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TAIWANESE TEACHERS' BELIEFS ABOUT  
STUDENT SELF-DETERMINATION:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

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BY

HUA-WEN HUANG

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TAIWANESE TEACHERS' BELIEFS ABOUT  
STUDENT SELF-DETERMINATION:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE  
DEPARTMENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP AND  
ACADEMIC CURRICULUM

BY

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Dr. Neil O. Houser, Chair

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Dr. Amy C. Bradshaw

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Dr. Frank O. McQuarrie

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Dr. Stacy L. Reeder

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Dr. Courtney A. Vaughn

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## ABSTRACT

This study explores Taiwanese teachers' perspectives on existing relationships between domination, education, and self-determination, and it considers implications for autonomous identity development in and through education in general. The findings were interpreted through a lens of critical multicultural education, which holds that critical consciousness is essential to the development of autonomously negotiated human identity. Although the study was located in Taiwan, the investigation addressed a widespread historical phenomenon with implications for educators throughout a variety of international social and political settings.

A critical ethnographic methodology based on constructive epistemological assumptions was used to investigate the perspectives of five Taiwanese teachers from different ethnic/language groups. Interview data were further sustained by an observation and a survey. The findings suggest that: (1) unexamined connections exist between social domination, education, and self-determination, and (2) these conditions influence teachers' abilities and willingness to promote self-determination among themselves and their students. In light of these findings, I recommend a multicultural educational approach that promotes: (1) critical consciousness of the destructive relationships between domination, self-determination, and education, and (2) critical pedagogical action that supports the promotion of multicultural appreciation, negotiated autonomy, and meaningful intragroup and intergroup interaction.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Domination, Education, and Self-determination**

I was from a rural area, and the language prevailingly used was Hoklo, my first language, a low-prestige code used mostly among peasants or in informal situations. Taiwan promoted monolingualism and underwent a serious linguistic genocide during the Martial Law Period [from 1949 to 1987] when I went to school. Without being exposed to the official language at home, I was humiliated because of the use of my vernacular language at school. In addition to corporal punishment and financial forfeit, my harshest punishment was being the “winner” of a big paperboard which I had to wear for the whole week on campus. The paperboard read: “I am the queen of Hoklo.” It was not rare to see both the “king” and “queen” walking home together, because my brother and I went through the same process. Even though my abilities in my second language eventually outdistanced my first, I exclusively spoke Hoklo after graduating from teachers’ college with the hope of preserving my language and the culture thereof. (Hua-Wen Huang, 2006)

Identity relates to who a person is.<sup>1</sup> It involves an ongoing integration of exterior factors into one’s inner self and therefore is “fluid and changeable” (Brown, 2004, p. 16). As a multifaceted attribution of factors like family, education, religion, culture, history, language, and ethnicity, identity is inclusive and inconclusive. With socially defined boundaries for personal interpretation,

identity is both socially and personally constructed. It may be seen as a praxis of self-determination/identification (abbreviated as self-determination) that is continually refined through recurring processes of self-reflection and social action.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, people in dominated societies have often struggled to experience an integrated identity. In order to facilitate domination, many social institutions, including education, have been employed to subdue the unprivileged (e.g., Freire, 2000). Many believe that self-determination has been deliberately repressed to manage the identity of the oppressed majority at the cost of their rights (e.g., Brown, 2004; Freire, 2000; Memmi, 1991). Among oppressed populations, self-determination of identity is often severely limited by social domination and educational manipulation. The identity of the oppressed is rarely self-determined, much less fluid and changeable.

Formal education has combined with other agencies of social domination to deprive freedom from the oppressed. Children have been forced to be “receptacles” (Freire, 2000, p. 72) of false interpretations of their realities and identities. Thus, identities to the oppressed often involve painful feelings of being, belonging, humiliation, confusion, unreality, or inconsistency. Albert Memmi (1991) depicted how the dominated have struggled for their identity:

The colonized enjoys none of the attributes of citizenship; neither his own, which is dependent, contested and smothered, nor that of the colonizer. He can hardly adhere to one or claim the other. Not having his just place in the community, not enjoying the rights of a modern citizen, not being subject to

his normal duties, not voting, not bearing the burden of community affairs, he cannot feel like a true citizen. As a result of colonization, the colonized almost never experiences nationality and citizenship, except privately.

Nationally and civically he is only what the colonizer is not. (p. 96)

Identity for the oppressed has seldom been ideal and real. Such dissonance comes from reluctance to identify with marginalized cultural, historical, or linguistic belongings that are real to them. The dominated frequently experience institutionalized cultural depreciation and linguistic marginalization. This results in dependence on the interpretation of a reality and identity that has been defined by the oppressors.

Said (1994) has argued that “human identity is not only not natural and stable, but constructed, and occasionally even invented outright” (p. 332). His point is that identity is fluid and ever-evolving and that the participants should be consciously (and critically) involved in its construction. If this is true, I believe self-determination might serve as a vehicle to help emancipate the oppressed and their societies by providing a means of critically examining their social realities and helping decide their own identities.

The purpose of this study was to explore teachers’ perspectives on existing relationships between domination, education, and self-determination and to consider implications for identity development in and through education. The findings were examined through a lens of critical multicultural education, which holds that critical consciousness is essential to the development of autonomously negotiated human identity. Although the study was located in Taiwan, the

investigation addressed a widespread historical phenomenon with implications for educators throughout a variety of international social and political settings.

In this chapter, I will briefly outline the cultural and political history of Taiwan. This history, which is composed of multiple regimes of colonization, will provide an introduction and rationale for the study. I will conclude with a statement of the specific research questions for the study.

### **The Case of Taiwan: A History of Foreign Domination**

Like many other parts of the world, domination has been a perennial problem in Taiwan. Although more freedom has been granted to the colonized people since martial law was lifted in 1987, the practice of increased “democracy” has not settled identity disputes due to the complexity of ethnic makeup and backwash of long-term colonization.

While the island population is composed of four main groups, including Hoklo (70%), Mainland Chinese (15%), Hakka (13%), and the aboriginal peoples (2%) (Huang, 2004, p. 21), approximately 70% of the Taiwanese population have an aboriginal lineage resulting from interethnic marriage (Manthorpe, 2005). It is believed that aboriginals originated, biologically and linguistically, from a Malayo-Polynesian ancestry. For generations, immigrants have stigmatized the aboriginal population, categorizing them as “wild/mountain savages” who were expelled into remote mountain regions and as “civilized/plains savages” who lived on the plains. The former, consisting of steadily decreasing numbers of native language speakers, include tribes such as the Tayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyama, Ami, and Tao. The

latter, having few if any remaining native language speakers, consists of tribes such as the Ketagalan, Kavalan, Papora, Thao, and Siraya (Xue, 2000). Since indigenous languages were mutually unintelligible to neighboring tribes, misunderstandings sometimes led to tribal conflict. Thus, Taiwan was diverse even before exposure to the outside world.

The four major ethnic groups identified above have been further simplified and dichotomized into the categories “mainlanders” and “islanders.”

“Mainlanders” are immigrants from mainland China who moved into Taiwan after 1949 when Chiang Kai-Shek lost control over Mainland China. “Islanders” usually include the island aborigines along with the Hakka and the Hoklo, descendants of mainland peoples who immigrated to Taiwan approximately a thousand years ago. These “Islanders” were ruled by Chiang Kai-Shek and his followers after their army’s retreat in 1949.

Mainlanders on Taiwan historically have experienced greater power and privilege than their islander counterparts. They have occupied most government positions, possessed stronger economic status, and obtained more advanced formal education, while the islanders have taken low-ranking and high-labor jobs, received less formal education, and gained fewer opportunities for upward mobility.

The terms “mainlander” and “islander” represent not only ethnic identity but also national affiliation either with the Chinese mainland or the island of Taiwan. Such divisions, commonly applied in society, are politicized and problematic. Oversimplification of ethnic groups into binary notions such as

“us” and “them”, “colonized” and “colonizer”, and “submitting” and “conquering” does not solve existing identity disputes. Instead, it deepens inter-group animosity. In truth, there are many exceptions to these kinds of binary reductions of nationalistic tendencies. For example, island-nationalistic mainlanders and mainland-nationalistic islanders are not rare in Taiwanese society. Figure 1 provides an idea of the diversity and complexity of ethnic groups, sequences of immigrations, and percentages of population in contemporary Taiwan (e.g., Brown, 2004; Huang, 2004; Roy, 2003; Xue, 2000).

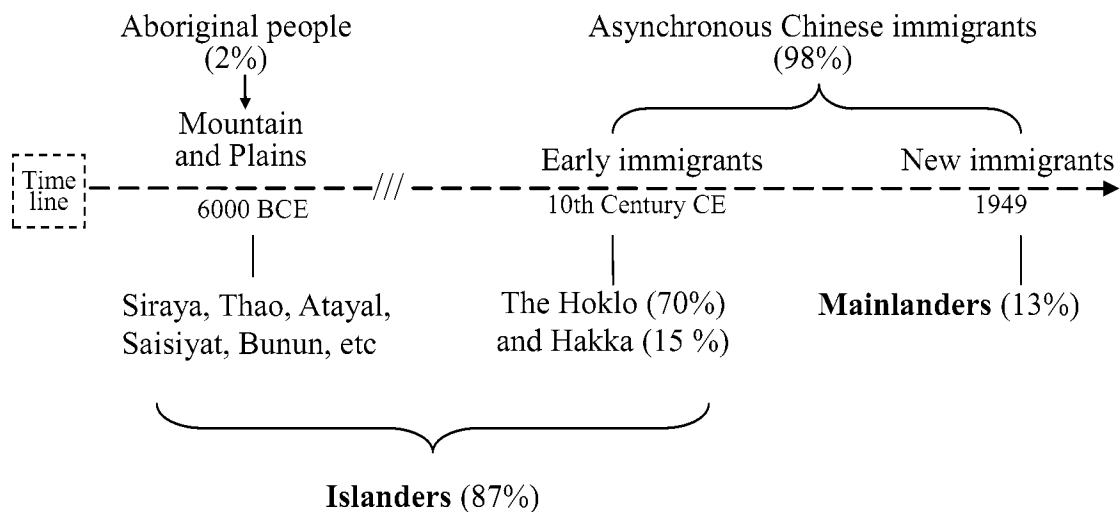


Figure 1: Classification of Major Ethnic Groups in Taiwan

In addition to Taiwan’s diverse ethnic makeup, the history of repeated colonization by the Dutch and Spanish, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Chiang Kai-Shek regimes, affects Taiwan greatly. On the one hand, history is composed by people. On the other hand, history shapes future composers. Freire

has argued that “there is no history without humankind and no history for human beings; there is only history of humanity, made by people and in turn making them” (2000, p. 130). This suggests that in order to address problems of identity, it is necessary to trace what triggered the trouble in the first place. For the purposes of this study, I propose to do this by exploring Taiwan’s history chronologically. I believe such exploration can be accomplished through the scope of education and language.

The first recorded foreign domination, which started in 1624, was under Holland and was administrated by the Dutch East India Company with the aim of benefiting its motherland. Two years later, the Spanish occupied the northern part of Taiwan for a short-term invasion. They were soon expelled by the Dutch. Although the domination of Taiwan was intended for purposes of trade with China and Japan, an unintended consequence was that the aboriginal people were “educated” because of religion. One means of domination was to preach Christianity through education (Chiung, 2001; Xue, 2000). In 1636, missionaries established the first school in Taiwan. It was at this time that the aboriginal people first had a chance to receive formal education and to approach Western civilization enriched by the European Renaissance (Brown, 2004; Chiung, 2001; Roy, 2003; Xue, 2000).

Linguistically, the Dutch missionaries Romanized, or ascribed written symbols to, one of the aboriginal languages, Siraya. This formed the first written Taiwanese language, Sinkang. Subsequently, the Dutch edited Sinkang dictionaries and Romanized religious doctrines and testaments to Christianize



the aboriginal people. Because Sinkang was spread through education, the aboriginals became “literate” and their lives were recorded. From unearthed documents such as translations of the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Formulary of Christianity, it appears as if the primary consideration in the Romanizing of Siraya was religious in nature. However, excavated “Sinkang Manuscripts” which include leases, contracts, and mortgages, suggest that Sinkang had an effect beyond the preaching of Christianity (Chiung, 2001; Huang, 2004; Xue, 2000). Thus, Christianity not only “enlightened” the aboriginals through formal education which was considered more civilized, but also manifested Taiwan’s history. Because the unearthed documents are dated from 1683 to 1813, it is clear that Sinkang was still being used even 150 years after the Dutch left the island.

The second recorded alien domination involved mainland China. Loyalists of the falling Ming Dynasty ended 38 years of Dutch domination between 1661 and 1662. However, these efforts to recover the Ming Dynasty failed in 1683, when Taiwan was conquered by the Ching Dynasty—the first formal political relationship with China. Under the rule of the Ming and Ching empires, Taiwan was viewed by their alien occupants, respectively, either as a temporary base for restoring a lost regime or as a worthless frontier that was difficult to control. Such marginalization led to little educational contribution from the governments. Generally speaking, Taiwan was Sinicized (made Chinese) during this period through mechanisms such as the instillation of Confucianism and preparation for national civil service examinations. The establishment of the Confucius Temple

and private schools was evidence of the importing of Sino-centric education (Brown, 2004; Roy, 2003; Xue, 2000).

The Sinicizing of the Taiwanese was not always overt and explicit. The Ming governors rarely interfered with languages officially. Although Hoklo or Hakka speaking immigrants flooded into Taiwan during the Ming Dynasty, Hoklo, spoken by most Ming loyalists, was primarily used. Later, this language absorbed other Taiwanese languages to form today's "Hoklo", the vernacular language having the most speakers. The Ching dynasty, apparently recognizing that the mutually unintelligible languages of the various tribes brought misunderstandings that prevented tribal unification, adopted nonintervention as their primary policy. Language loyalty resulted in intra-ethnic solidarity that split the island by "othering" (Ellsworth, 1992) different language speakers throughout the Ching Dynasty (Brown, 2004; Chiung, 2001; Roy, 2003; Xue, 2000).

The third official alien domination of Taiwan involved the nation of Japan. Japanese domination began in 1895 after the First Sino-Japanese War, when Taiwan was permanently ceded to Japan during the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Before long, Japan instituted the Education Administration and established the first public school. There were three types of schools: small schools, public schools, and aboriginal schools (Xue, 2000; Zhang, 2000). Only Japanese students attended small schools. These followed exactly the same curriculum used in Japan. Taiwanese students went either to normal public schools or aboriginal schools, depending on their ethnicities. Because studies relating to law

and political policies were restricted to prevent Taiwanese nationalism, only farming, medicine, language, and education were open to the islanders (Xue, 2000; Zhang, 2000).

Japanese colonial education consisted of three phases, including non-intervention, assimilation, and the Kominka Movement (sometimes referred to as “Japanization”). During the early years of Japanese domination, existing customs were preserved and the prior private schools were subsidized. However, after the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) broke out, private schools were abolished and education was practiced to consolidate Taiwanese students’ loyalty towards the Japanese Emperor.

In the beginning of Japanese domination, the language policy appeared to honor diversity. During this time, the Taiwanese learned Japanese, and vice versa. However, because strong Taiwanese nationalism existed among native inhabitants following World War I, language policies aimed at assimilating the colonized to the dominant culture met with limited success (Chiung, 2001; Huang, 2004). Thus, when World War II began, all vernaculars were restricted. Public schools were required to strictly practice a monolingual policy, and students were punished for utterances in languages other than Japanese. The consequence was that many colonized students’ native language vitalities were diminished while their Japanese language abilities increased. As a result, the Japanese-speaking population increased dramatically from 22.7% in 1932 to 71% in 1944 (Huang, 2004).

The fourth external rule of Taiwan began in 1949, when Chiang Kai-Shek and his followers were exiled to Taiwan after the civil war waged between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Chinese Nationalist Party (also known as Kuomintang, shortened as KMT). Having experienced a less oppressive form of Japanese domination, many islanders were disappointed by the privileged but undisciplined KMT troops. For example, due to improper investigation into the sale of smuggled cigarettes, one innocent islander died from gunshot. Without prosecuting the culprit, petitions, demonstrations, and strikes took place in Taipei (the north part of Taiwan) and brutal crackdowns of the crowds resulted in rebellions around the whole island. On February 28, 1947, the islanders rioted against the KMT government, and the “2-28 Incident,” which caused 20,000 dead or missing Islanders throughout the nation, was the bloodiest suppression throughout Taiwan’s history (Roy, 2003). Afterwards, people lived under the White Terror, and many intellectuals were murdered, arrested, or executed.

In order to rationalize domination of the foreign minorities, a form of what Freire (2000) has called “banking education” was carried out to eliminate Taiwanese nationalism and transform Islander identity into Mainlander identity. The new curriculum was exclusively grounded in Confucianism and Sino-centric ideology, and textbooks focusing on mainland history and perspectives vastly outnumbered those that focused on the island of Taiwan. Further, ideals of “anticommunism” and “recovering the mainland” were strictly imposed throughout all grades. KMT domination fossilized education and impeded critical reflection among Islanders on Taiwan’s history and identity.

From a linguistic perspective, the monolingual implementation of education and social policy after the 1950s turned Taiwan into a predominantly Mandarin speaking society. Mandarin-only policies, practiced in all institutions since 1964, and the Mass Medium Law which prohibited vernacular broadcasting since 1976, caused what might legitimately be considered language genocide (Huang, 2000). Teachers were coerced to learn and teach Mandarin, while students were punished for speaking in local vernaculars. Since that time, the society has become increasingly stratified between privileged Mandarin speakers and stigmatized vernacular speakers. Diglossia occurred, where high- and low-prestige languages were employed based on the formality of the settings. This resulted not only in the marginalization of local vernaculars, but also in the segregation of different language speakers (Huang, 2004; Spolsky, 1998; Wardhaugh, 1998).

Based on the history of foreign domination in Taiwan, it appears that two strategies—de-Taiwanizing the colonized people through education and segregating them through monolingualism—have been used to counter the development of conscious awareness of Taiwanese identity. First, education was utilized to disassimilate the Taiwanese people from their innate identities. “Educational” practices involving the preaching of Christianity, implementation of the Kominka movement, and the promotion of Sino-centric ideology de-Taiwanized the Islanders in order to sustain ruling regimes. It is clear that de-Taiwanization has been a major cause of identity obscurantism and has resulted in a significant loss of nationality identity.

Next, increasingly restrictive cultural invasion through monolingual policies has ended in polarizing the colonizers and the colonized. While the Dutch, Chinese, and early Japanese regimes interfered less with local vernaculars, later Japanese and KMT regimes systematically practiced national language policies in order to mentally subdue the Islanders. Although language plans might have been used to close gaps and reduce suspicion among different language speakers, the maladministration of the regimes segregated standard and vernacular language speakers. As a consequence, interethnic collisions based on monolingual policies disturbed the society and confined the growth of a collective Taiwanese identity.

### **Research Questions**

Again, the purpose of this study was to explore Taiwanese teachers' perspectives on existing relationships between domination, education, and self-determination and to consider implications for the development of autonomously negotiated human identity in and through education. While the study was located in Taiwan, the investigation addressed a widespread historical phenomenon with implications for educators throughout a variety of international social and political settings.

In order to free societies from domination, self-determination that was once inhibited for domination was examined in this study in order for the oppressed to critically reflect and truly name their realities and identities. Development of self-determination would be one of the top priorities in order to emancipate dominated societies. Through education, it would turn students into subjects,

rather than objects, striving for more real and ideal selves. Teachers' beliefs hence play a crucial role on whether such possibility is disclosed.

Since colonization and education still limit self-determination throughout the world, this study seeks to explore the following research questions:

- (1) What can be learned about the relationship between domination, education, and self-determination from a study of Taiwanese teachers' perspectives?
- (2) What are the implications for education as a means of promoting rather than preventing self-determination wherever it may exist, including Taiwan as well as other parts of the world?

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL LENSES

Based on the historical record, it seems that colonized people have had few rights to choose who they are; or if they luckily do, interpretations of their identities often turn out to be confined and negative. Although identity is by nature dynamic, oppression often diminishes its possibilities or interpretations. Self-determination hence is advisedly employed in this study as a means of raising critical consciousness to solve inequalities and help emancipate oppressed societies. Unlike what the term “self” typically implies in individualistic societies, my use of self-interpretation involves not only individual freedom but also collective construction. As Maxine Greene stated, “not only do we need to be continually empowered to choose ourselves, to create our identities within a plurality; we need continually to make new promises and to act in our freedom to fulfill them, something we can never do meaningfully alone” (1988, p. 51).

However, there are impediments. Too often we see social domination that is sustained by unbalanced distribution of power maintaining social classes or hierarchies. Too often we treat formal education as “correct training” supporting disciplinary power and hindering diversity. Too often we sacrifice self-determination due to the excuse of consensus or societal improvement without thinking of its contribution to human psychological needs.

Although there are impediments, there is also hope. Many anticipate that self-determination can serve as a means of freeing the oppressed from their



existing realities and promoting the well-being of societies. Others believe that multicultural education can open perspectives to critique power relations and provide solutions to all kinds of domination. It is also possible that what I will call “negotiated autonomy” can provide an alternative practice to deal with identity problems since consensus tends to result from dialogue or discourse rather than absolute majority rule, which is simply another form of oppression.

Two theoretical lenses will be employed to analyze the findings. The first lens discusses relationships between social domination and formal education, and the second focuses on connections between self-determination, critical multicultural education, and negotiated autonomy. In addition to presenting these lenses, I show how they relate to one another and how they open or close possibilities of autonomous identity development.

### **Social Domination and Formal Education**

Social domination has long existed in the history of humanity. Some point to the fact that care is at least equal to domination as a fundamental human attribute. Others disagree and insist that domination is a preeminent human characteristic. Advocates of this position argue that domination is as old as humanity itself. Ecological feminist scholars have suggested that the domination of women by men probably co-evolved with the domination of nature by humans (e.g., see Mackie, 1998). Moreover, some advocates of social justice have suggested that inequalities influenced by culture, color, class, and caste have existed everywhere and at all times (e.g., see Chopin, 2007; Njeri, 2007; Rodriguez, 2007; Saadawi, 2007).

Whatever the case, we know that domination has been prevalent in recorded human history. Again and again we see the most ruthless pattern of oppression—colonization—taking lives, possessions, and freedom away from the oppressed. As early as the period between the 2nd centuries BC and AD, Rome dominated most of Europe, while the Chinese Han Dynasty dominated Vietnam and North Korea. Later on, during the 15th century, Portugal expanded its territory from North Africa to Southeast Asia. Spain then spread throughout America and reached as far as the North Pacific, devastating the native population and major civilizations such as the Aztecs and Incas. Netherlands/Holland exercised imperial power when it replaced the declining Portugal and took its colonies, and following the wave of European colonization, another maritime hegemony rose from the Far East when Japan took over most European dependencies in the Pacific Ocean.

All in all, there has been a history of domination involving unprivileged majorities brutally ruled by invading minorities. In some cases, voyagers enslaved, slaughtered, and plagued native residents in return for their cordial welcome. As manifested in Christopher Columbus' *heroic* adventure, "total control led to total cruelty" (1995, p. 6). Freire (2000) observed that the oppressed are often dehumanized and turned into "objects," existing only to satisfy needs of dominant cultures with strong military support from the motherland.

In addition to inhuman treatment facilitating physical control, mental control such as official history or monolingual policy has long been adopted in

order to alienate the colonized from their inherent identities. While the *holy* triumph of the conquerors is typically presented, the cruel realities of bloody suppression are hidden from official history. The colonized rarely connect themselves positively with their heritage for it is often forbidden and brings self-depreciation and humiliation. In dominated societies, there is usually only one officially accepted perspective to view history—the perspective of those owning power. Zinn (1995) explicated:

The treatment of heroes (Columbus) and their victims (the Arawaks)—the quiet acceptance of conquest and murder in the name of progress—is only one aspect of a certain approach to history, in which the past is told from the point of view of governments, conquerors, diplomats, leaders. It is as if they, like Columbus, deserve universal acceptance. (p. 9)

Orientalism—the misinterpretation and defamation of marginalized Orientals, or Easterners, by hegemonic Occidentals, or Westerners—is embedded in much of colonial history. Within the context of Orientalism, Occidental composers create images such as glorified versus dishonored human-made identities (Said, 1994). While the former are considered positive and civilized, the latter are portrayed as negative and barbarian. Partially as a result of official history, the colonized have internalized identities negatively constructed by their rulers:

Self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them. So often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are

incapable of learning anything—that they are sick, lazy, and unproductive—that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness. (Freire, 2000, p. 63)

In addition to the influence of official history, monolingual movements have also taken place in dominated societies. Since vernacular speakers are often stigmatized with “low status, humiliation, corporal punishment, slow-footed intelligence and ability or downright stupidity, non-intelligibility and barbarism” (Thiong’o, 2005, p. 424), they often refuse to identify with their mother tongues and tend to employ a standard language for better social status and mobility.<sup>3</sup> In such situations, bilingual competence results in identity loss and cultural ambiguity instead of being viewed as a blessing that bridges cultures and solves misunderstandings. Since names of vernacular languages and ethnicities are often identical, monolingual policies endanger both vernacular languages and ethnic identities.

Ethnic groups regularly use language as one of their most significant identifying features...Commonly, the name of an ethnic group and its language are the same. Most ethnic groups believe that their language is the best medium for preserving and expressing their traditions. (Spolsky, 1998, p. 57)

When adopting colonial language, dominated people often lose both their native language and their identities. In other words, through monolingual movements, the subordinated are unavoidably assimilated into the dominant cultures’ identities, values, and ideologies.

In addition to loss of ethnic identity, cultural ambiguity occurs when speakers vacillate between vernaculars that symbolize inferiorities and colonial languages that grant unearned privileges. Although code-switching and code-mixing are natural to communication, underprivileged multilingual speakers often face the dilemma of choosing what language they should identify with. As Memmi proposed:

Possession of two languages is not merely a matter of having two tools, but actually means participation in two psychological and cultural realms. Here, the two worlds symbolized and conveyed by the two tongues are in conflict; they are those of the colonizer and the colonized... His linguistic ambiguity is the symbol and one of the major causes of his cultural ambiguity. (1991, pp. 107-108)

National language plans have been implemented to prohibit vernaculars, eliminate ethnic identity, and raise cultural ambiguity in order to prevent native nationalism. Such plans are therefore often responsible for devastation of, and alienation from, the vernaculars and ethnicities of the colonized.

Although oppression through adopting official history and language policies may seem subtler and more humanistic than military suppression, it will not be any easier to undo its impact. Domination has long existed and is still a reality in many societies. We may not see inhumane torturing of the oppressed simply for gold, goods, or slaves as in the past. Yet, we do see from work such as Zinn's (1995) *A People's History of the United States* that realities are often interpreted

from the dominant perspective and that the oppressive actions of conquering parties are usually glorified by the oppressor.

We also see linguistic domination, as stated in Fanon's (1967) work, *Black Skin, White Masks*, which suggests that colonial languages still predominate and marginalize vernacular languages. We see cultural hegemony, as Said (1994) pointed out in *Orientalism*, and know that through dualism and created concepts, the characteristics of marginalized "others" are still thought to be inferior, superstitious, or warlike, while those of the dominant culture are viewed as superior, rational, and peaceful. We see social class reproduction in Willis' *Learning to Labor* (1981) in which the upper and middle classes dominate the working classes to prevent social mobility. Ironically, Willis' lads believed their rebellious actions were socially transformative when in truth they trapped themselves in working class jobs and further stabilized their social immobility. And we see that racism overwhelms and makes people segregate or oppress one another, consciously or unconsciously, by granting privilege and imposing discrimination on people based on skin color (Lee, 1994; McIntosh, 1989).

Many scholars have argued that social domination is closely linked to formal education (e.g., Anyon, 1979; Apple, 2000; Willis, 1977). The roles of formal education have been argued for a long time. Functionalist theorists argue that through equality of educational opportunity, students can fulfill their potential and meet social expectations. Contrary to this positive assumption of the impact of social influences, conflict theorists insist that formal education and domination conspire, through social class, to perpetuate benefits for dominant

groups and trap the dominated in the bottom of society. Different from functionalists and conflict theorists who assume that schools take politically laden roles, interpretivist theorists typically assume that schools take more open and widely defined roles that are socially or culturally constructed within individual local contexts (Feinberg & Soltis, 2004).

Regardless what role schools may take, it seems clear that education often serves the interests of the powerful and is responsible for social reproduction (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 2000; Willis, 1977). Youngsters, especially those who are marginalized, are indeed taught to adopt dominant perspectives and to have little thought that is different from what adults, curricula, and texts regulate. In most schools, students are either required to subordinate themselves to dominant values or they are marginalized. Rather than promoting the capacity for critical judgment, too often institutions provide “correct training” (Foucault, 1995) in an effort to forge future citizens (Anyon, 1980; Apple, 2000; Banks, 1989; Foucault, 1995; Houser, 1997; Willis, 1981; Zinn, 1995).

Within institutions, social rules govern students’ behaviors. Discipline serves as a powerful tool that efficiently and legally controls individuals. When Foucault discusses “discipline,” what he means is a technique used to simplify and control human beings by regulating their values, thoughts, and behaviors. Norms and standards permeate individuals, including their consciousness, which helps the elite rule the majority. As Foucault noted:

Discipline ‘makes’ individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise. It is

not a triumphant power, which because of its own excess can pride itself on its omnipotence; it is a modest, suspicious power, which functions as a calculated, but permanent economy. (1995, p. 170)

Through formal education, students are often trained by internalizing regulations or values that permeate schools or even entire societies. Discipline provides not only criteria to differentiate between what is perceived as socially “right” and “wrong” but also consequences for behaviors discouraged by dominant values.

Specific techniques are needed to ensure successful training of each individual. Therefore, careful techniques are an important aspect of disciplinary power. Foucault (1995) proposed that there are three means of correct training for supreme disciplinary power. These include hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and examination. Although examination is based on the previous two techniques, all three reinforce one another to support correct training as shown in Figure 2.

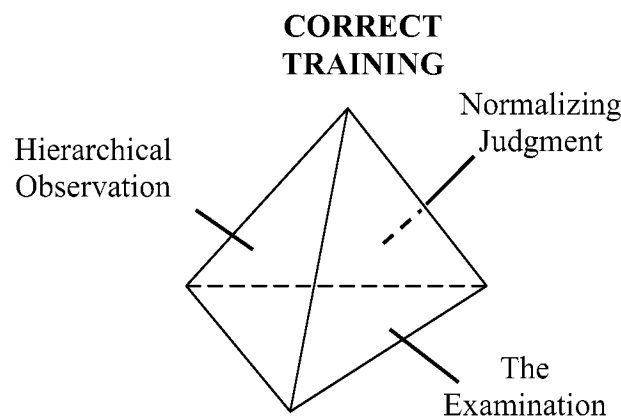


Figure 2: Correction Training (Foucault, 1995)



The first facet of disciplinary power is hierarchical observation. It is better introduced together with “panopticism,” a concept in which transparent cells centered around a supervision tower, as with prison a watch tower, provide visibility and therefore economical control to institutional supervisors (Foucault, 1995). Inside institutions, including schools and classrooms, “officers” are often assigned duties including “material tasks” (p.175) and “surveillance” (p. 176). While material tasks relate to jobs like distributing papers, surveillance involves tasks like watching one another. Hence students are exposed in an environment where horizontal supervision is practiced among the young and vertical supervision is practiced by adults to totally oversee and control students. Outside classes, there are multiple layers of supervision in which parents, directors, administrators, and even governors see through classrooms and control both adults and children. Foucault illustrated,

The power in the hierarchized surveillance of the disciplines is not possessed as a thing, or transferred as a property; it functions like a piece of machinery. And, although it is true that its pyramidal organization gives it a ‘head’, it is the apparatus as a whole that produces ‘power’ and distributes individuals in this permanent and continuous field. This enables the disciplinary power to be both absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individuals who are entrusted with the task of supervising; and absolutely ‘discreet’, for it functions permanently and largely in silence. (1995, p. 177)

“Horizontal supervision,” practiced by all members of a community, can create an omnipotent form of surveillance that can be used to monitor the behaviors of ones peers (e.g., classmates; colleagues). At the same time, “vertical supervision,” practiced by supervisors (e.g., school and district administrators), creates hierarchical power relationships that can help ensure that individuals will follow the mandates of designated authorities. Beyond visible cameras recording specific spots, it seems an omnipresent and sometimes unidentifiable form of surveillance spreads throughout schools to ensure that all, including adults and children, are trained correctly. The oppressed remain visible within the “panopticon” where freedom is submitted to disciplinary power. As Foucault depicted, “Full lighting and the eye of a supervisor capture better than darkness. Visibility is a trap” (1995, p. 200).

The second facet of disciplinary power is normalizing judgment. Normalization, a process of differentiating between simplified and dichotomized conceptions of “normality” and “abnormality” defined by dominant ideology, pervades many educational institutions. Such simplification is practiced through dichotomizing continua of realities or concepts into poles of normality and abnormality, sanity and insanity, good and evil, submission and resistance, conformity and rebellion, and so forth. Regulations, written or conceptualized, are derived from these norms and used to further generate punishment. Formal education often transmits a whole bundle of “normality” that includes knowledge, values, concepts, and behaviors. Children are often required to internalize social normality and expected to assimilate these norms. However, formation of norms

is not an ultimate goal of correct training; instead, correct training involves the composition of penalties that coerce youth into complying with disciplinary power. Through schooling, future citizens are either shaped according to normality or punished for “abnormal” behaviors.

In a sense, the power of normalization imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialties and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another. It is easy to understand how the power of the norm functions within a system of formal equality, since within a homogeneity that is the rule, the norm introduces, as a useful imperative and as a result of measurement, all the shading of individual differences. (Foucault, 1995, p. 184)

Normalizing judgment is a series of processes of reduction: diverse values are simplified by dichotomizing oppositions of normality versus abnormality, and the resulting binary values are further homogenized by punishing those who are not sufficiently regulated under these norms. As Foucault explicated, “the perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchies, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes” (1995, p. 183).

The third facet of disciplinary power is the examination, a means that merges the prior two techniques. Foucault observed that the examination involves “a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish” (1995, p. 184). Institutions regularly hold examinations for supervisors to monitor teachers’ and students’ performance. Outcomes of

examination are often used both for economical observation and normalizing judgment. Those who are under surveillance struggle to pass examinations in order to be treated as normal. Whether they prefer it or not, they need to always be ready to be regularly examined. Teachers and students are reduced to scores or grades, and supervisors, or administrators, gain disciplinary power simply by administering examinations and glancing over the results. This is a very efficient way of exercising disciplinary power. Since examinations provide quantities that can be used to exert widespread control, monitors do not have to approach classrooms or individuals for close supervision or take time to prevent learning and teaching across the borders of normality. Foucault noted,

The examination as the fixing, at once ritual and ‘scientific’, of individual differences, as the pinning down of each individual in his own particularity clearly indicates the appearance of a new modality of power in which each individual receives as his status his own individuality, and in which he is linked by his status to the features, the measurements, the gaps, the ‘marks’ that characterize him and make him a ‘case’. (1995, p. 192)

When giving tests to students, teachers play roles of supervisors monitoring student achievement. On the contrary, when providing test results to parents or directors, teachers become the targets of observation and judgment. Therefore, administration of examinations strengthens disciplinary power by controlling and objectifying both the teacher and the student. Educational accountability, which is often associated with examinations, provides visibility and a sense of normality. Thus, examination is not merely a means of correct training; it carries

disciplinary power. Individuals are quantified and simplified through the process “of the infinite examination and of compulsory objectification” (Foucault, 1995, p. 189).

As shown in Figure 2, hierarchical observation, examination, and normalizing judgment are three facets of disciplinary power that mutually support the vertex of the triangular-based pyramid—correct training. If any of the facets collapses, the pyramid is weakened. The more surveillance, examination, and normalization are practiced in schools, the more rigidly students are governed. Although Foucault’s assumptions might not be generalized into entire educational institutions, there seems to be disciplinary power controlling both children and adults.

### **Self-Determination and Multicultural Education**

In addition to issues involving social domination and formal education, this study draws on the relationships between self-determination and multicultural education. While the previous section focused on problems related to dominated societies and educational institutions, the following discussion explores critical possibilities or solutions related to self-determination and multicultural education. First I will introduce the concept of self-determination and explicate the need for negotiated autonomy to help ensure meaningful self-determination. I will then draw attention to relationships between multicultural education and self-determination that will help with the interpretation of my research findings.

Self-determination is a term widely applied in fields such as politics, psychology, and education. It involves the practice of making decisions from

one's own volition without unduly complying with extrinsic compulsion. Self-determination, which by its nature stresses an individual's initiatives, is probably not "teachable" per se. Rather it needs to be nurtured by providing supportive communities. Advocates of self-determination theory (SDT) emphasize social contexts that help integrate extrinsic motivation and actualize intrinsically motivated behaviors for both individual benefit and social well-being. They further propose that although human beings are inherently active and inwardly inspired, such dispositions are vulnerable when environmental factors hinder accomplishment of self-determined behaviors (Deci & Flaste, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2002). Ryan and Deci noted that "excessive control, non-optimal challenges, and lack of connectedness...disrupt the inherent actualizing and organizational tendencies endowed by nature, and thus such factors result not only in the lack of initiative and responsibility but also in distress and psychopathology" (2000, p. 75).

Self-determination can help address at least three basic human needs—competence, autonomy, and relatedness. Environments promoting development of self-determination correlate with satisfaction of these needs. First, competence is the ability to take challenges, accomplish tasks, fulfill one's ambition, and so on. It is sustained by intrinsic satisfaction, such as the sense of achievement or confidence, rather than extrinsic pressure, which results from competition, grades, or achievement. While empirical experiments indicate that people are conditioned by outward stimuli, which influence reoccurrence of target behaviors, SDT proposes that it is psychological responses (e.g., frustration or

satisfaction), instead of the extrinsic consequences (e.g., rewards or punishments), that hinder or help the repeating of behaviors. And it is the sense of competence (e.g., self-depreciation or self-appreciation) that decides whether to internalize extrinsic motivation for self-determined behaviors (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 2001; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

The second psychological need associated with SDT is autonomy. Advocates of SDT argue that autonomy is an elementary and universal need endowed to all humans that must not be deprived. People tend to act without being controlled and make decisions from their own volitions; however, extrinsic compulsion, such as deadlines, commands, and directions, contradicts such tendencies and impedes self-determined behaviors. SDT proposes that the more people are externally motivated or controlled, the less they conduct self-determined behaviors (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 2001; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

The third psychological need supported by self-determination is relatedness. Human beings are interrelated; they must feel welcomed by significant others. As proposed in SDT, “the intrinsic need for relatedness leads people to be part of groups—initially their nuclear family, then larger groups, then society, and finally the global community—and this need, for good and for bad, opens people up to being socialized” (Deci & Flaste, 1995, p.103). Identification with related communities and affirmation from their members can help sustain self-determined behaviors and provide opportunities for extrinsic motivation to be internalized and integrated as intrinsic motivations.

Having addressed the importance of self-determination in relation to several basic psychological needs, let us now move into a discussion of “negotiated autonomy,” which I see as a qualitative and interactive practice of self-determination. In this study, self-determination will be treated as a way of raising consciousness and exercising “the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world” (Freire, 2000, p. 34).

Although this study aims to address problems of ethnic and national identity, it is not simple secession or independence that is emphasized. While self-determination has been called for as a solution to problems of identity (e.g., involving culture, language, history, ethnicity, or statehood), attention should be paid to ensure that the practice of self-determination does not become a disguise for licensed violence. Self-determination should not be simplified as dichotomization of independence and dependence, opposition of individualism and collectivism, polarization of pros or cons, or compliance of the minority with the majority. It is necessary to ensure that “the Self” of the majority does not come to represent a form of democratic violence suppressing choices of minority others.

The ideal of self-determination and the value system of which it has long been the cornerstone can no longer be accepted as self-evident. It becomes more difficult to consider violence to be an act perpetrated by others when in an increasing number of cases it is being practiced in the name of self-determination. Determination of the Self now reveals itself to be what it



probably always has been: determination of the Other. (Vries & Weber, 1997, p. 1)

Responding to this legitimate criticism, this study emphasizes the process of negotiating with others regarding various participants' histories or identities. This is where the idea of negotiated autonomy comes in. By "autonomy" I mean the state of being self-governed. Autonomy is a capacity that is developed internally and actively through personal interaction with the environment rather than externally and passively through the manipulation of designated authorities (Kamii, 1982). By "negotiated autonomy" I mean freedom that is granted and defined reciprocally through the exchange of discourses within the social environment. Autonomy, hence, involves not only self-determined activity but also inter-individual commitments. I view negotiated autonomy as a feasible means of practicing self-determination in the context of multicultural education. The hope is that through negotiated autonomy, voices of the minorities or oppressed will be heard and respected. It authorizes not only an individual to have rights to make decisions but also all people to welcome opinions other than their own. In short, it is focused on compromise or negotiation.

Three main characteristics of negotiated autonomy are relevant to this study, including relative rather than absolute truths (Cherryholmes, 1980), engagement in dialogue (Freire, 2000; Greene, 1988), and symmetrical rather than asymmetrical social relationships (Cherryholmes, 1980; Houser & Kuzmic, 2001). These characteristics are based largely on Habermas' notions of

“communicative competence” and the “consensus theory of truth”

(Cherryholmes, 1980, p. 131).

The first characteristic of negotiated autonomy relevant to this study is the idea of the relativity of truth. Because there will be a continuum of perceived truths among any group of people, it is natural to have different interpretations of realities among individuals. Since truth is considered dynamic, negotiable, relative, and only approximated, we should expect it to be “revealed by discourse and argumentation as justifications are offered, challenged, and debated for various truth claims” (Cherryholmes, 1980, p. 132). Autonomy, which is different from complete freedom or complete individualism, is not determined solely by individuals’ beliefs of truth or reality; instead, it is based at least partially on consensus. Because autonomy involves relation to others, practices of autonomy are shared and hence consider relative truths or realities interpreted by others. Habermas claims that “truth lies not in the direct correspondence between a particular truth claim and the facts (objects, experiences, relationships) it purports to represent, but in the degree of *consensus* that can be established through dialogue” (Houser & Kuzmic, 2001, p. 436).

The second characteristic of negotiated autonomy relevant to this study is the idea that true autonomy involves dialogue. There should be open discussion reminding “people of what it means to be alive among others, to achieve freedom in dialogue with others for the sake of personal fulfillment and the emergence of a democracy dedicated to life and decency” (Greene, 1988, p. xii).

Instead of developing “an articulated public,” as proposed by John Dewey (Greene, 1988, p. 2), silence seems to be a growing tendency in many societies.

People often associate autonomy with independence, isolation, or extreme negative freedom exercised without inter-individual agreement. If conversations are not held to complicate our understandings of freedom, autonomy may be prohibited for fear of encountering chaotic results due to misinterpretation of the meaning of autonomy. Since silence can lead to further misunderstanding and distrust, which further impedes development of autonomy, it is important to engage in dialogue to address the meanings and challenges of autonomy. From this point of view, “the task of the citizen...is to engage in critical discourse to achieve rational consensus on alternative truth claims and to establish and maintain the necessary social (political, economic, cultural, linguistic) conditions in which such discourse is possible” (Houser & Kuzmic, 2001, p. 437).

The third characteristic of negotiated autonomy relevant to this study involves symmetrical relationships established among interlocutors. It has been argued that language functions beyond even the conveying of words, thoughts, feelings, and meanings. Additionally, language can also serve as a vehicle for efficiently spreading and concretizing social domination (e.g., Memmi, 1991; Thiong'o, 2005). Negotiated autonomy requires that different opinions be heard by all participants throughout the discourse. In the process of negotiating “truth,” different interpretations or presentations must be claimed and considered. Cherryholmes claimed that the “the purpose of discourse...is to seek rational consensus through the contemplation of alternative truth claims; however, such

consensus can only be achieved if social relations among the participants are symmetrical” (Houser & Kuzmic, 2001, p. 437). It is important for all participants to work with one another to equally express and critically examine alternatives of truths or realities in the context of symmetrical communication where power is proportionally shared. In this way, hierarchical social stratification can be replaced by symmetrical relationships, and autonomy will not be a privilege enjoyed only by certain individuals.

Finally, let us turn to a discussion of general characteristics of multicultural education, particularly as they relate to issues of self-determination. Multicultural educators encourage all to approach and appreciate diversity through schooling (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006; Nieto, 2003; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Practitioners strive to help participants perceive the world from different perspectives; it empowers those who are oppressed and belittled; it visualizes unacknowledged cultural/linguistic norms internalized to support mainstream ideology and suppress unprivileged cultures; it opposes “-isms” such as racism, classism, sexism, ableism, religious universalism, and ageism; it manages group conflicts due to othering, prejudice, stigmatization, injustice, and superiority complexes; it criticizes polarizing binary thinking such as good/bad, white/black, us/them, colonizers/colonized, mainlander/islander, and standard versus vernacular languages. Multicultural educators strive to be comprehensive and to handle problems here and now. In sum, “multicultural education is a philosophy, a way of looking at the world, not simply a program or a class or a teacher” (Nieto, 2003, p. 354).

Advocates argue that multicultural education is pervasive and inclusive, that it sustains diversity and equality, that it raises critical consciousness for social change, and that it promotes globalization and localization. To begin with, multicultural education involves everyone and is involved in everything (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006; Nieto, 2003; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). On the one hand, it is inclusive. It includes everyone, regardless of race, ethnicity, language, gender, or ability. On the other hand, multicultural education is pervasive. It permeates all subjects and grades. It is everywhere at every moment. It is not just a specific unit in texts delivered to certain students by social studies teachers (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006; Nieto, 2003).

Next, from the perspective of multicultural education, diversity and equality are coequal and interdependent (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006; Nieto, 2003; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Proponents suggest that disproportionate emphasis on either diversity or equality will impact both and hamper attempts to establish a multicultural society. Only when equality recognizes diversity will collective voices not be overstressed; only when diversity recognizes equality will individual voices not be overextended. The relationship between equality and diversity parallels that which Greene posited regarding freedom and equality. Greene noted:

We find freedom in a dialectic with equality. Both cannot be maximized at the same time, for if every one were equally the same, then the freedom of diversity would be lost, and if every one were totally free, then some would gain power over others and equality would be lost. (1988, p. ix)

A multicultural society sustained by diversity and equality not only provides freedom to value differences but also restricts it to avoid overpowering individualism.

Third, many multicultural educators recommend critical consciousness for social change. Since societies merge a variety of political, economic, social, and cultural powers that often side with dominant groups and individuals, the rights of the marginalized have frequently been overridden. Dominant cultures overpower and marginalize minor ones, and that forces the powerless to comply with cultural hegemony (Apple, 2000; Banks, 1989; Zinn, 1995). Multicultural education hence is needed for emancipation of societies by raising critical consciousness of the oppressed. The assumption is that when people stop adopting the dominant ideology and start to raise consciousness to critically examine their unjust realities, social oppression becomes visible and hence changeable. Accordingly, critical consciousness becomes a means of deciding how to conduct personal lives as well as construct societies.

While critical consciousness can be contrary to social reproduction, it is crucial for social transformation and emancipation. In order to promote social change, people need “to think about what they are doing, to become mindful, to share meanings, to conceptualize, to make varied sense of their lived worlds” (Greene, 1988, p. 12), and further to take action to transform or emancipate their societies.

Finally, it can be argued that the well-being of the global society ultimately depends on localized development. In response to current trends based on keen

global competition, many progressives have begun to advocate localization. For example, Noddings (2005, p. 57) has argued for “place-based education”:

Education is usually aimed at producing young citizens who can function effectively anywhere in the postindustrial world. This emphasis may be a mistake. Not only does such an education deprive young people of the knowledge they need to care for and appreciate the places in which they grow up; it also fails to provide them with an understanding of what place means in the lives of people in other parts of the globe.

Second language learning provides a useful example. Within the troubling context of corporate globalization, there is often a tendency for local communities to learn more dominant languages in order to engage in international competition. Hence, native language learning is frequently ignored, and many languages have been marginalized in order to globalize the youth (Wardhaugh, 1998). Yet, successful second language development is often influenced by native language proficiency (Brown, 1993). Without familiarity and identification with one’s native language, it can be difficult to excel in second language learning. Based on relationships like these, it can be argued that worthwhile globalization can only occur when the young value their local cultures and surroundings. In this way, local appreciation can be projected into the whole world.

Meanwhile, because networks, transportation, and mass media are permeating the world, the world is “shrinking.” Everyone is becoming closer and most corners on this planet are accessible. Since globalization is a trend that will

continue into the future, our students need more than simply competition in order to cope. Instead, they will also need cooperation to work with different people all over the world, which is more diverse than what most students have experienced or imagined. Unavoidably, “our world is increasingly interdependent, and all students need to understand their role in a global society and not simply in a nation. Multicultural education is a process that goes beyond the changing demographics in a particular country” (Nieto, 2003, p. 362).

This chapter presents two theoretical lenses. The first lens focused on social domination and formal education, and the second concentrated on self-determination and multicultural education. I have presented problems resulting from social domination and formal education and suggested that self-determination and multicultural education may provide possible solutions. These lenses will be used not only to interpret my findings but also to suggest implications for theory and practice. In the next chapter, I will identify the research method, discuss data collection and analysis procedures, and introduce the participants and settings for this study.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **Research Approach: Critical Ethnography**

This study combined aspects of critical ethnography, teacher action research, and narrative inquiry. It included critical ethnography because specific findings were analyzed within a larger context of knowledge and power (e.g., Quantz, 1992). Critical ethnographers immerse themselves in research fields to explore and reflect on social problems such as inequality, injustice, exploitation, and oppression. Their data, while gathered through the use of traditional ethnographic methodologies, are ultimately interpreted through the critical lenses of social justice and power (Quantz, 1992). They often work with marginalized people, especially through holding dialogues, to raise critical consciousness and emancipate oppressed societies. Since researchers tend to acknowledge their own stances and recognize their personal biases, neutrality becomes a less crucial concern.

In this study, I realize both teachers and students operate within contexts of social and political power and control. Although I tried to identify teachers' perspectives regarding student self-determination and self-identification through observation and interviews, my concern was more than recording realities. The emphasis was on how to critically examine relationships between domination, education, and self-determination and how to deal with possible problems.

The study also involved teacher action research because it sought to promote change in Taiwanese schools, as well as my own perspectives and

practices (e.g., Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Greenwood & Levin, 1998). Through interviews and supplemental surveys, teachers had an opportunity to reflect on identity problems that have been neglected previously. At the same time, I also examined my own beliefs and practices regarding colonization, education, and self-determination. I hope this reflection will lead not only to theoretical insight but also change among the participants in the study.

Finally, the study included narrative inquiry because the data were presented partially in the form of “stories lived and told” (e.g., Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). This format has been used effectively by many ethnographic researchers (e.g., Behar, 1996; Erwin, 2002). Since both the participants and the researcher are from the same social context, there may be shared experiences and perspectives. These were interwoven throughout the study, often presented in narrative format.

### **Data Collection and Analysis**

Data collection included the following procedures. First, I conducted four in-depth semi-structured interviews with purposefully selected teachers from four major ethnic groups (one interview with two aboriginal teachers, and interview each with a Hakka teacher, a Hoklo teacher, and a Mainland teacher). Before interviewing, I met the Hakka, Hoklo, and Mainlander participants in person and telephoned the aboriginal participants to generally explain my study. To avoid influencing the perspectives of the interviewed teachers, in the initial phase I emphasized my concern for multicultural considerations more than for self-determination over nationalities or self-identification with innate identities.

Each of the interviews lasted around one and a half hours long. Three one-on-one interviews were conducted with one Hoklo teacher, Mainland teacher, and Hakka teacher, respectively (in February, 2007), and a single group interview was held with two aborigines, a Tayal teacher and an Amei teacher (also in February). All interviews were tape recorded. In addition, there were some follow-up questions I asked through emails to fill in information gaps.

After the interviews, I engaged in participant observation in a Tayal village to gather Taiwanese “teachers” perspectives about developing children’s self-determination. For three months (from December 20<sup>th</sup> to March 20<sup>th</sup> of 2007), I observed campus playgrounds after school in the community of Shi-Zhuang (an assumed name), located outside the Tayal village. During these times I focused especially on the interaction between adults and children and the language they used. The definition of “teacher” for my observations was enlarged beyond the scope of classroom practitioner to include all who might consciously provide insight to others, regardless of their age, education, vocation, or status. This was important because meaningful learning goes beyond formal educational roles, especially in indigenous settings where Western conceptions of “teacher” and “student” may have little local meaning.

Embedded in the three-month observation, I immersed myself for nine days (from February 17<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> of 2007) in the Tayal village itself. This occurred during the Chinese New Year, the longest holiday of the year and a time when many villagers return home for family gatherings. Many pictures and field notes were taken during this nine-day observation period and were saved for further

analyses. My primary focus was on the villagers' shared patterns (Creswell, 2005)—their behaviors, beliefs, and languages. In addition to focusing on their actions and thoughts about self-determined behaviors and identities, I observed what and how they conversed with me and among one another. During this time I was attentive to teaching and learning experiences and relationships.

Finally, I administered a supplementary survey to 60 teachers to provide further information regarding identity problems that might not have been given in face-to-face interviews. The survey involved filling out a questionnaire (see Appendix A) with an attitude evaluation (including 19 items) and a section on personal information (including 12 items). Only the last question in the personal information section was open-ended. The survey questions were based on the findings of a qualitative pilot study conducted in the fall of 2005 (not included in the appendices). The questionnaire pretest was administered from December 26th to January 6th to test for validity and reliability. After gathering the 119 (out of 130) returned questionnaires, I computed a data reduction procedure utilizing SPSS 13.0 to identify main factors explaining and grouping individual questions. I kept optimal questions for the revised questionnaire which was formally distributed on March 6th, 2007.

Cronbach's Alpha of the revised questionnaire was .805, which indicated high internal reliability (refer to Appendix C). On the other hand, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) value was .706, which met a middling criterion, and the significance of Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was .000, which was less than an alpha value of .05. Therefore, I concluded that the revised questionnaire

qualified for a factor analysis of construct validity. After conducting a factor analysis, five factors (involving 19 of the questions) were derived from the survey. The first three factors—F1, F2, and F3—were concerned with self-determination. Factor 1 was named “students’ progress from self-determination” and included Q1 to Q3. Factor 2 was named “classroom practice of self-determination” and included Q4 to Q6. Factor 3 was named “school authorization for self-determination” and included Q7 to Q9. The last two factors—F4 and F5—focused on self-identification. Factor 4 was named “students’ rights of self-identification” and included Q10 to Q14. And Factor 5 was named “instructional implementation of self-identification” and included Q15 to Q19.

Question number 13—“school curriculum should guide students to identify with China”—was deliberately asked to help ensure balance in light of question number 14—“school curriculum should guide students to identify with Taiwan.” Therefore, question number 13 was excluded when the entire questionnaire was analyzed for validity and reliability, the mean of the whole questionnaire, and a factor analysis of the factors. I analyzed Q13 individually and compared it with Q14 to discuss teachers’ attitudes about school curriculum regarding self-identification.

Further analysis included the transcription and coding of interviews, the recording and analysis of field notes in the Tayal village, and the statistical analysis of survey data. First, all interviews were carefully transcribed and coded. Early analysis involved reading and rereading of transcriptions. Memoranda

were taken to record my insights, subjective thoughts, emotions, and hunches. Later analysis started with the coding of data, which was followed by theme development. To be specific, I labeled codes on the margins of the pages and colored the corresponding segments in the text. Codes that produced themes were then copied and pasted onto fresh cards to compose findings and facilitate translation. Since the interviewees and I were all elementary school teachers and grew up with a shared culture, I analyzed both the textual data and my actual life. The analysis of the interviews indeed was an inquiry into my self.

Second, observational field notes taken in the Tayal village were reread to find evidence to supplement, sustain, or challenge the themes obtained from the interviews. I also searched the pictures to refresh my memories. As an outsider to the village, I particularly looked for “shared pattern[s]” (Creswell, 2005, p. 444) that surprised me. I analyzed the inhabitants’ behaviors through their clothing, buildings, social gatherings, interactions, symbols, and icons, and I interpreted their beliefs and languages through conversation with the residents. Some important conversations, though not always recorded verbatim, helped me analyze villagers’ perspectives regarding their ethnicity and language.

Throughout the analysis of my observations, in addition to feelings of pity I also felt guilt. Although I have never personally treated aborigines as “savages”, I feel guilty because I have at least been treated as a human being. Although I have been looked down upon because of my vernacular proficiency, I feel guilty because many of the aborigines I encountered were not lucky enough to master their vernacular languages. Many of these languages were depreciated not only

by Mainlanders but also by Hoklo and Hakka speakers as well. Although my language and culture were once oppressed, I felt guilty because theirs is dying. It was a challenge to deal with my observational data because the more I analyzed them, the more I realized that many immigrants from the Chinese mainland, including my own ancestors, might have more or less victimized the aborigines unconsciously. This analysis was indeed a discovery of my unknown self.

Third, for the actual survey, 59 of the 60 questionnaires were returned and analyzed. SPSS, version 13.0, was employed to analyze the numerical data (see Appendix A). Descriptive statistics were applied to generally describe the means or frequencies of personal information. Inferential statistics were employed to assess whether there were significant differences between answers on specified items or among the five extracted factors (specified in Chapter Four). Numerical analyses were used also to supplement, sustain, or challenge textual analyses of interviews by referring to a larger number of randomly selected teachers.

### **Participants and Settings**

This study involved personal interviews, participant observation, and a survey. While the interviews and the survey involved a specific number of currently certified elementary school teachers, the observation consisted of an indeterminate population of Taiwanese people, including Tayal villagers. In the following discussion, I first introduce the five interviewees together with the four interview settings in time sequence. Then, I provide an illustration or indication of the Tayal village and its people. Finally, I identify the locations of the schools included in the survey and provide a rationale for their selection.

The five purposefully selected interview participants were all currently certified elementary school teachers. Some of their personal information is shown in Table 1. The first interview was with Mr. Hoklo, a special education teacher who had previously interned in my classroom for one year. He had studied Taiwan's history himself since he was a college student and is currently a graduate student majoring in Taiwanese Literature. The interview setting was in the sensory-motor training room next to his resource classroom in Tainan County, which is located in the southern part of Taiwan. This room was open, quiet, bright, and colorful. There were Braille computers, a communication board, and other rehabilitation equipment that is meaningful and familiar to teachers of special education.

The second interview was in Ms. Mainlander's classroom. The interviewee was a second generation Chinese immigrant. She was certified as an English teacher and taught at an elementary school in Tainan County. Between the two years she taught, she took two years off to study Curriculum at Texas A & M University in the United States. I interviewed her in her classroom, which was different from the others in terms of its decoration and arrangements. Students' works of art, literature, and group projects were displayed on the wall. She told me using students' work to decorate her classroom might be perceived as messy by most teachers, but it helped her students develop confidence. In addition, she arranged her classroom to facilitate small group teaching, which was a challenge because she had a large class of 36 students.



Table 1: Participants' Information  
(listed according to the dates of the interviews)

Personal Information Pseudonym/ Ethnicity		Age	Gender	L1	Ethnicity	Education	Position
				L2			
Mr. Hoklo	32	Male	Hoklo	Hoklo	Graduate Student	Homeroom teacher in resource classroom	
			Mandarin				
Ms. Mainlander	29	Female	Mandarin	2nd generation Chinese immigrant	M. A.	Homeroom teacher in grade three	
			Hoklo				
Aborigines	Mr. Tayal	40s'	Male	Tayal	Tayal	Teachers college	Director/ Subject teacher
				Mandarin			
	Ms. Amei	55	Female	Amei	Amei	Teachers college	Subject teacher
				Mandarin			
Mr. Hakka	48	Male	Mandarin	Hakka	Normal university	Director/ Subject teacher	
			Hoklo				

The third interview included two aborigines, the Tayal and Amei participants, each of whom had over twenty years experience of classroom teaching. While Mr. Tayal was a director at a remote aboriginal school in Taichung County, Ms. Amei taught the Amei language at many elementary schools in Tainan County. The setting for this interview, the National Academy for Education Research, was chosen by Ms. Amei because both Ms. Amei and Mr. Tayal were attending a five-day workshop on indigenous education there. The interview was held in the garden outside of the workshop, an open space in which groups of people passed and communicated in vernacular languages that I

could not understand at all. This setting not only fit my study topic but also triggered my multicultural awareness.

The fourth interview was held in my place of residence. Mr. Hakka and I live in the same community and have known each other for a long time. He is a veteran teacher in Taipei County and is from a family of Hakka lineage. His grandparents from both sides are Hakka and speak its language. I purposely chose him not only because of his “pure” Hakka descent, but also his proficiency in Hoklo rather than Hakka. Although he understands Hakka, he can barely speak it. I interviewed him in my home because my husband is also a “pure” Hakka and a proficient Hakka speaker. My hope was that such an environment would make his Hakka identity more welcomed.

For the observational portion of the study, I traveled to an indigenous village named “Deer Field” in Miaoli, in the north central part of Taiwan. The reason I chose this site is that the village is located deep in the mountains, and hence has not been completely Sinicized. The villagers still dress in their traditional clothing and practice their traditional tribal rituals. Except for villagers traveling back and forth for supplements, there are few visitors to the area due to dangerous driving on the winding road and crossing the river. However, it is a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic village because it is located in the boundaries of different ethnic groups, including Hakka, Hoklo, and Saisat (another indigenous people).

The participants in this village were mostly Tayal. I was told that there were almost 200 inhabitants, but that most of them had moved to surrounding towns to

find better lives. Although I went there during the holiday of the Chinese New Year, only about half of the villagers had returned. Instead of returning for the Chinese festivals, the villagers usually gather during August for the Tayal Harvest Festival. Among the villagers I interviewed, approximately ten were in their fifties or older. Generally, they were friendly and willing to share what they knew. What made me even more impressed was their enthusiasm for topics regarding Tayal. Although not *institutionally* certified, it nonetheless seemed to me that they all assumed the role of cultural workers.

Finally, for the survey, ten teachers from each of six schools were randomly selected from the following locations—Taipei City, Taichung City, Kaohsiung City, Nantou County, Taitung County, and Hualien County. These areas are respectively located in the northwest, middle-west, southwest, center, northeast, and southeast regions of Taiwan. The reason for applying stratified sampling in this study was to gather teachers' responses equally from the western and eastern coasts. This was important because the western side of Taiwan is generally more developed, and teachers assigned to this side of the island often performed better in college than those assigned to the eastern side. The sampling balanced northern, central, and southern Taiwanese schools because the northern area is considered more prosperous, and teachers in the southern area tend to work in a more conservative atmosphere. Such sampling helped me select teachers representing the target populations more closely.

In conclusion, data for this study were drawn from personal interviews with five classroom teachers, participant observation conducted in an indigenous

village, and a survey of 60 elementary teachers located in different regions of Taiwan. The personal interviews were the primary resource for the research findings, while the observation and survey data provided important supplementary information. In the following chapter, I will synthesize the interviews, survey, and prior literature to derive the findings focusing on the relationships between domination, education, and self-determination.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to identify Taiwanese teachers' perspectives on existing relationships between domination, education, and self-determination, and to consider implications for identity development in and through education in general. Two major findings emerged from the analyses of data. First, many unexamined connections appear to exist in Taiwan between social domination, formal education, and self-determination. Second, these conditions influence teachers' abilities and willingness to promote self-determination among themselves and their students. Each of these findings will be presented in turn.

#### **Connections between Social Domination, Education, and Self-Determination**

One of the main findings in this study is that domination, self-determination, and education in Taiwan appear to be highly interconnected. However, these connections were not always explicit or consciously understood. Most of the teachers I studied seemed not to be fully aware of the interconnectedness of all these factors. In the following section, I present these unexamined but existing relationships by discussing aspects of each factor and identifying some of the ways in which they relate to one another. To begin, I will suggest that the relationship can be visually represented as in Figure 3.

Within this figure, social domination provides a broader historical context for formal and informal education which, in turn, limits self-determination. This assumption is based on the literature, presented in Chapter Two, that shows how a variety of types of domination permeate and influence society (including

educational institutions and relationships). It is also based on the influence of formal education, as a social institution, on correct training that facilitates disciplinary power for normalization. This disciplinary power is widely divergent from self-determination. In addition to the literature, the findings of this study also support the conclusion that such relationships exist, as we will see in the following discussion.

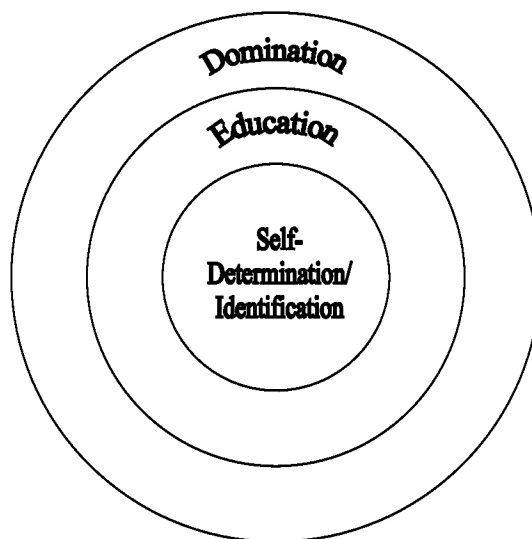


Figure 3: Relationships between Social Domination, Formal Education, and Self-Determination/Identification

As demonstrated in Chapter One, domination has long been a part of Taiwan's history. This domination has been manifested in a variety of ways. Some aspects such as official history, language policies, and globalization have influenced student development of self-determination. Official history has been sacrificed to advantage and legitimize various forms of domination, even at the cost of estranging the unprivileged from their beings. Like many other colonized societies, ruling regimes in Taiwan justified their domination by manipulating

Taiwan's history. Sino-centric history, for example, concealed and dishonored islanders' pasts in order to confuse their national identity and ultimately prevent Taiwanese nationalism. During an interview, Mr. Hakka indicated:

That was an education at the time of colonization. It had never truly illustrated history facts. We had seen some Chinese characters, such as Chiang Kai-Shek and Sun Yet-Sen, overly revered...I had never learned anything about multi-ethnic groups in Taiwan. What we learned was the history of the great China and then of the whole world. We had never learned about any of the Taiwanese ethnic groups.

Only textbooks published by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation under the Ministry of Education were available prior to 1996. Therefore, a Sino-centric education has been experienced by most Taiwanese students since 1968. Through official history, islanders have been disassociated from their inherent identities and assigned the task of recovering an imagined homeland, China, built through courses of "domestic" history and geography. As a result, many of the ruled people that internalized Sinicism were fully transformed into Chinese nationalists.

Institutionalized de-Taiwanization through the imposition of official history led to disequilibrium that involved irreconcilable conflict between Chinese and Taiwanese identification. Mr. Hoklo provided a metaphor illustrating his rootless feeling after receiving Sinicized history throughout his schooling experiences:

The history that I learned disassociated me from this island. It made me feel like duckweed flying in the air unable to touch its root. I could not even

flow on the surface of water. I was unfamiliar with this land. I did not even know my father's and mother's name.

In order to eliminate independent identification, official history prevented the colonized from maintaining an innate ethnic/national affiliation. Hence, slogans such as "the mother's name is Taiwan" were created by advocates of "Taiwanese consciousness" to offer options other than Chinese chauvinism. It was hoped that these efforts would provide a possible solution to identity conflicts.

In addition to Sinocizing the colonized people and creating identity disequilibrium, many of the ruled people internalized the official history that was always on the side of the colonizer. Mr. Hoklo penetrated how the official history worked to sustain oppression:

The history we know has been presented by historians upon their subjectivities, and hence loses its objectivity. Only those with more resources have had voices in history. They are the oppressors...Reading history is just to adopt a monistic history viewpoint.

This observation reflects texts of history in Taiwan that disproportionately discuss jurisdiction of Taiwan's status. For example, the Cairo Declaration in 1943 and the Potsdam Declaration in 1945, which denied Taiwan's sovereignty and nationality, have been highlighted in the official textbook. However, the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, which carried more legal force than the previous declarations and legalized Taiwanese people's rights of self-determination over Taiwan's statehood (see, for example, Article 77b and 76b of The UN Charter), has been understated and even *unstated*. To put it in another way, not only was



Taiwan's status mystified, but the people's rights of self-determination were deprived through selective representation of Taiwan's history.

A second aspect impacting the development of self-determination involved language policies. As noted earlier, language correlates with ethnicity. Because names of ethnicities (e.g., Tayal, Amei, Hakka, Hoklo) and their languages are often identical, language policies practiced in colonial Taiwan have long sustained domination by eliminating vernaculars along with their ethnicities. When adopting Mandarin Chinese, for example, many islanders assumed a Chinese identity. Mr. Hoklo described how the identities of the powerless have been transformed through language assimilation policy. Although he used the ongoing movement in Tibet as an example, his description depicted Taiwan as well as many other colonized societies.

To destroy a nation, you first need to destroy its history. When forgetting their history, people gradually forget who they are. You then need to destroy the nation's language, just like what is underway in Tibet. There are more and more Chinese immigrants, which results in Tibetans speaking Chinese, attending Chinese schools, and taking Chinese language courses. As long as you forget how to speak Tibetan, your history will be cut off and your culture will be lost. You have to accept what the dominator says and become his subjects who will never rebel.

The negative effects of language policies on self-identification and self-determination were also seen in the Tayal village. One example of the impact of language policies on local identities was expressed by a man I met in the village.

He had just spent the Chinese New Year in his native village and was moving his luggage to the trunk of his car, getting ready to go back to his work. I visited with him as he was waiting for his family. He told me he moved out of the village when he was a junior high school student and moved to a new school where the monolingual policy was strictly enforced. He told me:

I cannot speak the Tayal language. When I was a student I tried not to speak my language. This was not because of the penalty that I would get from my teachers. I simply did not like others looking me down because of my ethnicity.

Then he explained some of the problems this created in his personal life, for example feelings of shame, regret, and loss: “I don’t know why I felt so shameful. But now I feel regretted. I wish I could speak some Tayal and teach my kids.” This struck me because I can understand his feeling. My daughter currently attends kindergarten and approaches only Mandarin and Hoklo. She cannot speak her father’s mother tongue, Hakka, since there are very few Hakka people living in our area. Like the Tayal language, Hakka is also dying and the only way to restore it is to teach it at home.

The largest migration of mainlanders to Taiwan after Chiang Kai-Shek’s defeat in the Chinese Civil War and retreat from China occurred after 1949. In order to facilitate loyal colonization, a Mandarin-only policy was strictly executed. This resulted in the Chinese speaking population climbing as high as 82.5% of the total population of the island in the 1990s (Huang, 2004). My survey data also showed that 84.7 % of teachers solely spoke Mandarin in

classes and 13.6 % of teachers blended Mandarin with either English or Hoklo. Moreover, while 1.7 % of teachers spoke only Hoklo, virtually no Hakka or aboriginal languages were utilized in school classes (refer to Appendix D). The rapidly increasing Mandarin-speaking population indicated not only a falling vernacular population, but also decreasing self-identification with the islanders' various ethnic heritages. Mr. Hoklo's example from Tibet supports the idea that language assimilation policies can be efficient instruments to replace vernaculars and their corresponding ethnicities or nationalities with dominant languages and identities.

The language "genocide" of most indigenous languages is almost irreversible in Taiwan. Although language plans have been developed to revitalize indigenous vernaculars, the outcome has been disappointing. While older aborigines have devoted themselves to restoring their languages and identities, children, especially those who live in cities, often seem indifferent to these efforts, identifying less and less with their ethnic languages. Ms. Amei, who has taught Amei at several elementary schools, expressed frustration:

It seems that they [her Amei students] have no motivation to identify with Amei. They are not interested in learning their language. It seems that they are used to speaking Hoklo and treat it as their mother tongue. They don't go back to their hometown often and they are not affiliated with their tribe.

They don't feel like learning their mother tongue.

What made her sadder was that even though aboriginal students can earn extra credit in the Joint College Entrance Examination if they pass the native language

qualification, they often give up this opportunity. Although aboriginal children can freely choose what and whether to learn, their practice of self-determination over their own language learning is the backwash of linguistic de-Taiwanization. The Mandarin-only policy has successfully sustained domination, and that has created reluctance among many aboriginal children to learn their vernacular languages. The ultimate tragedy is the loss of their ethnic identification.

The mismatch of islander mother tongues and islander ethnicities is not unique to aboriginal youth. Mr. Hakka, a native speaker of Hoklo, shared his experience of being excluded by his own people due to his language abilities.

I have known I am a Hakka since I was young, but I can't speak it at all because I grew up in a town where most people spoke Hoklo. I feel so embarrassed because I cannot speak Hakka... When speaking the same language, people feel more intimate. So when a group of Hakka people gather together, they will speak Hakka naturally, which makes me excluded even though I am a Hakka. Because I cannot understand Hakka, I am not identified with by its speakers.

My point is not that people should be forced to learn only their own ethnic languages, but to acknowledge the right for people to associate with their innate identities. Many believe that self-identification with one's ethnic heritage is a natural phenomenon and should not be deprived to force identification with other peoples' cultures or identities. Like Mr. Hakka, some aboriginal children's ethnic and linguistic identifications have been exploited by language assimilation policies strictly practiced during the martial law period.

Although language policies have affected early immigrants as well as Aboriginal people, current responses differed among the participants I observed. While the data indicated unwillingness for children in cities to learn their native ethnic languages, interviews and observations among the Tayal tribe suggested that at least some aborigines are making great efforts to restore their language and cultural heritage. Their emerging awareness and efforts to recover their culture surprised me. One of the Tayal Villagers told me:

Months before, the last Tayal with facial tattoos passed away. She died in her 90s. To me her funeral buried too much to count. It buried our memory, custom, wisdom, belief, and value. I am the youngest staying in the village and I am in my 50s. Many of the youngsters cannot speak Tayal well and seldom return. I have done my best to collect data of my language from the elders, although I am not well educated and professional. I am just afraid when it is my generation's turn to pass away, our language will be buried.

After hearing these words, I felt a need to redefine “educated” and “professional.” From most of the Tayal villagers, I could “feel” their identity so clearly. It was not their location, sculpture, food, buildings, or lifestyle that made me an outsider. Instead, it was their passion—their “less” “educated and professional” attempts to understand and preserve their primary identities—that separated me from the villagers. To me, those villagers were second to none as innate cultural specialists. Their efforts were not superficially about reputation, promotion, or research publication; they were all about their identification.

During my interviews with the teachers who taught in the cities I saw the disappointing outcome of language revitalization, but my observations in the village offered a sense of hope based on the idea of resisting domination and recovering their own language and identities. One example involved the owner of a grocery store in the Tayal village. She told me she changed her name back to her own language, even though it is not convenient for her. She said most people cannot understand her language and have difficulty memorizing her name. Still, she continues to retain her recovered native identity.

While monolingual policies have marginalized local vernaculars, it is possible that emerging self-appreciation of native identities resulting from recent multicultural movements have given the aboriginal participants confidence to be themselves. Yet, in spite of this hope, many linguists such as Huang (2004) believe that aboriginal languages in Taiwan will die out within a decade, along with their ethnicities. It seems clear that the overwhelming backwash of the monolingual movement continues to affect the post-colonial society and to impede the development of self-identification with the people's innate ethnicities.

Having suggested how aspects of official history and language policies have influenced the development of self-determination, we can now point out a third aspect, globalization, and consider how it has become a threat to self-determination. In order to prepare students for international economic competition, much Taiwanese culture has been lost both in the cities and rural areas.

During my time in the Tayal village, I observed a strong sense of community. For example, I seldom saw the residents doing anything alone. They always seemed to be working, eating, and drinking together. I often saw groups of Tayal villagers sitting outside in their yards and enjoying their feasts. It seemed everyone was included because I saw one girl grilling in a front yard. I sat far from her and observed her for a while and noticed she had Down's syndrome. I especially paid attention to her because I taught two students with this syndrome. This girl was high-functioning and she grilled the food perfectly.

As I walked through the village, one woman wove fabrics in her yard. I noticed that she wove the shape of a diamond. I was told that the Tayal people always draw or weave the shape of diamond. The symbol represents the eyes of their ancestors. On the one hand, the eyes watch the Tayal people to make sure they are doing things right. On the other hand, the eyes protect the Tayal people from evil spirits. This shows that the community included not only people who are currently living but also the spirits of the ancestors from the past. I saw many villagers with the diamond symbol on their clothes, hats, necklaces, and shoes.

The school was also part of the community. I went to the Shi-He Elementary School (an assumed name), the nearest and only elementary school for the Tayal villagers. The students who studied there were mainly from three ethnic groups: the Tayal, the Sai-Xia, and the Hakka. The first two groups are aboriginal people. Although the classroom name plates were Romanized, the language was Tayal or Sai-xia, and the school decorations included many unique aboriginal symbols.

Even the earth seemed part of their community. The Tayal people recycled everything. Their trash cans were made from bamboo, not plastic. They used natural elements such as beans or shells for decoration, often in to indicate the eyes of their ancestors. When people went to a restaurant, the rice was free and all the customers could eat as much as they wanted. I was told that in the Tayal tradition, the more food people eat, the more work they can do, which helps the whole village.

Unfortunately, due to economic globalization, many village communities, like the Tayal village, are dying out. Ms. Lin, a cultural worker in the Tayal village, said young people are moving out to earn better lives and get better education. They mostly live in poverty, and the only way to move up is to leave the village. I met one restaurant owner who was Hakka and spoke perfect Hakka and Hoklo. He lived outside of the village during the week days because he wanted his daughter to receive a better education. His family came back to the village once a week during the weekend to run the restaurant. His wife was a Tayal and cooked Tayal traditional food. Although they valued the Tayal tradition, they still felt compelled to leave the village most of every week.

One morning when I went to the coffee shop Ms. Lin, the cultural worker, had prepared a lot of rice wine. She told me she was going to interview an older villager. She said:

You know what. We Tayal people live in the mountains. We love mountains. We hunt during certain seasons. We had our culture and tradition. However, they are dying. I don't know what I can do. I always



spend a lot of money to buy wine and talk with the older people to record some tradition. You might think we aboriginal people are drunk. But to drink is our custom. It is very impolite to visit my people without taking wine. Mostly, I can only gain a little in the conversation with the old people. Drinking always takes the most part of conversations. It is our tradition.

While I was in the village I learned that facial tattoos were traditionally a symbol of maturity, responsibility, beauty, and honor. A villager told me that when males were able to hunt and females were able to weave, they were qualified and allowed to have facial tattoos. I naïvely asked her where I could see people with facial tattoos, and she told me since the Japanese domination they had not been allowed to have facial tattoos. To the dominators, both the Japanese and the following Chinese immigrants, a facial tattoo was considered a symbol of superstition, abnormality, and ill health.

Before leaving for home, I went to the coffee shop one last time to say goodbye to Ms. Lin. She showed me another picture of a Tayal facial tattoo and told me she needs someone to read and revise her works. She has interviewed some of the villagers and gathered data. She told me she only has high school diploma and is not good at writing. This is another part of the problem that is leading to the dying out of aboriginal cultures. The problem is that when the aborigines leave the village the village dies out, and when they get to the city they join others who are trying to assimilate into mainland and Western values

and languages. And those who stay and try to recover their cultural identities are often left to do it alone.

Another effect of globalization has been increased pressure to learn English in many places around the world. The more students globalize, the more they may internalize foreign languages or cultures. English indeed is not only an international language but also an “international culture.” As Ms. Mainlander stated, “Because English has become a dominant language, a language of the dominant culture, teachers don’t care whether students learn their mother tongues. They only care whether students have better English proficiency.” She went further and explicated, “English becomes the cultural hegemony, the dominant language. How can I break such a tendency? Learning English is the trend in the world, because it is the international language. How can you equally treat all other languages?”

Because English proficiency indicates social and economic status, educational background, or competitive advantage, adults, including parents, teachers, and school directors, tend to emphasize English more than vernaculars. Mr. Hoklo warned that “Due to globalization, the economic hegemony will replace the powerless countries. Ethnic languages will become weaker and weaker... It is the consequence of globalization and unavoidable. Language maintenance becomes more and more impossible.”

Consistent with Mr. Hoklo’s observations, many vernacular languages have been extremely impacted by the tendency towards globalization. While time and money have been spent on improving students’ English proficiency and

computing skills at many elementary schools, space for vernacular learning is shrinking. Consistent with the interviews, the survey also indicated that English has become an increasingly popular language in many elementary schools. When teachers were asked about the most important language for students to learn, 49.2 % of teachers chose Mandarin, 25.4 % chose English, and merely 6.8 % chose a native language (refer to Appendix E). The most astonishing data were found at the school in Taichung, where ten out of ten teachers chose English as the single most important language. This may be an indication that globalization has prevailed at that institution and has possibly squeezed out vernacular learning. Among all Taiwanese vernaculars, the falling Hakka language and the aboriginal vernaculars are much less competitive than Hoklo.

In addition to competing with the dominant languages of Mandarin and English and with the more popular vernacular (i.e., Hoklo), Hakka and other indigenous languages have to compete with other skills. Mr. Hakka, an academic director who often holds campus contests, asked “Due to little population, how can you hold contests for aboriginal languages?...[Aboriginal language] is not a hot subject. My school invests more on computing skills. Native language learning is more secondary.” Mr. Tayal also noted his struggle when considering and compromising with the realistic situation. He questioned, “The difficulty is that even if I teach our native language, my students eventually disconnect with it after going abroad. How much will they apply it and what are their competitive advantages when the surrounding is totally foreign?” Since language and identity are often bound together, corporate globalization seems to threaten both

localized languages and identities. Prevailing globalization practices can be seen as a form of domination that influences development of local identities.

Aboriginal languages, which originated from the Malay-Polynesian family, were influenced and suppressed by colonial languages from, in succession, the Indo-European family (Dutch and Spanish), the Altaic Family (Japanese), and the Sino-Tibetan family (varieties of Chinese). In the near future, attempts to internationalize upcoming generations of Taiwanese citizens may increase English speakers and regain the influence of the Indo-European family. No matter what linguistic family is chosen, I believe a “live-and-let-live” policy should be guaranteed to all languages.

In addition to overt social and linguistic domination, education has been employed over the long term to influence student self-determination. Although official history, language policies, and globalization interfere in the development of self-determination, these forms of domination would not be able to penetrate and perpetuate Taiwanese society without support from education. Education has frequently influenced either the reproduction or transformation of societies, and the practice of self-determination seems to be one of the prominent indicators of which role education plays. Although it is possible for education to free society from domination in this post-colonial time, impediments produced by education itself often compete with student self-determination. Based on data collected in this study, education in Taiwan appears to contain the embedded aspects of normalization, supervision, and examination. These aspects have hindered self-determination and prevented emancipation in Taiwan’s society.

First, formal schooling has often been used by rulers in Taiwan to “normalize” future citizens. Students have been taught to follow a view of normality that implies correctness, appropriateness, conformity, or conventionality. Whether students are considered “good” or “bad” depends on the degree they fulfill what “normality” regulates. A boundary seems to be internalized in people’s minds that clearly segregates right and wrong, proper and improper, barbarian and civilized, and human and savage.

The interview with the aborigines showed that they are still victimized because of their ethnicities. In most colonial regimes, aboriginal people were marginalized and prejudiced against. Although they were the first and original inhabitants of the island, they have been marginalized and defamed by successive waves of immigrants. Indigenous civilizations had well developed four hundred years ago without any exposure to colonial education. While they lacked a written language, their ethnic cultures and heritages were preserved through verbal transmission. While they did not have written laws, they governed themselves without outward suppression. While they did not have advanced technology, their own inventions supported their needs and lives. Ms. Amei recalled her own educational experience:

People thought that you are an aborigine and hence named you savage. It depended on people’s interpretations. To me, I did not feel uncomfortable strongly, because my teachers did not stress my aboriginal linkage. Some of my non-aboriginal classmates were called “wild savage” and badly hurt because they lived in poverty and performed poorly. Aboriginal children

might not care that much, but it did not mean they accept it. Unlike other children, aboriginal students just hid their feelings and did not react.

Taiwan has gradually passed into a post-colonial age since the first popular presidential election in 1996, and aborigines have been empowered by a growing Taiwanese/indigenous consciousness. Yet, institutionalized normalization still exists without being noticed. Past forms of defamation and (ab)normalization remembered by Ms. Amei were mentioned by Mr. Tayal in a more contemporary situation:

There was an aboriginal choir invited by the Pope to perform in Rome. Those performers met some other Taiwanese people and were called savages... Taiwanese people still have a bias against aborigines. They might not have bad intentions. But that feeling is not good.

As explicated by Ms. Amei and Mr. Tayal, self-identification among marginalized people in Taiwan has often been influenced by outsiders' concepts of "normality." It seems that residents in Taiwan were dichotomized into two group, human beings and savages. While the former designation indicated normal and civilized, the latter was abnormal and barbarian. Although aboriginal people may not be dishonored to the extent that they once were, their identities continue to be unconsciously prejudiced by waves of Chinese immigrants, including mainlanders and other islanders (i.e., Hoklo and Hakka), who impose their own forms of cultural hegemony.

On the other hand, as noted above, self-identification may have become a form of resistance to discrimination in villages like the one observed in this study.

Although indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been reluctant to identify with their aboriginal lineages, the Tayal villagers appeared to be much more positive toward their ethnicities and even to resist the dominant ideology that (ab)normalizes their aboriginal identities. For example, I had a conversation with an aborigine who returned to the Tayal village once a year from Colorado with her American husband and daughters. She told me that she used to feel ashamed because of her Tayal ancestry and avoided learning Tayal. However she said she has changed. When asked who she is in the United States, she now answers, “I am a Taiwanese Indian.” This straight and simple statement shows self-identification and regained confidence in her ethnicity.

The interviews with Ms. Amei and Mr. Tayal support my belief that there may be a growing collective counter-hegemony responding to assimilation language policies and normalizing practices in general in Taiwan. Mr. Tayal explained that it may be possible to raise indigenous awareness by encouraging students to exert positive determination over their identities:

We need to incorporate both tradition and modernization into education. In order to affirm ourselves, we need to help our students know that we have our tradition, the finest culture...We need to keep telling our students that we have excellent ethnicity. When people scorn me as savage, actually they are savage...We need not only to teach but also to verbalize this concept to our students. Because I won't be with my students forever, they need to build a wall to protect them from being scorned. We need to offer our

students a way to find the fineness of our culture. Then, no matter how people laugh at them, they won't scorn themselves.

There are some general practices of institutionalized normalization that influence the self-determination of nearly all students in Taiwan. Both youngsters and adults from all ethnic groups encounter a conservative school atmosphere. Inside classrooms, students are often dichotomized into two types: the "good" type of student generally complies with rules and therefore is identified as normal; the "bad" type usually refuses external control over his or her self-determination and is therefore identified as abnormal. Mr. Hakka pointed out:

We have known how to criticize our peers since [we were] young. We are born to be critical but [are] just suppressed by our teachers. Students' free will has been denied for the convenience of class management...Suppression from adults always results in students' lack of critical judgments.

The normalizing of students can also be found in responses to Q7 of the survey about whether teachers agreed that "students should have rights to determine what they want to wear at school." The mean on a four point scale, 2.46, was the second lowest of all questions, and the significance was .000 when one-sample t-test was computed to compare Q7 (M=2.46; SD=.65) with the mean of whole questionnaire, 2.87 (refer to Appendix F). This indicates that teachers were unwilling to let students choose dress other than uniforms—a prominent symbol that distinguishes normality and abnormality with only a glance.



In addition to the constraining of free will and critical judgments, student self-determination was also limited by teachers' attitudes, which were strongly influenced by the school atmosphere. Outside classrooms, teachers face peer competition which often confines innovative teaching. In order to join the mainstream group and avoid being segregated, many teachers hesitate to employ unique instructions. For example, Ms. Mainlander tried her best to apply what she learned from her Western education in the United States, but she faced exclusion from the adult majority at her school. She told me:

You will find there is no other teacher backing you up. Your extra efforts are returned by others' indifference and prejudice. You are excluded. The problems we have in Taiwan's society are not from students; instead, they are from teachers, among your colleagues...My existence at school is a pressure. No matter what I do, I give pressure to other teachers. This is not right. We should appreciate others.

Unavoidably, the promotion of student self-determination encounters challenges from the broader school atmosphere that is conditioned by society's pervading normalization. Normalizing both teachers and students is realized inside and outside classrooms which prevents both children and adults from determining their own identities.

Let us now turn to another aspect of education, supervision, which contributes a great deal to normalization because it provides criteria that facilitate the hierarchical observation of every individual. Within many Taiwanese schools, both adults and youngsters are exposed in bright and open

educational environments ostensibly intended to provide physical and psychological well-being. However, such visibility can also enable panoptic surveillance where everyone can be watched in the name of supervision. The interviews suggested that supervision may restrict the development of student self-determination. On the one hand, teachers are often overseen by others in their schools, including parents, directors, colleagues, and even students. On the other hand, teachers can also be controlled by people outside the school, such as politicians. Regarding pressure inside schools, Mr. Hoklo noted:

There is pressure given by parents, if students take much time to simply understand individual issues...Students may not be satisfied with what textbooks say and spend additional time to find different interpretations. However, their parents don't like such a way of learning. They don't want their children spending much time to learn a few things, even though their kids really learn through the process, because the outcome of such learning is too invisible to see students' progress.

Because parents emphasize quantity and accountability, student development of decision making is often impeded. Being discouraged, students memorize what teachers and textbooks say, rather than thinking critically. However, what makes the situation worse is the parents' influence on school directors. As Mr. Hakka noted:

Once my principal got a phone call from one of the students' parents arguing against his teacher's instruction in the 2-28 Incident [see p. 11]. My principal then required us to handle such sensitive issues properly in the

school meeting. Hence all our school teachers approach this issue carefully.

They don't even dare to become involved with such an issue.

Examples like these are seen in many schools in Taiwan. Due to the threat of parent and school director interference, teachers tend not to propose radical issues that may cause students to think critically about their history or ethnicity.

On the other hand, teachers are also controlled by external factors beyond school members and parents. Politicians often use teachers to manipulate and monitor the younger generation. Mr. Hakka criticized this practice:

Education should not serve politics. I have been a director for a long time and been required to hold activities for politicians...Education to them is a tool. The purpose of holding some activities is only to help them gather parents to transmit their policies. Education is often overly politicized.

Hierarchical control from politicians, school directors, colleagues, and parents can hinder teacher motivation to develop student self-determination. Like Foucault's "panopticon," the surveillance of classroom practices can restrict students' development of critical thinking and teachers' practices of self-determined instruction. In sum, autonomy can be severely limited among both teachers and students by hierarchical surveillance in educational institutions.

Finally, a third aspect of educational normalization involves examination. In some cases, examination does not serve education; it controls education. Examination provides numbers or ranks that are used to define normality and to facilitate supervision. Often, the primary focus of formal education is not quality;

instead, it is quantity or accuracy given by examination. Ms. Mainlander mentioned the influence of examinations:

I cannot allow my students to be so self-determined. They cannot decide what they want to learn, because I need to control teaching pace. I cannot give so much freedom to my students. First, my students' parents will not allow this to happen. Second, there are always exams. You need to follow the standard because parents want to see outcomes and what their children learn. The easiest way is to follow what the standard requires.

Although Ms. Mainlander received an American education and believes Western education encourages students to think and create, she gave credit to traditional banking education by saying that "I gained more from our traditional education, although it constrained my thoughts. I followed what was given by my teachers and focused on textbooks, because we had pressure to pass a series of entrance examinations."

In order to compete and end up on the top, both adults and children suffer from examinations. Education in Taiwan has been reformed in recent years, and examinations have been replaced by worksheets or reports, but parents and others continue to intervene. Therefore, according to Ms. Mainlander, sometimes "you doubt when you give an A, you give it to parents or students. Taiwanese students won't be autonomous. Because parents want their children to be in first place, they help their children as much as they can."

On the one hand, examinations support normalization by dichotomizing those who pass and fail. Students who pass the exams are thought of as normal,

and those who fail are considered abnormal. The more normal students the teachers have in their classes, the more normal the teachers will come to be perceived. On the other hand, examinations sustain hierarchical supervision by providing supervisors an efficient way to observe teachers' performance. With examinations in place, supervisors can conduct surveillance merely by spending a short period of time glancing at grade reports.

In sum, it appears that self-determination in Taiwan may be highly influenced by domination and education. While these connections are not always explicitly perceived, the interviews provided evidence of a close relationship between domination, education, and self-determination. As Mr. Hakka and Mr. Hoklo pointed out, teachers seem to be used as political tools, and education often subordinates students and teachers to the dominant powers through hierarchical supervision. Figure 4 is the representation of the underlying relationship between aspects of domination, education, and self-determination. The data indicated that the development of student self-determination may depend on whether and how much freedom is authorized by domination and education. The largest circle, domination, is composed of aspects of official history, language policies, and globalization. These aspects can influence students to view themselves from the perspectives of dominant, disassociated native ethnicities, thereby endangering local languages as well as the students' identities. The embedded larger circle, education, which is composed of normalization, supervision, and examination, can lead youth to adopt dominant norms, thus hindering self-determination and pushing both adults and youth to

uncritically follow the dominant standard. While there is some evidence of resistance to domination or domination that promotes self-identification, the more predominant data indicates that domination and education impedes rather than promotes the development of self-determination.

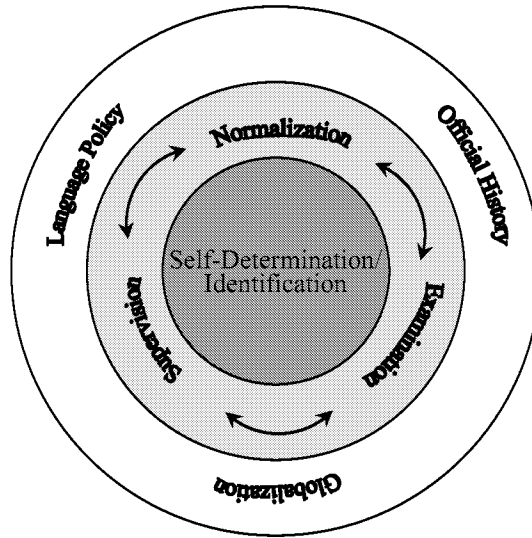


Figure 4: Underlying Relationships between Domination, Education, and Self-Determination/Identification

### **Teachers' Abilities to Promote Self-Determination**

Having discussed the relationship between domination, education, and self-determination, we may further consider teachers' abilities and willingness to influence student self-determination. While the former discussion of this relationship involved external influences of domination on education, the present discussion focuses on challenges that require teachers' contemplation from within. These challenges, including factors such as distrust, fear, and confusion, will each be discussed in turn.

In all four interviews, I observed impediments to the development of student self-determination not only in external social conditions but also in relation to the teachers' own abilities and feelings of distrust, fear, and confusion. The most common challenge expressed by the teachers involved distrust in their students' potential as well as their own competence to help in the process. To begin with, the teachers questioned students' potential because of their maturity. The interviews suggested that although the teachers were generally positive toward the idea of student self-determination, they thought their students were too young to make right decisions. An example of distrust regarding students' potential was communicated by Mr. Hakka, who asserted:

Actually to develop students' self-determination is difficult in the elementary school level. This is because students are not matured in terms of their intelligence and mentality. They haven't had many opportunities to deal with problems rationally.

Similar with Mr. Hakka's belief, Mr. Hoklo noted:

It is necessary for all to be self-determined. But normally people need to be old enough to be matured...It is very difficult to make right decisions. Hence, I believe that teachers need to provide elementary school students a great amount of knowledge. We don't need to impose our opinions on students. When they grow up and gain enough knowledge, they will make proper decisions naturally.

He continued:

Elementary school students are unable to participate in referendum-like activities. How can they vote if they do not have prerequisite knowledge? I don't think students have such ability. They think things mostly from single angles. What teachers need to do is to provide students input. It is not necessary to teach them how to make judgments...After entering colleges, students will be able to make decisions when they have enough prerequisite knowledge. Referendum-like activities are dangerous to children if they don't equip themselves with strong knowledge. Decision-making seems to be a double-edged sword. Without enough knowledge, students cannot make decisions objectively and their votes ultimately become meaningless. Distrust of students' potential was not unique to Mr. Hakka and Hoklo. Mr. Tayal also asserted,

The practice of self-determination depends a lot on students' age. Students, especially on the levels of kindergarten and elementary school, don't have the ability. What we can do is to find more proper topics to meet students' needs. But when they enter senior high schools or colleges, we can provide more chances for students to make decisions.

Distrust of students' potential was a repetitive pattern throughout the interviews. Generally, teachers treated their students as knowledge receivers and did not seem to trust their potential. Such perceptions can be problematic, because how can we expect students to determine their own identities if they have never had a chance to exercise choice and gain practice in making their own decisions? The teachers seemed to believe students would make proper decisions after becoming



old enough and after banking much knowledge. They appeared to view self-determination as a thing that could be suddenly triggered from nothing without taking any steps to develop.

This assumption was shared not only by the interviewed teachers but also the surveyed participants. While Q5 surveyed teachers' views on the statement "my students are too young to make right decisions," Q19 inquired about the assertion that "my students are too young to think of national self-determination." A one-sample t-test was applied to compare individual means of Q5 (2.73; SD=.52) and Q19 (2.56; SD=.62) with that of the entire questionnaire (2.87). The analysis demonstrated significant differences between means of the entire questionnaire and of the two individual questions,  $p = .04$  and  $p = .00$  (refer to Appendix G). Thus, the teachers generally appeared to agree that their students were too young to make right decisions (Q5) or to think of national self-determination (Q19).

In addition to questioning their students' potential to participate in their own self-determination, teachers also seemed to doubt their own competence. They appeared to lack confidence in their own abilities as well as their peers' competence regarding vernacular skills and critical thinking. For example, Ms. Amei suggested that aboriginal teachers may doubt the language skills of aboriginal peoples:

Most parents in the cities cannot speak their mother tongues. They may leave their hometown for a long time. They might suffer the same as I did. They might be teased and treated as secondary citizens when speaking their

mother tongues. Therefore, to avoid being embarrassed, they resisted to learn their mother tongues and gradually forgot how to speak...They don't feel the need for their children to learn native languages. That is why I feel so frustrated.

Mr. Tayal also doubted his vernacular skills:

I think my language ability is not strong anymore, so I need to learn. I left my tribe to study and my teachers fully practiced the Mandarin-only policy, so I experienced language amnesia for a long period of time. My native language ability is not strong and this is my greatest difficulty.

According to both aboriginal interviewees, adult vernacular competence has decreased. Especially among parents living in cities, "language amnesia" may result in a loss of identification with indigenous ethnicities.

Besides the aboriginal teachers' doubts about their linguistic skills, some of the interviewees questioned whether they and their peers were competent in respect to critical judgment. As Mr. Hoklo noted:

Students need to know the 2-28 Incident. And more than the 2-28 Incident, they need to know all that has happened throughout Taiwan's history...

However, it is a pity because most teachers at elementary and middle schools are not able to teach the 2-28 Incident. Some teachers do not want to know the facts and therefore are not able to critically judge the incident, and the rest of the teachers may know it but only with fragmented images.

The 2-28 Incident was originally mystified, but it has been gradually revealed due to growing consciousness and increased critical reflection on Taiwan's

history. Therefore, current teacher knowledge and interpretation of the 2-28 Incident may be an indicator of their ability to critically examine their identities and history. As Mr. Hakka described:

Let us take a look at inter-ethnic conflicts in the past two to three decades. With a variety of journals published, we have opportunities to know some truths. Although these truths might just be other “mystified” interpretations, we have channels to cross check after all. However, I don’t think many teachers check it. They just simply accept what politicians say. They are brainwashed and choose either to override what is learned or simply accept the latest interpretation if they did not learn well in the past.

My personal experiences suggest that Mr. Hoklo’s and Hakka’s criticisms are also true of other schools in Taiwan. Adults, who experienced the martial law period from 1949 to 1987, did not have legal access to freedom of speech and thought. Consequently, they may have developed little critical thinking ability. The interviews suggest that teachers themselves may doubt their competence in practicing critical judgment. It seems unreasonable to expect teachers to teach something they are not aware of or familiar with.

Another challenge to the ability and willingness of teachers to promote self-determination through education involves fear. Fear can lead to unconscious resistance to engage in practices that develop self-determination. Many teachers seem to be afraid of naming sensitive issues and historical events or of offering autonomy to students. These two factors were reiterated throughout the interviews and were significantly reflected in the survey.

There were many examples of fear of naming sensitive issues as well as fear of offering autonomy to one's students. On the one hand, identification with Taiwan or with an individual's ethnic background was a sensitive topic. Originally, citizens were reluctant to raise such issues due to the mental suppression exercised during the colonial time. However, it is noteworthy that such sensitive issues are still not welcomed, even after the democratic and Taiwanized movement during the martial law period eventually replaced the dictatorship. Mr. Hakka admitted:

What we knew was from a single resource, and therefore our thoughts were seriously influenced. If we had more information resources, we would be critical. Because the elders were terrified by "White Terror" and issues relating to the 2-28 Incident, they never touched any political issues. This resulted in our ignorance of some historical facts... Most of my colleagues dare not talk about this issue. We simply tell students there was the 2-28 Incident. Actually what we know about the incident is so limited and there are no rich documents. Teachers only teach materials given by the government and usually play videos in classes. They do not know the 2-28 Incident much and hence avoid discussing it. They are afraid of raising disputes.

It is ironic that many teachers who received the colonial education were more familiar with the Nanking Massacre in China than the 2-28 Incident in Taiwan. It is telling that they can better introduce the literature, history, production, geography, and customs of China than of Taiwan. As Mr. Hoklo stated, "The

education was for colonization. Taiwanese people experienced so much terror. That was a time our parents wanted us to be silent.”

In addition to generating much discussion during the interviews, the 2-28 Incident was the most frequently mentioned item in the open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire. Eleven out of the 32 participating teachers thought the 2-28 Incident was the most important historical event in Taiwan or it should be responsible for problems of identity and/or ethnicity. The deliberate concealing of the event continues to fuel interethnic conflicts even sixty years later. Fears not only in institutions but also in the whole society diminish teachers’ willingness to develop student self-identification. The questionnaire reinforces the idea that a fear of naming continues to impede the development of student self-determination.

Questionnaire items related to self-identification included F4 (i.e., students’ rights of self-identification) and F5 (i.e., instructional implementation of self-identification). The means scores for these items were 3.08 (SD=.35) and 2.57(SD=.52), respectively. An independent t-test indicated a significant difference between these two factors,  $F = 16.00$  and  $p = .00$  (refer to Appendix H). This suggests that although teachers generally agreed that students should have the right to identify with their vernaculars, ethnicities, and nationalities, they were less agreeable that these rights should be implemented in or through classroom instruction. To be more specific, when the one sample t-test was employed to compare the five individual questions (i.e., Q15, Q16, Q17, Q18, and Q19) in F5 with the mean of the entire questionnaire (i.e., 2.87), the result

showed the means for each question—2.44 (SD=.65), 2.63 (SD=.69), 2.56 (SD=.70), 2.68 (SD=.65), and 2.56 (SD=.62)—were significantly lower (refer to Appendix I). These numbers suggest that the teachers thought the curriculum should avoid topics regarding identity problems (Q15), that they felt uneasy discussing identity problems with their students (Q16), that they did not support involving students in issues of nationality to prevent interethnic conflicts (Q17), that they disfavored self-determination because it refers to the secession of Taiwan (Q18), and that they assumed students may be too young to think of issues related to national self-determination (Q19). In sum, the survey data seem to support the conclusions of the interviews, which suggest that Taiwanese teachers may be fearful and reluctant to develop self-determination.

In addition to the hesitation to name certain historical events that impact the development of self-identification, teachers also feared authorizing autonomy to their students. Ms. Mainlander complained,

We have too many students in a class... There is only half the population in a class in America. Teachers there have around 16 students and hence can take care of all individuals. However, we have about double number of students in Taiwan... Teachers here prefer traditional instructions and lectures and want students to listen only, or at most to answer questions proposed by their teachers.

Similarly, the surveyed teachers were also conservative about authorizing autonomy to students. F1, F2, and F3 on the survey, respectively, indicated “students’ progress from self-determination” (M=3.29; SD=.39), “class practice

of self-determination” ( $M=2.89$ ;  $SD=.37$ ), and “school authorization for self-determination” ( $M=2.63$ ;  $SD=.43$ ). Analysis of the one-way ANOVA revealed a difference among groups,  $F = 41.24$  and  $p = .000$  (refer to Appendix J), and the fact that F3 was significantly lower than F1 and F2 implied that teachers were reluctant to authorize the right of self-determination to their students.

Specifically, they appeared to be fairly conservative regarding factors such as self-determined class schedules (Q 7), school uniforms (Q 8), and the use of vernaculars (Q 9).

Finally, a third challenge impeding teacher support of student self-determination is confusion. The interviews suggested that disputes and conflicts exist in Taiwan concerning ethnicity and nationality among different ethnic groups. This confusion is related to ethnicity as well as nationality.

As mentioned earlier, at least some aboriginal people have devoted themselves to revitalizing their culture and languages in order to preserve their identities. However, while the current government officially supports a multicultural movement and the restoration of endangered languages, teachers disagree over these issues. In contrasting the viewpoints of opponents and advocates of the multicultural movement, for example, I found that there is considerable disagreement on vernacular languages learning. While Mr. Hakka and Ms. Mainlander, from more dominant ethnic/linguistic groups, thought vernacular language learning at schools was highly politicized and unnecessary, Mr. Tayal and Ms. Amei, from endangered ethnic/linguistic groups, advocated

the authority to pay more effort to revitalize their vernaculars. Mr. Hakka criticized the recent language policy:

Taiwan's history is very special. Mandarin Chinese had endangered other native languages. The result is that many vernaculars are not able to exist. Hence after the native regime took steps in 2000, the authority tried to restore the dying languages. However, in my opinion it seems to be radical. Mother tongues should be learned at homes or in communities.

Ms. Mainlander had a similar viewpoint:

I think we have exceeded the proper limits in righting a wrong. No matter who the ruler was, there were right and wrong deeds...It is not necessary to politicize all the policies and overthrow all Chiang Kai-Shek's contributions. How can you expect interethnic reciprocity when the authority keeps bringing up those provoking issues? On the one hand you suggest interethnic peace, and on the other hand you keep talking about what the mainlanders had done and what happened in the 2-28 Incident.

These are topics everybody knows and they are described in textbooks now.

Based on views such as these, the learning of language and history appears to have political intentions as well as multicultural considerations. In contrast to Mr. Hakka's passive attitude toward the restoration of vernaculars and Ms.

Mainlander's defensive stance toward raising sensitive issues, Ms. Amei noted:

We all know if our language is not passed on, our culture dies. Especially in the cities, our people have no sense about our language. I appreciate what our government has done to promote vernacular restoration. At least we can



regain our mother tongue, find something lost. There must be some people doing all these things...I have tried my best to restore my language. I do whatever I can. I just don't want to see my culture lost in my generation.

Although I know I am not competent, I have passion and I want to try.

In addition to Ms. Amei who stressed the restoration of indigenous language, Mr. Hoklo emphasized the importance of student self-identification:

We need to know the 2-28 Incident...And it is necessary to develop student self-identification. This is not because we want our students to develop the way I want. Instead, it is just nature to identify with Taiwan, our motherland. This is just like the close relationship between parents and children. When parents are old, their children will take care of them. Self-identification is just our instinct. However, it is a pity that the ruling regimes deprived our instinct and caused islanders disequilibrium of self-identification.

Instead of consensus, the multicultural movement has resulted in the argument of opposite viewpoints among teachers. These contradictory stances have created confusion among different ethnicities and between those who are persecuted and victimized. Examples of confusion are seen in many schools in Taiwan. There is now a dilemma. To what extent is the multicultural movement for the empowerment of the marginalized, and to what extent is it politicization aimed at legitimizing those in power? To what extent is language revitalization the return of justice, and to what extent is it a practice of "revengeful restoration?" To what extent is reflection on history designed to promote better knowledge of historical facts, and to what extent is it intended to promote interethnic conflict? To what

extent is self-identification needed for the integrity of beings, and to what extent is it used to legitimize the struggle for power? These are some of the questions that currently exist as a result of confusion related to ethnicity in Taiwan.

In addition to confusion resulting from ethnic identity, teachers in Taiwan have also experienced confusion related to nationality. Based on the interviews and the survey, confusion regarding nationality exists due to imposed identity and Chinese patriotism. The Sino-centric movement sought to transform the colonized into “righteous Chinese,” a slogan that has penetrated the entire society in Taiwan. However, both the textual and numerical data indicate that teachers often respond to national identity differently from what they were taught. Ms. Mainlander regretted stating her nationality when studying in the United States:

Once, an American asked me where I came from. I answered him I was from Hong Kong. I was angry at myself to give that answer. I felt shameful to be a Taiwanese, because people may know Hong Kong but never hear of Taiwan. Taiwan has no status...I was angry at myself. If I am asked about my nationality now, I will answer I am a Taiwanese. I was so frustrated at that time and wanted to be a citizen from greater nations...Why didn't I have nationalism?

She went on and clarified what she thought of her identity after finishing her studies:

To identify with Taiwan is essential. I am a Taiwanese and certainly should identify with Taiwan. It is impossible for me to teach my students to

identify with China...I am a Taiwanese. I was born here and received education here. I will not exclude people of different ethnicities. I am a Taiwanese and we need to have native nationalism.

Like Ms. Mainlander, who suffered and struggled between imposed nationality and self-determined identity, Mr. Tayal experienced confusion when he was treated unkindly at an international conference:

To me people there [in China] are Chinese and here are Taiwanese. This is my definition. As for this island, we call it “this country” for the moment now because of its current status. But I feel “Taiwan” is a better name for the island. Once I attended a conference held by the United Nations. The Republic of China was a forbidden name and so were Taiwan and Formosa. So when I was asked about where I came from, I could only say I am from a place that is to the south of Japan, the east of China, and north of the Philippines. How pitiful is this? But it is true.

Nationality has been one of the most radical controversies. In addition to the interviews, the survey also showed similar tendencies regarding self-determination. Descriptive statistics indicate teachers’ determination of their nationalities, and inferential statistics help indicate their preferences for a curriculum that identifies either with China or Taiwan.

As demonstrated earlier in the interview, the teachers I interviewed tended to identify themselves with Taiwan. Q10 in Part Two of the demographic survey indicated that 66.1 % of teachers thought of Taiwan as an independent country, 23.7 % were not sure, 5.1 % thought of it as a dependent country, and 5.1 %

chose “other.” Furthermore, Q11 suggested that 64.4 % of the teachers thought of themselves as Taiwanese, 27.1 % as Chinese, and 8.5 % as something other than Taiwanese or Chinese. The descriptive statistics indicated not only that more teachers identified themselves with the Taiwanese nationality, but also that confusion and disagreement exist in the society.

Inferential statistics were also employed to analyze the attitude survey. The mean of Q13 (school curriculum should guide students to identify with China) and Q14 (school curriculum should guide students to identify with Taiwan) were 2.39 and 2.92, respectively, and their corresponding standard deviations were .743 and .596. The independent samples t-test revealed a significant difference between these two results,  $p = .01$  (refer to Appendix K). To put it another way, the survey suggests that a greater percentage of teachers believe the school curriculum should guide students to identify with Taiwan rather than China.

Thus, aspects of distrust, fear, and confusion appear to exist among teachers in Taiwan, and these factors seem to hinder teachers’ abilities and willingness to promote student self-determination. Figure 5 visually indicates that student self-determination is influenced by teachers’ private inclinations such as distrust, fear, and confusion. In turn, these factors can be impacted by larger social contexts, including formal education and other forms of institutional domination in Taiwan.

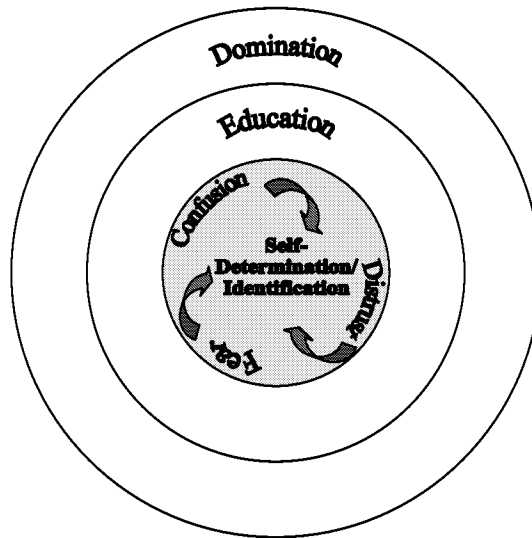


Figure 5: Teachers' Abilities and Willingness to the Development of Student Self-Determination/Identification

In this chapter, I have explored complex relationships between domination, education, and self-determination in Taiwan. Two major findings emerged from the data. First, many unexamined connections appear to exist in Taiwan between social domination, formal education, and self-determination. Second, these conditions seem to influence teachers' abilities and willingness to promote self-determination among themselves and their students.

The data suggest that domination and education reinforce each other and prevent the empowerment of both adults and children by depriving each of their rights of self-determination. Although an awakening awareness to resist discrimination or oppression was observed in the interviews and observations, the evidence suggests that teachers in Taiwan are often hesitant to promote self-determination among their students. There are many possible reasons for this. In addition to external factors of social domination and formal education, internal challenges also hinder teachers' abilities and willingness to support the

autonomous identity development of their students. These challenges include distrust, fear, and confusion.

Although these various influences have been discussed separately, they are not unrelated. For example, social contexts such as domination and education fortify internal factors such as teachers' abilities and willingness to promote self-determination, and vice versa. It is unlikely that internal tendencies are simply decisions from within. Instead, they are probably the result of dynamic interaction between individual people and their broader social environments.

Figure 6 represents both findings within a context of self-determination praxis. The smaller embedded two circles indicate influences between the two major findings, including the external impediments resulting from domination and education and internal challenges hindering teachers' abilities and willingness to develop self-determination.

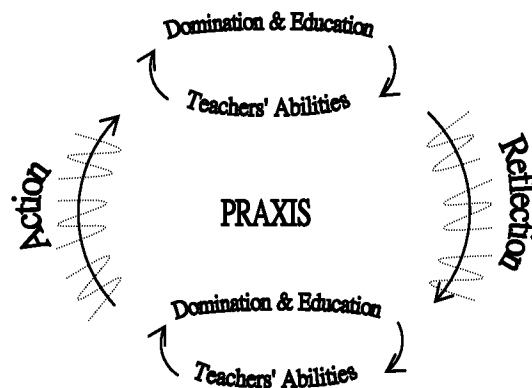


Figure 6: Impediments to the Praxis of Student Self-Determination

The larger outward circle shows the repetitive cyclical praxis between reflection and action. Rather than iterating the ongoing process of the praxis, a vicious cycle of disruption appears to exist. The squiggle lines indicate

interference in the process of reflection and action. In other words, domination and education interact with teachers' abilities and willingness to promote self-determination, which interferes with their reflection on realities of self-determination. Failure to critically examine these realities reinforces the interaction between external impediments and internal challenges, which thwarts further action of self-determination.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND PRACTICE

This study, conducted in Taiwan, explored teachers' beliefs about developing student self-determination. The data suggest two major findings. First, it appears that there are many unexamined connections between social domination, formal education, and self-determination. Second, these conditions seem to influence teachers' abilities and willingness to promote self-determination among themselves and their students.

In this chapter I will discuss implications of these findings for theory and practice. Specifically, I will provide recommendations for education as a means of promoting, rather than preventing, the self-determination of one's own identity.

Based on the finding that there is interconnectedness between social domination, formal education, and self-determination, I will recommend a multicultural educational approach that promotes critical consciousness to understand and address this relationship. Moreover, since teachers' own feelings and abilities can positively or negatively influence opportunities for the development of student self-determination, I suggest critical pedagogical action that supports the promotion of multicultural appreciation, negotiated autonomy, and meaningful intragroup and intergroup interaction. I believe these factors may help teachers overcome impediments regarding distrust, fear, and confusion.

Although this study took place in Taiwan, unexamined relationships between domination, education, and self-determination certainly exist in other



places as well. Therefore, it is likely that my recommendations may be relevant not only in Taiwan but also for other people and nations who have similarly experienced social oppression through formal education.

### **A Multicultural Educational Approach Promoting Critical Consciousness**

Domination, education, and self-determination are interconnected. However, many people are unaware of this interconnectedness and hence unable to change it. In light of this finding, a multicultural educational approach promoting critical consciousness is recommended. The assumption is that through raising critical consciousness, the oppressed will have opportunities to reflect on their internalized oppression, thus opening possibilities for personal and social change. In this section, I will focus first on critical consciousness raising and then on how it can be used to deconstruct harmful relationships between domination, education, and self-determination. Reading multiple historical accounts is stressed as a technique of practical implementation for societies like Taiwan that have experienced multiple forms and periods of domination. The rationale for this is that consciousness raising can help people reflect on the process of domination, therefore allowing the relationships represented in Figure 3 to become visible and vulnerable.

First, I suggest that critical consciousness can free people from many kinds of oppression. It appears that children, especially the underprivileged, are indeed taught to have few thoughts that differ from what authorities regulate (Anyon, 1980). Through formal schooling, students internalize dominant perspectives as ways of viewing their realities, and in this way they can lose critical judgment.

Instead of developing future citizens as thinking individuals, “sanitizing the curriculum minimizes opportunities for students to struggle with differing perspectives on important historical events. Without this struggle, both personal development and social equity are ultimately diverted” (Houser, 1997, p. 67).

Although education in oppressed societies may be deregulated when democracy becomes possible, teachers who previously experienced banking education may be used to feeding students as many piecemeal facts as possible. Similar to the participants in this study, many teachers in Taiwan tend to teach how they were taught and prefer to pass information, rules, and commands down to students. In order to change this “vertical pattern characteristic of banking education,” teachers need to transform from the “teacher-of-the-student” to the “teacher-student” (Freire, 2000, p. 80). Similarly, class activities need to change from lectures to dialogue. In the process of raising critical consciousness, “a teacher in search of his/her own freedom may be the only kind of teacher who can arouse young persons to go in search of their own” (Greene, 1988, p. 14).

Freire argues that there is no “neutral education process” because education either subordinates the young into society or encourages them to “deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world” (2000, p. 34). Instruction that aims to transform societies helps students interrogate the injustices that exist in their world rather than simply banking fragmented bits of knowledge (Freire, 2000). Instead of heavy transmission of information exhausting teachers and students, problems involving social realities are posed. Freire advocates that students and teachers

together should build learning communities that nurse critical consciousness and provide freedom for participants to make decisions. After critically reflecting on what has gone wrong around them, participants can seek and practice solutions to change their undesirable realities.

I propose that critical consciousness can be used to identify and deconstruct the interconnectedness that exists between domination, education, and self-determination. However, such relationships are often deliberately concealed and thus are unexamined. This is because disclosing the interconnected relationship opens opportunities to undermine the mechanisms of domination. Social domination relies on the unawareness of the masses and invisibility regarding how the powerful employ a variety of resources (e.g. official history, language policies, formal education) to forever maintain their status.

Education has been employed to benefit the dominant and has been responsible for social domination. Official knowledge spread through formal schooling is mostly managed by those with power. This makes it possible for ruling minorities to govern the masses. Therefore, rather than approaching reality through critical consciousness, students tend to receive knowledge that sustains social reproduction (Apple, 2000; Banks, 1989; Willis, 1981; Zinn, 1995). It is important to reveal what our curricula essentially are:

Texts are not simply “delivery systems” of “facts.” They are at once the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by real people

with real interests. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power. (Apple, 2000, p. 44)

Among other subjects, history has been employed to benefit those with power. Official histories have often been biased, misrepresented, or even fabricated to deceive oppressed youth (Banks, 1989; Zinn, 1995). In view of this fact, it is feasible to promote critical consciousness through examining the complex history of a group of people, such as Taiwan's multiple periods and forms of colonization. Through a critical reading of history, domination can itself become vulnerable and education can begin to stand for its own interests.

History, the recording of ongoing realities, provides handy illustrations of domination. Instead of simply "receiving, filing and storing the deposits" (Freire, 2000, p. 72), the reading of history should engage different perspectives and critical judgments in order to understand multiple realities. Zinn reminds us that:

The history of any country, presented as the history of a family, conceals fierce conflicts of interest...between conquerors and conquered, masters and slaves, capitalists and workers, dominators and dominated in race and sex. And in such a world of conflict, a world of victims and executioners, it is the job of thinking people... not to be on the side of the executioners. (1995, p. 9-10)

The point is not to exhaust all perspectives of history in every classroom. Instead, it is to realize that there is no single right history and no one right way to view history. Thus, to fully understand history, it is important to take viewpoints of others and not be overwhelmed by the dominant voice. Since practices like the

“one-guideline-one-edition” textbook policy have been used to impose official representations of identity in nations like Taiwan, teachers need to open their own perspectives prior to introducing the histories of their nations.

It seems natural that different ethnic groups would insist on exploring their own ethnic nostalgias. While many islanders in Taiwan have chosen to remember the cultivation under Japanese colonization and the slaughter of the 2-28 Incident in Taiwan, most mainlanders have elected to remember the humiliation of the Japanese invasion and the Nanking massacre in China. This suggests that reading history should not be unilateral. I believe both colonizers and the colonized need to take perspectives that include each other to develop a more comprehensive view of their national history.

When different historical perspectives are taken, domination, which comprises aspects of official history, language policies, and globalization, is undermined because history and language are critically examined from different stances and with different values. Accordingly, history can function to present a variety of truths, and different languages can represent their own cultures and merits without being underestimated by dominant values. Moreover, it would be more difficult for education, which consists of normalization, supervision, and examination, to practice disciplinary power, since normality would be replaced by diverse perspectives and values. Without criteria to specify punishment for “abnormal” individuals, supervision and examination would no longer be able to guarantee “correct training.”

When allowed to take different perspectives, the oppressed can become subjects rather than objects, regaining their rights and abilities to think about, choose, and create their own realities. While consciousness can help decision-makers critically examine differing realities, multiple perspectives can provide choices that are required in the process of decision making. As long as domination is challenged by critical consciousness and education serves to open additional perspectives, the relationship between domination, education, and self-determination/identification (shown in Figure 3) will be difficult to maintain, and the development of self-determination will begin to be freed from the constraints of social domination and formal education.

### **A Multicultural Educational Approach Promoting**

#### **Critical Pedagogical Action**

In addition to the interconnections between domination, education, and self-determination, this study also suggests that the development of student self-determination can be influenced by teachers' abilities and willingness to enable the process. As mentioned in Chapter Two, self-determination theory (SDT) stresses people's psychological needs of competence, autonomy, and relationship. When merging multicultural considerations with SDT, these needs can be further specified as multicultural appreciation, negotiated autonomy, and meaningful intragroup and intergroup interaction. This merging of ideas can help solve personal impediments resulting from distrust, fear, and confusion.

The first pedagogical recommendation involves promoting multicultural appreciation. As discussed in Chapter Four, distrust permeates many educational

institutions. On the one hand, teachers in Taiwan doubted students' potential and believed they were too young to make proper decisions. On the other hand, they also doubted their colleagues' competence regarding their critical thinking and vernacular abilities. The development of genuine multicultural appreciation (e.g., through sincere dialogue) could help address the problems of distrust.

Freire proposed that trust is the result of dialogue based on "love, humility, and faith" (Freire, 2000, p. 91). Love is primary in dialogue, because with love the communicators would be less likely to knowingly oppress or take advantage of one another. Humility is also emphasized since mutual respect is required in dialogues to ensure that participants are equally honored and that none are objectified. Finally, faith is also stressed due to the confidence it brings out among the speakers not only in each other but also in the power of dialogue itself. Based on the elements of love, humility, and faith, "dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence" (Freire, 2000, p. 91).

With regard to problems of distrust, it is important to recognize that children are competent and gradually grow to think critically. Indeed, youngsters have thoughts and wisdom of their own, and they often critique their peers, parents, and surroundings (Paley, 1992; Quinn, 1997). However, institutionalized ageism penetrates many schools. Many teachers suspect students' potential and discourage their attempts to determine their own activities and identities. It is possible for children to internalize adult distrust and to stop thinking critically.

Although age can function as a general criterion indicating approximate stages or ranges of human development, it cannot fix the time of individual performance. In fact, it may be true that students who are slow to mature are persuaded to be immature by adults. Immaturity can turn out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy as it prohibits the development of student self-determination, because students are often thought to be too young to be self-determined and hence need to be advised by adults.

Accordingly, dialogue based on love, humility, and faith can become a means for helping teachers build trust in their students. Love and trust can prevent a “vertical pattern” of instruction in which a lecturer with absolute authority dominates the rest of the class. With humility, mutual respect can replace arrogance, and classrooms can become learning communities where teachers work with students and all participants learn together. Finally, because of faith, teachers can develop confidence in their students’ potential to think, learn, and develop. This makes immaturity an unreasonable excuse for teachers to withhold opportunities for the young to develop their own identities. When the status between teachers and students is gradually equalized, when dialogical learning rather than didactic teaching takes place, and when students’ potentials and possibilities are strongly affirmed, mutual trust can be the consequence.

Therefore, multicultural appreciation is recommended as a means of beginning to solve problems of distrust. This appreciation can be promoted through dialogue based on mutual respect and understanding. Various subgroups of ages include childhood, youth, adulthood, and old age. It is understood that



people complete their life courses by participating in sequential subgroups. Ageism is different from other “isms” involving people in certain subgroups of class, race, gender, and ability because most people eventually participate in every subgroup determined by age.

As proposed in Chapter Two, a characteristic of multicultural education is that it should be pervasive and inclusive. Mutual trust between teachers and students is expected to be “vertically” and “horizontally” enlarged for the development of multicultural appreciation. Therefore, subgroups of age should be extended vertically to include more than the existing subgroups teachers and students normally belong to. When we learn to respect individuals from the entire range of age subgroups, all of us reciprocally learn to respect ourselves, since each of us will ultimately belong to all of these groups.

In addition to vertical extension, solutions to ageism also need to be extended horizontally to include multiple “-isms” such as racism, classism, sexism, linguism, and ableism. I believe it is not only a right to enjoy appreciation from others, but also our duty to respect people of different colors, social classes, languages, and abilities. My hope is that through dialogue individuals can gain greater trust in one another and that we can further celebrate our diversity.

The second pedagogical action I recommend is to promote negotiated autonomy in the classroom. Both the interviewed teachers and the surveyed teachers feared authorizing student autonomy and naming sensitive issues. This impeded the promotion of student self-determination. Many teachers in Taiwan

work under great pressure (e.g., large classes; parents' expectations). Because of this, teachers are compelled to control their classes. As a result, a common coping strategy is to sacrifice student autonomy for efficient classroom management. In addition, teachers are often reluctant to discuss historical events and problems of ethnicity and identity in their classes. This reluctance is related to an overwhelming culture of silence resulting, in part, from the nation's history of colonization.

Due to challenges from parents, colleagues, and directors, the issue of identity specifically seems to be a topic that is too controversial for many teachers to be willing to discuss in class. Accordingly, I believe negotiated autonomy would be a way to support autonomous self-development among students. This would also allow the negotiation of identities among students from different ethnic groups. When authorizing student autonomy, teachers support self-determination by offering greater freedom of choice. Moreover, when collaboratively naming and exploring historical events and sensitive issues, teachers can help both themselves and their students honestly face the history of their nation.

Authorizing autonomy can be achieved only when autonomy is shared and negotiated with others. A supportive environment for autonomy is needed in post-colonial societies. Such an environment can empower the colonized by granting them the right to make decisions and take actions to change their world. However, teachers in many post-colonial societies have received a banking type of education and hence tend to teach the way they were taught. Since they were

not allowed to determine their own social identities, their own experiences become obstacles to the authorization of student autonomy. Therefore, classes should be turned into learning communities not only for teachers to redefine autonomy but also for students to gain their freedom.

Both autonomy and self-determination are often misinterpreted. It is often thought that when students are granted autonomy and the right of self-determination, the teachers' authority is challenged and their classes will become chaotic. Hence, in order to authorize autonomy, it will be necessary to clarify what autonomy means. Although autonomy stresses personal freedom, it needs to be thought of in relation to self-discipline. This is because autonomy is often falsely associated with self-indulgence, arbitrariness, and unrestrained freedom. As Alfred North Whitehead stated:

Freedom and discipline are two essentials of education...It should be the aim of an ideally constructed education that the discipline should be the voluntary issue of free choice, and that the freedom should gain an enrichment of possibility as the issue of discipline. The two principles, freedom and discipline, are not antagonists, but should be adjusted in the child's life that they correspond to a natural sway, to and fro, of the developing personality. (1967, p. 30)

Thus, although autonomy highlights individual freedom, it must be authorized by discipline. However, discipline here is different from disciplinary power, which is applied externally to coerce and control the masses. The negotiated discipline of which Whitehead speaks is a necessary aspect of the quest for freedom.

In order for students to gain autonomy, a learning community should be built in which individuals negotiate shared conditions that will help ensure freedom for all members. This community is based on interdependent relationships among all members of the community: the greater the negotiated freedom that is achieved, the greater will be the need for negotiated discipline required to honor and maintain that freedom. In such circumstances, teachers and students need to negotiate the practice of autonomy and consider whether it is possible to achieve an excess of freedom. In other words, in authorizing autonomy, teachers are granting the right of negotiated self-governance rather than the self-indulgent excess of freedom.

In regard to the naming of problems, the culture of silence needs to be broken. It is false to assume that problems will disappear if they are ignored or concealed. Problems of identity have long existed in Taiwan. Far from simply going away, interethnic conflicts have actually worsened as a result of the fear of naming that occurs in educational institutions. Fine (1987) noted that:

Naming may indeed be dangerous to beliefs often promoted in public schools; it is for that very reason essential to the creation of an empowered and critical constituency of educated social participants. To not name bears consequences for all students, but more so for low-income, minority youths. To not name is to systematically alienate, cut off from home, from heritage and from lived experience, and ultimately to sever from their educational process. (p. 161)

Four hundred years after the first foreign domination, it is a pity that the study of history in Taiwan has still not revealed vital truths to the colonized people. It is also a pity that they still have not become associated with their innate identities. It is a pity that 60 years after the 2-28 Incident, what happened continues to be concealed and that justice has still not returned. It is also a pity that 20 years after martial law was lifted, fear still exists and the rights of self-determination continue to be disregarded. Without the naming of fear, both Islanders and Mainlanders are trapped. While those who were oppressed wait for truth, justice, and overdue apologies, the descendants of the dominant continue to be condemned for the transgressions of their ancestors.

Negotiated autonomy involves relative truths. Similarly, unilateral decisions, whether made by the ruled majority or the ruling minority, reflect only partial realities rather than absolute facts. Negotiated autonomy engages dialogue and therefore highlights the process of compromise. Thus, its ultimate value may be to promote positive relationships rather than final products of decision-making. Through symmetrical communication, it may be possible that the status between majority and minority can begin to achieve a greater balance, minimizing vertical relationships between the dominant and the dominated. I believe addressing issues of identity and naming problems in history should be based on these characteristics. This would help ensure that no absolutely right answer would be forced on others, that ongoing conversations would be used to resolve interethnic conflicts, and that all individuals, regardless of their background, would be equally respected and that their opinions would be voiced and heard.

My third recommended pedagogical action is to increase meaningful intragroup and intergroup interaction in classrooms. Based on the interviews, many teachers experience a state of confusion caused by problems of ethnicity and nationality. I believe that intra-group interaction can help students build confidence in their ethnicity, especially through acquiring their vernacular languages, and that intergroup (e.g., interethnic) interaction involving discussions of nationality can help resolve disputes over Taiwan's identity.

Meaningful intergroup interaction is based on intragroup interaction, within which participants feel proud of belonging to their groups. Language is highlighted here because it is the usual medium employed in most interaction. Through colonial education, native languages in Taiwan were devaluated and treated as dialects of Mandarin Chinese, even though they were unintelligible to Mandarin-only speakers. Students were taught that all residents except the aborigines were Han people who emigrated from China. Heavy aboriginal lineages resulting from interethnic marriages were largely ignored. Consequently, Taiwan became superficially uniform in terms of its ethnicity and nationality. This situation occurs in many colonized societies:

Every colonized people—in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. (Fanon, 1967, p. 18)

Hence, before engaging students in meaningful interaction with other groups, it is important to help them develop pride in their cultural and vernacular belonging.

The emphasis is not simply to employ native language speakers to communicate; instead, it is to help students discover their own ethnic heritages that were depreciated. Because language bears culture and coexists with ethnicity, “the most urgent claim of a group about to revive is certainly the liberation and restoration of its language” (Memmi, 1991, p. 110). However, the restoration of vernacular languages is often hindered by dominant language speakers in order to prevent their personal and collective power from diverting to others. Hence, it is important to emphasize all vernaculars and to elevate the status of each to that of the national language.

Many teachers have begun to emphasize globalization rather than localization and have faced confusion about whether teaching native languages would result in politicization or *revengeful restoration*. However for those vernacular languages that were oppressed and are dying because of Mandarin-only policy, language revitalization symbolizes the return of justice and hence, in my view, needs to be stressed. The distinction of Siraya (the first written language in Taiwan) and the loss of its ethnicity is a powerful lesson that “official neglect may result in letting minority languages die by simply not doing anything to keep them alive” (Wardhaugh, 1998, p. 349).

Since a primary aim of restoring vernaculars is to help students identify with their cultural or ethnic heritages, those whose mother tongue is Mandarin

Chinese should be proud of it and support their communities by using it in their presence. However, this is also true for those who employ other native languages. The purpose of gaining vernacular competence and confidence should not be to marginalize the dominant language; instead, it should be for all to gain pride in their mother tongues. Hence, Chinese speakers would not be victimized while vernacular speakers were empowered. The official language should play the role of a common language to bridge all students from different ethnic groups; however, it should not be a hegemonic language that diminishes vernaculars.

Building intragroup interaction is similar to “joining clubs” (Smith, 1998, p.11). Contradictory to the difficult chore education becomes in schools, Smith argues that much learning is actually natural and effortless. He uses the example of learning language in natural contexts as children grow up. He says that children naturally want to be accepted as members of a group, which he calls “clubs.” Interaction with other club members opens the potential of learning because “we become like the company we keep... The identification creates the possibility of learning. All learning pivots on who we think we are, and who we see ourselves as capable of becoming” (p.11). In order to gain ethnic confidence, teachers and students in oppressed situations could join their own vernacular clubs. When identifying with these clubs, individuals would interact with other members and assimilate community patterns, thereby reinforcing their ethnic cultures.



Although intragroup interaction is important, empowerment merely through such interaction could fuel broader group conflicts if people carried out unilateral and exclusive decisions without the antecedence of meaningful interethnic interaction. While self-identification with vernacular languages and cultural heritages can help provide justice to the oppressed, it is necessary to ensure that the voices of former oppressors are not completely silenced, or the situation could simply shift to a new group of oppressors (e.g., Freire, 2000). Thus, intergroup interaction is also important as a vehicle to help end oppression and prevent initiation of further oppression. To keep “revengeful restoration” from reversing the status between the oppressors and oppressed, those who were formerly marginalized need to be aware that “the oppressed are insecure in their duality as beings which ‘house’ the oppressor” (Freire, 2000, p. 144). This is why they need to continue to hold intergroup interaction with others.

Intergroup interaction is also recommended to help solve confusion related to nationality. Identity that should be intra- and inter-individually constructed has historically been interfered with and determined by only those with power. Taiwanese students, whose practices of self-determination are often impeded by authority, rarely freely and confidentially decide who they are. Instead of being experiential and dynamic, “identities of individuals as members of groups—especially national identity and ethnic identity—are portrayed by political leaders as fixed, with borders that are not based on individual experience” (Brown, 2004, p. 13).

When colonized people gradually reflect on their realities, the manipulation of identities will eventually fail. As shown in both the interviews and the survey, teachers in this study thought of themselves as Taiwanese, an identity totally forbidden in colonial education. This suggests that although identity development can be distorted in schools, identity is not something that can be simply and directly transmitted in educational institutions. Instead, identity is ultimately learned and constructed in communities.

If identity were easily teachable in formal educational settings, the national identity would not have turned out as the most controversial dispute in post-colonial Taiwan. If identity were simply transmittable, there would not be an increasing population of Taiwanese citizens choosing the identity that was forbidden throughout education. It is interaction, rather than enforcement of official definitions, that should be emphasized in classes. Identity construction should involve self-discovery that “can not be directly communicated to another” (Rogers, 1969, p. 153).

With confidence built through intragroup interaction, students from different ethnic groups can exchange opinions about problems of nationality, and they can begin to search for solutions together. Through intergroup interaction, different interpretations of national identities can be expressed. Activities such as role playing may be held for students to empathize with those who are from different social or ethnic groups. In the case of Taiwan, while mainlanders’ nostalgia would need to be perceived, islanders’ aspirations for self-identification would also need to be recognized. There must be exchanges among students

from different ethnic groups. As Fanon asks, “Superiority? Inferiority? Why not the quite simple attempt to touch the other, to feel the other, to explain the other to myself” (1967, p. 231)?

Another benefit of intergroup interaction is that students could begin to acknowledge that many of them belong to more than one ethnicity. It is highly possible for students to come from interethnic marriages. Instead of having an “either-or proposition” (Ladson-Billings, 2005, p. 73), identities should be *both-and*. It is possible for a single person to have multifold identities. For example, one could be Hakka Chinese, Hoklo aboriginal, or Chinese Taiwanese. Inclusive representation of identities could help soften interethnic conflicts and bring rapport essential in intergroup interaction.

A further hope is that multifaceted identities could move beyond domestic issues (e.g., language, culture, ethnicity, and nationality) to reach global awareness that might bring all peoples together. The purpose for intergroup interaction would be to “fully engage young people with this global reality in ways that interest and inspire them to understand themselves, others, and the interdependent world in which they live” (Carlsson-Paige & Lantieri, 2005, p.121). We live in an increasingly interdependent world. Like many other places, Taiwan is becoming more and more diverse. International marriages diversify the multiethnic society more now than ever before. Greene noted that:

There have always been children from immigrant families, children who are “different” but who must still be initiated into what we conceive to be our

way of life. There are always strangers, people with their own cultural memories, with voices aching to be heard. (1988, p. 87)

The problem of identity is becoming increasingly complex, in Taiwan as well as other places in the world. Whether people are dependent or independent, identity in nations like Taiwan must be based on compromises between and among aboriginal peoples and waves of immigrants. Meaningful intergroup interaction underlines not only the value to voice opinions, but also the virtue to hear. It is necessary for a kind of self-determination that recognizes that all ethnic groups have an equal right to name Taiwan's identities and equal obligations to consider all possible alternatives.

In this chapter, I have recommended a multicultural educational approach that promotes: (1) critical consciousness of the destructive relationships between domination, self-determination and education, and (2) critical pedagogical action that supports the promotion of multicultural appreciation, negotiated autonomy, and meaningful intragroup and intergroup interaction. My hope is that this study will make the domination that has prevented social mobility vulnerable by helping unprivileged people see how multiple powers work to trap them. I hope the education formerly used to manage the realities of the oppressed can now be used to free children and youth by granting them rights of self-determination. In this case, students would be granted rights to make decisions and take action to build their identities as well as their realities.

As shown in Figure 7, the vicious cycle that incorporates domination and education with teachers' abilities would be transformed into a virtuous circle that

is composed of critical consciousness and critical pedagogical action. The interference, which impedes reflection and action as shown in Figure 6 (on page 93), is eliminated, and the praxis cycle repeats itself. Within the circulation of praxis, teachers reflect on social contexts and pedagogical actions. They further take action to change what is undesirable and refine the cycle of consciousness and pedagogical action. Through the recurring cycle between reflection and action, teachers can help both themselves and their students raise consciousness and promote self-determination.

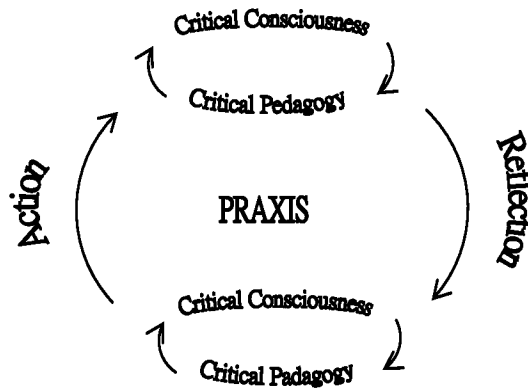


Figure 7: Praxis of Promoting Student Self-Determination

Hence, consistent with work in a variety of fields (e.g., philosophy, linguistics, social learning theory), it appears realities and identities are not merely given; instead, they are constructed among people who continuously examine the problems they encounter and who search for possible solutions. Self-determination deprived in education involves both adults and children in constructing and reconstructing their worlds. “Self” is not equal to independence or isolation; it refers to reflective thinking minds that grow interdependently in the ongoing circulation between reflection and action. From this perspective,

self-determination does not refer to the practice of complete individualism or self-indulgence; rather, it highlights individual freedom as well as self-control in a praxis relationship within which individuals need to examine whether their self-determined attempts conform to socially constructed definitions or challenge traditionally conceived boundaries of freedom.

Accordingly, when implementing the recommendations of this study, teachers should both provide students freedom and develop their critical self-consciousness. Although it is important to build communities for students to make their own decisions, it is more important to help students incorporate individual freedom with self-control. Beyond the consciousness of exercising self-control, students should be aware of various kinds of domination that may prevent their practice of self-determination, including educational institutions as well as society in general. In other words, since students may encounter impediments (see Figure 6) in their future learning or after graduation, teachers also need to prepare them for these possible challenges.

Here dialogue plays an important role to promote critical self-consciousness as well as the ability to anticipate future contingencies. Through dialogue, teachers can lead students to reflect on the value of self-determination and examine factors that may impact their future developments (Greene, 1988). Students need to realize that they may not always have teachers establishing optimal learning environments and providing opportunities for them to develop self-determination. Therefore, emancipatory education should include opportunities for students to develop critical self-consciousness to cope not only

with current situations but also possible obstacles that they may continue to encounter in the future.

Finally, what is Taiwan's identity? Is Taiwan a "rebel province" of China because it has been a recipient of Chinese immigrants (Manthorpe, 2005)? Or is it an ongoing international problem that can only be answered through collective decision making? To answer these questions, continuing efforts will need to be made to engage all students in the vital work of "naming" their own realities:

Human existence cannot be silent, nor can it be nourished by false words, but only by true words, with which men and women transform the world. To exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection. (Freire, 2000, p. 88)

While naming, we construct our realities. In this study, the hope is to help students practice self-determination to name their identities. Self-determination is not only to know the world; it is to change the world.

## ENDNOTES

1. While “identity” involves a variety of aspects (e.g., family, society, education, community, or vocation), I relate it more to nationality and ethnicity in this study.
2. I notice that self-determination is a controversial term and also question whether a “self” really exists without being socially and inter-individually constructed. I also recognize that self-determination often refers to legal forces or absolute power carried by majorities. However, I treated self-determination as a way of raising consciousness, rather than a legitimized form of democratic violence.
3. The fact that people refuse to identify with their mother tongues and tend to employ a standard language has long been a focus of the scholarship in multicultural-, bilingual-, and multilingual- education and second language learning in the United States.



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## APPENDIX A

### Questionnaire

#### Teachers' Beliefs about Student Self-Determination

##### Part One: Attitude survey

Directions: The following questions were designed to investigate teachers' attitudes toward students' self-determination in the context of multicultural education. Please circle your response to the following questions.

1=Strongly Disagree      2=Disagree      3=Agree      4=Strongly Agree

*Self-Determination means* making decisions from one's own volition.

*Identity* means who or how a person thinks he or she is.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. My students gain competence through the practice of decision-making.....	1	2	3	4
2. Self-determination enables my students to understand the interrelatedness of the entire class.....	1	2	3	4
3. Academic achievement is more important than self-determination abilities to my students.....	1	2	3	4
4. Student autonomy is detrimental to my classroom management	1	2	3	4
5. My students are too young to make right decisions.....	1	2	3	4
6. My students should have rights to make all classroom decisions.....	1	2	3	4
7. My students should have rights to determine what they want to wear at school.....	1	2	3	4
8. My students should have rights to determine what they want to learn at school.....	1	2	3	4
9. My students should have rights to use their mother tongues in all occasions.....	1	2	3	4

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
10. My students should have rights to learn their mother tongues....	1	2	3	4
11. My students should have rights to identify with their ethnicity	1	2	3	4
12. My students should have rights to express their thoughts on Taiwan's identity. ....	1	2	3	4
13. School curriculum should guide students to identify with China.....	1	2	3	4
14. School curriculum should guide students to identify with Taiwan.....	1	2	3	4
15. Curriculum designs should <u>avoid</u> topics regarding identity problems.....	1	2	3	4
16. I feel <u>uneasy</u> discussing identity problems with my students....	1	2	3	4
17. I do <u>not</u> involve my students in issues of nationality, because it causes inter-ethnic conflicts.....	1	2	3	4
18. The right of self-determination is an <u>unfavorable</u> issue in my classes, because it always refers to the secession of Taiwan .....	1	2	3	4
19. My students are too young to think of national self-determination.....	1	2	3	4



**Part Two: Personal Information**

Directions: The following questions were designed to gather information about your background. Please respond to the following items.

1. Gender : \_\_\_\_ Female

\_\_\_\_ Male

2. Age : \_\_\_\_\_

3. Years of teaching experience: \_\_\_\_ years

4. My highest educational degree

\_\_\_\_ High School

\_\_\_\_ Two-Year College

\_\_\_\_ Four-Year College

\_\_\_\_ Master

\_\_\_\_ Doctor of Philosophy

\_\_\_\_ Other (Please clarify \_\_\_\_\_)

5. My teaching role

\_\_\_\_ Homeroom Teacher (Grade \_\_\_\_\_)

\_\_\_\_ Subject Teacher (Subject \_\_\_\_\_; Grade \_\_\_\_\_)

\_\_\_\_ Other (Please clarify \_\_\_\_\_)

6. My ethnicity

\_\_\_\_ Aborigine

\_\_\_\_ Hakka

\_\_\_\_ Mainlander

\_\_\_\_ Hoklo

\_\_\_\_ Other ( Please clarify \_\_\_\_\_)

7. My mother tongue

- Aboriginal Language(s)
- Hakka
- Hoklo
- Mandarin
- Other ( Please clarify \_\_\_\_\_ )

8. The language you use most in classes

- Aboriginal Language(s)
- Hakka
- Hoklo
- Mandarin
- English
- Other (Please clarify \_\_\_\_\_ )

9. The most important language(s) for students to learn

- Aboriginal Language(s)
- Hakka
- Hoklo
- Mandarin
- English
- Other (Please clarify \_\_\_\_\_ )

10. I think my nationality is

- China
- Taiwan
- Both China and Taiwan
- Other (Please clarify \_\_\_\_\_ )

11. Do you think Taiwan is an independent country?

\_\_\_\_ Yes

\_\_\_\_ No

\_\_\_\_ Not sure

\_\_\_\_ Other (Please clarify \_\_\_\_\_)

12. What is the most important Taiwanese historical event to you? Please explain.

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## APPENDIX B

### Interview Questions

#### Teachers' Beliefs about Student Self-Determination

*Establish relaxed, comfortable conversation*

##### **History and Teaching**

Can you please talk with me about your thoughts and feelings regarding Taiwan's history and identity? How important is your own ethnicity to your identity? How do you think of other ethnicities? Do you address Taiwan's history in your classroom? Why or why not? If so, how?

##### **Identity, Diversity, and Teaching**

Can you please talk with me about your thoughts and feelings regarding the relationship between your identity and your teaching? Do you address issues of identity in your class? Why or why not? If yes, how? Do you address issues of diversity (e.g., diverse identity) in your class? Why or why not? If yes, how?

##### **Language and Teaching**

Can you please talk with me about your thoughts and feelings regarding the language(s) you speak? Do you help students think about the language(s) they speak? If so, how? Do you help students restore vernacular languages? If yes, how? If no, why not?

**Self-Determination and Teaching**

Can you please talk with me about your thoughts and feelings regarding self-determination?

Do you address self-determination in your class? If yes, how? If no, why not?

## APPENDIX C

### Validity and Reliability of the Questionnaire

#### KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.706
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	749.795
	Df	153
	Sig.	.000

#### Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Q1	1.000	.723
Q2	1.000	.689
Q3	1.000	.475
Q4	1.000	.408
Q5	1.000	.664
Q6	1.000	.439
Q7	1.000	.625
Q8	1.000	.744
Q9	1.000	.524
Q10	1.000	.792
Q11	1.000	.688
Q12	1.000	.605
Q14	1.000	.495
Q15	1.000	.680
Q16	1.000	.478
Q17	1.000	.811
Q18	1.000	.750
Q19	1.000	.667

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	4.385	24.359	24.359	4.385	24.359	24.359	3.031	16.840	16.840
2	2.734	15.186	39.545	2.734	15.186	39.545	2.921	16.229	33.069
3	1.612	8.957	48.502	1.612	8.957	48.502	1.882	10.458	43.527
4	1.425	7.919	56.421	1.425	7.919	56.421	1.821	10.114	53.641
5	1.099	6.107	62.528	1.099	6.107	62.528	1.600	8.888	62.528
6	.954	5.301	67.829						
7	.886	4.921	72.750						
8	.797	4.425	77.175						
9	.700	3.888	81.063						
10	.681	3.781	84.845						
11	.500	2.776	87.621						
12	.490	2.723	90.344						
13	.423	2.349	92.693						
14	.362	2.012	94.705						
15	.330	1.832	96.538						
16	.249	1.384	97.921						
17	.236	1.310	99.231						
18	.138	.769	100.000						

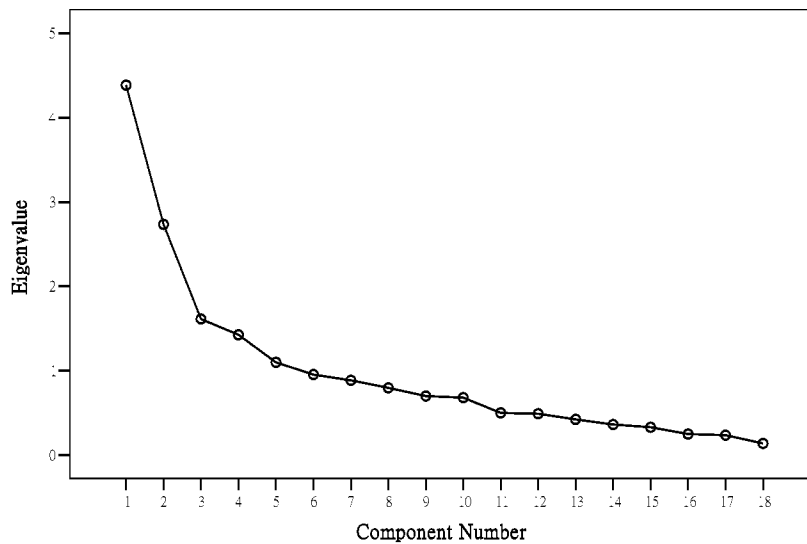
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Rotated Component Matrix (a)

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
V17	.894	.064	.081	.037	.011
V18	.846	.017	-.048	.177	.008
V15	.759	.205	-.237	-.018	-.078
V19	.740	.160	.213	.218	-.038
V16	.455	-.112	-.215	.453	.086
V10	.052	.882	-.021	.085	.063
V11	.042	.797	.108	.080	.179
V12	.153	.697	.254	.161	-.075
V14	.152	.606	-.021	.090	.311
V8	-.071	.110	.844	.106	.053
V7	.055	-.072	.729	.252	.146
V9	-.037	.401	.578	-.160	-.052
V5	.019	.288	.077	.748	-.121
V4	.148	.003	.059	.611	.092
V6	.101	.130	.158	.605	.143
V2	-.017	.247	.173	.162	.756
V1	.111	.381	.051	.169	.731
V3	.286	.295	.061	.177	-.521

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.  
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.  
 a Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

Scree Plot





### Descriptive Statistics of Individual Questions

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation
V1	59	3	4	206	3.49	.504
V2	59	2	4	199	3.37	.554
V3	59	1	4	178	3.02	.629
V4	59	2	4	176	2.98	.508
V5	59	1	3	161	2.73	.520
V6	59	2	4	175	2.97	.586
V7	59	1	4	145	2.46	.652
V8	59	1	4	147	2.49	.598
V9	59	2	4	174	2.95	.539
V10	59	3	4	194	3.29	.457
V11	59	2	4	187	3.17	.422
V12	59	2	4	175	2.97	.524
V13	59	0	4	141	2.39	.743
V14	59	2	4	172	2.92	.596
V15	59	1	4	144	2.44	.650
V16	59	1	4	155	2.63	.692
V17	59	1	4	151	2.56	.702
V18	59	1	4	158	2.68	.655
V19	59	1	4	151	2.56	.623
Valid N (listwise)	59					

### Mean and Standard Deviation of the Attitude Survey (Q 13 is excluded)

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Questions	18	2.871	.322
Valid N (listwise)	18		

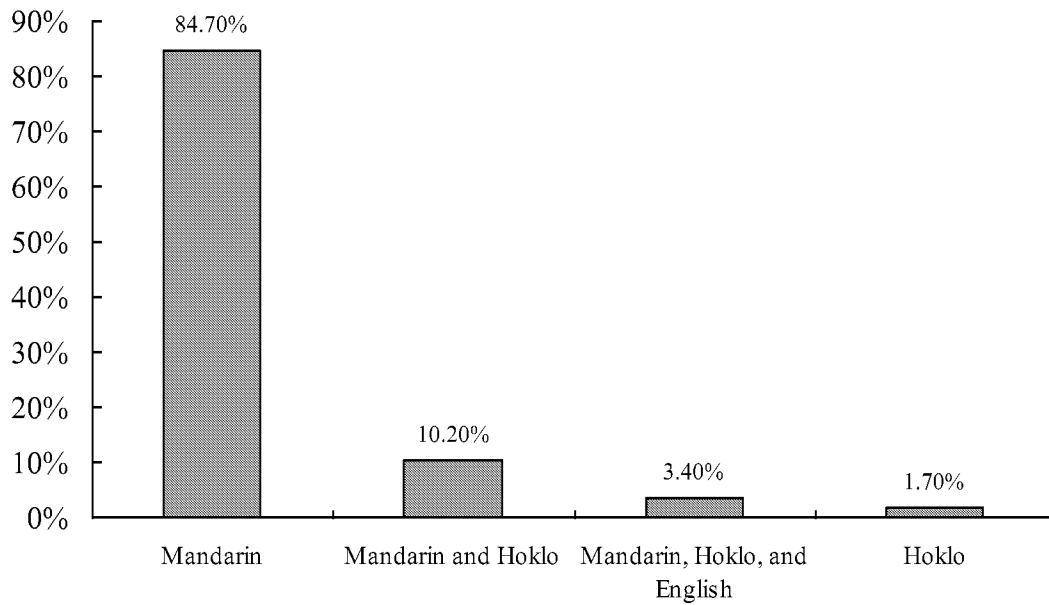
## APPENDIX D

### Language Most Used in Classes

Language Most Used in Classes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mandarin	50	41.3	84.7	84.7
	Mandarin and Hoklo	6	5.0	10.2	94.9
	Mandarin, Hoklo, and English	2	1.7	3.4	98.3
	Hoklo	1	.8	1.7	100.0
	Total	59	48.8	100.0	
Missing	System	62	51.2		
Total		121	100.0		

Language most Used in Taiwan



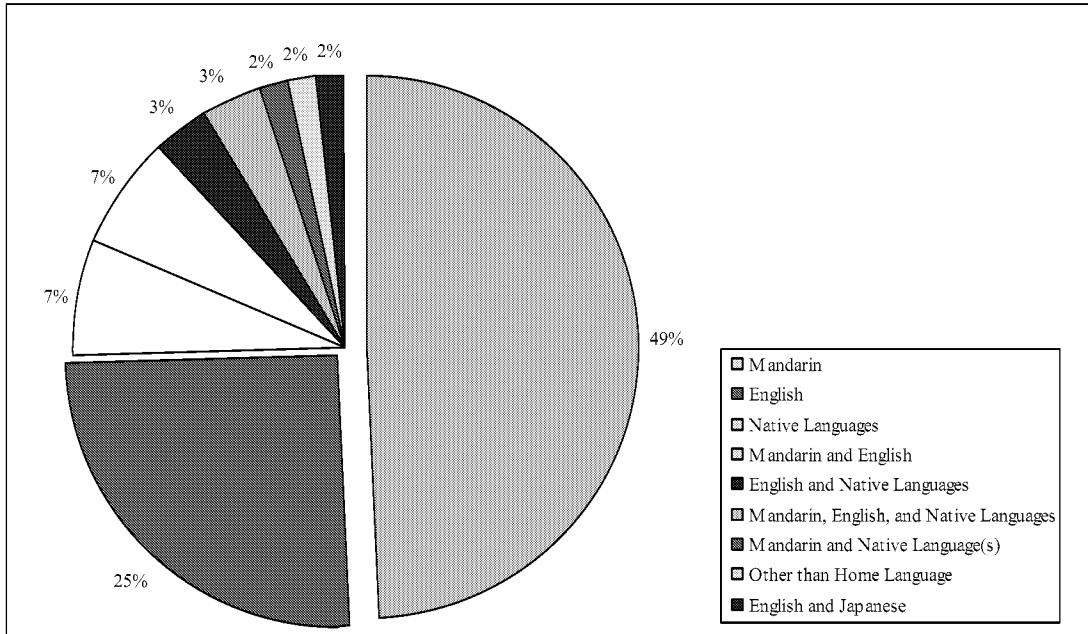
## APPENDIX E

### The Most Important Language(s) for Students to Learn

The Most Important Language(s) for Students to Learn

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mandarin	29	24.0	49.2	49.2
	English	15	12.4	25.4	74.6
	Native languages	4	3.3	6.8	81.4
	Mandarin and English	4	3.3	6.8	88.1
	English and Native languages	2	1.7	3.4	91.5
	Mandarin, English, and Native languages	2	1.7	3.4	94.9
	Mandarin and Native language(s)	1	.8	1.7	96.6
	English and Japanese	1	.8	1.7	98.3
	Other than home language (s)	1	.8	1.7	100.0
	Total	59	48.8	100.0	
Missing	System	62	51.2		
Total		121	100.0		

Pie Chart of Populations of Different Language Speakers



## APPENDIX F

### Analysis of Q7

#### One-Sample Statistics of Q7

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Q7	59	2.46	.652	.085

#### One-Sample Test between Q7 and the Mean of Whole Questionnaire

Test Value = 2.87

	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower	Upper
Q7	-4.859	58	.000	-.412	-.58	-.24

## APPENDIX G

### Analysis of Q5 and Q19

#### One-Sample Statistics of Q5 and Q19

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Q5	59	2.73	.520	.068
Q19	59	2.56	.623	.081

#### One-Sample Test between the Mean of Questionnaire and Q5/Q19

Test Value = 2.87

	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
V5	-2.087	58	.041	-.141	-.28	-.01
V19	-3.828	58	.000	-.311	-.47	-.15

## APPENDIX H

### Analysis of F4 and F5

#### Group Statistics of Factor 4 and Factor 5

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Self-Identification Related	Factor 4	59	3.085	.346	.045
	Factor 5	59	2.573	.525	.068

#### Independent Samples Test between the Means of Factor 4 and Factor 5

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error difference	Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	16.00	.000	6.256	116	.000	.512	.0818	.350	.674
Equal variances not assumed			2.256	100.473	.000	.512	.0818	.350	.674

## APPENDIX I

### Analysis of Questions from 15 to 19

#### One-Sample Statistics of Questions from 15 to 19

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Q15	59	2.44	.650	.085
Q16	59	2.63	.692	.090
Q17	59	2.56	.702	.091
Q18	59	2.68	.655	.085
Q19	59	2.56	.623	.081

#### One-Sample Test between the Mean of Questionnaire and Questions from 15 to 19

	Test Value = 2.87					
	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
V15	-5.069	58	.000	-.429	-.60	-.26
V16	-3.695	58	.009	-.243	-.42	-.06
V17	-3.402	58	.001	-.311	-.49	-.13
V18	-2.252	58	.028	-.192	-.36	-.02
V19	-4.828	58	.000	-.311	-.47	-.15

## APPENDIX J

### Analysis of F1, F2, and F3

#### Descriptives

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
					Factor 1	59		
Factor 2	59	2.8927	.37366	.04865	2.7953	2.9900	2.00	3.67
Factor 3	59	2.6328	.43194	.05623	2.5202	2.7453	1.67	4.00
Total	177	2.9397	.48083	.03614	2.8684	3.0111	1.67	4.00

#### ANOVA of F1, F2, and F3

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	13.086	2	6.543	41.243	.000
Within Groups	27.605	174	.159		
Total	40.691	176			

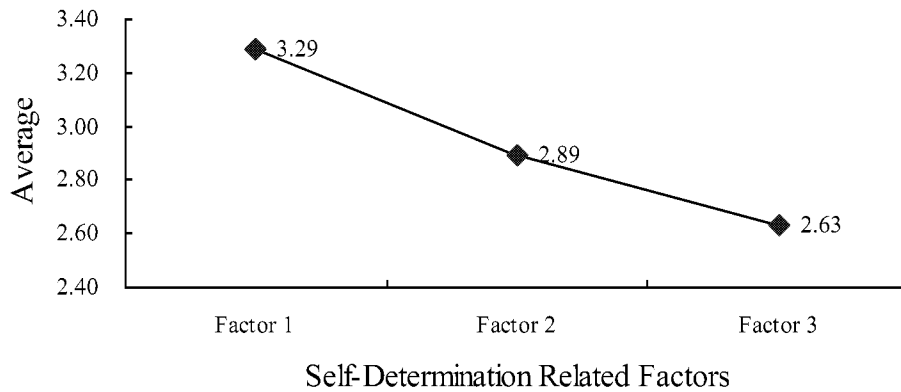


Post Hoc Analysis for Self-determination Related Factors  
Multiple Comparisons

	(I) F1-F3	(J) F1-F3	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Tukey HSD	Factor 1	Factor 2	.40113*	.07333	.000	.2278	.5745
		Factor 3	.66102*	.07333	.000	.4877	.8344
	Factor 2	Factor 1	-.40113*	.07333	.000	-.5745	-.2278
		Factor 3	.25989*	.07333	.001	.0865	.4332
	Factor 3	Factor 1	-.66102*	.07333	.000	-.8344	-.4877
		Factor 2	-.25989*	.07333	.001	-.4332	-.0865
Scheffe	Factor 1	Factor 2	.40113*	.07333	.000	.2564	.5459
		Factor 3	.66102*	.07333	.000	.5163	.8058
	Factor 2	Factor 1	-.40113*	.07333	.000	-.5459	-.2564
		Factor 3	.25989*	.07333	.001	.1151	.4046
	Factor 3	Factor 1	-.66102*	.07333	.000	-.8058	-.5163
		Factor 2	-.25989*	.07333	.001	-.4046	-.1151

\* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Means Plots



## APPENDIX K

### Analysis of Q13 and Q14

#### Group Statistics of Q13 and Q14

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Q13	59	2.39	.743	.097
Q14	59	2.92	.596	.078

#### Independent Samples Test between Q13 and Q14

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error difference	Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	8.557	.004	-4.238	116	.000	-.525	.124	-.771	-.280
Equal variances not assumed			-4.238	110.747	.000	-.525	.124	-.771	-.280