The development of multicultural education in Taiwan: Overview and reflection

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11 The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan
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INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide a sociohistorical context for the development of Multicultural Education and explore the achievements and challenges of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The case of Taiwan is worth studying because it is genuinely a multicultural society in terms of ethnicity, culture and politics. In its 400-year history, Taiwan has witnessed various cultural and political clashes between different ethnic groups and experienced monarchy, colonial government, dictatorship and finally, democracy. The entangled history and the recent waves of immigrants from South Asia make Taiwan a special case in East Asia.

The chapter starts with an introductory overview to the development of multiculturalism and multicultural education in the 1990s. Then, a critical reflection follows. The authors, each with a different experience and position in the practical field of Multicultural Education, are able to present various stances on multicultural education in Taiwan.

Extensive data are drawn from various sources and perspectives in order to offer balanced descriptions, evaluations, relevant arguments and critiques of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. However, it is necessary to recognize that, as with many other similar attempts at providing a case study in one chapter, we need to be selective with the materials we use.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN TAIWAN

The development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan has been influenced by the wider political and social context, as well as by the promotion of academics and educational researchers. These two forces have merged together to create a blossoming field of Multicultural Education.

Cultural Pluralism, Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

Before discussing the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, there are some points worth exploring. As with many concepts, "cultural
pluralism,” “multiculturalism” and “Multicultural Education” are all borrowed from the Western world and have experienced a process of “localization” in Taiwan. One explicit example is in the translation and use of these terminologies. It is crucial to point out that the term “cultural pluralism” is translated into Mandarin as “wenhuduoyuanzhuyi,” and “multiculturalism” as “duoyuanwenhuazhuyi.” The former term was introduced by academics earlier than the latter in Taiwan. However, the latter term is more often used than the former. We would argue that, in academic usage, the meaning of “multiculturalism” is broader and more popular than “cultural pluralism.”

To some extent, “cultural pluralism” is considered to be a preliminary stage of multiculturalism (Tan, Liu, & You, 2008). Multicultural Education refers to educational practices that are influenced by the concept of multiculturalism. Although there used to be some confusion between the two terms “cultural pluralism” and “multiculturalism,” in academic discussion and governmental documents in the early development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, the trend is to use “multiculturalism” instead of “cultural pluralism.”

These terminologies imply that the influential source on Multicultural Education in Taiwan comes mainly from the United States. In Europe, although multiculturalism exists, Multicultural Education is not a popular term for educational practitioners. As Gundara (2000) suggests, a more dynamic term, “Intercultural Education,” is adopted and sometimes linked to the notion of citizenship/global citizen. However, it is rare to see “Intercultural Education” appearing in relevant discourse in Taiwan.

Additionally, “multiculturalism” and “Multicultural Education” have the term “culture” embedded in them. Therefore, they have become an “umbrella” that covers issues relevant to culture. “Multicultural education” first appeared in Taiwan in 1990s. In less than two decades, Multicultural Education experienced a flourishing period in terms of educational policymaking, setting up new academic institutes, the development of relevant discourses and curriculum designs. Lots of substantial work has been accomplished. However, in the promotion of Multicultural Education, there are not many debates and interrogations. Ideas of Multicultural Education are taken for granted by Taiwanese academics. We argue the risk of ignoring some theoretical and foundational debates later in this chapter.

The Context of the Development of Multicultural Education

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwanese society experienced dramatic changes everywhere. One consequence of the post-1987 phenomenon was the proliferation of mass media which provided a better public space to discuss issues.
Freedom of speech was finally guaranteed and many forbidden issues can now be discussed both in public and private space. Oppositional parties, like the Democratic Progress Party (DPP), were formed and functioned with official recognition of the Kuomintang (KMT) government. These developments influenced and encouraged the various social movements that mushroomed in the 1990s.

The other consequence was a call for education reform. This changed the role of the education system from an ideological apparatus to one with a more liberal approach. New agendas were proposed by stakeholders from different perspectives with various visions of the future of education. Education reform, as Chou (2003) describes, is a “Great Experiment” in terms of the time scale, the influence and the amount of initiatives.

The Sociopolitical Context

At the constitutional amendment meeting that took place in July 1997, participants of the Indigenous movement asked to amend the articles relevant to Indigenous peoples. As a result, Article 10 of Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China uses the term “cultural pluralism.” It indicates: “The State affirms cultural pluralism and shall actively preserve and foster the development of aboriginal languages and cultures.” M. K. Chang (2002) points out two significance points of this amendment:

1. The term “Indigenous” has been used to represent an ethnic group: This admits that Taiwan is a multiple-ethnic nation in the constitution;
2. The appearance of the concept of “cultural pluralism” / “multiculturalism.” Although the concept refers mainly to the status of Indigenous peoples, it shows the direction that defines Taiwan as a multicultural society.

This is a significant shift from the ethnocentrism of the Han People to recognition of the truth that Taiwan is a multiethnic nation. This change in the political ideology of the KMT government is a historical milestone and provides a rational for the development of Multicultural Education.

After the presidential election in 2004, the DPP government proposed a resolution titled “Ethnic Diversity and National Unity” as a response to the collective appeal of ethnic equality from various ethnic groups. Multiculturalism has been signaled out in its introduction as the principle for dealing with national identity and racial relations:

We are willing to make a commitment that the DPP will understand and respond to the collective appeals from various ethnic groups. DPP has been the leading party devoting itself in promoting local culture
and mother tongue teaching as well as establishing the subjectivity of Indigenous and invigorating the Hakka culture. One of our deepest beliefs is that, without diversity, there will be no localized policy. In order to consolidate democracy, to increase cultural content and to make each ethnic group jointly prosperous, DPP should widen its notion of multiculturalism in its guideline so that a civil society with the participation of all ethnic groups can be established. Therefore, the second wave of socio-cultural reform task can be accomplished after the process of political democratized. (The Resolution on Ethnic Diversity and National Unity, 2004)

This resolution centers on discarding oppressive assimilation and a one-dimensional integration policy. It proposes to respect differences and pursue a mutually beneficial multicultural policy. Moreover, it points out that the government should continue to support the transmission and development of each ethnic group’s culture and constructively build a public space for cultural exchanges between various ethnic groups. The ultimate goal is to enrich citizens’ multicultural competence, foster harmonious relations between ethnic groups and make Taiwan a paradigm of multicultural nation globally.

Meanwhile, feminist discourse (which awoke gender consciousness) and the trend of multiculturalism mutually reinforced each other to initiate a gender-related policy, as well as the development of Multicultural Education. In 1997, the Ministry of Education set up a “Gender Equality Education Board” responsible for drafting national regulations and policies and promoting curriculum and pedagogy in relation to gender equality education. “Enforcement Rules for the Gender Equity Education Act” was issued in 2005 to emphasize that individuals will not suffer discrimination due to one’s gender, sexual orientation or gender identity. The Commission on Women’s Rights Promotion under the Executive Yuan passed “the Guideline of Women’s Policy,” which became the principle followed by Ministries in legislating relevant policies including “substantiate gender equality awareness and respect multicultural education policy.”

Influenced by, at least, the two social movements discussed previously, the discourse of multiculturalism has emerged, although in a somewhat vague sense. M. K. Chang (2002) provides an insightful observation on the process of “loose discursive formation” and “how” Taiwan has become a “multicultural” nation. He considers that it has happened through the early Multi-/Multiple discourse (1980s and aftermath), Mother Tongue and Local Studies Movement (1987–1990), Community Infrastructure Establishment (1994 and aftermath), Indigenous Movement, Education Reform (1994 and aftermath) and the Constitution Movement of Republic of Taiwan (1989–1994). These discursive formations loosely formed a coalition, together with the political and cultural experiences learned from North America and Australia that are constructed as a “successful” ideology with political correctness. Once this discourse is constructed, it interacts with
the discourse of feminism to form a nostalgia of a multicultural nation with a main theme on “four main ethnic groups,” complemented by “gender equality” with flavors of “local studies” and “mother tongue.”

Under the 8 years of DPP Government (2000–2008), one of the political ideologies defined the “subjectivity” of Taiwan. This unavoidably influenced the education system. The four main themes of education policy of the Ministry of Education (MOE) during 2005 to 2008 are: “cultivating modern citizens,” “establishing the subjectivity of Taiwan,” “widening the global vision” and “reinforcing social care.” Among them, “establishing the subjectivity of Taiwan” adopts “respecting multicultural phenomenon” as a key strategy, and the action plans call for expanding individually ethnic cultures and developing the culture of new migrants. As to the “reinforcing social care,” the key strategy is to help disadvantaged groups and narrow the gap between different regions in terms of economics, while the action plan targets students from minority groups and facilitates their learning in a friendly environment.

In recent years, increases in female married migrants have changed the structure of Taiwanese society. The female married migrants have become the fifth ethnic group and make the multicultural content richer. Accompanying these changes, the government continually revises and initiates policies about female married migrants including population policy, new migrant culture, language and cultural courses for female married migrants, consultations on children’s education and the lifelong learning service. These policies make Multicultural Education achieve another goal.

For example, the MOE included education for foreign spouses and their children as “enhancing the education for foreign spouses and their children to narrow the cultural and learning gaps” as part of the core issue: “improving the education opportunities for disadvantaged groups and securing social justice” (MOE, 2003).

The Executive Yuan amended the guideline of its population policy with a focus on the multiple values in terms of marriage, family and child-raising. It aims at creating a friendly and Multicultural Education environment that respects each ethnic group’s language and culture and generates a suitable educational and working milieu. Therefore, as in the ROC Population Policy Guidelines, the goal of racial equality can be achieved. These policies attempt to provide proper care for female marriage migrants so that they can understand Taiwanese culture while developing their migrant culture. Consequently, mutual respect between ethnic groups can be achieved and the dual identity of New Taiwanese Children can be maintained.

Some key themes in the discourse of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Taiwan can be traced from the above discussion; they are issues about ethnicity, ethnic cultures, gender equality, social class and disadvantaged students, and the identity of female married migrants and new migrants. However, there are other themes that have been incorporated under the umbrella of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The role
of popular culture/sub culture of different age groups and media literacy are also connected to Multicultural Education (Lin, 2004). However, these issues are not as prominent as the traditional triangle—ethnicity, gender and class—and the recent emergence of new migrants.

The Efforts of Academics and Educational Researchers

The above section is about the use of terminology and the political and social context in the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. It is an analysis of the wider context with foci on how various issues such as ethnic, gender and disadvantaged groups shape Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The following section will concentrate on the substantial efforts made by academics and educational researchers.

The first attempt at promoting Multicultural Education was in 1993. The China Education Society published an edited book called Multicultural Education, written by Taiwanese academics to explore the theories and practices of Multicultural Education. It is the first book devoted to Multicultural Education in Taiwan. Then, in 1996, the National Hualien Teachers College (NHLTC) established the first and only Graduate Institute of Multicultural Education (GIME) in Taiwan. GIME is the first research-based institute in Multicultural Education. After the establishment of GIME and the increasing popularity of Multicultural Education, other institutes or graduate schools relevant to Multicultural Education were set up. However, none of them apply the term “Multicultural Education” in their titles.

The first International Conference on the Theories and Practices of Multicultural Education was held by the National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei. Themes of the conference were: Indigenous Education, Racial Relations and Education, Gender Equality and Education, Policy of Multicultural Education, Models of Multicultural Education and Multicultural Curriculum and Instructions. Here, the key themes of Multicultural Education reflect the issues that are raised in the society: ethnicity and gender.

From 1997 onwards, there were regular and frequent conferences on Multicultural Education. As a result, Multicultural Education became a key sub-field of education studies, and more and more academics from different disciplines devote themselves to Multicultural Education research. This increase in research enriches the content of Multicultural Education. As we have demonstrated in the previous section, issues of minority and disadvantaged groups and new migrants are comparatively new, emerging from the interaction between social changes and the research interests of academics. Moreover, Multicultural Education has become a popular course in the teacher education programs in universities.

Before multiculturalism was inscribed into the national policy, the Council on Education Reform (CER) in the Executive Yuan had made it a key agenda in the Chief Consult Report of Educational Reform. Here are suggestions from the Council on Education Reform (1996):
The idea of multicultural education is the recognition of individual values and the development of individual's potentials so that individuals are able to cherish their own ethnic culture as well as to appreciate the cultures of other ethnic groups worldwide. Under the basic rule of pursuing social justice, it is necessary to consider various education needs in terms of gender, minority groups and disables and to assist the development of individual with special needs. Here, we specially propose the two themes of contemporary multicultural education: one is Indigenous education; the other is gender equality education.

This is the earliest record of Multicultural Education in Taiwan's education policy.

Again, it focuses on ethnic and gender issues only. Also, Section III Article 18 in the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples by the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1998, states: “The curriculum and textbooks taught in each class level and school should have a multicultural perspective and include indigenous people ethnic historical culture and sense of values to foster inter-tribal understanding and respect.”

These are two examples of incorporating Multicultural Education in the national policy in relation to education. To some extent, they provide a legal basis for the promotion of Multicultural Education and show the importance of multicultural education in the Taiwanese education agenda.

The General Guidelines of Grade 1–9 Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School Education, published by the MOE (1998), reflects the idea of multicultural education. Respecting and valuing different cultures is a key dimension in this curriculum guideline. Also, one of the 10 core competencies is:

- Cultural learning and international understanding, which involves appreciating and respecting different groups and cultures, understanding the history and culture of one’s own country as well as others’, recognizing the trend of the globalization in which countries all over the world are integrated into a global village, and developing a global perspective with mutual interdependence, trust and cooperation.

The essence of the Grade 1–9 curriculum is to decentralize, to understand the authoritarian and anti-cultural hegemony. These can be considered as a claim of critical multiculturalism. With the efforts of academics and the legal basis of the education policy, most textbooks are complying in accordance with multicultural perspectives. Relevant research on the multicultural curriculum has been increasingly conducted by academics.

Besides collective projects, individual researchers are enthusiastically devoting their energy to developing a multicultural curriculum. Liu (2000), for example, has designed a curriculum program, *The Beauty of Multicultural Society: A Multicultural Curriculum Program for Social Studies.*
This curriculum program is divided into four sections: diversity in social culture aiming at teaching students about cultural diversity; gender issues focusing on gender equality; ethnic issues introducing indigenous people and exploring their contributions and cultures; and ethnic assimilation emphasizing the concept of the “New Taiwanese (xintaiwanren)” and the cultivation of a global perspective. This curriculum program abandons the traditional curriculum design of social studies and adopts inquisitive and reflective learning activities instead of the usual model of plain and descriptive text content.

Chen (2000) developed a “Program for Improving the Relation between Indigenous and Han People,” and its key concepts include: culture, ethnicity, cultural communication, cultivation, ethnocentrism, ethnic prejudice, cultural relativism, multiethnic society and democracy. There are eight lessons in this program, namely: the forming and influence of stereotype, ethnic prejudice and discrimination, the beauty of multicultural society, the contribution of indigenous people, the assimilation of ethnic groups, democracy, human rights and the responsibility of nation and society, and, finally, what a primary school student can do. This program aims at providing students with opportunities to discuss and reflect. The pedagogic strategies are role-playing and collaborative learning.

**Non-Governmental Organizations and Multicultural Education**

Besides the government, academics and educational researchers, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also show interest in Multicultural Education with a special focus on new migrants. As mentioned in the previous section, new migrants and the second generation of interracial marriages have an impact on the social structure of Taiwanese society.

In 2006, the Public Trust for Ethnic Harmony and the PEACETIME Foundation of Taiwan held a competition, “Multicultural Education: Understanding New Migrants,” calling for teaching materials and plans in relation to the issue of new migrants. The aim of this competition was to encourage in-service teachers to integrate multicultural issues in their daily practices and foster students’ multicultural perspectives. Moreover, the Pearl S. Buck Foundation Taiwan held workshops to produce multicultural teaching programs that focus on the issue of foreign spouses. The participants are in-service teachers as well. These NGOs all wish to promote mutual respect between different ethnic groups and reduce ethnic prejudice.

**ACHIEVEMENTS AND REFLECTIONS**

As we have discussed in previous sections, it is fair to say that multicultural education is a widely-recognized field of research and of teaching practice. It is not only gaining a place in the formal education agenda but also acquired a legal basis on the national level within the first decade.
after the concept of multiculturalism was first introduced in Taiwan. During the education reform movement in Taiwan, it was very difficult for a new educational initiative like Multicultural Education to stand out and to be given priority. Based on experiences in the second decade and looking forward to the third decade of Multicultural Education, this section is going to summarize achievements and provide reflections on Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

The Achievements of Multicultural Education

A Social Movement

Multiculturalism was introduced to the Taiwanese in an era of radical social change. Various social movements with different visions of society were looking for inspiration from abroad, most notably from countries that have experienced similar phenomena. The American human rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s provided a rich source for ethnic activists in Taiwan in the late 1980s and the 1990s.

With support from intellectuals, the central government, indigenous rights activists and educators, the multicultural movement has been acknowledged in a very short time and has obtained a legal status. It is argued that the reason for this phenomenon is that Multicultural Education has a "political correctness" agenda—that is, a movement pursuing equality and maintaining social justice. There are not many opponents to Multicultural Education. Following the first success, multiculturalism became a core value of the new democratic Taiwan. The Taiwanese public takes it for granted and, therefore, multiculturalism and multicultural education are supported in the public sphere. We would call it a "rush for multiculturalism/multicultural education."

Moving from Borrowing Discourse to Creating Local Discourse

Because the concept of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education is borrowed from the United States, there was no local discourse in the first decade. As a result, academics hungrily imported discourses from academics in North America such as James A. Banks, Geneva Gay, Carl Grant, Christine Sleeter and Sonia Nieto. Without considering the different social and cultural context between Taiwan and the United States, the content of Multicultural Education has been narrowed down to the three aspects—ethnic, gender and class—in its early stage in Taiwan. This three-aspect model of Multicultural Education may lead to the pitfall of making binary oppositions; for example, Han people vs. indigenous people, global vs. local, male vs. female, and heterosexual vs. homosexual.

In recent years, a group of academics have started to reflect on the American discourse on Multicultural Education in terms of theory and pedagogic practices (C. C. Chang, 2007; M. K. Chang, 2002; Tan, Liu,
Also, some academics have started to examine the difference or similarity between Multicultural Education and other dimensions of education. There is, for example, research on comparing the education movement for education equality and the movement for Multicultural Education (Chuang, 2007), as well as combining Multicultural Education and feminist pedagogy (You, 2004). However, we recognize that shaping the local discourse of Multicultural Education is still in process. There has not yet been a clear local discourse, although it can be argued that we are heading toward one.

**Developing Local Practices**

In the previous section, we described some multicultural curriculum programs developed by Taiwanese researchers. It is a positive sign of the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. These curriculum programs are usually part of funded research and come with some research findings and feedback. These findings provide a basis for developing a local discourse of Multicultural Education. Meanwhile, researchers are moving beyond the importing ideas from abroad and seeking proper pedagogic strategies to teach the multicultural curriculum (Liu, 2000).

Compared to many other educational initiatives such as human rights education, creativity education and media literacy education during the education reform movement in Taiwan, the agenda for Multicultural Education is one of the most successful initiatives. One piece of evidence is that Multicultural Education is a new subject to be incorporated into teacher education programs. Multicultural Education has become a compulsory element in most colleges of education. Having a local curriculum and being offered as a subject in teacher education programs gives Multicultural Education a solid basis to keep growing.

**Responding to Local Issues**

In recent years, issues of “New Taiwanese Children,” foreign spouses and new migrants have pushed Multicultural Education to its peak. These emerging issues bring a new challenge as well as a great opportunity to the practice of Multicultural Education. Within the specific social and cultural context, it is no longer possible to seek solutions from abroad. The task of how to respond to these issues is tough. At the same time, they present an opportunity for local academics to face the reality that local theories or discourses are required. Although there are some local curricula, they are too fragmented and isolated. However, findings from the research projects we mentioned above are able to provide more insights for developing local discourses or theories. It is a pity that substantial ones have not emerged, although we take a positive attitude and expect that a local theory or discourse will come into view soon.
REFLECTIONS ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural education brings changes to Taiwanese society but there are some challenges waiting to be overcome. We do not attempt to pretend that multicultural education is perfect in Taiwan. As we have pointed out elsewhere in this chapter, many issues still await to be addressed in different social divisions and by different social agents.

The Challenge of Building Theoretical Foundations

The first reflection is a response to the theoretical foundations of Multicultural Education. As mentioned previously, there has been some reflection on the lack of a proper theoretical basis for the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, especially regarding local theory. M. K. Chang (2002) expresses his worries about the rush to embrace Multicultural Education. He points out that there are not enough discussions about philosophy and policy in relation to multiculturalism. C. C. Chang (2007) directly indicates that people do not confront the idea of multiculturalism even though they may have different ideas. To embrace multiculturalism is considered as "political correctness," without reflection. Although there are some voices appearing, the "New Taiwanese Children" refers to a new generation of Taiwanese who have a foreign parent. Mainly, it is mothers who are from Southeast Asian countries or mainland China. Apart from the academic field, there is no such reflection within the public or political parties. Multicultural Education and multiculturalism are often empty rhetoric and simply lip service.

We recognize that building local theory is a time-consuming process, and we are not going to criticize this phenomenon. What we would like to point out is that this process should not only be the responsibility of academics but also the whole society, including the participation of various political parties. Multicultural Education and multiculturalism essentially comprise a social movement calling for a more equal society. Therefore, to define and construct its content is a task for all Taiwanese, not one relying on a group of academics. In next section, we are going to point out another challenge that Multicultural Education is facing; this also connects to the point we made in this section.

Political Ideology Influences Educational Practices

Taiwan as a new democratic nation still has a lot to learn in practicing this political system. Under rule of the previous KMT dictatorship, there was no doubt that the school curriculum and textbooks contained a high level of political correctness and worked as ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 1977). However, the democratic government, the DPP, played the same trick. One explicit example is the language education policy
in relation to learning the mother tongue. The local studies movement, including mother tongue learning, is viewed as part of the movement of Multicultural Education.

The policy of teaching one's mother tongue under the DPP government is criticized as "ethnocentrism," which mainly focuses on the Minanese. It has been resisted and protested by other ethnic groups, such as the Hakka and the indigenous people (Chung, 2002; Wang, 2003). It has been argued that the DPP government has done what the previous KMT government did, but with a different focus. The KMT focused on Mandarin and constructed a Chinese identity, whereas the DPP valued Minanese and promoted a Minanren identity. Both parties tried to use language to serve a particular political purpose and establish a specific, preferred identity.

Using one ethnocentrism to replace another damaged the claim of supporting multiculturalism made by the DPP government. While embracing multiculturalism, the DPP government promoted an ethnocentric identity instead of a Taiwanese identity. The argument is that a Minanren identity does not represent the Taiwanese identity because there are other ethnic groups. This kind of policy undermines the legitimacy of Multicultural Education, we would argue. Therefore, what the new KMT government will do about Multicultural Education and relevant education policy will be a variant in the future of Multicultural Education.

Again, we try to point out that the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan is a collective piece of work and achievement. Any unthinking move made by stakeholders may have negative influences on the development of multicultural education. However, another challenge is the lack of dialogue between stakeholders.

Problems of Current Practices

The first problem with current practices in Multicultural Education is the lack of dialogue between stakeholders. A lack of dialogue causes an uneasy situation; that is, one term, "Multicultural Education," with multiple interpretations. For example, some advocates rely on it to construct a Taiwanese local culture and communal identity heading in the direction of a "Nostalgic Localization," whereas others take it to explain Taiwan's internationalization or globalization focusing on the "global village" and the vision of "global citizens" (Chuang, 2001). However, there are more people who misinterpret this concept. They take all "multi-/multiple (duoyuan)" terms like "multiple intelligences," "multiple pedagogy," "multiple assessment" and "multiple entrance exam" as parts of Multicultural Education. In this regard, Multicultural Education covers everything.

In contrast to the indefinite view of Multicultural Education, some people focus on a certain dimension of Multicultural Education. For example, some view Multicultural Education as indigenous education; others emphasize cultural diversity in a multicultural society in order to incorporate all
the minority groups. The former is narrowing the content of Multicultural Education; the latter is obscuring the definition of “culture.”

Besides the heteroglossia within academics, there is not a dialogical mechanism between various stakeholders such as political parties, social activists and academics. Again, these different social agents interpret multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in terms of their own interests. Therefore, lots of patchy versions appear. Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education keep expanding and contain a wide range of possibilities.

A second problem is that the Multicultural Education Movement is a fragile coalition. In the first decade when Multicultural Education gained visibility within Taiwanese society, there were waves of criticism aimed at deconstructing and reflecting on the discourse of Multicultural Education/multiculturalism in other countries, especially in the United States. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997, p. 1) provide an insightful expression on the overhyperplasia of multiculturalism:

Multiculturalism means everything and at the same time nothing. It has been used and misused so often and for so many conflicting reasons and agendas that no one at the end of the twentieth century can speak of multiculturalism or multicultural education without specifically delineating what he or she means or does not mean.

Kincheloe and Steinberg are useful in describing the status quo of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Taiwan. Therefore, it is crucial for Taiwanese who are enthusiastically embracing Multicultural Education to calmly reconsider the fundamental question:—“What is Multicultural Education?”—and review the transformation of meanings for Multicultural Education.

Alternatively, Multicultural Education can still be viewed as a big umbrella, but it is necessary for the user to define it in the first place. Grant and Sleeter (2007) clearly define what Multicultural Education and multicultural curricula are in terms of how to enhance student achievement and promote equality. With a clear focus, definitions and goals to accomplish, their work provides a user-friendly guideline for teachers and educators. Like many other terminologies in social science with various possible interpretations, we would suggest that the best way is to make the definition and goals clear while adopting the terminology of Multicultural Education.

The reality that academics face in Taiwan is that it is difficult to have an all-in-one definition. By contrast, definitions can be revised in accordance with the context and the need of user, although we would argue that some basic ingredients, such as critical reflection, empowerment and liberation, as well as essential ideas like the pursuit of social equality and anti-oppression, should be the basis of different definition.

Another challenge emerging from the previous discussion is that having various and loose definitions make Multicultural Education popular
among different stakeholders. However, it then runs the risk of being a fragile coalition with blurry boundaries. Advocates of indigenous and gender equality education are two examples. They can be incorporated into Multicultural Education if they like, but it is also possible to take a separate approach. Such a fragile coalition has its advantages and shortcomings. Here, we are not arguing that a clear-cut approach is necessary but are simply pointing out the fragile essence of the coalition of Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

The third problem of Multicultural Education is ignorance of the "dynamic" essence. The overall trend of Multicultural Education in Taiwan tends to recognize difference and reduce stereotypes. The curriculum programs mentioned earlier are examples. Although the recognition of difference is the foundation of multicultural education, it is also possible for people to view others as a collective entity different from themselves. A binary opposition might occur, and this is not the outcome that Multicultural Education wants to achieve.

Meanwhile, reducing stereotypes is a useful strategy, but it is not a positive approach toward increasing the mutual understanding of different cultures. It can function well in the beginning when cultures are introduced, but more efforts need to be made to move beyond the recognition of difference and reducing stereotypes.

As mentioned above, Multicultural Education embeds the concept of culture, which is always changing and being redefined in different sociocultural contexts whenever cultures encounter each other. Multicultural Education should become more constructive, with a focus on interaction and the complicated relations that take place when two individuals or groups with different cultural backgrounds meet.

CONCLUSION: THE ROAD AHEAD

In addition to the cultural diversity caused by history, new issues are emerging and having an impact on Taiwanese society: homosexuality, New Taiwanese Identity, foreign spouses and new migrants. A riot of foreign laborers in Kaohsiung, the second biggest city in Taiwan, revealed a surprising and embarrassing reality that Taiwanese people still look down upon the foreign laborers from Southeast Asia. How do teachers teach students to interpret and understand these social events? Confusion and questions are appearing. They not only influence teaching practices and curricula but also test belief in the Multicultural Education of in-service teachers. As we have pointed out, there have been substantial improvements in the following dimensions: reflection and query of theories, development of academic discourse, analysis of relevant policy, design of textbooks and curricula, and progress of a teaching strategy. In the second decade of Multicultural Education, more voices have asked for reflection on practices in the first
The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan

...nd, but these were from academics only. More reflections from other stakeholders are necessary.

At the end of this chapter, we are going to propose some possible directions for Multicultural Education in Taiwan, based on our observations and experiences. Also, we will provide suggestions for further research to clarify Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

Escaping from the Binary Opposition Pitfall

A binary opposition usually occurs in the early stage of Multicultural Education. Although Multicultural Education takes ethnicity, gender and class as basic entrance points in its pursuit of social equality and justice, its real concerns are the hierarchy of power caused by difference. Therefore, difference is not just difference but a reason for excluding others and, maybe, for oppressing others. The dominant group in a society may adopt the notion of difference to facilitate control over other groups and maintain its own interests. The ultimate goal of multicultural education is to reveal and change this subtle mechanism in society. Enabling disadvantaged people to have better and more equal opportunity for being educated will help fulfill the goals of self-liberation and empowerment. This kind of understanding is close to the “Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist” approach (Sleeter and Grant, 1988). Therefore, we argue that Multicultural Education should not be a system of categorization but an approach to critical analysis that aims to expose various forms of oppression. Multicultural education is a border-crossing social action.

As we mentioned, binary opposition still happens in the practice of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. However, with onset of reflection by academics, the day of escaping the binary opposition pitfall is approaching. However, the political rhetoric of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education may still be caught in this pitfall for a while, especially under the current political circumstance. There is too much empty political rhetoric adopted by politicians in the two major parties. Statements causing tension between different ethnic groups still keep appearing. We consider this phenomenon as a temporary and necessary process in any new democratic nation.

Constructing Local Discourse or Theory

In the first decade of Multicultural Education, the lack of data relevant to local practice has been a big issue. This situation has been improved in recent years but more data is needed to generate a local discourse. The biggest problem is that there is no single focus of academic debate and exploration. There are too many ways of understanding Multicultural Education; some academics focus on ethnicity, some focus on gender, some prefer cultural identity, and some are interested in liberation and empowerment.
Multiple perspectives are good, but the result means that it is sometimes difficult to find a common ground. Encouraging more interdisciplinary dialogue may be a good solution.

It is a priority of academics in Taiwan to generate local discourse or theories from the experience of the last two decades. The urgency comes from a basic belief at the core of Multicultural Education. If we keep receiving academic theories and discourse from Western countries, it becomes a kind of academic colonialism; that is, we just copy Western viewpoints and are under the academic hegemony of the Western world. Hegemony is the first enemy target of Multicultural Education. If we are continually subject to Western hegemony, it is impossible to discuss multicultural education.

This decade, we have witnessed a series of attempts to move beyond borrowing to creating, at least in the following dimensions:

1. Foundation research in exploring the learning styles of indigenous students and ethnic identity (Chi, 1988; Chen, 2001; Chen & Liu, 1999; Tan, 2002; Liu, 2002);
2. In the process of responding to local issues, the content of multicultural education has been redefined (C. C. Chang, 2000; Chuang, 2007);

However, the quantity of research is not enough to construct a local discourse. Meanwhile, academics are thinking more and more about how to get rid of the influence of previous borrowing and move on. Considering the local context is one way, but it needs to be explored more deeply in the construction of Taiwanese culture. To achieve this attempt, researchers of Multicultural Education need to take a broader view and look beyond the field of education. There are other sources, such as sociology, anthropology, history and cultural studies, that are providing various insights. While developing a local discourse, interdisciplinary collaboration is required.

More Contributions from In-Service Teachers

It is widely acknowledged that an educational practice cannot be successful without the input and consent of teachers. As we mentioned earlier, there are more courses of Multicultural Education in teacher training programs, and the number of teachers versed in Multicultural Education in schools is increasing in the second decade of Multicultural Education.

Meanwhile, the government encourages in-service teachers to enroll in advanced courses to improve their professional practice. We predict that there will be more collaborative research between educational researchers and teachers, and more action research done by teachers. Through input from in-service teachers, this will provide a valuable database for
The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan

researchers and policy makers. However, these data need to be systematically categorized and analyzed.

The current practice of Multicultural Education tends to fall into the three categories listed below:

1. The Educational Priority Area (EPA) that aims at compensating the disadvantaged groups;
2. The multicultural curriculum that focuses on reducing prejudice in primary and secondary schools;
3. The incorporation of indigenous research in higher education.

These three correspond to the first three approaches that Sleeter and Grant (1988) have described: teaching the exceptional and the culturally different, human relations and single-group studies. In other words, this is fragmented multicultural information that is integrated into the mainstream curriculum. The effects are limited because there is not a holistic view of different cultures. However, with more teachers participating in this movement, it might gradually change.

The task for next decade is to transform the identity of teachers; teachers are transformative intellectuals who are capable of crossing borders (Giroux, 1988, 1991). Teachers should understand the political essence of education and the cultural politics embedded in the curriculum. Moreover, they need to be reflective on their teaching practices and be critical of taken-for-granted ideologies. Teachers are not just robots teaching the content of textbooks. Multicultural Education expects that teachers and students should learn from each other together and cross borders: teacher/student, mainstream/margin and theory/practice.

Therefore, courses in Multicultural Education should be able to prepare teachers with this kind of multicultural competence. It is necessary to review the current courses in various teacher training programs to see if they can fulfill the need of training transformative intellectuals.

Learning from History

With nearly two decades of experience, when we look forward to the next decade, it is time for us to look back as well. There are lessons that we might learn from previous practices in Multicultural Education. Grant and Chapman (2008) edited a 6-volume History of Multicultural Education, based on experience in the United States. They divide the practice of Multicultural Education as follow: conceptual frameworks and curricular issues, foundations and stratifications, instruction and assessment, policy and policy initiatives, students and student learning and teachers and teacher education. This is a possible framework to be applied to any country that is planning to review the practice of Multicultural Education.
Besides the classification of Grant and Chapman, we will provide possible research directions as follows:

1. Reflection on the development of multicultural discourse in Taiwan, its content and meanings, and relevant debates;
2. The relation between culture, knowledge and power;
3. The influence of cultural difference on student learning;
4. The feedback from practice.

There is research being done in each category, although not in great amount. However, we can learn from these experiences if we pay attention to them. What we learn might provide a positive contribution to the future direction of multicultural education in Taiwan.

A Multicultural Taiwan

As discussed, there have been certain achievements in Multicultural Education in Taiwan. It is also important to recognize that Multicultural Education sometimes becomes empty rhetoric. It can be argued that Multicultural Education as rhetoric still has power, the power to recognize difference, although this is not enough to accomplish the ultimate vision of Multicultural Education. In other words, this kind of rhetorical Multicultural Education does not provide a good solution for maintaining the ideals of social justice. M. K. Chang (2002, p. 205) provides a description of this kind of situation:

'Multiculture' has to be in a 'mutually' equal system so that it can function well. An innocent 'cultural relativity' and 'respecting the difference' can not reveal the various form of oppression in social class, gender and ethnic groups . . . The 'multicultural' discourse in Taiwan, in many aspects, just one-dimensionally focuses on the protection of culture and language. For example, there is a rich sense of nostalgia in local studies. Besides that, there is not discussion of social justice.

At the end of the second decade, we expect a fruitful, critical and reflective Multicultural Education that is going to grow stronger by the various contributions of stakeholders. There is no doubt that we still need to overcome challenges. However, with a good start, we are confident of the bright future of Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

NOTES

1. The DPP Government, like the previous KMT Government, explicitly kept injecting preferred ideology into the formal education system by revising the curriculum guidelines. It is an ongoing debate in Taiwan about this issue. We
are not going to discuss it in depth but think that it is necessary to point out this issue.

2. This Teachers College has merged with National Dong Hua University under the title National Dong Hua University (NDHU) in 2008. The Graduate Institute of Multicultural Education is part of the College of Education, NDHU.

3. This phenomenon has its own sociohistorical background. The majority of academics in Taiwan get their postgraduate degrees in the United States. Therefore, a cultural intimacy toward the American culture and academic discourse is predictable.

REFERENCES


11 The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan
Overview and Reflection

Meihui Liu and Tzu-Bin Lin

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide a sociohistorical context for the development of Multicultural Education and explore the achievements and challenges of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The case of Taiwan is worth studying because it is genuinely a multicultural society in terms of ethnicity, culture and politics. In its 400-year history, Taiwan has witnessed various cultural and political clashes between different ethnic groups and experienced monarchy, colonial government, dictatorship and finally, democracy. The entangled history and the recent waves of immigrants from South Asia make Taiwan a special case in East Asia.

The chapter starts with an introductory overview to the development of multiculturalism and multicultural education in the 1990s. Then, a critical reflection follows. The authors, each with a different experience and position in the practical field of Multicultural Education, are able to present various stances on multicultural education in Taiwan.

Extensive data are drawn from various sources and perspectives in order to offer balanced descriptions, evaluations, relevant arguments and critiques of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. However, it is necessary to recognize that, as with many other similar attempts at providing a case study in one chapter, we need to be selective with the materials we use.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN TAIWAN

The development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan has been influenced by the wider political and social context, as well as by the promotion of academics and educational researchers. These two forces have merged together to create a blossoming field of Multicultural Education.

Cultural Pluralism, Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

Before discussing the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, there are some points worth exploring. As with many concepts, "cultural
pluralism," "multiculturalism" and "Multicultural Education" are all borrowed from the Western world and have experienced a process of "localization" in Taiwan. One explicit example is in the translation and use of these terminologies. It is crucial to point out that the term "cultural pluralism" is translated into Mandarin as "wenhuaduoyuanzhuyi," and "multiculturalism" as "duoyuanwenhuazhuyi." The former term was introduced by academics earlier than the latter in Taiwan. However, the latter term is more often used than the former. We would argue that, in academic usage, the meaning of "multiculturalism" is broader and more popular than "cultural pluralism."

To some extent, "cultural pluralism" is considered to be a preliminary stage of multiculturalism (Tan, Liu, & You, 2008). Multicultural Education refers to educational practices that are influenced by the concept of multiculturalism. Although there used to be some confusion between the two terms "cultural pluralism" and "multiculturalism," in academic discussion and governmental documents in the early development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, the trend is to use "multiculturalism" instead of "cultural pluralism."

These terminologies imply that the influential source on Multicultural Education in Taiwan comes mainly from the United States. In Europe, although multiculturalism exists, Multicultural Education is not a popular term for educational practitioners. As Gundara (2000) suggests, a more dynamic term, "Intercultural Education," is adopted and sometimes linked to the notion of citizenship/global citizen. However, it is rare to see "Intercultural Education" appearing in relevant discourse in Taiwan.

Additionally, "multiculturalism" and "Multicultural Education" have the term "culture" embedded in them. Therefore, they have become an "umbrella" that covers issues relevant to culture. "Multicultural education" first appeared in Taiwan in the 1990s. In less than two decades, Multicultural Education experienced a flourishing period in terms of educational policymaking, setting up new academic institutes, the development of relevant discourses and curriculum designs. Lots of substantial work has been accomplished. However, in the promotion of Multicultural Education, there are not many debates and interrogations. Ideas of Multicultural Education are taken for granted by Taiwanese academics. We argue the risk of ignoring some theoretical and foundational debates later in this chapter.

The Context of the Development of Multicultural Education

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwanese society experienced dramatic changes everywhere. One consequence of the post-1987 phenomenon was the proliferation of mass media which provided a better public space to discuss issues.
The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan

Freedom of speech was finally guaranteed and many forbidden issues can now be discussed both in public and private space. Oppositional parties, like the Democratic Progress Party (DPP), were formed and functioned with official recognition of the Kuomintang (KMT) government. These developments influenced and encouraged the various social movements that mushroomed in the 1990s.

The other consequence was a call for education reform. This changed the role of the education system from an ideological apparatus to one with a more liberal approach. New agendas were proposed by stakeholders from different perspectives with various visions of the future of education. Education reform, as Chou (2003) describes, is a “Great Experiment” in terms of the time scale, the influence and the amount of initiatives.

The Sociopolitical Context

At the constitutional amendment meeting that took place in July 1997, participants of the Indigenous movement asked to amend the articles relevant to Indigenous peoples. As a result, Article 10 of Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China uses the term “cultural pluralism.” It indicates: “The State affirms cultural pluralism and shall actively preserve and foster the development of aboriginal languages and cultures.” M. K. Chang (2002) points out two significance points of this amendment:

1. The term “Indigenous” has been used to represent an ethnic group: This admits that Taiwan is a multiple-ethnic nation in the constitution;
2. The appearance of the concept of “cultural pluralism” / “multiculturalism.” Although the concept refers mainly to the status of Indigenous peoples, it shows the direction that defines Taiwan as a multicultural society.

This is a significant shift from the ethnocentrism of the Han People to recognition of the truth that Taiwan is a multiethnic nation. This change in the political ideology of the KMT government is a historical milestone and provides a rational for the development of Multicultural Education.

After the presidential election in 2004, the DPP government proposed a resolution titled “Ethnic Diversity and National Unity” as a response to the collective appeal of ethnic equality from various ethnic groups. Multiculturalism has been signaled out in its introduction as the principle for dealing with national identity and racial relations:

We are willing to make a commitment that the DPP will understand and respond to the collective appeals from various ethnic groups. DPP has been the leading party devoting itself in promoting local culture
and mother tongue teaching as well as establishing the subjectivity of Indigenous and invigorating the Hakka culture. One of our deepest beliefs is that, without diversity, there will be no localized policy. In order to consolidate democracy, to increase cultural content and to make each ethnic group jointly prosperous, DPP should widen its notion of multiculturalism in its guideline so that a civil society with the participation of all ethnic groups can be established. Therefore, the second wave of socio-cultural reform task can be accomplished after the process of political democratized. (The Resolution on Ethnic Diversity and National Unity, 2004)

This resolution centers on discarding oppressive assimilation and a one-dimensional integration policy. It proposes to respect differences and pursue a mutually beneficial multicultural policy. Moreover, it points out that the government should continue to support the transmission and development of each ethnic group's culture and constructively build a public space for cultural exchanges between various ethnic groups. The ultimate goal is to enrich citizens' multicultural competence, foster harmonious relations between ethnic groups and make Taiwan a paradigm of multicultural nation globally.

Meanwhile, feminist discourse (which awoke gender consciousness) and the trend of multiculturalism mutually reinforced each other to initiate a gender-related policy, as well as the development of Multicultural Education. In 1997, the Ministry of Education set up a “Gender Equality Education Board” responsible for drafting national regulations and policies and promoting curriculum and pedagogy in relation to gender equality education. “Enforcement Rules for the Gender Equity Education Act” was issued in 2005 to emphasize that individuals will not suffer discrimination due to one's gender, sexual orientation or gender identity. The Commission on Women's Rights Promotion under the Executive Yuan passed “the Guideline of Women's Policy,” which became the principle followed by Ministries in legislating relevant policies including “substantiate gender equality awareness and respect multicultural education policy.”

Influenced by, at least, the two social movements discussed previously, the discourse of multiculturalism has emerged, although in a somewhat vague sense. M. K. Chang (2002) provides an insightful observation on the process of “loose discursive formation” and “how” Taiwan has become a “multicultural” nation. He considers that it has happened through the early Multi-/Multiple discourse (1980s and aftermath), Mother Tongue and Local Studies Movement (1987–1990), Community Infrastructure Establishment (1994 and aftermath), Indigenous Movement, Education Reform (1994 and aftermath) and the Constitution Movement of Republic of Taiwan (1989–1994). These discursive formations loosely formed a coalition, together with the political and cultural experiences learned from North America and Australia that are constructed as a "successful" ideology with political correctness. Once this discourse is constructed, it interacts with
the discourse of feminism to form a nostalgia of a multicultural nation with a main theme on “four main ethnic groups,” complemented by “gender equality” with flavors of “local studies” and “mother tongue.”

Under the 8 years of DPP Government (2000–2008), one of the political ideologies defined the “subjectivity” of Taiwan. This unavoidably influenced the education system. The four main themes of education policy of the Ministry of Education (MOE) during 2005 to 2008 are: “cultivating modern citizens,” “establishing the subjectivity of Taiwan,” “widening the global vision” and “reinforcing social care.” Among them, “establishing the subjectivity of Taiwan” adopts “respecting multicultural phenomenon” as a key strategy, and the action plans call for expanding individually ethnic cultures and developing the culture of new migrants. As to the “reinforcing social care,” the key strategy is to help disadvantaged groups and narrow the gap between different regions in terms of economics, while the action plan targets students from minority groups and facilitates their learning in a friendly environment.

In recent years, increases in female married migrants have changed the structure of Taiwanese society. The female married migrants have become the fifth ethnic group and make the multicultural content richer. Accompanying these changes, the government continually revises and initiates policies about female married migrants including population policy, new migrant culture, language and cultural courses for female married migrants, consultations on children’s education and the lifelong learning service. These policies make Multicultural Education achieve another goal.

For example, the MOE included education for foreign spouses and their children as “enhancing the education for foreign spouses and their children to narrow the cultural and learning gaps” as part of the core issue: “improving the education opportunities for disadvantaged groups and securing social justice” (MOE, 2003). The Executive Yuan amended the guideline of its population policy with a focus on the multiple values in terms of marriage, family and child-raising. It aims at creating a friendly and Multicultural Education environment that respects each ethnic group’s language and culture and generates a suitable educational and working milieu. Therefore, as in the ROC Population Policy Guidelines, the goal of racial equality can be achieved. These policies attempt to provide proper care for female marriage migrants so that they can understand Taiwanese culture while developing their migrant culture. Consequently, mutual respect between ethnic groups can be achieved and the dual identity of New Taiwanese Children can be maintained.

Some key themes in the discourse of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Taiwan can be traced from the above discussion; they are issues about ethnicity, ethnic cultures, gender equality, social class and disadvantaged students, and the identity of female married migrants and new migrants. However, there are other themes that have been incorporated under the umbrella of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The role
of popular culture/sub culture of different age groups and media literacy are also connected to Multicultural Education (Lin, 2004). However, these issues are not as prominent as the traditional triangle—ethnicity, gender and class—and the recent emergence of new migrants.

The Efforts of Academics and Educational Researchers

The above section is about the use of terminology and the political and social context in the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. It is an analysis of the wider context with foci on how various issues such as ethnic, gender and disadvantaged groups shape Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The following section will concentrate on the substantial efforts made by academics and educational researchers.

The first attempt at promoting Multicultural Education was in 1993. The China Education Society published an edited book called Multicultural Education, written by Taiwanese academics to explore the theories and practices of Multicultural Education. It is the first book devoted to Multicultural Education in Taiwan. Then, in 1996, the National Hualien Teachers College (NHLTC) established the first and only Graduate Institute of Multicultural Education (GIME) in Taiwan. GIME is the first research-based institute in Multicultural Education. After the establishment of GIME and the increasing popularity of Multicultural Education, other institutes or graduate schools relevant to Multicultural Education were set up. However, none of them apply the term “Multicultural Education” in their titles.

The first International Conference on the Theories and Practices of Multicultural Education was held by the National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei. Themes of the conference were: Indigenous Education, Racial Relations and Education, Gender Equality and Education, Policy of Multicultural Education, Models of Multicultural Education and Multicultural Curriculum and Instructions. Here, the key themes of Multicultural Education reflect the issues that are raised in the society: ethnicity and gender.

From 1997 onwards, there were regular and frequent conferences on Multicultural Education. As a result, Multicultural Education became a key sub-field of education studies, and more and more academics from different disciplines devote themselves to Multicultural Education research. This increase in research enriches the content of Multicultural Education. As we have demonstrated in the previous section, issues of minority and disadvantaged groups and new migrants are comparatively new, emerging from the interaction between social changes and the research interests of academics. Moreover, Multicultural Education has become a popular course in the teacher education programs in universities.

Before multiculturalism was inscribed into the national policy, the Council on Education Reform (CER) in the Executive Yuan had made it a key agenda in the Chief Consult Report of Educational Reform. Here are suggestions from the Council on Education Reform (1996):
The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan

The idea of multicultural education is the recognition of individual values and the development of individual’s potentials so that individuals are able to cherish their own ethnic culture as well as to appreciate the cultures of other ethnic groups worldwide. Under the basic rule of pursuing social justice, it is necessary to consider various education needs in terms of gender, minority groups and disables and to assist the development of individual with special needs. Here, we specially propose the two themes of contemporary multicultural education: one is Indigenous education; the other is gender equality education.

This is the earliest record of Multicultural Education in Taiwan’s education policy.

Again, it focuses on ethnic and gender issues only. Also, Section III Article 18 in the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples by the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1998, states: “The curriculum and textbooks taught in each class level and school should have a multicultural perspective and include indigenous people ethnic historical culture and sense of values to foster intertribal understanding and respect.”

These are two examples of incorporating Multicultural Education in the national policy in relation to education. To some extent, they provide a legal basis for the promotion of Multicultural Education and show the importance of multicultural education in the Taiwanese education agenda.

The General Guidelines of Grade 1-9 Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School Education, published by the MOE (1998), reflects the idea of multicultural education. Respecting and valuing different cultures is a key dimension in this curriculum guideline. Also, one of the 10 core competencies is:

Cultural learning and international understanding, which involves appreciating and respecting different groups and cultures, understanding the history and culture of one’s own country as well as others’, recognizing the trend of the globalization in which countries all over the world are integrated into a global village, and developing a global perspective with mutual interdependence, trust and cooperation.

The essence of the Grade 1-9 curriculum is to decentralize, to understand the authoritarian and anti-cultural hegemony. These can be considered as a claim of critical multiculturalism. With the efforts of academics and the legal basis of the education policy, most textbooks are complying in accordance with multicultural perspectives. Relevant research on the multicultural curriculum has been increasingly conducted by academics.

Besides collective projects, individual researchers are enthusiastically devoting their energy to developing a multicultural curriculum. Liu (2000), for example, has designed a curriculum program, The Beauty of Multicultural Society: A Multicultural Curriculum Program for Social Studies.
This curriculum program is divided into four sections: diversity in social culture aiming at teaching students about cultural diversity; gender issues focusing on gender equality; ethnic issues introducing indigenous people and exploring their contributions and cultures; and ethnic assimilation emphasizing the concept of the "New Taiwanese (xintaiwanren)" and the cultivation of a global perspective. This curriculum program abandons the traditional curriculum design of social studies and adopts inquisitive and reflective learning activities instead of the usual model of plain and descriptive text content.

Chen (2000) developed a “Program for Improving the Relation between Indigenous and Han People,” and its key concepts include: culture, ethnicity, cultural communication, cultivation, ethnocentrism, ethnic prejudice, cultural relativism, multiethnic society and democracy. There are eight lessons in this program, namely: the forming and influence of stereotype, ethnic prejudice and discrimination, the beauty of multicultural society, the contribution of indigenous people, the assimilation of ethnic groups, democracy, human rights and the responsibility of nation and society, and, finally, what a primary school student can do. This program aims at providing students with opportunities to discuss and reflect. The pedagogic strategies are role-playing and collaborative learning.

Non-Governmental Organizations and Multicultural Education

Besides the government, academics and educational researchers, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also show interest in Multicultural Education with a special focus on new migrants. As mentioned in the previous section, new migrants and the second generation of interracial marriages have an impact on the social structure of Taiwanese society.

In 2006, the Public Trust for Ethnic Harmony and the PEACETIME Foundation of Taiwan held a competition, “Multicultural Education: Understanding New Migrants,” calling for teaching materials and plans in relation to the issue of new migrants. The aim of this competition was to encourage in-service teachers to integrate multicultural issues in their daily practices and foster students' multicultural perspectives. Moreover, the Pearl S. Buck Foundation Taiwan held workshops to produce multicultural teaching programs that focus on the issue of foreign spouses. The participants are in-service teachers as well. These NGOs all wish to promote mutual respect between different ethnic groups and reduce ethnic prejudice.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND REFLECTIONS

As we have discussed in previous sections, it is fair to say that multicultural education is a widely-recognized field of research and of teaching practice. It is not only gaining a place in the formal education agenda but also acquired a legal basis on the national level within the first decade
after the concept of multiculturalism was first introduced in Taiwan. During the education reform movement in Taiwan, it was very difficult for a new educational initiative like Multicultural Education to stand out and to be given priority. Based on experiences in the second decade and looking forward to the third decade of Multicultural Education, this section is going to summarize achievements and provide reflections on Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

The Achievements of Multicultural Education

A Social Movement

Multiculturalism was introduced to the Taiwanese in an era of radical social change. Various social movements with different visions of society were looking for inspiration from abroad, most notably from countries that have experienced similar phenomena. The American human rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s provided a rich source for ethnic activists in Taiwan in the late 1980s and the 1990s.

With support from intellectuals, the central government, indigenous rights activists and educators, the multicultural movement has been acknowledged in a very short time and has obtained a legal status. It is argued that the reason for this phenomenon is that Multicultural Education has a "political correctness" agenda—that is, a movement pursuing equality and maintaining social justice. There are not many opponents to Multicultural Education. Following the first success, multiculturalism became a core value of the new democratic Taiwan. The Taiwanese public takes it for granted and, therefore, multiculturalism and multicultural education are supported in the public sphere. We would call it a "rush for multiculturalism/multicultural education."

Moving from Borrowing Discourse to Creating Local Discourse

Because the concept of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education is borrowed from the United States, there was no local discourse in the first decade. As a result, academics hungrily imported discourses from academics in North America such as James A. Banks, Geneva Gay, Carl Grant, Christine Sleeter and Sonia Nieto. Without considering the different social and cultural context between Taiwan and the United States, the content of Multicultural Education has been narrowed down to the three aspects—ethnic, gender and class—in its early stage in Taiwan. This three-aspect model of Multicultural Education may lead to the pitfall of making binary oppositions; for example, Han people vs. indigenous people, global vs. local, male vs. female, and heterosexual vs. homosexual.

In recent years, a group of academics have started to reflect on the American discourse on Multicultural Education in terms of theory and pedagogic practices (C. C. Chang, 2007; M. K. Chang, 2002; Tan, Liu,
& You, 2008). Also, some academics have started to examine the difference or similarity between Multicultural Education and other dimensions of education. There is, for example, research on comparing the education movement for education equality and the movement for Multicultural Education (Chuang, 2007), as well as combining Multicultural Education and feminist pedagogy (You, 2004). However, we recognize that shaping the local discourse of Multicultural Education is still in process. There has not yet been a clear local discourse, although it can be argued that we are heading toward one.

**Developing Local Practices**

In the previous section, we described some multicultural curriculum programs developed by Taiwanese researchers. It is a positive sign of the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. These curriculum programs are usually part of funded research and come with some research findings and feedback. These findings provide a basis for developing a local discourse of Multicultural Education. Meanwhile, researchers are moving beyond the importing ideas from abroad and seeking proper pedagogic strategies to teach the multicultural curriculum (Liu, 2000).

Compared to many other educational initiatives such as human rights education, creativity education and media literacy education during the education reform movement in Taiwan, the agenda for Multicultural Education is one of the most successful initiatives. One piece of evidence is that Multicultural Education is a new subject to be incorporated into teacher education programs. Multicultural Education has become a compulsory element in most colleges of education. Having a local curriculum and being offered as a subject in teacher education programs gives Multicultural Education a solid basis to keep growing.

**Responding to Local Issues**

In recent years, issues of “New Taiwanese Children,” foreign spouses and new migrants have pushed Multicultural Education to its peak. These emerging issues bring a new challenge as well as a great opportunity to the practice of Multicultural Education. Within the specific social and cultural context, it is no longer possible to seek solutions from abroad. The task of how to respond to these issues is tough. At the same time, they present an opportunity for local academics to face the reality that local theories or discourses are required. Although there are some local curricula, they are too fragmented and isolated. However, findings from the research projects we mentioned above are able to provide more insights for developing local discourses or theories. It is a pity that substantial ones have not emerged, although we take a positive attitude and expect that a local theory or discourse will come into view soon.
REFLECTIONS ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural education brings changes to Taiwanese society but there are some challenges waiting to be overcome. We do not attempt to pretend that multicultural education is perfect in Taiwan. As we have pointed out elsewhere in this chapter, many issues still await to be addressed in different social divisions and by different social agents.

The Challenge of Building Theoretical Foundations

The first reflection is a response to the theoretical foundations of Multicultural Education. As mentioned previously, there has been some reflection on the lack of a proper theoretical basis for the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, especially regarding local theory.

M. K. Chang (2002) expresses his worries about the rush to embrace Multicultural Education. He points out that there are not enough discussions about philosophy and policy in relation to multiculturalism. C. C. Chang (2007) directly indicates that people do not confront the idea of multiculturalism even though they may have different ideas. To embrace multiculturalism is considered as “political correctness,” without reflection. Although there are some voices appearing, the “New Taiwanese Children” refers to a new generation of Taiwanese who have a foreign parent. Mainly, it is mothers who are from Southeast Asian countries or mainland China. Apart from the academic field, there is no such reflection within the public or political parties. Multicultural Education and multiculturalism are often empty rhetoric and simply lip service.

We recognize that building local theory is a time-consuming process, and we are not going to criticize this phenomenon. What we would like to point out is that this process should not only be the responsibility of academics but also the whole society, including the participation of various political parties. Multicultural Education and multiculturalism essentially comprise a social movement calling for a more equal society. Therefore, to define and construct its content is a task for all Taiwanese, not one relying on a group of academics. In next section, we are going to point out another challenge that Multicultural Education is facing; this also connects to the point we made in this section.

Political Ideology Influences Educational Practices

Taiwan as a new democratic nation still has a lot to learn in practicing this political system. Under rule of the previous KMT dictatorship, there was no doubt that the school curriculum and text books contained a high level of political correctness and worked as ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 1977). However, the democratic government, the DPP, played the same trick. One explicit example is the language education policy
in relation to learning the mother tongue. The local studies movement, including mother tongue learning, is viewed as part of the movement of Multicultural Education.

The policy of teaching one's mother tongue under the DPP government is criticized as "ethnocentrism," which mainly focuses on the Minanese. It has been resisted and protested by other ethnic groups, such as the Hakka and the indigenous people (Chung, 2002; Wang, 2003). It has been argued that the DPP government has done what the previous KMT government did, but with a different focus. The KMT focused on Mandarin and constructed a Chinese identity, whereas the DPP valued Minanese and promoted a Minanren identity. Both parties tried to use language to serve a particular political purpose and establish a specific, preferred identity.

Using one ethnocentrism to replace another damaged the claim of supporting multiculturalism made by the DPP government. While embracing multiculturalism, the DPP government promoted an ethnocentric identity instead of a Taiwanese identity. The argument is that a Minanren identity does not represent the Taiwanese identity because there are other ethnic groups. This kind of policy undermines the legitimacy of Multicultural Education, we would argue. Therefore, what the new KMT government will do about Multicultural Education and relevant education policy will be a variant in the future of Multicultural Education.

Again, we try to point out that the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan is a collective piece of work and achievement. Any unthinking move made by stakeholders may have negative influences on the development of multicultural education. However, another challenge is the lack of dialogue between stakeholders.

Problems of Current Practices

The first problem with current practices in Multicultural Education is the lack of dialogue between stakeholders. A lack of dialogue causes an uneasy situation; that is, one term, "Multicultural Education," with multiple interpretations. For example, some advocates rely on it to construct a Taiwanese local culture and communal identity heading in the direction of a "Nostalgic Localization," whereas others take it to explain Taiwan's internationalization or globalization focusing on the "global village" and the vision of "global citizens" (Chuang, 2001). However, there are more people who misinterpret this concept. They take all "multi-/multiple (duoyuan)" terms like "multiple intelligences," "multiple pedagogy," "multiple assessment" and "multiple entrance exam" as parts of Multicultural Education. In this regard, Multicultural Education covers everything.

In contrast to the indefinite view of Multicultural Education, some people focus on a certain dimension of Multicultural Education. For example, some view Multicultural Education as indigenous education; others emphasize cultural diversity in a multicultural society in order to incorporate all
The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan  169

the minority groups. The former is narrowing the content of Multicultural Education; the latter is obscuring the definition of "culture."

Besides the heteroglossia within academics, there is not a dialogical mechanism between various stakeholders such as political parties, social activists and academics. Again, these different social agents interpret multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in terms of their own interests. Therefore, lots of patchy versions appear. Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education keep expanding and contain a wide range of possibilities.

A second problem is that the Multicultural Education Movement is a fragile coalition. In the first decade when Multicultural Education gained visibility within Taiwanese society, there were waves of criticism aimed at deconstructing and reflecting on the discourse of Multicultural Education/multiculturalism in other countries, especially in the United States. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997, p. 1) provide an insightful expression on the over-hyperplasia of multiculturalism:

Multiculturalism means everything and at the same time nothing. It has been used and misused so often and for so many conflicting reasons and agendas that no one at the end of the twentieth century can speak of multiculturalism or multicultural education without specifically delineating what he or she means or does not mean.

Kincheloe and Steinberg are useful in describing the status quo of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Taiwan. Therefore, it is crucial for Taiwanese who are enthusiastically embracing Multicultural Education to calmly reconsider the fundamental question—"What is Multicultural Education?"—and review the transformation of meanings for Multicultural Education.

Alternatively, Multicultural Education can still be viewed as a big umbrella, but it is necessary for the user to define it in the first place. Grant and Sleeter (2007) clearly define what Multicultural Education and multicultural curricula are in terms of how to enhance student achievement and promote equality. With a clear focus, definitions and goals to accomplish, their work provides a user-friendly guideline for teachers and educators. Like many other terminologies in social science with various possible interpretations, we would suggest that the best way is to make the definition and goals clear while adopting the terminology of Multicultural Education.

The reality that academics face in Taiwan is that it is difficult to have an all-in-one definition. By contrast, definitions can be revised in accordance with the context and the need of user, although we would argue that some basic ingredients, such as critical reflection, empowerment and liberation, as well as essential ideas like the pursuit of social equality and anti-oppression, should be the basis of different definition.

Another challenge emerging from the previous discussion is that having various and loose definitions make Multicultural Education popular
among different stakeholders. However, it then runs the risk of being a fragile coalition with blurry boundaries. Advocates of indigenous and gender equality education are two examples. They can be incorporated into Multicultural Education if they like, but it is also possible to take a separate approach. Such a fragile coalition has its advantages and shortcomings. Here, we are not arguing that a clear-cut approach is necessary but are simply pointing out the fragile essence of the coalition of Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

The third problem of Multicultural Education is ignorance of the “dynamic” essence. The overall trend of Multicultural Education in Taiwan tends to recognize difference and reduce stereotypes. The curriculum programs mentioned earlier are examples. Although the recognition of difference is the foundation of multicultural education, it is also possible for people to view others as a collective entity different from themselves. A binary opposition might occur, and this is not the outcome that Multicultural Education wants to achieve.

Meanwhile, reducing stereotypes is a useful strategy, but it is not a positive approach toward increasing the mutual understanding of different cultures. It can function well in the beginning when cultures are introduced, but more efforts need to be made to move beyond the recognition of difference and reducing stereotypes.

As mentioned above, Multicultural Education embeds the concept of culture, which is always changing and being redefined in different sociocultural contexts whenever cultures encounter each other. Multicultural Education should become more constructive, with a focus on interaction and the complicated relations that take place when two individuals or groups with different cultural backgrounds meet.

CONCLUSION: THE ROAD AHEAD

In addition to the cultural diversity caused by history, new issues are emerging and having an impact on Taiwanese society: homosexuality, New Taiwanese Identity, foreign spouses and new migrants. A riot of foreign laborers in Kaohsiung, the second biggest city in Taiwan, revealed a surprising and embarrassing reality that Taiwanese people still look down upon the foreign laborers from Southeast Asia. How do teachers teach students to interpret and understand these social events? Confusion and questions are appearing. They not only influence teaching practices and curricula but also test belief in the Multicultural Education of in-service teachers. As we have pointed out, there have been substantial improvements in the following dimensions: reflection and query of theories, development of academic discourse, analysis of relevant policy, design of textbooks and curricula, and progress of a teaching strategy. In the second decade of Multicultural Education, more voices have asked for reflection on practices in the first
decade, but these were from academics only. More reflections from other stakeholders are necessary.

At the end of this chapter, we are going to propose some possible directions for Multicultural Education in Taiwan, based on our observations and experiences. Also, we will provide suggestions for further research to clarify Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

Escaping from the Binary Opposition Pitfall

A binary opposition usually occurs in the early stage of Multicultural Education. Although Multicultural Education takes ethnicity, gender and class as basic entrance points in its pursuit of social equality and justice, its real concerns are the hierarchy of power caused by difference. Therefore, difference is not just difference but a reason for excluding others and, maybe, for oppressing others. The dominant group in a society may adopt the notion of difference to facilitate control over other groups and maintain its own interests. The ultimate goal of multicultural education is to reveal and change this subtle mechanism in society. Enabling disadvantaged people to have better and more equal opportunity for being educated will help fulfill the goals of self-liberation and empowerment. This kind of understanding is close to the “Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist” approach (Sleeter and Grant, 1988). Therefore, we argue that Multicultural Education should not be a system of categorization but an approach to critical analysis that aims to expose various forms of oppression. Multicultural education is a border-crossing social action.

As we mentioned, binary opposition still happens in the practice of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. However, with onset of reflection by academics, the day of escaping the binary opposition pitfall is approaching. However, the political rhetoric of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education may still be caught in this pitfall for a while, especially under the current political circumstance. There is too much empty political rhetoric adopted by politicians in the two major parties. Statements causing tension between different ethnic groups still keep appearing. We consider this phenomenon as a temporary and necessary process in any new democratic nation.

Constructing Local Discourse or Theory

In the first decade of Multicultural Education, the lack of data relevant to local practice has been a big issue. This situation has been improved in recent years but more data is needed to generate a local discourse. The biggest problem is that there is no single focus of academic debate and exploration. There are too many ways of understanding Multicultural Education; some academics focus on ethnicity, some focus on gender, some prefer cultural identity, and some are interested in liberation and empowerment.
Multiple perspectives are good, but the result means that it is sometimes difficult to find a common ground. Encouraging more interdisciplinary dialogue may be a good solution.

It is a priority of academics in Taiwan to generate local discourse or theories from the experience of the last two decades. The urgency comes from a basic belief at the core of Multicultural Education. If we keep receiving academic theories and discourse from Western countries, it becomes a kind of academic colonialism; that is, we just copy Western viewpoints and are under the academic hegemony of the Western world. Hegemony is the first enemy target of Multicultural Education. If we are continually subject to Western hegemony, it is impossible to discuss multicultural education.

This decade, we have witnessed a series of attempts to move beyond borrowing to creating, at least in the following dimensions:

1. Foundation research in exploring the learning styles of indigenous students and ethnic identity (Chi, 1988; Chen, 2001; Chen & Liu, 1999; Tan, 2002; Liu, 2002);
2. In the process of responding to local issues, the content of multicultural education has been redefined (C. C. Chang, 2000; Chuang, 2007);

However, the quantity of research is not enough to construct a local discourse. Meanwhile, academics are thinking more and more about how to get rid of the influence of previous borrowing and move on. Considering the local context is one way, but it needs to be explored more deeply in the construction of Taiwanese culture. To achieve this attempt, researchers of Multicultural Education need to take a broader view and look beyond the field of education. There are other sources, such as sociology, anthropology, history and cultural studies, that are providing various insights. While developing a local discourse, interdisciplinary collaboration is required.

More Contributions from In-Service Teachers

It is widely acknowledged that an educational practice cannot be successful without the input and consent of teachers. As we mentioned earlier, there are more courses of Multicultural Education in teacher training programs, and the number of teachers versed in Multicultural Education in schools is increasing in the second decade of Multicultural Education.

Meanwhile, the government encourages in-service teachers to enroll in advanced courses to improve their professional practice. We predict that there will be more collaborative research between educational researchers and teachers, and more action research done by teachers. Through input from in-service teachers, this will provide a valuable database for
researchers and policy makers. However, these data need to be systemati­
cally categorized and analyzed.
The current practice of Multicultural Education tends to fall into the
three categories listed below:

1. The Educational Priority Area (EPA) that aims at compensating the
disadvantaged groups;
2. The multicultural curriculum that focuses on reducing prejudice in
primary and secondary schools;
3. The incorporation of indigenous research in higher education.

These three correspond to the first three approaches that Sleeter and
Grant (1988) have described: teaching the exceptional and the culturally
different, human relations and single-group studies. In other words, this
is fragmented multicultural information that is integrated into the main­
stream curriculum. The effects are limited because there is not a holistic
view of different cultures. However, with more teachers participating in
this movement, it might gradually change.
The task for next decade is to transform the identity of teachers; teach­
ers are transformative intellectuals who are capable of crossing borders
(Giroux, 1988, 1991). Teachers should understand the political essence
of education and the cultural politics embedded in the curriculum. More­
over, they need to be reflective on their teaching practices and be critical
of taken-for-granted ideologies. Teachers are not just robots teaching the
content of textbooks. Multicultural Education expects that teachers and
students should learn from each other together and cross borders: teacher/
student, mainstream/margin and theory/practice.

Therefore, courses in Multicultural Education should be able to pre­
pare teachers with this kind of multicultural competence. It is necessary
to review the current courses in various teacher training programs to see if
they can fulfill the need of training transformative intellectuals.

Learning from History

With nearly two decades of experience, when we look forward to the next
decade, it is time for us to look back as well. There are lessons that we
might learn from previous practices in Multicultural Education. Grant and
Chapman (2008) edited a 6-volume History of Multicultural Education,
based on experience in the United States. They divide the practice of Multi­
cultural Education as follow: conceptual frameworks and curricular issues,
foundations and stratifications, instruction and assessment, policy and
policy initiatives, students and student learning and teachers and teacher
education. This is a possible framework to be applied to any country that is
planning to review the practice of Multicultural Education.
Besides the classification of Grant and Chapman, we will provide possible research directions as follows:

1. Reflection on the development of multicultural discourse in Taiwan, its content and meanings, and relevant debates;
2. The relation between culture, knowledge and power;
3. The influence of cultural difference on student learning;
4. The feedback from practice.

There is research being done in each category, although not in great amount. However, we can learn from these experiences if we pay attention to them. What we learn might provide a positive contribution to the future direction of multicultural education in Taiwan.

A Multicultural Taiwan

As discussed, there have been certain achievements in Multicultural Education in Taiwan. It is also important to recognize that Multicultural Education sometimes becomes empty rhetoric. It can be argued that Multicultural Education as rhetoric still has power, the power to recognize difference, although this is not enough to accomplish the ultimate vision of Multicultural Education. In other words, this kind of rhetorical Multicultural Education does not provide a good solution for maintaining the ideals of social justice. M. K. Chang (2002, p. 205) provides a description of this kind of situation:

'Multiculture' has to be in a 'mutually' equal system so that it can function well. An innocent 'cultural relativity' and 'respecting the difference' can not reveal the various form of oppression in social class, gender and ethnic groups. . . . The 'multicultural' discourse in Taiwan, in many aspects, just one-dimensionally focuses on the protection of culture and language. For example, there is a rich sense of nostalgia in local studies. Besides that, there is not discussion of social justice.

At the end of the second decade, we expect a fruitful, critical and reflective Multicultural Education that is going to grow stronger by the various contributions of stakeholders. There is no doubt that we still need to overcome challenges. However, with a good start, we are confident of the bright future of Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

NOTES

1. The DPP Government, like the previous KMT Government, explicitly kept injecting preferred ideology into the formal education system by revising the curriculum guidelines. It is an ongoing debate in Taiwan about this issue. We
The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan

are not going to discuss it in depth but think that it is necessary to point out this issue.

2. This Teachers College has merged with National Dong Hua University under the title National Dong Hua University (NDHU) in 2008. The Graduate Institute of Multicultural Education is part of the College of Education, NDHU.

3. This phenomenon has its own sociohistorical background. The majority of academics in Taiwan get their postgraduate degrees in the United States. Therefore, a cultural intimacy toward the American culture and academic discourse is predictable.

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