider. Compared to English, French, German and Italian, Japanese characters were originally based on Chinese characters. So, Japanese was apparently the easiest of all foreign languages for Chinese students to learn and understand. Lastly, China and Japan had a similar culture, and simultaneously faced the tide of Western culture and force.

However, Japan had been westernised much earlier than China, and the Japanese had selected the Western advanced knowledge they needed. Therefore, Chinese scholars believed that they could save much time by learning what they needed from Japan rather than directly from the West.¹⁸ In other words, the Chinese government and scholars believed that the knowledge Japan had selected from the West would also be what China needed, which is why the direction of the No. 1 line is remarked in Figure 3.2.

It was inevitable that some problems would arise when the Chinese tried to understand the Western culture simply from Japanese translations. Firstly, the Western books were translated into Japanese and then translated again from Japanese into Chinese and the content of the Chinese translated version may not have completely equalled what the original author had intended to express. Secondly,

¹⁸ Gu-Ping Zhou, op. cit., 1996, 10-56; Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Study of Education Development in the Republic of China in the Twentieth Century', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011), 259-261.

during the process of translation, some translators may have deliberately captured the information they needed or provided their own explanation of the translated books to use in China that had never been contributed by the original Western authors.¹⁹

Contacts between academic educational knowledge in Taiwan on the one hand and the West on the other developed in a broadly similar way to the relationship of the knowledge dissemination between pre-war China and the West analysed in Figure 3.2 and Section 3.3.1. Taiwan was colonised by the Japanese government between 1895 and 1945, so Western educational knowledge was usually introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese which also involved successive processes of translations into different languages with potential slippage in meaning.²⁰ After the Second World War, the political regime of Taiwan was shifted from Japan to the Republic of China. During this period, increasing numbers of government scholarship students finished their PhD in the USA and other Western countries and went back to Taiwan. Therefore, the contact of Western academic educational knowledge could be gradually understood directly by Taiwanese scholars, without further reliance on translation into and then from the Japanese language.

3.3.2 Distribution of Utilitarianism, Herbartianism, and Pragmatism in modern China and Taiwan

During the period in which Japan was regarded as being the mediator of Western educational knowledge, Utilitarianism was imported and briefly discussed there in the 1880s. Japanese scholars soon found that it was extremely difficult to apply

¹⁹ Wei-Chih Liou, 'Reception and Transformation of German Kulturpädagogik in China and Its Interpretation by Chinese Scholars', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 53, no. 3 (2007a): 121.

²⁰ Jo-Ying Chu, *The Development of Western Modern Educational Discipline During Japanese Colonial Period and Its Influence on the Pedagogy of Public Elementary School, 1895-1945*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2011), 73.

Utilitarianism to Japanese educational practices because this particular doctrine excessively emphasised the value of individualism, and this would be extremely controversial in almost all East Asian countries, which had been rooted in Confucianism for several hundred years.

In fact, Confucianism was usually regarded to stress the spirit of collectivism.²¹ Therefore, in the context of what was mentioned above that ‘At that time, the Chinese government and scholars trusted that what the Japanese had selected from the West would be just what the Chinese wanted’, the introduction of Utilitarianism also stayed at the translation stage without having any positive influence on Chinese educational practices. Thus, it can be implied that education reform is indeed an evolution, which should be changed gradually rather than revolutionised in a short time, especially when attempts are made to receive and employ new and fashionable ideas into an ancient and culturally-rooted society.

The theories of German educationalist, Johann Friedrich Herbart, soon replaced Utilitarianism when Herbartianism spread to other countries, including Japan, in the 1880s.²² Herbartianism was then imported into China from Japan, and became very popular in both Japan and China until the appearance of US Pragmatism in the 1910s. So, why was Herbartianism received and applied into educational practices in China at that time?

According to Chinese history, schooling was deeply influenced by the imperial examination, which was designed to select the best administrative officials for the

²¹ Gu-Ping Zhou, op. cit., 1996, 25.

²² Norbert Hilgenheger, ‘Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841)’, *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* 23, no. 3/4 (1993): 649-664.

Chinese bureaucratic government, and those who passed the examination were able to serve as central and local officials. However, the content and form of the examination were conservative and unchangeable, and stressed the importance of memory, mainly so that the Chinese government could deliberately control intellectuals' minds and thoughts to make them obedient servants of the government. This examination was implemented on an annual basis for a total of one thousand three hundred years, between 605 and 1905, and it had a huge influence on both society and culture in ancient China. Therefore, when the Qing Dynasty was overthrown and the ROC government was established in 1912, the task of the new government was to create a modern democratic and scientific education system and schooling to replace the old one.

Almost all the contributions of the German educationalist, Johann Friedrich Herbart, had been translated and introduced into China from Japan in the 1880s, while his notions were stressed with the establishment of the new government in 1912. In Herbart's opinion, educational studies are founded on the basis of psychology and ethics and the study of education is a scientific process. Because the development of Chinese schooling was deeply influenced by Confucianism and the most important value of Confucian notions was morality, Herbart was naturally mentioned in the same breath as Confucius when discussing ethics and morality. For this reason, the Chinese government began to establish the subject of citizenship and morality in this new schooling system.²³ Additionally, Chinese scholars paid much attention to his statement of the psychological and scientific trend of educational studies. Many professional societies of psychology and testing were established in the 1910s, and

²³ Gu-Ping Zhou, *op. cit.*, 1996, 93.

Chinese educationalists began to undertake their studies using a scientific method and psychological perspective.

When Herbart argued the teaching of schooling, he provided a pedagogical theory with four steps, namely, clarity, association, system and method, and subsequently two German Herbartians, Tuiskon Ziller and Wilhelm Rein, expanded Herbart's concepts into five steps, namely, embracing preparation, presentation, comparison, generalisation and application.²⁴ This was disseminated across the globe at that time, including Japan and China, and was commonly applied to teaching in schools.²⁵ Compared to the traditional teaching method in China, namely, indoctrination and memory, the Herbartian teaching method was regarded as being a completely modern scientific instructional system in schooling by Chinese scholars at that time. After the new nation was established in 1912, the government began to implement a compulsory educational policy. Therefore, the number of students attending school rose dramatically in a couple of years, and teachers were always in demand. Many teacher education courses were established in central and provincial normal universities and colleges and the Herbartian teaching method was introduced to young generation trainee teachers. Therefore, this new foreign instruction method was soon disseminated in every primary and high school in China with the distribution of these new formal teachers.²⁶

²⁴ Harold Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism: An Educational Ghost Story* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago, 1970), 229-239; Alan Blyth, 'From Individuality to Character: The Herbartian Sociology Applied to Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 29, no. 1 (1981): 69-79.

²⁵ Gu-Ping Zhou, op. cit., 1996, 57-101.

²⁶ Ibid, 78-84.

The Herbartian pedagogy was still the teacher-centred teaching method, and this was also another reason why it was popular in China at that time.²⁷ It could be observed that teachers were always deeply respected when examining the relationship between teacher and pupil in traditional Chinese school culture. Therefore, although the old way of instruction was limited in the usage of indoctrination and memory, it was still teacher-centred, and although the Herbartian teaching method was regarded as being a modern one, it still contained the same characteristics stressed by the Chinese traditional teaching method. It was believed that this idea of teacher-centred teaching rooted in Chinese minds could not be challenged and transformed overnight, so that the Herbartian pedagogy retained the most important concept of traditional Chinese education.

It is undeniable that Herbart's educational ideas became the most important topic in the Chinese educational community at that time, and his notions stimulated Chinese researchers to adopt a more scientific approach to educational studies. However, the contributions of Herbartianism into China's educational practices by some current Chinese researchers' studies should be criticised and questioned. For example, when considering the purpose and motive of the new government to establish the subject of citizenship and morality in schooling, it is difficult to connect the strong relationship with the influence of Herbart's ethical ideas. This is because the Chinese had been deeply influenced by Confucianism for more than a thousand years, and the essential spirit of Confucianism is the cultivation of morality. Therefore, it is likely that this subject would still have been established, even without the dissemination of Herbart's ethics across China at that time.

²⁷ Ibid, 86.

Additionally, modern China had experienced two world wars and numerous civil wars before 1949, so it was really difficult for the new government to establish a good education system and expand the new schooling pedagogy. Western educational thoughts may have been popular among the Chinese intellectual community at that time, while their practical contribution to schooling, teaching and policy-making may not have been applied as deeply and broadly as the current studies imply. Besides, the perspective that schooling instruction was always guided by examinations had been rooted deeply in every Chinese mind for more than one thousand three hundred years, influenced by the imperial examination. In his research, Tsung-Mu Hwang found that credentialism was still greatly regarded and the indoctrination and memory pedagogy was also very common in Taiwanese schooling after 1949.²⁸ In other words, the educational value and pedagogy were apparently never changed, even when modern Western educational ideas had been disseminated into China for more than fifty years. Therefore, the real contribution and influence of the Herbartian pedagogical method in Chinese schooling may be questionable.

In addition to the approach of the transmission of Western educational knowledge from Japan, Chinese central and provincial governments also began to provide scholarships for students to study abroad in the late nineteenth century. In the 1910s, the earliest students returned to China after finishing their studies and then played an influential role by importing the latest Western educational ideas into China. After the 1910s, the dominant options for Chinese students to study abroad became the USA and Germany rather than Japan so that Japan's influence on transferring

²⁸ Tsung-Mu Hwang, *The Education Rush in Taiwan since the Late 1940s*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2008).

Western educational knowledge into China gradually diminished,²⁹ which is why the direction of the No. 2 line is remarked in Figure 3.2. Besides, at that time, German Cultural Pedagogy and USA Pragmatism were mainly directed diffused into China by these new Chinese overseas students, and these two educational ideas also became the dominant Western educational knowledge, which gradually replaced the key role of Herbartianism in China after the 1910s.³⁰

Therefore, those Chinese who received official scholarships to study overseas made a great contribution to the introduction and distribution of Western civilisation and knowledge into China, especially since the 1910s. The history of the Chinese government scholarships for students studying abroad will be discussed in Section 3.6.

Cultural Pedagogy and Pragmatism became the dominant Western educational knowledge in China from the 1910s onward, and the reason these selected ideas became popular during this period is supposed to be because Western advocates provided some practical and substantial statements, which were just what the Chinese government and scholars needed.³¹ Ruth Hayhoe defines the useful knowledge for the Chinese at that time, saying that

²⁹ Gu-Ping Zhou, op. cit., 1996, 34-39; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 262-267.

³⁰ Gu-Ping Zhou, op. cit., 1996, 149-269; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 262-269; Wei-Chih Liou, op. cit., 2007a, 93-127; Mei-Yao Wu, 'The Reception of Foreign Educational Thought by Modern China, 1909-1948: An Analysis in Terms of Luhmannian Selection and Self-Reference', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 3 (2009): 309-328.

³¹ Gu-Ping Zhou, op. cit., 1996, 85.

the creation of modern knowledge categories had been important both for the introduction of advanced ideas from abroad and for the service of regional and national development needs.³²

For example, the emphasis of German Cultural Pedagogy was nationalism in schooling and US Pragmatism stressed the importance of democracy and science in schooling.

At that time, these were both also regarded as being the best medicine to make a weakened China strong again in the early twentieth century. However, the competition and arguments between Chinese scholars who studied in the United States and Germany were threefold. The first two debates took place in the 1920s, while the last and fiercest argument about whether US or German educational ideas could best be employed and applied in China lasted from 1934 to 1937.³³ In fact, it is commonly supposed that Pragmatism replaced the status of Herbartianism, and gradually had a greater influence than Cultural Pedagogy on modern Chinese and Taiwanese educational research and schooling for several decades.³⁴ Some of the reasons for this are discussed below.

Firstly, not only did John Dewey, the most important Pragmatism advocate, visit China from 1919 to 1921 and gave numerous lectures,³⁵ but Paul Monroe and

³² Ruth Hayhoe, 'Cultural Tradition and Educational Modernisation: Lessons from the Republican Era', in *Education and Modernisation: The Chinese Experience*, ed. Ruth Hayhoe (New York: Pergamon Press, 1992), 49.

³³ Mei-Yao Wu, op. cit., 2005, 27-51.

³⁴ Gu-Ping Zhou, op. cit., 1996, 129-269.

³⁵ Yi-Hong Shen ed., *John Dewey's Lectures in China* (Hangzhou, China: Zhejiang Wenyi Press, 2001a).

William Heard Kilpatrick also visited China in the 1920s. In addition to these three pragmatists, Dewey's other staff who taught at Columbia University in the USA also visited China at that time and told of their many experiences of the study of education, and provided a great many substantial suggestions for the curriculum, instruction and other educational practices in Chinese schooling.³⁶

Secondly, several Chinese educationalists were supervised by Dewey, and finally attained significant achievements in the academic community, while simultaneously serving as influential senior officials. For example, Shih Hu served as president of Academia Sinica in Taiwan, Hsing-Chih Tao was the most famous educationist in China, and Meng-Lin Chiang became president of Peking University and Minister of Education in China.³⁷ These educationalists made great contributions to the introduction and promotion of Pragmatism and Dewey's democratic and educational ideas in China.

It does not mean that all Western scholars' trips to China were successful. For example, the British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, was also invited to visit China from 1920 to 1921. However, when he talked about psychology, physics and logic, the audience complained that his lectures were too abstract and theoretical. After all, the Chinese government and people needed positive practices and skills at that time. Subsequently, when he returned to the UK and published *The Problem of China* in 1922, he mentioned the differences he had observed between Western and Chinese culture, and advocated the importance of modern schooling for China. This book

³⁶ Mei-Yao Wu, op. cit., 2005, 39-42; Gu-Ping Zhou, op. cit., 1996, 129-269.

³⁷ Yuh-Shin Li, *John Dewey and Modern Chinese Education: Prospects for a New Philosophy*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Ohio, USA: The Ohio State University, 2000).

eventually became popular in China, and Russell was once again highly regarded by Chinese scholars.³⁸

Most importantly, the essential characteristics and spirit Dewey attributed to China were democracy and science, and apparently, the Chinese government and scholars were persuaded that Dewey's notions and accounts of democracy and science were the major factors for the United States to successfully proceed with modernisation. Dewey supposed that Chinese schooling had to practice the spirit of democracy and science if it wanted to keep pace with the West.³⁹ As Wei-Chih Liou remarked,

It is evident that Dewey's influence remains significant and has continued from the China of the 1920s to the current Taiwan.⁴⁰

At the same time, the international political factor was always ignored by those current studies. China participated in the First World War from 1914 to 1918 and joined the Union of Allied Powers, which was opposed to Germany, a member of the Union of Central Powers. After this war, the Chinese government began to transfer its focus of academic exchange from Europe to the USA, and the interaction flourished more than before. For example, the number of US educationalists visiting China began to rise gradually since the 1920s, and Chinese government sent more

³⁸ Yi-Hong Shen ed., *Bertrand Russell's Lectures in China* (Hangzhou, China: Zhejiang Wenyi Press, 2001b).

³⁹ Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Education Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1977), 53-125; Qi-Zhang Kuang, *Pragmatism in China: The Deweyan Influence*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Michigan, USA: Michigan State University, 1994).

⁴⁰ Wei-Chih Liou, 'Historical Review of Articles on Educational History and Educational Philosophy Published in the Past Five Decades', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 56, no. 2 (2010): 22.

and more students to study in the United States.⁴¹ Based on the friendly diplomacy between China and the USA, it could be seen that US scholars, including Dewey, were naturally more welcome than German researchers in China.

As well as a critical examination of Herbart's contributions to China, the contributions of Dewey and other Pragmatists to Chinese schooling should also should be considered. For example, Kilpatrick's project method was very important among the educational ideas provided by pragmatists for China, since it was based on Dewey's methodology of reflective thinking. At that time, pragmatists selected several primary and secondary schools to conduct an educational experiment of the project method of schooling. However, these experiments only continued for six months to a year before failing.⁴² In fact, since the central belief of these pragmatists was based on child-centred schooling, which strongly challenged the value of the teacher-centred pedagogy rooted in Chinese minds, it was naturally not accepted immediately.⁴³

Dewey always stressed the importance of democracy for China, and attempted to employ the spirit and content of democracy in schooling. However, the political development was finally not as Dewey imagined it to be. The PRC government was established by the Communist Party in 1949, and martial law was simultaneously implemented from 1949 to 1987 in Taiwan, which was governed by the ROC. Therefore, just like Herbart's contribution to China, pragmatism was indeed discussed and argued in the Chinese intellectual community at that time, and these pragmatists also promoted the study of education in China. However, when the

⁴¹ Gu-Ping Zhou, *op. cit.*, 1996, 134-138.

⁴² Barry Keenan, *op. cit.*, 1977.

⁴³ Gu-Ping Zhou, *op. cit.*, 1996, 218-220.

pragmatists' educational ideas were applied to schooling, the influence of educational practices in China may not have been as broad and deep as proposed by current educationalists.

On the other hand, during the same period, Western educational knowledge was also imported and disseminated in Taiwan from Japan, and the content of these educational ideas was the same as those that were circulating in China.⁴⁴ However, economic factors were almost always considered as a priority under colonial rule, and schooling was used for political propaganda by the Japanese government.⁴⁵ Consequently, the diffusion of Western educational theories in Taiwan merely stayed in the introduction stage in newspapers and academic papers, but had no influence on educational research and practices.⁴⁶

After 1949, numerous Chinese scholars withdrew to Taiwan from China with the ROC government and then continued their research career. Educationists such as Pei-Lin Tien, Kang Wu, Chien-Chung Huang, Ya-Bo Zhao and Wen-Zun Wang began to broadly distribute Western educational knowledge in Taiwan.⁴⁷ Therefore, the virtual diffusion and transfer of Western educational theories into Taiwanese educational research and practices actually started from this stage.⁴⁸ However, compared to the

⁴⁴ Jo-Ying Chu, op. cit., 2011, 74.

⁴⁵ Mo-Sei Lin, *Public Education in Formosa under the Japanese Administration: A Historical and Analytical Study of the Development and the Cultural Problems*, translated by Young-Mei Lin (Taipei, Taiwan: The Green Futures Publisher, 2000). This Chinese academic book was originally from Lin's doctoral thesis in Columbia University, USA, in 1929.

⁴⁶ Jo-Ying Chu, op. cit., 2011, 75.

⁴⁷ Wei-Chih Liou, op. cit., 2010, 12-13; Shen-Keng Yang, 'An International Comparison of the Historical Development of Educational Philosophy', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 57, no. 3 (2011): 29-30.

⁴⁸ Wei-Chih Liou, op. cit., 2010, 12-13; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 269.

diffusion and influence of US and German educational knowledge in modern China, British educational ideas were never really considered by Chinese intellectuals. Before 1949, the thoughts of British scholars, John Locke and Herbert Spencer, had been introduced in China, although they still stayed at the translation and introduction stage.⁴⁹ During the period between 1949 and 1970, British educational ideas were still not introduced largely and widely in Taiwan. Although some scholars, such as Chien-Chung Huang and Kang-Zeng Sun, who had studied in Britain and obtained their doctoral degree at Cambridge and Leeds, had been teaching in Taiwan before the 1970s, their research concern did not focus on the transmission of British educational knowledge into Taiwan. It was only in the 1970s that Ching-Jiang Lin and Jiaw Ouyang began to expand this transmission.

Undoubtedly, in the process of importing Western knowledge into modern China and Taiwan from the nineteenth century to the present, not only did Chinese and Taiwanese educationalists and other scholars reflect on the relationship between Western ideas and Chinese traditional knowledge, but also Western scholars, such as Dewey and Russell, also considered this serious question. In other words, they considered whether Western educational knowledge should play the role of promoting the modernisation of the study of education and educational practices, or whether it should simply be a supporting actor to assist the progression of educational research and schooling in China and Taiwan. It was always a struggle for Chinese and Taiwanese intellectuals to balance Chinese culture and Western knowledge in the development of modern China and Taiwan. This will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

⁴⁹ Gu-Ping Zhou, *op. cit.*, 1996, 157.

3.4 Development of the professionalisation of educational studies in post-1950s Taiwan

This section describes the process of the professionalisation of educational studies in Taiwan from 1949 by examining the birth and development of institutions of teacher education, academic journals and professional societies. In practice, since the transformation of teacher training programmes and educational foundation courses in higher education have a very close relationship with the laws and regulations concerning teacher education, they will be specifically analysed in the next subsection.

3.4.1 Establishment of Taiwan's first department of education and first normal college in 1946

The KMT government established the Taiwan Provincial Normal College (TPNC) in Taipei city in 1946. In fact, the original Taihoku (Taipei) High School had been founded by the Japanese government on the same site from 1922 to 1949. In 1967, the status of the TPNC was raised from a college to a university, which was named the National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) and this became the biggest teacher trainee institute in Taiwan.⁵⁰

The first department of education was initially established in the TPNC in 1946, while the first graduate institute of education was created in 1955, independent from this department. The former provided teacher education courses for undergraduates to be trained as formal high school teachers and head teachers. However, the main purpose of the graduate institute was to empower postgraduates to undertake advanced studies and teach in higher education. In 1987, these two units were combined as the Department of Education of the NTNU in order to integrate their

⁵⁰ The history of National Taiwan Normal University, http://archives.lib.ntnu.edu.tw/c1/c1_1.jsp (retrieved on Nov. 9, 2012).

limited resources and achieve greater efficiency, and undergraduates and postgraduates were subsequently divided separately below the frame of the same department.⁵¹

In addition to the NTNU, the central government established two more normal universities to support high school teacher education courses, nine normal colleges to sustain primary school teacher trainee courses, and one education department under a common university with the aim of training civil servants, all before the 1990s.⁵² Subsequently, the enactment of the Teacher Education Act in 1994 enabled the establishment of institutions of education in common universities, including teacher education centres, departments, graduate institutes and colleges.⁵³

Taiwan's Ministry of Education began to publish *The Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics for the Republic of China* independently from 2005 because the statistics of teacher education had been published in *The Education yearbook of the Republic of China* before 2005. The data in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 comes from these two sources, and it is evident from them that whatever the education institute numbers or

⁵¹ The history of Department of Education, NTNU, <http://www.ed.ntnu.edu.tw/about/> (retrieved on Nov. 9, 2012).

⁵² Yuan-Hui Li, *The History of Taiwan Teacher Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: SMC Publishing, 2001); Tsuey-Lian Shen, *The History of Taiwan Primary Teacher Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 2004).

⁵³ Teacher Education Act, *Laws and Regulations Database of the Republic of China*, <http://law.moj.gov.tw/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=H0050001> (retrieved on Nov. 9, 2012); Regulations of Teacher Education Act, *Laws and Regulations Database of the Republic of China*, <http://law.moj.gov.tw/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=H0050007> (retrieved on Nov. 9, 2012); Shi-Wei Shu, *A study on the Enactment of Teacher Education Act in Taiwan*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Kaohsiung Normal University, 1998); Chen-Tsou Wu and Shyh-Chia Hwang, 'The Development of Teacher Education Policies in Taiwan, 1945-2001', in *The Reflection of Teacher Education Policies*, ed. The Society of ROC Teacher Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2002), 1-28.

enrolment numbers of teacher education courses, it could be found that these two trends almost reached the top at the same time. The development of educational studies flourished more than ever before because of the massive expansion in the number of institutions of education and the abundant demand for educational researchers in higher education after 1994.

On the other hand, normal universities and colleges also gradually lost their competitive advantage to the teacher education institutes of common universities because they were compelled to share the teaching job market from 1994.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Hsiao-Lan Chen, 'Taiwan: Trends and Agendas in Education reform', in *Education in East Asia*, ed. Pei-Tseng Hsieh (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 257-278; Pei-Tseng Hsieh, 'Taiwan: Examinations', in *Education in East Asia*, ed. Pei-Tseng Hsieh (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 279-301.

Table 3.2: Transformation of education institute numbers, 1998-2012⁵⁵

Year	Education institute level			Total
	Normal/education universities	Universities with departments of teacher education	Universities with teacher education centres	
1998	12	8	38	58
1999	12	38	50	100
2000	12	40	52	104
2001	12	15	52	79
2002	12	15	60	87
2003	12	15	64	91
2004	12	18	70	100
2005-07	9	9	57	75
2008-09	8	10	56	74
2010-12	8	10	36	54

⁵⁵ National Academy for Education Research, *The Education yearbook of the Republic of China, 1998*, 93; National Academy for Education Research, *The Education yearbook of the Republic of China, 1999*, 131; National Academy for Education Research, *The Education yearbook of the Republic of China, 2000*, 165; National Academy for Education Research, *The Education yearbook of the Republic of China, 2001*, 177; National Academy for Education Research, *The Education yearbook of the Republic of China, 2002*, 199; National Academy for Education Research, *The Education yearbook of the Republic of China, 2003*, 229; National Academy for Education Research, *The Education yearbook of the Republic of China, 2004*, 264; Ministry of Education, *The Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics for the Republic of China, 2005*, 188-192; Ministry of Education, *The Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics for the Republic of China, 2006*, 263-266; Ministry of Education, *The Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics for the Republic of China, 2007*, 321-324; Ministry of Education, *The Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics for the Republic of China, 2008*, 337-344; Ministry of Education, *The Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics for the Republic of China, 2009*, 355-362; Ministry of Education, *The Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics for the Republic of China, 2010*, 379-389; Ministry of Education, *The Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics for the Republic of China, 2011*, 335-347; The list of Taiwan universities with teacher education courses in 2012-13, [http://www.edu.tw/files/bulletin/B0036/101_學年度師資培育之大學一覽表%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.edu.tw/files/bulletin/B0036/101_學年度師資培育之大學一覽表%20(1).pdf) (retrieved on Nov. 9, 2012).

Table 3.3: Approved enrolment in teacher education courses, 1995-2011⁵⁶

Year	Teacher education course level			Total
	Departments of teacher education	teacher education courses	PGCE	
1995	6,179	2,190	1,350	9,719
1996	6,421	2,790	2,237	11,448
1997	7,544	3,135	3,173	13,852
1998	8,008	3,990	3,090	15,088
2000	8,477	5,435	2,850	16,762
2001	8,669	6,630	4,840	20,139
2004	9,859	7,270	4,676	21,805
2005	8,692	6,510	1,456	16,658
2006	6,912	6,890	540	14,342
2007	4,169	6,266	180	10,615
2008	4,149	5,608	0	9,757
2010	4,102	4,723	0	8,825
2011	3,968	4,730	0	8,698

However, it was not widely expected that the population structure would change so rapidly at the turn of 2004. As shown in Table 3.4, the crude birth rate in Taiwan decreased to below 10% from 2004 as well as the number of births. The low birth rate resulted in fewer and fewer primary and high school students year by year, and subsequently, a reduction in the demand for teachers.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Ministry of Education, op. cit., 2011, 367.

⁵⁷ Hsiao-Lan Chen, op. cit., 2013, 257-278; Pei-Tseng Hsieh, op. cit., 2013, 279-301..

Table 3.4: Statistics of annual birth numbers and crude birth rates from 1976⁵⁸

Year	Birth number	Crude birth rate (%)
1976	425,886	25.97
1983	382,313	20.50
1984	370,078	19.55
1985	344,101	17.93
1997	324,980	15.02
1998	268,881	12.31
2003	227,447	10.08
2004	217,685	9.61
2007	203,711	8.89
2008	196,486	8.54
2009	192,133	8.33
2010	166,473	7.19
2011	198,348	8.55

According to Table 3.5, the steady inclination of the percentage of candidates who could pass the examination as recruiters of primary and high school teachers almost stayed around 1% between 2006 and 2010. Thus, more and more education institutes were unable to attract students' interest because of the serious transformation of the job market, and eventually many teacher training institutes and courses were constrained to combine, transform, or close after 2004, when the number of educational institutes and enrolments of teacher education programmes could be observed to have significantly dropped from Tables 3.2 and 3.3.

⁵⁸ Department of Household Registration, Taiwan Ministry of the Interior, http://www.ris.gov.tw/zh_TW/346 (retrieved on Nov. 9, 2012).

Table 3.5: Teacher recruitment numbers and rates, 2006-2011⁵⁹

Year	Primary education		
	Candidate number	Recruiter number	Recruitment rate (%)
2006	35,264	233	0.66
2007	29,471	553	1.88
2008	29,155	472	1.62
2009	20,742	251	1.21
2010	28,749	447	1.55
2011	15,924	597	3.75

Year	Junior high school education		
	Candidate number	Recruiter number	Recruitment rate (%)
2006	40,985	2,182	0.66
2007	38,931	2,060	1.88
2008	37,298	1,472	1.62
2009	34,250	1,083	1.21
2010	42,423	1,381	1.55
2011	10,397	978	3.75

Additionally, the development of the professionalisation of educational studies in Taiwan was also indirectly influenced and has struggled with limitations and stumbling blocks for the past few years.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ministry of Education, op. cit., 2006, 187; Ministry of Education, op. cit., 2007, 233; Ministry of Education, op. cit., 2008, 251; Ministry of Education, op. cit., 2009, 259; Ministry of Education, op. cit., 2010, 275; Ministry of Education, op. cit., 2011, 94-95.

⁶⁰ Chuo-Chun Hsieh, 'The Critical Reflection on the Market Discourse in Teacher Education Policy', *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education* 5, no. 1 (2005): 119-157; Hsin-Fa Lin, Hsiu-Ling Wang and Pei-Hsiu Teng, 'The Current Situation, Policy and Prospect of Elementary and Secondary Teacher Education in Taiwan', *Journal of Educational Research and Development* 3, no. 1 (2007): 57-79.

3.4.2 Pei-Lin Tien's and Fu-Ming Chia's academic contributions to post-1950s Taiwan

It could be argued that the initial development of educational studies and the positive distribution and influence of Western educational knowledge to modern Taiwan after 1949 mainly relied on those Chinese scholars who accompanied the KMT government from China to Taiwan, rather than from the start of the Japanese colonial period.⁶¹ The achievements of Pei-Lin Tien and Fu-Ming Chia are outstanding among these Chinese educationists and they are usually regarded as being pathfinders for the establishment of educational foundation studies in modern Taiwan.

Tien gained his PhD at the University of Berlin in 1939, and came to Taiwan with the KMT government in 1949 to expand his educational career. According to Tien, he was deeply influenced by Cultural Pedagogy, and especially his essential belief was always based on Spranger's thought that 'the study of education is philosophy rather than science' and 'education is culture', which could be seen by several of his works.⁶² In the context that educational studies in Taiwan almost all followed the US paradigm of Pragmatism at that time, Tien's notions provided another means of educational foundation studies in Taiwan.⁶³ Tien also especially strongly criticised the westernised current of educational studies in Taiwan at that time, and from his

⁶¹ Wei-Chih Liou, *op. cit.*, 2010, 12-13; Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2011, 269.

⁶² Pei-Lin Tien, *History of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Cheng-Chung Book, 1975); Pei-Lin Tien, 'On Education and Culture', in *Education and Culture*, ed. Fu-Ming Chia (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 1995a), 3-11; Pei-Lin Tien, 'Education and Culture', in *Education and Culture*, ed. Fu-Ming Chia (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 1995b), 12-71; Yi-Huang Shih, *Pei-Lin Tien's Educational Thought and Academic Career*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2001), 37-42.

⁶³ Wei-Chih Liou, 'A Historical Review on Dissemination of German Pedagogy in China and Taiwan (1928-1983)', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 54, no. 4 (2008): 34-41.

perspective of Cultural Pedagogy, he asserted that the development of educational studies should be based on the country's own culture and nationalism.⁶⁴

It is universally believed that the most influential practices he performed were to establish the graduate institute of education at the NTNU in 1955 and inaugurate the academic journal, *Bulletin of Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University* in 1958, which was the predecessor of the *Bulletin of Educational Research*.⁶⁵ Based on his conviction of the two core commitments that 'the study of education is philosophy' and 'education is culture', this graduate institute of education he created became the only academic unit in which educationists mainly aimed to professionalise educational foundation studies at the early stage. It was greatly distinguished from the mainstream of numerous institutions of education in Taiwan at that time, in which researchers imported the paradigm of US empiricism and drew on its importance and application for educational studies.

As a result, because of Tien's insistence and effort, the development of educational foundation studies could be initially established and progressively promoted and in practice, Tien's intention, purpose and motive were virtually illustrated by his works,

In terms of the process of cultural history, the great philosophers usually had their notions of education and famous educators, such as Confucius and Socrates, were also cultivated by philosophy. Therefore, we have to agree

⁶⁴ Pei-Lin Tien, 'The Development of Educational Studies during This Year', *Education and Culture Monthly* 10, no. 11 (1956): 18-20.

⁶⁵ Wei-Chih, Liou, op. cit., 2008, 35.

with the fact that studies of educational theories or studies of educational foundations have a close relationship with philosophy.⁶⁶

Compared to Pei-Lin Tien, who contributed to the recontextualisation of German Pedagogy into the context of Taiwan, Fu-Ming Chia focused on establishing and developing educational foundation studies by retracing the Chinese classics and reflecting the Chinese traditional culture when the development of educational studies in Taiwan was criticised as being considerably influenced by the West.

Chia also returned to Taiwan with the KMT government in 1949 as well as Tien, and was then supervised by Tien and other educationalists until 1957. Subsequently, she obtained her PhD at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) between 1961 and 1964.⁶⁷ Although Chia acquired a master degree in educational psychology at the University of Oregon and her concern was educational testing, statistics and counselling at the UCLA, she changed her research interest to the study of Chinese classics and attempted to establish a knowledge system of Chinese educational studies when she observed the impact of the westernised current, especially from the US, on the academic community in Taiwan.⁶⁸ Therefore, she achieved her goal of a

⁶⁶ Pei-Lin Tien, op. cit., 1956, 18-20; Pei-Lin Tien, 'The Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University', *Education and Culture Monthly* 15, no. 9/10 (1957): 19-20; Pei-Lin Tien, 'Preface: The Research Interest of Our Graduate Institute of Education', *Bulletin of Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University* 1, 1958b: 1-2.

⁶⁷ Yu-Wen Chou and Ferng-Chy Lin, 'The Timeline of Prof Fu-Ming Chia, 1926-2008', in *The Conference Symposium in Memory of Prof Fu-Ming Chia*, held by Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan: 2008, 663-665.

⁶⁸ Shen-Keng Yang, 'The Contributions of Prof Fu-Ming Chia on Educational Studies', in *Fu-Ming Chia's Knowledge System of Educational Studies*, eds. Kun-Hui Huang and Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 2009), 1-15; Wei-Chih Liou, 'The Study of Fu-Ming Chia's *The Essence of Education*' and Its Meaning for the Development of Educational Studies in ROC', in *Fu-Ming Chia's*

lifetime with the publication of *The Essence of Education* in 1998, *The Studies of Personal Education* in 1999, *Epistemology of Education* in 2003, *Ethics of Education* in 2004 and the unfinished draft of the *Aesthetics of Education*, which was also published in 2009 after her passing.⁶⁹

Tien and Chia also experienced the struggle to develop educational studies in Taiwan, and criticised the impact of the western current on educational studies during their time. The strategies they practiced in response to the external context may have been significantly different, but they both made a substantially positive contribution to the studies of education in Taiwan.

3.4.3 Establishment of professional societies and the publication of academic journals in post-1950s Taiwan

The earliest academic educational journals were founded in the 1950s. These included *Psychological Testing* in 1954, *Journal of National Taiwan Normal University* in 1956, *Bulletin of Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University (BRIETNU)* in 1958, *Bulletin of Educational Psychology* in 1968 and *Journal of Education & Psychology* in 1977.⁷⁰ BRIETNU was the only one of these five journals with the main purpose of publishing studies of educational historians and educational philosophers, motivated by Pei-Lin Tien, and it was renamed *Bulletin of Educational Research* in 1997. Despite the impact of the paradigm of empiricism from the USA and the fact that more and more quantitative studies were

Knowledge System of Educational Studies, eds. Kun-Hui Huang and Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 2009), 88-115.

⁶⁹ Shen-Keng Yang, *op. cit.*, 2009, 1-2.

⁷⁰ Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2011, 276-277.

collected since the 1970s, this journal is still regarded as being the major representative of educational foundation researchers' means to share their studies.⁷¹

Since Tien stressed the importance and necessity of educational foundation studies, especially by the research approaches of philosophy, history, psychology and sociology, and especially on issues of Chinese educational thoughts and institutions,⁷² the majority of the edited articles in the early stage were written by researchers and postgraduates of educational history and educational philosophy. For example, nine master students passed their viva in 1958 and the first volume of *BRIETNU* contained eight articles from these dissertations. Although the acknowledgement claimed that one article was missing because it had too many words, the real reason was that the eight included articles were concerned with Chinese educational history, while the missing one was a study of the curriculum.⁷³ Therefore, educational foundation studies, especially of Chinese educational thoughts and institutions, were seen to be more regarded at that time.

On the other hand, the establishment of professional societies also relied on the professionalisation of educational studies. Many academic societies were founded in China before 1949, the most substantial of which was the China Education Society, which was established in 1933. Numerous Chinese educationalists came to Taiwan with the KMT after 1949, and continued to develop these academic societies. In addition to these societies given by China to Taiwan, more than twenty educational

⁷¹ Wei-Chih, Liou, op. cit., 2010, 4-6.

⁷² Pei-Lin Tien, op. cit., 1958, 1-2.

⁷³ Pei-Lin Tien, 'Acknowledgement', *Bulletin of Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University* 1, 1958a: ii.

societies were founded in Taiwan in the 1950s,⁷⁴ and an annual academic conference of educational studies was organised by these academic communities at the National Taiwan Normal University from 1953 onward.⁷⁵

However, the professionalisation of educational history and educational philosophy studies appears to have been insufficient in Taiwan compared to the development of educational psychology and educational sociology. In fact, an academic journal and society had been established by educational psychologists in China before 1949, and fifty years later, the Taiwan Association for the Sociology of Education was established in 1999 and *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education* was founded in 2001. There are still no professional journals and societies solely for educational history and educational philosophy studies, and in the opinion of some educational historians, the demand for the creation of an academic journal and society for educational historians and educational philosophers should be seriously considered despite the limited community of educational historians and educational philosophers in Taiwan.⁷⁶

3.5 Transformation of courses of educational foundation disciplines in teacher training programmes in pre-1950s China and post-1950s Taiwan

The modern Chinese education system was initially established between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century and the teacher education system was also founded in 1897.⁷⁷ Because the Qing Dynasty and Chinese scholars

⁷⁴ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 276.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Study of Historiography of Education in the UK, 1868-1993', *Bulletin of National Taiwan Normal University* 39, 1994: 98-101.

⁷⁷ Academia Historica ed., *The Chronology of Education in Taiwan* (Taipei, Taiwan: Academia Historica, 1990), 103.

borrowed from the German education system and imitated its experience, which was mainly influenced by Herbart's ideas of psychology and ethics at that time, the two courses of educational psychology and educational ethics were constantly stressed in all teacher education programme courses.⁷⁸ On the other hand, the reason the subject of educational ethics was always highly regarded by the Chinese government and scholars is that the Chinese culture is rooted in, and has been deeply influenced by Confucianism for more than two thousand years and the doctrines of Confucius and his successors emphasises the importance of virtue.⁷⁹ Therefore, it is easy to find that the essence of virtue in Confucian doctrines and classics was stressed and commonly taught in teacher education programmes in pre-war China and post-war Taiwan, especially in courses of the philosophy of education, history of education and other educational foundations.⁸⁰

In the second stage, the development of the teacher education system extended the previous frame and no huge changes were witnessed, even though the political regimes shifted many times between 1912 and 1949.⁸¹ After 1949, when the central government retreated to Taiwan, the experience of the teacher education programmes implemented in China was copied and employed in Taiwan. Historical documents illustrate that the subjects of educational history and educational psychology were still compulsory courses of teacher training programmes in 1950, while the subject of the sociology of education was established in 1963 and the subject of educational

⁷⁸ Tzu-Chin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 46.

⁷⁹ Kuo-Shu Yang and Hai-Yuan Hchu, 'Determinants, Correlates and Consequents of Chinese Individual Modernity', *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academic Sinica* 37, 1974: 1-38; Kwang-Kuo Hwang, 'Moral Face and Social Face: Contingent Self-esteem in Confucian Society', *International Journal of Psychology* 41, no.4 (2006): 276-281.

⁸⁰ Tzu-Chin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 57-58; Wei-Chih Liou, op. cit., 2010, 17-21; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 277-279.

⁸¹ Tzu-Chin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 59-60.

philosophy was founded in 1964.⁸² Therefore, the development of teacher education programmes and educational foundation courses during this period was similar to that in the first stage.

However, a new Teacher Education Law was enacted in 1987, and this replaced the status of educational foundation courses with other applied and practical courses, such as educational administration and policies and instructional technology and media. Most of the educational foundation courses were transformed from compulsory courses to selective ones, while the subject of educational history was no longer listed in teacher education programmes, which were governed by the Ministry of Education⁸³ as Yu-Wen Chou explained,

From the perspective of policy-maker, the subject of the history of education was not very practical or suitable for application like other educational courses. Besides, teacher educational programme students just needed to earn twenty-six credits and they would attain their certificate. So, this course was gradually marginalised since the mid-1980s.⁸⁴

Subsequently, the national teacher recruitment examination no longer tested attendees' knowledge of educational history, which caused a great many normal universities and colleges and teacher education institutes to gradually reduce their

⁸² Department of Education of Taiwan Province ed., *The Historical Documents of the Development of Education in Taiwan* (Taichung, Taiwan: Department of Education of Taiwan Province, 1987), 87-88, 94, 99, 494.

⁸³ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Transformation of the Subject of Educational History in Taiwan Teacher Education Programmes, 1897-1998', in *The Transformation of Education for One Hundred Years*, ed. Department of Education of National Taiwan Normal University (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin, 1998), 364-369.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 374.

support of this course since the 1990s.⁸⁵ This was the first sign of the struggle for the development of educational foundation subjects in post-1950s Taiwan.

The second phase of the struggle began in the 2000s because of the consistent fall in the birth rate, which can be seen in Table 3.4. The low birth rate resulted in greatly reducing the number of vacancies for primary education and high school teachers year on year as shown in Table 3.5, and the number of undergraduates and postgraduates enrolling in teacher education courses also dropped significantly, as illustrated in Table 3.3. Table 3.2 indicates how teacher training programmes and institutions were closed from 2004 and because of marketing and other difficulties, educational foundation courses became more marginalised than ever before compared to other teacher education programme courses, so that it eventually failed to attract college students and postgraduates to consider developing studies of educational foundations.

The development of the Taiwanese academic community was broadly and deeply influenced by the USA since the 1970s, such as the impact of the American empirical paradigm in educational studies in Taiwan.⁸⁶ In addition, the Westernised trend had greatly diminished in the Taiwanese academic community since the 2000s. For example, when assessing university researchers' accountabilities by credits, most university policy-makers encouraged them to present their studies at international events and especially to publish them in American academic journals cited by the

⁸⁵ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1998, 364-369; Tsou Wu and Shyh-Chia Hwang, op. cit., 2002, 1-28.

⁸⁶ Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Educational Philosophy as a Discipline in Taiwan from 1949 to 2005', *Educational Resources and Research* 66, 2005: 8; Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'One Hundred Years of Philosophy of Education in Chinese Society: A Sketch', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011a), 343-344.

Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), which caused a great many educational researchers and social scientists to conduct empirical research.⁸⁷ However, it was usually difficult for educational philosophers, educational historians and some humanities researchers to publish their local studies in these native-English publications, so a huge number of Taiwanese scholars began to criticise these academic games several years ago.⁸⁸

Another controversial policy was the pursuit of the university with the best performance by the Taiwanese Ministry of Education for World University Ranking conducted by Times and QS.⁸⁹ This encouraged a great many Taiwanese university policy-makers to provide more resources for the studies of natural science and science in order to attain more research funding and bonuses, whereas social scientists were usually required to undertake more applied studies and combine their research with more practice. When comparing these fields, it can be seen that the study of humanities was not usually regarded very highly unless they were strongly practice-orientated, and this aggravated the struggle for the development of educational foundation research.⁹⁰

On the other hand, whether educational foundation researchers should make an effort to establish their own academic societies and journals and a set of courses in higher education to progress the process of the professionalisation of educational foundation studies was still an extremely controversial subject.⁹¹ For example, when Yu-Wen

⁸⁷ Chu-Ing Prudence Chou and Gregory Ching, *Taiwan Education at the Crossroad: When Globalisation Meets Localisation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 205-220.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 205-220.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 183-203.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 183-203.

⁹¹ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1994, 98-101; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1998, 372-374.

Chou mentioned the struggle for the development of the study of educational history, he claimed many times that Taiwanese educational historians did not need to pay attention to establishing their own professional society and academic journal, neither should they advocate the inclusion of the history of education pedagogy in teacher education programmes.⁹² Instead, Chou made an effort to attract more attention from Taiwanese historians and Chinese educational historians, and he also encouraged educational historians to promote the teaching and research of this course in departments and institutes of educational studies rather than in teacher education programmes.⁹³

However, contrary to Chou's opinion, Taiwanese educational sociologists adopted a different attitude toward the necessity of establishing an academic organisation and journal for educational foundation researchers, especially in view of the disadvantageous strike of the Taiwanese government's higher education policies since the 2000s.⁹⁴ Therefore, the Taiwan Association for the Sociology of Education was founded in 2000 and the Taiwan Journal of the Sociology of Education was published in 2001 on a six-monthly basis.

Having discussed the different perspectives and practices of educational foundation researchers, the next three sections will be devoted to further examining the reflections and strategies of Taiwanese educational philosophers, educational historians and educational sociologists.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, 'The Retrospect of Sociology of Education in Taiwan', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011), 416-417.

3.6 History of the government scholarship programmes for overseas study in pre-1949 China and post-1949 Taiwan

In terms of the process of learning from the West in pre-1949 China and post-1949 Taiwan, government scholarships played an important role in encouraging Chinese and Taiwanese intellectuals to expand the number of scholarly exchanges and borrow Western academic contributions and experiences. For example, Yung-Ming Shu points out the importance of government scholarships for the development of educational foundation research in Taiwan and the interaction of academic exchanges between Taiwan and foreign countries,

Compared to Taiwanese researchers and postgraduates studying sciences and natural sciences, they usually had more opportunities to attain scholarships to study at foreign universities and research institutions. Therefore, Taiwanese government scholarships become more important for social science and humanity postgraduates when they were planning to study abroad. For example, a huge number of Taiwanese educationalists studied abroad with the support of Taiwanese government scholarships.⁹⁵

The history of the government scholarship can be retraced to 1872. At that time, the central Chinese government sent thirty children to study in the USA, as recommended and advocated by Wing Yung.⁹⁶ Yung came from Canton Province and became one of the first study-abroad students in modern China with the support

⁹⁵ Yung-Ming Shu, 'The Development of Educational Philosophy in Taiwan', in *Internationalisation and Indigenisation of Educational Science*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih Book, 1999), 272.

⁹⁶ Li-Ho Chu, 'The History of Chinese Students Studying Abroad', in *The Development of Chinese Education*, ed. Chinese Society of Education (Taipei, Taiwan: Fu-Hsin Publisher, 1977), 464-469; Xin-Cheng Shu ed., *The History of Student Studying Abroad in modern China* (Shanghai, China: Shanghai Culture Press, 1989), 193-215.

of American missionaries.⁹⁷ After obtaining his Bachelor of Arts at Yale University in 1854, he returned to China in 1855. Having observed his motherland being weak and invaded for a long time, Yung realised the importance of establishing government scholarships for Chinese students to study in Western countries to acquire new knowledge. Subsequently, he successfully persuaded the central government and provincial authorities to fund official scholarships for Chinese students to study in the USA, Japan and Europe year after year.⁹⁸ Five years later, in 1877, the first Chinese students were sent to Britain to study, and the cooperation between China and the UK began to expand.⁹⁹ However, this policy was soon suspended because most Chinese officials were conservative and bureaucratic and were unable to concede that China should learn from the West.

Having experienced massive defeat in war and invasion by foreign countries, the policy of study-abroad scholarships was again implemented by the Chinese in the twentieth century. In 1900, there was a war between China and the Eight-Nation Alliance and China was eventually defeated again. The US was the first of the eight countries to give China indemnity by which it requested the Chinese government to establish a scholarship, named the Tsinghua Scholarship, to send Chinese students to

⁹⁷ Thomas LaFargue, *China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872-1881* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1987), 40.

⁹⁸ Shu-Ko Chiang, *The Education System in Modern China* (Shanghai, China: The Commercial Press, 1934), 170-174; Academia Historica ed., op. cit., 1990, 321-324; Ching-Fen Lin, *A Documentary Collection on Chinese Students Studying abroad during Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945, vol. 1* (Taipei, Taiwan: Academia Historica, 1994), 2-5; Xi Cheng, *The Study on Modern Chinese Students Studying abroad* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Social Sciences Press, 2003), 1-4.

⁹⁹ Xiao-Qin Liu, *The Modern History of Chinese Students Studying in the UK* (Tianjin, China: The Nankai University Press, 2005), 21.

study in the USA every year.¹⁰⁰ This was another reason why more and more Chinese students studied in the USA in the twentieth century and the academic exchange and cooperation between China and the USA became more frequent and stronger than ever.

On the other hand, in order to attract more Chinese students to study in the UK to compete with the USA, the British government also followed the American diplomatic strategy to give indemnity to the Chinese government to establish official study-abroad scholarships. According to historical material, a total of 2,000 Chinese students were studying in the USA in 1920, while the UK only attracted 270.¹⁰¹ Therefore, the Chinese government made use of this scholarship to send students to study in the UK. Most of these studied medicine, engineering and other applied sciences. Besides, the Chinese government recognised the modern advanced technology of the British Navy, so some Chinese students were sent to British Naval colleges to acquire knowledge.¹⁰² However, there are no official documents to show any Chinese students studying the field of educational studies during this period.¹⁰³

In addition to the USA and the UK, the most popular country for Chinese students to study during this period was still Japan. At first, the Chinese government preferred to send numerous students to study in Japan rather than the USA and the UK based on certain factors. Firstly, Japan is geographically close to China, which helped the Chinese government to save its budget and enabled it to more easily monitor these students' performance. Secondly, China and Japan have a similar culture. In fact, the

¹⁰⁰ Xin-Cheng Shu, *The Modern History of Chinese Students Studying Abroad* (Shanghai, China: Shanghai Culture Press, 1926), 72-86; Xi Cheng, op. cit., 2003, 2-4.

¹⁰¹ Xiao-Qin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 348-389.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Japanese culture came from China, and is also deeply influenced by Confucianism,¹⁰⁴ which enabled Chinese students to rapidly overcome any small cultural differences. Thirdly, the Japanese language is formed from Chinese characters, so it was easier for Chinese students to learn Japanese rather than other foreign languages. Fourthly, the Westernised movement of the Meiji Restoration contributed to making Japan into a modern country, which also inspired the Chinese government to borrow successful experiences from its neighbour.

According to official records, the Chinese government sent most Chinese students to study in Japan before the twentieth century, rather than other foreign countries. Numerous female students were sent to Japan for normal education in the hope that they would acquire new knowledge and become primary and high school teachers in China's new education system, which was established in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ However, the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1895, and this stimulated the Chinese government to change its policy and it reinstate official scholarships for those who planned to study in the USA and Europe, so that most Chinese students studying in Japan were forced to pay their own fees. Naturally, Japan gradually lost its attraction for Chinese students in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁶

Table 3.6 shows the distribution of Chinese students who acquired official scholarships to study overseas between 1921 and 1925. However, although the official documents were not preserved or organised very well, it is evident that most of the 1,075 Chinese students studying in Japan had to pay their own fees and only a

¹⁰⁴ Yoko Yamasaki, 'The Impact of Western Progressive Educational Ideas in Japan: 1868-1940', *History of Education* 39, no. 5 (2010): 575-588.

¹⁰⁵ Xin-Cheng Shu, op. cit., 1926, 72-86.

¹⁰⁶ Xin-Cheng Shu, op. cit., 1989, 193-215; Xiao-Qin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 6.

few were awarded government scholarships. The total number of Chinese government scholarships awarded overall is not clear from these government archives.¹⁰⁷

Table 3.6: Distribution of countries chosen by Chinese students who acquired an official scholarship to study overseas, 1921-1925¹⁰⁸

	Country chosen by Chinese students						Total
	Japan	USA	Germany	France	Britain	others	
Number	1,075	934	127	89	29	328	2,582
Percentage	41.51%	33.85%	4.92%	3.45%	1.12%	12.70%	100%

At first, the main purpose of providing Chinese government scholarships was for Chinese students to learn advanced Western military knowledge and technology to promote the development of China's national defence. For example, the first students sent to Britain in 1877 by the Chinese government only studied expert naval knowledge and technology.¹⁰⁹ As already mentioned, recipients of the government scholarship were gradually permitted to study in other fields, and the most popular subjects included engineering, business, medicine, law and agriculture.¹¹⁰ Besides, it should be noted that only a few Chinese students went abroad to learn the subject of educational studies, especially to Japan and the USA, and the majority of those were females studying normal education.¹¹¹ This demonstrates that schooling in China needed the stimulation of Western educational knowledge at that time and there was a deeply rooted opinion that teaching should only be done by women.

¹⁰⁷ Xin-Cheng Shu, *op. cit.*, 1926, 229-230.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Xiao-Qin Liu, *op. cit.*, 2005, 83-154.

¹¹⁰ Xin-Cheng Shu, *op. cit.*, 1926, 232-256.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 129-131.

Although the central Chinese government retreated to Taiwan after 1949, it continued to offer official scholarships for Taiwanese postgraduates until 1955 and then from 1960 to the present day. Between 1950 and 1976, the favourite countries chosen by Taiwanese students for study were the USA, Japan, Canada, Germany and France respectively. However, Table 3.7 presents a very different picture of the distribution of Taiwanese postgraduates who acquired government scholarships to study overseas between 1990 and 2011 than Table 3.6. It is evident that the number of Taiwanese students in Japan had dramatically decreased and more and more of them were interested in furthering their studies in Britain.

The US government broke off diplomatic relations with the Taiwanese government in 1979, and this caused the Taiwanese government to transfer its diplomatic affairs to other countries in the 1980s.¹¹² Besides, the international trade and diplomatic relationship between Taiwan and the European Common Market gradually began to have more and more of an influence since the 1990s.¹¹³ Therefore, the Ministry of Education also began to offer extra official scholarships for those who were planning to study in European countries each year from 1994.¹¹⁴ Besides, English had become the common language across the globe after World War II and it had also become the first foreign language for the Taiwanese since the 1950s. Therefore, it is easy to understand why more and more recipients of an official scholarship chose to study in Britain.

¹¹² Tzu-Hsun Lin, *The History of Chinese and Taiwanese Students Studying Abroad, 1847-1975* (Taipei, Taiwan: Hwa-Kang Publishing, 1976), 541-542; Li-Ho Chu, op. cit., 1977, 471-474.

¹¹³ Huan-Shen Wang ed., *Studying Overseas Education: A Documentary Collection on Chinese Students Studying Abroad, vol. 5* (Taipei, Taiwan: National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 1980), 2200-2205; Ching-Fen Lin, op. cit., 1994, 1-5; Chu-Ing Chou, *Learning from Others: Special Issues on Comparative Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin, 2000), 8.

¹¹⁴ Academia Historica ed., op. cit., 1990, 328-332.

Table 3.7: Distribution of countries chosen by Taiwanese postgraduates who acquired an official scholarship to study overseas, 1990-2011¹¹⁵

Country chosen by Chinese students							
	Japan	USA	Germany	France	Britain	others	Total
Number	102	1,327	121	75	580	225	2,430
Percentage	4.20%	54.61%	4.98%	3.09%	23.87%	9.26%	100%

Table 3.8 illustrates the most popular research field for which government scholarships were offered to students to study abroad between 1990 and 2011. It can be seen that the Taiwanese government no longer only focused on acquiring advanced Western knowledge of national defence. Besides, 175 students (7.20% of the total) received a scholarship to study the subject of education, which was not very far from the number who received a scholarship to study the top six research fields.

Table 3.8: Most popular six research fields of Taiwanese official scholarship recipients for overseas study, 1990-2011, compared to those who chose educational studies¹¹⁶

Most popular research field for Taiwanese students								
	Social, Psychological and behaviour Science	Natural and life Science	Arts	Engineering	Medicine and health	Humanities	Education	Total
Number	389	251	231	204	202	201	175	2,430
Percentage	16.00%	10.33%	9.51%	8.40%	8.31%	8.27%	7.20%	60.82%

The government's scholarship policy promoted the expansion of more successful academic exchanges between pre-1949 China, post-1949 Taiwan and foreign

¹¹⁵ Ministry of Education, *Education Statistics, 2012*, 85, 88.

¹¹⁶ Ministry of Education, *Education Statistics, 2012*, 84, 86-87.

countries.¹¹⁷ It also made a significant contribution to recipients who were studying the arts and humanities, since unlike postgraduates who wanted to study science, who had more chance of being awarded a foreign scholarship to study overseas, most Taiwanese arts and humanities researchers, such as those in the field of educational studies, usually had to rely on a government scholarship to study abroad.¹¹⁸ This is why most of the interviewees in this research were able to obtain government scholarships for their British study.

As to the development of Taiwanese government scholarship for study abroad, Yun-Shiun Chen's study also criticises the ideology of this policy. In her research, when Taiwanese government is learning from the West by these scholarship receivers' overseas learning experiences, she observes many West experiences are just reproduced into Taiwanese context without selection. Therefore, she argues that the process of borrowing foreign ideas and policies shall be reflected and selected.¹¹⁹

The way in which government scholarships assisted Taiwanese educationalists to study in the UK and how the academic interaction between Taiwanese and British educational communities was built by the recipients of these government scholarships will be analysed in depth in the next three chapters.

3.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter has mainly demonstrated the development of educational studies in modern China and Taiwan from the late nineteenth century to the present day, and

¹¹⁷ Yun-Shiuan Chen, *Modernisation or Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Reading of Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Overseas Study* (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 81-154.

¹¹⁸ Yung-Ming Shu, op. cit., 1999, 272.

¹¹⁹ Yun-Shiuan Chen, op. cit., 2013.

has set the backdrop of the next three chapters to recognise the interaction of the academic exchanges between Taiwan and the West before the 1950s. Based on this aim, the chapter addressed two themes, namely, the expansion of knowledge between China and the West from a parallel cultural exchange to a single way of knowledge learning since the late nineteenth century, and the development of the professionalisation of educational studies in post-1950s Taiwan.

In terms of the former theme, it was shown how the impact of the external circumstances, including foreign countries' military invasion and the diffusion of advanced Western knowledge inspired the Chinese government and intellectuals to learn and borrow from the West. However, in the process of establishing a new education system in modern China, imported and selected Western knowledge was also employed in the Chinese educational field, while at the same time, numerous differences and conflicts gradually surfaced between these two cultures.

The modern Western education system valued the exaltation and pursuit of the guidance of knowledge in human affairs and the overall supremacy of knowledge-related achievements. In contrast, the spirit of the traditional Chinese education system devoted itself to the improvement of moral feelings and purposes, and did not regard the special kinds of collectively-accumulated knowledge as being an important guideline in different fields of action.¹²⁰

Simultaneously, Western educational ideas, including Utilitarianism, Herbartianism and Pragmatism, which were broadly distributed in China at that time were always

¹²⁰ Alexander Woodside, 'The Divorce between the Political Center and Educational Creativity in Late Imperial China', in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, eds. Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 458.

regarded as being popular and influential thoughts by numerous previous studies, while Western educational thoughts were criticised and doubted more and more by foremost educationalists, who questioned whether their influence on resolving Chinese educational problems and improving the Chinese educational environment was overstated. The Westernised current in modern Chinese and Taiwanese academic communities has been explored and discussed in this chapter, and it will be further criticised and analysed in the last concluding chapter.

As for the latter theme, the concern was not only to retrace the establishment and development of institutions of educational studies in post-1950s Taiwan, but also to examine the achievements of the foremost Taiwanese educationalists and the history of founding educational academic associations and journals in the process of the professionalisation of educational studies in post-1950 Taiwan. Subsequently, the struggle for the marginalised trend of educational foundation courses in teaching and research, teacher education programmes and institutions of educational research was discussed. The reason educational foundation subjects lost their mainstream status and failed to attract young researchers to engage in these fields since the 1980s was supported by citing some events, such as the decline in the birth rate, the re-enactment of teacher education law to promote the applied and practical orientation of teacher educational programmes, and the Taiwanese government's series of higher educational policies for the purpose of internationalisation.

Additionally, whatever was learned from advanced Western knowledge or borrowed from Western educational experiences to disseminate Western educational ideas into modern China and Taiwan and develop the professionalisation of educational studies, government scholarships always played the key role as a bridge to connect Chinese

and Taiwanese intellectuals as mediators to engage in more scholarly exchanges with the Western world. This chapter has reviewed the background of the Chinese central and local governments' establishment of study-abroad scholarships and the transformation of those official scholarships from pre-1949 China to post-1949 Taiwan. The way in which government scholarships assisted educational foundation researchers to introduce and transform British doctrines and theories of the philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education into post-1970s Taiwan will be explored in the next three chapters by analysing the interview data.

Chapter 4: Diffusion and implications of studies of British philosophy of education in post-1970s Taiwan

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Three, as this research background, mainly demonstrates the development of contemporary educational studies under Taiwanese educational context before expanding the analysis of the main contents, by tracing back the history of dissemination and transfer of Western educational knowledge in modern China and Taiwan, and by investigating the process of professionalisation of educational studies in post-war Taiwan.

Subsequently, according to the definition of educational foundation discipline in Section 1.3, Chapter One, it will demonstrate the transmission and transfer of British philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education into post-1970s Taiwan, chapter by chapter. These three coming chapters will not only concentrate on the history how studies and theories of British philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education were transported, distributed and domesticated systematically by those Taiwanese educationalists who experienced their British studying lives respectively in order from chapter four to six, but also criticise how far these British educationalists' doctrines and findings brought their influences on the application of Taiwanese educational studies and practices since the 1970s.

Therefore, the main task of this chapter will be to examine the development of the dissemination of studies of British philosophy of education in Taiwan since the 1970s, and criticise the influences and implications of the academic knowledge and doctrines of British philosophy of education, introduced by those Taiwanese

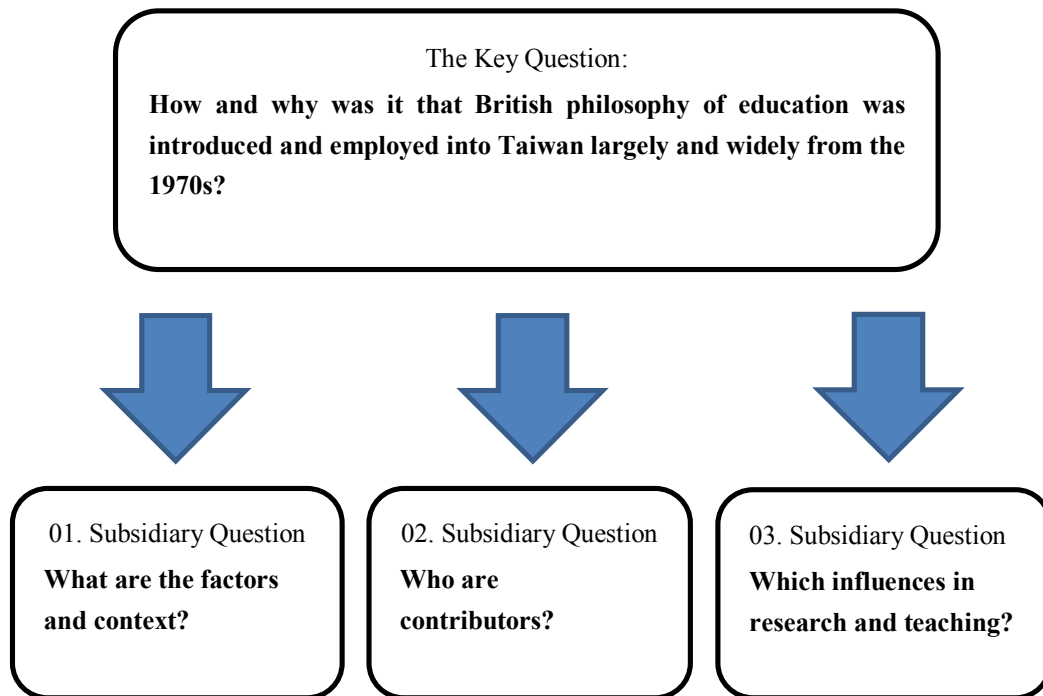
educational philosophers who once expanded their British studying experiences, towards progress of studies of philosophy of education in post-war Taiwan.

In the light of the frame of the research question stated in Section 1.2, Chapter One, four research questions in this chapter are explored.

- 01. How and why was it that British philosophy of education was introduced and employed into Taiwan largely and widely from the 1970s?*
- 02. What are the factors that led to the selection of particular versions of British philosophy of education being introduced into Taiwan in the post-1970s era?*
- 03. Who was involved in introducing British philosophies of education into post-1970s Taiwan?*
- 04. How has British philosophy of education influenced research and teaching in post-1970s Taiwan?*

According to the frame of the research question drawn in Figure 1.1, these four above questions also can be embodied into this structure, as Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: The relationship between research questions on the diffusion of British philosophies of education in post-1970s Taiwan



In order to deal with these four questions, six sections will be framed to become the main content for these questions.

In Section 4.3, for Taiwanese educational philosophers, they have debated and contributed to defining philosophy of education on the process of professionalisation of this discipline. In fact, the subject of philosophy of education appeared initially in teacher education programmes in modern China as early as the 1920s, as well as the another discipline of history of education. The study of education is an interdisciplinary field and educational studies are conducted commonly by borrowing theories, perspectives and research approaches of other disciplines of humanities and social sciences all the time. Just like educational historians' and educational sociologists' debates on their own discipline identifications over these past decades, Taiwanese educational philosophers have also reflected the essential question that

studies of philosophy of education should be regarded as one discipline of educational studies or one branch of philosophical studies. Therefore, in this section these arguments will be highlighted over the definition of philosophy of education by investigating the process of professionalisation of this subject in pre-war China and post-war Taiwan since the 1920s. As to similar lessons of the discipline identity, Taiwanese educational historians and educational sociologists have met and debated with Taiwanese educational philosophers in the past, and these will be also explored and criticised in chapter five and chapter six respectively.

In Section 4.4, it will not only concentrate on the first post-war Taiwanese educational philosopher, Jiaw Ouyang, who spent his research life in IOE between 1965 and 1969, but also criticise the process of how to promote the diffusion of knowledge of Analytic Philosophy from the UK to Taiwan contributed by Ouyang. In addition, Ouyang's contributions in Taiwanese educational research and practices by applying British analytic philosophers' perspectives and doctrines will also be examined.

In Section 4.5, Taiwanese next-generation educational philosophers' British study experienced will be explored, and how they continued Ouyang's educational contributions to expand their educational studies and to apply these British philosophers' and educational philosophers' theories to criticise Taiwanese educational problems since the 1990s will be another important lesson in this section. Most importantly, this discipline also met the similar problem of the development as well as the field of history of education, the generation gap between Ouyang and post-Ouyang's generation in the 1970s and 1980s in Taiwan, totally twenty years, and simultaneously this discipline gradually lost its influence on research and teacher

education programmes during this period. Therefore, in this section will analyse why these Taiwanese educational researchers and postgraduates transformed their research interest from philosophy of education to other applied subjects of educational studies when they got the government fund and eventually decided to expand their doctoral lives in the United States of America rather than the UK since the 1970s.

In post-war Taiwan, theories and doctrines of Western philosophy of education diffused broadly in Taiwanese educational academic community mainly came from Britain, France, Germany and USA, and among these four countries, British Analytic Philosophy occupied the mainstream by Ouyang's effort between the 1970s and 1980s. In Section 4.6, it would investigate the challenge and struggle of British Analytic Philosophy in Taiwan by Continental philosophy transmitted into Taiwan since the 1980s. How the second generation educational philosophers experienced their British studies promoted the status of British philosophy of education up to the dominant status again in Taiwanese philosophy of education community since the 1990s will also be analysed.

It could be found that the discussion from Section 4.3 to 4.6 mainly highlights the expansion and development of the knowledge of British philosophy of education applied into educational studies in post-1970 Taiwan, while this section will explore how this terrain of British philosophy of education was introduced and arranged into the content of some popular textbooks prepared for teacher education course attendants. It will also investigate the transformation of the status of this discipline, philosophy of education, in teacher education programmes in Taiwan since the 1970s in this section.

In the last section, Section 4.8, some practical conclusions will be criticised and supported from British educational philosophers' experiences and suggestions for the development of this discipline in Taiwan, and the struggle and reflection on the development of studies of philosophy of education would be analysed by comparing developments of studies of other two educational foundation disciplines, history of education and sociology of education.

4.2 Interview informants' background from philosophy of education group

In Section 4.1, these statements mainly introduce frameworks and contents of this chapter. As to the research method, two approaches will be employed. In addition to the application of the content analysis, which will highlight the development and influences of studies of British philosophy of education, these Taiwanese educational philosophers' oral interview data will be applied in this chapter in order to reconstruct and criticise the history of dissemination and transformation of doctrines and theories of British philosophy of education in Taiwanese educational research and practices since the 1970s. Table 4.1 indicates the detail of informants' interview arrangements and their backgrounds, and the further analysis will be expanded in Section 4.4.

Besides, the academic training of British educational historians is usually different from Taiwanese educational historians'. In Taiwan, educational historians have to receive the academic training as the same as educational philosophers, and philosophy of education and history of education are usually regarded as one discipline of educational studies. Therefore, in order to collect more data, Yu-Tee Lin was also interviewed and his accounts would be helpful to examine the process of dissemination of British philosophy of education and its influences in Taiwan

even though Lin always claims he is an educational historian. After attaining his doctorate of philosophy of education at University of Iowa in USA in the 1970s, Lin conducted his research as the visiting professor at Oxford and IOE in the 1990s, and his research interest focused on the history of Western philosophy of education and educational thoughts.

In addition, John White, British educational philosopher, has been interviewed for this research not only to clarify the history of his academic visit to Taiwan in 1996 with Paul Hirst and Patricia White but also to examine the influence of Analytic Philosophy of the London Line on the development of studies of philosophy of education in Taiwan over these past fifty years.

Table 4.1: The information of educational philosophers' interviews and backgrounds

Name	Time/Avenue	Notification
Jiaw Ouyang	Dec. 13, 2011/ Chen's home, Taipei	Ouyang was the first post-war Taiwanese educationalist to go abroad to study philosophy of education. He got the government scholarship in 1964, and then expanded his study in IOE between 1965 and 1969. Finally, he attained his MPhil degree in 1975
Ferng-Chyi Lin	Dec. 14, 2011/ National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan	Lin gained the government scholarship in 1990, and expanded his doctoral study in University of Manchester between 1991 and 1995. From the 1990s, massive Taiwanese educational philosophers went to the UK for their doctoral studies, and Lin was also one of them.

Ming-Lee Wen	Dec. 19, 2011/ Dante coffee shop downstairs he home	Wen always concerned theories of German Frankfurt School when she expanded her doctoral research in IOE from 1989 to 1992. According to her accounts, she was also the first IOE doctoral postgraduate of philosophy of education not to conduct her research relating to Analytic Philosophy at that time.
Chien-Fu Lin	Dec. 20, 2011/ National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan	Lin gained the government scholarship in 1992, and expanded his doctoral study in IOE between 1993 and 1997. In addition to Ming-Lee Wen and Chien Lin, Graham Haydon totally once supervised four Taiwanese doctoral postgraduates.
Jau-Wei Dan	Dec. 21, 2011/ Taipei Municipal University of Education, Taipei	Dan gained the government scholarship in 1985, and expanded his doctoral study in University of Glasgow between 1985 and 1986. Besides, Dan was the only one Taiwanese educational philosopher acquiring the doctorate in Scotland. Distinguished from those Taiwanese educational philosophers who experienced their British study lives and concerned on the development of Analytic Philosophy, Dan always kept his research in doctrines of British Liberalism and Utilitarianism.
Yung-Ming Shu	Dec. 26, 2011/ National Hsinchu University of Education, Hsinchu	Shu gained the government scholarship in 1990, and expanded his doctoral study in University of Nottingham between 1991 and 1995. Just like Ming-Lee Wen, Shu also studied in the UK but his research interest is always on Continental Philosophy.

Feng-Jihu Lee	Jan. 04, 2012/ National Chung Cheng University, Chiayi	Lee gained the government scholarship in 1989, and expanded his doctoral study in University of Leeds in the beginning. He eventually got his doctorate in University of Reading in 1993.
John White	Feb. 20, 2013/ Institute of Education, London	John White was one of the main advocators of British Analytic Philosophy, and he once expanded his academic visit in Taiwan in 1996 with Patricia White and Paul Hirst.
Yu-Tee Lin	Dec. 20, 2011/ National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan	Lin got his doctorate at University of Iowa in USA in the 1970s, and conducted his research in University of Oxford in 1990 and IOE in 1995 as the visiting scholar. For a long period, his research interests are always on Western educators' thoughts and the history of Western philosophy of education.

4.3 Definition of philosophy of education in Taiwanese academic community

For Taiwanese educational philosophers, the development of this subject in Taiwan is always facing three research lessons in the past.

First, the academic training of philosophy of education is much distinguished from history of education and research approaches of these two foundation disciplines are also much different. However, Taiwanese educationalists made a definition and combined these two academic terrains, called philosophy and history of education, over these past several decades, and supported the same academic training for

postgraduates.¹ Following the development of this concept, Taiwanese postgraduates of educational foundations were usually expected to receive two academic trainings of philosophy of education and history of education at the same time. However, it was apparent that the development of studies of philosophy of education was more thriving than history of education, which eventually resulted in the discipline of history of education becoming marginalised and the study of philosophy of education is almost equal to the study of philosophy and history of education.² These factors and process are very complicated, and the discussion will be analysed in chapter five when explaining the struggle for the development of studies of history of education in post-war Taiwan.

The second lesson is that borrowing and employing Western theories of philosophy of education and Western educational philosophers' doctrines and accounts into Taiwanese educational settings to criticise and reflect Taiwanese educational practices and issues should be argued. However, this lesson is not only for Taiwanese educational philosophers, educational historians, and educational sociologists, but also for Taiwanese educationalists and social science researchers. In fact, since the 1980s Taiwanese social science researchers have begun to reflect that studies of social science in Taiwan were too much westernised by the process of criticising the significant influence of American academic communities in Taiwan and reflecting the topic of indigenisation against internationalisation, and simultaneously they also

¹ Yu-Wen Chou, 'A Study on the Development of the Study of History of Education in Taiwan, 1949-2002', *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Education* 48, no. 1 (2003): 1.

² Wei-Chih Liou, 'Historical Review of Articles on Educational History and Educational Philosophy Published in the Past Five Decades', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 56, no. 2 (2010): 5-11; Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Study of Education Development in the Republic of China in the Twentieth Century', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011), 272-279.

attempted to find a way to build theories and statements of studies of social science in Taiwan rooted in their own Chinese culture context.³

At the same time, Taiwanese educational researchers began to reflect on the similar current in Taiwanese educational studies.⁴ As Chen-Tsou Wu and Po-Chang Chen pointed out,

Taiwanese educationalists had used to borrow and transport Western educational theories to examine Taiwanese educational problems over the past forty years. However, they should build a whole system of educational theories by searching for what were rooted in Chinese culture.⁵

With the dissemination and application of more and more theories and knowledge of Western educational studies into Taiwan since the 1980s, not only were these Taiwanese educationalists expressing their reflections mentioned above, but also Taiwanese educational philosophers criticised the westernised trend of the development of studies of philosophy of education in post-war Taiwan since the 1990s.⁶ Although many negative remarks were supported, Taiwanese educational

³ Chung-I Wen and Kuo-Shu Yang eds., *The Sinicization of Social and Behavioural Science Research in China* (Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1982).

⁴ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The New Research Approach to Educational Studies in Taiwan: Indigenisation', in *The New Research Approach to Educational Studies*, ed. Po-Chang Chen (Taipei, Taiwan: Nan Hung Publishing, 1988), 145-151.

⁵ Chen-Tsou Wu and Po-Chang Chen, 'A Critical Examination of Taiwanese Educational Studies over the Past Forty Years', *China Forum* 234, 1985: 241.

⁶ Yung-Ming Shu, 'The Development of Educational Philosophy in Taiwan', in *Internationalisation and Indigenisation of Educational Science*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih Book, 1999), 268-273; Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Educational Philosophy as a Discipline in Taiwan from 1949 to 2005', *Educational Resources and Research* 66, 2005: 17-18; Wei-Chih Liou, op. cit., 2010, 21-26; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 289-290; Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'One

philosophers also indicated positive influences at the same time. Jiaw Ouyang used a meaningful example to express his opinion,

There were many local restaurants located on this road opposite to National Taiwan Normal University before, and their food and environment hygiene were always very dirty. However, with the opening of McDonald's close to these local restaurants since the 1980s, this fast food shop stressed the clean dining space, and you could find these local restaurants finally improved their environment. That is to say, we could learn from other people's advantages, never just copy.⁷

Feng-Jihu Lee also agreed Ouyang's opinion. Although Lee experienced the importance of indigenisation of studies of philosophy of education, he still supported the similar statement of Ouyang's that it was always worthwhile for Taiwanese educational philosophers to learn from advantages of studies of Western philosophy of education and then reflected on their own culture and education. Besides, Lee thought British Analytic Philosophy was a good example,

British Analytic Philosophy always stressed the importance of linguistic analysis, so it was just like the research approach for educational philosophers. Therefore, I do not think it got involved into the problem of the transfer and re-contextualisation of educational theories, and it could be employed universally

Hundred Years of Philosophy of Education in Chinese Society: A Sketch', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011a), 353-356; Shen-Keng Yang, 'An International Comparison of the Historical Development of Educational Philosophy', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 57, no. 3 (2011): 29-30.

⁷ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

instead. Basically, Analytic Philosophy promoted educational philosophers to define and distinguish educational concepts more clearly and use more accurate academic terms to express their ideas.⁸

However, compared to Ouyang's and Lee's opinions, Ferng-Chyi Lin took his strong stance when he highlighted the importance and imperative of constructing the knowledge system of Chinese philosophy of education,

In the past, Taiwanese educational philosophers' concerns were almost focused on the exploration of Western philosophy of education. I thought that from the present, the main task for Taiwanese educationalists should be to re-examine our ancestors' classics and then to build doctrines of Chinese philosophy of education under the context of Chinese culture.⁹

From Ouyang's and Lee's accounts, it could be demonstrated that building a whole system of theories and world views of philosophy of education by exploring Chinese own culture is an important lesson for Taiwanese educational philosophers currently, while at the same time, learning and selecting what Taiwanese educational philosophers need from studies of Western philosophy of education.

Besides, in addition to the reflection of Taiwanese philosophy of education community since the 1990s, Taiwanese educational historians and educational sociologists simultaneously expanded their reflections on the westernised development of studies of their own academic communities, and these further discussions will be exposed in chapter five and six respectively. At last, the

⁸ Feng-Jihu Lee's interview (2012/01/04).

⁹ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

conclusion will be shown in the last chapter by comparing stances and opinions of Taiwanese educational philosophers, educational historians and educational sociologists to generalise similarities and differences.

The third lesson for Taiwanese educational philosophers is the academic identification of this discipline. In other words, they attempted to define and clarify the question that studies of philosophy of education should be regarded as one kind of educational studies or one part of philosophical studies.¹⁰ Jiaw Ouyang stated his account,

Studies of philosophy of education could be defined that researchers conducted educational issues by applying for the philosophical method and thinking. In other words, for educational philosophers, philosophy could be regarded as a research approach or tool to assist them to deal with their concerns of educational issues.¹¹

In fact, these debates should trace back to the basic and original question of the nature of educational studies. In the UK, on the development of professionalisation of educational studies in the past, British educationalists attempted to support a definition of educational studies, as Richard Stanley Peters maintained that education was not a distinct discipline but a field where the disciplines of history, philosophy,

¹⁰ Yung-Ming Shu, *op. cit.*, 1999, 270-273; Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2005, 15-19; Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2011, 292-293; Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2011a, 356-357; Shen-Keng Yang, *op. cit.*, 2011, 29-30.

¹¹ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

psychology and sociology had application, like politics.¹² Paul Heywood Hirst also claimed the similar opinion,

Indeed, it should be argued that education was not itself a subject with its own language, forms of thought and concepts. It was best seen as an area of practical activity, one to which various disciplines contributed in the formulation of general principles of action.¹³

Since education is regarded as a field, then foundation disciplines of educational research could be borrowed and applied from other academic subjects of humanities and social sciences to conduct educational studies, to demonstrate the study of education is an interdisciplinary field.¹⁴ After Peters' statement of defining foundation disciplines of educational studies, the relationship between the study of education and its foundation disciplines and whether foundation disciplines of educational studies could contribute to the development of educational research this has been controversial in British educational academic communities since the 1960s.¹⁵

¹² Richard Stanley Peters, *Education and Initiation* (London: Institute of Education, 1963).

¹³ Paul Heywood Hirst, 'Educational Theory', in *The Study of Education*, ed. John William Tibble (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 29-58.

¹⁴ Brian Simon, 'The Study of Education as a University Subject in Britain', *Studies in Higher Education* 8, no. 1 (1983): 1-13.

¹⁵ Gary McCulloch, "'Disciplines Contributing to Education'? Educational Studies and the Disciplines', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 50, no. 1 (2002): 100-119; David Bridges, 'The Disciplines and Discipline of Educational Research', *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 40, no. 2 (2006): 259-272; Gert Biesta, 'Disciplines and Theory in the Academic Study of Education: A Comparative Analysis of the Anglo-American and Continental Construction of the Field', *Pedagogy, Culture and Society* 19, no. 2 (2011): 175-192; Gary McCulloch, 'Introduction: Disciplinarity, Interdisciplinarity and Educational Studies—Past, Present and Future', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 60, no. 4 (2012): 295-300.

Similarly, on the process of professionalisation of Taiwanese educational studies over these past several decades, educationalists argued the questions British educationalists debated, including the interdisciplinarity of educational studies, the relationship between the study of education and its disciplines, and the application and contributions of foundation disciplines of educational studies toward educational research. However, the academic identification of these foundation disciplines of educational studies were always controversial in Taiwan, and actually these studies of educational foundation disciplines were not usually judged very professionally by humanities researchers and social scientists.¹⁶ As to these longstanding debates and Taiwanese educationalists' reflections, it will be discussed in chapter seven by comparing and concluding the development of educational foundation disciplines in Taiwan conducted from chapter four to chapter six.

Therefore, Taiwanese educationalists' statements fully demonstrate why Taiwanese educational philosophers had the question of the discipline identity and the same question were also argued by Taiwanese educational historians and educational sociologists, which will be discussed more in chapter five and chapter six respectively. It had been stated that even though Jiaw Ouyang supported the similar notion as well as Richard Peters' and Paul Hirst's that the study of education could be regarded as a field and its application from other disciplines of humanities and social sciences, which could be commonly recognised by most Taiwanese educationalists in the past. However, Taiwanese researchers of educational foundation disciplines simultaneously had to face the challenge humanities researchers and social scientists criticised and questioned on the professionalised development these educational studies of foundation disciplines were moving

¹⁶ Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2011, 292-293.

forward since the 1960s all the time.¹⁷ In chapter seven when concluding and comparing the serious lessons Taiwanese researchers of educational foundation disciplines struggled over during the past several decades from chapter four to six, it will discuss more about Taiwanese educationalists' reflections.

4.4 Jiaw Ouyang's learning experiences in the UK and his academic and practical contributions in Taiwan

This section mainly not only explores how Jiaw Ouyang became the first post-war Taiwanese who got the government scholarship to study philosophy of education abroad it also traces back his British study life, but also analyse the history of dissemination and application of British Analytic Philosophy and its influence on Taiwanese educational studies and practices by Ouyang's contributions.

4.4.1 Jiaw Ouyang, the first educational philosopher studying abroad in post-war Taiwan and his British study record

According to the survey, Jiaw Ouyang was the first Taiwanese educationalist, to get a government scholarship and study philosophy of education abroad in post-war Taiwan.¹⁸ However, it did not mean that knowledge of Western philosophy of education was never disseminated into Taiwan before Ouyang's contributions. As mentioned in chapter three the British philosophers' and educational philosophers' doctrines had been introduced into China and Japanese ruling Taiwan before the Second World War, including the classics of Francis Bacon, John Locke and Herbert Spencer and British Liberalism and Utilitarianism.¹⁹ However, the government

¹⁷ Po-Chang Chen, *Educational Thoughts and Educational Studies* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1987), 232.

¹⁸ Tzu-Hsun Lin, *The History of Chinese and Taiwanese Students Studying Abroad, 1847-1975* (Taipei, Taiwan: Hwa-Kang Publishing, 1976), 538.

¹⁹ Tzu-Chin Liu, *Nationalism and the Development of the Study of Education in Modern China, 1897-1919*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National

scholarship was suspended because of the Second World War and civil wars, which resulted in the academic exchange between China and the UK not being as frequent as before. As a result, during the 1970s, the development of the study of British philosophy of education was not updated or introduced very quickly by Taiwanese educationalists into Taiwan even though it had gone twenty years later after the Second World War.²⁰

In fact, when the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) government retreated in Taiwan in 1949, numerous Chinese educationalists came to Taiwan to continue their educational research simultaneously. Among these educationalists, some also had British experiences of studying educational studies before Ouyang. For example, Chien-Chung Huang expanded his doctoral life from Edinburgh to Cambridge between 1921 and 1925. Although Huang attained his doctorate on philosophy of education in the UK, his research interest was always on Chinese philosophy.²¹ In addition, Tsui-Chiu Ou experienced his doctoral study on philosophy of education in University of Paris from 1928 to 1931. Ou also concerned on British philosophers' thoughts, including Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill and

Taiwan Normal University, 2005), 77-79; Jo-Ying Chu, *The Development of Western Modern Educational Discipline During Japanese Colonial Period and Its Influence on the Pedagogy of Public Elementary School, 1895-1945*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2011), 75.

²⁰ Pei-Lin Tien, 'Educational Thoughts in Modern West', in *Education and Culture*, ed. Pei-Lin Tien (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 1976), 415-473; Tsui-Chiu Ou, 'The Introduction of Western Educational Thoughts over the Past Fifty Years', in *Chinese Education over the Past Fifty Years*, ed. Chinese Society of Education (Taipei, Taiwan: Fu-Hsin Publisher, 1977), 36-37.

²¹ Yung-Ming Shu, op. cit., 1999, 256-257; Yung-Ming Shu, 'The Retrospect and Prospect of the Development of Philosophy of Education in Taiwan', *Journal of Educational Research* 70, 2000: 54-62.

Jeremy Bentham, while he always had much interest in John Dewey's doctrines.²² Additionally, Kang-Zeng Sun once studied in University of Leeds in 1934, while his research concern was always on comparative education.²³ Moreover, Chien-Hou Huang acquired knowledge of psychology and psychology of education in London from 1960 to 1961.²⁴ Therefore, it could be found that contributions of Chien-Chung Huang, Kang-Zeng Sun and Chien-Hou Huang were not to promote the academic exchange of studies of philosophy of education between Taiwan and the UK, and Tsui-Chiu Ou's achievement in developing more understanding of the development of British philosophy of education for Taiwanese educational philosophers was not very significant.

That is to say, the development of British philosophy of education was not introduced very systematically before Ouyang. Therefore, when it comes to the development of studies of philosophy of education in post-war Taiwan and the influence of British philosophy of education on this discipline in Taiwan, Ouyang's contribution was always mentioned first and esteemed very highly, and the influence of British Analytic Philosophy introduced by Ouyang on Taiwanese educational research and practices was never neglected, as well as the impact of John Dewey's doctrines in Taiwan.²⁵ As Feng-Jihu Lee remarked Ouyang's contributions,

²² Chi Sih and Chen Hsu, *The Timeline of Tsui-Chiu Ou and His Wife* (Taipei, Taiwan: Sanmin Book, 1997); Yung-Ming Shu, op. cit., 1999, 258-261.

²³ Fu-Tsai, Hung, 'Kang-Zeng Sun's Life and Contributions' in *The Record of Taiwanese Educationalists*, ed. National Institute of Educational Resources and Research (Taipei, Taiwan: National Institute of Educational Resources and Research, 2006), 61-68.

²⁴ Chien-Hou Huang, *My Autobiography* (Taipei, Taiwan: Christian Cosmic Light Holistic Care Organization, 2001).

²⁵ Cheng-Hsi Chien, op. cit., 2005, 7-8; Wei-Chih Liou, op. Cit., 2010, 16-17; Cheng-Hsi Chien, op. cit., 2011a, 347-349; Shen-Keng Yang, op. cit., 2011, 30.

Since doctrines of British Analytic Philosophy were disseminated by Jiaw Ouyang from the 1970s, Taiwanese educational philosophers gradually experienced the importance of the linguistic analysis. When they were dealing with educational research and discussing educational practices, they began to use more accurate terms to express their ideas, defined these terms more clearly, and distinguished differences of these terms, such as instruction and indoctrination.²⁶

When Chien-Fu Lin reviewed the development of studies of philosophy of education in post-Taiwan, he also expressed the similar stance as Lee's. Lin indicated,

Jiaw Ouyang's contributions were not only to transport doctrines of British Analytic Philosophy into post-war Taiwan, but also to re-open the academic exchange between British and Taiwanese communities of philosophy of education after the Second World War.²⁷

At present, there are journal articles by Jiaw Ouyang and other Taiwanese educationalists to sketch Jiaw Ouyang's academic life, while the analysis of his British study story was seldom conducted very deeply by contemporary Taiwanese educationalists.²⁸ Therefore, Jiaw Ouyang's and other educational philosophers' interview data would explore the history of Ouyang's British study and criticise how

²⁶ Feng-Jihu Lee's interview (2012/01/04).

²⁷ Chien-Fu Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

²⁸ Wen-Jing Shan, 'Jiaw Ouyang, whom I Have Known', *Journal of Educational Resources and Research* 64, 2005: 184-195; Jiaw Ouyang, 'The Development of the Philosophy of Education in Taiwan: A Personal Account', *Journal of Education of Taipei Municipal University of Education* 39, 2011: 1-20; Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'Prospects of the London Line Based on Reviewing Three Handbooks on Philosophy of Education: In Honour of Professor Oscar Jiaw Ouyang', *Journal of Education of Taipei Municipal University of Education* 39, 2011b: 21-52.

British Analytic Philosophy was disseminated, diffused and applied in Taiwan by Ouyang's contributions in this and next section.

In the light of Ouyang's accounts, he applied his research proposal to Bristol, Cambridge, IOE, Leeds and Oxford in 1964, while he only got the offer from IOE, which also became Ouyang as the first Taiwanese educationalists studying in IOE and contributed to the academic connection between IOE and Taiwanese educational community since the 1960s. Ouyang recalled the history,

I got the IOE offer written by Richard Peters in 1965, and he told me that he would welcome my coming. Besides, it was very convenient to live in London. Therefore, I decided to stay in IOE.²⁹

Ouyang's IOE study experience became the most important example for Taiwanese next-generation educationalists when they got the government scholarship and were planning to study abroad by Ouyang share of his IOE study story in class under the context that the information was insufficient and inconvenient between the 1970s and 1980s. Additionally, IOE was formerly a teacher training institution, the London Day Training College,³⁰ and most Taiwanese educationalists' backgrounds came from normal universities and colleges. Therefore, for many Taiwanese educationalists, the academic environment in IOE was like these Taiwanese normal universities and colleges, which would help them to adapt and learn and study very quickly. Chien-Fu Lin was a good case,

²⁹ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

³⁰ Richard Aldrich, *The Institute of Education, 1902-2002: A Centenary History* (London: Institute of Education, 2002a).

I received Ouyang's suggestion after I got the government scholarship and inquired him which university was best for me to study philosophy of education abroad. Besides, I studied my BA, MA and PhD programme in National Taiwan Normal University, which was a traditional teacher education institution, so I thought IOE would be better for me. Actually, I also knew many educationalists had study experiences in IOE at that time.³¹

From Lin's account, it could demonstrate that Ouyang's IOE study experience actually attracted many Taiwanese educationalists to leave for IOE to expand their doctoral programme or short stay research.

The relationship between Ouyang, Richard Peters and other IOE educational philosophers also reflected Ouyang's one part of his British study life. Ouyang indicated his story of finding a supervisor,

Originally I invited Peters to supervise my research on John Locke's doctrines, but Peters preferred Thomas Hobbes to Locke. Because I still insisted to conduct Locke's ideas, Peters assisted me to find Leslie Robert Perry as my supervisor.³²

Even though Peters was not Ouyang's supervisor, Ouyang often discussed questions of philosophy of education with him, and had a close friendship with Peters. For example, when British Analytic Philosophy was disseminated for Taiwanese educational community, Ouyang always introduced Peters' doctrines and applied Peters' perspectives in 1966 and 1967 to judge educational concepts, such as

³¹ Chien-Fu Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

³² Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

teaching and training, and teaching and the learning of principles.³³ In addition, after Ouyang borrowed Peters' definition that education should be guided by three principles, worthwhileness, cognitiveness and voluntariness to distinguish what were educational and non-educational activities, which had become one of the most important doctrines of British Analytic Philosophy for the understanding of Taiwanese educational philosophers. As Ferng-Chyi Lin described,

It could be found that almost all of textbooks of philosophy of education in Taiwan mentioned Peters' three principles of education, and the disseminator, Jiaw Ouyang.³⁴

As to the academic interaction between Ouyang and IOE educational philosophers, John White recalled their attendances for the seminar of philosophy of education on each Wednesday and for the annual conference held by the Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain, which was built in 1964, one year earlier than Ouyang's study in IOE. He also shared one story,

One time, on our way back to IOE together, Oscar took a photo of Peters, Hirst, Patricia and me. Later, all of us received this photo from Oscar, and at present, Patricia and I still reserved this photo.³⁵

³³ Jiaw Ouyang, 'Analytic Philosophy of Education', in *The Yun-Wu Wang's Dictionary of Social Sciences* (8th vol.), ed. Liang-Kung Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: The Commercial Press, 1970a), 19-22; Richard Peters, *Ethics and Education* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966); Richard Peters, 'What Is an Educational Process?', in *The Concept of Education*, ed. Richard Peters (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 1-23.

³⁴ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

³⁵ John White's interview (2013/02/20).

According to John White's and Ouyang's accounts, they always kept in contact even though Ouyang went back Taiwan after 1969. With more and more Ouyang's students studying philosophy of education in the UK and more and more frequent academic exchange between Taiwanese and British educational philosophers since the 1990s, Paul Hirst, John White and Patricia White expanded their first academic visit in Taiwan in 1996 by Jiaw Ouyang's and Jau-Wei Dan's invitation. Dan thought their visit was very meaningful that,

They were the first British educational philosophers to visit Taiwan when they came here in 1996. After their visit, the academic exchange between Taiwanese and British communities of philosophy of education was more frequent than before. Subsequently, Judith Suissa and Paul Standish also came to Taiwan to expand their academic visits.³⁶

From Dan's account, it could be found the academic interaction between Ouyang, other Taiwanese educational philosophers and IOE educational philosophers. This section, mainly draws on the academic interaction and relationship between Ouyang and IOE analytic philosophers by reviewing Jiaw Ouyang's IOE study experience, while in the next section, the concern will highlight how he applied doctrines of British Analytic Philosophy to conduct his research and to examine Taiwanese educational problem.

4.4.2 The dissemination and application of British Analytic Philosophy by Ouyang's contributions and its influence in Taiwan

In last section it was mentioned that studies of British philosophy of education, especially doctrines and perspectives of British Analytic Philosophy, could be

³⁶ Jau-Wei Dan's interview (2011/12/21).

attracted again by Taiwanese educational philosophy community and then disseminated systematically and broadly into Taiwan, contributed by Jiaw Ouyang since the 1970s. However, as he always maintained,

For educational philosophers, they need to contact and deal with these educational practical problems from educational settings rather than stay in their research rooms to play these abstract philosophical terms all the time. Similarly, Analytic philosophy is just a tool or method for educational philosophers to criticise more clearly.³⁷

Therefore, based on this perspective and belief, Ouyang not only introduced studies of British Analytic Philosophy in his journal articles and scholarly books, but also borrowed and applied British Analytic philosophers' doctrines and perspectives to re-examine definitions and usages of educational terms from educational practical settings and academic community since the 1970s.³⁸ He claimed,

In the past, I observed that educational practitioners and researchers often mistook the virtual meaning of some educational concepts, such as teaching and indoctrination, and never defined contents of some terms clearly, such as punishment and educational aims.³⁹

However, the misunderstanding and misuse of educational concepts might cause the teaching to move forward in an abnormal way. He reflected on the past schooling,

³⁷ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

³⁸ Jiaw Ouyang, *Moral Judgements and Moral Instruction* (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin, 1974); Jiaw Ouyang, An Analysis of the Concept of Teaching, in *The Study of Effective Teaching*, ed. Chinese Society of Education (Taipei, Taiwan: Taiwan Book Store, 1986), 1-29.

³⁹ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

In the past, success in entrance exams was concerned greatly by parents and teachers and then exams became much competitive, which caused high school teachers to indoctrinate everything to their students and to ask students to memorise textbook contents for good grades all the time. When students did not perform well, they would receive corporal punishment.⁴⁰

Ouyang always stressed the importance of defining educational concepts clearly and distinguishing differences between educational concepts for educational practitioners and researchers before they dealt with educational practical problems. By Ouyang's efforts to introduce and employ doctrines of British Analytic Philosophy into his studies of discussing Taiwanese educational practical problems, for Taiwanese educational philosophers, the achievement of British Analytic Philosophy attained the most important status as well as John Dewey's theories toward the influence of Taiwanese educational studies in the 1970s and 1980s.⁴¹

In addition to emphasising the accurate definition and the positive usage of educational concepts, Jiaw Ouyang also maintained that educational researchers should make use of these simple, clear and substantial concepts and vocabulary to express their ideas and to conduct their studies, rather than those complicated, obscure and abstract ones. In other words, the readable character is very important for an article. Ouyang criticised,

Taiwanese educational philosophers were always satisfied with their academic articles and books in the past, but actually their studies were mostly unreadable

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Wei-Chih Liou, *op. cit.*, 2010, 16-17; Shen-Keng Yang, *op. cit.*, 2011, 30; Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2011, 347-349.

for educational practitioners. Eventually, these works were only helpful for these scholars to promote, while they could not support any substantial effects to improve educational problems.⁴²

Based on this perspective and belief, he expressed his educational ideas and statements by making use of simple and clear concepts and vocabulary and taking proper examples all the time.

The second contribution was that Jiaw Ouyang also liked to communicate with the public on educational issues by publishing his articles in newspapers and college students' bulletins, compared to other educationalists.⁴³ He criticised,

As you know, primary and high school teachers and college students are always not interested in contacting these academic articles and scholarly books, which were unreadable and could never support any practical suggestions. However, educational philosophers must attempt to go into this society, and speak what everyone could understand.⁴⁴

As a result, by this approach of publishing articles and critiques in newspapers and college students' bulletins to express his educational ideas and to criticise educational problems, Jiaw Ouyang always believed that this was a good way for educational philosophers to explore more practical problems from educational

⁴² Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

⁴³ Jiaw Ouyang, 'On Moral Education and Moral Indoctrination', *Today's Education* 18, 1970b: 5-12; Jiaw Ouyang, 'Ants, Spiders and Bees', 30th page, *United Daily News*, 1973/03/14; Jiaw Ouyang, 'The Frog Teaching', 15th page, *United Daily News*, 1973/03/29.

⁴⁴ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

settings and to communicate with educational practitioners, students, parents and common people.

Third, as Richard Peters' and other British Analytic philosophers' interests, Jiaw Ouyang concerned on topics of moral education for a long period, and addressed himself to publishing numerous works with reference to the discussion of moral education, moral teaching, moral judgements and citizenship education,⁴⁵ which attracted more new educational philosophers to manage this field. Chien-Fu Lin recalled his research life,

When I was studying my master and PhD programme in Taiwan, my research interest of moral education was raised by Professor Ouyang, and then I began to concern issues of this field. In fact, like Jau-Wei Dan, Yung-Ming Shu, Feng-Jihu Lee and Ferng-Chyi Lin, their concerns on the discussion of moral education were almost originally enlightened by Professor Ouyang.⁴⁶

It could be found that moral education was always the most popular research field for Taiwanese educational philosophers in terms of Ouyang's and Lin's interview accounts. However, one should explore reasons which caused Taiwanese educational philosophers to concern topics and problems of moral education in educational settings. Ouyang attempted to demonstrate his stance,

⁴⁵ Jiaw Ouyang, op. cit., 1974; Jiaw Ouyang, 'On Heteronomy, Autonomy and Moral Education', *Taiwanese Education* 303, 1976: 12-17; Jiaw Ouyang, *The Principles of Moral Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin, 1985); Jiaw Ouyang, 'On Citizenship Education', *Modern Education* 6, no. 3 (1991): 136-151.

⁴⁶ Chien-Fu Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

In my opinion, arguments of epistemology could be dealt by other educationalists, while educational philosophers only pay full attention to controversies of moral judgements. For the latter, the dilemma and justification of morality would never be given a result or answer, and it is indeed difficult and complicated. In the past, educational philosophers used to face challenges to explore this field.⁴⁷

In addition to Ouyang's statement, Feng-Jihu Lee also supported his opinion,

Taiwanese society has been influenced deeply and rooted by Chinese culture, especially the effect of doctrines of Confucianism for a long time. It could be found that most classics left by ancient scholars always debated and analysed the relationship between the relationship between characters, morality and education. So, I thought Taiwanese educational philosophers followed this tradition.⁴⁸

However, Jau-Wei Dan statement was different from Ouyang's and Lee's,

Prior to the 1990s Taiwanese educational philosophers always focused on the exploration of moral education. However, the next generation gradually concerned issues of other fields. For example, my research interest is also on the discussion of teachers' and students' rights from the perspectives of Utilitarianism and Liberalism, and Ferng-Chyi Lin also noticed the importance of aesthetic education in schooling.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

⁴⁸ Feng-Jihu Lee's interview (2012/01/04).

⁴⁹ Jau-Wei Dan's interview (2011/12/21).

According to these three informants' interview accounts, one could conclude that the study of moral education was always the most important topic for Taiwanese educational philosophers before the 1990s, learned from British Analytic Philosophy and based on Chinese traditional culture. However, educational philosophers also began to explore more research issues in post-1990s Taiwan by their study experiences in the UK.

On the other hand, it could also be observed that Richard Peters' perspectives and statements of moral education were received, diffused broadly and employed largely into Taiwanese educational philosophers' studies by Jiaw Ouyang's contributions, and especially Peters' accounts of his classic published in 1966, *Ethics and Education*, were often quoted by Taiwanese philosophy of education community into their works.⁵⁰ As to the reason why Peters' doctrines of moral conduct, ethics and education were adopted and adapted into Taiwanese context, educational settings and academic community since the 1970s, Ferng-Chyi Lin it could be argued that it contributed to not only Jiaw Ouyang's achievement, but also other factors,

In fact, Peters' political belief and academic doctrines were sorted out the conservative stance, and Confucianism was also regarded as the conservatism. Therefore, Peters' perspectives could become popular in Taiwanese society, rooted in Chinese traditional culture and Confucianism, for a long time. Besides, Taiwanese society and schooling were very close under the martial law before the 1990s, so Peters' idea could be diffused broadly and it was

⁵⁰ Richard Peters, op. cit., 1966.

arguably one revolutionary but not radical perspective by Taiwanese educational philosophers at that time.⁵¹

Actually, Ferng-Chyi Lin discussed Richard Peters' educational ideas as his master dissertation in Taiwan,⁵² and then compared similarities and differences of Peters' doctrines and Confucianism as his doctoral thesis in University of Manchester.⁵³ Therefore, based on his long-term observation and analysis, it could explain reasonably why Peters' doctrines could be domesticated so well in Taiwanese conservative society before the 1990s.

From the above analysis of Jiaw Ouyang's three contributions to distribute and apply British Analytic Philosophy into Taiwanese educational research and practical settings between the 1970s and 1980s, studies of British philosophy of education also had the most significant influence on Taiwanese educational community during these twenty years.

4.5 Taiwanese next-generation educational philosophers' British study experiences and their accomplishments

The previous section, mainly explored British study stories of Jiaw Ouyang, who was the first educational philosopher having the studying abroad experience, and highlighted his academic and practical contributions to promote the development of philosophy of education in Taiwan since the 1970s. In this section, it will follow the

⁵¹ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

⁵² Ferng-Chyi Lin, *The Study of Richard Peters' Thoughts of Moral Education*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 1987).

⁵³ Ferng-Chyi Lin, *Antiquity and Modernity: Confucius' and Peters' Philosophies of Moral Education*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1995).

theme to examine Taiwanese next-generation educational philosophers' study experiences in the UK since the 1990s and criticise their accomplishments.

4.5.1 The generation gap from the 1970s to 1980s and Taiwanese next-generation educational philosophers' British study stories since the 1990s

Even though Jiaw Ouyang addressed himself to conducting and introducing philosophy of education in research and teaching since the 1970s, the biggest struggle for the development of this academic discipline in Taiwan was that it was very difficult to attract next-generation successors of foreign study experiences to explore this field between the 1970s and 1980s. Some reasons could be concluded to explain the generation gap. First, American empiricism gradually had a significant influence in Taiwanese social science community after the 1970s and the statistics software was also introduced into Taiwan at the same time, which attracted numerous Taiwanese educational researchers and postgraduates to undertake empirical studies and massive Taiwanese educational postgraduates left for USA to learn quantitative research and statistics.⁵⁴

In contrast with the struggle of philosophy of education in Taiwan during this period, the same barrier also blocked the development of the field of history of education. That is to say, previous Taiwanese educational historians could not either find any successors with the foreign study experience to continue expanding studies of this academic discipline after the 1970s. As to the development of sociology of education in Taiwan from the mid-1970s to 1980s, almost all next-generation educational sociologists went to USA to conduct their empirical studies of statistics, while there were no successors to study this field in the UK at this time. Therefore, it could be

⁵⁴ Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2005, 8; Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2011, 347-349.

also seen the current of quantitative research of this academic discipline at this period in Taiwan, totally around fifteen years. These discussions will be analysed deeply in the next two chapters respectively when examining the development of history of education in Taiwan between the 1970s and 1980s, as well as sociology of education.

It did not mean the Taiwanese government scholarship suspended the support of postgraduates to study philosophy of education abroad. Actually, by investigating documents and records of Ministry of Education, it was found that the official scholarship still recommended postgraduates to study philosophy of education overseas each year.⁵⁵ Besides, based on more and more significant influences of European Common Market in post-1990s Taiwan and in order to promote more academic and business interactions between Taiwan and Europe, Taiwanese government supplied the supplementary scholarship to encourage postgraduates to leave for Europe to study humanities and social sciences from 1994, and educational foundation disciplines were also included.⁵⁶ Therefore, it there is no evidence that the government scholarship was a factor to impact Taiwanese postgraduates' intentions to study philosophy of education abroad between the 1970s and 1980s. However, more and more opportunities of studying philosophy of education abroad have been supported over the past twenty years, but the huge generation gap still appeared in this field.

By analysing Jiaw Ouyang's accounts to mention his contribution of promoting the government scholarship for younger postgraduates of philosophy of education, it provides a reasonable explanation,

⁵⁵ Tzu-Hsun Lin, op .cit., 1976.

⁵⁶ Chu-Ing Chou, *Learning from Others: Special Issues on Comparative Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin, 2000), 8-9.

When I was invited as the committee member and consultant of the government scholarship by Ministry of Education at that time, I always made effort to recommend that these officials could supply one or two numbers for postgraduates to study educational foundations in USA or Europe each year, and simultaneously, I also often encouraged my students to attend the scholarship exam.⁵⁷

As to the problem of the insufficient effect and the generation gap, Jiaw Ouyang reflected and indicated the key point,

The market demand of educational philosophers and educational historians in Taiwanese higher education institutions was not always very popular for a long period. Therefore, even though these receivers attained the government scholarship of educational foundation fields and then studied abroad, they always attempted to change their research interests from educational foundations to other educational applied subjects.⁵⁸

By Ouyang's statements, the government scholarship was not monitored strictly and these receivers' overseas theses would not be inspected by Taiwanese Ministry of Education, so it was very common that postgraduates got this scholarship of educational foundation fields, but they eventually conducted their studies of educational applied subjects. It was also very difficult to distinguish and sort out positions of these studies into educational foundation fields or educational applied subjects, Jiaw Ouyang explained.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Besides, Ouyang also took some examples to demonstrate the difficulty of the study of philosophy of education,

Like my students, Chu-Ing Chou and Hsiou-Huai Wang, got this scholarship for the discipline of philosophy of education in the 1980s. However, when they were studying their PhD in USA, they complained to me that conducting studies of philosophy of education was really difficult and they often could not realise educational philosophers' studies very clearly. Chou finally changed her research interest into comparative education, and Wang studied teacher education and higher education.⁶⁰

Combined these demonstrations analysed above by Ouyang's interview data, these reasons can be explored and concluded to explain the generation gap and the absence of new educational philosophers between the 1970s and 1980s. However, it does not mean Ouyang's effort had no positive reflections. In the 1990s, the second generation of Ouyang's students, Jau-Wei Dan, Ming-Lee Wen, Feng-Jihu Lee, Ferng-Chyi Lin, Yunh-Ming Shu and Chien-Fu Lin attained their doctorates in the UK and came back Taiwan to continue Ouyang's achievements of philosophy of education. Subsequently, the third generation of Taiwanese educational philosophers also began to expand their research and teaching of this academic discipline when acquiring their PhD in the UK since the 2000s.⁶¹

In contrast with Taiwanese educational historians' British study experiences mainly concentrated in the IOE will be analysed in the next chapter, the distribution of most Taiwanese educational philosophers' study preferences was very broad in England

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2005; Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2011.

and Scotland, including Bath, Glasgow, Manchester, Norwich, Nottingham, Reading and Warwick. It could be that the high living expense in London stimulated most of them to go away from London for their PhD study at that time by analysing and generalising these informants' interview data. In addition to this economic factor, the supervision of prestigious scholars was also their main consideration.⁶² For example, Ferng-Chyi Lin explained the reason why he went to Manchester,

My Manchester supervisor was Professor John Harris, and he was the prestigious scholar of applied ethics. I invited Professor Harris as my supervisor at that time, and he promised me. So, I decided to leave for Manchester.⁶³

In fact, there were still Taiwanese educational philosophers who studied in IOE in the 1990s, Ming-Lee Wen and Chien-Fu Lin, whose supervisors were also Graham Haydon. In the 2000s, Graham also supervised another two educational philosophers, Yen-Hsin Chen and Yi-Lin Chen, which contributed to a new record for Graham as the PhD supervisor with the most Taiwanese educational philosophers at present.⁶⁴ Ming-Lee Wen indicated that she was the second Taiwanese to study philosophy of education in IOE after Jiaw Ouyang and simultaneously recalled her IOE study story,

At that time, I was teaching in National Taiwan Normal University and got the funding of National Science Council to prepare for my British PhD study. Professor Van Doan Tran suggested to me that the fame of educational studies

⁶² Jau-Wei Dan's interview (2011/12/21).

⁶³ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

⁶⁴ Chien-Fu Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

in IOE was most well-known, so my first option was studying in IOE. By the way, I was also Graham's first Taiwanese postgraduate.⁶⁵

These Taiwanese educational philosophers studying their PhD in the UK in the 1990s built a constant and good friendship, which contributed to their academic exchange and cooperation more frequently when they came back Taiwan and were teaching in higher education institutions.⁶⁶ Yung-Ming Shu shared his story of their past academic talk in the UK,

I picked up a roasted duck and took a coach to Manchester to visit Ferng-Chyi for several times. At that time, Jau-Wei, Feng-Jihu, Ferng-Chyi and I always kept in touch and talked about our doctoral studies and questions of philosophy of education. Even though we are now teaching in different universities, we still not only have regular seminars and irregular gatherings to discuss our current research and educational problems but also edited scholarly books of philosophy of education together.⁶⁷

From Shu's interview statement quoted above, it could be found that the long-term friendship these Taiwanese educational philosophers built in the UK has become a positive power to push their research and to promote the development of studies of philosophy of education in Taiwan.

⁶⁵ Ming-Lee Wen's interview (2011/12/19).

⁶⁶ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

⁶⁷ Yung-Ming Shu's interview (2011/12/26).

4.5.2 Taiwanese next-generation educational philosophers' contributions after Ouyang since the 1990s

Jiaw Ouyang was commonly counted as one of the first generation of Taiwanese educational philosophers having British study experiences, and his main contributions were to introduce British Analytic Philosophy into Taiwan and apply these analytic philosophers' doctrines and perspectives into Taiwanese educational research and practices, which contributed to the long-term influence and mainstream of British Analytic Philosophy in the development of studies of philosophy of education in Taiwan before the 1990s.⁶⁸

Since the 1990s, these Taiwanese second-generation educational philosophers of British study experiences continued Ouyang's contributions to expand studies of this academic discipline. On the one hand, they still limited their research interest to discussing British Analytic Philosophy based on Ouyang's past studies and foundations, and on the other hand, they also attempted to explore other issues and theories of British philosophy of education to introduce into Taiwan.⁶⁹ For example, Jau-Wei Dan illustrated the process of his academic research,

I concerned the development of British Analytic Philosophy, but my long-standing main research interest was on students' rights by the perspective of political philosophy, especially Liberalism and Utilitarianism. For example, my doctoral research was extended my master dissertation, and I conducted issues of Taiwanese children's rights by British liberalists' doctrines.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2005, 7-8; Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2011, 347-349.

⁶⁹ Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2005, 10-15.

⁷⁰ Jau-Wei Dan's interview (2011/12/21).

In addition to Dan's concern on Taiwanese educational practices by the perspectives of British Liberalism and Utilitarianism, not Analytic Philosophy anymore, Ferng-Chyi Lin's attempt in other fields of philosophy of education was an example,

In the past, Taiwanese educational philosophers always focused on themes of moral education and discussions of Analytic Philosophy, while the concern of epistemology, ontology and other fields of philosophy of education were really lacked for a long time. Therefore, I began to explore issues of aesthetics and aesthetic education in schooling several years ago.⁷¹

In addition to these Taiwanese educational philosophers mentioned above, whose background included a study of British Analytic Philosophy but also attempted positively to contact new issues and other fields of this academic discipline, some educational philosophers' research interest was on the development of Continental Philosophy even though they studied their PhD in the UK. Yung-Ming Shu recalled his study life,

Compared to Ferng-Chyi and my other good friends, I have less interest in British Analytic Philosophy. Actually, I acquired a lot on theories of Postmodernism and Feminism in Nottingham. Besides, my long-term concern is doctrines of Continental Philosophy, especially Post-structuralism and Michel Foucault's theories, and the discussion of subjectivity of human being is always my favourite research themes.⁷²

⁷¹ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

⁷² Yung-Ming Shu's interview (2011/12/26).

Another educational philosopher like Shu is Ming-Lee Wen, whose long-standing research interest is on the study of German Frankfurt School. Wen sketched the development of her academic research,

From conducting my master research, I began to have much interest to study the development of German Frankfurt School, especially Jürgen Habermas' theories, and then I extended my original concern to advocate the teaching of critical thinking and innovation in primary school by applying Habermas' doctrines as my doctoral research when I was studying in IOE.⁷³

At the same time, Wen also supported her observations during her stay in IOE,

In the 1990s, all of doctoral postgraduates studying in philosophy of education in IOE concentrated on the discussion and application of British Analytic Philosophy except for me. Graham had much interest in my research, especially my exploration of theories of Frankfurt School, and he always gave me suggestions. Of course, the reason why I left for the UK rather than Germany to study was the language limit.⁷⁴

It could be observed how these next-generation educational philosophers, whose background had British study experiences, expanded their studies of this academic discipline after Jiaw Ouyang since the 1990s by examining these four Taiwanese educational philosophers' interview statements. On the one hand, as Jau-Wei Dan and Ferng-Chyi Lin, they not only continued Ouyang's achievements to concern the development of British Analytic Philosophy but also began to search for new issues

⁷³ Ming-Lee Wen's interview (2011/12/19).

⁷⁴ Ibid.

and doctrines of studies of British philosophy of education into Taiwan. On the other hand, as Yung-Ming Shu and Ming-Lee Wen, found their British learning experiences were very helpful for them in comprehending the development of Continental Philosophy. Whatever style of these two ways these second generation educational philosophers were, their contributions became the most important promotion to push the development of studies of philosophy of education in Taiwan for a long time, and the influence of studies of British philosophy of education was always much significant on the development of this academic discipline in Taiwan.⁷⁵

4.6 The challenge and struggle of distribution of British philosophy of education by Continental Philosophy in post-1980s Taiwan

The history of the study of Western philosophy of education and educational philosophers' doctrines transmitted and borrowed by modern China could be traced back up to the early twentieth century when Chinese scholars were initially building Chinese modern education system and teacher education institutions and defining disciplines of Chinese educational studies.⁷⁶ When Western philosophies of education were disseminated and employed massively, their influences on Chinese academic community also became much significant. At that time, studies of American, British and German philosophy of education had their different scale influences in China during the different periods, and these Western school theories also had their own Chinese supporters.

Before the Second World War, American pragmatism and German schools of philosophy of education were considered the mainstream learned by Chinese educational philosophers, and these Chinese supporters had several great debates to

⁷⁵ Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2005, 7-8; Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2011, 347-349.

⁷⁶ Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2011, 267-269; Tzu-Chin Liu, *op. cit.*, 2005, 77-79.

argue which Western philosophy of education would be better for the Chinese to borrow.⁷⁷ After the Second World War, some Chinese educational philosophers came to Taiwan with the retreat of the central government, so in the Taiwanese philosophy of education community, the mainstream roles were still influenced by American and German philosophy of education till the 1970s, these influences were gradually replaced by British Analytic Philosophy. In fact, in addition to Chien's analysis of the significant influence of British Analytic Philosophy in Taiwan between the 1970s and 1980s over than American Pragmatism and German theories of philosophy of education,⁷⁸ Yu-Tee Lin, whose research interests are history of education and philosophy of education has a USA study experience, supported his long-term observation of the development of American philosophy of education in Taiwan,

For most Taiwanese educationalists' recognition, American philosophy of education is almost equal to John Dewey's ideas. There were only three Taiwanese sent to the USA to study philosophy of education before the 1990s, including me. As I know, there were still only two Taiwanese studying Dewey's doctrines in USA after the 1990s. This was the reason why American philosophy of education gradually lost its influence in Taiwan after the 1970s except for Dewey's doctrines.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Mei-Yao Wu, 'Reconstructing the 1934-1937 Debate over Modern China's Philosophy of Education', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 51, no. 3 (2005): 27-51; Wei-Chih Liou, , 'Reception and Transformation of German Kulturpädagogik in China and Its Interpretation by Chinese Scholars', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 53, no. 3 (2007a): 93-127; Wei-Chih Liou, 'Knowledge Transfer: The Reception and Transformation of German Pedagogy by Chinese Educationists, 1928-1943', *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Education* 52, no. 3 (2007b): 43-64.

⁷⁸ Cheng-Hsi Chien, op. cit., 2005, 7-8; Cheng-Hsi Chien, op. cit., 2011, 347-349.

⁷⁹ Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

As Lin's explanations, the influence of American educational studies is always much significant for Taiwanese educational research community over these past several decades, except for the field of philosophy of education.⁸⁰ Lin also points out a key point that the influence of educational foundation disciplines will gradually lose if there are not enough successors to continue this job. Lin's observation is a good example, and Ouyang's studies of analytic philosophy also met the similar problem.

As mentioned above, Ouyang's effort contributed to the dominant status of British Analytic Philosophy in Taiwanese philosophy of education community in the 1970s and 1980s, but the generation gap also appeared during this period. That is to say, the only Taiwanese analytic philosopher with the background of studying in the UK was Ouyang, before the 1990s. There were not any Taiwanese educational philosophers to study in the UK after Ouyang between the 1970s and 1980s, but the study of philosophy of education in the UK progressed. As a result, British analytic philosophers' doctrines and studies the 1980s Taiwanese postgraduates recognised were still those Jiaw Ouyang had learned in the 1960s. If the knowledge and works of one discipline were originally disseminated from the learned country to the learner's country, but the development of this discipline was not gradually updated and followed for a long time by the learner, this discipline of the learned would easy to lose its competition in the learner's country.⁸¹ The development of British Analytic Philosophy in Taiwan was just to meet this challenge in the 1980s by Continental Philosophy, especially German schools of philosophy of education.

⁸⁰ Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

⁸¹ Wei-Chih Liou, 'The Study of Fu-Ming Chia's 'The Essence of Education' and Its Meaning for the Development of Educational Studies in ROC', in *Fu-Ming Chia's Knowledge System of Educational Studies*, eds. Kun-Hui Huang and Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 2009), 95.

In the 1980s, when Shen-Keng Yang attained his doctorate in National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece and conducted his post-doctoral research in Germany, he inherited Pei-Lin Tien's pre-1975 contributions to introduce Germany philosophy and philosophy of education into Taiwan educational academic community since the late 1980s. After Yang's effort, German philosophers and their doctrines, especially Hermeneutics, Phenomenology and Critical Theory of Frankfurt School, were gradually considered by Taiwanese educational philosophers and these German philosophical theories were also applied and re-contextualised into Taiwanese studies of philosophy of education.⁸²

This was second time German philosophical theories were introduced, received and transformed into Taiwanese educational research and practices since the late 1980s. The first time it happened when Pei-Lin Tien addressed himself to the introduction and studies of Eduard Spranger's doctrines and theories of Kulturpädagogik (Cultural Pedagogy) in Taiwan from the 1950s to 1975, which contributed to German educational theories as the mainstream status in Taiwanese educational studies.⁸³ These two times large scale introductions and applications of German doctrines of philosophy of education by Pei-Lin Tien and Shen-Keng Yang actually promoted the significant influence of German theories in the development of educational studies in post-war Taiwan.

⁸² Shen-Keng Yang, *Theories, Elaboration and Practices: Methodology of Pedagogy* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1988); Shen-Keng Yang, *Communicative Rationality, Life Experience and Educational Process: Jürgen Habermas' Communicative Rationality and Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1997).

⁸³ Wei-Chih Liou, op. cit., 2007b; Wei-Chih Liou, 'A Historical Review on Dissemination of German Pedagogy in China and Taiwan, 1928-1983', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 54, no. 4 (2008): 19-51.

Since the 1990s, numerous Taiwanese government scholarship receivers attained their doctorates of philosophy of education in Germany and then went back Taiwan to continue their research, including Tsao-Lin Fong, Fu-Jen Liang, Yu-Hui Chen, Chi-Hua Chu and so on, who followed Pei-Lin Tien's and Shen-Keng Yang's pre-1990s achievements of this field and more positively diffused studies of German philosophy of education broadly in Taiwan, which gradually contributed to the more significant influence of German educational philosophers' doctrines in post-1990s Taiwan than before.⁸⁴ For example, among these Taiwanese educational philosophers, Yu-Hui Chen inherited Pei-Lin Tien's myriad pre-1970s studies on Eduard Spranger's thoughts and re-examined this German educational philosopher's doctrines.⁸⁵ On the other hand, Chi-Hua Chu also applied and domesticated German educational philosophers' doctrines to criticise Taiwanese educational practices.⁸⁶

In addition to promotion of these Taiwanese educational philosophers' experiencing their German study lives, some Taiwanese educational philosophers experiencing their British study lives also simultaneously had much concern on German theories of philosophy of education and addressed themselves to the discussion of these German doctrines and studies in Taiwan since the 1990s, which have been mentioned in Section 4.4. At the same time, French social philosophers' works and doctrines were considered by Taiwanese educationalists and applied largely to the research examining Taiwanese schooling and other practices, especially Pierre Bourdieu's and

⁸⁴ Cheng-Hsi Chien, op. cit., 2005, 13-14; Cheng-Hsi Chien, op. cit., 2011, 349-353.

⁸⁵ Yu-Hui Chen, 'Verstehen, Bildung and Cultural Heritage: Eduard Spranger's Kulturpädagogik', *General Education on Line* 10, 2007: 24-27.

⁸⁶ Chi-Hua Chu, 'Wolfgang Klafki's Critical Pedagogy and Its Implications for Taiwanese Curriculum Guidelines of Learning Area of Social Studies', *Curriculum and Instruction Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (2008): 63-92.

Michel Foucault's theories.⁸⁷ Feng-Jihu Lee pointed out the development of Taiwanese educational studies over these past years,

You could find that massive Taiwanese studies of philosophy of education and sociology of education were conducted with reference to Foucault's and Bourdieu's doctrines, whatever empirical research or theoretical discussions. It could be demonstrated that these two French thinkers' perspectives and works were considered by Taiwanese educationalists.⁸⁸

In contrast with the frequent employment and significant influence of theories and studies of Continental Philosophy by Taiwanese philosophy of education community since the 1990s, the role of British Analytic Philosophy was not as important as before in Taiwan. Yung-Ming Shu quoted Shen-Keng Yang's opinion to criticise the struggle of development of British Analytic Philosophy in post-1990s Taiwan,

For some Taiwanese educational philosophers, analytic philosophy could only be regarded as a tool or approach to help educationalists clarify educational concepts, rather than a knowledge and theory system with core doctrines and concepts. Therefore, it could be predicted that the development of British Analytic Philosophy would struggle with barriers when it has been disseminated into Taiwan for more than twenty years.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Sociology of Education in Taiwan', in *Educational Sciences: Internationalisation and Indigenisation*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih, 1999), 300-303.

⁸⁸ Feng-Jihu Lee's interview (2012/01/04).

⁸⁹ Yung-Ming Shu's interview (2011/12/26).

In fact, this trend happened not only in Taiwan but also in Western academic communities because analytic philosophers gradually stressed the importance of linguistic and conceptual analysis too much, which eventually caused a crisis in its development in the UK and North America since the late 1970s.⁹⁰ Although British Analytic Philosophy was not very popular than before in Taiwanese educational community since the 1990s, it did not mean that British doctrines and studies of philosophy of education were gradually neglected by Taiwanese educationalists. On the contrary, these next-generation Taiwanese educational philosophers following Jiaw Ouyang experiencing their British study lives made more efforts to expand and promote the academic exchange between the UK and Taiwan since the 1990s.

For example, Chia-Ling Wang, attaining her doctorate in IOE in 2009, became the first Taiwanese educational philosopher to publish her article in British academic journal of philosophy of education in 2011.⁹¹ In addition, Yen-Hsin Chen, acquiring his doctorate in IOE in 2007, organised the seventh annual conference of the Asia-Pacific network for moral education in Taiwan in 2012, which was informed in the newsletter of Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain.⁹² Before this time,

⁹⁰ Robert Frederick Dearden, 'Philosophy of Education, 1952-82', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 30, no. 1 (1982): 57-71; Clive Beck, 'North American, British and Australian Philosophy of Education from 1941 to 1991: Links, Trends, Prospects', *Educational Theory* 41, no. 3 (1991): 311-320; Leonard Waks, 'Introduction: The Analytical Revolution in Philosophy of Education and Its Aftermath', in *Leaders in Philosophy of Education: Intellectual Self Portraits*, ed. Leonard Waks (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2008), 10; Robin Barrow, 'Was Peters Nearly Right about Education?' *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 43, no. S1 (2010): 9-25.

⁹¹ Chia-Ling Wang, 'Power/Knowledge for Educational Theory: Stephen Ball and the Reception of Foucault', *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 45, no. 1 (2011): 141-156.

⁹² Yen-Hsin Chen and Curtis Chu, 'Introduction: 7th Annual Asia-Pacific Network for Moral Education, Chiayi, Taiwan, 15-17 June 2012', *Newsletter for Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain*, December 2012, 27.

international academic activities were seldom reported by this British society's newsletter.

Besides, Chinese and Taiwanese educational philosophers' cooperation is also a helpful approach to promote the academic exchange between British, Chinese and Taiwanese philosophy of education communities over these past several years.⁹³ For example, in order to introduce the development of British philosophy of education for more Chinese educationalists, John White published his article to state some themes British educational philosophers were currently concerned with.⁹⁴ Additionally, John White also expressed his opinion of academic exchange between Chinese and Taiwanese educational philosophers,

Chinese contemporary educational philosophers, Sheng-Hong Jin and Zhong-Ying Shi, have their interest on moral education and also expanded their short stay research at the IOE as the visiting professor pre- and post-2000s respectively. In fact, Taiwanese educational philosophers are familiar with Jin and Shi for a long time, and I know they sometimes organise academic activities to discuss contemporary Western educational philosophers' works.⁹⁵

John White's account also reflects the importance and influence of cooperation between Chinese and Taiwanese educational philosophers to distribute contributions of British philosophy of education more broadly in East Asia. In addition, the above

⁹³ Hwo Hwang, 'A General Review of the Rise, Development and Characteristics of British Philosophy of Educational Research', *Educational Resources and Research* 66, 2005: 34.

⁹⁴ John White, 'Philosophy of Education', in *The Map of Contemporary British and American Philosophy*, translated by Chun-Ge Wang and Jian-Hua Zhang and edited by Kang Ouyang (Beijing: People's Press, 2005), 685-711.

⁹⁵ John White's interview (2013/02/20).

analysis to examine the development of British Analytic Philosophy in post-1990s Taiwan challenged by Continental Philosophy not only demonstrates the struggle of the London Line by Taiwanese educational philosophers' employment after its dissemination in Taiwan for twenty years from the 1970s to 1980s, but also argued the duration of receipt and application of British philosophy of education by Taiwanese educationalists' efforts after the decline of British Analytic Philosophy in the post-1990s Taiwan.

Most importantly, British philosophy of education are still concerned in post-1990s Taiwan by contributions of these next-generation Taiwanese ambassadors who attained their philosophy of education doctorates in the UK since the 1990s, including articles published in British academic publications and academic activities organised with Chinese educationalists to engage British philosophy of education.

4.7 The transformation of philosophy of education as a subject in teacher education programme and the content of British philosophy of education as it appears in textbooks in post-war Taiwan

From Section 4.5 to 4.6, the focus is on the process of dissemination of British educational philosophy in post-1970s Taiwan and its influences in Taiwanese educational research, this section will draw on the introduction of British philosophy of education appearing in Taiwanese textbooks of philosophy of education by examining the transformation of philosophy of education as a subject in teacher education programme in post-war Taiwan.

By exploring British experience, it can be found that the professionalised development of philosophy of education can be traced when Louis Arnaud Reid held the new chair of philosophy of education at Institute of Education, University of

London in 1947.⁹⁶ As the initial development of philosophy of education in modern China, can be traced up to the 1920s when philosophy of education was ruled as a subject in teacher education programme, and the content of textbooks involved in British philosophy of education almost introduced doctrines and works of Francis Bacon, John Locke, Bertrand Arthur William Russell, Herbert Spencer, British Liberalism and Utilitarianism.⁹⁷

After the Second World War, the central government retreated from China to Taiwan in 1949 and rebuilt the educational institution. According to the official record, the subject of philosophy of education was not arranged into teacher education programme in normal colleges until 1964, which was later than history of education in 1952 and sociology of education in 1963.⁹⁸ It is expected to support a reasonable explanation when this official document is shown for Jiaw Ouyang. He assumed that,

I do not think it is very incredible because the subject of philosophy of education was never highly considered by educationalists and policy makers for several decades. After all, it was not a practical-oriented subject. After my teachers' efforts, this subject was eventually arranged into teacher education programme. In fact, even though I took this course when I was a college student in the 1950s, it was still not ruled as a compulsory course of teacher education programme.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Robert Frederick Dearden, op. cit., 1982, 57; Gary McCulloch, op. cit., 2002, 104; Richard Aldrich, op. cit., 2002, 136.

⁹⁷ Tzu-Chin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 77-79; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 268.

⁹⁸ Department of Education of Taiwan Province ed., *The Historical Documents of the Development of Education in Taiwan* (Taichung, Taiwan: Department of Education of Taiwan Province, 1987), 87-99.

⁹⁹ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

In addition to the lower status of philosophy of education in the teacher education programme, the content of textbooks in Western philosophy of education between the 1950s and 1960s seemed as the same as the ones in the pre-1950s. Jiaw Ouyang gave his account,

The information was not inconvenient for Taiwanese educationalists to contact latest Western educational studies and doctrines at that time. Therefore, these textbooks were usually translated from Japanese publications and translated books and translated from Western educators' works. For me, the introduction of British philosophy of education was always on Bacon, Locke, Russell, Spencer and Utilitarianism.¹⁰⁰

In fact, Ouyang's study experience reflects the disconnection between British and Taiwanese philosophy of education communities between the 1950s and 1960s. Besides, it should be mentioned that British educationalist, Percy Nunn, was once briefly introduced in some Taiwanese textbooks between the 1950s and 1970s because his claims were regarded as British typical individualism by Taiwanese educationalists.¹⁰¹ However, the martial law implemented in Taiwan from 1949 to 1987 and the political sphere was conservatively oriented, so British Liberalism and Percy's doctrine, especially his claim of the autonomous development of the individual, did not appear nor was it advocated too much in textbooks.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Tsuin-Chiu Ou, *The Outline of Philosophy of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Tsuin-Chiu Ou, 1971), 198-199; Tsuin-Chiu Ou, 'The Introduction of Western Educational Thoughts over the Past Fifty Years', in *Chinese Education over the Past Fifty Years*, ed. Chinese Society of Education (Taipei, Taiwan: Fu-Hsin Publisher, 1977), 36-37; Chien-Chung Huang, *Philosophy of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Taiwan Provincial Normal College, 1956).

¹⁰² Cheng-Hsi Chien, op. cit., 2011a, 331.

After Jiaw Ouyang came back Taiwan from London in 1969, he decided to publish new textbooks and scholarly books distinguished from these previous reference books to introduce the latest development and contributions of Western philosophy of education after World War Two. Jiaw illustrated his original mind,

I browsed the content of British philosophy of education sketched in these former textbooks of that time and found that they always focused on these British educators' doctrines and theories which actually had been disseminated several decades ago. Therefore, I addressed myself to publishing scholarly books and journal articles to introduce British educational philosophers' latest contributions systematically when I was teaching in Taiwan since the 1970s.¹⁰³

As Jiaw Ouyang's account above explained, his publications presented the latest knowledge and development of Western philosophy of education, especially the systematic introduction of Richard Peters' doctrines and British Analytic Philosophy.¹⁰⁴ Besides, he borrowed British analytic philosophers' concerns and approach to discuss the teaching and struggle of moral education in a Taiwanese context. For example, he re-examined and redefined these terms and concepts, such as virtue and character, and discussed the moral dilemma in our daily life, which was much distinguished from former Taiwanese educational philosophers' employment where they established many moral guides on the assumption that everyone should obey these principles, which were rooted and influenced long by Confucianism.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, Jiaw Ouyang's post-1970s publications indeed promoted Taiwanese

¹⁰³ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

¹⁰⁴ Jiaw Ouyang, *An Introduction of Philosophy of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin, 1973).

¹⁰⁵ Jiaw Ouyang, op. cit., 1974.

educationalists to understand more about the latest development of philosophy of education in post-war Britain than before.

In addition, on the one hand, philosophy of education was ruled as a compulsory subject in the teacher education programme from 1964 in Taiwan, and on the other hand, the birth rate increased drastically from the 1970s to 1990s, which resulted in the huge demand of primary and secondary school teachers and the establishment of massive teacher education institutions to attract more recruiters. As to the relationship between the birth rate and the development of educational studies in post-war Taiwan, it had been mentioned and analysed deeply in Chapter Three. Therefore, combined these two advantages, Jiaw Ouyang's books gradually became the necessary materials for these teacher education course attendants to pass the examination after taking courses necessary to become formal teachers. This was the reason why the knowledge and influence of British philosophy of education could be diffused broadly in Taiwan by means of the teaching and textbooks in the Taiwanese teacher education programme.¹⁰⁶

In 1999, Jiaw Ouyang invited numerous Taiwanese educational philosophers to edit one textbook of philosophy of education, and most of these contributors were his pupils and attained their doctorates in the UK. This textbook gradually became very popular material for initial teacher trainee, scholars and postgraduates of educational research.¹⁰⁷ By examining this textbook framework, it could be found that each chapter these authors presented were their longstanding concern issues, such as Ferng-Chyi Lin's aesthetics and education in chapter five. The themes of philosophy of education arranged in this book were seldom appeared in previous other

¹⁰⁶ Cheng-Hsi Chien, op. cit., 2011, 347-349; Shen-Keng Yang, op. cit., 2011, 30.

¹⁰⁷ Jiaw Ouyang ed., *Philosophy of Education* (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Liwen Publisher, 1999).

publications of this discipline, so this book's contributors promoted Taiwanese educational philosophers to broaden their horizons to understand the progress of this discipline in Western educational academic community.¹⁰⁸

However, the teacher education law was re-enacted in 1994 in Taiwan, which no longer ruled that educational foundation subjects, including philosophy of education and history of education, were compulsory courses anymore in teacher education programme. Additionally, the birth rate declined steadily since 2000, which caused the lower demand of primary and secondary school teachers and the poor recruitment of teacher education institutions. These factors have been analysed in chapter three. As a result, the status of philosophy of education as a teaching subject is gradually losing its influence in Taiwanese higher education. Jau-Wei Dan shared his observation,

When I graduated and came back Taiwan from Glasgow in the 1990s, I found that educational philosophers were respected by other discipline educationalists and we had enough teaching and research resources inward and outward universities at that time. But now, whatever in teaching or research, the influence of this discipline is not as the same as before, and I always experience our status seem lower than other discipline educationalists.¹⁰⁹

Dan's account evidently reflects the transformation of philosophy of education as a teaching course in Taiwanese higher education from the peak before the mid-1990s to the down after the mid-1990s.

¹⁰⁸ Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2011, 347-349; Shen-Keng Yang, *op. cit.*, 2011, 30.

¹⁰⁹ Jau-Wei Dan's interview (2011/12/21).

4.8 The struggle for studies of philosophy of education in Taiwan and implications from studies of British philosophy of education

In the beginning of this chapter, it points out several lessons Taiwanese educational philosophers struggled with over these past decades. Among these barriers, how to overcome too many Western theories of philosophy of education and Western educational philosophers' doctrines borrowed to examine Taiwanese educational practical problems and how to move toward the professionalisation of this discipline are always post-war Taiwanese educational philosophers' two important challenges.

Firstly, some Taiwanese educational philosophers' stances were supported in Section 4.3. Generally speaking, Taiwanese educational philosophers advocate that transporting Western theories of philosophy of education to examine Taiwanese educational issues in a misguided way. After all, each theory or doctrine is born in its country's own cultural and historical specific context. Therefore, when Taiwanese educationalists were learning Western philosophy of education, they simultaneously have to know these foreign theories' backgrounds.¹¹⁰ In the past, Taiwanese educational philosophers used to employ Western educationalists' statements to reflect Taiwanese educational problems, which caused the Westernised trend of studies of philosophy of education over the past decades in Taiwan. Ferng-Chyi Lin criticised it and maintained his strong opinion,

Taiwanese educational philosophers should make their efforts to understand Chinese traditional classics again from now. Besides, when foreign researchers would like to recognise Chinese thinkers' doctrines, they need to study Mandarin, Chinese literary and history at the first step. I do not think translating Chinese classics for them is very necessary. Just as if you would

¹¹⁰ Wei-Chih Liou, *op. cit.*, 2010, 33-35; Shen-Keng Yang, *op. cit.*, 2011, 28-30.

like to know Immanuel Kant's thoughts, you have to learn German to read his original publications.¹¹¹

Even though Taiwanese educational philosophers always advocated the importance of concentrating on Chinese ancient thinkers' classics on the process of building their own knowledge system and theory of philosophy of education, the practical and available method still could not be supplied from their studies and these interview informants' accounts.

In the development of the professionalisation of this academic discipline in post-war Taiwan, it was argued the necessity of establishing the academic association and journal of philosophy of education. By referring to British experience, Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain was established in 1965 and its own publication, which in turn became from *Proceedings of Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain* between 1967 and 1977 to *Journal of Philosophy of Education* from 1978.¹¹² This academic organisation promoted the development of studies of philosophy of education in post-war Britain, and this professional journal also successfully attracted British and international educationalists' concern,¹¹³ including Taiwanese educational philosopher, Chia-Ling Wang's research published in this journal in 2011, which had been mentioned in Section 4.6.

However, on this question asked to these interview informants, the substantial replies could not be supported. Jau-Wei Dan mentioned,

¹¹¹ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

¹¹² Robert Frederick Dearden, op. cit., 1982, 60; Richard Stanley Peters, 'Philosophy of Education', in *Educational Theory and Its Foundation Disciplines*, ed. Paul Hirst (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 30; Gary McCulloch, op. cit., 2002, 111.

¹¹³ John White's interview (2013/02/20).

Actually, we usually have regular seminars and irregular gatherings and we also co-edited some academic works of philosophy of education. The academic society and the professional journal sound good. However, when we talked about it every time, I do not know why there was always no result.¹¹⁴

As to Ming-Lee Wen, she talked about the possibility of the cooperation with British educational philosopher,

Paul Standish once inquired us of his plan that the establishment of one branch society of Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain in Taiwan and he could assist us to publish the academic journal of philosophy of education. However, everyone is always very busy, so we always could not find a representative for this extra job to contact with Paul in our each gathering and there was no result all the time.¹¹⁵

Since the academic association and its publications are regarded as the necessary factor by Taiwanese educational philosophers to promote the professionalised development of this discipline, it is still incredible that there is no academic society and professional journal of philosophy of education at present in Taiwan. The responsibility should be accepted by all of Taiwanese educational philosophers.

4.9 Concluding remarks

This chapter mainly draws on the introduction, dissemination and diffusion of British philosophy of education in post-1970s Taiwan, contributed by Jiaw Ouyang and other Taiwanese government scholarship receivers of British study experiences. In

¹¹⁴ Jau-Wei Dan's interview (2011/12/21).

¹¹⁵ Ming-Lee Wen's interview (2011/12/19).

addition, the influence of British educational philosophers' doctrines on the development of studies of Taiwanese philosophy of education and the application of British theories of philosophy of education into Taiwanese research and practices are also another concerns.

From Jiaw Ouyang's and other Taiwanese educational philosophers' study experiences, it can be found that Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Overseas Study played an important role for Taiwanese educational philosophers to study in the UK, which is also the key factor for studies of British philosophy of education to be disseminated systematically and largely into post-1970s Taiwan.

By analysing Jiaw Ouyang's and other Taiwanese educational philosophers' testimonies, it also can be found British Analytic Philosophy has an important influence on the development of the discipline of philosophy of education in post-1970s Taiwan.

As the development of philosophy of education in the UK had the strong relationship with the transformation of teacher education programme since the 1960s.¹¹⁶ Compared to British experience, it could be found that this academic discipline was also influenced by the birth rate, expansion and decline of teacher education programme and institutions, and the enactment of teacher education law in post-1970s Taiwan. However, the unstable marketing demand also caused a generation gap in this discipline between the 1970s and 1980s by informants' accounts and the

¹¹⁶ Robert Frederick Dearden, op. cit., 1982, 57; Paul Hirst, 'Philosophy of Education in the UK: The Institutional Context', in *Leaders in Philosophy of Education: Intellectual Self Portraits*, ed. Leonard Waks (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2008), 305-310.

up-and-down status of this discipline in research and teaching in Taiwanese higher education.

On the one hand, Taiwanese educational philosophers always criticised and reflected the Westernised current thinking and these transported foreign theories of philosophy of education were used to inform Taiwanese educational research and practices, and advocated the importance of building its own theoretical system of philosophy of education by tracing Chinese culture and ancient thinkers' classics. On the other hand, British experience could support some implications in the necessity of the academic society and its journal on the professionalised process of philosophy of education since the 1960s for Taiwanese educationalists.

Jiaw Ouyang accomplishments contributed to the re-connection between British and Taiwanese educational philosophers since the 1970s, especially the significant influence of British Analytic Philosophy in Taiwan. Even though the London Line gradually lost its status and was challenged by the Continental Philosophy in post-1990s Taiwan, the next-generation educational philosophers still employed their British study experiences to expand the academic dialogue between British and Taiwanese philosophy of education communities durably, which also formed one conversation space for Taiwanese educational philosophers with foreign doctrines of philosophy of education. Additionally, the cooperation between Chinese and Taiwanese educational philosophers also broadens Taiwanese educationalists' horizons to recognise Western philosophy of education more than before.

Chapter 5: Distribution and influence of studies of British history of education in post-1970s Taiwan

5.1 Introduction

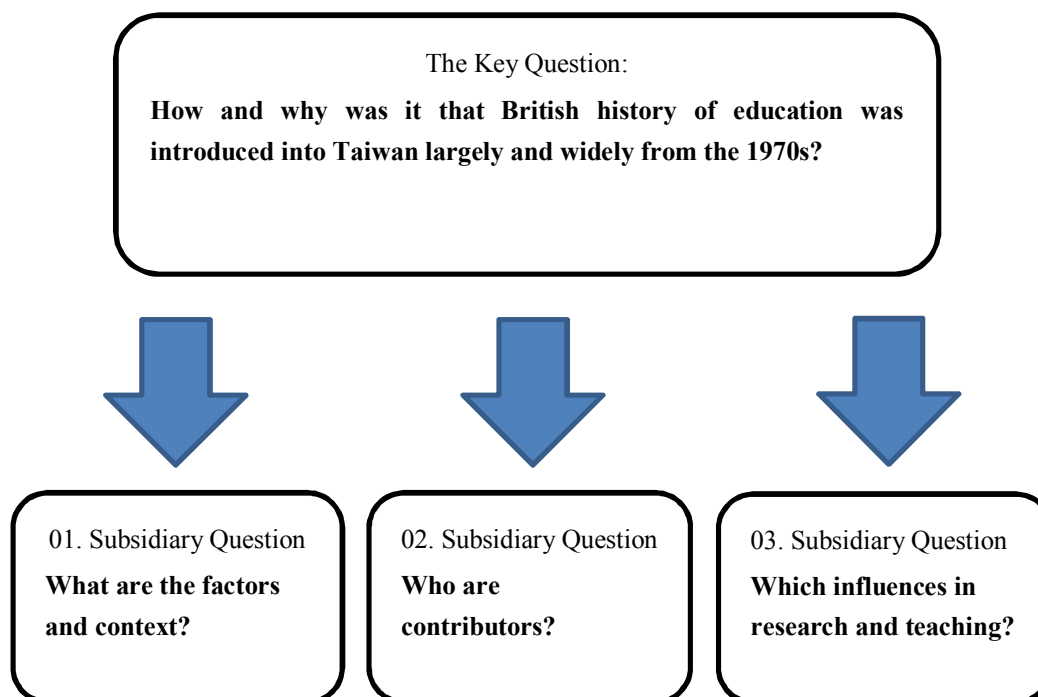
Extended the discussion of Chapter Four, this chapter mainly demonstrates the development and dissemination of studies of the British history of education in post-1970s Taiwan and analyses the influence and implication of the professional knowledge of these British studies, introduced by Taiwanese educational historians who had experienced British study lives, on the further development of Taiwanese studies of the history of education.

As Chapter Four to borrow the research question frame from Section 1.2, Chapter One, this chapter also addresses four research questions to respond these research questions from Section 1.2, Chapter One.

- 01. How and why was it that British history of education was introduced into Taiwan largely and widely from the 1970s?*
- 02. What are the factors that led to the selection of particular versions of British history of education being introduced into Taiwan in the post-1970s era?*
- 03. Who was involved in introducing British histories of education into post-1970s Taiwan?*
- 04. How has British history of education influenced research and teaching in post-1970s Taiwan?*

According to the frame of the research question drawn in Figure 1.1, these four above questions also can be embodied into this structure, as Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: The relationship between research questions on the diffusion of studies of British history of education in post-1970s Taiwan



In order to deal with these four questions, five sections will be framed to become the main content for these questions.

In Section 5.3, in terms of the research field, the history of education has not always been regarded as being an independent subject in Taiwan. It was always combined with the philosophy of education as a subject concept, and called educational philosophy and history. Therefore, its origin will be traced back in this section to determine why both the philosophy of education and history of education were regarded as being one research field and what content and characteristics were embraced under this concept. Besides, the struggle this subject encountered during the process of professionalisation will also be explored under the constraint of the concept of educational philosophy and history.

Section 5.4 will not only contain a critique of the process to connect a bridge to distribute knowledge from Britain to Taiwan formulated by the first Taiwanese educational historian, Guang-Xiong Huang, who studied in London during the 1970s, but also of how the next-generation Taiwanese educational historians have continued to refer to Huang's educational career to conduct their studies and expand their knowledge of the British history of education since the 1990s. Most importantly, the main cause of the struggle for the development of studies of the history of education in Taiwan will be reflected in the gap between Huang's generation and the generation post-Huang. In other words, next-generation Taiwanese educationalists have not been attracted to engage in studies of this academic discipline since the 1980s and the subject has simultaneously lost its status in both research and teacher education programmes.

Since the 1970s, the contributions of American, British and German educational historians have always been seen to dominate Western studies of the history of education by the Taiwanese academic community. Therefore, Section 5.5 will contain a discussion of the knowledge of the British history of education disseminated by Taiwanese educational historians since the 1970s. The studies of American and German history of education introduced in post-1970s Taiwan will also be simultaneously examined and compared.

The discussion before Section 5.5 mainly focuses on the distribution and translation of the research of the British history of education in post-1970s Taiwan, while Section 5.6 will contain an examination of the knowledge of the British history of education introduced into Taiwan and how it was arranged into the content of some main textbooks published for teacher education course attendants and college

students and postgraduates. At the same time, how this academic subject was transformed from its mainstream status in teacher education programmes to its marginalised status in post-1970s Taiwan will be also demonstrated.

In Section 5.7, some substantial and practical remarks will be explored and argued from British educational historians' experience and opinions of the development of this academic discipline in Taiwan. The stumbling blocks to the development of studies of the history of education in Taiwan will be also explored and criticised by comparing the development of studies of another two foundation subjects, namely, philosophy of education and sociology of education, in post-1970s Taiwan.

5.2 Interviewees' background from the history of education group

The statements in Section 5.1 mainly represent the framework and content of this chapter. As for the research method, two approaches will be employed. In addition to the application of a content analysis, which will mainly examine the work of Taiwanese educational historians related to the theme of the British history of education, these educational historians' oral interview data will be also employed in this chapter in order to reconstruct and criticise the development and influence of studies of the British educational history in post-1970s Taiwan. Additionally, the British educational historian, Richard Aldrich, was interviewed for this research to reconstruct the history of his two academic visits to Taiwan in 1994 and 2000 and discuss his long-standing friendship with Guang-Xiong Huang, Yu-Tee Lin and Yu-Wen Chou, since these three Taiwanese educational historians expanded their research at the IOE. The interview arrangements and the interviewees' backgrounds are presented in Table 5.1 while the analysis will be conducted in Section 5-4.

Table 5.1: The information of educational historians' interviews and backgrounds

Name	Time/Avenue	Notification
Chen-Tsou Wu	Dec. 21, 2011/ National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU), Taipei	Wu attained his master in Taiwan, and stayed at IOE for one year as the visiting scholar in 1966. Because he rejected my recording, his accounts were from my interview summary.
Guang-Xiong Huang	Dec. 16, 2011/ Huang's home, Taipei	Huang stayed at IOE for two times in the 1970s and the 1980s respectively, and his doctoral supervisor was Richard Aldrich. However, Huang eventually got his PhD in Taiwan.
Yu-Tee Lin	Dec. 20, 2011/NTNU	Lin got his PhD in Iowa of USA, and stayed in University of Oxford in 1990 and IOE in 1995 as the visiting scholar. At that time, his supervised tutor was Richard Aldrich.
Yu-Wen Chou (Jacob)	Dec. 14, 2011/NTNU	Jacob acquired his PhD in Taiwan. In 1993, he stayed at IOE for one year as the visiting scholar, and his supervised tutor was Richard Aldrich.
Huan-Sheng Peng	Dec. 27, 2011/ National Hsinchu University of Education, Hsinchu	He attained his PhD in Taiwan in 1999, supervised by Huang. When he was conducting his research, <i>The Idea and Practice of Robert Owen's Popular Education: An Example of New Lanark School, 1800-1824</i> , he once visited New Lanark to collect his data in person for several months.
Yu-Ching Cheng	Dec. 20, 2011/ Taipei Municipal University of Education, Taipei	Cheng once lived in Oxford for three years. In her PhD thesis supervised by Huang, she also concerns some issues of Alexander Sutherland Neill's doctrines and his Summer Hill School.
Richard Aldrich	Dec. 10, 2012/ Institute of Education (IOE), London	Richard Aldrich was once as the supervised tutor of Huang, Chou and Lin, and was invited to visit Taiwan for two times in 1994 and 2000.

5.3 Definition and concept of the history of education by Taiwanese educationalists

In the Taiwanese educational research community, the philosophy of education and history of education have always been regarded as being one research field. Consequently, college students and postgraduates had to be academically trained in both of these subjects at the same time.¹ Some reasons to explain the origin and transformation of this concept are discussed below.

Firstly, literature, history and philosophy were always considered to be in the same terrain from the perspective of traditional Chinese culture.² Therefore, Taiwanese educationalists naturally combined these two subjects as one research field although, in fact, they have numerous differences in research. Yu-Tee Lin's account reflects this fact,

In our long-term academic tradition, literature, history and philosophy originally came from one terrain and they were never divided into three disciplines in the old days. That is to say, a good historian was also commonly educated in literature and philosophy. Therefore, an educational historian also had to have a massive amount of knowledge of literature and philosophy.³

¹ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Transformation of the Subject of Educational History in Taiwan Teacher Education Programmes, 1897-1998', in *The Transformation of Education for One Hundred Years*, ed. Department of Education of National Taiwan Normal University (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin Book, 1998), 363-372.

² Shu-Ren Wang, 'Some Critiques on Western New History', *Journal of Hangzhou Normal University: Humanities and Social Sciences* 5, 2010: 28-34.

³ Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

For example, the Department of Education at the National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) still currently divides its entire research staff into four divisions, namely, educational administration and policy, curriculum and instruction, sociology of education, and philosophy and history of education.⁴ Thus, the arrangement of this organisational framework can also be evidence that Taiwanese educationalists are profoundly influenced by Chinese history and culture.

Secondly, there were few human resources and a small higher education budget when Chinese scholars accompanied the Chinese central government in its retreat to Taiwan after 1949. Naturally, the division of the disciplines of educational studies could not be discussed at that time in the context of war and economic difficulties, and neither was the professionalisation of each educational discipline developed very well later. For example, when Pei-Lin Tien sketched the developmental blueprint of the educational studies at the Graduate Institute of Education at the NTNU between 1956 and 1958, he often demonstrated the importance of studying philosophy and the history of education.⁵ Apparently, the term, ‘philosophy and the history of education’ can be traced back to at least 1956, and it has been included in the academic community of educational studies in Taiwan since the 1950s.

Thirdly, Huang provides a critical and reflective explanation based on his long-term observation, having expanded his postgraduate study in the 1960s,

⁴ The staff of Department of Education, NTNU, <http://www.ed.ntnu.edu.tw/teacher/> (retrieved on Jan. 21, 2013).

⁵ Pei-Lin Tien, ‘The Development of Educational Studies during This Year’, *Education and Culture Monthly* 10, no. 11 (1956): 18-20; Pei-Lin Tien, ‘The Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University’, *Education and Culture Monthly* 15, no. 9/10 (1957): 19-20; Pei-Lin Tien, ‘Preface: The Research Interest of Our Graduate Institute of Education’, *Bulletin of Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University* 1, 1958b: 1-2.

It is indeed more difficult for educational philosophers and educational historians to find a teaching or research job in higher education in Taiwan since these two subjects were always considered to be theoretical-orientated courses for the teacher education programme. Therefore, they were both naturally combined as one field, philosophy and the history of education, several decades ago.⁶

Constrained by this traditional idea and the developmental model of philosophy and the history of education as one research field, studies of the history of education in Taiwan became a common subject of concern in studies of educational thoughts, and it was usually taken for granted that research of educational history was one branch of studies of educational philosophy in Taiwan. For example, Yu-Wen Chou arranges scholarly books, journal articles, doctoral theses and master dissertations to categorise the themes of studies of educational history into four areas, namely, general issues, institutions and policies, thoughts and educationalists' doctrines, and movements and activities, and compares the tendency of these research topics to be studied during the periods of 1949-1998 and 1999-2002.⁷ Table 5.2 illustrates that, compared to the other three areas, Taiwanese educational historians preferred to conduct their studies on educational thoughts and educationalists' doctrines between 1949 and 1998, since 423 (51.21%) of them involved the fields of Western or Chinese educational history. This table is quoted from Yu-Wen Chou's studies, and

⁶ Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

⁷ Yu-Wen Chou, 'An Analysis of the Development of Studies of Educational History in Taiwan, 1949-1999', in *Internationalisation and Indigenisation of Educational Science*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih Book, 1999), 167-199; Yu-Wen Chou, 'A Study on the Development of the Study of History of Education in Taiwan, 1949-2002', *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Education* 48, no. 1 (2003): 1-14.

he analysed all works of educational history between 1949 and 1998 to demonstrate the development of studies of educational history has always been not very popular.

Table 5.2: The distribution of research areas of studies of educational history in Taiwan, 1949-1998⁸

	General issues		Institutions and policies		Thoughts and educationalists' doctrines		Movements and activities		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Chinese educational history	30	3.63	279	33.78	294	35.59	23	2.78	626	75.79
Taiwanese educational history	3	0.36	29	3.51	1	0.12	0	0	33	3.99
Western educational history	9	1.09	11	1.33	128	15.50	13	1.57	161	19.49
Historiography of education	6	0.73	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.73
Total	48	5.81	319	38.62	423	51.21	36	4.36	826	100

According to Table 5.3, the theme of educational institutions and policies attracted the most concern between 1999 and 2002, accounting for 115 (60.21%) studies, while studies of educational thoughts and educationalists' doctrines still occupied the mainstream from 1949 to 2002 with 488 (47.98%) studies as opposed to the issue of educational institutions and policies with 434 (42.68%) studies.

⁸ Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 1999, 170-171.

Table 5.3: The distribution of research issues of educational history in Taiwan, 1999-2002⁹

	General issues		Institutions and policies		Thoughts and educationalists' doctrines		Movements and activities		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Chinese educational history	4	2.09	65	34.03	35	18.33	0	0	104	54.45
Taiwanese educational history	2	1.05	48	25.13	6	3.14	0	0	56	29.32
Western educational history	1	0.53	2	1.05	24	12.56	0	0	27	14.14
Historiography of education	4	2.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2.09
Total	11	5.76	115	60.21	65	34.03	0	0	191	100

The combined data from Tables 5.2 and 5.3 illustrates that only 188 (18.49%) of the total 1017 studies conducted between 1949 and 2002 were studies of Western educational history, and among these, the theme of educational thoughts and educationalists' doctrines was much more popular than others, with 152 (80.85%) studies, and studies of British educational history were no exception. According to Chou's analysis, the 152 studies of British educational history conducted by Taiwanese educational historians mainly focused on British educationalists' ideas, including Francis Bacon, John Locke and Herbert Spencer, and British philosophical thoughts, including Liberalism and Utilitarianism.¹⁰

⁹ Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2003, 8.

¹⁰ Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2003, 3.

Although studies of educational thoughts have been the mainstream of studies of educational history in Taiwan for the past sixty years, their position has been consistently argued and debated by advocates and opponents. For example, when Yu-Tee Lin was awarded a government scholarship and expanded his doctorate learning at the Iowa State University in the United States of America in the 1970s, he began to cultivate his interest in researching studies of the history of Western educational thoughts.¹¹ Subsequently, when Lin went to Oxford in 1990 and the IOE in 1995 as a visiting professor, he was also concerned with British educational thoughts and educationalists' ideas and classics, such as John Locke's doctrine.¹² He constantly supported the importance of educational thoughts for educational historians,

Taiwanese educational historians should spend most of their time studying these classics of educational thoughts rather than collecting historical materials from the archives. It is undeniable that educationalists' thoughts are boundless and influential, and this is the main research task of educational historians.¹³

Based on this belief, Lin applied himself to introducing and translating Western educational thoughts in Taiwan for several decades, such as producing a Chinese version of John Seiler Brubacher's *A History of the Problems of Education* in 1980,¹⁴

¹¹ Tzu-Hsun Lin, *The History of Chinese and Taiwanese Students Studying Abroad, 1847-1975* (Taipei, Taiwan: Hwa-Kang Publishing, 1976), 538.

¹² Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

¹³ Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

¹⁴ Yu-Tee Lin trans., written by John Seiler Brubacher, *A History of the Problems of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Education and Culture Publisher, 1980).

The History of Western Educational Thoughts in 1995,¹⁵ and a Chinese version of John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* in 1996.¹⁶

However, Guang-Xiong Huang provided a different explanation of why Taiwanese educational historians preferred studies of educational thoughts,

Rather than collecting historical materials from the archives, it is more useful for Taiwanese educational historians to collect the classics of educational thoughts when they conduct studies of educational history. If not, it will be very difficult for them to personally travel to Western countries or China to find historical materials when they undertake their study of Western or Chinese educational history.¹⁷

Subsequently, he added to the convenience and advantage of studying educational thoughts for Taiwanese educational historians,

However, if you would like to discuss John Locke's educational doctrine, you do not need to go to the UK to search for it. You can find Locke's books and other contributions related to his thoughts everywhere, including Taiwan, or you can purchase the books online. This is why Taiwanese educational historians always prefer to conduct studies of educational thoughts.¹⁸

¹⁵ Yu-Tee Lin, *The History of Western Educational Thoughts* (Taipei, Taiwan: Sanmin Book, 1995).

¹⁶ Yu-Tee Lin trans., written by John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1996).

¹⁷ Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

¹⁸ Ibid.

On the one hand, it is impossible to know how many Taiwanese educational historians support Lin's opinion. However, it is apparent from Tables 5.2 and 5.3 that studies of educational thoughts have always remained a favourite subject of Taiwanese educational historians from the past to the present day. On the other hand, Huang's account also responds to the fact that, not only did most Taiwanese educational historians retain a deep-rooted ideology and lacked the motivation to learn from foreign academic communities of educational history, but they also maintained the same unchangeable way of studying the research and approaches of Western educational history.

5.4 An examination of Taiwanese educational historians' learning experience in the UK

This section mainly traces the connection between the academic exchange of British and Taiwanese academic communities of educational history. Although some of the literature contributed by Taiwanese educationalists concerns the development of studies of this discipline in post-war Taiwan, the way in which the bridge of this discipline between these two countries was built by Taiwanese educational historians since the 1970s has seldom been investigated. Thus, it will be necessary to collect and analyse these informants' experience of British study, while simultaneously exploring and criticising the struggle Taiwanese educational historians owe to their British study experience from the past to the present. Therefore, promoting this discipline in the process of professionalisation will be another related theme.

5.4.1 The Pioneer: British study life of Guang-Xiong Huang in the 1970s and his contribution

Apart from the record of Guang-Xiong Huang's life when studying in Britain, Chen-Tsou Wu was, in fact, the foremost Taiwanese educational historian to study in the

UK. He stayed at the IOE as a visiting professor for one year in 1966.¹⁹ At that time, the study of the British history of education by Taiwanese educational historians still focused on the doctrines of educationalists such as Francis Bacon, John Locke and Herbert Spencer, and British philosophical thoughts, such as Liberalism and Utilitarianism, almost all of which had been disseminated in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period from 1895 to 1945.²⁰ After finishing his study, Wu completed an unpublished book in 1971 to describe the development of public schools in the UK, and this scholarly book was eventually published in 1998.²¹ However, when Wu gradually changed his area of interest and began to focus his research on Chinese educational thoughts in the 1970s, his British study experience failed to transform his motivation to practically promote more academic dialogue between British and Taiwanese educational historians since the 1960s.

When Huang was lecturing at the NTNU in the 1970s, while simultaneously studying for his PhD, he succeeded in obtaining funding from the Taiwan National Science Council. This enabled him to stay at the IOE between 1974 and 1976 to conduct his research entitled, *Joseph Lancaster and the Movement of Monitorial System of The Royal Lancastrian Institution*, supervised by Richard Aldrich.²² He eventually attained his doctorate in Taiwan in 1977 and published his thesis in 1982.²³ Huang recalled his study at the IOE,

¹⁹ Chen-Tsou Wu's interview (2011/12/21).

²⁰ Jo-Ying Chu, *The Development of Western Modern Educational Discipline During Japanese Colonial Period and Its Influence on the Pedagogy of Public Elementary School, 1895-1945*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2011), 21-22.

²¹ Chen-Tsou Wu, *Public Schools in the UK* (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan Book, 1998).

²² Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16); Richard Aldrich's interview (2012/12/10).

²³ Guang-Xiong Huang, *Joseph Lancaster and the Movement of Monitorial System* (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Fuhwen Book, 1982).

At that time, Richard Aldrich was teaching at the IOE as a lecturer, and when he got my application letter, he told me that he was very glad to give me any kind of help. When I arrived in London, he took me around and showed me how to use the IOE library, the Senate House library and the British library.²⁴

Richard Aldrich also mentioned the history of building his friendship with Huang,

Actually, Huang was the first Taiwanese educational historian I contacted since the 1970s when I began my research career at the IOE. Because our relationship had been built over more than twenty years, I was very glad when he invited me to make academic visits to Taiwan in the 1990s.²⁵

Huang's British study experience became the first formal academic exchange between British and Taiwanese educational historians. Meanwhile, he began to turn his research interest to undertaking curriculum studies from the 1980s and did not publish any more studies related to British educational history.

Additionally, Yu-Tee Lin also stayed at Oxford University in 1990 and at the IOE in 1995, a total of two years, as a visiting professor, where he always placed his interest in the study of Western educationalists' thoughts. This means that the British study experience of these three foremost Taiwanese educational historians, Chen-Tsou Wu, Guang-Xiong Huang and Yu-Tee Lin, was not able to contribute to a further expansion of the exchange of knowledge between Taiwanese and British educational historians. As for the second academic dialogue, this had to wait until 1993 when

²⁴ Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

²⁵ Richard Aldrich's interview (2012/12/10).

Yu-Wen Chou stayed at the IOE to conduct his research, also supervised by Richard Aldrich.

Thus, the critical question is why the generation gap of Taiwanese educational historians lasted for almost twenty years, from 1974 to 1993, and why the number of studies of Western educational history decreased during this period. In fact, Yu-Wen Chou had found this problem in 1999 and proposed some reasons to explain this tendency in several of his works.²⁶ Firstly, between the 1970s and 1980s, several enactments of Teacher Education Law in Taiwan had a significant effect on the development of the studies of educational history. The course of educational history was originally regulated by the Taiwanese Ministry of Education as a compulsory subject in the teacher education programme. However, from the 1970s, each teacher education institution was allowed to make its own decision to offer this course as a selective one or close it. This huge change led to the subject gradually losing its importance in teacher education programmes, and there was almost no demand for teacher education institutes to recruit new educational historians when the original contingency retired leaving some vacancies in higher education.²⁷

Secondly, not only did the number of works on the study of Western educational history decrease during these twenty years, but there was also a steep decline in the contribution of studies of educational history in general. This could be seen from Wei-Chih Liou's findings. Liou collected all the articles of the philosophy of education and the history of education from the *Bulletin of Educational Research* between 1958 and 2008, a total of fifty years. This scholarly journal was established in 1958, and it remains the mainstream platform for current educational historians

²⁶ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1999, 173; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2003, 4-6.

²⁷ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1998, 366-374.

and educational philosophers to publish their works. It is evident from Table 5.4 that there was a consistently low percentage of works pertaining to studies of educational history in *Bulletin of Educational Research*, especially in the 1970s and the 1980s. Liou argues that educational studies in Taiwan have been significantly influenced by quantitative research from the USA since the 1970s, which has had a direct result on the struggle of the studies of educational foundations, which is why there were only nine articles about the studies of educational history in those twenty years. From the 1990s, Taiwanese academic communities of social sciences began to reflect the excessive development of quantitative research and sought a balance between quantitative and qualitative research. Therefore, studies of educational history became attractive again in the 1990s.²⁸

Table 5.4: Transformation of number of articles of educational history from the *Bulletin of Educational Research*, 1958-2008²⁹

	1958-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2000	2001-2008	Total
Volume number	1-12	13-22	23-32	33-45	46-54	54 volumes
Total articles	86	159	202	132	194	773
Educational history articles	9	2	7	12	11	41
%	10.47%	1.26%	3.47%	9.09%	5.67%	5.30%

Thirdly, Guang-Xiong Huang's account illustrates the practical circumstances of the response to the generation gap of educational historians between the 1970s and the 1980s,

²⁸ Wei-Chih Liou, 'Historical Review of Articles on Educational History and Educational Philosophy Published in the Past Five Decades', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 56, no. 2 (2010): 6.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 5-6.

It was very difficult for educational historians to find jobs. Therefore, studies in this field could not attract younger educational researchers in Taiwan.³⁰

Although these foremost Taiwanese educational historians were unable to resolve the problem of the generation gap, they still attempted to attract young educationalists to engage in this field. Huang supplemented his efforts, saying,

At that time, we still attempted to find ways to resolve this problem. For example, I suggested that the Ministry of Education should support a scholarship for those who were planning to study abroad and were interested in studies of Western educational history. However, I knew that, when they passed the test and received this official scholarship, most of them would eventually choose to undertake studies of the philosophy of education or other fields.³¹

The above analysis of the collected data of Yu-Wen Chou and Wei-Chih Liou and the account of Guang-Xiong Huang explains the long-standing struggle to include the study of educational history in research and the teacher education programme in Taiwan for the past several decades and illustrates the massive difficulty in cultivating one Taiwanese educational historian with an interest in studying Western educational history.

³⁰ Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

³¹ Ibid.

5.4.2 British study experience of successors in the 1990s and their contribution

Yu-Wen Chou's research interest was initially Chinese educational history, but in 1993, he obtained funding from the Taiwan National Science Council, and encouraged by Jiaw Ouyang and Guang-Xiong Huang, he transferred his research concern to studies of British educational history. Chou attended the IOE to take a one-year special course in educational history in 1993, and Huang introduced and recommended him to Richard Aldrich, who also became his tutor.³² Yu-Wen Chou sketched this history,

At that time, I learnt a lot from Professor Jiaw Ouyang and Professor Guang-Xiong Huang and I began to consider some issues of British educational history. Besides, when I planned to make a short-stay study at the IOE, Huang also did me a favour by asking Richard Aldrich to supervise my research. This was the second time Richard Aldrich had come into contact with a Taiwanese educational historian.³³

According to Yu-Wen Chou, this was the second academic exchange between British and Taiwanese educational historians in 1993, almost twenty years after the last time in 1974.

When Chou returned to Taiwan, he made every effort to publish journal articles to analyse the development of studies of educational history in the UK and the

³² Yu-Wen Chou, 'Preface', in *The Modern History of British Education, 1780-1944*, by Yu-Wen Chou (Taipei, Taiwan: Pro-Ed Publishing, 2008), iii-v; Richard Aldrich's interview (2012/12/10).

³³ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

relationship between teacher education programmes and educational studies there.³⁴ He simultaneously published his scholarly book to introduce the transformation of the British modern education system by means of official historical materials from the British archives.³⁵ Besides, Chou also arranged some research courses to discuss issues of British educational history with Taiwanese postgraduates and these programmes included *Studies in the History of Education in the United Kingdom*, *Studies in the Historiography of Education*, *Studies in the History of Childhood Education*, and *Studies in the History of Women's Education*, all of which expanded his research concern more broadly than before.³⁶ Chou recalls his special study experience at the IOE,

My original research interest was the educational history of the Song Dynasty in China and I was always concerned about the issue of formal schooling. However, when I was at the IOE, Richard Aldrich recommended that I should study several books related to the history of childhood education and women's education. In fact, this was my first contact with these issues of educational history, which had never been considered by Taiwanese educationalists.³⁷

³⁴ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Study of historiography of Education in the UK, 1868-1993', *Bulletin of National Taiwan Normal University* 39, 1994: 63-111; Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Relationship between the Curriculum of the Initial Teacher Training and the Development of the Study of Education in England and Wales, 1800-1993', *Bulletin of Research Institute of Education of Taiwan Normal University* 36, 1995: 143-187.

³⁵ Yu-Wen Chou, *The Modern History of British Education, 1780-1944* (Taipei, Taiwan: Pro-Ed Publishing, 2008).

³⁶ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

³⁷ Ibid.

Although Taiwanese historians began to consider issues of childhood history and women's history in the 1990s, what stimulated Yu-Wen Chou to engage in issues of the history of childhood education and the history of women's education was the British history of education community. Chou explains the development as follows,

When I first came to consider these two issues at the IOE in 1994, I had no idea that Taiwanese historians had also begun to consider them in the 1990s. When I began to attend their conferences and seminars, I realised that they had been producing some work about these two issues for a long time.³⁸

Therefore, the experience of developing the studies of childhood education and women's education originally came from the British history of education community rather than Taiwanese historians. When Chou arranged the above-mentioned five courses, his syllabuses always listed reading references from the studies of British educational historians. For example, when he taught a course of Studies in the Historiography of Education in 2006, he chose four volumes of the *History of Education: Major Themes*, edited by Roy Lowe in 2000, as the reading materials.³⁹ Besides, by invitation from Guang-Xiong Huang and Yu-Wen Chou, Richard Aldrich expanded his two academic visits in Taiwan in 1994 and 2000 to include lectures, and his 2000 lecture was eventually modified and then published in *Chung Cheng Educational Studies*.⁴⁰ Richard Aldrich's visits and Chou's endeavours encouraged more young scholars and postgraduates than ever before to explore studies of British educational history. Yu-Wen Chou supported his case as follows,

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid; Roy Lowe ed., *History of Education: Major Themes*, I-IV volumes (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2000).

⁴⁰ Richard Aldrich, 'Reflections on the Recent Innovation of the National Curriculum in England', *Chung Cheng Educational Studies* 1, no. 1 (2002b): 65-89.

For example, when I opened the postgraduate course of Studies in the Historiography of Education in 2006, I recommended the attendees to read Richard Aldrich's inaugural lecture, *The End of History and the Beginning of Education*, on the process of discussing the development of studies of British educational history in class.⁴¹

Therefore, according to Chou, Richard Aldrich's works, such as his book, *The End of History and the Beginning of Education*, were common reading materials at that time.⁴²

In addition to being updated about the relevant knowledge of the development of British studies of educational history, the academic interaction between international scholars and postgraduates at the IOE was also a special experience of Chou's study abroad. For example, he recalled how he encountered and became friends with other overseas educational historians,

A Chinese educational historian, Hai-Feng Liu, also studies at the IOE as a visiting scholar for six months at that time. After our British academic stay, he went back to China and I returned to Taiwan, and sometimes I contacted him to talk about the cooperation of academic activities of educational history. In fact, when we were at the IOE, we also often discussed some issues of the study of educational history.⁴³

⁴¹ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

⁴² Richard Aldrich, *The End of History and the Beginning of Education* (London: Institute of Education, 1997).

⁴³ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

After 2004, Liu was promoted to the position of Dean at the Institute of Education at the University of Xiamen in China, and Chou was elected as the Dean of the College of Education at the National Taiwan Normal University in 2010. Therefore, more resources could be arranged and they also succeeded in organising annual conferences of the study of educational history in China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan from 2007 onwards.⁴⁴ Chou supported his opinion of these allied academic activities,

In the beginning, I hoped that academic institutes and research staff of educational history could share their contributions and resources. So, after a long-standing discussion, we decided to build an academic platform or forum for these favourite studies of educational history to expand the academic exchange. This was why we eventually organised the annual conferences every year from 2007, which actually produced more academic dialogue for these groups who were interested in educational history.⁴⁵

The above analysis indicates that, if Guang-Xiong Huang is arguably regarded as being the first Taiwanese educational historian to open a dialogue of this discipline between British and Taiwanese academic communities in the 1970s, Yu-Wen Chou can be considered to have been the most significant Taiwanese educational historian in the 1990s in terms of expanding the interaction between British and Taiwanese educational history communities after a twenty-year suspension of this academic exchange.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

After Chou, their doctoral theses of another two new Taiwanese educational historians, Huan-Sheng Peng and Yu-Ching Cheng, also referred to the issue of British educational history, and they were both supervised by Guang-Xiong Huang. When Peng was conducting his doctoral research, *The Idea and Practice of Robert Owen's Popular Education: An Example of New Lanark School, 1800-1824*,⁴⁶ he visited New Lanark in Scotland to collect historical materials. After completing his thesis, Peng attempted to consider more about British educational history, such as the development of British women's education,⁴⁷ while simultaneously beginning to extend his master's research to consider the development of the American public school system in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ In 2004, Peng applied for funding and planned to leave for the UK to conduct a study of the history of British women's education. However, his application was rejected by the Taiwan National Science Council. A year later, in 2005, he changed his research plan to analyse the development of the American modern public education system and this time he obtained funding for the research. Finally, he expanded his research to Indiana University, Bloomington, USA.⁴⁹

Peng confessed to the transference of his research interest in recent years,

⁴⁶ Huan-Sheng Peng, *The Idea and Practice of Robert Owen's Popular Education: An Example of New Lanark School, 1800-1824*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 1999).

⁴⁷ Huan-Sheng Peng, 'The Initial Exploration of Gender, Glasses, and Woman Education: The England in the 19th Century as an Example', *Bulletin of Elementary Education* 9, 2003: 67-96.

⁴⁸ Huan-Sheng Peng, *Ideas and Controversies of Horace Mann Insisted upon Public School Education of Massachusetts, 1837-1848*, the unpublished master dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of History, Fu Jen Catholic University, 1995).

⁴⁹ Huan-Sheng Peng's interview (2011/12/20).

Based on the practical factor of more easily obtaining research funding from the Taiwan National Science Council, I gradually changed my research interest from the theme of British educational history to the issue of American and Taiwanese educational history in a couple of years after 2005. So then I seldom touched or updated related studies of British educational history.⁵⁰

Peng's account also illustrates that educational foundation researchers were forced to adapt to the demand of the practical circumstances in Taiwan at the time. This meant that, if educational historians planned to obtain funding for their research from the Ministry of Education, National Science Council, other government units, and research institutes, they had to consider the requirements of these sponsors and the current mainstream research issues.

Different from Peng's transference of research countries and issues, Yu-Ching Cheng always focused on modern Western educational thinkers' ideas rather than just on British educationists' thoughts,

When I was studying my undergraduate and postgraduate programme at the Taiwan Normal University, I always took a great interest in Western educators' thoughts and published some articles related to these issues. Exploring classical educationalists' doctrines was very interesting and meaningful for me but I never only considered modern British educationalists' ideas.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Yu-Ching Cheng's interview (2011/12/20).

Cheng's account indeed corresponded with her long-term research concerns. Although she had experience of studying in Britain, her research interest was not always based on British educationalists' ideas,

I accompanied my husband to study his doctorate of medicine at Oxford University, and simultaneously registered for some courses of the philosophy of education and the history of education. Sometimes I attended seminars and lectures. Anyway, I have good memories of living in Oxford for several years.⁵²

When undertaking her doctoral research in Taiwan on the topic of contemporary Western anti-schooling ideas, Cheng became involved in the doctrine of Alexander Sutherland Neill, the founder of Summerhill School in Suffolk, England in the 1920s, and this coincided with a discussion of the twentieth-century Austrian philosopher, Ivan Illich's de-schooling statements.⁵³ In other words, Cheng's research issues were very broad, but always concerned with Western thinkers' accounts of educational issues, such as the development of general education.⁵⁴ However, compared to Yu-Wen Chou's contribution, Huan-Sheng Peng and Yu-Ching Cheng had less academic interaction with British educational historians like Guang-Xiong Huang and Yu-Wen Chou.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Yu-Ching Cheng, *Romanticism and Anti-Schooling Doctrine between the 1960s and the 1970s: A Critique*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 1997).

⁵⁴ Yu-Ching Cheng, The Ideas of Arnold Joseph Toynbee's Historical Philosophy and Liberal Education, *Taiwan Journal of General Education* 5, 2010: 29-46.

Therefore, in view of these informants' academic backgrounds shown in Table 5.1 in Section 5.2 and the analysis of these Taiwanese educational historians' stories of the development of British studies of educational history in post-war Taiwan in this section, some comments can be concluded and criticised.

Firstly, the generation gap between Taiwanese educational historians in the mid-1970s and 1980s has been described and critically addressed in this section. This serious problem reflects the fact that the Taiwanese social context and academic environment of higher education at that time produced massive stumbling blocks to intervene in the development of educational history research. At the same time, foremost Taiwanese educational historians were unable to support some efficient and attractive resolutions to encourage new postgraduates and researchers to devote themselves to continue the and expansion of studies of educational history during these twenty years. This gap also resulted in less development of studies of Western educational history than in pre-1970s Taiwan, with most study remaining at the stage of Western educationalists' thoughts and Western thinkers' educational doctrines. Therefore, Taiwanese and British educational history communities naturally lacked sufficient academic dialogue and Taiwanese educational historians were unable to update themselves with the latest information of the studies of educational history in the UK.

Second, these informants' study periods in the UK were never very long. They usually consisted of a couple of months to collect research materials, several months as a visiting scholar, and one to two years to study short-stay and special courses. Thus, they seldom had numerous opportunities to have more academic exchanges with British and international educational historians and never experienced long-term

and formal doctoral training. It was mentioned in Guang-Xiong Huang's interview accounts above that the Taiwan Ministry of Education still supported a government scholarship for postgraduates to study educational history in the 1970s and the 1980s. However, influenced by the paradigm of American empiricism, most scholarship receivers usually transferred their research field after obtaining the scholarship and tended to study in the USA to undertake empirical research of educational practices.⁵⁵

Therefore, compared to the positive interaction between academic communities of the philosophy of education and sociology of education of Britain and Taiwan before the 1990s, the developmental trends of studies of educational history between these two countries became almost parallel with few connections. For example, in the field of the sociology of education, Ching-Jiang Lin acquired his doctoral degree at the University of Liverpool in 1968. Jiaw Ouyang obtained his MPhil degree in the philosophy of education at the IOE in 1969 and Jau-Wei Dan earned his PhD at the University of Glasgow in 1991. However, in terms of the history of education, Taiwanese researchers who gained their doctorate in the UK could not be found until Hsiao-Yuh Jenny Ku completed her PhD degree at the IOE in 2012, supervised by Gary McCulloch. This demonstrates that there is still far less interaction between the academic dialogue of these two countries' educational history communities than the two educational foundation disciplines, the philosophy of education and the sociology of education.

Since numerous Taiwanese educational philosophers and educational sociologists have studied for their PhD in the UK, it will be easier to find interviewees for this

⁵⁵ Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

research. However, compared to the educationists in these two fields, it is very difficult to find appropriate Taiwanese educational historians as respondents based on the purpose of this research. This is why six respondents from the educational history field only have Taiwanese doctorates, but can be included as cases for analysis, and in fact, their short-stay British academic experience can still be borrowed and quoted to argue the interaction and progress of educational history communities between the UK and Taiwan.

Thirdly, based on some factors of the traditional research approach and the limitation and inconvenience of collecting historical materials, studies of the history of educational thoughts are still the mainstream, and the spotlight of studies of Western educational history in Taiwan is always focused on Western educationists' doctrines and educational issues from Western thinkers' accounts and perspectives. Besides, Taiwanese researchers who are interested in Western educational thoughts not always only pay attention to British educationists' classics, but also discuss European and American thinkers' educational doctrines, such as the above-mentioned works of Yu-Tee Lin and Yu-Ching Cheng.⁵⁶ However, these Taiwanese educational historians are usually extremely interested in consulting with British educational philosophers and frequently attending the Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain. For example, Yu-Tee Lin shared his experience,

When I was conducting my research at the IOE and Oxford, I often attended seminars and conferences on the philosophy of education and had some academic conversations with British educational philosophers. From what I

⁵⁶ Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20); Yu-Ching Cheng's interview (2011/12/20).

remember, I only joined activities organised by the British educational history community a few times.⁵⁷

Lin's account again demonstrates that the development of the philosophy of education and history of education in Taiwan from the past to the present has not always been fairly divided, and this is why the philosophy of education and history of education are usually regarded as being one subject called philosophy and the history of education. Consequently, in the long-term development of educational history in Taiwan, this discipline will be easily categorised as being one branch of studies of educational philosophy.⁵⁸ In fact, Taiwanese educational historians will continue to contact British educational historians and attend the academic activities of the History of Education Society in the UK all the more to be updated on the progress of studies of educational history in the UK and obtain some implications from the British educational history community, which will benefit the development of this academic discipline in Taiwan.

5.5 The development of studies of Western educational history in post-war Taiwan

This section mainly draws on the development of studies of British, American and German educational history in post-war Taiwan. The first part examines the selected knowledge of studies of British educational history that was disseminated in post-war Taiwan, while also highlighting the issues of the studies of British educational history, which were neglected by the Taiwanese educational history community. Different from the analysis in the first part, the issues of American and German

⁵⁷ Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

⁵⁸ Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'One Hundred Years of Philosophy of Education in Chinese Society: A Sketch', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011a), 359-360.

educational history that were concentrated and introduced by post-war Taiwanese educational historians are discussed in the second part.

5.5.1 Studies of British educational history in post-war Taiwan

It was mentioned in Chapter Three that educational accounts of some British educationalists' doctrines and British thinkers, including Francis Bacon, John Locke, John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham and Herbert Spencer, had been transferred and translated in pre-war China and Taiwan courtesy of Chinese scholars and students who studied abroad.⁵⁹ A great many Chinese educationists accompanied the Chinese central government when it retreated to Taiwan in 1949 to continue their research careers. However, it was naturally more difficult to process frequent exchanges between Taiwanese and Western academic communities based on the factors of the global tension of the Cold War and numerous civil wars between China and Taiwan. Additionally, it was also extremely inconvenient to collect foreign research materials and update the development of educational studies from the West under the oppressed political atmosphere in Taiwan at that time. Therefore, the distribution of studies of Western educational history in post-war Taiwan only consisted of previous studies undertaken in pre-war China between 1949 and the 1970s.

According to Guang-Xiong Huang's accounts, he observed the struggle of studies of Western educational history in Taiwan since the 1970s in that these famous Western educationalists' doctrines had been consistently repeated. He occasionally found that the work of Joseph Lancaster, the advocate of the British Monitorial System, was not conducive to the research concerns of Taiwanese educational historians, so he

⁵⁹ Mei-Yao Wu, 'The Reception of Foreign Educational Thought by Modern China, 1909-1948: An Analysis in Terms of Luhmannian Selection and Self-Reference', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 3 (2009): 309-328; Jo-Ying Chu, op. cit., 2011.

attempted to conduct his doctoral research to explore this British educationalist's ideas and movements. Huang mentioned,

At that time, Taiwanese educational historians always preferred to discuss the ideas of Western educationalists and thinkers. However, when I prepared to conduct my doctoral research, I found that almost all of these famous foreign scholars had been studied, such as Bacon, Spencer and Locke. Finally, I found that Lancaster had apparently never been contacted by Taiwanese educational historians. In fact, Lancaster's educational contributions were initially very strange to me.⁶⁰

Huang's research model was a typical representative of the research hobby and approach of the foremost Taiwanese educational historians. It can clearly be seen that other Taiwanese educational historians after Huang almost followed his model to continue focusing on some issues of British educationalists' own doctrines or their educational movements to conduct their studies of British educational history before the 1990s, and this approach to conducting studies of British educational history still remains the mainstream today.⁶¹ For example, Huan-Sheng Peng focused on Robert Owen's claims of popular education and his New Lanark School of educational practice in the nineteenth century.⁶² Additionally, Yu-Ching Cheng drew on the de-schooling statement of Romanticism and Alexander Sutherland Neill's experiment of Summerhill School between the 1960s and the 1970s.⁶³

⁶⁰ Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

⁶¹ Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2003, 3.

⁶² Huan-Sheng Peng, *op. cit.*, 1999.

⁶³ Yu-Ching Cheng, *op. cit.*, 1997.

However, Yu-Wen Chou began to advocate some new issues for studies of Western educational history from the 1990s, such as the history of British childhood education and the development of British women's education, different from the research interests of past educational historians.⁶⁴ Besides, the examination of the transformation of British educational institutes also became a new research concern of Taiwanese educational historians. For example, Chou published his scholarly book, *The Modern History of British Education, 1780-1944*, in 2008 to trace the development of British educational institutes, such as higher education, teacher education and the educational administrative system, by collecting and analysing official reports and documents, historical materials, and government legislation.⁶⁵ Therefore, this book also created a new style, including a research approach and issues for Taiwanese educational historians when they were conducting studies of the British history of education.

In view of the analysis mentioned above in Section 5.4, the mutual interaction of Taiwanese educational historians and British educational historian groups was not always frequent, as opposed to Taiwanese educational philosophers and educational sociologists, who continued to engage in intensive academic exchanges with British academic communities of the educational philosophy and sociology of education. This situation has not changed very much today, even though Yu-Wen Chou and other educational historians began to become involved in studies of British educational history in the 1990s. However, the expansion and development of this academic discipline still needs more educational historians and resources.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1994, 98-101; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2003, 11-12.

⁶⁵ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2008.

⁶⁶ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1994, 98-101; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2003, 11-12.

In the field of the philosophy of education, Richard Stanley Peters' doctrines had been introduced and employed in Taiwanese educational settings since the 1970s,⁶⁷ and subsequently, some works of Karl Mannheim, Basil Bernstein and Michael Young had been also transferred and domesticated into Taiwanese research and practices in the field of the sociology of education since the 1980s.⁶⁸ However, apart from these two educational foundation fields, Brian Simon is one of the most significant British educational historians in modern times, although his influential contributions are still consistently neglected by the Taiwanese educational historian community and his accounts are still never systematically disseminated into Taiwan's educational study group. This demonstrates that the studies of British educational history in Taiwan have lacked sufficient dialogue with British and other foreign educational historians for a long time, and thus, cannot reflect the full development of studies of educational history in the UK.

However, there is still room to explore and reflect on the reasons why Brian Simon's contributions have not always been adopted by Taiwanese educational historians up to the present day. According to Huan-Sheng Peng,

It is evident that Taiwanese educational historians have commonly only considered the studies of American educational history for a long time, since American academic communities gradually began to expand their influence in China and Taiwan during the twentieth century. Therefore, the

⁶⁷ Jiaw Ouyang, *An Introduction to Philosophy of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin Book, 1973).

⁶⁸ Po-Chang Chen, *The Study of Hidden Curriculum* (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 1985); Po-Chang Chen, *Ideology and Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1988).

contributions of British contemporary educational historians have been largely neglected by Taiwanese educationalists.⁶⁹

Compared to this trend recorded by Peng, Taiwanese educational historians gradually had less and less interest in recognising the latest development of studies of British educational history and contemporary British educational historians' achievements.

Yu-Tee Lin also supports this opinion,

The studies of Western educational history in post-war Taiwan commonly consisted of exploring their classics and the educational thoughts of Western educationists and thinkers, who lived in both ancient and modern times.⁷⁰

For example, among the studies of British educational history, British thinkers like Francis Bacon, John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, almost all of whom lived before the twentieth century, are always the focus of Taiwanese educational historians.⁷¹ Additionally, Joseph Lancaster and Robert Owen, both research concerns of Guang-Xiong Huang and Huan-Sheng Peng, also lived in the nineteenth century. Therefore, the contributions of Brian Simon, as a contemporary British educational historian, are not as naturally attractive to the Taiwanese academic community of educational history as those of Yu-Tee Lin from Guang-Xiong Huang's perspective.⁷²

⁶⁹ Huan-Sheng Peng's interview (2011/12/20).

⁷⁰ Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

⁷¹ Guang-Xiong Huang, *The Study of Western Educational Thoughts* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1998).

⁷² Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

Thirdly, although in his autobiography, *A Life in Education*, Brian Simon said little about the history of his membership of the British Communist Party (CP),⁷³ he actually joined the CP in 1935 and became a member of its national executive committee between 1958 and 1972.⁷⁴ Therefore, Simon's Marxist accounts that were rooted in his political and ideological beliefs were consistently employed in his studies of educational history to explain the relationship between politics and education.⁷⁵ However, there were massive civil wars between the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) and the Communist Party of China (CPC, Chinese Communist Party, CCP) before the first half of the twentieth century, and eventually the KMT retreated to Taiwan, having been beaten by the CPC in 1949. In the context of martial law, which was implemented in Taiwan by the KMT government from 1949 to 1987, all publications had to be checked and books and articles involving communism were banned and never published. According to Guang-Xiong Huang,

In the past, Taiwanese researchers were threatened by the sensitive political tattoo and atmosphere, so they naturally never consulted Western thinkers' thoughts when their background was involved in communism. Consequently, Brian Simon's works and doctrines were seldom disseminated and discussed in Taiwan.⁷⁶

⁷³ Brian Simon, *A Life in Education* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1998), 4, 10, 29.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 10; Gary McCulloch, 'A People's History of Education: Brian Simon, the British Communist Party and *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870*', *History of Education* 39, no. 4 (2010): 441.

⁷⁵ Richard Aldrich, 'The Real Simon Pure: Brian Simon's Four-Volume History of Education in England', *History of Education Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1994): 76; Gary McCulloch, *Education, History and Social Change: The Legacy of Brian Simon* (London: Institute of Education, 2004a), 14; Gary McCulloch, op. cit., 2010, 437-457.

⁷⁶ Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

In fact, the explanations of these three informants are extremely doubtful and unreasonable. Firstly, if Taiwanese educational historians always preferred to consider the thoughts of Western educational historians who existed in ancient and modern times before the twentieth century, as some informants suggest, why is it that John Dewey's contribution is always a popular research issue in the Taiwanese educational history community? Secondly, if the informants imply that Taiwanese educational historians always focus on studies of American educational history, this can also be questioned. Based on the informants' responses to the question about their experience of international academic interaction from the interview questionnaire, it cannot be found that any Taiwanese educational historians became members of the History of Education Society, USA, or ever attended any conferences of educational history in the United States of America.

Finally, some works of Western communist intellectuals have actually been introduced and disseminated in Taiwan since the 1990s. For example, the British contemporary historian, Eric Hobsbawm, had a communist background, and his book, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*, was translated into Chinese in 1996.⁷⁷ Besides, although Hobsbawm mentions his experience of being a communist in detail in his autobiography,⁷⁸ it was still translated into Chinese and published in Taiwan in 2008.⁷⁹ Therefore, the reason Brian Simon's works have still not been introduced and translated by Taiwanese educational historians cannot be simplified as being due to his communist background.

⁷⁷ Ming-Hsuan Cheng trans., written by Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (Taipei, Taiwan: Rye Field Publishing, 1996).

⁷⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A twentieth-Century Life* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), 127-151.

⁷⁹ Chuan Chou trans., written by Eric Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A twentieth-Century Life* (Taipei, Taiwan: Rive Gauche Publishing, 2008).

The serious shortage of academic exchange between Taiwanese educational historians and foreign educational history communities can be explored based on the above analysis of the factors that result in Brian Simon's contributions still not being disseminated by today's Taiwanese educational historians. For example, it is evident from the respondents' replies to the questionnaire that they have insufficient experience of becoming members of foreign academic societies, such as the UK's History of Education Society, the US History of Education Society, and the International Standing Conference for the History of Education. Additionally, they have little experience of attending conferences and other activities of foreign academic societies of educational history.

5.5.2 Studies of American and German educational history in post-war Taiwan

Basically, the population of the Taiwanese academic community of educational history is very small. Therefore, every educational historian's research concerns are usually very broad and each issue they undertake is often focused on the UK and the USA. For example, in terms of the development of studies of educational history in the West, Yu-Wen Chou published his work, *The Study of historiography of Education in the UK, 1868-1993*, in 1994 after his stay at the IOE as a visiting professor in 1993, and subsequently, he continued to present his study entitled the *Development of Historiography of Education in America from 1842 to 1999: A Survey*, in 2000 after his stay at Harvard as a visiting professor in 1999.⁸⁰ Besides, Huan-Sheng Peng conducted his doctoral research on the educational ideas of British entrepreneur, Robert Owen, and the reform of popular education in New Lanark in the UK, while Peng also focused on the establishment and development of the public

⁸⁰ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1994, 63-111; Yu-Wen Chou, 'Development of Historiography of Education in America from 1842 to 1999: A Survey', *Journal of the National Institute for Compilation and Translation* 29, no. 2 (2000): 229-267.

school system in Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the USA.⁸¹ Additionally, Yu-Tee Lin and Yu-Ching Cheng considered the history of the thoughts of Western educationalists and thinkers. Since the main issue of Cheng's doctoral research was the transformation of the idea of contemporary de-schooling in the West, she selected Paul Goodman, an education reformer of the USA, and Alexander Sutherland Neill, an educational practitioner of the UK, as representatives to analyse their educational doctrines and practices.⁸²

Cheng also stressed her research interest again during the process of this interview,

I am always addressing myself to the examination of Western contemporary thinkers' ideas, including Bertrand Russell's educational experiment of Beacon Hill School, Ellen Key's children's education, and Ivan Illich's de-schooling when conducting my research and supervising my postgraduates over these past years.⁸³

Compared to the development of studies of American and British educational history, most Taiwanese educational historians seldom addressed the issues of German educational history because of the limitation of the German language. In the past, Taiwanese scholarship receivers who undertook their doctoral research of educational foundations in Germany usually paid attention to issues of educational

⁸¹ Huan-Sheng Peng, op. cit., 1995; Huan-Sheng Peng, op. cit., 1999; Huan-Sheng Peng, 'The Origin of Public School System of Rhode Island and the Accomplishments of Henry Barnard, 1800-1849', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 55, no. 3 (2009): 29-65.

⁸² Yu-Ching Cheng, op. cit., 1997.

⁸³ Yu-Ching Cheng's interview (2011/12/20).

philosophers' thoughts and critical German pedagogy.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, during these years, Wei-Chih Liou began to focus on the history of the dissemination and transfer of transnational knowledge from modern Germany to China and Taiwan.⁸⁵ Generally speaking, compared to the development of studies of American and British educational history in post-war Taiwan, studies of German educational history Taiwanese educational historians are still extremely rare today.⁸⁶

5.6 The transformation of the history of education as a subject in teacher education programmes and the content of the British history of education as it appears in textbooks in post-war Taiwan

The way in which the transformation of the birth rate in Taiwan had a decisive influence on decreasing the demand for educational foundation courses and researcher vacancies of teacher education institutes since the 1990s was clearly analysed in Section 3.4.1. On the one hand, it was inevitable that educational history courses and researchers would be impacted by the low birth rate over the past twenty years. On the other hand, Taiwanese academic communities have also been deeply influenced by the American paradigm of empirical research since the 1970s,⁸⁷ which has also caused a struggle for the development of educational history research and

⁸⁴ Chi-Hua Chu, 'The Revision and Implication of Johann Friedrich Herbart's General Pedagogy under Globalization', *Kaohsiung Normal University Journal: Education and Social Sciences* 29, 2010: 101-118; Shu-Mei Chang, 'On Klaus Mollenhauer's Critical Pedagogy, 1928-1998', *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education* 8, no. 1 (2008): 129-150.

⁸⁵ Wei-Chih, Liou, 'Reception and Transformation of German Kulturpädagogik in China and Its Interpretation by Chinese Scholars', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 53, no. 3 (2007): 93-127; Wei-Chih Liou, 'A Historical Review on Dissemination of German Pedagogy in China and Taiwan, 1928-1983', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 54, no. 4 (2008): 34-41.

⁸⁶ Wei-Chih Liou, *op. cit.*, 2010, 7-8.

⁸⁷ Chen-Tsou Wu and Po-Chang Chen, 'A Critical Examination of Taiwanese Educational Studies over the Past Forty Years', *China Forum* 234, 1985: 230-243; Cheng-Hsi, Chien, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Educational Philosophy as a Discipline in Taiwan from 1949 to 2005', *Educational Resources and Research* 66, 2005: 8.

teaching. Therefore, this section mainly contains an examination of the transformation of the subject of educational history in teacher education programmes and the appearance of the knowledge of British educational history in textbooks by tracing the development from the past to the present.

From 1897, the government of the Ching Dynasty began to establish a modern education system, and simultaneously, Chinese government officials and scholars extended their visits to Japan to borrow Japanese experience of implementing teacher education. In 1904, the Chinese central government enacted a law to establish teacher education institutes and the subject of educational history was ruled to be a compulsory course in teacher education programmes.⁸⁸ During this period, at least twenty six scholarly books of educational history in China were largely translated from Japanese publications, and it was estimated that more than eleven of these were selected by the Chinese central government as textbooks for teacher education students.⁸⁹ Table 5.5 categorises the twenty six publications of educational history translated from Japanese between 1899 and 1911. In 1910, different from the above translated works of educational history from Japan, the *History of Chinese Education* was published as the first publication of educational history written by the Chinese scholar, Yi-Cheng Liu.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1998, 350-354; Tzu-Chin Liu, *Nationalism and the Development of the Study of Education in Modern China, 1897-1919*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2005), 38-50.

⁸⁹ Tzu-Chin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 95-96.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 111.

Table 5.5: Category of publications of educational history translated from Japanese into Chinese, 1899-1911⁹¹

	Western educational history	Chinese and Western educational	History of Chinese instruction	Japanese educational history	Others	Total
Volumes	5	9	1	4	7	26

Additionally, when these publications of educational history introduced Western education, the term ‘Western’ generally referred to Britain, France, Germany and the USA. Besides, most of these twenty-six publications not only described the development of the British education system, but also included the ideas of British thinkers such as John Locke and Herbert Spencer.

Although the political regime shifted from the Ching Dynasty to the Republic of China ruled by the KMT after 1912, the subject of educational history still retained its major status in teacher education programmes and a mass of publications about educational history were still disseminated and translated from Japan.⁹² Additionally, Chinese educational historians were seen to begin to expand their academic exchange with the American community of educational history during this period. In 1914, Ping-Wen Kuo passed the viva of his doctoral thesis, *The Chinese System of Public Education*, at the Teachers College of Columbia University. Subsequently, Kuo’s thesis was published by his alma mater in 1915, and Paul Monroe simultaneously wrote the preface for Kuo’s book.⁹³ However, the content of the development of British education and the ideas of British educationalists and thinkers was still not

⁹¹ Ibid, 96-97.

⁹² Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1998, 356-357.

⁹³ Tzu-Chin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 146.

clearly distinguished in these new publications of educational history from that in former textbooks.

When the Republic of China's government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the subject of educational history gradually lost its mainstream position in teacher education programmes and moved from being a compulsory course to a selective one, and some teacher education centres and institutes stopped supporting it.⁹⁴ However, the other three disciplines of the foundation of education, namely, educational psychology, educational philosophy and the sociology of education, were gradually adopted by Taiwanese educationalists during this period and became major courses in teacher education programmes.⁹⁵

Although educational history no longer enjoyed its former status among teacher education programmes in Taiwan from 1949, scholarly books and textbooks of educational history were still greatly developed during the subsequent decades. Firstly, more and more works of educational history were published. Secondly, based on increased and more frequent international academic exchanges between Taiwanese educationalists and foreign scholars and technological advancement that made it convenient to search for historical materials and documents online, the contents of research and textbooks were able to be rapidly updated and broadened more deeply than pre-1970s publications that only repeated similar research themes.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1998, 362-379; Department of Education of Taiwan Province ed., *The Historical Documents of the Development of Education in Taiwan* (Taichung, Taiwan: Department of Education of Taiwan Province, 1987), 87-87, 99, 494.

⁹⁶ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14); Yu-Ching Cheng's interview (2011/12/20); Huan-Sheng Peng's interview (2011/12/27).

For example, Yu-Tee Lin's two publications, *History of Western Education* and *History of Western Educational Thoughts*, have been commonly recommended as basic major sources by many educational historians in Taiwan over the past twenty years to assist teacher education course attendees, undergraduates and postgraduates to recognise the development of Western education from ancient Greece to the present Western educationalists' thoughts.⁹⁷ In his two scholarly books, Yu-Tee Lin mentioned,

I know that a great many lecturers in higher education are still currently introducing these two textbooks for those who have never touched on the field of Western education history to take this course or find their research issues. I spent much time writing these two books because I consulted many classical and contemporary Western educational historians' work, such as the American educationalist, Brubacher.⁹⁸

These two textbooks also introduced the development of British education, since they included the work of modern Industrial Revolution and British educational thinkers such as Francis Bacon, John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. In fact, the content and issues of British educational history in other publications were almost the same as Lin's. However, Taiwanese educationalists began to consider new issues of British educational history in the 1990s, including higher education, women's education and childhood education. For example, the developments from Oxford and Cambridge were recently examined and discussed by

⁹⁷ Yu-Tee Lin, *History of Western Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin, 1980); Yu-Tee Lin, op. cit., 1995.

⁹⁸ Yu-Tee Lin's interview (2011/12/20).

Taiwanese educationalists when analysing the development of British higher education.⁹⁹

The third factor that contributed to the improvement of scholarly publications and textbooks of educational history is that academic exchange activities between Taiwan and China became more normal and frequent as their serious political relationship began to gradually improve in the 1990s. Yu-Wen Chou shared his long-standing observation and personal experience,

Since the political relationship between Taiwan and China began to gradually improve in the 1990s, we began to expand our academic cooperation and exchange with Chinese academic communities. In terms of educational historians' contribution, we not only organise annual conferences regularly, but also hold seminars and lectures, which enables Taiwanese educational historians to recognise the development of studies of this discipline in other countries.¹⁰⁰

Chou's statement responds to Taiwanese scholars' popular trend of building a new approach to recognise Western academic development by connecting with Chinese academic communities. For example, the engagement of a great many Chinese educational scholars and postgraduates in this field has enabled the translation of numerous classical Western educational historians' works and Western and British

⁹⁹ Yu-Wen Chou, *The Modern History of British Education, 1780-1944* (Taipei, Taiwan: Pro-Ed Publishing, 2008), 198-292.

¹⁰⁰ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

educational history has been widely studied since the 1980s.¹⁰¹ China's economic reform that began in 1978 is commonly believed to have been a key factor of the huge expansion of Chinese academic communities, including the rise in the number of researchers and studies of educational history.¹⁰²

Besides, Taiwanese and Chinese educational historians attempted to build an academic platform to provide a dialogue for students of educational history. The first conference of educational history research was held at the Faculty of Education, University of Macau in 2009, and this annual conference is now regularly organised in China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan each year. The National Taiwan Normal University hosted the fourth conference in 2010. According to the schedule of the fourth conference, most presentations involved the development of East Asian education and Western educationalists' thoughts, especially those of John Dewey, while only one Taiwanese scholar, Huan-Sheng Peng, discussed the history of British education.¹⁰³ Therefore, Yu-Wen Chou proposes the next task for Taiwanese educational historians,

We have to promote this annual conference to the international academic stage. For example, more and more educational historians can become involved in studies of Western educational history and more and more non-Chinese-speaking educational historians can attend this conference and have more academic dialogue with us.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Yu-Wen Chou, The Investigation of studies of Educational History in China, 1984-2004, *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Education* 49, no. 1 (2004): 91-101.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Huan-Sheng Peng, *Inquiry and Reflection of the Development of British Progressive Education*, http://web.ed.ntnu.edu.tw/hoed/public_html/agenda_tw.html (retrieved on Jan. 30, 2013).

¹⁰⁴ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

Chou proposes that the main means of promoting East Asian educational historians is by more academic interaction and discussion with Western educational history communities.

The final part of this chapter will contain a critical reflection of the analysis of this section of the development of educational history research in post-1970s Taiwan. Taiwanese educational historians have gradually made significant achievements in research and expanded their international horizons in recent years. However, the fact that the subject of educational history lost its major status in teacher education programmes and research courses in Taiwan for a long time cannot be ignored. Restricted by this struggle, the introduction of Western and British educational history in textbooks cannot attract next-generation scholars and postgraduates to explore this field. Thus, the development of academic research of this discipline is moving slowly. Normal universities and teacher education institutes in Taiwan still currently offer few basic courses of Western educational history, while only one research course, *Studies in the History of Education in the United Kingdom*, was established by Yu-Wen Chou in 2005.¹⁰⁵

Chou supported his observation as follows,

I know that most teacher education centres and normal universities failed to offer courses related to Western educational history for college students and postgraduates several years ago, even though Taiwanese educational historians published some significant studies and textbooks. Therefore, my aim in establishing this course of British educational history in 2005 was

¹⁰⁵ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

that it would stimulate the interest of more postgraduates in this field at that time.¹⁰⁶

Chou's account apparently indicates two parallel developments of this subject in post-1990s Taiwan. On the one hand, courses of educational history were gradually marginalised and there was a lack of educational historians in normal universities and teacher education institutes because of the re-enactment of the teacher education law in the 1990s. However, on the other hand, Taiwanese educational historians improved their studies and publications with new issues and approaches, very different from past works, mainly focusing on the ideas of Western educationalists and thinkers.

The lessons and struggles encountered by Taiwanese educational historians in the process of the professionalisation of educational history research will be analysed in terms of educationalists' different stances and opinions in the next section.

5.7 The struggle for studies of educational history in Taiwan and the implication of studies of educational history in the UK

The questions debated by Taiwanese philosophy of education and sociology of education community researchers about their own discipline identification in the post-1990s are mentioned in chapters four and six. However, Taiwanese educational historians encountered other struggles and lessons during the process of the professionalisation of this academic discipline.

In addition to the marginalised development of this discipline as a result of Taiwanese educationalists' long-term recognition that the philosophy of education

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

and history of education should be commonly regarded as being one research field, namely, the philosophy and history of education, Taiwanese educational historians also began to discuss the development of the professionalisation of this subject when they reviewed studies of the development of this field in the UK conducted by British educational historians, including an exploration of new research issues and application of social science theoretical and statistical approaches.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, British educational historians also argued over the definition, content and research approach to the development of the study of this discipline in the UK.¹⁰⁸

Asa Briggs defined this academic discipline as follows,

The study of the history of education is best considered as being part of the wider study of the history of society; social history should be broadly interpreted with politics, economics and, it is necessary to add, religion.¹⁰⁹

Taiwanese educational historians not only introduced Asa Briggs' and other British educational historians' discussions of the content of this discipline, but also employed these British scholars' statements to construct the knowledge system of

¹⁰⁷ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 1999, 167-199; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2003, 1-14.

¹⁰⁸ Asa Briggs, 'The Study of the History of Education', *History of Education* 1, no. 1 (1972): 5-22; William Richardson, 'Historians and Educationists: The History of Education as a Field of Study in Post-war England, Part I: 1945-72', *History of Education* 28, no. 1 (1999a): 1-30; William Richardson, 'Historians and Educationists: The History of Education as a Field of Study in Post-war England, Part II: 1972-96', *History of Education* 28, no. 2 (1999b): 109-141; Gary McCulloch, "'Disciplines Contributing to Education?'" Educational Studies and the Disciplines', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 50, no. 1 (2002): 100-119; Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000), 27-51.

¹⁰⁹ Asa Briggs, op. cit., 1972, 5.

this field in the Taiwanese context. For example, Yu-Wen Chou supports his perspective,

When I was studying at the IOE, I found the oral approach was discussed and applied by British educational historians. However, this was still a new research approach for Taiwanese educational historians at that time. Therefore, when I introduced this new approach to Taiwanese educationalists, I also included the application of the oral approach into Taiwanese educational settings and practices.¹¹⁰

The most controversial problem with the strategy to professionalise this field was whether or not this discipline could become more professional by founding an academic society and publishing a professional journal. In the 1990s, Yu-Wen Chou had taken the stance that there was no need for Taiwanese educational historians to establish an academic society or journal, and promoting the inclusion of educational history in teacher education programmes again was not their major task.¹¹¹ Instead, they should strengthen the professionalisation of this discipline in common departments of educational studies rather than in teacher education programmes and thus attract more historians' interest.¹¹² Chou expressed this opinion in 1994, and he still took the same stance when he was interviewed in 2011,

Since we have limited resources and researchers, I do not think we can afford to establish an academic society and professional journal. Instead, there should be should be more academic dialogue between Taiwanese

¹¹⁰ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

¹¹¹ Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 1994, 98-101; Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 1998, 372-274.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

historians and Chinese educationalists to attract more interest. Besides, we have to promote this discipline as a more professionalised course rather than simply being a subject in teacher education courses.¹¹³

Richard Aldrich's perspective is different from Chou's,

The History of Education Society and its journal are a good platform for British educational historians to present their studies and engage in an academic dialogue. Therefore, I think the society and the journal are helpful in promoting the professionalisation of this discipline.¹¹⁴

In fact, other Taiwanese educational historians appear not to have challenged or supported Chou's stance, which also demonstrates that few researchers still consider the development of the study of educational history in Taiwan. Therefore, Taiwanese educational historians have still reached no conclusion or proposed practical actions to found a society and publish a journal. Contrary to the two fields of the philosophy of education and the history of education, Taiwanese educational sociologists established their society in 2000 and published their journal in 2001 to accelerate the professionalisation of this academic discipline.

5.8 Concluding remarks

This chapter has mainly addressed the introduction, dissemination and distribution of studies of British history of education in post-1970s Taiwan, contributed by Guang-Xiong Huang and next-generation Taiwanese educational historians when conducting research in the UK. Another key point of this chapter was the influence

¹¹³ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

¹¹⁴ Richard Aldrich's interview (2012/12/10).

of the achievement of British educational historians in terms of the development of studies of Western educational history in post-1970s Taiwan.

It was found that the development of educational studies in the UK had a strong relationship with the transformation of teacher education programmes in Taiwan since the 1960s, including the philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education. Contrary to the British experience, it can be found that this academic discipline was also influenced by the birth rate, the expansion and decline of teacher education programmes and institutions and the enactment of teacher education law in post-1970s Taiwan. Although prominent Taiwanese educational historians attempted to find other ways to attract more next-generation educationalists to engage in studies of this field by supporting their request for Taiwanese Ministry of Education to provide overseas study scholarships, this was insufficient to encourage them to produce effective work. Moreover, the generation gap pre-Huang and post-Huang also caused the disconnection of Taiwanese and British educational history communities for almost twenty years from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s until Yu-Wen Chou expanded his one-year research in 1994.

Compared to the development of the other two educational foundation disciplines in post-1960s Taiwan, no educational historians acquired doctorates in the UK until Hsiao-Yuh Jenny Ku obtained hers at the IOE in 2012. Jiaw Ouyang expanded his doctoral programme in the field of the philosophy of education at the IOE in 1965 and Jau-Wei Dan acquired his PhD in the same field at Glasgow University in 1991. Ching-Jiang Lin obtained his doctorate in the sociology of education at Liverpool in 1968 and Kuei-Hsi Chen earned his doctorate in this field at Sheffield in 1975. Evidently, the relationship built by post-1970s Taiwanese educational historians with

British educational communities was much weaker than that of educational philosophers and educational sociologists, in spite of the fact that Guang-Xiong Huang began to expand his doctoral programme at the IOE between 1974 and 1976.

As to the significant influence of Taiwan's National Scholarship for Overseas Study on the interaction of philosophy of education between Taiwan and the UK, it can be evidenced by these interviewees' testimonies that this scholarship is not helpful for the academic exchange between Taiwanese and British history of education communities.

As for the transformation of research issues of Western educational history, it can be found that pre- and post- 1970s Taiwanese educational historians apparently preferred to examine the educational thoughts and doctrines of Western educators by analysing participants' interview data. Therefore, issues of British educational history considered by prominent Taiwanese educational historians embraced Francis Bacon, John Locke, Herbert Spencer, Utilitarianism and Liberalism. In the 1990s, Yu-Wen Chou began to address other issues of British educational history, including women's education, childhood education, and the history of the British education system and policies, which gradually attracted more next-generation educationalists to explore this field.

However, contemporary British educational historian, Brian Simon, was seldom mentioned when introducing the knowledge and studies of British educational history. Although some explanations for this were given by participants, it also reflects the fact that Taiwanese educational historians are fairly unfamiliar with the development of the British educational history community.

Another key point to promote the further professionalisation of this discipline is the mass publication of scholarly books and textbooks by Taiwanese educational historians in recent years. Simultaneously, translated works and studies of Western educational history conducted by Chinese educationalists are currently being introduced, and these are giving Taiwanese educationalists a better understanding of the latest contributions of Western educationalists to this discipline.

Finally, whether or not the establishment of a professional society and the publication of an academic journal can further promote the professionalisation of this discipline is still debatable, although Taiwanese educational historians are cooperating with Chinese educational historians to organise regular annual conferences in China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan and other frequent academic activities and exchanges.

Chapter 6: Dissemination and recontextualisation of British sociology of education studies in post-1970s Taiwan

6.1 Introduction

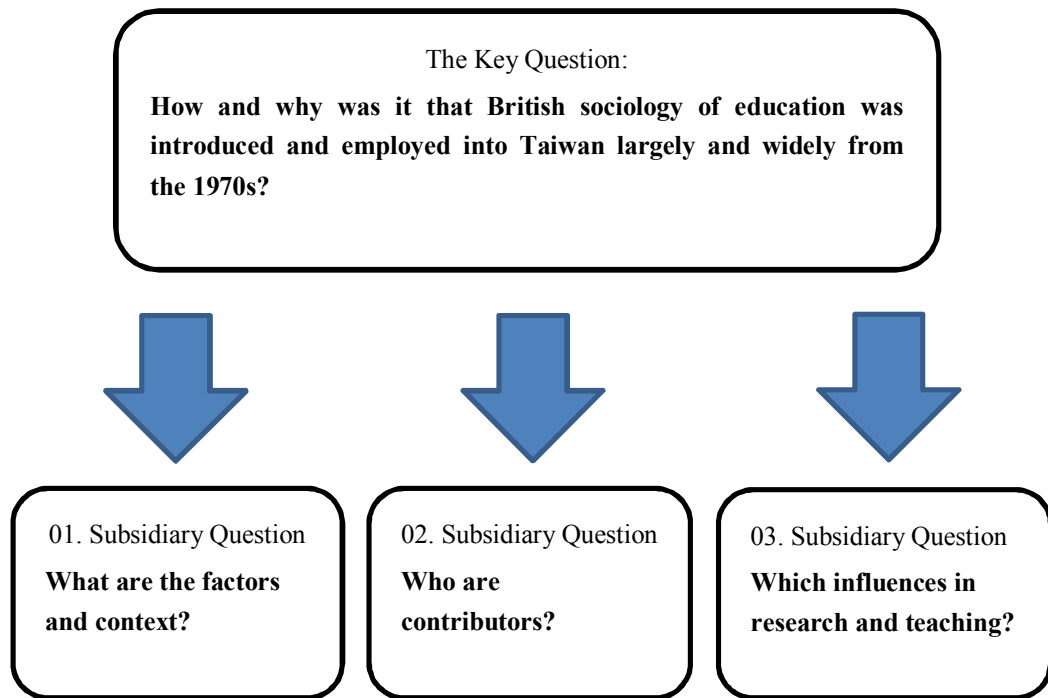
Followed the discussions of Chapter Four, philosophy of education, and Chapter Five, history of education, this chapter mainly traces the history of the dissemination, application and domestication of the theories and findings of the British sociology of education in post-1970s Taiwan. It highlights the influences and implications of the academic knowledge of the British sociology of education contributed by Taiwanese educational sociologists, who attained their doctorates and conducted their research on the further development of Taiwanese studies of this subject as visiting professors in the UK.

As Chapter Four and Chapter Five to borrow the research question frame from Section 1.2, Chapter One, this chapter also addresses four research questions to respond these research questions from Section 1.2, Chapter One.

- 01. How and why was it that British sociology of education was introduced and employed into Taiwan largely and widely from the 1970s?*
- 02. What are the factors that led to the selection of particular versions of British sociology of education being introduced into Taiwan in the post-1970s era?*
- 03. Who was involved in introducing British sociologies of education into post-1970s Taiwan?*
- 04. How has British sociology of education influenced research and teaching in post-1970s Taiwan?*

According to the frame of the research question drawn in Figure 1.1, these four above questions also can be embodied into this structure, as Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: The relationship between research questions on the diffusion of British sociology of education in post-1970s Taiwan



In order to deal with these four questions, five sections will be framed to become the main content for these questions.

In Section 6.3, it will explain how Taiwanese educational sociologists have always argued and attempted to define the sociology of education in the process of the professionalisation of this discipline. In the early twentieth century, when the sociology of education initially appeared as a subject in teacher education programmes in China, modern Chinese and Taiwanese educationalists usually regarded it as being an educational foundation discipline. Thus, it was seldom separated and discussed from the whole concept of educational foundation.

Therefore, the professionalisation of the sociology of education was developed later than the philosophy of education and the history of education in contemporary Taiwan. Subsequently, several decades ago, Taiwanese educational sociologists began to ponder the essential question of whether the sociology of education should be regarded as being a discipline of educational studies or a branch of sociological studies. Therefore, this section will explore these debates about the definition of the sociology of education by examining the process of the professionalisation of this discipline in pre-war China and post-war Taiwan during the last century.

In Section 6.4, it will progress in two ways. It will firstly explore the building of a bridge and the distribution of knowledge of the sociology of education from the UK to Taiwan by the foremost Taiwanese educational sociologists, Ching-Jiang Lin, who studied in Liverpool in the 1960s and Kuei-Hsi Chen, who spent his doctoral life in Sheffield in the 1970s. Secondly, it will examine the way in which the next-generation Taiwanese educational sociologists have continued Lin's and Chen's achievements to extend their research and diffuse the theories and knowledge of the British sociology of education since the 1990s. Most importantly, it will address the same problems, such as the struggle for the philosophy of education and history of education and the generation gap that arose between Lin's generation and post-Lin in 1980s Taiwan, although this did not mean that the subject of the sociology of education gradually lost its influence in research and teacher education programmes. In fact, a massive number of Taiwanese researchers and postgraduates were still concerned with the study of the sociology of education at that time, although most of them preferred to conduct their doctoral study in the United States rather than the UK.

The work of American, British, French and German educational sociologists has occupied the mainstream of the Western sociology of education for Taiwanese educationalists since the 1970s. Therefore, Section 6.5 will examine the knowledge of the British sociology of education selected and introduced by Taiwanese educational sociologists since the 1970s, and compare it with the knowledge and theories of the American, French and German sociology of education disseminated in Taiwan during the same period.

Sections 6.3 to 6.5 will mainly highlight the expansion and influence of the knowledge and doctrines of the British sociology of education in research in post-1970s Taiwan, while Section 6.6 will focus on the introduction and arrangement of the knowledge and doctrines of the British sociology of education into the content of textbooks and the way in which they were prepared for attendees of teacher education programmes. At the same time, the transformation of the subject of the sociology of education in teacher education programmes in post-1970s Taiwan will be retraced to demonstrate the gradual increase in the status of this subject.

Some practical suggestions will be made in Section 6.7 supported by British educational sociologists' experience and opinions of the development of this discipline in Taiwan, and the struggle and reflection of the development of studies of the sociology of education in Taiwan will be analysed by comparing the development of another two educational foundation disciplines, namely, the philosophy of education and the history of education.

6.2 Background of Interviewees from the sociology of education group

The framework and contents of this chapter were introduced in Section 6.1, as for the research method, this will involve two approaches. In addition to the application of a content analysis, which will mainly investigate the introduction and sketch the themes of the British sociology of education, the interview data of Taiwanese educational sociologists will also be employed in this chapter in order to reconstruct and criticise the development and influence of the knowledge and theories of the British sociology of education in Taiwan since the 1970s.

Table 6.1 contains details about the interview arrangements and the background of the interviewees, and a further analysis will be undertaken in Section 6.4. Besides, Taiwanese educational historian, Chen-Tsou Wu, was also invited to be interviewed to collect more information about the British study life of Ching-Jiang Lin, who was the first post-war Taiwanese educationalist to obtain a doctorate of the sociology of education in the UK and who passed away in 1999. Additionally, the British educational sociologist, Michael Young, was interviewed to clarify the history of his academic visit to Taiwan in 1999, and in order to further explore his influence on the development of the sociology of education studies in Taiwan, his only Taiwanese doctoral postgraduate, Yung-Feng Lin, was also interviewed by email. As for Ming-Lee Wen, she was supervised by Graham Haydon and obtained her PhD at the IOE in 1992 and her research interest always focused on the theories of the German Frankfurt School. Her interview data will also be helpful to understand the development of the German sociology of education in Taiwan.

Table 6.1: The information of educational sociologists' interviews and backgrounds

Name	Time/Avenue	Notification
Kuei-His Chen	Dec. 15, 2011/ Chen's home, Taipei	Chen attained his PhD in University of Sheffield in 1975, and he was also the first Taiwanese educationalist to get his PhD from the field of sociology rather than education.
San-San Shen	Dec. 26, 2011/ National Hsinchu University of Education, Hsinchu	Shen gained her PhD in Institute of Education in 1990. After Ching-Jiang Lin and Kuei-His Chen getting their doctoral degrees in 1968 and 1975 respectively, Shen was the first Taiwanese to receive PhD in the UK since the 1990s. After Shen, more and more Taiwanese educational sociologists acquired their doctoral degrees in Britain.
Tien-Hui Chiang	Jan. 02, 2012/ National University of Tainan, Tainan	Chiang earned his PhD in Cardiff University in 1996. Actually, there were totally five Taiwanese educationalists to acquire their PhD degrees of sociology of education from this university in 1993, 1996 and 1999.
Sheng-Yih Chuang	Jan. 03, 2012/ National Kaohsiung Normal University, Kaohsiung	Chuang acquired his PhD in University of Manchester in 1996.
Ruey-Shyan Wang	Jan. 03, 2012/ National Pingtung University of Education, Pingtung	Wang attained his PhD in Cardiff University in 1999, and like Tien-Hui Chiang, Wang was also supervised by Brian Davies. Actually, Brian was supervised by Basil Bernstein.
Ter-Sheng Chiang	Feb. 13, 2013/ Institute of Education (IOE), London	Chiang gained his PhD in Cardiff University in 1996, and he is currently teaching in National Chiayi University. At present, he is working as the visiting scholar in University of Cambridge.
Chen-Tsou Wu	Dec. 21, 2011/ National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei	Wu attained his master in Taiwan, and stayed at IOE for one year as the visiting scholar in 1966. At that time, he also kept touch with Ching-Jiang Lin in Britain, so his interview is helpful for me to clarify the experience of Lin's study life in the UK.
Michael Young	Dec. 11, 2012/ London Knowledge Lab, IOE, London	Michael Young's book, <i>Knowledge and Control</i> , actually had a much significant influence on studies of sociology of education and educational practices in Taiwan.

Yung-Feng Lin	Nov. 03, 2012/ By email	In order to examine the practical influence of Michael Young's works on the development of studies of sociology of education and educational practices in Taiwan, his only one Taiwanese doctoral postgraduate, Yung-Feng Lin, was also interviewed by email. Lin got his PhD in IOE in 2003, and his research interest is curriculum studies. He is currently working in National Chung Cheng University, Chiayi.
Ming-Lee Wen	Dec. 19, 2011/ Dante coffee shop downstairs he home	She always concerned theories of German Frankfurt School when she expanded her doctoral research. Her background is educational philosopher, while she also conducted studies of sociology of education by the perspective of German critical theories.

6.3 Some arguments about the definition of the sociology of education in the Taiwanese academic community

Two long-standing arguments have existed among Taiwanese educational sociologists in terms of the development of this academic discipline in Taiwan, the first of which is its positioning. In other words, whether studies of the sociology of education should be regarded as being a branch of educational studies or part of the study of sociology. The other is that borrowing and employing Western theories of the sociology of education and educational sociologists' doctrines into the Taiwanese context to examine and criticise Taiwanese educational problems and practices should be considered.

The countless debates among past Taiwanese educational sociologists about the second issue will be analysed in Section 6.7. On the other hand, the discussion of the first issue, the identity of this academic discipline, was supported by the Taiwanese academic community in the 1970s, when Ching-Jiang Lin addressed it as follows,

Arguing whether studies of the sociology of education should be defined as being an application of sociological studies in the educational field has

much meaning. In other words, it is really arguable that the study of this academic discipline could be that researchers examine and criticise educational issues by a sociological method, sociological theories and sociologists' doctrines.¹

Simultaneously, Lin also quoted British educational sociologist, Jean Floud, saying that,

For sociologists, sociological study is always followed by the principle of generalisation and they are trained to attempt to conclude what they observe to explain, criticise and theorise the principle of the outer world. Therefore, sociological research is regarded as being an empirical inquiry. However, educationalists' studies are regarded as being normative inquiries and they always stress the application. Thus, educationalists often attempt to support practical suggestions from their studies for educational settings.²

In fact, this comment from Lin's article expresses two significant academic achievements. Firstly, since the 1970s, the Taiwanese sociology of education community could instantly update the latest issues and research from Western educationalists' discussions and work by the contributions of Ching-Jiang Lin. Secondly, the development of the professionalisation of the sociology of education stayed at the initial stage, whether in Taiwanese or Western educational communities.

¹ Ching-Jiang Lin, 'The Role of Sociology of Education in Pedagogy', *Bulletin of Research Institute of Education Taiwan Normal University* 12, 1970: 131-132.

² Ibid, 132.

The first statement of this lesson of sociology of education appeared in Ching-Jiang Lin's work in 1970, and then more and more Taiwanese sociologists of education began to consider and argue about the definition of this academic discipline for the next several decades. For example, Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang criticise that,

Essentially, the field of education is really different from the field of sociology, not only in the training approaches, but also the knowledge of the academic discipline, which affects the way in which educationalists and sociologists examine the world. Therefore, when the study of the sociology of education is defined as being the analysis of educational issues conducted by the approach of sociological theories, sociologists will focus on the application of research methods, while educationalists will highlight the resolutions and suggestions of these educational issues.³

In other words, according to Li and Chang, the most significant difference between these two groups is that sociologists always attempt to find ways to explain, criticise and theorise from studies of the sociology of education, while educationalists often contribute practical resolutions and improvements after exploring and analysing educational problems.

At the same time, San-San Shen also commented on this topic,

Although Taiwanese educational sociologists have attempted to clarify the definition and content of this academic discipline for several decades,

³ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Sociology of Education in Taiwan', in *Educational Sciences: Internationalisation and Indigenisation*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih, 1999), 297-299.

educationalists and sociologists always take different stances on this aspect, which eventually leads to various explanations of this academic discipline, such as education and society, a sociological analysis of education, perspectives of the sociology of education, the social foundations of education, and the social functions of education.⁴

In Shen's opinion, it was evident that, although educationalists and sociologists had very different opinions about the definition of the sociology of education, this was always good for the development of studies of this academic discipline. In other words, the study of the sociology of education actually attracts the concern of educationalists and sociologists.

In fact, when the Taiwanese educational sociologists were interviewed, they also provided different opinions. For example, Sheng-Yih Chuang mentioned that,

In the past, Taiwanese educational sociologists always tried to establish a definition of the nature of this academic discipline. However, they gradually realised that it was too complex to find a common consensus between educationalists and sociologists. Taiwanese researchers currently receive and respect the work of the sociology of education written by educationalists and sociologists alike and they think that this variety of voices from educational and sociological academic communities will improve the development of the sociology of education.⁵

⁴ San-San Shen, 'Reflection on the Development of the Status of Sociology of Education', in *Educational Sciences: Internationalisation and Indigenisation*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih, 1999), 364-367.

⁵ Sheng-Yih Chuang's interview (2012/01/03).

The above comments from Ching-Jiang Lin, Chin-Hsu Li, Jian-Cheng Chang, San-San Shen to Sheng-Yih Chuang not only fully reflect the transformation of the main question Taiwanese educational sociologists have faced and debated since the 1970s, but also illustrate the development of the professionalisation of this new academic discipline in post-war Taiwan.

In fact, it was not only Taiwanese educational sociologists who faced the identity of this question, but Taiwanese educational historians also argued whether or not the study of the history of education could be claimed as being the study of educational issues by means of a historical approach and perspective, and whether the study of the history of education should be counted as being a branch of educational studies or part of historical studies.⁶ Similarly, Taiwanese educational philosophers also argued the same question about the development of their own academic discipline in the past.⁷ These discussions were mentioned and criticised in chapters four and five, and apparently this question does not only relate to studies of the sociology of education.

After all, the study of education is an interdisciplinary field, and educational researchers often need to examine educational issues by borrowing and applying the knowledge and theories of other academic disciplines, such as philosophy, history,

⁶ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Study of Historiography of Education in the UK, 1868-1993', *Bulletin of National Taiwan Normal University* 39, 1994: 98-101; Wei-Chih Liou, 'Historical Review of Articles on Educational History and Educational Philosophy Published in the Past Five Decades', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 56, no. 2 (2010): 26-27.

⁷ Yung-Ming Shu, 'The Development of Educational Philosophy in Taiwan', in *Internationalisation and Indigenisation of Educational Science*, ed. Shen-Keng Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Yang-Chih Book, 1999), 268-273; Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Educational Philosophy as a Discipline in Taiwan from 1949 to 2005', *Educational Resources and Research* 66, 2005: 17-19.

sociology and psychology, which are defined as the foundational disciplines of educational studies by British educationalists.⁸

Gary McCulloch proposed the characteristics of educational studies, as follows,

In particular, it tends to be suggested that educational studies should principally be regarded as being the application of a range of approaches borrowed from different disciplines, rather than a single discipline. On the other hand, the rise of a more unitary notion described as ‘educational research’ from the 1970s onwards promoted the view that education was a distinctive and specialised area of study in its own right, and therefore challenged the primacy of the disciplines of philosophy, history, sociology and psychology.⁹

Therefore, when educational issues are considered by the approach and perspective of other academic disciplines, educational researchers often question and reflect whether these studies should be categorised as being educational studies or studies of other academic disciplines.¹⁰ This is not just a question faced by educational sociologists, and all educational foundation discipline researchers have to criticise and reflect on this issue during the process of the professionalisation of educational

⁸ John William Tibble, ‘The Development of the Study of Education’, in *The Study of Education*, ed. John William Tibble (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 1-28; Paul Heywood Hirst, ‘Educational Theory’, in *The Study of Education*, ed. John William Tibble (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 29-58.

⁹ Gary McCulloch, “‘Disciplines Contributing to Education’? Educational Studies and the Disciplines”, *British Journal of Educational Studies* 50, no. 1 (2002): 101.

¹⁰ Yu-Wen Chou, ‘The Study of Education Development in the Republic of China in the Twentieth Century’, in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011), 286-288.

studies. An examination of the development of studies of the sociology of education in the UK since the 1960s indicates that British educational sociologists also debated the nature of the study of this academic discipline conducted by educationalists and sociologists, especially in the analysis of the methodology, epistemology and ontology of educational studies, and the relationship between educational studies and other academic disciplines.¹¹

Thus, it is easy to see that this essential question of educational research has always been considered by both English and non-English educationalists and the issues highlighted by Taiwanese educationalists were able to follow the latest developments of foreign educational academic communities.¹²

6.4 History of Taiwanese educational sociologists' British study lives

This section mainly highlights the development of the connection of academic communities of the sociology of education between the UK and Taiwan by examining the interviewees' experience of studying for a PhD in the UK. At the same time, it will explore and criticise the struggle of Taiwanese educational sociologists during this process.

6.4.1 The pathfinders: British study lives and achievements of Ching-Jiang Lin and Kuei-Hsi Chen since the 1960s

The discipline of the sociology of education appeared later than the development of the philosophy of education, history of education and psychology of education in the modern Chinese educational academic community and teacher education

¹¹ Olive Banks, 'The Sociology of Education, 1952-1982', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 30, no. 1 (1982a): 18-31; Roger Dale, 'Shaping the Sociology of Education over Half-a-Century', in *Sociology of Education Today*, ed. Jack Demaine (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave, 2001), 5-29.

¹² Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 286-288.

programmes since the 1920s.¹³ Because the sociology of education was a new discipline at that time, most studies of this discipline were conducted by sociologists, who also published several scholarly books of the sociology of education during this period. Therefore, the sketches and introduction of the sociology of education in these publications commonly focused on Western sociological theories and doctrines rather than the application of educational issues. For example, the content of Social Darwinism and the doctrines of Emile Durkheim and John Dewey were usually embedded in textbooks of the sociology of education at this stage.¹⁴

In the second stage, when the civil war ended in 1949, the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) was defeated by the Communist Party of China and the KMT government retreated to Taiwan. Simultaneously, some sociologists also returned to Taiwan and continued their academic careers. However, the development of sociology of education was not very progressive in Taiwan before the 1970s, and these former sociologists simply repeated and transferred the same studies from China to Taiwan. Two factors can explain the struggle for this academic discipline during this period, and these are discussed below.

Firstly, in the context of the implementation of martial law in Taiwan by the central government from 1949 to 1987, the political factor oppressed the research freedom of the academic environment and interfered with the development of academic research, especially the disciplines of sociology and political science, which were

¹³ Tzu-Chin Liu, *Nationalism and the Development of the Study of Education in Modern China, 1897-1919*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2005), 89-92; Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2011, 269.

¹⁴ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, *op. cit.*, 1999, 296.

usually regarded as being critical of the ruling government.¹⁵ As a result, the study of the sociology of education naturally could no longer be considered by educationalists and sociologists. Secondly, there was too little information and it was too inconvenient for Taiwanese educationalists to contact Western sociology of education communities at that time to be updated on the latest development of this discipline in the Western world.¹⁶ Therefore, based on the influence of these two factors in the pre-1970s Taiwanese-specific context, the development of the sociology of education could not move further toward the process of professionalisation and it became very difficult to systematically disseminate Western studies of the sociology of education into Taiwan in the 1970s until Ching-Jiang Lin made a contribution.

Although Ching-Jiang Lin was the first post-war Taiwanese student to obtain a government scholarship and a British doctorate, some pre-war Chinese educationalists had achieved something similar to Lin. For example, Kang-Zeng Sun (1898-2002) obtained a master's in comparative education at the University of Leeds in 1934, and publications of British educational studies and knowledge of the British education system and settings were almost all introduced by Sun before the 1970s.¹⁷ After Sun, Ching-Jiang Lin (1940-1999) acquired a postgraduate scholarship to study abroad from the Taiwanese Ministry of Education in 1965, and studied at the University of Liverpool between 1966 and 1968 to earn a doctorate of the sociology

¹⁵ Fwu-Yuan Weng, 'An Analysis of the Development of the Study of Sociology of Education in Taiwan, 1945-1999', presented in *the 1st Conference of Sociology of Education in Taiwan*, (Chiayi, Taiwan: Graduate Institute of Education, National Chung Cheng University, 1999/05/15-16), II-V-2; Mei-Ying Tang, 'Retrospect and Prospect of the Development of Sociology of Education in Taiwan', presented in *the 1st Conference of Sociology of Education in Taiwan*, (Chiayi, Taiwan: Graduate Institute of Education, National Chung Cheng University, 1999/05/15-16), II-VII-5.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 282.

of education.¹⁸ Lin came back Taiwan to expand his research and teaching career in 1968, and addressed himself to the introduction of Western studies of the sociology of education to the Taiwanese educational community in the 1970s. However, from the 1980s, Lin changed his job from being a higher education scholar to an administrator, including playing the role of president of two universities consecutively. He became the central official of the educational department and Minister of Education between 1998 and 1999, and working in administrative positions meant that he published less research than before.¹⁹ Therefore, Lin's main academic contribution to the field of the sociology of education in Taiwan was commonly achieved before the 1970s.

Although Lin made a massive contribution to sociology of education studies in Taiwan and occupied important official positions, there is little information about his British study life in the collection Lin's historical material. For example, when examining Lin's memorial collection published in 2001, it can be seen that only three of the eighty-three memorial essays briefly mention his British study.²⁰ Therefore, two of the interviewees' oral data needs to be applied to determine the reason why Lin chose Liverpool to study for his PhD in the 1960s rather than London or other British cities. According to Chen-Tsou Wu,

¹⁸ Tzu-Hsun Lin, *The History of Chinese and Taiwanese Students Studying Abroad, 1847-1975* (Taipei, Taiwan: Hwa-Kang Publishing, 1976), 537.

¹⁹ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 307-309; Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, 'The Retrospect of Sociology of Education in Taiwan', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011), 416-417.

²⁰ Ming-Dih Lin and Yau-Jane Chen eds., *The Memorial Essays of Ching-Jiang Lin* (Chiayi, Taiwan: National Chung Cheng University, 2001).

I am not really sure why he went to Liverpool rather than staying London. In fact, when he arrived in London to transfer to Liverpool, I was a visiting professor at the IOE, and although I tried to change his mind to study in London when he stayed at my house for a couple of days, he still decided to go to Liverpool.²¹

Although Wu did not understand Ching-Jiang Lin's mind, he made an assumption by adopting the perspective of the history of Chinese immigrants in the UK,

However, as is known, the history of Chinese people living and working in Liverpool is very long and maybe there were fewer Chinese in Liverpool than in London. So, although there were fewer Taiwanese postgraduates studying there in the 1960s, I suppose Lin did not have a language problem. In fact, I also went to Liverpool to visit Lin and his supervisor before I went back Taiwan in 1966.²²

Another interviewee, Kuei-Hsi Chen, also supported this assumption from the perspective of Lin's job in Taiwan and his doctoral research in Liverpool,

He was teaching at the National Taiwan Normal University when he obtained this Taiwanese government scholarship. The university president had asked Lin to obtain a doctorate in two years, so he had to find a supervisor who could assist him to do his job under this strict condition. In order to get his PhD as soon as possible, he compared the Taiwanese and English education systems to examine their developments as his PhD thesis.

²¹ Chen-Tsou Wu's interview (2011/12/21).

²² Ibid.

In fact, he had a great deal of practical teaching experience in Taiwan, so it was only necessary for him to understand the British education system and finish his PhD study on time.²³

Due to there being insufficient clues, the statements of Wu and Chen were necessary to reconstruct this first educational sociologist's British study experience in post-war Taiwan. This situation supports the imperative and urgent need to build sound archives and preserve the historical documents of modern Taiwanese educationalists.

Apart from Ching-Jiang Lin, Kuei-Hsi Chen was another forerunner of the mass of Taiwanese educational sociologists who have attained a British doctorate since the 1990s. Chen attained a Sun Yat-Sen scholarship from the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) in 1971, and expanded his doctoral study at the University of Sheffield between 1972 and 1975. Chen explained that the main reason for studying the sociology of education was based on the job market at that time,

When I received a scholarship to study social psychology, I asked my teacher if I should study sociology or psychology. He told me that the subject of the sociology of education was gradually being introduced in normal universities and colleges in post-1960s Taiwan, so educational sociologists were in demand at that time. Of course, I was also interested in studying the sociology of education since it combines practical issues and sociological theories.²⁴

²³ Kuei-Hsi Chen's interview (2011/12/15).

²⁴ Ibid.

In fact, Kuei-Hsi Chen was also the first educational sociologist to study this subject in the Department of Sociology rather than the Department of Education. Chen supported his statement and simultaneously explained why he chose the University of Sheffield. Firstly, he indicated that,

At that time, too many Taiwanese postgraduates were studying in the USA, so I made a decision to study in Britain.²⁵

On the one hand, Chen's initial consideration was the same as those Taiwanese educational philosophers and educational historians who decided to expand their doctoral study in the UK in the 1990s. These were mentioned and analysed in chapters four and five when exploring the reasons why receivers of government scholarships chose to study in the UK. On the other hand, his account also reflects the popular trend at that time when a massive number of overseas Taiwanese students were studying in the USA. In addition, his good friend and research partner, Ching-Jiang Lin, also influenced Chen's decision to study in Sheffield,

He advised me to read a scholarly book entitled *The School Teacher in England and the United States: The Findings of Empirical Research*, and I also originally had a great interest in the topic of the teacher's role. The author of this book, Roger Keith Kelsall, was teaching at the University of Sheffield, and his wife, Helen Martin Kelsall, was teaching at a local normal college in Sheffield. Roger immediately promised to be my supervisor when

²⁵ Ibid.

he read my application form, so I decided to go to Sheffield. At that time, I was the only Taiwanese student at Sheffield.²⁶

These two factors contributed to Chen's study at Sheffield at that time. The British study stories of Ching-Jiang Lin and Kuei-Hsi Chen are major representatives of the development of the study of the sociology of education in Taiwan in the initial stage. In fact, these two Taiwanese educational sociologists were mainly responsible for introducing and disseminating the knowledge and theories of the British sociology of education in Taiwan before the 1990s. As for the next generation of Taiwanese scholars returning from the UK, Taiwan had to wait until the 1990s, and this will be explored in the next section.

6.4.2 British study experiences and contributions of Taiwanese next-generation educational sociologists since the 1990s

Chen was the last Taiwanese researcher to obtain a doctorate in the sociology of education in the UK between 1975 and 1990. Compared to a similar situation in the fields of the philosophy of education and the history of education in Taiwan, there was also a generation gap in the field of the sociology of education during those fifteen years. In fact, Taiwan's Ministry of Education still offered a scholarship to study abroad at that time, but more and more Taiwanese postgraduates chose to study for their PhD in the UK, having been deeply influenced by the tide of American positivism in post-1970s Taiwan.²⁷

However, based on concern for international trade and diplomatic relationships and the significant influence of the European Common Market on post-1990s Taiwan,

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2005, 8.

Taiwan's Ministry of Education began to supply regular numbers of government scholarships for postgraduates to study in Europe in 1994.²⁸ In addition, English became the common language for communication across the globe after World War II, and it has also been the first foreign language for the Taiwanese for the past several decades.²⁹ When combining the above-mentioned statements, it is not difficult to imagine that most receivers of a Taiwanese government scholarship to study in Europe chose the UK to expand their doctoral study, and this facilitated a steady rise in the number of Taiwanese educational researchers studying in the UK from the mid-1980s.

According to stories of their experience of doctoral studies in the UK, the distribution of Taiwanese educational sociologists since the 1990s has been very different from that of Taiwanese educational historians. Chapter Five illustrated that all Taiwanese educational historians studied at the IOE to expand their doctoral programme, conduct their short-stay research, or work as visiting professors during the past several decades. Compared to the centralised presence of Taiwanese educational historians at the IOE, the study records of Taiwanese educational sociologists have been diffused in many British cities since the 1990s, including Cardiff, York, Manchester, Sheffield, Oxford and Cambridge. At the same time, some Taiwanese educational sociologists still chose to stay in London for their doctoral studies. For instance, San-San Shen attained her doctorate in the sociology of education at the IOE during this period, and Yung-Feng Lin also earned a PhD for curriculum studies at the IOE in 2003, supervised by Michael Young.

²⁸ Chu-Ing Chou, *Learning from Others: Special Issues on Comparative Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin, 2000), 8.

²⁹ Ibid.

As for the reason for leaving London to expand their doctoral studies in other British cities, Ter-Sheng Chiang described his initial decision as being the same as the other Taiwanese educational sociologists interviewed,

The cost of living in London was too high, and everything was very expensive. At that time, I was afraid that the government scholarship would not cover my living costs in London, so I decided to go to another city for my PhD. Additionally, the delivery of educational studies at other universities was just as excellent as the IOE, such as my alma mater, the University of Cardiff, which also had a vast array of brilliant educational researchers.³⁰

Chiang's account illustrates that his concerns in the 1990s were the same as the considerations that drove Kuei-Hsi Chen's decision to study in Sheffield in the 1970s. Financial support was often an extremely important consideration for Taiwanese postgraduates to study in London or other British cities. Chiang's supplementary remarks provided more evidence,

Therefore, I know that most Taiwanese educational researchers in the 1990s had the same idea as I did and chose to study in other British cities rather than London, and this did not only apply to educational sociologists.³¹

Health and climate factors also had a decisive impact on Chiang's plan to study abroad,

³⁰ Ter-Sheng Chiang's interview (2012/02/13).

³¹ Ibid.

By the way, my personal health was also a decisive factor. A year before I went to Britain, I had a car accident in Taiwan and my feet were badly injured. Therefore, when comparing Cambridge to Cardiff, my doctor and physical therapist advised me to go to Cardiff because the winter there was usually warmer than in Cambridge, which would be better for my feet.³²

Besides, a tendency to centralise could be found when collecting and reconstructing these Taiwanese educational sociologists' British study records, since a total of five Taiwanese postgraduates acquired their doctoral degrees in the sociology of education at the University of Cardiff in the seven short years between 1992 and 1999. The accounts of Tien-Hui Chiang and Ruey-Shyan Wang are valuable to trace this history. Chiang mentioned that,

Originally, Der-Long Fang, Ruey-Shyan Wang, I and other Taiwanese educationalists were extremely interested in studying the sociology of education in Taiwan at that time. Basil Bernstein's studies had been gradually disseminated across Taiwan and had attracted many Taiwanese educationalists' interest since the mid-1980s. In 1990, he retired from the IOE and returned to Cardiff as a visiting researcher. Therefore, I decided to go there to learn more about the sociology of education from Basil.³³

It can be seen from Chiang's account that Bernstein's post-1990s stay in Cardiff was the main attraction for Chiang to study in Cardiff. In fact, according to the interview records, other Taiwanese educational sociologists also had a similar idea to Chiang. In addition, Ruey-Shyan Wang was supervised by Brian Davies, who was a student

³² Ibid.

³³ Tien-Hui Chiang's interview (2012/01/02).

of Basil Bernstein, and Wang applied Bernstein's theories to examine the pedagogic practice in Taiwanese primary schools. Therefore, Wang's statement could promote Chiang's account to explain why five Taiwanese educational sociologists studied at Cardiff University in the 1990s,

Bernstein studied at the University of Cardiff in the 1990s. However, I became aware that he no longer supervised new doctoral students, but I thought it would be OK because there were still several famous British educational sociologists at this university, such as Brian Davies, John Fitz and Sally Power, and they focused on Bernstein's studies and theories. Finally, Der-Long Fang and I were supervised by Brian, and John became Tien-Hui Chiang's and Hui-Lan Wang's supervisor.³⁴

Although Bernstein had not supervised any postgraduates since the 1990s, these Taiwanese educational sociologists still had frequent academic exchanges with him when he attended seminars, conferences and other academic activities in Cardiff. Ruey-Shyan Wang added,

Besides, like other postgraduates, I still had many opportunities to consult Basil Bernstein personally about his studies. By asking Bernstein about his theories, I gradually came to understand his complicated doctrines well and I was able to apply his theories to examine Taiwanese teaching issues.³⁵

The statements made by Chiang and Wang clarified the reason these Taiwanese educational sociologists expanded their doctoral studies at the University of Cardiff

³⁴ Ruey-Shyan Wang's interview (2012/01/03).

³⁵ Ibid.

during the 1990s. In addition, they illustrated that, when some Taiwanese researchers decided which university to choose, their prior consideration and orientation is usually whether they could learn from or be supervised by an academic grand master or international scholar. In other words, Basil Bernstein's academic charm successfully attracted these Taiwanese educational sociologists to study at Cardiff at that time. On the other hand, Basil Bernstein's studies and theories were also disseminated and discussed more broadly in Taiwan in the 1990s by these educational sociologists when they graduated from Cardiff and came back to Taiwan. According to Ruey-Shyan Wang, his research career was influenced deeply by his study experience at Cardiff and Basil Bernstein's theory,

When I was supervised by Brian Davies, my research concern was mainly to employ Basil Bernstein's theory to examine the pedagogic practice in Taiwanese primary schools. I got my PhD in 1999 and then devoted myself to the study of Basil Bernstein's theory over the next decade.³⁶

Basil Bernstein's works could be also diffused rapidly and broadly in Chinese academic communities by Wang's translated publications,

I began to translate Basil Bernstein's classics into Chinese when I was teaching in Taiwan, which contributed to Bernstein's doctrines being recognised by more and more Chinese readers in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and other areas. I hoped that educationalists in the Chinese

³⁶ Ibid.

academic community could become interested in Bernstein's doctrines after reading my translated books.³⁷

As for transporting the British theories of the sociology of education to Taiwan, and then transforming these foreign educational theories into the Taiwanese educational context, Ruey-Shyan Wang took his academic studies as an example,

On the other hand, I attempted to domesticate and recontextualise Basil Bernstein's theory into Taiwanese schooling and classroom pedagogy. By the process of conducting and generalising my practical studies to verify Bernstein's theory, I expected to modify his doctrines and support my findings and a modified theory in the context of Taiwanese educational settings.³⁸

The study process of these Taiwanese educational sociologists, especially their reasons for studying in Cardiff at that time, which could not be found from their academic studies, were revealed by interviewing them and analysing their stories of their British study lives. In addition to the attraction of learning with Basil Bernstein, this next-generation group were influenced by the recommendation of research partners by means of social networking, such as Ching-Jiang Lin's suggestion that Kuei-Hsi Chen study in Sheffield. Ter-Sheng Chiang recalled this experience,

At that time, it was hard to find information, and we usually got to know from those who were studying abroad or who had graduated overseas. Der-Long Fang was the first guy in our group to study at Cardiff, and I contacted

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

him before I left for Cardiff. Naturally, he did me a great many favours, so I decided to take his advice and study at Cardiff.³⁹

In fact, these examples of being recommended by other educationalists who were, or had been, studying abroad in the age of insufficient information were quite common, not only for educational sociologists, but also educational philosophers and educational historians, who were mentioned and criticised in chapters four and five. However, in terms of these three kinds of educationalists, the distribution of Taiwanese educational philosophers was very broad across the UK, and almost no two researchers studied at the same university except for the IOE. As for Taiwanese educational historians, the IOE was a much more central location and none of them studied in any other British university. More than a half of the next-generation Taiwanese educational sociologists decided to study at Cardiff while other educationalists were scattered around England.

6.5 Development of Western sociology of education studies in post-war Taiwan

This section will mainly focus on the development of the sociology of education studies from Britain, the USA, Germany and France in post-war Taiwan. The first sub-section will examine the selected knowledge and theories of the British sociology of education that were introduced and disseminated in post-war Taiwan, as well as also exploring the British sociology of education studies that were neglected by the Taiwanese sociology of education community. Compared to the analysis in the first part, the second sub-section will criticise the themes and theories of the American, German and French sociology of education that were concentrated and attracted Taiwanese educational sociologists for the past several decades.

³⁹ Ter-Sheng Chiang's interview (2013/02/13).

6.5.1 Development of British sociology of education studies in post-war Taiwan

The discipline of sociology of education was introduced in contemporary China in 1920, and it was ruled to be the subject of teacher education programmes since the 1930s.⁴⁰ However, it was mentioned in 6.4.1 that the studies and publications of the sociology of education were almost all conducted by sociologists. Therefore, the content of these works were always embedded with sociological theories and sociologists' perspectives rather than pertaining to educational issues and applications. In fact, the birth of this discipline in the Western educational community began in the early twentieth century and it was substantially developed in English academic communities from the 1930s to the 1940s in USA and the 1950s in the UK, beginning with contributions from sociologists.⁴¹

Later, when this discipline was moving forward to the process of professionalisation, it was gradually dominated by educational sociologists. This discipline was similarly developed in contemporary China when the subject knowledge was introduced to researchers with backgrounds from sociology to educational sociology. Therefore, it can be assumed that this academic discipline was studied by sociologists in China at an early stage.

After World War II, the regime of the Chinese Nationalist Party (the Kuomintang) retreated from China to Taiwan in 1949, and some Chinese sociologists also came to Taiwan to continue their research career. Therefore, the development of this stage of

⁴⁰ Tzu-Chin Liu, op. cit., 2005, 89-92; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 269.

⁴¹ Ivan Reid, 'Past and Present Trends in the Sociology of Education: A Plea for a Return to Educational Sociology', in *Sociological Interpretations of Schooling and Classrooms: A Reappraisal*, ed. Len Barton and Roland Meighan (Driffield, UK: Nafferton Books, 1978), 23-35; Olive Banks, op. cit., 1982a, 18-31; Ivan Reid and Frank Parker, 'Whatever Happened to the Sociology of Education in Teacher Education?', *Educational Studies* 21, no. 3 (1995): 395-413; Roger Dale, op. cit., 2001, 5-29.

the sociology of education in post-war Taiwan was still dominated by Chinese sociologists, such as Chi-Tien Chen, Hui-Sen Chu, Tung-Chun Lei, Hsien-Kun Tsao and Yun-Hua Yin. However, the study of the sociology of education is, in fact, a new academic discipline of educational studies that has arisen from contemporary Western educational communities in the twentieth century,⁴² and the significant development of this discipline in the UK is usually regarded as having begun during the late 1940s and early 1950s.⁴³ Naturally, the study of the sociology of education would be strange to Chinese educationalists, and at the same time, past Chinese educationalists often easily confused the content and definition of this field with other academic subjects, including social education, social work and psychology.⁴⁴

In Section 6.4.1, it provided two reasons to demonstrate why the development of these two academic disciplines, the study of sociology and the sociology of education study, could not move forward very fast, and these can be supported by the insufficiency of information and the inconvenience of academic exchange, as well as the oppressed political sphere in the Taiwanese context at that time. It was also discussed in the same section that the foremost Chinese sociologists only inherited their original studies and reprinted their published scholarly books when they came to Taiwan from China having completed their academic contributions, but they never pursued the latest studies of Western educational sociologists.

⁴² Ivan Reid, *op. cit.*, 1978, 23-35; Ivan Reid and Frank Parker, *op. cit.*, 1995, 395-413; San-San Shen, *op. cit.*, 1999, 358.

⁴³ Olive Banks, *op. cit.*, 1982a, 18-20; Olive Banks, 'Sociology of Education', in *Educational Research and Development in Britain, 1970-1980*, eds. Louis Cohen, John Thomas and Lawrence Manion (Windsor, UK: NFER-Nelson, 1982b), 43; Roger Dale, *op. cit.*, 2001, 5-7.

⁴⁴ Fwu-Yuan Weng, *op. cit.*, 1999, II-V-2~II-V-3.

After these foremost sociologists, Ching-Jiang Lin is commonly regarded as beginning to promote the sociology of education study in post-war Taiwan and he also made a massive contribution to the development of this discipline.⁴⁵ When he returned to Taiwan from Liverpool in 1968, he began to introduce British sociology of education studies to the Taiwanese educational community largely, translated British educational sociologists' publications into Mandarin, employed British educational sociologists' theories and perspectives to analyse practical Taiwanese educational issues and settings, and attempted to provide many opportunities for academic dialogue between Taiwanese and British educational sociologists.

For example, in addition to the traditional educational sociological theories, new and popular issues and concerns of the sociology of education raised in post-war Britain also included the relationship between schooling and the social formation, organisation and institution of education, curriculum studies and classroom pedagogy, language in education, gender topics, class and culture, and the birth and application of the neo-Marxist theory.⁴⁶ At the same time, it can be seen from examining the content of his two scholarly books, *The Sociology of Education* published in 1972 and *A New Perspective of Sociology of Education: The Relationship between Society and Education in Taiwan* published in 1981,⁴⁷ that most of these new issues and perspectives of the sociology of education from post-war Western educational communities had been introduced and discussed in Lin's

⁴⁵ Fwu-Yuan Weng, op. cit., 1999, II-V-5; Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 289-292; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 282-283.

⁴⁶ Olive Banks, op. cit., 1982b, 43-54; Brian Davies, 'The Sociology of Education', in *Educational Theory and Its Foundation Disciplines*, ed. Paul Heywood Hirst (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 100-145.

⁴⁷ Ching-Jiang Lin, *The Sociology of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 1972); Ching-Jiang Lin, *A New Perspective of Sociology of Education: The Relationship between Society and Education in Taiwan* (Taipei, Taiwan: Wunan, 1981).

publications. Therefore, this demonstrates that not only was it possible to rapidly and broadly disseminate the findings and theories of British sociology of education studies in Taiwan via Lin's systematic introduction, but also the development of this academic discipline in Taiwan was gradually considered and attracted attention and played a significant role in educational studies.⁴⁸

In addition, by translating British educational sociologists' publications into Mandarin, Lin encouraged more Taiwanese educational researchers to recognise the development of this academic discipline in Britain. In 1976, when the Taiwanese educational historian, Guang-Xiong Huang, finished his doctoral programme at the IOE and returned to Taiwan, he brought a scholarly book for Ching-Jiang Lin entitled *The Sociology of Education (3rd edition)*, written by Olive Banks, a professor of the sociology of education at the University of Leicester.⁴⁹ In 1978, this book was translated and published by Lin, and Olive wrote a short preface for this translated Chinese book.⁵⁰ However, when comparing the original to the Chinese version, it can be seen that some of the original contents were ignored in the Mandarin translation if they involved the perspectives of Marxism and neo-Marxism, and Lin also indicated in the preface that it was uncertain that all of Olive's conclusions could be employed to criticise practical Taiwanese questions and settings.

⁴⁸ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 292-293.

⁴⁹ Guang-Xiong Huang, 'Some past Events to Recall Ching-Jiang Lin', in *The Memorial Essays of Ching-Jiang Lin*, eds. Ming-Dih Lin and Yau-Jane Chen, (Chiayi, Taiwan: National Chung Cheng University, 2001), 21-23.

⁵⁰ Ching-Jiang Lin trans., *The Sociology of Education (3rd edition)*, written by Olive Banks (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Fuwen Publisher, 1978).

This is why Ruey-Shyan Wang gave this account,

Martial law was implemented between 1949 and 1987. In the late 1970s, the political sphere was still very conservative and free speech was also restricted. Basically, whatever was involved in Marxism or any other theories against the KMT government would have been regarded as being taboo. Therefore, Lin's behaviour would have been taken for granted at that time.⁵¹

Wang's explanation reflected the restrictive development of humanities and social sciences in Taiwan between the 1950s and mid-1980s, including the sociology of education. Besides, Sheng-Yih Chuang also made a long-standing observation,

The foremost Taiwanese educational sociologists were commonly ambassadors of structuralism. Among them, Ching-Jiang Lin's background was as a central government official with different important positions and he was also a membership of the KMT. Besides, Lin also told us about his belief of conservatism and structuralism in class, and he always stressed the importance of the concordant development of our society.⁵²

According to the accounts of Wang and Chuang, when Western educational doctrines and theories were introduced to Taiwan at that time, they always needed to be selective and limited. In fact, the theories and studies of Marxism and neo-Marxism were not known or received by Taiwanese academic communities until the

⁵¹ Ruey-Shyan Wang's interview (2012/01/03).

⁵² Sheng-Yih Chuang's interview (2012/01/03).

1980s.⁵³ However, this case can also reflect the extent to which the political factor had a significant influence on educational studies in post-war Taiwan.

In addition to academic publications, when Kuei-Hsi Chen graduated and returned to Taiwan from Sheffield in 1975, he cooperated to expand some long-standing surveys about the occupational prestige and professional image of Taiwanese teachers. In fact, these studies had been promoted for quite a while in the UK at that time, and another Taiwanese educational sociologist, Yin Yang, learnt about them from Oxford University and brought the related information back to Taiwan.⁵⁴ Attempts were made to adapt the quantitative indices of these British studies to fit the Taiwanese educational context, and this was a very meaningful transnational study. Because Chinese culture had been rooted in Confucianism for more than two thousand years, the role of a teacher had always been respected. The differences and development of teachers' professional status in Britain and Taiwan could be explored by comparing the same issue in British and Taiwanese studies. In order to attract the attention of Western educationalists to recognise the achievement of this study in Taiwan, Lin's article was written in English and published in an English journal entitled *Chinese Education and Society*, in 1994.⁵⁵ It should be mentioned that two special issues of this journal, which examined Taiwanese educational practices from a sociological perspective, were published in 1994 and 1995, and one topic was development and stratification, while the other was recent reforms.

⁵³ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 301; Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, op. cit., 2011, 416-419.

⁵⁴ Yin Yang, 'Preface', in *The Equality of Educational Opportunities: The Study of Sociology of Education*, ed. Yin Yang (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1994), 1-2.

⁵⁵ Ching-Jiang Lin, 'Occupational Prestige and Professional Image of Teachers in Taiwan: A Comparison of Three Surveys', *Chinese Education and Society* 27, no. 6 (1994): 76-88.

In the mid-1980s, the British sociology of education studies from the perspective of Marxism and neo-Marxism gradually became a topic of great concern and were often discussed by the Taiwanese educational academic community in the context of the relaxed political sphere. During this period, the theory and work of British educational sociologist, Basil Bernstein, were also transmitted to Taiwan. Tien-Hui Chiang sketched this process,

When Po-Chang Chen was a visiting professor at the IOE in the 1980s, he observed Basil Bernstein's studies and brought these publications back to Taiwan. However, Taiwanese educationalists still had an abstract impression of his theories at that time. Subsequently, when we conducted our doctorates in Cardiff in the 1990s, we expanded our studies with Bernstein's theories. Therefore, this British educational sociologist has been broadly and deeply known in Taiwan since the 1990s.⁵⁶

However, the process of disseminating Bernstein's theories across Taiwan was not very successful in the beginning. Ruey-Shyan Wang recollected the long journey and the struggle of his initial study experience,

I have to frankly confess that, even though I got my PhD from the University of Cardiff in 1999 and was supervised by Brian Davies, I still did not know what Basil Bernstein's theory was. This was because his theories were really abstract and difficult for other scholars to understand. Moreover, I could not imagine how I could transfer his theories into the Taiwanese

⁵⁶ Tien-Hui Chiang's interview (2012/01/02).

context to examine the pedagogic practice in Taiwanese primary schools at that time.⁵⁷

It can be seen from Wang's account that Bernstein's doctrines were difficult to understand. However, Wang did not explain whether this was due to the language problem or the recognition of a different cultural context. Nevertheless, Wang gradually began to understand more in the process of translating Bernstein's publications,

When I was teaching in Taiwan in 1999, I planned to explore Bernstein's theories more fully by translating his classics. In the beginning, they were still awful works when I translated and published his two books entitled *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique (revised edition)* and *Class, Codes and Control vol. 4: The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse*. in 2005 and 2006 respectively. In fact, I thought I had not translated them very well because I could still not capture Bernstein's essential idea at that time.⁵⁸

He continued to add some comments about the later stage of translating Bernstein's works,

However, I supposed I could do better than before after experience and training for several years, so in 2007, I translated his other book, *Class, Codes and Control vol. 3: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions*.

I am glad to say that I could grasp Basil Bernstein's core aspects much more

⁵⁷ Ruey-Shyan Wang's interview (2012/01/03).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

in this translation. Besides, I am also happy to see that this translated version has been sold in China, Hong Kong and Macau by Mandarin readers.⁵⁹

Therefore, Bernstein's doctrines experienced a long journey before they were disseminated into Taiwan and other East Asian areas and then discussed by Mandarin educationalists. It can be concluded from the above analysis that Ruey-Shyan Wang was one of the greatest contributors to the process of diffusing Bernstein's theories and publications in Taiwan. In addition to Basil Bernstein, the doctrines and studies of another British contemporary educational sociologist, Michael Young, were also simultaneously examined by Taiwanese educationalists in the mid-1980s. In this case, the initial mediator was Guang-Xiong Huang, who not only brought Olive Bank's book, but also Michael Young's publication, *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, when he returned to Taiwan from the IOE in 1976. Yung-Feng Lin recalled the relationship between this development and his British study experience supervised by Young,

As a postgraduate student in Taiwan, I had heard of Michael Young and had read his book. Subsequently, I was awarded a government scholarship, and Guang-Xiong Huang recommended that I could invite Michael Young to be my supervisor. However, I knew that Michael Young's interests were the sociology of education and curriculum studies, while my research concerned issues of post-secondary education. Huang told me that Michael Young

⁵⁹ Ibid.

could still supervise my research because he believed he would be greatly interested in my research proposal.⁶⁰

When Yung-Feng Lin obtained his IOE doctorate and returned to Taiwan to teach in 2003, he especially wrote an article to explain Michael Young's educational doctrines and the transformation of his research concern during his different research stages in order to make Taiwanese educationalists familiar with Michael Young's studies and perspectives.⁶¹ In fact, Taiwanese educationalists at that time mistook Michael Francis Dykes Young for another British sociologist, Michael Dunlop Young (1915-2002). For example, in this article, Yung-Feng Lin mentioned that, when Michael Francis Dykes Young was visiting Taiwan in 1999, a Taiwanese educationalist discussed a scholarly book, *The Rise of the Meritocracy: An Essay on Education and Equality*, with him. However, Michael Francis Dykes Young explained that this research had been conducted by Michael Dunlop Young rather than him.⁶² This episode demonstrates that Taiwanese educationalists were still capable of confusing these modern Western educationalists' research concerns and studies in the 1990s, even though they had more opportunities to expand their academic exchange with Western educationalists and more contact with Western educational studies than ever before. Therefore, this article by Lin was effective in assisting Taiwanese educationalists to understand and distinguish the development of educational studies in Western educational academic communities.

⁶⁰ Yung-Feng Lin's email interview (2012/11/03).

⁶¹ Yung-Feng Lin, 'The Sociologist of Education and the Theorist of Post-Secondary Education Curriculum: Michael Young', in *Thoughts on Curriculum*, ed. Jeng-Jye Hwang (Taipei, Taiwan: Great Scholar Publishing, 2005), 137-172.

⁶² *Ibid*, 166-167.

It can be seen from the accounts of Ruey-Shyan Wang and Yung-Feng Lin that most of the knowledge and studies of the British sociology of education from the perspective of conflicting theories such as left-wing doctrines, Marxism, neo-Marxism, feminism and neo-Liberalism were systematically disseminated in Taiwan in the mid-1980s in the Taiwanese context of limited free speech and the political sphere. Meanwhile, they gradually became known and were broadly and deeply considered by Taiwanese educational sociologists, as well as the development of Basil Bernstein's and Michael Young's studies in 1990s Taiwan.⁶³

In addition, the information was much more open and convenient to access than before the 1990s and the diffusion of Western publications of the sociology of education was faster and broader, which also contributed to the frequent academic exchange between Taiwanese and British educational sociologists. For example, the studies and publications of British educational sociologist, Paul Willis of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham also attracted Taiwanese educational sociologists' concerns in the 1990s, and then more and more Taiwanese educationalists began to consider their own cultural issues in educational settings.⁶⁴

Besides, British sociological theories and studies also had some implications for Taiwanese educational sociologists to conduct their studies and reflect on their own

⁶³ Fwu-Yuan Weng, op. cit., 1999, II-V-6~II-V-7; Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 300-305.

⁶⁴ Horng-Wen Huang, 'Students' Subculture: Reflection on Studies, Theories and Methodology', *Bulletin of Adult and Continuing Education* 23, 1994: 149-193; Shan-Hua Chen, *Paul Willis' Cultural Production Theory and Its Implications for Education*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 1997); Chia-Hui Fang, *Raymond Williams' Cultural Theory and Its Implications for Education*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2003).

educational issues. For example, contemporary British sociologists' theories, especially the discussion of the relationship between structure and agency by Margaret Archer and Anthony Giddens, also attracted and were highly considered by Taiwanese sociologists of education in the 1990s. Subsequently, some Taiwanese educationalists attempted to recontextualise these theories into the Taiwanese educational context to examine practical educational issues from the perspective of the dialect between structure and agency.⁶⁵

Additionally, the academic interaction between the Taiwanese and British sociology of education communities became more frequent since the 1990s, and some British educational sociologists, including Michael Young, Geoffrey Whitty and Stephen Ball, were also invited to visit Taiwan for an academic exchange. Michael Young recalled his academic visit to Taiwan,

In 1999, I was invited by Professor Guang-Xiong Huang to attend the first Conference of the Sociology of Education in Taiwan where I talked with Taiwanese educationalists in symposiums. At that time, Arthur (Yung-Feng Lin) also helped me to translate all my talks for the attendees. Additionally, because these Taiwanese educational sociologists were planning to establish a professional society and academic journal, they hoped that I could provide some suggestions for them from the past experience of the British sociology of education community.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Chun-Wen Lin, *Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory and Its Implications for Education*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2002); Chun-Wen Lin, *The Interplay between Structure and Agency: Class Effect on Education, The Case of Taiwanese Junior High Students' Credential Images*, the unpublished doctoral thesis (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 2008).

⁶⁶ Michael Young's interview (2012/12/01).

When Taiwanese educational sociologists sought to invite international educationalists to deliver keynote speeches at the first conference of the Taiwanese sociology of education, Michael Young was chosen, and this illustrates his significant status in the Taiwanese sociology of education community. On the other hand, Yung-Feng Lin also recalled his experience during Michael Young's stay in Taiwan,

At that time, Michael Young was genuinely shocked to find that his book, *Knowledge and Control*, was very popular and considered by the Taiwanese sociology of education community. Besides, he also observed that Taiwanese educational sociologists always focused on the very latest and progressive issues and research methods of this academic discipline. He suggested that Taiwanese educational sociologists should go overseas to present their research findings at international conferences.⁶⁷

According to Michael Young, what Taiwanese educational sociologists needed to do was not only invite foreign educationalists to visit Taiwan, but also attend conferences abroad to present their findings. On the other hand, since more and more international academic exchanges organised by Taiwanese educational sociologists since the 1990s promoted more academic dialogue between Taiwanese and Western educationalists, Taiwanese educationalists could simultaneously update the development of Western studies of sociology of education at any time. The Taiwanese postgraduates studying in Britain also could introduce the latest issues of educational studies to the Taiwanese academic educational community.

⁶⁷ Yung-Feng Lin's email interview (2012/11/03).

In addition, with the economic reform of China in 1978, more and more Chinese postgraduates attained their doctorates overseas, and more and more international academic conferences and activities were held in China in the 1980s. Because the political relationship was not as strict as it used to be between China and Taiwan in the 1990s, the cooperation between Chinese and Taiwanese educational sociologists expanded at this time. The approach of Chinese educationalists' contributions was also an important factor of Taiwanese educationalists' understanding of the development of the British sociology of education.⁶⁸

In fact, the number of academic exchanges between China and Taiwan became more and more frequent in the 1990s, not only in the academic educational community, but in all academic communities, so that contacting the West via China also became a method for Taiwanese researchers.⁶⁹ Michael Young shared this observation when he expanded several academic visits in China in the 2000s,

I found that my scholarly book, *Knowledge and Control*, had been translated in China, and the population of the academic educational community was indeed large. Therefore, Western educationalists' studies could be introduced, distributed and translated very fast. Besides, I also found that the young generation of Chinese educational sociologists had a very positive interaction with Western educationalists on many international academic occasions.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 327-328; Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, op. cit., 2011, 430-432.

⁶⁹ Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 286-294; Wei-Chih Liou, op. cit., 2010, 26-27.

⁷⁰ Michael Young's interview (2012/12/01).

Although Michael Young pointed to the fast development of the Chinese academic community, the current way in which Taiwanese educationalists learned about Western educationalists' studies via Chinese translated publications and attending academic conferences in China in the 1990s should be still criticised.

It was mentioned in chapter 2 that, in terms of the development of educational studies in contemporary China, Chinese and Taiwanese scholars learned Western advanced knowledge in the early twentieth century by means of a massive number of Japanese translated publications. However, in the process of understanding Western educational studies relying on Japanese translated publications, rather than studying in Western countries and reading original Western works, Chinese and Taiwanese educationalists may understand the content of these Western educational doctrines, but fail to explore the background of these foreign theories and knowledge. As a result, when Chinese intellectuals claimed to have transported Western educational knowledge into China, they had actually ignored the cultural and historical differences between the West and China. Therefore, this eventually led to more misunderstandings and cognition gaps when transforming and recontextualising Western educational ideas without opting to examine Chinese and Taiwanese educational issues.⁷¹

Therefore, Michael Young's proposal that Taiwanese educationalists should attend international academic occasions is a substantial suggestion to promote the

⁷¹ Chung-I Wen and Kuo-Shu Yang eds., *The Sinicization of Social and Behavioural Science Research in China* (Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1982); Chen-Tsou Wu and Po-Chang Chen, 'A Critical Examination of Taiwanese Educational Studies over the Past Forty Years', *China Forum* 234, 1985: 237-241; Yu-Wen Chou, 'The New Research Approach to Educational Studies in Taiwan: Indigenisation', in *The New Research Approach to Educational Studies*, ed. Po-Chang Chen (Taipei, Taiwan: Nan Hung Publishing, 1988), 145-151.

development of educational studies in Taiwan. If Taiwanese educationalists are to attempt to find implications for their own educational practices during the process of learning Western theories and knowledge, it is essential that they consider original Western studies and engage in academic interaction with Western educationalists in person.⁷²

6.5.2 Sociology of education studies imported from the USA, Germany and France into post-war Taiwan

As already mentioned, Taiwanese educationalists have massively expanded their empirical research since the 1970s, significantly influenced by the tide of American positivism.⁷³ In the beginning, James Coleman's social capital theory was disseminated in Taiwan by Taiwanese postgraduates who were studying for a doctorate in the USA. Taiwanese educational sociologists borrowed James Coleman's key concepts to develop questionnaire items and considered the Taiwanese context to modify the questionnaire. These longitude surveys were widely conducted in the 1980s.

In fact, two large-scale educational surveys were conducted in Taiwan during this period. One was the survey of teachers' occupational prestige and profession mentioned above, which mainly referred to the study of British educational sociologists, and the other was a survey of the relationship between students' attainment and their parents' socioeconomic status and family resources, which was mainly learned from a research model created by American educational

⁷² Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, *op. cit.*, 1999, 329-331; Wei-Chih Liou, *op. cit.*, 2010, 24-26; Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 2011, 289-290.

⁷³ Cheng-Hsi Chien, *op. cit.*, 2005, 17-19.

sociologists.⁷⁴ This illustrates that the development of Taiwanese sociology of education studies was mainly orientated as empirical research at that time, like the trend of sociology education studies in pre-1970s UK and USA.⁷⁵

At the same time, as mentioned above, studies of the Western sociology of education from a Marxist and neo-Marxist perspective had actually been gradually introduced, translated, and diffused broadly and rapidly in Taiwan, not only from the UK but also from USA, France and Germany, because academic freedom was not controlled or inhibited before martial law was declared in 1987.⁷⁶ In other words, new sociology of education studies from a Marxist and neo-Marxist perspective in Western academic communities from the 1970s could not be imported into Taiwan until the 1980s with the removal of martial law and the withdrawal of massive limitations of freedom in Taiwan.⁷⁷

For example, Chin-Hsu Li translated the classic sociology of education by American educationalists, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America:*

⁷⁴ Ching-Jiang Lin, op. cit., 1994, 76-88; Hsiao-Chin Hsieh, 'Ability Stratification in Taiwanese Junior High Schools', *Chinese Education and Society* 28, no. 4 (1995): 14-21; Yin Yang, *The Equality of Educational Opportunities: The Study of Sociology of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1994); Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 307-312.

⁷⁵ Olive Banks, op. cit., 1982a, 18-31; Olive Banks, op. cit., 1982b, 43-54; Brian Davies, op. cit., 1983, 100-145; Roger Dale, op. cit., 2001, 5-29.

⁷⁶ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 307-312; Fwu-Yuan Weng, op. cit., 1999, II-V-6~ II-V-7; Mei-Ying Tang, op. cit., 1999, II-VII-10~II-VII-13; Sheng-Chuan Lin, 'Retrospect and Prospect: Sociology of Education in Taiwan', *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education* 2, no. 1 (2002): 1-24; Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, op. cit., 2011, 417-425.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Education reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life, in 1989.⁷⁸ At the same time, in the 1980s, American educational sociologist, Michael Apple's studies, which were conducted by examining the ideology of American schooling and curriculum contents, were imported into Taiwanese educational academic community by Po-Chang Chen and Jeng-Jye Hwang, and Michael Apple's findings and doctrines were commonly domesticated and applied to criticise the ideology and hegemony of Taiwanese schooling, curriculum and textbooks.⁷⁹

In the 1990s, more and more American issues, theories and empirical sociology of education studies and educational sociologists' doctrines, such as Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy, multiculturalism, feminism and globalisation, were not only broadly distributed in Taiwan, but were also borrowed to examine and criticise Taiwanese educational schooling and other practices. In fact, compared to the influence of other countries' sociology of education studies, the American studies of this academic discipline has always retained a dominant effect on the development of studies of this discipline in Taiwan since the 1970s.⁸⁰

Compared to their British and American counterparts, French sociology of education studies were virtually unknown to Taiwanese educationalists because of the language barrier. In post-war Taiwan, Emile Durkheim's classics and theories were introduced by one or two Chinese sociologists who had studied for a doctorate in France, but

⁷⁸ Chin-Hsu Li trans., *Schooling in Capitalist America: Education reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, written by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (Taipei, Taiwan: Laurel Publishing, 1989).

⁷⁹ Po-Chang Chen, *Ideology and Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1988); Chin-Ju Mao, 'An Analysis of Curriculum Reforms in Taiwan from the Perspective of Political Sociology', *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education* 1, no. 1 (2001): 79-101.

⁸⁰ Sheng-Chuan Lin, op. cit., 2002, 1-24; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 282-286.

subsequently, there was no academic interaction between Taiwanese and French educational academic communities before the 1980s.⁸¹ Then, in the 1990s, the works of French educational sociologists, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, were imported into Taiwan, and their doctrines, claims and classics were also introduced and translated by Taiwanese scholars.⁸² Since the 1990s, Taiwanese educational sociologists have made use of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital to conduct a large volume of quantitative and qualitative studies of Taiwanese educational practical issues. On the other hand, Foucault's core concepts of discipline, power and discourse were also domesticated into a myriad of qualitative studies to examine Taiwanese educational settings. Although these studies borrowed from the perspective of Bourdieu and Foucault have occupied a large portion of Taiwanese sociology of education works in the past twenty years, Taiwanese educationalists still need to fully comprehend these French theories of the sociology of education from the English translated publications.⁸³

German theories of sociology have also been gradually and systematically introduced in Taiwan since the 1980s, contributed by Taiwanese sociologists who spent their doctoral lives in Germany and educationalists, such as Shen-Keng Yang, who attained his PhD in Greece, and Ming-Lee Wen, who acquired her PhD at the IOE. Yang and Wen also considered the development of the Frankfurt School, and attempted to make use of German theories of sociology to examine and criticise practical Taiwanese educational issues.⁸⁴ Wen explained her study experience,

⁸¹ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 296.

⁸² Pei-Cheng Liu and Yuan-Ying Yang trans., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* (Taipei, Taiwan: Laurel Publishing, 1992); Tien-Chu Chiu, *Cultural Reproduction of Pierre Bourdieu* (Taipei, Taiwan: Laurel Publishing, 1998).

⁸³ Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, op. cit., 2011, 427-430.

⁸⁴ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 301.

Professor Shen-Keng Yang and I considered the development of the German Frankfurt School when I began to conduct my doctoral research at the IOE in 1989. Therefore, I also examined and criticised Taiwanese educational issues from the perspective of German critical theories. Since most Taiwanese educationalists learnt from the USA and the UK, I think there should be different voices in the Taiwanese academic educational community.⁸⁵

On the other hand, Wen also noted the development of British sociology of education studies when she attended the IOE from the late 1980s, and retained a friendly relationship with British educational sociologists, which she described as follows,

For example, Geoffrey Whitty was my good friend before he became the Director of the IOE, and I kept in touch with him when I came back to Taiwan in 1992. Whitty came to Taiwan several times for academic visits after 2000, and he was invited by me almost every time.⁸⁶

It can be seen from the academic visits of Michael Young and Geoffrey Whitty to Taiwan that academic exchanges between British and Taiwanese sociologists of education communities became much more frequent after the 1990s. Since French and German studies and theories of sociology of education began to be widely considered after the 1990s and were commonly transferred and applied to Taiwanese sociology of education empirical studies, the English sociology of education studies and perspectives were no longer the predominant concern of Taiwanese educational sociologists. On the other hand, the latest studies and issues of concern of the British

⁸⁵ Ming-Lee Wen's interview (2011/12/19).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

sociology of education could always be rapidly and broadly disseminated into Taiwan by the more and more frequent academic exchanges between Taiwanese and British educational sociologists and the huge number of Taiwanese postgraduates of educational studies who expanded their doctorates in the UK after the 1990s. Therefore, the development of this academic discipline in Taiwan became more and more internationalised.

6.6 Transformation of the sociology of education as a subject in Taiwan and the inclusion of the British sociology of education in Taiwanese post-war textbooks

When retracing the professionalisation process of educational studies in the UK, it could be seen that the fast development of educational foundation disciplines relied on the rise of the new area of curriculum studies and the expansion in the number of teacher education institutes in the late 1960s and early 1970s.⁸⁷ However, among these foundation subjects, the history of the sociology of education was shorter and had a greater struggle than the history of education and the philosophy of education in British teacher education and training.⁸⁸

Compared to its development in the UK, it has been mentioned that the subject of the sociology of education also appeared in teacher education programmes relatively later than the philosophy of education and the history of education in pre-war China.⁸⁹ Although the analysis in Chapter 3, Sections 4.6 and 5.6 illustrated that the recent low birth rate in Taiwan had a significant influence on the slow development of educational foundation research and courses in teacher education programmes, the subject of the sociology of education still retained an important status in these

⁸⁷ Gary McCulloch, *op. cit.*, 2002, 107-109;

⁸⁸ Ivan Reid and Frank Parker, *op. cit.*, 1995, 395-413.

⁸⁹ Tzu-Chin Liu, *op. cit.*, 2005, 269; Yu-Wen, *op. cit.*, 2011, 269.

programmes compared to the rapid decline of the subjects of the philosophy of education and the history of education. Therefore, the transformation of the subject of the sociology of education in teacher education programmes will be examined in this section, as well as the appearance of the knowledge and theories of the British sociology of education in textbooks by retracing the history in post-war Taiwan. Most importantly, the way in which Taiwanese educational sociologists made an effort to retain the status of this subject in teacher education programmes will also be explored.

According to the official records, the subject of the sociology of education was not included in the teacher education programme in normal colleges until 1963, which was later than the history of education in 1952, but a bit earlier than the philosophy of education in 1964.⁹⁰ As for the development of the content and character of the sociology of education in textbooks, this is described from pre-war China and post-war Taiwan to Ching Jiang Lin's period, including the transformation from sociologists to educational sociologists and the orientation of structuralism. However, some additional points need to be analysed. Firstly, because of the significant influence of positivism in Taiwan in the 1970s, the content of the sociology of education consisted of a great many statistical scales, mathematical formulae and quantitative approaches, edited by Taiwanese educational sociologists who were studying abroad, whether in the USA, the UK or Germany.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Department of Education of Taiwan Province ed., *The Historical Documents of the Development of Education in Taiwan* (Taichung, Taiwan: Department of Education of Taiwan Province, 1987), 87-99.

⁹¹ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 307-309.

Quantitative research began to be criticised in the late 1980s, which contributed to a change in the research methods of the sociology of education and qualitative research eventually dominated almost all the studies of this academic area in the 1990s.⁹² For instance, an examination of the textbooks of the sociology of education in post-1990s Taiwan shows that Yin Yang's *The Equality of Educational Opportunities: The Study of Sociology of Education*, edited from her long-standing series of research, was the main representative of quantitative research during this period.⁹³ Apart from her work, most scholarly publications of the sociology of education during this period, like Horng-Wen Huang's *An Ethnographical Study of Taiwanese High School Students' Culture*,⁹⁴ were accomplished by the qualitative approach. In fact, Huang employed an in-depth analysis of interviews and field work to explore the issues of high school students in Taiwan, and his theoretical background and framework was adopted from the previous contributions of the British educational sociologist, Paul Willis.⁹⁵

However, compared to Huang's research, studies of the same theme had usually been conducted in the past by the 1970s and 1980s Taiwanese postgraduates by means of questionnaire surveys and quantitative statistics and supervised by Ching-Jiang Lin in the National Taiwan Normal University.⁹⁶ Therefore, when retracing the

⁹² Ibid, 310-312.

⁹³ Yin Yang, *The Equality of Educational Opportunities: The Study of Sociology of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1994).

⁹⁴ Horng-Wen Huang, *An Ethnographical Study of Taiwanese High School Students' Culture* (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2003).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ You-Fei Wu, *A Survey of Taiwanese College Students' Subculture*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 1975); Dian-Mo Cai, *A Study of Taiwanese Senior High School Students' Subculture and Its Implications in Educational Development*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of

transformation of the methodology of these studies related to this issue between the pre- and post- 1990s textbooks, it can be seen that Taiwanese educational sociologists' preference of methodology for their research changed from a quantitative trend to a qualitative one.

Subsequently, with the re-enactment of the teacher education law in 1994, the importance of educational foundation courses in teacher education programmes gradually declined from compulsory subjects to selective ones, including the philosophy of education, the history of education and the sociology of education. In spite of the huge strike of this re-enacted law in post-1990s Taiwan, the subject of the sociology of education was always greatly considered by educationalists and chosen by teacher education programme attendees, compared to the marginalisation of the other two foundation courses.⁹⁷ Ruey-Shyan Wang provided his opinion of this development,

Since the 1990s, more and more postgraduates attained their doctorates in Britain, Germany and the USA and then came back Taiwan to teach. They introduced the latest issues and perspectives that Taiwanese educational sociologists had seldom touched on in the past, such as gender and feminism, and employed these foreign doctrines to examine Taiwanese educational settings in class. Naturally, this attempt successfully attracted the interest of numerous college students and postgraduates.⁹⁸

Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 1975); Wei-Chi Chung, *A Survey of Taiwanese Junior High School Students' Subculture and Its Difference Factors*, the unpublished master's dissertation (Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Education, National Taiwan Normal University, 1980).

⁹⁷ Chin-Hsu Li and Jian-Cheng Chang, op. cit., 1999, 329; Yu-Wen Chou, op. cit., 2011, 282-283; Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, op. cit., 2011, 423-425.

⁹⁸ Ruey-Shyan Wang's interview (2012/01/03).

They were always the main tasks to combine the knowledge of this discipline with educational practices rather than theorising abstract doctrines and statements and replying to questions raised in the process of Taiwanese educational development, emphasised by educational sociologists. Sheng-Yih Chuang explained why this area was able to survive after the impact of the teacher education policies in the post-1990s,

For example, Taiwanese educational sociologists borrowed the concept of multiculturalism. American and British educationalists have always considered for a long time. Because Taiwan is an immigrant society and more and more Taiwanese married foreigners in the post-1990s, multicultural education became an important issue. I mean, Taiwanese educational sociologists were able to observe what this society needed and the problems it encountered.⁹⁹

It can be seen from the accounts of Wang and Chuang that the close relationship between the content of this academic course and educational practices and problems contributed by Taiwanese educational sociologists succeeded in promoting this discipline well in post-1990s Taiwan as opposed to the decline of other educational foundation disciplines.

Additionally, Kuei-Hsi Chen began to complete and edit at least six textbooks of the sociology of education in the 1980s for college students, postgraduates and teacher education programme attendees. In 1998, he invited a huge number of new-generation educational sociologists who had acquired their doctorates in Britain and

⁹⁹ Sheng-Yih Chuang's interview (2012/01/03).

the USA to cooperate in producing a scholarly textbook entitled the *Modern Sociology of Education*.¹⁰⁰ This book not only contained the latest foreign theories, statements and studies of the sociology of education, but also Taiwanese educational practices and problems from the perspective of educational sociologists. Therefore, it was able to attract the interest of more and more educational practitioners, such as primary and high school teachers, rather than only academic researchers. Following Chen, other Taiwanese educational sociologists used this model to publish their studies, which contributed to the stronger practice-orientation of this academic discipline than before.

6.7 The struggle of sociology of education studies in Taiwan and implications of British sociology of education studies

Previous sections highlighted the struggle for sociology of education studies in Taiwan for several decades, especially the two main debates of whether the discipline should be identified as educational studies or sociological studies and the domestication and recontextualisation of foreign theories and research findings into Taiwanese educational practices and research.

In terms of the latter, Taiwanese educational sociologists always criticised the Westernised academic trend. For example, Ruey-Shyan Wang reflected this when he began to consider Basil Bernstein's doctrines and employed Bernstein's theoretical framework to examine Taiwanese educational practices as his doctoral research decades ago. Wang provided his opinion from his research experience,

During the process of exploring and translating Bernstein's studies and theories, I gradually understood that there was not just a language gap, but a

¹⁰⁰ Kuei-Hsi Chen ed., *Modern Sociology of Education* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1998).

cultural difference because these foreign theories originally came from their own cultural backgrounds. So, while the foreign educational doctrines we imported helped us to understand and reconstruct our own knowledge system, we could not rely on them to resolve our educational problems.¹⁰¹

A similar reflection was also expanded by another educational sociologist, San-San Shen, earlier than Wang in the 1990s. Having observed the Westernised current of development of Taiwanese educational research and practice communities for a long period from the perspective of modernisation and dependency theories, Shen concluded that borrowing Western countries' educational experiences must consider the domestic social and cultural context and that over-dependence on foreign educational experiences would become an obstacle to domestic educational development.¹⁰² However, when reviewing her articles fifteen years later, Shen believed that the development of Taiwanese educational studies was still grounded in Western academic colonised circumstances, and it was much more serious than before,

When we wanted to keep pace with the development of Western countries' educational studies, we simply followed their rules and imitated their contributions. However, we seldom reflected whether these foreign educational theories and research findings could be applied and employed in the Taiwanese educational context. For the past sixty years, we have

¹⁰¹ Ruey-Shyan Wang's interview (2012/01/03).

¹⁰² San-San Shen, 'Taiwan Educational Development: From Perspectives of Theories of Modernisation and Dependency', in *Education reform: From Tradition to Postmodernism*, eds. Chinese Taipei Comparative Education Society (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1996), 137-160.

borrowed too many Western accomplishments of educational studies and this is still the same today.¹⁰³

Sheng-Yih Chuang indicated his agreement with Shen,

In the past, sociology of education studies in Taiwan always involved James Coleman or Michael Apple, but now, the mainstream of the discussion are Paulo Freire, Michel Foucault, Basil Bernstein, Pierre Bourdieu and Michael Apple. Seemingly, your research will not be counted as one of the sociology of education if you never quote these foreign thinkers' doctrines, perspectives and works.¹⁰⁴

It can be seen from the accounts of Wang, Shen and Chuang that it was difficult for Taiwanese educational sociologists to construct a knowledge and theoretical system based on their own cultural and historical context without relying on foreign educational doctrines and foreign thinkers' perspectives. In fact, it was mentioned in chapter three that the development of humanities and social sciences studies in post-war Taiwan was always deeply influenced by and followed foreign achievements, especially from the United States. Additionally, in the debate between globalisation and localisation by educational researchers in post-1990s Taiwan, globalisation was often seen to be global Westernisation and a continuation of Western imperialism.¹⁰⁵ In other words, Taiwanese humanities researchers and social scientists began to question the possibility of constructing their own knowledge system and theories of

¹⁰³ San-San Shen's interview (2011/12/26).

¹⁰⁴ Sheng-Yih Chuang's interview (2012/01/03).

¹⁰⁵ Chu-Ing Prudence Chou and Gregory Ching, *Taiwan Education at the Crossroad: When Globalisation Meets Localisation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1-9.

academic disciplines rooted in their own historical and cultural background without relying on knowledge from Western contributions.

Among these controversies, some Taiwanese humanities researchers and social scientists were still able to make a contribution, develop their own indigenous theories and doctrines based on a Chinese cultural context, and promote their studies at international academic gatherings. For example, Kwang-Kuo Hwang observed the development of Taiwanese society and Taiwanese behaviour over a long period and produced his discoveries to explain how Taiwanese behavioural models were influenced by the traditional Chinese culture and Confucianism from the perspective of social psychology. Besides, Hwang also accomplished some specific themes and theories of Taiwanese behavioural and thinking models with the aim of constructing a knowledge system of indigenous psychology, such as Chinese social and moral face in Confucian society and the relationship between Confucianism and Chinese organisational culture. He published his studies in international academic journals,¹⁰⁶ which made them known abroad and they were frequently quoted by Western intellectual communities when they investigated the development and interaction of East Asian society and the influence of Confucianism.

¹⁰⁶ Kwang-Kuo Hwang, 'Face and Favour: The Chinese Power Game', *American Journal of Sociology* 92, no. 4 (1987): 944-974; Kwang-Kuo Hwang, 'Dao and the Transformative Power of Confucianism: A Theory of East Asian modernization', in *The Triadic Chord: Confucian Ethics, Industrial East Asia and Max Weber*, ed. Wei-Ming Tu (Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies, 1991), 229-278; Kwang-Kuo Hwang, 'A Philosophical Reflection on the Epistemology and Methodology of Indigenous Psychologies', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 8, 2005: 5-17; Kwang-Kuo Hwang, 'Moral Face and Social Face: Contingent Self-esteem in Confucian Society', *International Journal of Psychology* 41, no. 4 (2006), 276-281.

Based on Taiwanese educationalists' doubt, it is worth reflecting the stance of British educational sociologist, Michael Young, which was different from that of Taiwanese educationalists',

I do not think this is the question. For example, British educational sociologists, like Stephen Ball and me, always conduct our research by Michel Foucault's theories, but we never think that our studies are not British research. Most importantly, Taiwanese educational sociologists have to broaden their horizons and have more academic dialogue with foreign educationalists.¹⁰⁷

From Michael Young's perspective, the main task for Taiwanese educational sociologists at this stage is to participate in more academic exchanges with foreign educational communities and present their contributions at international academic gatherings rather than establishing discipline theories from their own context, especially in the global era. In fact, compared to the slow progress of philosophy of education studies and history of education studies in Taiwan, Taiwanese educational sociologists established an academic society in 2000 and founded a journal in 2001 in order to promote the professionalisation of this discipline and create more academic dialogue with local and foreign educational sociologists.¹⁰⁸ Kuei-Hsi Chen added,

The establishment of an academic society and journal was always our main task in the process of professionalising this discipline. This could not only support more contact between Taiwanese educational sociologists and

¹⁰⁷ Michael Young's interview (2012/12/11).

¹⁰⁸ Tien-Hui Chiang, Chih-Ting Hsu and Po-Chang Chen, op. cit., 2011, 425-431.

foreign educationalists, but also stimulate Taiwanese researchers to reflect on the lesson of indigenised theories by exploring their own context and recontextualising foreign doctrines.¹⁰⁹

Sheng-Yih Chuang also added,

From my observation, Taiwanese educational sociologists had the same belief and purpose as educational philosophers and educational historians to aim for an academic organisation and journal, so we spent much time and effort to achieve it. This was a good example for the other two educational foundation communities if they also planned to do it.¹¹⁰

6.8 Concluding remarks

This chapter mainly focused on the introduction, dissemination and distribution of the British sociology of education in post-1970s Taiwan, which was facilitated by Ching-Jiang Lin, Kuei-Hsi Chen and the next-generation Taiwanese educational sociologists who attained their doctorate in the UK. In addition, the influence of the doctrines of British educational sociologists on the development of Taiwanese sociology of education studies and the application of British sociology of education theories to Taiwanese research and practices were considered.

The way that the transmission and transfer of educational knowledge from the UK to Taiwan as far as sociology of education is concerned took place in a manner that was in some ways similar and in some ways different from philosophy of education and history of education, examined in Chapter Four and Five. For example, Taiwan's

¹⁰⁹ Kuei-Hsi Chen's interview (2011/12/15).

¹¹⁰ Sheng-Yih Chuang's interview (2012/01/03).

National Scholarship for Overseas Study promoted the academic interaction between Taiwan and the UK in fields of philosophy of education, as well as sociology of education since the 1970s.

Compared to the dissemination of the knowledge and ideas of British philosophy of education and history of education in post-1970s Taiwan, Taiwanese educational sociologists address how to apply and domesticate these theories and doctrines of British sociology of education into Taiwanese educational local research.

It was found that the development of sociology of education in the UK had a strong relationship with the transformation of teacher education programmes in the 1960s. Compared to the British experience, this academic discipline was also seen to have been influenced by the birth rate, expansion and decline of teacher education programmes and institutions and the enactment of teacher education law in post-1970s Taiwan. However, Taiwanese educational sociologists continued to stress the application of this discipline and the combination of educational theories and practices, and promoted its professionalisation by founding an academic association and journal in the 2000s, both of which contributed to this subject overcoming stumbling blocks during the process of its development and distinguished it from the poor development of philosophy of education studies and history of education studies in Taiwan.

From the mid-1975 to the 1990s, most Taiwanese educational sociologists studied for their doctorates in the USA, which caused studies of this discipline to have a strong quantitative-orientated approach. A huge number of Taiwanese educational sociologists acquired their doctorates in the UK in the 1990s and began their research

career in Taiwan so that the qualitative research of the sociology of education gradually became the mainstream.

Compared to educational philosophers and educational historians, Taiwanese educational sociologists always criticised and reflected the Westernised trend more than they borrowed foreign sociology of education theories to employ Taiwanese educational research and practices, and they began to attempt to construct their own theoretical system of this discipline based on their own educational context. In addition, the British experience of this discipline and the perspectives of British educational sociologists also had some implications for Taiwanese educational sociologists when they encountered questions and debates about globalisation and localisation.

Ching-Jiang Lin's and Kuei-Hsi Chen's achievements contributed to the re-connection of British and Taiwanese educational sociologists in the 1970s, especially the introduction of structuralism in Taiwan. Although there was a generation gap of around fifteen years from 1975 to 1990, when no successors followed the British studies of Lin and Chen, the next-generation educational sociologists still employed their British study experiences to expand the academic conversation between the British and Taiwanese sociology of education communities since the 1990s. In this way, Taiwanese educationalists in post-1990s Taiwan were able to learn about the development of the sociology of education in post-war Britain, especially the broad diffusion of Marxism and left-wing thoughts. Finally, the frequent cooperation between Chinese and Taiwanese educational sociologists in the 2000s also broadened Taiwanese educationalists' horizons so that they were able to recognise the Western sociology of education much better than before.

Chapter 7: Research analysis, findings and concluding remarks

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to summarise and discuss the research findings reported in the foregoing chapters and to address the research questions identified in Chapter one in order to lay the foundation for later reflection on the possible contributions of this study. The implication of the results is also considered in order to explore the balance between learning from Western educational experience and studies and inspiring Chinese and Taiwanese traditional knowledge and doctrines, especially in the global era. Some possible research restrictions are also indicated and suggestions are made for further potential future research in this field.

7.2 Research analysis and findings

As mentioned in Chapters one and two, this research was inspired by Wei-Chih Liou's doctoral thesis and studies. In her doctoral research in German, *Aus Deutschem Geistesleben: Zur Rezeption der deutschen Paedagogik in China und Taiwan zwischen 1900 und 1960*, Liou examines the way in which German Pedagogy was received, disseminated and transformed by Chinese educationalists who experienced German studies in pre-1949 China and post-1949 Taiwan. She also explores the significant influence of German study experience on Chinese educationalists' thinking and research, and finds that they not only criticised the fact that the American education system and theories were transported and copied by Chinese officials and scholars at that time, but also supported the importance of re-constructing the traditional Chinese culture and knowledge system by observing the German system.

Following Liou's contribution, this research has mainly discussed the dissemination and re-contextualisation of British studies and doctrines of educational foundation disciplines in post-1970 Taiwan, as well as the three academic disciplines embraced, namely, the philosophy of education, history of education, and sociology of education. Compared to China's long history of the strong exchange of knowledge and the borrowing of educational studies from Germany and the USA since the latter half of the nineteenth century, it can be found from the analysis in Chapter two of this study that British educational experience and academic achievements were not systematically introduced, discussed and employed in Taiwan until the 1970s.

Unlike Liou's research, the study emphasises the contribution of the government scholarship. According to the survey of this research, most post-1960s Taiwanese educational foundation researchers who attained British doctorates had received government scholarships. In other words, the role played by the Taiwanese official scholarship in assisting these educationalists to complete their doctoral degrees is one of the main factors of this research.

In addition, the key point is the process these educational foundation researchers used to employ and re-contextualise British educational doctrines into Taiwanese research and practices. Similarly, the process they used to promote the development of educational studies in post-1970s Taiwan by means of their British study experiences is another concern.

Finally, in terms of the learning and borrowing of Taiwanese educationalists' British experience, this research also supports Liou's findings of Chinese and Taiwanese scholars' reflections and comments about the Westernised development of Chinese

and Taiwanese educational research and practices over the past hundred years. Apparently, this is a long-term and unresolvable struggle.

According to the analyses in Chapters three to six, some of the discussions and findings are presented in Sections 7.2.1 to 7.2.4 below to respond these research questions addressed in Section 1.2, Chapter One.

7.2.1 Transformation of knowledge exchange between modern China and the West

It can be seen from Chapter three that the exchange of culture and knowledge between China and the West had been expanded by traders and missionaries since the seventeenth century. However, isolationist policies were gradually implemented by the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the fifteenth century to the latter half of the nineteenth century, so that Chinese intellectuals were unable to acquire academic knowledge from the West and update the development of their own knowledge.¹ On the other hand, compared to Chinese officials' conservative and self-centred thinking and governance during this long period, Western countries experienced a series of significant events, including the Renaissance, Protestant Reformation, Age of Enlightenment, Scientific Revolution and Industrial Revolution, which gradually enabled them to become more scientific and democratic.

When these Western countries began to invade China in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Chinese government had no choice but to recover its interaction approach. However, as claimed in Chapter three, this was transformed

¹ Mei-Yao Wu, 'The Reception of Foreign Educational Thought by Modern China, 1909-1948: An Analysis in Terms of Luhmannian Selection and Self-Reference', *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 3 (2009): 309-328; Ulrike Hillemann, *Asian Empire and British Knowledge: China and the Networks of British Imperial Expansion* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

from the initial academic exchange between China and the West to a single way of learning and borrowing knowledge from the West in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and more than a hundred years later, Chinese and Taiwanese educationalists still preferred to learn and borrow Western educational achievements and experience to further professionalise their educational studies and improve their educational practices, rather than retracing the Chinese classics to reconstruct a knowledge system based on their traditional history and culture.

Since Western thoughts and foreign doctrines were purposely selected and introduced by Chinese officials and intellectuals to build a new and modern education system and resolve traditional educational problems, they had to be competitive to occupy the mainstream. In pre-1949 China, American Pragmatism and German Pedagogy were most commonly discussed and highly regarded. They were also supported by Chinese advocates, who profoundly believed that the Western doctrines they supported could resolve the challenges faced by the Chinese education system. Therefore, Chinese intellectuals participated in several great academic debates from the 1920s to the 1940s as to whether American or German educational doctrines should be applied and domesticated into Chinese educational settings to reform the traditional Chinese education system and schooling.²

Although British thinkers' doctrines and philosophical thoughts had been introduced into China in the late nineteenth century, they were not regarded as being as important as American and German educational thoughts at that time. In post-1949 Taiwan, the Taiwanese government began to supply official scholarships for researchers and postgraduates to conduct their research in Europe. Most of these

² Mei-Yao Wu, 'Reconstructing the 1934-1937 Debate over Modern China's Philosophy of Education', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 51, no. 3 (2005): 27-51.

scholarship receivers chose to study in the UK because of the language factor, which gradually contributed to more frequent contact between the Taiwanese and British academic communities. Therefore, British educational studies and theories, especially in educational foundation disciplines, were systematically disseminated in the 1970s in Taiwan, largely by these foremost Taiwanese educationalists with their British study backgrounds, and these doctrines gradually had a significant influence on Taiwanese educational academic research and practices.

7.2.2 Jiaw Ouyang, the foremost contributor to re-connect the academic exchange between Taiwanese and British educationalists

It can be seen from the analysis in Chapters four to six that more and more Taiwanese educationalists began to study for their doctorates in the UK since the 1990s. However, some Taiwanese educational foundation researchers had attained their doctorates and completed their doctoral programme before the 1990s. These included Jiaw Ouyang between 1965 and 1969, Ching-Jiang Lin between 1966 and 1968, Kuei-Hsi Chen from 1972 to 1975 and Guang-Xiong Huang from 1974 to 1976. The most notable of these first-generation educationalists after World War Two was Jiaw Ouyang, who made a great contribution to re-opening the academic dialogue between Taiwanese and British educationalists.

In terms of the history of education, Guang-Xiong Huang transferred his research interest from the British studies of educational history to curriculum studies, which meant that he had very little contact with British educational historians. In terms of the sociology of education, Ching-Jiang Lin also changed his career from a university professor to a government official, which meant that he also no longer updated his knowledge of the development of British educational studies. Compared to Huang and Lin, Ouyang not only introduced the development of British

educational studies, but also applied British analytic philosophy to examine Taiwanese educational practices.³ Therefore, Ouyang's contribution did not only apply to Taiwanese educational philosophers.

Taiwanese educational philosopher, Ferng-Chyi Lin, describes Ouyang's academic achievement in terms of developing Taiwanese educational studies,

Professor Ouyang's influence was not just to disseminate British analytic philosophy into Taiwan and promote the development of Taiwanese studies of educational philosophy. For example, almost all of my generation of educationalists chose to experience their doctoral study life in the UK because of Ouyang's recommendations and influence.⁴

Yu-Wen Chou, whose research interest was in studies of educational history, also expressed a similar opinion to Lin's of Ouyang's contributions,

Most Taiwanese educationalists definitely agree that Professor Ouyang's academic contributions were profound and not just in the field of educational philosophy. In fact, the second academic exchange of educational studies between Taiwan and the UK was largely expanded again since the 1970s because of Ouyang's efforts. Simultaneously, Taiwanese educationalists, including educational foundation researchers, could

³ Cheng-His Chien, 'One Hundred Years of Philosophy of Education in Chinese Society: A Sketch', in *The Retrospect of the Development of Educational Studies in ROC for One Hundred Years*, ed. The Society of Chinese Education (Taipei, Taiwan: The Pro-Ed Publishing, 2011a), 347-349; Shen-Keng Yang, 'An International Comparison of the Historical Development of Educational Philosophy', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 57, no. 3 (2011): 30.

⁴ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

recognise and update the development of British educational studies from Ouyang's introduction.⁵

Most educationalists in the Taiwanese educational sociology community also stress that Ouyang was the greatest contributor in terms of the learning and borrowing of Taiwanese educational foundation researchers from the UK. For example, Kuei-Hsi Chen remarks on Ouyang's achievements,

In my generation of educationalists, Jiaw Ouyang can be regarded as being an ambitious researcher, who considered the latest developments of the British educational academic community and continually kept in contact with British educationalists. So, his influence in connecting the scholarly interaction between Taiwan and the UK since the 1970s is absolutely undeniable.⁶

Ouyang's efforts and contributions to re-connect and promote the dialogue between Taiwanese and British educational academic communities since the 1970s can be understood from the accounts of these Taiwanese educational foundation researchers. At the same time, this was also one of the main reasons why the knowledge and doctrines of British educational studies were able to be systematically and widely disseminated in post-1970s Taiwan, so that the discussion of British educational studies became as popular as American and German educational studies among Taiwanese educationalists.

⁵ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

⁶ Kuei-Hsi Chen's interview (2011/12/15).

In addition to Taiwanese educationalists' comments, British educationalists, John White and Richard Aldrich also appreciated Ouyang's effort to contribute to the close academic cooperation between Taiwan and the UK since the 1970s. John recalled Ouyang's invitation to make an academic visit to Taiwan,

I remember Oscar came back to the IOE two or three times to visit us when he was teaching in Taiwan. He also constantly stayed in contact with us. Since the 1990s, I and other British educationalists have been invited by Oscar and his students to visit Taiwan to expand this academic exchange. I know that Oscar hopes that Taiwanese educationalists can have more academic contact with the British educational academic community.⁷

It can be concluded from these Taiwanese and British educationalists' accounts that, as a first-generation Taiwanese educationalist, Jiaw Ouyang made an extremely valuable contribution in promoting the development of Taiwanese educational studies since the 1970s, not only in terms of the research of educational philosophy, by what he learnt and experienced in the UK. After the contributions of Ouyang and other foremost educationalists, the development of modern British educational studies was gradually considered by the Taiwanese educational academic community. Furthermore, they encouraged numerous Taiwanese next-generation educationalists to study in the UK since the 1990s, which eventually strengthened the academic relationship between the two countries.

⁷ John White's interview (2013/02/20).

7.2.3 The influence of Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Overseas Study on the academic interaction between Taiwanese and British educational foundation researchers

In Chapter Two and Three, it has been discussed the origin and development of Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Overseas Study.⁸ Among these research questions presented in Section 1.2, Chapter One, it is also explored to question the influence of this government scholarship on the process of the transmission and transfer of studies and the ideas of British educational foundation disciplines into post-1970s Taiwan.

By analysing these scholarship grantees' testimonies from philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education groups in Chapter Four, Five and Six, it can be evidenced that Taiwanese government scholarship actually played a significant role to improve the academic exchange between Taiwan and the UK in philosophy of education and sociology of education communities in the past.⁹

Compared to the development of these two fields, Taiwan government scholarship was not helpful for the academic interaction between Taiwanese and Western educational historians all the time. It can be evidenced by interviewees' data that Taiwanese government supported vacancies for postgraduates to study history of education abroad regularly in the past while these scholarship receivers usually changed their research interests when they go studying overseas based on the consideration of jobs.¹⁰

⁸ Yun-Shiuan Chen, *Modernisation or Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Reading of Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Overseas Study* (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 81-154.

⁹ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14); Sheng-Yih Chuang's interview (2012/01/03).

¹⁰ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

7.2.4 Similar development of Taiwanese studies of philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education influenced by British research of educational foundation disciplines

The ways that the transmission and transfer of educational knowledge from the UK to Taiwan as far as philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education are concerned took place in a manner that was in some ways similar and in some ways different from each other. Therefore, it examines the similarities of the development of Taiwanese studies of these three academic disciplines since the 1970s, influenced by British studies of educational foundation disciplines, in this section.

Firstly, the development of Taiwanese studies of educational foundation disciplines became more professional since the 1970s with the learning and borrowing of Western experience. For example, Jiaw Ouyang shared the following long-term observation,

I came back to Taiwan in 1969 and borrowed R. S. Peters' perspective to define educational foundation disciplines. Subsequently, more and more educationalists with British study experience conducted their research of philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education in post-1970s Taiwan by borrowing and learning from British educational studies and doctrines.¹¹

In terms of the philosophy of education, the British philosophical thoughts and educationalists' doctrines were actually based on different thinking models than the

¹¹ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

American and German philosophy of education. For example, Ferng-Chyi Lin indicated,

The London Line disseminated by Professor Ouyang stressed a conceptual analysis, which implies that Taiwanese educational philosophers should use more accurate concepts and vocabulary to express their educational ideas and stances. Besides, British analytical philosophers and their Taiwanese counterparts also consider themes of morality and virtue. Therefore, British educationalists' perspectives support the implications and reflections of Taiwanese educational research.¹²

In fact, more and more Taiwanese government scholarship receivers studied the philosophy of education in the UK after Ouyang, which also caused British studies to have a significant influence on the development of this field in post-1970s Taiwan. Eventually, the British and German philosophy of education became much more regarded and discussed than the American educational philosophy in post-1990s Taiwan.¹³

The British influence can also be found in the field of educational history in Taiwan. Although no Taiwanese educational historians attained their history of education doctorate in the UK until 2012, and the academic relationship between the Taiwanese and British educational history communities are not as close as the development of philosophy of education and sociology of education, British research of educational

¹² Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

¹³ Cheng-Hsi Chien, 'Retrospect and Prospect of Educational Philosophy as a Discipline in Taiwan from 1949 to 2005', *Educational Resources and Research* 66, 2005: 1-24; Wei-Chih, Liou, 'Historical Review of Articles on Educational History and Educational Philosophy Published in the Past Five Decades', *Bulletin of Educational Research* 56, no. 2 (2010): 1-40.

history still has numerous implications for Taiwanese educational historians. For example, according to Yu-Wen,

Taiwanese educational historians' research concerns were actually learned from the British educational history community, such as women's education and childhood education. Besides, my research interest is in exploring the transformation of the British education system and policies and the development of British educational historiography. Simultaneously, I also supervise some postgraduates to conduct their research of British educational history.¹⁴

It can be found from Chou's account and the analysis of Chapter five that the academic interaction between Taiwanese and British educational history communities has gradually greatly expanded since the 1990s because of his effort and contribution. Although Taiwanese educational historians have acquired an enormous amount of knowledge from British educational historians' experience and contributions, including the consideration of research themes and methodology, the scholarly exchange of the professionalisation process of this discipline is infrequent compared to the development of the other two foundation disciplines.

In addition to the philosophy of education and history of education, the professionalisation of the sociology of education studies in Taiwan has also been significantly influenced by the UK, especially the application and re-contextualisation of the British sociology of education theories. Ruey-Shyan Wang supported this by the following explanation,

¹⁴ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

Taiwanese educational sociologists have liked to borrow and apply American educational sociologists' perspectives and theories over the past decade. However, British educational sociologists such as Michael Young and Basil Bernstein, began to be regarded highly in post-1990s Taiwan, and their studies and doctrines are also employed and transformed into the Taiwanese educational context.¹⁵

Wang's account reflects that not only has the British study of the sociology of education been disseminated and widely applied into the Taiwanese sociology of education community since the 1990s, but Taiwanese educational sociologists also used to borrow Western educational theories and educators' doctrines to examine Taiwanese educational practices.

In addition to the significant influence of British educational studies on the professionalisation of the study of Taiwanese educational foundation disciplines, the academic exchange between Taiwan and the UK has been frequently and largely expanded since the 1990s, which is another concern of this research.

The fact that the Taiwanese government began to supply extra scholarships for postgraduates to study in Europe since the 1990s is mentioned in each chapter, and this was based on the considerable influence of the European Union in terms of business and diplomacy. Therefore, an increasing number of Taiwanese educational philosophers, educational historians and educational sociologists have expanded their doctoral studies and conducted their research in the UK since the 1990s, which has

¹⁵ Ruey-Shyan Wang's interview (2012/01/03).

enabled a frequent and substantial academic exchange between the Taiwanese and British educational communities.

Compared to the positive development of the study of these three educational foundation disciplines in post-1990s Taiwan, there was a generation gap between the mid-1970s and the 1980s. However, the similar results in these three fields were caused by different factors. Scholarship receivers in the philosophy of education and history of education usually changed their research from these two subjects to other educational practices when they studied in the USA and the UK during this period, based on a consideration of the job market. Meanwhile, although a great many Taiwanese postgraduates' research interest was in the sociology of education, they usually studied in the USA rather than the UK because of the profound impact of the American empirical paradigm.

On the other hand, the introduction of the development of foreign educational foundation disciplines in textbooks was also transformed in post-1950 Taiwan. When foremost educationalists came back to Taiwan from the UK, they began to disseminate the knowledge of British studies of philosophy of education and sociology of education into Taiwanese textbooks for teacher education course students and common postgraduates since the 1970s. However, the content of educational history in Taiwanese textbooks underwent no major transformation until the 1990s, when studies of British educational foundation disciplines were introduced, and simultaneously, British educationalists' publications were also translated into Chinese versions.

7.2.5 Different implications of British research of educational foundation disciplines on the development of Taiwanese studies of philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education

The similarities of the development of these three educational academic disciplines in post-1970s Taiwan with the influence of British educational studies is discussed in the last section of this chapter, while the differences in the development of these three disciplines are examined in this section.

Compared to the expansion of studies of educational foundation disciplines from the 1960s and early 1970s with reference to the curriculum studies in the UK,¹⁶ the development of the studies of these three academic disciplines have encountered a struggle since the 1980s with the re-enactment of teacher education law and the Taiwanese government's practice-orientated policies of teacher education and higher education. Also, the low birth rate since the late 1990s, which reduced the requirement for primary and high school teachers in Taiwan, became another important obstacle to the development of educational foundation discipline studies.

In order to overcome this struggle and promote the progress of the professionalisation of educational foundation discipline studies, Taiwanese educationalists adopted a different stance and opinion from their British study experience.

In terms of the philosophy of education, Ferng-Chyi Lin stressed the importance of retracing the traditional Chinese classics and reconstructing the knowledge system from Chinese culture and history.

¹⁶ Gary McCulloch, "“Disciplines Contributing to Education”? Educational Studies and the Disciplines", *British Journal of Educational Studies* 50, no. 1 (2002): 107-109.

In the past, Taiwanese educational philosophers liked to discuss the development of Western educational philosophy rather than ancient Chinese scholars' doctrines. However, we have to build a holistic knowledge system of Chinese educational philosophy rooted in our own context. For example, the main task of Taiwanese educationalists is to re-examine Confucianism and Confucian doctrines.¹⁷

Apart from Lin's opinion, the other informants of the philosophy of education did not provide any positive and practical suggestions on this topic. Lin observed and criticised the long-term Westernised trend of the study of Taiwanese educational philosophy, such as the development of studies of other academic fields in post-1950s Taiwan. Therefore, he advocated the importance and necessity for Taiwanese educational philosophers to review the ancient intellectuals' classics and doctrines on the process of the professionalisation of this academic discipline in their own context.

As for the development of the study of educational history in Taiwan, it appears that Taiwanese educational historians have more worries about the future of this discipline than educational philosophers and educational sociologists. In terms of the professionalisation of this field, Yu-Wen Chou clearly expressed his opinion of when he expanded his study at the IOE in 1993. Although he was interviewed for this research in 2011, he still insisted on his previous idea. While Chou observed the development of the study of history of education in the UK, he claimed that the

¹⁷ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

British experience could not be borrowed and followed completely by Taiwanese educational historians.¹⁸ He explained why,

Based on limited resources and research staff in the Taiwanese academic community, we cannot make more effort to establish a society and journal of the history of education or stress the importance of this discipline in the teacher education programme. Instead, we will attract more Taiwanese historians to consider the research themes of this field and cooperate with Chinese educational historians.¹⁹

Chou's statement reflects the struggle of the poor situation of the development of educational history research in Taiwan, while his strategy also demonstrates that the British experience does not seem to be beneficial to Taiwanese educational historians. However, apart from Chou, no other educationalists expressed their opinion of the professionalisation of this academic discipline in the future.

Despite the above obstacles to the development of educational foundation disciplines in post-1980s Taiwan, it is apparent that Taiwanese educational sociologists gradually overcame them and progressed the process of professionalisation. In Kuei-Hsi Chen's opinion,

¹⁸ Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Study of Historiography of Education in the UK, 1868-1993', *Bulletin of National Taiwan Normal University* 39, 1994: 98-101; Yu-Wen Chou, 'The Transformation of the Subject of Educational History in Taiwan Teacher Education Programmes, 1897-1998', in *The Transformation of Education for One Hundred Years*, ed. Department of Education of National Taiwan Normal University (Taipei, Taiwan: Winjoin Book, 1998), 372-374.

¹⁹ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

It was essential to establish an association and a journal in order to progress the professionalisation of this academic discipline. Therefore, we borrowed the American and British academic experience to found the Taiwan Association for the Sociology of Education in 2000 and the Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education in 2001.²⁰

Besides, Taiwanese educational sociologists not only considered local educational practices and problems, but also updated popular and international educational themes. For example, Sheng-Yih Chuang mentioned,

An annual international conference is regularly held in Taiwan and we usually invite world-class scholars to give keynote speeches. Besides, we usually establish some specific themes about educational sociologists' concerns around the world, such as critical pedagogy, multiculturalism, globalisation and localisation, which can attract foreign educationalists to exchange academic ideas with us.²¹

Chen's and Chuang's accounts demonstrate Taiwanese educational sociologists' attempts and strategies to promote this discipline to a more professionalised stage by forming a society and publishing a journal. Additionally, inviting foreign educationalists to join the international conferences held in Taiwan strengthened the scholarly interaction and attracted more Taiwanese educationalists and postgraduates, as well as promoting the trend of this field in Taiwan.

²⁰ Kuei-Hsi Chen's interview (2011/12/15).

²¹ Sheng-Yih Chuang's interview (2012/01/03).

Although the development of educational foundation disciplines in Taiwan has encountered obstacles since the 1980s, the Taiwanese educationalists who studied in the UK introduced different opinions and strategies from what they had learned and observed there to improve the development of these three disciplines. However, compared to the transformation of the philosophy of education and sociology of education since the 1990s, the study of educational history in Taiwan is still encumbered by serious problems of scarce research staff and resources.²²

7.3 Reflection

In addition to the conclusion and analysis in Sections 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 of how British experience has been learned and borrowed by Taiwanese educational philosophers, educational historians and educational sociologists to improve the development of these three educational foundation disciplines since the 1970s, this section will re-examine three key points from previous chapters to reflect on the future development of these three disciplines.

Firstly, the practice-orientated approach should be employed and considered more by educational philosophers and educational historians in Taiwan. In terms of the philosophy of education, Ferng-Chyi Lin pointed out this problem,

In the past, Taiwanese educational philosophers always focused on the content of Western philosophical thoughts and examined Taiwanese educational problems using Western philosophers' doctrines. However, Taiwanese educational philosophers should be more concerned with

²² Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 1994, 98-101; Yu-Wen Chou, *op. cit.*, 1998, 372-374.

educational practices from their own culture and history and support their suggestions for primary and high school teachers.²³

Yu-Wen Chou also expressed the same opinion for the history of education,

In the past, Taiwanese educational historians always stressed Chinese and Western educators' ideas. However, we gradually began to consider more issues of educational practices, such as the transformation of the education system and policies. We attempted to explore some implications from ours and other countries' past experiences and promote them to education reformers, policy-makers and educational practitioners.²⁴

The transformation of British educational studies from history to policy research since the 1980s is criticised for being based on a hostile political climate and the dominance of an ahistorical social science,²⁵ while educationalists are simultaneously expected to invoke the past in order to apply its lessons to present concerns.²⁶ Therefore, when Taiwanese educational foundation researchers conduct their research of practice issues by historical and philosophical approaches, it is still necessary for them to explore the implications for educational practitioners.

Secondly, Taiwanese educational philosophers and educational sociologists need to reflect that Western educational theories and doctrines should be re-contextualised or the knowledge system of educational theories should be constructed according to

²³ Ferng-Chyi Lin's interview (2011/12/14).

²⁴ Yu-Wen Chou's interview (2011/12/14).

²⁵ William Richardson, 'Historians and Educationists: The History of Education as a Field of Study in Post-war England, Part II: 1972-96', *History of Education* 28, no. 2 (1999b): 135.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 138.

their own culture. On the other hand, when *Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography* was published in 1947, Mon-Lin Chiang sketched and reflected the process of how the Westernised trend had invaded modern China and how it had had a significant influence on every Chinese.²⁷ Apparently, the westernised development of academic communities in pre-1949 China and post-1949 Taiwan has been long-standing.

However, this reflection has always been supported by social scientists and humanities researchers during different periods. For example, Kwang-Kuo Hwang attempted to establish indigenous theories of psychological studies for a long period by observing the Taiwanese behavioural model influenced by Confucianism and Chinese culture.²⁸ In the field of educational studies, Taiwanese educationalists also began to criticise the Westernised current in the 1980s and 1990s,²⁹ while establishing an indigenous knowledge system and doctrine of the philosophy of education and sociology of education has stayed at the idea stage and is merely a topic of discussion to the present day. However, whether the explanation of social science theories can be universal in this global age is another question. As Michael Young indicated, it is very common for British educational sociologists to employ Michel Foucault's doctrines to examine their research.³⁰

²⁷ Mon-Lin Chiang, *Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1947).

²⁸ Kwang-Kuo Hwang, From Anti-colonialism to Post-colonialism: The Emergence of Chinese Indigenous Psychology in Taiwan, *International Journal of Psychology* 40, no. 4 (2005b): 228-238.

²⁹ Chen-Tsou Wu and Po-Chang Chen, 'A Critical Examination of Taiwanese Educational Studies over the Past Forty Years', *China Forum* 234, 1985: 230-243; San-San Shen, 'Taiwan Educational Development: From Perspectives of Theories of Modernisation and Dependency', in *Education reform: From Tradition to Postmodernism*, eds. Chinese Taipei Comparative Education Society (Taipei, Taiwan: Shta Book, 1996), 137-160.

³⁰ Michael Young's interview (2012/12/11).

Thirdly, Taiwanese government scholarships have not only assisted numerous educational foundation researchers to complete their doctorates abroad but also contributed to more academic exchanges between Taiwanese and British educational communities since the 1990s. Because Jiaw Ouyang was invited as a committee member and consultant of the government scholarship by the Ministry of Education between the 1980s and 1990s, he often recommended the Taiwanese government to supply scholarships for postgraduates of educational foundation fields to study in Europe, especially for the philosophy of education and history of education.³¹ This is also the reason why numerous Taiwanese educationalists were able to expand their studies in the UK since the 1990s.

When Ouyang retired from this position, the Taiwanese government changed its policy and most of its scholarships have been awarded for applied fields of educational studies since the 1990s, and scholarships for educational philosophers and educational historians have become rare. If the Taiwanese government suspends scholarships for educational foundation researchers and the job market becomes more difficult, Guang-Xiong Huang estimated future developments,

A second generation gap, similar to the one from the mid-1970s to 1980s, may occur in ten years' time. If no young-generation postgraduates continue to study in the field of educational foundation in the UK in the future, this will damage and decrease the academic exchanges between Taiwan and the UK, especially in terms of the philosophy of education and history of education.³²

³¹ Jiaw Ouyang's interview (2011/12/13).

³² Guang-Xiong Huang's interview (2011/12/16).

The above are three key points involved with the future development of these three academic disciplines, and educational philosophers and educational historians have to overcome more serious obstacles than educational sociologists.

7.4 Contributions

This research can be regarded as the first one to explore the dissemination of educational academic knowledge from the UK to post-1970s Taiwan. Moreover, it has also analysed the distribution of British educational studies into pre-1949 China. Actually, these two lines of inquiry have a strong relationship. Therefore, this research makes two key contributions to our understanding of the field.

For researchers, the topic of the knowledge dissemination and recontextualisation of crossing borders from one context to other contexts, such as from the West to China and Taiwan, can be examined from the perspectives of history, sociology, economy and political science for comparative educationalists and researchers in other areas in the future. The knowledge usually contains the relationship of power and hegemony, especially between the mainstream and the periphery, so the analysis of the interflow of knowledge shall investigate these outside and inside key factors of the context.

Government policy-makers and educational practitioners will understand in great depth the differences between the ideas that are articulated in an overseas context, the ways in which these ideas are assimilated and learned by researchers from Taiwan in an overseas context, and then the directions in which these ideas are taken through the medium of these researchers in the context of Taiwan, where also rapid changes in society and politics have generated particular understandings and nuances in relation to key issues. After all, not everything can be domesticated in a

straightforward manner in an indigenous context. For example, the transplanting movement of foreign educational experiences was common in Taiwan in the past, and it resulted in a so-called Westernised, Americanisation or Europeanization environment. However, policy borrowing from overseas has been questioned by numerous scholars since the 1990s. Therefore, this research raises some implications and reflections for government officials on cross-national learning whether all American and European educational policies and practices should be domesticated into Taiwanese educational settings. It may be added in more general terms that global interactions across cultures and languages based on increasingly sophisticated network systems are having a marked effect on ideas and communications in many different societies, and further research is needed to examine this phenomenon as the twenty-first century procedures.

7.5 Limitations of this research

This study adopts two research approaches, namely, materials collection and interviews, and the field work was done over eight weeks between the 28th November, 2011 and the 20th January, 2012. However, it was found during the process of collecting materials that these Taiwanese foremost educationalists and next-generation educational foundation researchers seldom left documents and materials to record their British studies. Also, the influence of the Taiwanese government scholarship and British learning experiences on their academic contributions was also seldom discussed.

For example, since Ching-Jiang Lin's British study experience was rarely recorded, it could only be reconstructed by other informants' oral data. In fact, it was also

difficult to recount the academic exchange between Taiwan and the UK between the 1970s and 1980s because of insufficient historical materials and official documents.

Because of a lack of digitalised technology in some Taiwanese libraries, numerous historical materials and documents have still not been scanned, and since these materials cannot be searched and downloaded online, it was necessary to procure hard copies. This makes it very inconvenient for overseas researchers to conduct their studies. Therefore, most of the materials employed in this research were shipped to the UK by Taiwanese friends and teachers.

7.6 Future research

The aim of this research is to discuss the transmission and transfer of transnational knowledge, especially in terms of how Taiwanese educationalists borrow from British experience and what they learned in the UK to promote the development of educational foundation research in post-1970s Taiwan. In fact, the culture and knowledge interaction between China and the UK had been disseminated since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and this history could be traced and analysed further in the future.

In addition, the mediating roles and influences of Western traders and missionaries and Chinese businessmen and intellectuals to promote the scholarly exchange between China and Europe in ancient times are seldom explored and discussed in past research. Therefore, this is also a potential theme for further study in this field.

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Appendix 1: The informant's protocol (English text)

Dear,

I am Ren-Jie Lin, the doctoral student of Institute of Education, University of London, and under the supervision of Prof. Gary McCulloch (the Chair Professor of Brian Simon) and Dr. John Hardcastle.

At present, I am conducting my research on the history of transnational knowledge dissemination and transfer, with special reference to the development of studies and ideas of British educational foundation disciplines in Taiwanese research and practices since the 1970s. In my research, educational disciplines are defined as philosophy of education, history of education and sociology of education, and British informants I plan to interview are to supervise Taiwanese postgraduates in the past or expanded the academic visit in Taiwan.

The oral history approach is employed in this research, so I inquire your permission to participate in the interview to clarify the history and to enrich the data. Besides, the research will be definitely followed by the ethical standards of British Educational Research Association (BERA), and the information can be found in <http://www.bera.ac.uk/ethics-and-education-research-2/>. For example, you have the absolute right to withdraw from my study all the time. I have to get your permission in advance and then I can record your testimonies.

If you are pleased to give me a favour or have any question, please contact me all the time (Lorenz1.tw@gmail.com). Many thanks for your great help and kindness.

Best wishes,

(Signature)_____

(Date)_____

附錄一：訪談意願徵詢（繁體中文版）

敬愛的教育先進：

我是目前就讀英國倫敦大學教育學院的博士班研究生林仁傑，我的指導老師為 Gary McCulloch (Brian Simon 教育史講座教授) 以及 John Hardcastle 博士。

我的博士論文正在處理關於跨國教育知識傳遞與轉移的相關主題，特別是聚焦在英國教育基礎理論如何透過台灣教育研究者在 1970 年代以後的介紹、實踐並轉化台灣的教育實務與研究場域。根據文獻指出林清江教授為台灣戰後第一位在英國獲得教育博士學位的學者（時間點為 1968 年），因此本研究以 1970 年代做為時間斷限）。本研究將教育基礎理論限縮在教育哲學、教育史以及教育社會學三大學門，因此訪談者以曾在英國獲得相關領域學位、曾到英國蒐集論文研究資料、或是到過英國進行博士後研究的對象為主。

在追溯這段歷史的過程當中想要徵詢您的意願是否接受訪談，相信藉由訪談者的口述史生命經驗可以更加完整地描繪這段故事。訪談內容主要分成兩部分：一是訪談者自身在英國的學習經驗，以及英國教育基礎理論傳遞和轉換到台灣教育實務和研究現場的過程；二是台灣教育學者對於英國教育基礎理論應用及實踐在台灣研究和實務上的反思。

本研究將完全遵守英國教育研究學會（British Educational Research Association, BERA）的倫理規範準則，相關內容請參見 <http://www.bera.ac.uk/ethics-and-education-research-2/>，例如在研究的過程當中您有權利可以隨時退出本研究。如果您願意協助，也請隨時與我聯繫以安排訪談時間（Lorenz1.tw@yahoo.com.tw）。非常感謝您的大力協助。敬祝

平安喜樂 順心如意

（簽名） _____

（日期） _____

Appendix 2: Interview questions for Taiwanese educationalists (English text)

Part 1: Current research interests from British experiences of educational foundation disciplines

01. Why did you choose to expand your study and research in the UK?
02. What implications do you acquire from what you learned in the UK?
03. How do you have your influence on the next-generation educationalists by sharing your study stories in Britain? (For Prof. Jiaw Ouyang, Guang-Xiong Huang and Kuei-Hsi Chen) What implications do you attain from Lin's, Ouyang's and Chen's British study experiences? (For other interviewees)
04. How did Taiwan's National Scholarship Programme for Study Overseas improve the transmission of British studies and ideas of educational foundation disciplines into post-1970s Taiwan?
05. How do you transfer studies and doctrines of British educational foundation disciplines into Taiwanese educational settings?
06. On the process of transforming British educational foundation disciplines in Taiwan educational research and practice, what is the most significant struggle Taiwanese educationalists meet?

Part 2: Reflection on the influence of the development of British educational foundation disciplines in Taiwan

07. How do you think on transnational knowledge dissemination, with special reference to the impact of British educational foundation disciplines in Taiwanese educational research and practice?

08. How possible is it to expand an academic dialogue between Taiwanese and Western educational research, with special reference to British educational foundation disciplines, and to fuse Western educational ideas into Taiwanese educational research and practices?

附錄二：台灣教育研究者的訪談大綱（繁體中文版）

第一部份：英國教育基礎理論研究發展對台灣教育學者的影響與啟示

01. 當初您為何會選擇到英國展開博士生活或進行研究？
02. 在英國的生活對您後來的研究產生什麼影響？
03. 您的英國學習經驗如何影響到台灣下一代的教育研究者？（本問題針對對歐陽教、黃光雄、陳奎熹教授）對其他訪談者而言，上一代的英國教育經驗對您的學術發展有何影響？（本問題針對其他訪談者）
04. 台灣公費留學獎學金政策過去對於英國教育基礎理論研究被介紹到台灣學術圈的過程中扮演何種角色？
05. 您如何將英國的教育基礎理論研究和學說介紹並轉化進台灣的教育研究及實務場域脈絡裡頭？
06. 英國教育基礎理論學說轉化到台灣教育研究及實務場域過程當中，台灣教育學者遭遇到最嚴重的問題為何？

第二部份：反思英國教育基礎理論在台灣發展所產生的影響

07. 對於跨國知識轉移的議題的看法，特別是英國教育基礎理論在台灣教育研究及實務所產生的影響？
08. 台灣教育學術圈有無可能與西方教育社群展開相關的對話，特別針對英國教育基礎理論研究；同時找到融合西方教育知識在台灣未來教育研究及實務發展的可行之路？

Appendix 3: Interview questions for British educationalists

Part 1: Your supervision experience on Taiwanese postgraduates or academic visits in Taiwan or academic contacts with Taiwanese educationalists

01. Can you talk about your academic contact and exchange experiences with Taiwanese educational community since the 1990s?
02. For your observation, what is the hugest challenge for Taiwanese educationalists to develop their studies of educational foundation disciplines in the future?

Part 2: The recontextualisation of doctrines and study findings of British educational foundation disciplines in Taiwanese educational research and practices

03. For Michael Young, in the past, on the process of Western educational knowledge was imported into Taiwan by Taiwanese educationalists, it might not be considered that whether these foreign theories and ideas could be employed and applied into educational research and practices well. So, how about your opinion on the transfer of the knowledge of British sociology of education in other countries' educational studies and practices?

For John White, what is the advantage and disadvantage of the influence of the Analytic Philosophy (the London Line) toward the development of studies of philosophy of education in Taiwan? How possible is it for Taiwanese educational philosophers to fuse Western educational philosophy into their own educational settings?

For Richard Aldrich, do you think the establishment of the professional journal and the academic society will improve the development of studies of history of education in Taiwan on the process of developing its professionalisation?