# **Unpacking English Language Textbooks in the Primary Years: Learning what through English Language Education?**

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## **Dedication**

To my mother and in memory of my father.

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### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication	i
Acknowledgements	ii
List of Tables	vi
List of Illustrations	vi
Abstract	vii
	PAGE
Chapter One-The Omnipresence of English Language Education in Asia	1
Introduction	1
English Language Education as a New Norm in Asia?	2
Contextualizing English Language Education in Taiwan	6
Research Aims and Objectives	8
Research Questions	10
Significance of the Study	11
Organization of the Chapters	13
Chapter Two-A Different Conceptual Understanding of English Language Education Asia: Theoretical Positioning and Conceptual Framework	17
A Socio-Political Epistemological Positioning: Different Conceptual Foci	
National Imaginaries: Remembering and Forgetting in the Changing Socio-Politica Landscape in Taiwan	al
Systems of Reasoning: Unpacking the Knowledge System(s) of English Language Education in Taiwan	
Power/Knowledge and Governmentality	27
Assemblages: The Landscape of English Language Education in Taiwan	33
Summary and Critical Concluding Thoughts on Theoretical/Conceptual Positioning	35
Chapter Three-Methodology: Moving to a Different Methodological	20
"Home"	58

Introduction
Shifting Towards a Post-Structural Paradigm
Positioning the Research46
Research Methods: Data Collection and Analysis
What Counts as "Empirical Data"?
Methods of Data Analysis53
A Concluding Summary56
Chapter Four-The System of Reasoning for English Language Education in Taiwan58
Introduction
A History of the Present: The Changing Policies of English Language Education in Taiwan62
Englishization: Crafting English Language Education in Taiwan
National Imaginary about Progress, Development and Modernity: A Socio-Political Construction of English Language Education in Taiwan
What does English Language Education Mean for Taiwan?
Conclusion: A Summary85
Chapter Five-Production of New Cultural Knowledge and Identity: Learning What through English Language Textbooks?
Introduction87
Contemporary Education Changes in Taiwan: A History of the Present90
Changing Political Influences of Education in Taiwan: Colonization, Decolonization, Recolonization?90
Deconstructing English Language Textbooks: The Problematics of Images, Texts, and Hidden Cultural Logic
What's (in) your name?101
The problems with images/pictorial representation in ELTs
Cultural themes for learning in the ELTs
Unpacking the Implicit Cultural Logic in ELTs114
Conclusion: Rethinking the Production of New Cultural Knowledge and Identity in Taiwanese ELT Textbooks

Chapter Six-Mapping the Assemblage of the Dominant Cultural Discourse:
Constructing Sameness/Differences and Inclusion/Exclusion in Taiwanese English Language Textbooks
Introduction
Cultural Logics for the Production of Visual Images in English Language Textbooks121
Cultural logics in the making of cultural representations of "self" and "other"
The high status of English language in Taiwan: Progress, development and modernization
English education curriculum guidelines and policies in Taiwan126
Edutainment: educating and entertaining with visual representations
Seeing and Visualizing Representations of Sameness/Differences and Exclusion/Inclusion in ELTs
Problematizing cultural (re)presentations in ELTs: Constructing what?
A Concluding Thought: Re(con)figuring Sameness/Differences and Inclusion/Exclusion145
Chapter Seven-Some Concluding Thoughts: Learning What through English Language Education?
Some Notes on Theoretical and Methodological Positioning: A New System of Reasoning
Paradoxes in English Language Education and Textbooks
Limitations of this Study
Some Final Thoughts
References

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Positioning the Research Project50
Table 3.2: Understanding the Linkages between Types of Data and Modes of Analyses55
Table 4.1: English Language Education Reform Policies as Key Socio-Political Events62
Table 4.2: Timetable for Learning Languages: Primary and Secondary School Years70
Table 4.3: A Summary of English Competence Indicators: Stage One72
Table 5.1: A Historical Timeline of Major Education Reforms/Changes in Taiwan95
Table 5.2: A Summary of Primary English Language Textbooks by Kang Hsuan99
Table 5.3: A Summary of the Cultural Contents: Culture & Festivals109
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS
Picture 5.1: Whose names are these?101
Picture 5.2: Who is represented in the pictures?106
Picture 5.3: Cultural representations of East vs. West: Toby goes around
the world111
Picture 5.4: Western "cultures and festivals" in Taiwanese ELTs112
Picture 6.1: Illustrations and Images in English Language Textbooks134
Picture 6.2: Christmas: A Single Line of Cultural Narrative in English Language Textbooks136
Picture 6.3: Construction & Representation of Sameness/Differences: Seeing
Us" and Seeing "Them" in English Language Textbooks137
Picture 6.4: Sociocultural Practices of Inclusion/Exclusion: Representation of Desirable Way of Being in English Language Textbooks139
Picture 7.1: A Messy Map for English Language Education in Taiwan150

#### Abstract

Contemporary English language education in Taiwan has stirred up the production of both hopes and fears in the outlook of the national imaginary. Hopes to remain in or lead in the competitive race in the global economic marketplace as well as fears of falling behind. A new national development blueprint has envisioned the building of a bilingual (Chinese-English) nation by 2030 (National Development Council, 2018). At the core of multiple contemporary educational policies about English language education for *all* children in Taiwan is the enactment of a particular linear narrative of a national imaginary about progress, development and modernization. As in many other Asian countries, English language education in Taiwan has been constructed as symbol of modernization and of political and economic importance.

This research project focuses on problematizing Taiwanese English Language Textbooks (ELTs) in the primary school years to unpack multiple layers of socio-political, cultural, socioeconomic, and educational complexities concerning production of a new cultural knowledge and identity as a new "normal." The production of Taiwanese ELTs prescribes particular notions of "normality" by inscribing what counts as normative ways of being and becoming through English language learning. This research project seeks to open up a different but significant way of reconceutualizing how ELTs are fabricating new ways of thinking, acting, and be(com)ing as the new cultural norm and truth.

#### **Chapter One**

#### The Omnipresence of English Language Education in Asia

#### Introduction

English has become the most powerful international language for all Asian countries in the 21st century. Back in the 1990s, Crystal (1997) noted that "English is now the dominant or official language in over 60 countries and is represented in every continent" (p. 106). Acknowledging the omnipresence of English language education within the geopolitical spaces of Asia, Kirkpatrick (2011) highlighted that "in almost all countries of Asia, English has now become a core course in primary schools" (p. 100). A quick glance at the different national compulsory curricula of multiple Asian countries reveals the growing and privileged status of the English language (Jenkins, Baker & Dewey, 2017; Fang & Widodo, 2019). For instance, in Taiwan, English language education is being constructed as an imperative manpower development to cultivate citizens' economic competitiveness within the global market (A. Chen, 2013; H. L.S. Chen & Huang, 2017; Executive Yuan, 2002; Oladejo, 2006; Tsou & Kao, 2017). In China, English language education is being presented as a new economic opportunity and the English language also appears to be attached to a particular sociocultural meaning of modernization and democracy (Feng, 2011; Li, 2016; Pan, 2015; Zhang, 2016). In Hong Kong, with its British colonial history and the political handover to China in 1997, English language education has always been politicized and signified higher socio-political status, an indicator of one's academic achievement and socioeconomic status (Chan, 2018; Ng, 2015; Pérez-Milans, 2017). Similarly, in Singapore, English language education is not only linked with its British

colonial history, but also intertwined with connotations of national identity and progress (Cheah, 2002; Choo, 2014; Evans, 2011; Gopinathan, 2019; Silver & Bokhorst-Heng, 2016). In Japan and Korea, the English language is being constructed as one of the most important foreign trade languages, with major implications of US political influence and economic prosperity (Abe 2013; Bulter & Iino, 2005; C. Lee, 2016, 2017; Shin, 2016; Song, 2011, 2012). In Vietnam, the implementation of English language education from the primary years through to tertiary education represents the nation's development plans and goals for active participation and development in the world's economic market (Nguyen, 2011, 2012, 2017). In India, with its history of British colonization, English has been one of its official languages (Ramanathan, 2016; Rao, 2016; Srihdar & Mishra, 2016). These examples of how "normal" it is for English language education to begin as early as primary school years in all Asian children's compulsory education experiences cannot be taken-for-granted. Critical re-conceptualization of what English language education may mean and entail should be further investigated.

#### **English Language Education as a New Norm in Asia?**

These different Asian cases about the status of English have highlighted the omnipresence of English language education in the 21st century (Kirkpatrick, 2016). However, even though the popularity and desirability of *English as a Foreign Language* (EFL) or English as an additional language has become the "new normal" in Asian education systems, English language education is neither neutral nor natural. In many Asian countries, political histories and military influences of English colonization and imperialism as well as contemporary impacts of Western forms of modernization and globalization since the 19th and 20th centuries have come together to legitimatize the desirability of English language learning in the 21st century. English

language policies in the field of education, such as the use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in K-12 school settings and/or tertiary education institutions, across different geopolitical spaces in Asia can be unpacked through a critical historical review to trace roots of colonialism and influences of imperialism (Lau, 2020; Macedo, 2018; Rahman, Singh, & Karim, 2018). Take Hong Kong as one example. Lau (2020) has emphasized that English language education in Hong Kong needs to be systematically reviewed by paying attention to the making and implementation of language policies across multiple domains of social, political, economic and education fields. Within the socio-political context of Hong Kong, while the official language policy of "biliterate and trilingual" and practice has implied a political aim for "de-colonizing" Hong Kong from a British colony to a Chinese state as a major shift since the political handover in 1997, English has still been "seen" and remained as the language of power with multiple advantages. For more than a century, with the influence of British colonialism, English has been upheld as a significant form of symbolic capital for education, career opportunities and social mobility in Hong Kong.

In addition to the historical traces of English colonization and cultural imperialism, the desirability of English language education is embedded within the production of contemporary national imaginaries which imply opportunity, progress, development, and economic prosperity across different parts of Asia. To elaborate, Rahman, Singh, & Karim (2018) used the case of India as another example and noted that "as fluent English leads to a prestigious identity and is a key to economic success, many parents leave their small towns and come to big cities in order to obtain EMI schooling for their children" (p. 1160). Referencing the two cases of Hong Kong and India, it speaks volumes about the powerful and promising status of English language and its implication for cultural politics of identity.

Language education is complex and English language education certainly entails more than just teaching and learning a foreign or additional language, whether it is L1, L2, or L3 in non-English cultural contexts (such as in the case of Taiwan). The teaching and learning of any languages are nested within (inter)national policy contexts with layers of political, economic, cultural and educational discourse (for examples, Canese, 2018; Pennycook, 2000). For students/children/parents, how languages are taught and learnt or used by various different social and cultural groups of users/speakers/actors can have different sociocultural connotations, historical meanings, and political implications. Struggles of cultural positionings and tensions of political power relations are always infused within and through language teaching and learning and particularly through language education and policies (Hu & McKay, 2012; Pennycook, 2000; Shen, 2009; Tsui, 2004, 2017).

Any (foreign) language teaching and learning, such as English, is nested within the production of a legitimate/legal/dominant language that's associated with politics of identity and that aims to perpetuate the gains/losses of particular sociopolitical power and political economy supremacy (for examples, see Liddicoat & Kirkpatrick, 2020; Pennycook, 1994; Ricento, 2000, 2012, 2015; Rudwick, 2018). Therefore, the "global" spread of the English language, particularly in Asia, cannot be separated from critical reflections of colonization and imperialism (for examples, see Aliakbari, 2002; B.M. Chang, 2011; Phillipson, 1992, 2012; Rassoll, 2007; Scgbeuderm 2018; Soto-Molina& Méndez, 2020; Tochon, 2019b). It is naïve and dangerous to simplify that the teaching and learning of English in Asia is just learning a neutral foreign/additional language. Embedded in the global/local spread of English as a dominant (inter)national language are various socio-political constructions of English as a language of power and as a hegemonic international trade language for Asia. Without critical investigations,

we risk missing the deeper understanding on the problematic of English language education in Asia.

For this research project on primary English language education in Taiwan, a critical look into the emergence of historical influences as well as cultural, social, political, and economic forces will help to shed new light on the problematics of English language education and policy changes. I assert the need to unpack, destabilize, and problematize English language education as the desired foreign language teaching and learning for all children/pupils within the Taiwanese compulsory education system. As Osborn (2006) explained, "issues of language education are not merely academic—they are, in fact, fundamental to any stated or implicit goals of a just society" (p. 19). English language learning in the context of compulsory primary education should *not* be narrowly defined as learning an additional language only. Rather, the teaching and learning of the English language should be further investigated within the complex webs of knowledge/power as the production of knowledge is never neutral and is always embedded within power relations. The making of English as one of the core subjects across the different Asian compulsory education systems is not accidental and English language education cannot be de-politicized and stripped away from its historical, political and sociocultural struggles. English language education is more than learning an additional "foreign" or another "Western" language. Rather, it needs to be unpacked and problematized for its articulation in national imaginaries as a political project as English language education inevitably entails the alchemy and transformation of the child into a school subject, language learner, as well as a certain type of "new" child/citizen (for example, see Popkewitz, 2004, 2008).

#### **Contextualizing English Language Education in Taiwan**

In this research project, I zoom into Taiwan as one example from the geopolitical spaces of Asia to investigate the problematics of English language education. The desirability of English language education has grown to a historical peak in which the building of a bilingual nation by 2030 has been at the center of political discussions and various national development blueprints. Laced within the official articulations of national development and modern education reform discourses (National Development Council, 2002, 2015, 2018), English language learning has been recognized as a significant and core competence for students of all ages to connect to the world economy in Taiwan (A. Chen, 2013; H.L S. Chen & Huang, 2017). English language education has been built into the contemporary compulsory education system since 1968 for all children in junior high school (Grade 7 in today's Taiwanese education structure). During the late 1990s and early 2000s, the popularity of English language learning has grown tremendously in Taiwan, and it has been further pushed to even earlier starting points, to the primary years of education, by multiple threads of sociocultural, political and economic rationales.

For the last few decades, multiple local surveys on the topic of whether English language should become a national language have been conducted by many researchers and organizations in Taiwan. For example, Eliassen and Rich (2019) have commented on a new national goal of making Taiwan a fully bilingual (Chinese and English) nation by 2030 and highlighted that in one of the recent surveys, nearly 87% of Taiwanese would support the making of English as the second official language. More recently, in the 2020 Taiwanese Presidential election, English language education was one of the hot educational issues for political debates and the making of strategic national policies that lead towards progress and development within the Asia-Pacific region.

Language education policy, take English language education in Taiwan as one example, is shaped and connected with the contemporary national imaginary to embody nationalism and ideas of modernization. In other words, English language education has become a new commonsense for the contemporary Taiwanese school system as a process of "Englishization" from early childhood education to tertiary education (Lin, 2019; Wu & Lau, 2019). In the most recent development and implementation of the 12-Year Basic Education program as well as reform policies, English language education has been included as a key component of the Language Arts learning area (a core subject) within the current national compulsory\curriculum framework (Ministry of Education, 2018).

Like all other key learning areas in the compulsory education system, the production and making of the English language curriculum and textbooks are officially and centrally regulated by the *Curriculum Frameworks for Elementary Schools and Junior High Schools* (Ministry of Education, 1994/2000/2008). According to the curriculum framework guideline for the teaching and learning of English language as a core subject, the three main learning objectives are:

- To cultivate the student's basic communicative competence in English so it is applicable in practical situations (培養學生基本的英語溝通能力,俾能運用於實際情境中。)
- To foster the student's interests in learning English and to develop ways of English learning in order to promote effective spontaneous learning (培養學生學習英語的興趣與方法, 俾能自發有效地學習。)
- To enhance the student's understanding of local and foreign cultures and customs in order to compare and respect cultural differences (增進學生對本國與外國文化習俗的認識,俾能加以比較,並尊重文化差異)。

(Ministry of Education, 2008, p.1; my translation)

As implied and illustrated through these official statements, English language education in Taiwan is more than the teaching and learning of a foreign language; it encompasses layers of (inter)cultural assumptions and understandings. The English language curriculum entails the teaching and learning of *cultural elements and worldviews*. Additionally, these official guidelines of objectives in the teaching and learning of English reflect the contemporary sociocultural and political construction of *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF) or English as the global language for all children in Taiwan. In that, it has become a new truth as well as a new normal for all children to learn English as young as possible. The "high status" of English language education in Taiwan has dangerously become un-questionable as a new truth to prescribe hopes for progress and development.

#### **Research Aims and Objectives**

In this research project, I take a critical perspective to examine and unpack *what* children are learning *through* English language education. In addition to mapping the landscape of English language education through multiple cultural, political, economic, and educational discourses that upheld the "high status" of English in Taiwan, the English Language Textbooks (ELTs) at the primary school level are at the center of the critical investigation for this research project. In Asian learning environments, while English is promoted as the first foreign language in education systems, the roles of ELTs are not to be ignored. ELTs in the primary school years function as a medium of teaching and learning while offering children an "official" glimpse into English culture(s) and presents children with significant first cultural encounters and impressions

about English world(s). ELTs are more than "learning tools" and offer more than the learning of the English language. More specifically, for primary schoolchildren, the images and cultural texts in ELTs are intricately linked with (re)production of ideology and official knowledge to perpetuate a particular system of reasoning (Bori, 2018; Risager, 2018).

In this study, ELTs are thought of as empirical cultural artefacts and texts through which particular sociocultural constructions and images are mobilized to perpetuate English language education as the marker of "internationalization" and "globalization" in Taiwan (for example, see Gary, 2000, 2010, 2011, 2012; Gatron & Graves, 2014; Yuen 2011). Within the vast literature and research studies of English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as an International Language (EIL), and English as a Second Language (ESL), critical analyses and discussions on how learning English is nested within layers of cultural discourses have shed new light on the role of English Language Textbooks (for examples, Baker, 2008; Kim 2012; Nault, 2006; Song, 2013; Zarei & Khalessi, 2011). A critical investigation of how cultures are represented in English Language Textbooks (ELTs) cannot be simplified to a binary denotation of the powerful vs. the powerless and/or the oppressor vs. the oppressed. Rather, it is imperative for this study to take up a multi-dimensional critical investigation that seeks to unpack the complex productions of ELTs by shifting the discussion foci on what/how images and cultural texts are (re)presented and mobilized to the production of our "new common sense" for (re)shaping the popular understanding of worldviews.

Textbooks such as English Language Textbooks (ELTs) play a key role in children's education. In Taiwanese English language education during the primary school years, ELTs can be seen as the visible heart and universal element in teaching and learning. In this research study, I take a post-structural paradigm position with critical perspectives and analytical tools to "see"

and "treat" ELTs as a series of texts with cultural narratives and images containing "culturally loaded values" for the (re)production of new common sense as a new "truth". This critical reconceptualization of English language education in Taiwan has shaped the aims and objectives of this research project:

- To investigate how and what local and global cultures' discourses are being circulated to sustain the production of primary school ELTs in Taiwan
- To examine how Taiwanese primary school ELTs construct and present particular worldview(s) by reflecting selected sociocultural perspectives to represent what types of English-speaking culture(s)

Within the geopolitical space of Taiwan, while English has become a taken-for-granted core subject within the compulsory K-12 education system, very little research has investigated and reconceptualized how ELTs may embody, mobilize and perpetuate dangerously biased and narrowed ways of thinking and acting through which new norms and truths are formed.

#### **Research Questions**

Seeking to problematize the taken-for-granted English language education and understanding how ELTs are (re)creating a new grid or matrix for the production of popular cultural discourse as the "new norm" to perpetuate English language education in Taiwan, the key research questions in this study are:

 What systems of reasoning are manifested in Taiwanese English language education as well as embedded in English Language Textbooks for the production of inclusion and exclusion?

- What and how new cultural knowledge and identity is fabricated through the production of Taiwanese English Language Textbooks?
- How are notions of sameness/difference as well as inclusion/exclusion being constructed in Taiwanese ELTs to reflect the dominant cultural discourse(s)?

The research questions in this project require a different ontological and epistemological understanding of English language education in Taiwan. Coming from the terrain of critical conceptual frameworks, to answer these research questions, it is important to begin by destabilizing and unpacking the popularity and desirability of English language education. With a paradigm shift towards a post-structural epistemological and ontological understanding about English language education, this research interrogates popular ELTs in Taiwanese primary education to elucidate the dynamics of power/knowledge in and through compulsory English language education to problematize new ways of understanding how we think what we think in Taiwan.

#### Significance of the Study

Contemporary English language education in Taiwan has fired up the production of both fears and hopes in the outlook of national imaginaries. Fears of falling behind in the competitive race in the global economy market as well as hopes to remain in or lead the global economy race at the present moment and into the future. At the core of contemporary educational and political reform policies about English language education for *all* children in Taiwan is the enactment of a narrowed political economy linear narrative of a national imaginary about progress, development and modernization. Like in many other Asian countries, English language education in Taiwan has been constructed as a symbolic language of modernization of political and economic

importance (for examples, see Chen & Hsieh, 2011; Choi & Lee, 2008; Johnson, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2016; Liddicoat & Kirkpatrick, 2020; Pail, 2018; Pederson, 2012; Pennycook, 2017; Sung & Pederson, 2012). In reviewing common themes of English language education policies in the region of Asia, Liddicoat and Kirkpatrick (2020) have identified a common current trend that "English is being promoted as the second language of education, second in importance only to the national language" (p. 8). With the exception of North Korea, all Asian countries upheld the status of English language through waves of education policy reforms and changes. In this research project, my aim is to unpack and reconceptualize how and why English language education has achieved such socio-cultural and political momentum to gain the status of semi-official national language in nearly all Asian countries.

The significance of this research project lies within its post-structural paradigm of critical investigation of the system of reasoning surrounding English language education and the making of ELTs through which children are (re)constructed as productive citizens and competitive skilled workers/laborers. Problematizing ELTs is important as the dominant constructions about English language education in Taiwan have been politically, economically, culturally, and educationally charged to perpetuate a linear notion of progress, development, and modernization under the banner of internalization and globalization (for examples, see Chang, 2006; Common Wealth Magazine, 2011; Executive Yuan, 2002; Han, 2020; Hsieh, 2006; Liu, 2011; Tsai, 2020; Wang, 2008; Wu, 2011). The production of Taiwanese ELTs is an embodiment of multiple layers of sociopolitical, cultural, socioeconomic, and educational complexities concerning issues of exclusion and inclusion. Additionally, the production of Taiwanese ELTs also mobilizes as well as perpetuates particular notions of "normality" by inscribing what counts as normative ways of being and becoming through English language learning. This research project seeks to

open up a different but significant way of understanding how English language education and ELTs are fabricating new ways of thinking, acting, and being as the new cultural norm and truth.

#### **Organization of the Chapters**

Unpacking the complexities of popular discourses that contribute to the dominant constructions of English as the international language for all, this research project problematizes the taken-for-granted conceptions about English language education and ELTs for a critical reconceptualization of contemporary English language education in primary education and the effects of reform policies in Taiwan. To engage in the topic of learning what through English language education, moving towards the terrain of post-structural conceptual/theoretical frameworks is an imperative research paradigm shift.

This dissertation is organized in seven chapters. Chapter One is an introductory chapter that provides an overview of this research project to understand the role of English language education in Taiwan. In this chapter, the status of English language education in Taiwan is discussed to provide a context for re-conceptualizing the omnipresence of English. Chapter One presents an outline of the research aims and objectives for the formation of a set of research questions from a post-structural research paradigm. Chapter Two centers on an analytical discussion of the conceptual/theoretical frameworks to position the research within the post-structural research paradigm which enables me as a researcher to investigate English language education within the specificity of historical, political, social and cultural contexts in Taiwan. In this chapter of conceptual/theoretical discussion, I seek to build an analytical toolbox to allow a different engagement in theorizing and reconceptualizing how English language in Taiwan can

be problematized and destabilized for critical reconceptualization. Following a chapter of conceptual/theoretical discussion, Chapter Three is a methodology chapter which entails a discussion of the research paradigm. In this chapter, I discuss how a paradigm shift towards a post-structural onto-epistemology allows me to draw on critical analytical tools (theories) to reframe and rethink what we know and the "normal" ways of seeing/viewing/conceptualizing the "truth" of English language education in Taiwan and the production of ELTs. Such a onto-epistemological shift allows me to ask and answer a different type of research questions to reshape the direction and development of critical analyses and discussions in this project.

Following the discussions of theoretical/conceptual frameworks and methodology, Chapters Four to Six focus on answering the three key research questions. For instance, Chapter Four is dedicated to answering the question of "What systems of reasoning are manifested in Taiwanese English language education as well as embedded in English Language Textbooks for the production of inclusion and exclusion?" This chapter entails the beginning of in-depth critical analyses and discussions by looking into the constructions of English language education and the production of English Language Textbooks (ELTs) in Taiwan. In Chapter Four, I place the official and national development documents, English language policies, and various popular discourses about Taiwanese English language education at the center of the discussion and take a critical and macro analytical perspective to understand the constructions of English language education within the contemporary national imaginary through which the production of English-centric cultural knowledge in ELTs has been legitimatized in Taiwan. The intention here is to carve out a new epistemological space to allow for critical examination and reconceptualization of the phenomenon of ELTs in Taiwan.

In Chapter Five, I begin to place Taiwanese primary ELTs at the center of critical

analyses to examine how the textbooks embody and mobilize cultural politics of power for the production of cultural norms. Chapter Five focuses on answering the research question of "What and how new cultural knowledge and identity is fabricated through the production of Taiwanese English Language Textbooks?" This chapter seeks to unpack and problematize the images, narratives, and storylines in ELTs to destabilize the production of new cultural knowledge and identity for Taiwanese primary school children.

Chapter Six focuses on a third research question: "How are notions of sameness/differences as well as inclusion/exclusion being constructed in Taiwanese English Language Textbooks to reflect the dominant cultural discourse(s)?" In this chapter, the analyses and discussions move beyond a binary discussion on the productions of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion in Taiwanese ELTs. In this chapter of analysis and discussion, I conceptualize the notion of inclusion and exclusion as co-existing in relation to each other. Therefore, without acknowledging forms of exclusion, it would not be possible to (re)think practices for inclusion. This line of thought aims to blurry the binary boundary to avoid a dichotomous dilemma of an either/or approach to think about sameness vs. difference and inclusion vs. exclusion. Rather, I move toward a both/and analytical framework to unpack the tensions among the fabrications of sameness and differences as well as productions of inclusion and exclusion through and in ELTs. Lastly, Chapter Seven is a concluding chapter that aims to provide a comprehensive summary of this research project by iterating the central arguments and research findings that challenge the taken-for-granted "norms" of English language education as the "truth" for all.

This research project does not take the popularity of English language education at its face value. While I do not ignore the "benefits" and "positives" for any (foreign or second)

language learning, I do think it is dangerous if we do not unpack the assumptions that may come with any production of language textbooks. In this case of Taiwanese ELTs for primary school children/students, I seek to problematize what we are teaching and learning through ELTs at the primary education level to destabilize as well as unpack the system of reasoning for the myths of Englishization in Taiwan.

#### **Chapter Two**

#### A Different Conceptual Understanding of English Language Education in Asia:

#### **Theoretical Positioning and Conceptual Framework**

#### Introduction

In this chapter, I engage in a theoretical discussion to illustrate how I (re)conceptualize English language education in Taiwan. Situated within the post-structural paradigm, this research project is *not* about debating the importance of English language education nor is it about finding the "ultimate true answer" for what possibly could be the "best" type of English Language Textbooks (ELTs) without bias to promote children's learning in English and to enhance learning outcomes. Rather, my main concern in this research project is positioned within a sociopolitical epistemology that seeks to problematize the history of the present by looking into the reason of "reasons" or "rationalities" for English language education in Taiwan (for an example of such theoretical positions and educational changes, see Popkewitz, 2011, 2013, 2014; Popkewitz, Diaz & Kirchgasler, 2017). Throughout the analysis of this research project, I place English language education within the complex fabrications of national imaginaries about modernization in Taiwan. This view is aligning with the epistemological shift towards educational research as an analytical approach of *history of the present* (Popkewitz, 2017). As Popkewitz (2017) has elaborated:

...It [the approach of history of the present] examines the fabrication of human kinds as formed within a grid of historical practices that makes the object of research possible to "see" and act on. Historicizing the fabrications of human kinds directs attention to the

materiality of knowledge; that is, the rules and standards of reason embody historically produced principles that circulate to order reflection and action. (p. 246-247)

This approach to educational research allows me to (re)conceptualize English language education from a perspective of political sociology of language education and schooling in Taiwan. Rather than de-politicizing English language education as a neutral core subject for teaching and learning within the compulsory education system, I see and treat it as a contemporary political project of education curriculum planning (for example, the productions of English language education policies and textbooks).

This shift to political sociology of education is a post-structural theoretical move away from a repressive denotation of power to a productive notion of power which goes beyond critical structural analyses and discussions of who owns the absolute power in the hierarchically ranked structural order. While a repressive denotation of power is of critical importance to challenge why English language is being upheld with a high status as the most desirable foreign language across Asian education systems, it is limited for further discussions to elucidate the complex and multi-dimensions of discourses that support and perpetuate the desirability and intelligibility of English language education. Instead, a productive notion of power opens up a space for me to take up different sets of research questions that seek to unpack and destabilize the systems of reason which are producing "rational" ways of thinking to constitute what is normal and natural for reconfiguring our common sense that governs our ways of being and becoming.

Such a theoretical positioning not only enables me to challenge the common belief and sociopolitical construction of English language education in Taiwan as a language-with-capital for modernization and internationalization in the era of globalization, it also interjects a different

way of understanding how English Language Textbooks (ELTs) are fabricating new ways of thinking, acting, and being as the new cultural norm. In this research project, Taiwanese English language education and ELTs are re-positioned and de-stabilized within the webs of knowledge/power in order to shed light onto the production of a new school subject/citizen as socio-cultural inclusion and exclusion are co-existing and happening simultaneously. In other words, this is linking English language education with critical notions of power/knowledge and cultural struggles to problematize the fabrication of a contemporary dominant cultural discourse about English language education and the production of ELTs in Taiwan.

#### A Socio-Political Epistemological Positioning: Different Conceptual Foci

To engage in a theoretical discussion of how I come to problematize and reconceptualize English language education and primary ELTs in Taiwan, in this section I focus on discussing several key driving theoretical concepts that form my socio-political epistemological positioning. The chosen conceptual foci of this research project have anchored onto a post-structural paradigm for the formation of an analytical toolbox to guide and shape the conceptual framework in this project. In the following section, I will explain how the selected analytical concepts such as *national imaginaries*, *systems of reasoning*, *the Foucaultian concepts of power/knowledge and governmentality*, and *assemblage*, are put together to form the key grids of thought to enable an alternative and critical conceptual framework for troubling English language education in Taiwan.

# National Imaginaries: Remembering and Forgetting in the Changing Socio-Political Landscape in Taiwan

The roles of English language education within the Taiwanese education system are multi-dimensional with interlacing influences from and to social, political, cultural, educational, and economic fields/spaces. The making of English as *the foreign language* to be taught to *all* children through a national compulsory education system can be destabilized and unpacked through the concept of *national imaginaries*. Here the concept of imaginary not only interrupts the taken-for-granted Taiwanese sociopolitical and cultural construction(s) of English language education but also opens up a new space for reconceptualizing the affects as well as effects of English language education. Anderson's (1983) conceptual tool of "imagined community" which refers to the making of a nation as a politically and socially constructed community has been influential in shaping my analytical understanding of what English language education may entail. This concept of national imaginary enables me to re-think the roles and status of English for constituting and mobilizing the desirability and intelligibility of English language education for all in the building of a new national imaginary towards a bilingual nation.

At this point, in seeking to understand the construction of a Taiwanese national imaginary and the mobilization of English language education, Popkewitz and Bloch's (2001) analytical notion of *register* is a helpful analytical tool to map the trajectories of changes across different temporal spaces that have merged to shape the formation of contemporary national imaginaries throughout the different historical events in Taiwan. Popkewitz and Bloch (2001) have explained the notion of *register* as an instrument for understanding "how different discourses, institutions, and technologies overlap to form a common sense or reason through which action is generated" (p. 85). This notion of *register* is important for it mobilizes critical (re)conceptualizations on how

various local trajectories of sociopolitical changes and historical events as well as global traveling discourses come together to constitute the significance and desirability of English language education in the midst of national and cultural imaginaries in Taiwan. Here, such an analytical approach allows me to "see" English language education as "a register of social administration that connects the child, family, and the community" (Popkewitz & Bloch, 2001, p. 85). In other words, the desires, mentalities, and changes that are associated with English language education all merge together to reconfigure every aspect of the social, cultural, educational, and political to redefine who we are and how we should be through the production of contemporary national imaginaries.

The deployment of the English language has become a strategic tactic for contemporary socio-cultural administration within the trajectories of national imaginaries in the contexts of Taiwan. In that, new subjectivity is made while particular norms as truth are upheld and maintained in the making of a national imaginary about progress, development, and modernization. As Popkewitz and Bloch (2001) have asserted:

The projects of social administration were to reconstitute identities. The ideas of a calculated progress shaped the character of the child and the family. New regimes of the body (scientific hygiene), of the intellect (literacy, mathematics), and the inculcation of virtuous habits of childhood were available to manage and discipline and to articulate the character of the child and the family. (p. 87)

Embedded within this thread of thought is a critical rethinking and interruption on the linear description of development and progress. When the concepts of national progress and educational development are determined in terms of measurable achievements as evidence/outcomes of change, the ways in which children-as-future productive workers should

be taught or cultivated through contemporary pedagogical changes and educational reforms, such as English language education, are prescribed as salvation narratives as well as progressive reform policies promising betterment for all.

Such a mentality about linear progress and change has been deeply rooted in mainstream developmental discourses both inside and outside of the field of education to become a universal reasoning system that travels and circulates internationally while mobilizing a particular constructed "ultimate" or "model" stage of development as a grand narrative of a modernization project in contemporary national imaginaries. Within the context of Taiwan, when imagining and outlining a better future that is well-developed with markers or characteristics of modernization, English language education has been constructed as one of the significant markers of the intellect for cultivating children as new educated subjects. In other words, English language education can be conceptualized as a technology of social and cultural administration that (re)constitutes contemporary national and cultural identity as well as subjectivity. Thus, in this research project, I see the deployment of English language education as a strategic tactic for "a sociopolitical administration project" that aims to reconstitute a particular identity that could fit well within a new frame of Taiwanese national imaginary (Popkewitz and Bloch, 2001).

Contemporary versions of Taiwanese national imaginaries since the lifting of national martial law in 1987 have been dancing around various themes about modernization including political democratic movements, economic progress and cultural multiplicity (National Development Council, 2017). The idea of nation or community (re)building is nested within the intersections of local, national, regional and global cultural imaginaries. The sociopolitical and cultural positioning of Taiwan is produced within the complex webs of intra- and inter-national relations through a series of cultural and sociopolitical remembering and forgetting of historical

events. With ongoing struggles for be(com)ing recognized as well as "receiving" a status of international membership in various global communities and organizations such as the United Nations, the contemporary Taiwanese national imaginary is never a single line of cultural narrative within the geopolitical region of Asia. For instance, Helena Wu's (2020) media/film analysis provides a good example of the "knotted" construction of a sociocultural imaginary within a non-linear concept of "time". Referencing Hong Kong as a contextual background and drawing on images from films, Wu (2020) elucidates how the acts of remembering and forgetting entail two parallel temporalities where the past is in line with one's situated present for the production and motif of an imagined future. This temporality of time is a rupturing away from a linear time progression of past, present and future. Within the narratives of national imaginaries, the productions and portrayal of the future can open up a discursive space for critical discussions on various and different "situated present" to see the complexity of English language education as a modernization project which allows a critical analysis of ELTs to unpack politics of differences and inclusion/exclusion.

# Systems of Reasoning: Unpacking the Knowledge System(s) of English Language Education in Taiwan

In this research project, I pay critical attention to how flows of cultural, economic, social, and political logics and discourses come together for the articulation and circulation of particular "knowledge systems", which facilitate the construction and fabrication of certain common sense for the production of English language education as the "truth" in the contemporary Taiwanese national imaginary. This drives to unpack the knowledge of English language education evokes a concept of *systems of reasoning*, which allows me to problematize and question the "knowledge

system(s)" that shape and organize how/what we think about English language education at the situated present historical moment in Taiwan for the production of a promising future through a national imaginary.

The production of a promising future has become the new "truth" about English language education has made the learning of English desirable, and it is nested within a Taiwanese national imaginary with a socio-political narrative of progress and development through a socio-political system of reasoning about modernization and globalization. The intelligibility and desirability of English language education is embedded within the dominant articulation of modernization and globalization (particularly global capitalism) is a combination of socio-political as well as economic systems of reasoning about progress and development (for examples, see Popkewitz, 2018). English language education has been mobilized and has appeared to become a strategic way of telling the truth about modernization and globalization in Taiwan.

Seeking to unpack the contemporary notion of globalization as a modernization project in Taiwan while considering the complexities of inter- and intra- historical trajectories of sociopolitical changes within and across the Asian geopolitical spaces, Chen (2010) asserts:

...without the trajectories of imperialism and colonialism, one cannot properly map the formation and conditions of globalization. ...Globalization without deimperialization is simply a disguised reproduction of imperialist conquest. If this era of globalization is built on the assumption that to reconstruct a livable earth we can no longer allow any form of imperialism to prevail, then the movement toward deimperialization, starting with rethinking the wrongs and pains of past imperialist interventions, is the minimum requirement of the present. ...by globalization I refer to capital-driven forces which seek

to penetrate and colonize all spaces on the earth with unchecked freedom, and that in so doing have eroded national frontiers and integrated previously unconnected zones. *In this ongoing process of globalization, unequal power relations become intensified, and imperialism expresses itself in a new form.* (Chen, 2010, p. 2-4. my italics for emphasis)

Placing the contemporary history of East Asia at the center of his critical analysis, Chen's (2010) theoretical and methodological model of *Asia as Method* has allowed me to negotiate a discursive space and to deploy a new/different system of reasoning to destabilize the already established and dominant discourse on progress and development in Taiwan within the context of Asia. Particularly, Chen's problematization of globalization through notions of decolonization and de-imperialization has elucidated a different system of reasoning, which opens up an alternative analytical space for me to question and discuss why and how compulsory English language education is thought to be desirable and intelligible under a Taiwanese interpretation of globalization (within the larger geopolitical space of Asia).

Regarding English language education in Asia, as Kirkpatrick (2010) has pointed out that "almost all the member states of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) have made English a compulsory part of the primary school curriculum, many countries teaching it from Primary 1" (p. 147). The status of English language has been prioritized and politicized as it is thought of as a language of globalization in almost all Asian locations, including Taiwan (Kirkpatrick, 2010; Liddicoat & Kirkpatrick, 2020; National Development Council, 2018). For example, in the official document of *Blueprint for Developing Taiwan into a Bilingual Nation by 2030* by the National Development Council in 2018, the status of the English language has been politically recognized as the most powerful "international" language:

To cope with the trend of globalization and internationalization, possessing international communication ability and an international perspective are vital elements of raising national competitiveness. English is currently the most important common language for international communication and as developments in digital technology spread rapidly all over the world, English has become closely connected with all spheres of people's life. (National Development Council, 2018, p. 1)

Mobilized through this line of thinking about globalization is a particular system of reasoning (which falls into the holes of colonialism and imperialism) that rationalizes English language learning as a significant marker of economic, social, cultural, and political progress and development or a language with forms of capital and measurable outcomes/achievements.

Lacking critical self-reflections and inquiries of sociopolitical trajectories, contemporary Taiwanese national imaginary and interpretations of globalization have dangerously embodied what Chen (2010) has noted as a new form of imperialism that's laced with global capitalism. This has made the commodification of the English language possible and desirable. When traveling into the field of education, the effects of global capitalism are embedded through popular practices of educational borrowing (importing) and lending (exporting) and can be seen throughout the international community, particularly within the lower-income geopolitical regions of the world map (for a detailed discussion, see Steiner-Khamsi and Stople, 2006). This line of thinking has interjected the possibility for problematizing the "importing" of English language as a desirable commodity.

To problematize this thread of linear development discourse through the lenses of decolonization and de-imperialization of globalization is a shift towards a different system of reasoning, which allows me to question how English language education in Taiwan has been dangerously promoted as a global commodity as well as mobilized as a global commonsense to perpetuate the production of standardization in globalization. Therefore, when reconceptualizing the current popular constructions concerning English language education in Taiwan with sociopolitical and political economic references to globalization, it is important to unpack and remap the power matrix or relation of power/knowledge through which English language education is constructed as a normative and desirable sociocultural, sociopolitical, and educational practice in the name of globalization.

#### Power/Knowledge and Governmentality

Power and knowledge are inter-related and linked together as they mutually perpetuate and sustain each other. The production of knowledge (for example, English language learning in Asian locations) is nested within power relations within the nexus of local, regional, and global; therefore, knowledge is neither neutral nor natural. Rather, knowledge is a social and cultural construction which is amalgamated by sets of dominant cultural norms and social values within a historical moment to constitute a reasoning system in which standards, norms, social codes and rules are inscribed. From a critical and structural theoretical perspective, language can be thought of as a *code of power* (for examples, see the classic works of Bernstein, 1971; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Delpit, 1995/2006; Heath, 1983; Tochon, 2019b). A common thread of this type of critical analytical approach has been significant for examining the relations between language, culture and power/knowledge and provides critical insights when studying the sociopolitical phenomenon of making English a dominant international language. Through such an analytical tool, it becomes possible to understand how, within a particular time and space, English language

education has been constructed as a powerful and "official" language to prescribe a hopeful or better future for Asian countries towards modernization and progress.

However, while acknowledging the importance of a critical structural perspective, in my theoretical positioning to understand English language education and the effects of power, I shift and move towards a post-structural perspective to focus on the construction of English-astruthful-knowledge. This epistemological shift allows me to (re)conceptualize English language education as nested within institutionalized power relations, local/regional/global economic fears, and political debates relating to national imaginary, development, and cultural administration.

Therefore, the production of English-as-knowledge is assembled by the scaffolding of multiple discourses to construct the English language as a singular, powerful, and universal language through which individual advancement and cultivation as well as national development are promised. In other words, the desirability and intelligibility of English language education is nested within the production of a new/different system of reasoning through which new norms and truths are fabricated. *Truth* as Foucault (1972) asserted:

[Truth] is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (p. 131)

The current desirability and intelligibility of English language education in Taiwan could be thought of as part of truth-making that is scaffolded by selected discourses and cultural politics to promote the teaching and learning of the English language.

As I seek to understand how the English language is thought of as an important marker in Taiwan to signify modernization and progress, a shift to Foucault's post-structural denotation on power offers an alternative critical analytical approach to understand the complexity in power/knowledge. Foucault (1978) clarified that rather than conceptualizing "power as a group of institutions and mechanisms that ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state. .... power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization..." (p. 92). Rather than denoting power-as-sovereignty as in the paradigm of critical structural analyses, Foucault stressed the importance of understanding power as the multiplicity of force relations.

The matrix of power relating to English language education should be critically analyzed as the production of English-as-the-knowledge is a re-focus on the productive side of power while recognizing it is deeply rooted within power relations. Instead of asking what power is, it is much more important to unpack the matrix of power and to pay attention to how power is practiced to shape or to cultivate particular effects and/or subjectivity. Thus, understanding the matrix of power relations, the function/technology of power, and the effects of power are imperative.

Relations of power are not limited to super-structural positions, nor should power relations be framed in binary structural order only (i.e., the rulers/the ruled, the oppressor/the oppressed). With a Foucaultian perspective, I come to think of relations of power in multiplicity.

Thus, major forms of domination, as Foucault claimed, are the governing technologies and effects that are sustained by confrontations of power relations.

"The rationality of power is characterized by tactics that are often quite explicit at the restricted level where they are inscribed, tactics which, becoming connected to one another, attracting and propagating one another, but finding their base of support and their condition elsewhere, end by forming comprehensive system...." (Foucault, 1978, p. 95)

This shift towards analytics of power has both theoretical and methodological significance and influence in that it highlights the importance of analyzing and rethinking the mechanisms of power through which new truths are made as well as mobilized to become the desirable norms that are intelligible.

It is from such a theoretical/conceptual position that I come to problematize the mobilization of English education as a shared desire in the context of Taiwan. As Foucault (1978) once articulated: "where there is desire, the power relation is already present" (p. 81). Therefore, if we were to conceptualize the contemporary desirability of English language education in Taiwan as a normative educational trend or to conceptualize English education as a neutral and natural process of globalization without critical discussions on power relations, this would not only be problematic, but also dangerous. It is at our own risk that we lose sight of how the teaching and learning of the English language embodies power relations, while it is a strategic tactic for the social administration of a particular normative subjectivity.

I see there are current educational shifts in Taiwanese English language education which embody a new (re)configuration of power relations through which new desires and new

truths/norms are made. This new (re)configuration of power relations has strategically mobilized and utilized English language education as a new tactic of cultural administration to cultivate particular new norms as stated in the official blueprint to envision bilingualization in Taiwan:

...some legislators called for the government to establish English as the nation's second official language. In March 2018, several academicians of the Academia Sinica, at a meeting with President Tsai, expressed the hope that Taiwan might within the near future become a bilingual nation in which equal importance was attached to Chinese and English, as a means of raising the nation's international perspective and international communication ability." (National Development Council, 2018, p.2)

As illustrated through such official statements, to scrutinize recent policy changes in English language education, a Foucaultian notion of governmentality can illuminate how power relations are diffused to and infused in all levels of the field for the practice of socio-cultural administration.

Here, the concept of governmentality is imperative. As Foucault (1979) delineated, the concept of governmentality can be understood as the art of government. The governing of others and the governing of the self are intertwined. As noted by Lemke (2002), the concept of governmentality plays an imperative role in Foucault's analytics of power, that is,

..it [the concept of governmentality] offers a view on power beyond a perspective that centers either on consensus or violence; it links technologies of the self with technologies of the domination, the constitution of subject to the formation of the state; finally, it helps to differentiate between power and domination. (p. 50)

This concept of governmentality requires a theoretical shift in denoting power and the matrix of power from singularity and a binary structure to multiplicity. Power, under such a conceptual framework, could be thought of as a principal guiding force relation that comes together to shape the conduct through which various forms of governance are to be practiced. This is not to escape outside of power, but to be rooted inside the "problematic of power" to scaffold critical investigations and inquiries on how particular normalities and subjectivities are constructed and shaped.

The concept of governmentality is an imperative analytical tool through which "modern forms of governance", such as *policies* like educational reform policies, are to be thought of as socio-cultural administration techniques for (re)cultivating and (re)shaping a particular population through inventing new systems of reasoning. Forms of governance, whether about governing others or governing the self, are all about "governing people". Therefore, as Foucault (1993) added,

...governing people is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself. (p. 203)

Cultivation and construction of a new subject/self (such as students and citizens) can be thought of as a socio-cultural project through which (re)planning in education is inevitable and significant. Take the case of English language education in Taiwan as one example to apply such an analytical tool. At one level, current rapid changes in English language educational policy signify the (re)planning of a future educational outlook as well as the formation of a new national

imaginary. At another level, the deployment of English language education ruptures the current system of reasoning in education while utilizing these changes in educational policy to manage particular new cultural and educational values and norms. These shifts in English language educational policy and changes in educational practices further symbolize the desirability of English language through which such desire could gradually be internalized as well as accepted as a "mainstream" value or "truth." It is from such an analytical understanding of power/knowledge that I come to conceptualize the mobilization of English language education in Taiwan as a project of socio-cultural governing towards normalization through the effects of globalization, modernization and progress. In addition, nested within this project of sociocultural governance, ELTs are producing and inscribing norms, desires, and national imaginaries to co-construct the current status of English language education in Taiwan. Therefore, deploying and applying this analytical concept of governmentality in the context of Taiwanese English language education, it opens up multiple possibilities for critical discussions about English language education policies and practices in Taiwan as well as within the region of East and Southeast Asia (for example, see Kirkpatrick & Liddicoat, 2017).

## Assemblages: The Landscape of English Language Education in Taiwan

Assemblage is a Deleuzoguattarian concept that enables me to move beyond a critical structural analysis of English language education and ELTs in Taiwan. This theoretical notion of assemblage shifts away from a conventional and structural analysis about the production of dominant "norms" and "truths" in and through English language education. Instead, it allows me to (re)conceptualize how multiple lines of discourses across different domains can be thought of as "lines of flight" that may connect and/or disconnect with each other to produce, interject and

sustain the new image(s) of English as a desirable international language with power. Anderson and McFarlane (2011) elaborated on Deleuzoguattarian notion of assemblage:

In broad terms, assemblage is, then, part of a more general reconstitution of the social that seeks to blur divisions of social—material, near—far and structure—agency. In this use, deploying the term assemblage enables us to remain deliberately open as to the form of the unity, its durability, the types of relations and the human and non-human elements involved. Indeed, we could understand the contemporary enthusiasm for assemblage theory as a response to ambivalence toward the a priori reduction of social-spatial relations and processes to any fixed form or set of fixed forms. (p. 124)

This Deleuzoguattarian concept of assemblage allows me to think of English language education and ELTs differently. Instead of a narrow and linear discussion that either accepts or rejects/critiques how the status of English language is dominating global and international language with significant driving forces to promise modernization, internationalization and globalization, this theoretical notion of assemblage allows me to remain open and flexible towards reconceptualizing the complexity and multiplicity of English language education in the context of Taiwan. This theoretical concept of assemblage extends my socio-political epistemological understanding to allow for analytical analyses and discussions to focus on the fluidity and complexity of multiple discourses in Taiwanese English language education. This concept of assemblage elucidates possibilities to understand *linkages* as well as *leakages* that are co-existing as processes of "de-territorialization" and "re-territorialization" for the assemblage of the English language education in an Asian geopolitical space like Taiwan.

Therefore, with this Deleuzoguattarian concept of assemblage in this research project, analysis will not be restricted to a simple discussion of why/how English language is the most

powerful foreign language for Asian countries. Instead, I am able to shift towards unpacking and tracing what's being included/excluded in ELTs to perpetuate the production of a desirability of making English the international/foreign language in the compulsory education system. What's possible here is not the binary construction of inclusion vs. exclusion through English language education and the production of ELTs but a different type of focus on what Popketwize et al (2017) noted as "the double gestures of education reform" (p. 11) to reconceptualize inclusion as exclusion. This onto-epistemological shift through the concept of assemblage allows me to investigate the production of difference through Taiwanese English language education and the production of ELTs.

## Summary and Critical Concluding Thoughts on Theoretical/Conceptual Positioning

As elaborated in this chapter, I have drawn on a different set of analytical tools including national imaginaries, systems of reasoning, Foucaultian concepts of power/knowledge and governmentality, and assemblage to work against the grain to engage in a critical discussion on my theoretical positioning of English language education in Taiwan. What I aim to do in this project is to unpack and (re)conceptualize English language as socio-political knowledge though problematizing ELTs to critically analyze the contemporary production of politics of differences for the fabrication of cultural sameness/differences and inclusion/exclusion in Taiwan.

Research into English language education in Taiwan needs to take up a critical theoretical/conceptual perspective, which requires an onto-epistemological shift to unpack and destabilize the taken-for-granted practices of knowing and being. Mapping/tracing the power relations that are embedded within the landscape of English language education and seeing the

teaching and learning of English beyond its face value of learning a foreign/additional language are the driving impetus in this research project. Providing a significant perspective to understand language education, Tochon (2019b) has emphasized the need for cross-cultural communication through the concept of multilingalism and pointed out:

...the complexity of language and culture situations and their ramifications for power struggles, as language is capital. Critical analyses may help in deciphering the underlying power games that impose shallow learning, supplant other cultures, and do not lead to proficiency nor shared understanding among people. Decolonizing foreign language education may help transform it as an instrument of decolonization itself. In this way it may be useful to apply criticism to critical trends as well. Be critical of the absence of criticism in places where one would think it would have its genuine bed. Also be critical of criticism: it reinforces polarization and may lead to dogmatism and indoctrination. Emancipation theories are sometimes used to control people through polar ideologies that keep them busy with belief struggles. (p. 279)

In this research project, as stated, my research objective with analyses and discussion is not whether English language education is good or bad for all children in Taiwan. With my post-structural sensibility, I am more interested in unpacking the making of English as a dominant international language in Taiwan by placing it within the broader landscape and trajectories of socio-political changes and contemporary historical events that have come to shape the conditions for the status of English as a new lingua franca or a language of globalization under the lager scope of national imaginary (for examples, see the discussions in the works of Liyanage & Walker, 2019; Macedo, 2019; Tochon, 2019a and 2019b). In the next chapter on methodology, I will explicate how such a paradigm shift towards post-structural theories and methods come to

enable the emergence of different sets of research questions in this project for an alternative but critical understanding about English language education in Taiwan.

# **Chapter Three**

Methodology: Moving to a Different Methodological "Home"

#### Introduction

Seeking to understand the complexities of contemporary landscape of English language education in Taiwan, this research takes up a socio-political onto-epistemological theoretical perspective with an approach of history of the present (Popkewitz, 2017). In this research project, my intention is not about researching for the best English language pedagogical practice, nor is it about identifying what constitutes the best English Language Textbooks (ELTs) to promote English language education for all children in Taiwan. Rather, a primary concern for me in this research project is to destabilize the taken-for-granted knowledge system(s) about English language education and policies and the productions of a new truth of cultural knowledge in and through the making of ELTs.

When mapping and tracing the multiple discourses that contribute to the changing landscape of English language education in Taiwan, one of the key foci is looking into how ELTs are (re)creating a new grid or matrix for the production of a new knowledge system while perpetuating the mobilization of a new popular cultural discourse as the "norm" to perpetuate English language education. To do so, it will require a different research methodology that anchors to a post-structural "ontological and epistemological home" (Lather, 2006, p. 40). Such a methodology and research methods from the "home" of a post-structural framework enables me to see and look outside of the box for unpacking the desirability and intelligibility of English language education. For me, what makes this critical inquiry possible is not only posing a

different set of research questions, or just tapping into different sets of "evidence, events, and images" but also searching for different ways of meaning making to build a new body of critical knowledge about English language education in Taiwan.

As presented in Chapter One, the research questions in this project require both a theoretical and a methodological shift towards a post-structural research paradigm to understand the desirability and intelligentially of English language education in Taiwan as well as to unpack how ELTs embody particular ways of thinking and acting through which new sociocultural norms are formed and new social inclusion/exclusion is produced. As discussed in Chapter Two, this research paradigm shift leads me to draw on a set of post-structural analytical tools when investigating *how* various discourses on English language education are blending with each other to interject the desirability and intelligibility of English into the geopolitical space of Taiwan.

In the following sections of this chapter, I discuss my methodological choices and research methods in two sections. In the first section, reflecting and building on the theoretical discussions in Chapter Two, I begin with a discussion on the rationales of methodological choice to elucidate *why* and *how* I shift towards a post-structural paradigm in order to understand the complexities of contemporary assemblages of English language education in Taiwan. This entails a discussion on paradigm shift towards a post-structural framework. Locating this research project within an onto-epistemological "home" in the post-structural paradigm allows me to move beyond the binary debates about the pros and cons of English language education in Taiwan.

In the second section, a detailed discussion of this research plan and procedure regarding the research methods for a systematic inquiry such as what counts as data and modes of data analyses in this project is presented. In this section of discussion, , I discuss how policy

documents and texts and ELTs are conceptualized as discourses, for I "see" and "treat" the language/texts in reform policies as well as images and storylines in ELTs as educational and cultural artefacts which are loaded with "culturally loaded values" for the production of a new cultural reasoning. This explains how I engage in a textual analysis from a critical perspective to problematize the effects of English language education. I collect and treat all relevant documents about and of English language education in Taiwan, such as national development plans, whitepapers, English language education reform policies, curriculum guidelines, and English Language Textbooks (ELTs) for primary schoolchildren.

Overall, in this chapter, I present the methodology and methods of this research project. Having an appropriate research methodology that aligns with research methods employed in the research process for answering the research questions is imperative (Creswell, 2012). Through this research, I seek to disrupt the taken-for-granted to interject critical spaces and new opportunities for reconceptualizing how English language education has been made intelligible and desirable and what/how ELTs are producing new norms by telling a new "truth". Thus, English language teaching and learning in Taiwan is not just learning a new language, it can involve layers of cultural identity struggles and constructions.

#### **Shifting Towards a Post-Structural Paradigm**

To begin, I turn to an essential discussion on the question of *what a paradigm is*. As Scotland (2012) defined it, a paradigm consists of four key components of ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods. At the heart of this research project is a departure from a positivist paradigm, it entails a major shift towards a different ontological, epistemological,

methodological orientation which requires different research methods and tools. Working to distinguish the differences between research paradigms, Clarke (2003) noted:

If modernism emphasized universality, generalization, simplification, permanence, stability, wholeness, rationality, regularity, homogeneity, and sufficiency, then postmodernism has shifted emphases to localities, partialities, positionalities, complications, tenuousness, instabilities, irregularities, contradictions, heterogeneities, situatedness, and fragmentation complexities. Postmodernism itself is not a unified system of beliefs or assumptions but rather an ongoing array of possibilities. ...It [postmodernism] involves us in the ontological politics of staying true to complexity, however partially and contradictorily. ...Research, then, is not impossible after the postmodern turn but quite different. (p. 555)

What Clarke (2003) has pointed out here is a paradigm shift from modernism towards postmodernism which will require both epistemological and ontological shift. Scotland has noted (2012), "every paradigm is based upon its own ontological and epistemological assumptions" (p. 9). Ontological assumptions are connected with the research questions concerning *what is* (such as what constitutes reality) while epistemological assumptions are related with the research questions concerning *what it means to know* (such as how knowledge can be created or constructed).

In my research project, by looking into the documents about English language education and the primary school ELTs to understand the power/knowledge relations that come to construct the intelligibility of English language education in Taiwan with sociocultural, economic, political, and educational influences, my research questions in this project evoke and require a paradigm shift to a post-structural paradigm. To further specify what this paradigm

shift may mean, Pattie Lather's (2006) articulation of her methodological position on educational research is important in shaping the position of this research project:

I am against the kind of methodolatry where the tail of methodology wags the dog of inquiry. As Kvale (1996) notes, "what and why have to be answered before how questions of design can be meaningful" (p. 95). But understanding logics of inquiry and philosophies and histories of knowledge are key in getting over the search for a "way out" via method. ...I have endorsed a "disjunctive affirmation" of multiple ways of going about educational research in terms of finding our way into a less comfortable social science full of stuck places and difficult philosophical issues of truth, interpretation and responsibility. Neither reconciliation nor paradigm war, this is about thinking difference differently... ultimately, a call for *situated methodologies* across a Deleuzean landscape of "a thousand tiny paradigms." ... Layering complexity, foregrounding problems, thinking outside easy intelligibility and transparent understanding, *the goal is to move educational research in many different directions in the hope that more interesting and useful ways of knowing will emerge.* (p. 47-53, my emphasis in italic)

Within such an articulation about a shift from modernism to postmodernism or from positivism to post-positivism, Lather's call for *situated methodologies* is interjecting ruptures to broaden my understanding of the problematic and complexity of English language education in Taiwan. In general, methodology is related to why, what, from where, when and how data is collected and analyzed to shed new understandings for the research questions. In other words, in moving to a new methodological home in the space of post-positivism for my research on English language education in Taiwan, I hope to open up a different research pathway for exploring different ways of knowing.

Resonating with Lather's post-structural research methodology (which is a different system of reasoning and inquiry in research), this research project avoids making (and being trapped with) structural constructions of English language as the powerful foreign language for all. Nested within a critical socio-political epistemological and ontological "home", this project looks into multiple discourses on English language education and Taiwanese primary school ELTs as a way to deconstruct the dominant but discursive formations of the desirability and intelligibility of English language education in Taiwan, as well as to unpack the sociocultural construction of English language education. Through such a post-structural research methodology, it becomes possible to de-stabilize what has been made and thought of as "natural," "normal," or "desirable" concerning English language education in Taiwan. Drawing from Lather (2006):

As a discursive formation, the concept of coloring epistemologies incites questions of how it come to be and what its effects are within power relations and modes of domination. This opens up a history of what contains thought and how thought is both shaped by and excessive to that containment. Foucault argues that discursive formations are constantly becoming epistemologized, 'shot through with the positivity of knowledge' (Foucault, 1972, p. 194). Unpacking this process involves a look at the specificity, function and network of dependencies that attends to dispersion and scattering a decentering operation that produces differences. (p. 41)

Embedded in Lather's discussion for a different epistemological perspective is the importance for a paradigm diversification in educational research to recognize and allow the emergence of different bodies of knowledge. In sum, the notion of *situated methodology* here is linked with a different way of inquiry and knowing.

Furthermore, drawing from Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) social ontology philosophical concept, a move towards a different inquiry and analytical approach to understand how different and heterogeneous cultural, political, economic, and education discourses on English language education is at play. As discussed in Chapter Two, this theoretical as well as methodological concept of assemblage is an imperative analytical tool for understanding the problematic of English language education with fluidity and flexibility. Through this Deleuzoguattarian notion of *assemblage*, it opens up new possibilities of rupturing the common and dominant constructions of English as the powerful language and truthful knowledge.

Evoking a Deleuzoguaatarian concept of assemblage would entail both processes of deterritorialization and re-territorialization through which the notion of situated research methodologies is made. This makes it possible to work within, across, and even against the traditions of educational research to search for flexible and critical situational analyses to address complexity and heterogeneity. Additionally, with Foucault's post-structural analytical understanding of power/knowledge relations and an epistemological shift that investigates the systems of reasoning through which the desirability and intelligibility of English language education in Taiwan is fabricated, this research project entails paradigm change. This is an ontological shift that problematizes English language learning in Taiwan through sociocultural, economic, historical, political and educational situatedness as the needed dimensions of critical inquiry.

Within the same terrain of thoughts, when looking into analyzing the Taiwanese ELTs, Clarke's (2003) articulation of the need to re-ground grounded theory is imperative. As she elaborates:

...the methodological implications of the postmodern primarily require taking situatedness, variations, complicatedness, differences of all kinds, and positionality/relationality very seriously in all their complexities, multiplicities, instabilities, and contradictions. ...[What] do I mean by the complexities of "situatedness" after the postmodern turn? I am quite specific. Many if not most of the methodological moves since the postmodern turn have centered on research wherein individual "voice" and its representation lie at the heart of the matter. ...But the most innovative part of my project also brings the social—the full situation of inquiry—further around the postmodern turn and grounds it in new analytic approaches that do justice to the insights of postmodern theory. ...I am deeply committed to "situating interpretation." ...I am asserting that interactionists and others can and should expand their theoretical environment, broaden their perspective to be sensitive to and analyze more general, larger domains of social action. Action is not enough. Our analytic focus needs to be fully on the situation of inquiry broadly conceived. (p. 556)

Clarke's (2003, 2005) work to reground grounded theory after the postmodern turn also enables me to "see" contemporary English language education in Taiwan beyond its face value and to think about productions of differences/similarities and inclusion/exclusion differently.

Methodologically, this trajectory of thoughts alludes to a postmodern turn for deeper understanding of the differences/similarities and complexities of how ELTs contain "culturally loaded values." It also echoes and speaks to the core notion of situated methodology (Lather, 2006) to guide me towards a different set of research questions for reconceptualizing how different knowledge is and can be produced.

## **Positioning the Research**

Among the multiple foci on the topic of English language education as an additional/foreign language, many studies have centered around popular trends in effective curriculum and instruction (including pedagogical practices in teaching and learning English), policies on the status of the English language in different Asian countries (including the making of English language as an official language), benefits of English language education for internationalization and globalization, and/or English teacher professionalization and professionalism. Very often, the research questions under these research themes required the research make a methodological choice from the realm of the positivism research paradigm. A common thread in the positivism research paradigm is about finding or seeking the "solutions" as the ultimate "truth." However, while the positivism approach to research emphasizes the importance of "scientific" research methods, it falls short of "deeper" meanings of the research topic on English language education and falls into a binary and linear system of thought to restrict and reduce the investigations about English education to dichotomous discussions such as whether the teaching and learning of English language is good/bad or powerful/powerless.

Seeing the limits of the positivism research paradigm, Tochon (2019a, 2019b) highlights the challenges of English language education in Asia. Tochon (2019b) has pointed out that as English is treated as the world dominant language within the Asian contexts with forms of symbolic capital and cultural capital, it can be problematic for interjecting national and cultural identity splits in terms of the "official "status between the nation's first language and English and the modification of identities. Complicating the challenges of how English language education is happening on a "slippery ideological slope" is the language teacher's changing identities.

Drawing from an alternative research paradigm with critical perspectives to complicate English

language education in Asia, Tochon (2019a) has cautioned us that the identity splits between the foreign vs. local self in language teachers is related to "a colonization of the mind" (p.64). As Tochon (2019a) explained: "the foreign self is the result of the accumulation of foreign cultural capital that creates a hybrid, transnational and potentially transplanted self through imaginary futures of prospective migration" (p. 64). Here, Tochon's (2019a) analytical notion of *the foreign self* in the teaching and learning of the English language signify an important departure from a positivist towards a post-positivist research paradigm. The conceptual discussions of "the foreign self" are an onto-epistemological concept to highlight the significance of unpacking cultural discourses when investigating the paradoxes of English language education.

Influenced and supported by Tochon's research in world languages education and deep learning (for examples, see Tochon, 2009, 2014, 2019a, 2019b), I trace and zoom into the contexts of contemporary research on English language education in Taiwan since 2000. A preliminary research landscape of English language education can be mapped and summarized as the following trajectories of themes:

- (1) English as a language of power and globalization: constructing English as a national strategy for development (for examples, see Executive Yuan, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2019; National Development Council, 2002, 2015, 2018; Wu, 2011; Wu & Lau, 2019);
- (2) English as a language with forms of cultural capital: parental perception and preference towards English learning (for examples, see Brown, 2017; Y.F. Chang, 2008; Lee, 2008; Oladejo, 2006; Shang, Ingebritson, and Tseng, 2007);
- (3) English as a language of economic asset: the socio-economic benefit and significance of Chinese-English bilingualism for Taiwanese children (for examples, see A. H. Chen, 2011;

- I.C. Huang, 2016; National Development Council, 2018);
- (4) English as a foreign language: the best age(s) for learning English to achieve the "native-like" proficiency level (for examples, see Y.F. Chang, 2008; Hsu & Wu, 2014);
- (5) English as a core learning subject in the compulsory education system: the best and appropriate pedagogical practices for English language teaching and learning (for examples, see J. Chang, 2017; Luo, 2017); and
- (6) English and teacher professionalism and professionalization: the need for qualified English language teachers to ensure the quality and equality of English language education for children (for examples, see Crawford, 2001, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2003; Sunyakul & Teo, 2020).

It is noteworthy to point out that woven through these selected themes of research on English language education are a variety of research questions and findings that worked to facilitate the popularity and sustain the desirability of English language education without limited socioculture reflections and critical socio-political examinations.

Additionally, the trajectories of these popular research themes on Taiwanese English language education could all be further problematized through Tochon's (2019) significant analytic notion of *the foreign self* in world languages education. Embedded within these Taiwanese research studies on English language education is a common thread of paradoxes evolving around the construction of *the foreign self* through the promotion and implementation of English language learning which is woven into the production of a national imaginary. With ongoing waves of government official documents and education reform policies, as well as research projects funded by major national research grants in Taiwan, the need to de-naturalize

English language education by drawing on tools outside of positivism research methodology and methods cannot be overlooked. While some of these Taiwanese research projects pose questions from critical perspectives to investigate the conflicts arising through English language education, not many of them stem from post-structural perspectives to scrutinize the socio-cultural and scoio-political construction(s) of English language education in Taiwan. It is problematic that the popularity of English language education has not been questioned and the key questions about why English language education is important or desirable for all children in Taiwan have rarely been raised. Instead, thoughts and ideas about English language education for all children in Taiwan have become a common sense.

The above research themes/trajectories are some examples of the need for critical reflections on the dominance of the positivist research paradigm in the field of English language learning (for example, seeing English through the lenses of second language acquisition or a foreign language in Taiwan). While not dismissing/rejecting the importance of research studies from a positivist paradigm, my postmodern sensibility has led me to pursue a different set of research questions through which a different endeavor for critical inquiry is deployed. The key research questions in this project, as presented in Chapter One, seek to discuss how our understandings of English language teaching and learning in Taiwan are shaped while problematizing Taiwanese primary school ELTs. This shift in asking a different set of research questions requires a departure from a positivist ontological and epistemological home.

For me, a paradigm shift towards a poststructuralism home makes it possible to emphasize how important it is to understand the strong connection/tie between theories and methods. Gee (1999) had highlighted that theories and methods are inseparable. To further elaborate the interconnectedness of theories and methods in research, St. Pierre (2014) noted:

...theory norms practices. ...what we are able to do and think and live is always constrained by the historical and philosophical structures in which we're produced." (p. 1)

To show the interconnectedness of theories and methods in this project, Table 3.1 illustrates how this project departs from a positivist theoretical and methodological framework.

**Table 3.1: Positioning the Research Project** 

Unpacking English Language Textbooks in the Primary Years:  Learning what through English Language Education?				
Research Questions	Theoretical Concepts/Analytical Toolbox	Methodology and Methods	Types of Data	
What systems of reasoning are manifested in Taiwanese English language education as well as embedded in ELTs for the production of inclusion and exclusion?  What and how new cultural knowledge and identity is fabricated through the production of Taiwanese English Language Textbooks?  How are notions of sameness/difference as well as inclusion/exclusion being constructed in Taiwanese ELTs to reflect the dominant cultural discourse(s)?	-National imaginary.  -Post-structural epistemology of systems of reasoning.  -Foucaultian analytical concepts of power/knowledge and governmentality  -Deleuzoguattarian notion of assemblage.	-Assemblage: deterritorialization and reterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) -Situated methodologies (Lather, 2006) & Situated analysis (Clarke, 2005) -History of the present (Popkewitz, 2017)	-Official education policies -Government whitepapers -National Development Plans and Position Statements (since year 2000) -Official English Curriculum Guidelines (since 1990s) -Popular media publications (i.e. parenting magazines) -Promotional materials for English language education (i.e. afterschool enrichment classes) -English Language Textbooks by Kan Hsuan Education Group	
Note: Kan Hsuan is a gia	nt private textbook publish	ning company in Taiwan si	nce 1988 (when the	

centralized textbook production was de-centralized, de-regulated and shifted to commercial-based textbook production under textbook and curriculum guidelines). Kan Hsuan's English textbooks are the dominant textbook choice in both public and private primary schools in Taiwan. Kan Hsuan also owns several elite private international schools (providing preschool to high school education) in Taiwan and China.

Table 3.1 highlights the linkages between the research questions, sources of empirical data, and data analysis to elucidate that this research project is nested within a different sociopolitical knowledge cannon. In other words, as the research questions are housed in a post-structural ontological and epistemological "home" for a departure from a positivist paradigm, problematizing English language education in Taiwan and primary ELTs can open up a different way of understanding how multiple discourses work to (de)territorialize as well as (de)stabilize the desirability and intelligibility of English language education in Taiwan.

## **Research Methods: Data Collection and Analysis**

In this post-structural research project, I draw from various research approaches concerning the Deleuzoguattarian notion of *assemblage*, Patti Lather's notion of *situated methodologies*, and Popkewitz's approach of *history of the present*. In this section of the discussion, I present the research plan of this project and reconceptualize what counts as "empirical data," which alludes to how I "treat and see" the data with a post-structural sensibility for analysis and discussion.

# What Counts as "Empirical Data"?

In order to answer the research questions that aim to understand the complexity of English language education in Taiwan, multiple types and forms of official/public discourses and texts such as English Language Textbooks (ELTs) for primary schools are treated as empirical data in this research. Some examples of the "empirical textual data" include:

- Official information and reform policies/documents from both central and local governments' websites, including the Ministry of Education at the central government level and Bureaus of Education at the local government level. Additionally, various significant white papers, blueprints, national development plans from government organizations and departments such as the Government Information Office, National Development Councils that are authorized to make political "announcements" and official legislation concerning the status of the English language.
- English curriculum guidelines and policies and reform documents from the Ministry of Education.
- Pubic rhetoric and discussions on English language education in the mass media (i.e., newspapers, parental magazines, advertisements on English language education, political campaign documents, etc).
- The series of English Language Textbooks (ELTs) in primary schools by Kan Hsuan Publishing Group.

These documents and textbooks are being "seen" and treated as empirical data for textual analysis in this research project. Coming from a post-structural paradigm, it is imperative to acknowledge that the texts and discourses about English language education as "empirical data"

are shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic/racial, and gender values (for examples, see Curtis & Romney, 2019; Feng, 2019; Joo, Chik & Djonov, 2020; Kamasak, Ozbilgin & Atay, 2020). Embedded within the collections of data is the production of knowledge on English language education in Taiwan. Within the post-structural analytical framework, I come to see knowledge is socially constructed and shaped by power relations. As Cohen, Manion, and Morrison emphasized (2007), "what counts as knowledge is determined by the social and positional power of the advocates of that knowledge" (p. 27). Thus, for example, when approaching ELTs for primary school children in Taiwan as "empirical data" in this research project, it is important to "see" and "read" the ELTs as empirical data which contain "culturally loaded values."

Treating the multiple types of documents, textbooks, texts and images as empirical data opens up a new space for mapping and unpacking the formation(s) of a knowledge system for perpetuating English language education a "truth" and "norm" in Taiwan.

## **Methods of Data Analysis**

With a wide collection of textual data, this research study engages in multiple dimensions of critical textual analyses by deploying a variety of different analytical tools to unpack the complexities of English language education in Taiwan. Influenced by Lather's notion of situated methodologies, Clarke's (2005) notion of "situational analysis" allows me as a researcher "to draw together studies of discourse and agency, action and structure, image, text and context, history and the present moment—to analyze complex situations of inquiry broadly conceived" (p. xxii). In her effort to reground grounded theory for a new approach to data analysis, Clarke's

(2005) notion of situational analysis relies on three main cartographic approaches as analytic exercises to shed different but fresh ways of meaning making with the data. The three cartographic approaches are best understood as three forms of "maps" (Clarke, 2005):

- Situational maps: lay out and pay attention to major human, nonhuman, discursive, and other elements in the research situation of inquiry for the analysis of relations among them.
- Social worlds/arenas maps: lay out the collective actors, key nonhuman elements and the
  arena(s) of commitment and discourse within which they are engaged in ongoing
  negotiations (meso-level interpretations of the situation).
- Positional maps: lay out the major positions taken, and not taken, in the data (differences/similarities).

All three kinds of maps can merge to emphasize or focus on different layers of relations in the sociocultural world(s). Additionally, through these maps, different sources/formats of data will come to elucidate the layers of socio-cultural relations. As Clarke (2005) elaborated,

...situational analysis can deeply situate research projects individually, collectively, organizationally, institutionally, temporally, geographically, materially, discursively, culturally, symbolically, visually, and historically. (xxii)

Such modes of analyses, for example, the productions of situational maps in the form of *messy maps*, can show the connections with a Deleuzean's notion of a rhizomatic mapping process through which it becomes possible to identify multiple "lines of flight" when conducting post-structural textual and discourse analysis to rethink the assemblages of contemporary knowledge systems for English language education in Taiwan.

When conducting textual and discourse analysis, it is about sense-making through paying attention to the relations, connections, and disconnections among the various elements of discourses or lines of flight. In particular, following Keller's (2006, 2011) *sociology of knowledge approach to discourse* that draws on Foucault's (1972) concept of discursive formation and the structuring of power/knowledge complexes and combining Berger and Luckmann's (1966) social constructionist perspective, when conducting textual and discourse analyses on the assemblages of English language education in Taiwan, my analytical effort is moving against, across, and beyond the binary categories of hopes and fears concerning English language education. While Table 3.1 illustrates and establishes the links between the research questions, sources of data, and modes of data analyses, Table 3.2 enhances another layer of indepth explanations about how and why different modes of analyses are being deployed.

Table 3.2: Understanding the Linkages between Types of Data and Modes of Analyses

Types/Sources of Data	Modes of Analyses	Rationales
		(Why analyze data under such mode?)
Official information and reform policies/documents from both central and local governments' websites, including the Ministry of Education at the central government level and Bureaus of Education at the local government level. Additionally, various significant white papers, blueprints, national development plans from government organizations and departments such as the Government Information Office, National Development Councils that are authorized to make political "announcements" and official legislation concerning the status of English language.	-Social world(s)/arenas map - Post-structural discourse analysis	- To map/trace the production of norms, truths, and desirability for English language education in Taiwan.  -To unpack the knowledge system which sustains the intelligibility of English language education in Taiwan within the contemporary national imaginary.
English curriculum guidelines and policies and reform documents from	-Situational map - Post-structural discourse	

the Ministry of Education.	analysis	
Public rhetoric and discussions on English language education in the mass media (i.e., newspapers, parental magazines, advertisements on English language education, political campaign documents, etc).	-Social world(s)/arenas map -Post-structural discourse analysis	
The series of English Language Textbooks (ELTs) in primary schools by Kan Hsuan Publishing Group.	- Positional map -textual and discourse analysis	- To examine how ELTs construct and present particular worldview(s).  - To understand how and what local and global cultures' discourses are being constructed and circulated through ELTs.  - To unpack the cultural politics of English language textbooks (i.e., the illustrations and the cultural logic of the texts).  -To unpack the production of inclusion and exclusion in ELTs.

Elucidated through this above Table 3.2, I intend to identify, map and make sense of the changes, historical/present socio-political events, reform discourses and differences about contemporary English language education in Taiwan. Such an analytical approach for data analysis opens up multiple possibilities to (re)conceptualize the productions of a new common sense about English language education to provoke new insights into relations among the elements of discourses (Clarke, 2003) as well as to unpack the cultural politics of ELTs (i.e., the illustrations, images, and cultural logic of the texts).

# **A Concluding Summary**

This chapter has presented the research methodology of this study. Shifting away from a positivist research paradigm towards a post-structural research paradigm, I anchor this research

project in a different ontological and epistemological home. This research scrutinizes the ways in which the English language has been de-politicized as a "neutral" global language for international communication for the purposes of trade and business only. Seeking to "see" contemporary English language education in Taiwan beyond its face value to rethink and problematize the socio-cultural and socio-political politics of English language textbooks (i.e., the illustrations, images, and cultural logic of the texts), the methodology and method choices in this research allow me to interrogate values and assumptions within English language education in Taiwan. The shift to a different paradigm in this research also further challenges the conventional socio-political construction of knowledge system relating to English language teaching and learning. Through this paradigm shift with critical perspectives towards a post-structural onto-epistemological home, the research inquiry is inseparable from politics and cultural production of knowledge/power. Additionally, such a paradigm shift in educational research also requires me as a researcher to become not only analyst and bricoleur but also cartographer (Clarke, 2003), to be aware of multiplicities, (dis)connections and (im)possibilities.

#### **Chapter Four**

# The System of Reasoning for English Language Education in Taiwan

#### Introduction

Languages, cultures, and socio-politics are intricately knotted and inseparable. The popularity and desirability of English language education in Taiwan did not form in a vacuum. Rather, the national development plans and educational reforms have pushed English as a core subject in Taiwanese compulsory education system as well as bilingualism (Chinese and English) (for example, see Chin, 2018). Beginning in the early primary years, the teaching and learning of English is nested within the complex grids of cultural, socio-political, economic and educational discourses. Since the 1990s, there have been multiple influential threads of debates, discussions and policy changes to reinforce the importance of English education for all children as well as to perpetuate the "high" status of English language as a powerful global economic, cultural and socio-political language with capital to signify a national imaginary about progress, development and modernization (for example, see Chern, 2002).

Today, the "semi-official language" status of English in Taiwan has been constructed as a "truthful" fact which is unquestionable. For years, the official and public discussions on making/promoting English language as an (semi) official language with equal importance to the national language of Mandarin Chinese have never been absent in Taiwan (Creery, 2018; Eliassen & Rich, 2019; National Development Council, 2018). In a public official government press conference on August 25, 2018, Premier William Lai made an official announcement and launch of a new national plan to implement a new national language policy making English one

of the official languages in Taiwan. Under Premier Lai's political leadership and administration, the official status of English cannot be ignored or overlooked in the contemporary Taiwanese education system. The production of an official national plan for the Building of a Bilingual (Chinese and English) Nation by 2030 is one of the key examples of how English has been promoted to the nearly equal status of a national language with "official" recognition in Taiwan. However, rather than taking English language education at face value, in this chapter, I will deploy a post-structural textual reading and discourse analysis to map/trace the productions as well as the trajectories of multiple discourses within the production of a national imaginary through which a "truth" about English language education is prescribed.

In this chapter, to destabilize and problematize as well as to unpack this fabrication of national imaginary, I draw on a post-structural theoretical and methodological toolbox to examine the construction of English language education. I treat and "see" contemporary national imaginary as a knowledge system that is formed within a grid of socio-political practices that make the "common sense" about the English language intelligible in Taiwan. In this chapter of post-structural analysis and discussion, I aim to answer the first research question: What systems of reasoning are manifested in Taiwanese English language education as well as embedded in ELTs for the production of inclusion and exclusion? I focus on mapping and analyzing the circulations of thoughts in the official documents and socio-political discourses concerning English language education in Taiwan. My critical analysis and discussions are organized in this approach:

• Reading and looking into key government whitepapers to understand the official

<sup>1</sup> William Ching-te Lai was the Mayor of Tainan from 2010 to 2017 and he was the appointed Premier of the Republic of China (Taiwan) during 2017-2019. He is now the Vice President of the Republic of China (Taiwan) for 2020-2024.

articulation and representation of the English language in relation to contemporary national development plans;

- Unpacking the major national development proposals, plans, and position statements to understand the economic, educational, cultural, and socio-political constructions of English language education;
- Mapping the historical development/events in English language education to "identify" and "mark" the shifts and changes;
- Examining the official English Curriculum Guidelines for primary school education to illuminate the cultural and educational logic that come together to legitimatize the production of Taiwanese English Language Textbooks (ELTs); and
- Problematizing popular advertisements about English language teaching and learning for school age children.

Through critically analyzing these documents and their relevance to the constructions of English language education, I avoid making general descriptions, common explanations, or binary structural analysis of the English language as the most powerful foreign language in Taiwan. My intention of critical analysis here is not to conclude whether English language is good or bad in Taiwan. Rather, I take an approach of history of the present to inquire what systems of reasoning are manifested in Taiwanese English language education. This approach allows me to map particular trajectories or lines of logic that make the ELTs for primary schools the way it is. My intention in this chapter is to carve out a different epistemological space for data analysis and discussion to allow for critical examination and reconceptualization of English language education in Taiwan.

There are two main sections of analyses and discussions in this chapter. In the first section, I draw on Popkewitz's (2017, 2020) research approach of *history of the present* to examine the changing policies of English language education in Taiwan. Here, a critical read to investigate and unpack the policies and documents is not just to trace the changes in a linear historical timeline. Rather, I want to "see" and "treat" these policies as socio-political "events" that are produced as well as producing the ways in which we come to view and (re)conceptualize how we should act, think and produce new ways of being. From a Foucaultian analytical perspective, the policies and reform documents can be conceptualized as a technology of governing in which new cultural knowledge/power and ways of be(com)ing are produced.

In the second section, I analyze and discuss the contemporary national imaginary about progress, development and modernity to map/trace the production of new norms and "truth" about English language education in Taiwan. To do so, I examine sets of white papers, national blueprints or visions about future and national development plans that are produced by different levels of government administration. I pay critical attention to the changing policies as historical events to elucidate how English language education is made intelligible in Taiwan.

By scrutinizing contemporary policies concerning English language education, I aim to do in this chapter is related to the unpacking of the knowledge system and the landscape of English language education within the contemporary national imaginary. Meanwhile, through tracing the trajectories of discourses, mapping the policies, and inter- or cross-referencing the "texts" and "documents" from multiple fields of the social, cultural, political, economic, and educational, I treat the multiple discourses on English language learning as "lines of flight" in the analysis, which allows me to focus on the fluidity and complexity of these multiple discourses. The analyses and discussions in this chapter come from a combination of methods with

analytical approaches of de-territorialization/re-terriorialization (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), situated analysis (Clarke, 2005) and history of the present (Popkewitz, 2017) to rupture the "truth" about English language education and to create a space for a critical socio-political reconceptualization about English for all children in Taiwan.

## A History of the Present: The Changing Policies of English Language Education in Taiwan

English language education has played a major role in the contemporary Taiwanese compulsory education system. Over the past few decades, the changing policies for English language education have worked to legitimatize the status of English as a strategic language as well as one of the priorities for learning. Since the late 1990s, the addition of English language teaching and learning has become a required subject in primary school and such an educational policy change has further perpetuated the power of English in children's compulsory schooling and learning. There have been multiple centralized education policies and reforms to reflect the sociocultural and education phenomenon to push for an earlier starting year/age of English language education in the contemporary Taiwanese compulsory education system.

Highlighting Taipei as an example, Table 4.1 provides a snapshot of key events in English language education reform policies.

Table 4.1: English Language Education Reform Policies as Key Socio-Political Events

School Year	Major Events Concerning English Language Education and Policy
1968	English language as a core-subject was introduced into the compulsory education system at the level of junior high school (7th, 8th, and 9th grades)
1998	English language as a core-subject was added in the elementary curriculum. One hour

	per week for all 5th graders within Taipei.
2001	English language classes were modified and extended to all children starting from 3rd grade for two hours per week.
2002	English language classes were encouraged and extended to children starting from 1st grade for two hours per week in selected school districts that are able to afford such options.
2006	English language classes were extended to all 1st graders in Taipei. Importation of English teachers from English speaking countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand have been discussed as an option for filling the shortage of qualified elementary English language teachers.
2008	The Department of Education in Taipei chose two elementary schools for a trial program in creating appropriate English learning environments by hiring native English teachers to give lessons and develop suitable course materials.
2019	The Taiwanese government released and announced the Blueprint for Developing Taiwan into a Bilingual Nation by 2030. This national development plan has emphasized that it is different from other language development policy as it is to enhance people's English proficiency as opposed to only building the infrastructure for a bilingual environment. This blueprint intends to create a culture of English learning for not only students but the entire nation.

Treating and tracing the policy changes as key socio-political events allows me to move back and forth for inter-referencing the productions and trajectories of the changes through which a knowledge system of English language education is fabricated. In 2013, as appeared in the Taipei Department of Education official website:

[The goal is to] promote English learning in elementary schools and establish projects to create a suitable English learning environment in elementary schools to connect to the world. Ever since 2002, the Department (of Education) has directed that English education be extended downwards to grade one students in elementary schools. In recent years, the Department has continued to hold events and activities including English Summer/Winter Camps, English books purchase and reading promotion, professional training for English teachers, editing and publishing handbooks for remedial lessons,

establishing learning proficiency index for English language and course outlines, hosting English learning assessment trials and organizing international visits and exchanges. In 2008, the Department has chosen two schools for a trial program creating appropriate English learning environments by hiring native English teachers to give lessons and develop suitable course materials. (Abstracted from the official website of Department of Education website)

As demonstrated in this long quote from the official Department of Education website, English language education has been officially recognized and promoted as one of the key priorities in Taiwanese primary education policies since the early 2000s. This construction of English as a key core learning subject has been further reified through both education and national development policies.

As described in the official positioning of English in primary school education, the promotion of English language learning is situated within the vision of "connecting to the world" from the perspective of education policy. In these policies, English has been thought of as a powerful "global" language with the capacity to connect Taiwan to the world, particularly in the era of globalization. Running through the contemporary Taiwanese political discussions of and about English language education is a subtle sociopolitical practice of "Englishization" or "bilingualization." The new national development policy of making English a second or semi-official language has made the discussions and reform policies that push for an earlier starting point for English language education intelligible. English has become a "must have" type of educational and socio-cultural reform in the Taiwanese educational system. In other words, the value and impetus for learning English has been further legitimized through socio-political and cultural reforms.

### **Englishization: Crafting English Language Education in Taiwan**

Learning English is more than learning just another "foreign" language for Taiwanese students. Taiwan, like many other Asian countries, has officially legitimatized, prioritized and mandated English language education as a required "foreign" language in its compulsory education system (Liddicoat& Kirkpatrick, 2020). Kirkpatrick (2010) has pointed out that "almost all the member states of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) have made English a compulsory part of the primary school curriculum, many countries teaching it from Primary 1" (p. 147). In 1968, after a previous major systematic structural reform from a six-year schooling to a nine-year compulsory education system (extending compulsory education from six years of primary school education with another three years of junior high school education), English first became a required subject area in the national education curriculum (see Table 3.1).

After 40 years of a nine-year compulsory education system, the Taiwanese compulsory education system has been officially reformed into a twelve-year system in 2018 (six years of elementary school + three years of junior high school + three years of high school = twelve years of compulsory schooling). In both major educational system restructures in 1968 and 2018, English language education continued to be a key/core subject for curriculum reforms in the compulsory education system for all children in Taiwan. As illustrated in the case of Taipei, the starting age/year for English language learning has been "pushed" earlier and earlier through policy changes in the Year 1-12 education system since 2006. There is never a doubt about the high status of English language education as the discussions are always about when is the best starting point for children to learn English within the compulsory education system.

Beyond the compulsory education system into the tertiary education sector, since the early 2010s, multiple public and private universities in Taiwan have amended similar policies to make English proficiency level a key requirement for graduation. For example, in 2013, National Tsing Hua University in Taiwan has set an English proficiency level as an exit requirement for all undergraduate degree program students before they are eligible and qualify to graduate. For many Taiwanese universities, both public and private, to become eligible for graduation and to be awarded a bachelor's degree, university students will need to achieve the required English proficiency level in TOEFL, TOEIC, IELTS, or Cambridge English Language Assessment. What this has revealed is the unrivalled phenomenon of the official status of English language and how impossible it has become to question or problematize the norm of English language as it is now the most powerful foreign language in Taiwan.

In the making of English language education a required subject in compulsory schooling, the threads of political and cultural reasoning of an "English-centric" mentality has permeated into the creation of curriculum guidelines. What's needed here is a critical analysis to unpack how Taiwanese English curriculum guidelines have been constituted to prescribe a normative way of teaching and learning while acting as a medium of "truth" telling concerning English as a language of power with forms of capital for all children.

In the following section of analysis on English curriculum guidelines, I focus on the role of English language education in primary school by highlighting the document of *Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines* (國民中小學九年一貫課程綱要) as a textual example while treating this document as a socio-cultural and educational "event" within the larger scope of a national imaginary. I zoom into the analysis of the English language curriculum at the primary school level (Grade 1-6) to look at the articulation of curriculum objectives and core competence

indicators or benchmarks to unravel the "rules" and "norms" for the production of English Language Textbooks (ELTs).

(1) English Language Curriculum: The Learning Objectives

As introduced in Chapter One, the three key learning objectives in the English Language Curriculum are:

- To cultivate the student's basic communicative competence in English so it is applicable in practical situations (培養學生基本的英語溝通能力, 俾能運用於實際情境中。)
- To foster the student's interests in learning English and to develop ways of English learning in order to promote effective spontaneous learning (培養學生學習英語的興趣與方法,俾能自發有效地學習。)
- To enhance the student's understanding of local and foreign cultures and customs in order to compare and respect cultural differences (增進學生對本國與外國文化習俗的認識,俾能加以比較,並尊重文化差異)。(Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 1)

This set of learning objectives highlights the importance of "culture" in English learning. As a key learning objective, language learning cannot be separated from cultural contexts and cultural meanings. A significant part of learning English shall include deeper understanding of both local and foreign cultures and customs. However, what is in need of careful and critical reflection here is the notion of "differences" and "similarities" in the construction and formation of worldview. Differences in culture, when being "compared" under the gaze of an "English-centric" mentality can become problematic, for it provokes struggles, splits and wars of sociocultural and national identities.

The concept of "comparing cultures" as the way to introduce/learn new cultures for children in primary school is dangerous and it can evoke multiple layers of meanings and discussions. When understanding cultures through a binary mode of comparison to understand cultural differences/similarities, it falls into the trap of cultural bias and stereotypes. When notions of similarities and differences between local and foreign cultures are positioned as an othering practice of us versus them, it inevitably implies dangerous notions of binary constructions including good/bad, appropriate/inappropriate, civilized/uncivilized and linear sociocultural evolution of progress and development.

Within the context of Taiwan, the construction of an "English-centric" mentality is a dominant theme threaded through the construction of the Taiwanese national imaginary and a central theme in the English Language Curriculum Guidelines to promise imagined concepts about progress, development and modernization. Through such national imaginary, English has become a prioritized "foreign" language for acquiring desirable outcomes, which can have strong associations with better/advanced culture(s) to prescribe ways of being and becoming to be taught and learnt by all.

The articulation of an "English-centric" cultural narrative is magnified in English

Language Textbooks under the banner of "cultural diversity." However, with a tokenistic

definition about cultures, the representations of diverse cultures have been relying on a

dangerous comparative perspective through the practice of "Othering." A dichotomous

comparison between local (Us) vs. foreign (Them) cultures is dangerously positioned within the

frameworks of imperialism, colonialism, and neoliberalism to distinguish which cultures may be

more "well-developed" or "globalized". Therefore, the learning objectives about English

language teaching and learning can create a new parameter to (re)define what constitutes a normal and sensible way of teaching and learning English.

### (2) English Language Education: Its Status in Curriculum Guidelines

One of the new changes in the Taiwanese education system is the production of a new Curriculum Guidelines for *Grade 1-12 Curriculum Guidelines*, which was announced and drafted in 2014 in preparation for the building of a new 12-year compulsory education system (also known as 12-year Basic Education). This new compulsory education system has been implemented in the 2019/2020 school year with an updated version of a new National Curriculum Guidelines for Grade 1-12 (Ministry of Education, 2014/2019). In this research project, my analysis and discussions focus on Grade 1-6 at the primary school level.

It is important to note that in the latest iteration of the Curriculum Guidelines for *Grade 1-12 Curriculum Guidelines*, there is a major revision of the Key Learning Area relating to Languages. With a growing population of immigrants, new residents from Southeast Asia, and echoing the national development plan of *The New Southbound Talent Development Program* under the scope of the New Southbound Policy (Executive Yuan, 2020), the Ministry of Education has shifted towards the expansion of multilingual education. Starting in the 2019/2020 school year, at the level of primary school education within the Key Learning Area of Languages four main categories of languages are introduced to the new 12-Year Basic Education. These languages are: Mandarin Chinese, local languages (including Hakka, Hoklo Taiwanese, and Indigenous languages), new residents' languages (mainly the seven Southeast Asian languages for children with parents who are categorized as new residents in Taiwan), and English.2 While

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The new residents in Taiwan are immigrants through marriage. In addition to the immigrants from mainland China, the seven most common Southeast Asian countries include: Vietnam, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia,

the Taiwanese government is starting to recognize the importance of multi-lingual education corresponding to the national imaginary about competitiveness within Asia as well as participating in the global economy, noticeable key differences for placing stronger emphasis on English language education, elevating it to the status of a semi-official language is still apparent. A closer look into the instructional hours of these different languages in the suggested and recommended timetable by the Ministry of Education would work to unpack the status of English language education.

Table 4.2 presents a snapshot of the timetable hours for language learning in the primary school years. These hours are officially mandated teaching and learning hours by the Ministry of Education and such guideline for the formation and organization of the school timetable is required to be implemented in both public and private primary schools within the compulsory education system.

Table 4.2: Timetable for Learning Languages: Primary and Secondary School Years

Key	Primary School Years					
Ι	1st Learning Stage		2nd Learning Stage		3rd Learning Stage	
earning	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
	Chinese (6 hrs)		Chinese (5 hrs	)	Chinese (5 hrs	)
Area:	Local or New Residents'		Local or New 1		Local or New	
	Languages (1 hr)		Languages (1 l	nr)	Languages (1 l	nr)

Cambodia, and Myanmar. According to the student population statistic from the Ministry of Education, there is a significant growth in the percentage of children of new residents from Southeast Asian countries. For example, within the Grade 1-9 system, in the 2008/2009 school year, the percentage of children with parents as new residents was 4.94% whereas in the 2018/2019 school year, the percentage is 9.36%. Therefore, with the growing percentages of students with diverse cultural backgrounds in the Taiwanese compulsory education system, the need to include new residents' languages for children has been officially recognized and provided starting in the 2019/2020 school year.

	*English is required in some school districts following the local Bureau of Education's guidelines.	English (1hr)	English (2 hrs)
Secondary School Years (Junior High School Years)			hool Years)
	4th Learning Stage		
	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
	Chinese (5 hrs)		
	English (4 hrs)		

Summarized and abstracted/translated from https://12basic.edu.tw

As demonstrated in Table 4.2, it is not hard to find out that by the 3rd Learning Stage in the 12-Year Basic Education compulsory education system, the hours of English language learning have increased up to nearly half of the Chinese language learning hours at the primary school level. Using this as a baseline and guideline, in some metropolitan areas, the hours of English language education by the 3rd Learning Stage in Grade 5-6 can go up to nearly the same number of hours as Chinese. For example, in Taipei, some well-resourced public primary schools are now equipped as Chinese-English bilingual primary schools. As children/students move into secondary education at the junior high school years, starting in Grade 7, the hours of English lessons would be nearly the same as those of Chinese. Despite an emergence of official recognition of the importance of multi-lingual education in Taiwan, the English language still is a prioritized language placed at a higher status than the local, indigenous and/or the seven new residents' languages. It is important to note that by the 4th Learning Stage in the 12-Year Basic Education system, the two remaining languages (as winners of all languages) for teaching and learning have narrowed down to English and Chinese.

Language education, as previously noted, is never purely about the teaching and learning of a language. It embraces multiple social, cultural, economic, political, and educational dimensions. Learning a language is also about pursuing a new sociocultural imaginary of be(com)ing. Within the socio-political and cultural contexts of Taiwan, issues relating to multiculturalism and multi-lingual education have gradually received some of the much-needed critical attention through political debates under the banner of social justice during election times. For example, political discussions about the need to "include" Southeast Asian languages in compulsory education are a reflection of the changing population in Taiwan. Language education in the compulsory education system is never neutral but reflects the production of sociocultural and political inclusion/exclusion to embody the national imaginary relating to the learners' struggles and constructions of identities.

Table 4.3: A Summary of English Competence Indicators for Primary School English

<b>Categories of Competence</b>	<b>Competence Indicators</b>	Examples of Detailed Criteria
English language ability	Listening	-ability to understand the basic sound of English
	Speaking	-ability to pronounce English letters correctly -ability to use English to introduce oneself -ability to use English properly in social contexts
	Reading	-ability to read English alphabet -ability to apply phonics for reading
	Writing	-ability to write one's name in English -ability to write English alphabet and letters

	Combination and application of listening, speaking, reading, and writing	-ability to read, write, and pronounce all 26 letters of the alphabet
		-ability to achieve the vocabulary of at least 200 English words
English learning methods		-ability to pay attention and notice the taught English words in the media
		-willingness to try to use and apply English when there is an opportunity
Culture and Customs		-to understand the major foreign holidays and key cultural events and customs
		-to understand how to describe our local culture in English
		-to understand some basic international social manners
Categories of Competence	Competence Indicators	Examples of Detailed Criteria

Table 4.3 provides and opens up a discussion to destabilize and problematize what children are learning through the English language. At first glance, the three major categories of English competence indicators seem to be "typical" and "sensible" for the teaching and learning of any foreign language for schoolchildren in primary school. However, when looking into the category of "culture and customs," it opens up an alternative and critical space for a deeper discussion on the construction and representation of "foreign" holidays, cultural events and customs under an "English-centric" mentality. For example, some critical questions may include: which foreign holidays shall be introduced/taught as the representation of "English culture" and from whose perspective(s)? All "holidays" have their historical backgrounds with specific cultural meanings and roots. Particularly, this is related to how history is told and what versions of "truths" are being mobilized. Our understanding of and about culture is linked with political

and cultural power but it is not fixed in time and space. Rather, cultural understandings can be fluid and multiple. In other words, the idea of foreign holidays evokes critical rethinking of whose histories shall be learnt and taught as the "truth" for all.

The selection of "foreign holidays and key cultural events and customs" to be taught to all Taiwanese children is not natural and it is not be "bias free" but loaded with socio-political and cultural assumptions which are nested within the web of power/knowledge. As highlighted in Table 4.3, the learning objectives and competence indicators in the English Curriculum Guidelines have defined the rules and norms for the production of ELTs. While textbook production is no longer centrally controlled by the Taiwanese government, by law the production of ELTs will still need to follow the basis of official framework of curriculum guidelines for the 12-Year Basic Education. Therefore, the English Curriculum Guidelines have been deemed official golden rules that regulate the production of ELTs. Primary school English Curriculum Guidelines and the production of textbooks are never free from socio-political and cultural influences, but instead are deeply politicized to reflect as well as to embody the making of a national imaginary.

## National Imaginary about Progress, Development and Modernity: A Socio-Political Construction of English Language Education in Taiwan

Education changes embody cultural, social, and political production of hopes and fears about the present and the future (McGroarty, 2003; Popkewitz, 2008). The productions of both hopes and fears reflect contemporary socio-political positioning, sociocultural values, and national projection of educational performance when comparing and competing with other

nations. The fear of falling behind in international competitions in education and economic outcomes is often further mobilized through production of international league tables comparing different performances and outcomes. For example, just to name a few, different series of reports by the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) such as *Government at a Glance* or *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA) often escalate the level of fear in falling behind or losing the international race for progress and development (OECD, 2019).

In Taiwan, the political rhetoric and discussions have frequently drawn on such international reports to look at numbers and/or statistics as scientific measures or evidence to shape and draft mid-term/long-term national development proposals, whitepapers, and national reform policies in the name of improving outcomes and making positive progress in the near imagined future(s). At the turn of the 21st Century, the formation of a new national blueprint about progress, development, and modernity was timely. In 2002, seeking to meet the challenges in a new millennium and recognizing the rapid shifts in the era of globalization, the Taiwanese government finalized and published a series of national development blueprint documents entitled: "Challenge 2008: National Development Plan" (Executive Yuan, 2002). Numerous related national plans and policies were made and implemented through this series on national development. This blueprint has created a new but influential roadmap of national investment plans including education reforms to cultivate and stimulate future economic development at the national level. Particularly, as one of the major investments, cultivation of human capital was mentioned as "E-Generation Manpower Cultivation Plan" (Executive Yuan, 2002). In that, the described objective in Challenge 2008 is:

The intention of the E-Generation Manpower Cultivation Plan is to cultivate competitive

citizens with international foresight. This can be achieved through creating international environments, developing enthusiastic youths, and establishing life-long social learning (Department of Education, 2013, my added Italic).

In this document, the "legal" and high status of English language education has been formally and officially established as it is recognized as the language for internationalization and globalization.

...The first step to facing future challenges requires a high adaptability to globalization, as well as an environment for fostering such abilities. *The ability to use foreign languages* (especially English) and internet communication is the focal point of this project. English in particular has become essential to global connection, and accordingly the government made English a quasi-official language six years ago to boost the range of English application in everyday life. (Department of Education, 2013, my added Italic).

It is obvious that English is deemed the most significant "foreign" language that promises, facilitates, and promotes internationalization and globalization to boost and ensure progress and development. This is an "English-centric" mentality through the socio-political and cultural construction of a national imaginary. English is more than just a "foreign" language for it represents and signifies social and economic progress and modernization, as well as Westernization.

More recently, in 2018, under the administration of Premier Lai's leadership (2017-2019), the National Development Council published an official document titled: Blueprint for Developing Taiwan into a Bilingual Nation by 2030. In this blueprint, the status of English has been further elevated to become one of the official languages in Taiwan. As noted in this

document (National Development Council, 2018), English is deemed:

the most important common language for international communication and as developments in digital technology spread rapidly all over the world, English has become closely connected with all spheres of people's life. Under these trends, "English proficiency" has become an essential ability for opening the gateway to globalization. Therefore, how to raise citizens' English ability to a more internationally competitive level has become a vital issue common to all non-English speaking countries. Taiwan certain cannot except itself from this. (p. 1)

Unlike Hong Kong, Singapore or any other previous British colonies within the Asian geopolitical space, Taiwan has not been ruled or colonized by any English speaking political or military power. Looking at its history, Taiwan was colonized by Japan during the period of 1895-1945. During that time, the "official" languages were Japanese and Chinese. This leads to the question of why and how, in the name of globalization or internationalization, is it possible to create an "English-centric" mentality in an Asian geopolitical space like Taiwan, where English has not been a daily working language? What threads of socio-political and cultural systems of reasoning are making such a national imaginary intelligible? Why the move to "Englishization" in Taiwan? In order to unpack such socio-political and cultural system of reasoning, it is important to look into the complexities of inter- and intra- historical as well as regional trajectories of socio-political changes in Taiwan and juxtapose these "events of changes" within greater Asia and the world map to further understand the articulation and circulation of such system of reasoning through which such an "English-centric" mentality is made sensible in the era of globalization.

First of all, what is muddled together in the Taiwanese national imaginary is the

production of an "English-centric" mentality or invention of "Englishization" of globalization. In Chen's (2010) work, "Asia as Method", he provided a significant analytical perspective and emphasized the need to think about contemporary notions of globalization in Asia through the concept of deimperialization. Chen (2010) noted that "globalization without deimperialization is simply a disguised reproduction of imperialist conquest" (p. 2). This critical perspective of the linkage(s) between imperialism and colonialism with globalization can open up a new analytical space to destabilize the production of an "English-centric" mentality in Taiwan. This new analytical space destabilizes the taken-for-granted of power relations for the production of English as a language of economic and sociopolitical capital for development, progress and modernization.

In looking at the contemporary history of Taiwan, it is important to untangle the myths and fabrications of an "English-centric" mentality. The fabrication of an "English-centric" mentality is mobilized and perpetuated through the Taiwanese version of a national imaginary by weaving in the concept of globalization at its face value. English language education in Taiwan has embodied hopes about future progress, development and modernization in the construction of a contemporary national imaginary. In most Asian locations, the English language is thought of as a language of globalization (for examples, see Kirkpatrick, 2010, 2017; H.Y. Lin, 2019; Nguyen, 2017). While acknowledging the importance of critical analysis, my analysis in this project marks a departure from critical structural analysis to echo what Chen (2010) has elaborated:

Rather than being constantly anxious about the question of the West, we can actively acknowledge it as a part of the formation of our subjectivity. In the form of fragmented pieces, the West has entered our history and become part of it, but never in a totalizing

manner. The task for Asia as Method is to multiply frames of reference in our subjectivity and worldview, so that our anxiety over the West can be diluted, and productive critical work can move forward. (p. 223)

In this chapter, Chen's (2010) work on *Asia as Method* elucidates analytical discussion on deimperialization and decolonialism within and across the geopolitical space of Asia with specific intra- and inter-regional references can be combined with an approach of the history of the present to generate a new discursive space for (re)mapping and tackling what were/are the key trajectories of systems of reasoning that have (re)constitute the landscape of an "English-centric" mentality. Seeking to better understand the construction of English language education in Taiwan, the key analysis and discussion in this chapter is not to "reject" or "accept" Western influences in the Taiwanese national imaginary. Rather, the point here is to map and trace the systems of reasoning that have sustained the production of a national imaginary which has created a platform to push for the "birth" of English language education as a significant strategic reform for progress, development, and modernization.

In this new discursive space through the combination of an Asia as Method and History of the Present approach to data analysis, the following trajectories of socio-political and cultural logic in Taiwan become visible from multiple Taiwanese governmental major national development proposals, plans, whitepapers and position statements:

- A dominant socio-political belief of the significance of capitalism in the global economy.
- A strong linkage between political and cultural power with regards to forms of capital and incomes (i.e., cash, money, economic, cultural, and national development). For example, where there is money/business, there is economic and political power and "truth."

- English is/has been used as the international and worldwide trading language in the global economy (lingua franca).
- English speaking countries such as the United States have been influential in Taiwan with political power, economic factors and cultural influences in the global economy since post World War II.
- Most countries that use English as their official language appear to achieve or are rated as more "advanced" countries in the economic development scale according to several international reports by the OECD or the World Bank (i.e., the classification of first world or developed economies and modern societies). For instance, countries like the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom are known as developed and advanced political economies.
- English cultures (i.e. United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia etc.) have been deemed to be more "civilized" and/or "advanced" within the international community.

It is imperative to note that while the above threads of political and cultural logic are connected with the rationalities and influences of imperialism and colonialism since the 19th century, the "Western" influences in Taiwan are not to be ignored. What's at play here is the intricate production of desirability and intelligibility, how the English language may lead to or can promise progress and development. Contemporary trajectories of imperialism and colonialism in the 21st century have further intersected and merged subtly with neoliberalism through which the linear developmental theories and practices are coming together to legitimatize criteria of progress and development (Ziai, 2007, 2016). The methods of measuring and describing the "levels of development" have been narrowly defined through pure economic terms in the name

of globalization. A dominant but narrowed concept about national development has become measurable through a variety of economic indexes (Matthews, 2016; Ziai, 2016) which can all be summarized as capital driven only. The logic of the national development plan in Taiwan has been heavily influenced by the narrowed logic of economic reasoning to reflect traces of imperialism, colonialism, and neoliberalism. As articulated in multiple waves of national development reports, hoping to "catch up" or upgrade the level of development to make economic progress, the connections between an "English-centric" mentality, modernization, and globalization have woven a dominant socio-political ideological knot through which the importance of English language education and the status of English have been highly politicized and mobilized in Taiwan as the "truth."

These critical reflections and inquiries of the political and cultural trajectories have elucidated that the contemporary popular Taiwanese construction of a national imaginary has dangerously embodied what Chen (2010) has noted as a new form of imperialism and what Ziai (2016) has highlighted as neoliberalism which is interlacing capitalism with globalization. Such construction of a Taiwanese national imaginary about progress, development, and modernization has made the policies concerning English language education intelligible, desirable and "normal." Through the government reports and reform policies, changes that are in favor of being "English-centric" or "Englishization" can be seen across multiple domains in social, political, economic, cultural, and educational to reconfigure a new worldview in Taiwan.

#### What does English Language Education Mean for Taiwan?

Since the turn of the 21st century, the desirability and intelligibility of English language education in Taiwan have interlocked with contemporary socio-political, educational, economic, and socio-cultural discourses to entail a narrative about progress and development. Coconstructing each other, as seen in the newest national development blueprint of building a bilingual (Chinese-English) nation by 2030, for Taiwanese people of all ages, English language education is more than just learning an additional language (National Development Council, 2018). English language education embodies hopes and promises for Taiwan to be(com)ing a lead game player within the global and regional economy. Among the driving rationales supporting the "official" legislative promotion of building a bilingual nation by 2030, I highlight one of the official articulated rationales on the theme of "forging competitive advantage for young talents:"

In face of the trend of all the world's countries competing for talents, Taiwan possess impressive strength of talents, and if they want to get ahead further internationally and raise their competitiveness, they still essentially need to have the ability to communicate in the international ligua franca. Looking around the world, we can see the examples of Singapore and India, or even Romania, where because of the local population's good English ability, they are able to lure in many multinational corporations, which provide local people with many quality job opportunities. Building upon the advantage of our country's industry chains, Taiwan must develop itself into a bilingual nation, to further strengthen our national competitiveness, attract multinational corporations to come to Taiwan to engage in business activity, and enable our young generation to have better

development opportunities in their homeland, lifting wage levels as a whole, and spurring the prosperity of our national economy. (National Development Council, 2018, p. 6)

This statement quoted from the official announcement of a national blueprint to build a "bilingual" nation by 2030 encapsulates the intricate interplay between the socio-political meanings of English language education and national imaginary in Taiwan. Rather than identifying and establishing a causal relationship for analysis, I have shifted my focus on the nuanced aspects of the multiple "lines of flight" which constitute the assemblage of contemporary English language education. In this national blueprint, through the articulation of several keywords/phrases, subtle systems of reasoning can be made visible to display the complex making of a "grand" vision for building a new bilingual nation. It is important to highlight a few sets of keywords/phrases: human talents (which embodies the theory of human capital), competitiveness (that implies both personal and national levels), English as international ligua franca, good English ability, job opportunities, bilingual nation. What these sets of keywords/phrases have fabricated is a new "sensible" rationale, which has made English language education intelligible and rational. Such intelligibility about English language education also "raises" the status of the English language in Taiwan to that of a desirable "semiofficial" language through which the building of a bilingual (Chinese-English) nation can promise a better economic outlook, which would ensure progress, development and modernization.

English language education in Taiwan is beyond learning a "foreign" language. It is loaded with multiple layers of cultural, socio-political, economic, and educational meanings to perpetuate a system of reasoning that sustains the contemporary national imaginary for building a bilingual nation to achieve the imagined outcomes of progress and development. Nested within

this system of reasoning is a complex interplay of local, regional and global circulations of how English language education can promise modernization as well as what "modernization" ought to mean or look like in Taiwan. At the global level, a common and dominant understanding about "modernization" is based on a social development theory with a linear logic to understand multiple aspects of the development "levels" of societies (for examples, see Alisjahbana, 2019; Goorha, 2010; He, 2015; Inglehart, 1997). To "rate" or compare the levels of development in different societies, an "objective" comparative scale (i.e., development index) is often applied to measure the political, social, cultural, economic, and educational status in the trajectory of "evolution" when for an international league table which cultivates a competitive culture.

The concept of a scale that distinguishes the differences among developed, developing, and underdeveloped economies/countries is an example from the World Bank. While Khokhar & Serajuddin (2015) have questioned the usefulness of the classification and categorization system of the concept of "developing world" in reporting the social and economic development or progress around the world, the dominantion of a comparative logic about measuring differences/similarities and rating who is ahead/behind in the international league table still prevails. This mentality of competitiveness has been widely circulated and accepted at the local, regional and global levels. Take the International Student Performance Assessments (PISA) as one example. The results of PISA are presented in the format of an international education league table and have always been read and re-interpreted by the Taiwanese government with a mixture of global and regional perspectives in comparison within the East Asian geopolitical context to further perpetuate a sentiment of competitiveness.

The meanings of English language education have been further complicated by this logic of competitiveness through the mobilization of the socio-political and educational rhetoric. From

a socio-political perspective, the English language is thought of as a strategic "foreign" language for all Taiwanese citizens to acquire and to master for be(com)ing a developed country within the region of (East) Asia. From an educational perspective, the English language has been "elevated" to have a status similar (if not equal) to that of Mandarin Chinese in the compulsory education system as a preparation for building a new "bilingual" nation by 2030. Taiwanese English language education has multiple meanings and should not be taken at face value.

### **Conclusion: A Summary**

In this chapter, I work to challenge the taken-for-granted production of "truth" to accept English language education as a "normal" educational practice. I have placed the official and national development documents and English Curriculum Guidelines at the center for critical analysis. This has allowed the possibility to untangle the production of an "English-centric" mentality as well as to elucidate the problematic construction of a Taiwanese national imaginary in the name of globalization. Mobilized through this concept of globalization is a particular system of reasoning that rationalizes English language learning as a significant marker of economic, social, cultural, and political progress and development. This "English-centric" mentality illustrates a thread of development discourse as a primary system of reasoning that dangerously promotes as well as mobilizes a commonsense to perpetuate the production of standardization in globalization. Therefore, when attributing the current popular pedagogical practice concerning English language education in Taiwan under the current construction of a national imaginary, it is imperative to pay critical attention to the power matrix through which English education is constructed as a

normative pedagogical and desirable cultural practice in the name of progress and development in the era of globalization.

To summarize, the contemporary national imaginary in Taiwan cannot be separated from its historical events of changes and influences of imperialism, colonialism and neoliberalism. Nested within the official articulation and construction of English education is the mobilization of multiple layers of cultural and political assumptions about national progress and development in Taiwan. From such an analytical perspective, it carves out a new discursive space to unpack the making of a new/different cultural and political system of reasoning for the production of a national imaginary through which the formation of English Language Curriculum Guidelines is supporting the production of ELTs.

In the following chapters (Chapters Five and Six), I will focus on critical examination of ELTs in Taiwan to destabilize and question the production of social and cultural norms. The production of ELTs is closely woven within the fabric of the national imaginary to articulate particular socio-cultural inclusion as well as exclusion. Without critical textual evaluation and discourse analysis of ELTs, English language learning can dangerously become a tool that perpetuates the inequality of imperialism, colonialism, and neoliberalism. Such a subtle (re)production of inequality in English language education will not promote a holistic worldview but will instead perpetuate a narrowed and inequitable understanding of diversity in a global world, in which multicultural education with a social justice perspective will not be possible.

#### **Chapter Five**

# Production of New Cultural Knowledge and Identity: Learning What through English Language Textbooks?

#### Introduction

The production of textbooks involves collective remembering and forgetting that reflects socio-political and cultural struggles to shape the formation of "official knowledge" as well as implementation of national curriculum guidelines (Apple,1996, 2006, 2018). From a critical perspective and reconceptualization of education, the production of textbooks is never neutral, as the constructions of knowledge are nested within a complex grid of power relations. As discussed in the previous chapters from a power-structural theoretical perspective, the production of English language education and English Language Textbooks (ELTs) reflects the constructed national imaginary.

In the case of English language education in Taiwan, ELTs should be problematized as they are more than just language textbooks that are for teaching and learning the English language as a foreign language. Rather, ELTs should be (re)conceptualized as "curriculum artifacts" that embody socio-political agendas and socio-cultural ideologies and imaginaries for the production of a new cultural knowledge and identity in Taiwan. ELTs play a key role during the early years of English language education at the level of primary schooling; they are intentionally designed to offer visual images to embody the learning objectives in the curriculum guidelines as well as loaded with particular cultural and social values. Primary school ELTs are a powerful and effective teaching and learning tool for achieving the teaching goals and learning

outcomes as well as a significant curriculum artifact for perpetuating the official norms that are prescribed in the *national* and *official English Curriculum Guidelines* in Taiwan.

This chapter focuses on analyzing how textbooks embody cultural politics of power for the production of cultural norms in order to address one of the research questions: "What and how is new cultural knowledge and identity fabricated through the production of Taiwanese English Language Textbooks?" To deepen the analysis and discussion, as a significant curriculum artifact and cultural texts, ELTs are conceptualised as a cultural artifact and sociopolitical tool for English language education in Taiwan. In relation to that, I unpack and analyze how the texts, images, and cultural logic in ELTs perpetuate dominant cultural norms while inscribing a new cultural knowledge and identity in Taiwan.

Textbooks can (re)define and prescribe what teaching and learning ought to be. For example, the production and publication of textbooks not only embody politics of power but also emphasize whose knowledge should count or matter (for example, see Bock, 2018). Therefore, it is important to investigate the textbooks, as they are powerful and effective teaching and learning tools for achieving the goals and outcomes, as well as perpetuating the official norms that are prescribed in the *national* and *official* curriculum guidelines. Thus, looking into linkages between textbooks and curriculum can reflect and unravel the complexities of the trajectories and productions of "new norms" within the web of power/knowledge.

To begin my analysis of ELTs in Taiwanese primary schools, in the first section, I draw on the approach of the history of the present to trace and map the socio-political and socio-cultural complexities of educational changes that interject opportunities to deregulate and decentralize textbook production in Taiwan. This mapping of the multiple trajectories of socio-political changes, socio-cultural reforms and educational policies can interject an alternative

space to unpack the changes in national curriculum guidelines and textbook production to enable a deeper focus on critical textual analysis of ELTs.

In the second section, I focus on analyzing two sets of popular ELTs for primary schools (these textbooks are used in both public and private schools). The chosen sets of ELTs are: Follow Me and Super Wow, published by Kang Hsuan Educational Publishing Corporation (Kang Hsuan). These are the two most popular and most commonly used ELTs in Taiwan. Kang Hsuan Educational Publishing Corporation was established in Taiwan in 1988. It started out as a private textbook publishing company and it has now grown into a giant private education provider. In addition to publishing textbooks, Kang Hsuan counts as part of its conglomerate, several private tutoring schools, pre-K-12 schools and pre-K-12 international schools in Taiwan as well as in selected cities in China. Since the decentralization and deregulation of textbook production in the 1990s, around 45% of the pre-K-12 schools in the compulsory education system (starting from primary Year 1 to Year 12 in high school) in Taiwan have been using various versions/product lines of textbooks and educational resources such as applications, reference books and multi-media products produced by Kang Hsuan Educational Publishing Corporation.3 In addition to operating several private kindergartens and schools in Taiwan, Kang Hsuan Educational Publishing Corporation group has extended its private education/schools to several cities in China, providing bilingual education as international schools.

My analysis and discussions in this chapter reflect an onto-epistemological shift towards a critical textual analysis of ELTs. I assert that the production of Taiwanese ELTs is not neutral,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> According to Taiwan Publishing Information, Kang Hsuan textbooks have gained high popularity and are being used by 45% of schools including both public and private school sectors in Taiwan. Kang Hsuan Educational Publishing Group also owns several elite private international schools in Taiwan and China (see, <a href="https://www.knsh.com.tw/">https://www.knsh.com.tw/</a>).

but politically influenced and socio-culturally constructed. In the following paragraphs, I present how I pay detailed and systematic attention to the texts, visual images and cultural logics in the textbooks to unpack the production of new cultural knowledge and identity.

Contemporary Education Changes in Taiwan: A History of the Present

Changing Political Influences of Education in Taiwan: Colonization, Decolonization, Recolonization?

From the perspective of a critical theoretical framework, which sees power as a thing to be owned/shared (a repressive/oppressive notion of power), schools can be thought of as preserving and distributing what is perceived to be "legitimate knowledge"—the knowledge that all children/students must/should obtain. In light of such a critical theoretical framework, schools are socio-political and cultural institutions (for examples, see Apple, 2012; Gerrard, 2016). The process of schooling is thought to contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of dominant cultural legitimacy as "official knowledge." This making of "official knowledge" is strongly connected to the socio-political, cultural and economic "power" of selected groups of people within the larger political and economic arena in order for "them" to mobilize their knowledge with legitimacy to become the "knowledge for all." While such critical analysis is significant for informing and shaping my analysis of ELTs, in this research project I depart from a structural research paradigm to seek a different and deeper understanding of the paradoxes in English language education and the production of ELTs in relation to a larger scope of national imaginary.

Going beyond a thread of reasoning and analysis from a critical theoretical perspective towards a post-structural theoretical lens, the notions of power and culture in the process of schooling need to be seen not as hierarchical connection/position to each other, but as relational, as they are nested within a complex web of power/knowledge relations in a society. Within the socio-political and historical context of Taiwan, the making of "official knowledge" has been strongly linked with the changing political regimes and contexts since the 1890s (from Japanese colonization to the Kuomingtang political regime to contemporary trajectories of democracy). For example, during the period of 1895-1945, Taiwan was under 50 years of Japanese colonization and the educational system was identical to the one in Japan. The construction of cultural knowledge and identity was "built" to reflect and follow "the standard and norm" in Japan. Education, for the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan, was about making the Japanese culture common and normal cultural knowledge and identity and nation building for a colony (for examples, see Go & Park, 2019; Y.C. Li, 2019; Tse, 2000). Japanese language education in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation and colonial period was used as a socio-political and socio-cultural administration tool for the production of colonial Japanese cultural knowledge, identity and nation building. Japanese was the medium of instruction in schools and it was one of the official languages during the 50-years of the Japanese colonial period (Tse, 2000).

At the end of World War II (1939-1946), Taiwan was "returned" to the Republic of China (R.O.C) under the political domination and control of the Kuomintang (KMT) by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Kuomintang (KMT) had established the Republic of China in 1912 after the Xinhai Revolution for democracy and modernization that overthrew and ended the Qing Dynasty, which was the last imperial dynasty in China. This building of a new republic through "Western" inspired democratic political

ideology for a different type of national imaginary was in the making. The establishment of a public education system for all, particularly tertiary education such as universities after 1912, signified a new socio-cultural production of what a new century should look like. Education and the production of a national imaginary are inseparable.

However, after years of civil wars in China (1945-1949), the Kuomintang (ROC) lost power to the Chinese Communist Party (PRC), which established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. The split of China between two political parties and two different sets of national Constitutions between ROC and PRC since 1949 has mobilized different national imaginaries across the Taiwan Strait. Relocating and moving to Taiwan, the Kuomintang remained the political dominant political power after Japan's half a century's colonization. During 1949-1987, the Taiwanese education system experienced a period of de-colonization from Japan and was "newly" (re)colonized by the Kuomingtang from "mainland" China, during which time, Chinese cultural knowledge and identity was constructed to replace the previous Japanese colonial cultural knowledge and identity. A particular national imaginary about *Chinese-ness* in Taiwan was made through multiple series of cultural policies and political regulations such as what counted as the official language and ways of be(com)ing a Chinese as a new sociocultural and political imaginary for all. Taiwanese education and schooling during this (post)colonial period of 1949-1987 was centralized under strict political regulations, control and censorship of the Kuomintang (KMT) government. The making of a "de-colonized" Japanese cultural knowledge and identity through the KMT's political power and sociocultural administration was made possible through establishment of a new common-sense of Chinese-ness. Laced through these historical moments and events are different constructions of cultural knowledge and identities,

which can be mapped through multiple waves of colonization, de-colonization, and recolonization in the changing landscape of education and schooling in Taiwan.

Throughout the changing political influences of education across different historical moments, at the center of discussion in this chapter is the role of textbooks in education and schooling systems in Taiwan. During the Japanese colonial period, textbooks for the 6-year compulsory education system were controlled by the colonial "government." During the period of KMT political governance under martial law, the production of textbooks was centralized, as all textbooks were published by a central government agency, which was the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT,國立編譯館). Textbooks, whether the production process is centralized or not, inevitably are means for the constructing of politically and culturally correct ideology for the intelligibility of "official knowledge."

Recognition of the socio-political construction of "official knowledge" in the textbooks was one of the key driving forces that shaped the basis of teaching and learning in schools. In 1994, a major march for education reforms was organized by multiple organizations such as parent groups, academics and teachers on April 10th to demand the following four educational changes:

- Implement class- and school- size reduction (落實小班小校)
- Greater accessibility for high school and university education (廣設高中大學)
- Promote modernization of education (推動教育現代化)
- Establish Basic Education Law (制定教育基本法)

This organized grassroots event, later known as the "410 Demonstration for Education Reform," was a historical marker for contemporary educational changes in Taiwan. It shook up the "old"

ways in which Taiwanese people were accustomed to think about education and schooling in Taiwan. The 410 Demonstration for Education Reform called for a shift towards the concepts of "decentralization" and "individualization" in the field of education as meeting one of the key changes: to "promote modernization of education."

The 410 Demonstration for Education Reform challenged nearly every aspect of the contemporary Taiwanese education system including the (re)formation of national curriculum frameworks, teacher education, the structure of the compulsory education system, and the publication and production of textbooks. Recognizing these challenges, deregulating and decentralizing education were conceptualized as imperative for the democratization and modernization of education in Taiwan. Elaborating on the complexity of textbook production in Taiwan, J.J. Chen (2006) noted:

The textbook deregulation policy – the opening up of textbook publication at all levels – signifies a crucial breakthrough in the decentralisation of educational decision-making, the nativisation of curriculum development and the liberalisation of textbook production. ...People in Taiwan tend to believe that the opening up of textbook production contributes to a more democratic educational decision-making process and a more diverse curriculum through a less regulated textbook market. However, the politics of state policies involve struggles between the state and social movements over interpreting contested needs. (p. 41)

What J.J. Chen has pointed out here about Taiwanese textbook production is that it is a messy entanglement of marketization and democratization. In other words, deregulation and decentralization would not necessarily mean democratization in education. The question of what counts as official knowledge in the production of textbooks should be placed within the power

dynamic and interplays of sociocultural, political, economic, and educational contexts. The formation of curriculum guidelines and textbook production that come together to build the "official knowledge" is not neutral, without political influences and historical specificity in Taiwan. Rather, schooling and the compulsory education system will always function as an effective government tool to educate as well as to shape people's worldview and mentality.

Table 5.1: A Historical Timeline of Major Education Reforms/Changes/Events in Taiwan

Year	Events/Major Themes/Proposals	Highlighted Outcomes
1949-1968	6-year National compulsory primary education system (for Grade 1-6)	Centralized textbook production under martial law.
1968	Extension to 9-years of national compulsory education system (6-years of primary education and 3-years of junior high school).	9-year national compulsory education system with centralized textbook production under a martial law.
1987	The abolishment of national martial law in Taiwan	Lifting restrictions for: -formation of political parties -fewer restrictions on freedom of assembly, speech and press/publication
1994	410 Demonstration for Education Reform.	-A strong demand for decentralization as well as deregulation in education.  -A strong demand to deregulate centralized textbook production within the compulsory education system as well as in the high school years (Grade 1-12).
1989	Textbook Deregulation Policy.	-Decentralization of textbook production in Taiwan.  -Textbook production deregulation first started with selected subjects of elementary textbooks.  -National Institute for Compilation and Translation is

		not the only agency/organization authorized by the government to design and print textbooks.  -Private publishing companies are allowed to apply for textbook production for specific subjects such as music and health education.
1993-1994	National Curriculum Guidelines reforms in primary and secondary education (Grade 1-12).	-Restructuring curriculum guidelines (i.e., different organization of subject contents and hours of learning)
2000	Primary and Junior High School Textbook Validation Law (new amended clauses for textbooks for all subjects in compulsory education system-Grade 1-9).	-Full deregulation of centralized compilation and production of textbooks in Taiwan (all textbooks for all subjects are now decentralized).
2001	Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines.	-A new national curriculum guideline. (to be updated regularly by the Ministry of Education)
		-Adding English as a core subject for teaching and learning starting in the primary years.
		-A centralized national curriculum guideline for all publishers pursuing textbook productions.
2011	Discussions to further extend the current 9-year national compulsory education to 12-years by including high school education by 2019/20 (Known as the 12-year Basic Education Law).	National compulsory education for Grades 1-12 from primary to high school education is proposed.
	First draft of 12-year Curriculum Guideline	
2017	Announcement to delay the revised 12-year Curriculum Guideline	New 12-year National Curriculum Guidelines to be finalised by 2018/19 for implementation by the 2019/20 school year.

2019	Implementation of 12-Year Basic Education.	An updated new 12-year National Curriculum Guidelines has formalized a multi-lingual education. In the language education section, the four main types of languages include: Chinese, English, local or new residents' languages. Students are required to take both Chinese and English as core language learning while the types of local languages or new residents' languages (seven different Southeast languages) can be treated as "electives" for individual choice.
		for individual choice.

As shown in Table 5.1, the reform process for decentralizing textbook production began in 1989. By 2000, all textbook production for primary and secondary education was decentralized and textbooks were no longer published only by The National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT). Multiple commercial/private publishing companies were allowed to design, create, and print textbooks. However, decentralizing textbook publication and production never meant deregulation.

While the decentralization of textbook production has been implemented, under the *Primary and Junior High School Act* (國民教育法) and the *Primary and Junior High School Textbook Validation Law* (國民小學及國民中學教科圖書審定辦法), all published textbooks for school settings are still required to follow and meet the requirements in the *Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines* (國民中小學九年一貫課程綱要) as well as to pass an evaluation and review process at the Ministry of Education to obtain official licence numbers. This means that all English Language Textbooks (ELTs) used in schools must go through an official review

process to ensure that all contents, learning objectives and learning outcomes meet the requirements of the *National Curriculum Guidelines* by the Department of Education.

Decentralization and liberalization of textbook production in Taiwan has interjected new challenges and opened up opportunities for critical discussion on the role of textbooks in the compulsory education system. While it has been widely believed that such a shift in education towards decentralization and deregulation should be seen as a significant shift towards democratization in the field of education, the complexities of power/knowledge relations should never be reduced or simplified into a binary logic such as "old" vs. "new" "centralized" vs "decentralized", or "regulated" vs. "deregulated." Within the geopolitical space of Taiwan, textbook production, curriculum guidelines, and political-cultural discourses are interwoven for the making of a new cultural knowledge and identity to reflect the construction of new national imaginaries. Notably, while the lifting of national martial law in 1987 has certainly created some relatively new and "free" spaces to (re)imagine and invent different ways of be(com)ing through education/compulsory schooling, the making of "official knowledge" has never been "freed or liberated" from forms of socio-political, cultural, economic and educational influences. This has prompted me to shift away from a critical structural denotation of oppressive power towards a post-structural Foucauldian analytical framework of relations of power/knowledge through which a notion of power is reconceptualized to enable my seeing and treating ELTs as technology for governing for the production of national imaginaries. Thus, it is important to look into how ELTs have played a key role in shaping new cultural knowledge and identity while reflecting whose knowledge would count as the new normative way of be(com)ing.

## Deconstructing English Language Textbooks: The Problematics of Images, Texts, and Hidden Cultural Logic

Textbooks are a primary source of "content knowledge" for students/children during the process of teaching and learning. O'Keeffe (2013) noted that "textbooks are the closest thing students have to working from the curriculum and the purpose of these textbooks is to assist student learning" (p. 2). In the instances of English language learning in Taiwanese primary schools, ELTs play a significant role as a direct medium for the teaching and learning of the English language. Yet, as discussed, learning English is more than just learning a foreign language. The teaching and learning of English cannot be separated from socio-political and cultural meanings in Taiwan. Textbooks are "cultural artifacts" perpetuating "official knowledge" while (re)shaping students' understanding of cultural and social "norms" through schooling. In the following critical textual analysis and discussion, seeking to unpack how ELTs are (re)creating a new grid or matrix for popular cultural discourse as the "new norm" to perpetuate English language education, I focus on two of the most popular ELT series for primary school. The ELTs chosen for analysis, Follow Me and Super Wow, are both produced by Kang Hsuan Publishing and they are widely used in both public and private primary schools throughout Taiwan. Table 5.2 provides a profile and summary of the two different textbook series.

Table 5.2: A Summary of Primary English Language Textbooks by Kang Hsuan

	Follow Me	Super Wow
Numbers of textbooks	-This set of textbooks has 10 student books.	-This set of textbooks has 8 student books.
		-Books 1 to 4: designed for

		lower primary grade levels and focus on daily conversation.  -Books 5 to 8: designed for higher primary grade levels and focus on "Task-based learning".
Learning Objectives	-Compilation of textbook has followed the 2008 version of the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines.  -The design of this textbook series has highlighted the top/common use of 2000 English words listed by the Ministry of Education.	-Compilation of textbook has followed the 2008 version of the Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines.
Highlight on Cultural Learning	-Books 1 to 4 all have a special section with lessons on the theme of "Toby Goes Around." These lessons introduce a concept of international customs, holidays, and culture.  -Books 5 to 8 have a section on "Culture" to introduce different cultures.	-Books 1 to 4 all have a section on "Culture & Festivals." -Books 5 to 8 have a section on "Culture."

Summarized in Table 5.2, both series of ELTs have been designed to meet the requirements of the official *English Language Curriculum Guideline* to guide the contents of teachers' teaching and students' learning of English in a specific way, which is within the predefined parameter of the power/knowledge matrix (for example, learning objectives to define what's learnable and teachable). To unpack how new forms of cultural knowledge and identity are constructed and perpetuated through ELTs, it is important to look beyond the explicit curriculum and pay critical attention to the implicit contents as hidden curriculum with a deeper socio-cultural production of a new system of knowledge and identity. In examining the Taiwanese ELTs at the primary school level, the following common learning themes/units are

destabilized and deconstructed in order to unpack the system of reasoning through the teaching and learning of English: (1) people's names, (2) visual/images/pictorial representation, (3) cultural themes/contents for learning, and (4) cultural logic.

# What's (in) your name?

Names can encapsulate multiple layers of sociocultural and political meanings; therefore, naming practices can be further unpacked by exploring cultural practices. Lindsay and Dempsey (2017) have examined contemporary Australian naming practices by drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) concepts of capital and social distinction to note that names should be thought of as symbolic capital. As one of the common ways of learning any foreign language, "getting to know people's names" and "self-introduction" is a "typical lesson." Despite differences in theoretical curriculum frameworks that come to shape teaching and learning, a lesson plan/unit on the topic of "What's your name?" is common in ELTs for children at the lower primary years (see Picture 5.1).

Picture 5.1: Whose names are these?





Shown in Picture 5.1, the exemplar names of Tina, Andy, Mike, Kevin, Sandy, and Jack taken from the ELTs can all be traced to Euro-American cultural roots. In other words, these are not typical cultural naming practices in Taiwan. The popular use of "English names" in Taiwanese ELTs interjects an opportunity to unpack the intricate relations between language learning, names and cultural identity and discourses (for examples, see Blum, 1997; Madziva, 2018; Toohey, 2018; Umera-Okeke, 2016). The taking up of English names to learn English can be further problematized through Tochon's (2019b) analytical notion of "the foreign self" through which a cultural imaginary is embedded within the splits of local and "foreign" cultures in the process of prioritizing English language education.

At the center of the analysis here is a critical discussion of the need to unpack "what's in a name?" To begin the analysis on cultural meanings and politics of identity in English names, it is important to point out that it is a very common classroom practice for Taiwanese primary school children as English language learners to take on "English names" as part of the language learning process. Different from their formal and legal given names, such a practice of taking up a new English name during the process of learning the new language is nested within a complex

layer of cultural imaginary and social (re)engineering of the self. As C. Y. Huang and I. C. Ke (2016) found in their research study, nearly 89% of Taiwanese children "acquired" English names as part of English language learning and 96% of these children adopted their English names during their primary school years (if not earlier during preschool years). The logic in "voluntary" name changes and adoptions for Taiwanese English language learners has multiple layers of socio-cultural and socio-political connotations relating to constructions of identity (for examples, see Y. A. J. Chen, 2016; Umera-Okeke, 2016; Xu, 2020). Although a lesson/unit on "What's your name?" is typical and common teaching and learning to practice self-introduction in social settings, it is important to go beyond the face value of the notion of "getting to know you/me" in a language lesson.

For example, for a young Taiwanese primary school student/child to introduce himself with the new English name of "Ken" in an English class, this language learning activity is not only about engaging in "code/language" switching, it is also interjecting a new discursive "cultural" space relating to the construction of an imagined identity—a creation of the foreign self. As C. Y. Huang and I. C. Ke (2016) elucidated, such socio-cultural phenomenon of adopting an English (nickname) name in Taiwan is complicated:

The dominance of English as a global language in recent decades is consequential. Under colonialism or the influence of globalisation, an English name could offer its bearer symbolic power (Bourideu, 1991) and advantages derived from language ideology that privilege English over other languages (Cheang, 2008; Guma, 2001). English has been regarded as a symbol of internationalisation, globalisation, and modernity (Piller, 2003; Seargeant, 2009). Being addressed in an English name could implicate someone as being modern, internationally aware, or well-educated. (Li, 1997; p. 851)

As elaborated in this quote, from a critical perspective, the popular Taiwanese cultural practice of adopting an English name can be denoted as a reflection of "having cultural capital" and an embodiment of symbolic power. Nested within the mixtures of (post)colonialism, imperialism, internationalization and globalization in the contemporary socio-political context of Taiwan under the construction of a national imaginary about progress, development and modernization, the socio-cultural and educational practice of taking up an English name has encapsulated multiple layers of meaning.

At one layer of analysis, the presence of Anglo-Saxon (and foreign) names and the absence of any Asian/Chinese names in the first lesson/ beginning unit of ELTs can be understood as a marker of interjecting a "new" cultural identity. What does it mean when the fabrication of a foreign self is not foreign but local? The cultural imaginary between foreign and local could evoke paradoxical splits of identities as one engages in the desirability and intelligibility of a "foreign" language.

For any persons without any direct personal/family/community connections to an Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, to "adopt" or "accept" an English name voluntarily, opens up a space for unpacking naming practices in Taiwan, as it is related to the production of cultural knowledge and the politics of identity. From a critical perspective, it is important to rethink that the presence of an English name is at the expense of what? Why can't children learn to use English as an additional language to introduce themselves using their given Chinese names? Undeniably, the exclusion and absence of Chinese or Taiwanese names from the ELTs is problematic. The teaching and learning of English entails much more than just learning a "foreign" language. It is much more about the production of new cultural norms and values. The practice of giving a student an English name as they begin to learn English suggests that English language education

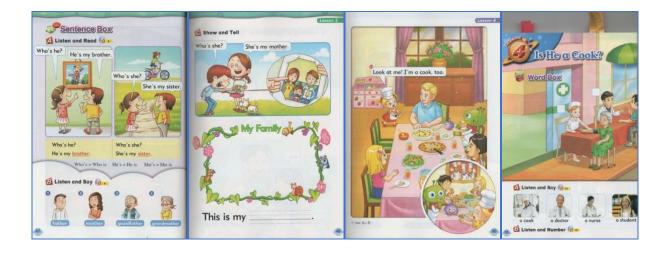
in Taiwan is not just about learning a new language; it is also about the formation of a new cultural knowledge and identity. This production of a "new" cultural identity is the implicit and hidden curriculum within the ELTs. In this sense, the role of cultural identity requires a critical discussion on the politics of identity in ELTs.

Departing from a critical structural analysis that looks at the question of "What's in an English name?" through the notions of an implicit and hidden learning curriculum in ELTs, it is important to open up another layer of analysis to unpack the complexities regarding the constructions of cultural knowledge and identity. The noticeable presence of English names in ELTs not only reflects but also promotes the English naming practice as a "normative" way of English language learning. Different from the common cultural naming practice for Chinese names, which is deeply rooted within family aspirations for a newborn, English naming practice and acceptance of an English name for the purpose of English language learning leads to a discussion on the fluidity of identity formation. Through the English names in ELTs, a cultural logic to guide and shape children's/learners' identity making is prevalent. Additionally, the absence of "Chinese" names further shakes up children's understanding and construction of their cultural knowledge about ways of be(com)ing. Gaining an English name in addition to a Chinese name through English language education has created a new cultural space where flexibility and the fluidity of shifting between two languages, "worlds" or "contexts" is not only happening but also implies a different formation for new cultural knowledge. In many cases, an English name is more than just a name; it is constructing English language education as cultural teaching and learning.

## The problems with images/pictorial representation in ELTs

Visual images such as pictures and illustrations are core elements in textbooks, particularly those for younger learners in primary school. Images/pictures in textbooks are significant symbolic visual representations of power/knowledge. The influences and effects of these visuals in the language learning process cannot be ignored. The images, pictures, photos and illustrations in the Taiwanese ELTs are telling a specific storyline that embodies a dominant Euro-American cultural construction of knowledge. Picture 5.2 shows a collection of several pictures, illustrations and photos from the Taiwanese ELTs.

Picture 5.2: Who is represented in the pictures?



These images from the Taiwanese ELTs contain a dominant Euro-American cultural system of reasoning about culture, race, class, and gender in addition to the "words/texts" in the ELTs. The images are perpetuating cultural discourses of dominant Anglo-Saxon cultures such as daily living experiences and holidays for white middle class children and families. What is at

the center of analysis here is a point which relates to a biased construction and representation of race, class and gender in textbooks (for example, see Chisholm, 2018). For example, even those images of the characters in the Taiwanese ELTs that appear to contain "Asian facial features" are also reflective of Anglo-Saxon appearance, such as lighter skin tones and lighter hair color. It is visible that the images of the characters in these Taiwanese ELTs are predominantly Anglo-Saxon in appearance and the features and the images reflect stereotypical white, upper-middle class, Euro-American culture(s). More specifically, the "scenes" these visuals are painting are certain stereotypical cultural images reflecting daily activities and events such as birthday parties, sports events, daily routines/activities, or storylines about journeys to explore the world. These stereotypical and somewhat tokenistic visual representations "about Western cultures" are reflections and excerpts of the white, upper-middle-class cultural capital.

ELTs offer more than just language learning with significant cross-cultural learning opportunities (for examples, see Y.F. Chang, 2004; Hilliard, 2014; X. Li & F. K. J. Lee, 2018; K. M. Yuen, 2011). These textbook images are painting a narrowed cultural representation of the stereotypical white upper-middle class culture to mobilize a new normative or common culture from the West for all Taiwanese children during the process of learning English. The lack of culturally relevant images, pictures, and illustrations that are reflective of everyday cultural elements in Taiwan further perpetuates the production of new cultural norms in language learning through the use of the ELTs as the main medium for English language education. As the visuals are excluding broader multicultural understandings, presenting instead a narrow construction and representation of cultures, ELTs can become a dangerous medium for teaching and learning, for they are reinforcing and perpetuating a biased cultural frame of reference.

The visual images play a key part and have a dominant presence in every page of the ELTs as symbolic representation of "cultures" and they function as "cultural artifacts" in shaping children's language learning as well as cultural knowledge about the world outside of their communities in Taiwan. Curriculum theories and models have looked into such aspects and elements of cultural representations in textbooks as the categorization/classification of cultures in ELTs into source culture, target culture, and international target culture in language learning (for examples, see J. Y.H. Chan, 2019; Cortazzi & Jin 1999). When reconceptualizing English language education in Taiwan through a notion of "global Englishes," the need to problematize cultural representations of who has been included/excluded is significant in Taiwanese ELTs (for examples, see Fang & Widodo; 2019; Penncook, 2000; 2006; Tochon, 2019a). In the process of teaching and learning a new language, while acknowledging the analysis and discussion about the socio-political status of the English language, another layer of unpacking the cultural logic in ELTs is significant. Critical perspectives on English language education that shift to look at the concept of "global Englishes" has created a space for visual and textual analysis to think about who is included/excluded and whose culture is represented in ELTs to (re)shape the formation of "new" cultural knowledge and identity in Taiwanese English language education for primary students.

#### **Cultural themes for learning in the ELTs**

As discussed in Chapter Four, following the English curriculum guidelines, both sets of ELTs have a planned and specific section on the theme of "Culture & Festivals" that focuses on introducing cultural holidays or festivals through learning English.

**Table 5.3: A Summary of the Cultural Contents: Culture & Festivals** 

	Super Wow	Follow Me	
Culture & Festivals	Book 1: Christmas	Book 1: Merry Christmas	Book 1: Toby Goes Around the World
			-Say Hello in different countries.
			-Birthday food in different countries
	Book 2: Mother's Day	Book 2: Happy Mother's Day	Book 2: Toby Goes Around the World
	Thomas of Day	11ppy 11.20 2y	-Different toys in the East vs. the West.
			-Ways to get warm in different locations.
			-Family time in the East vs. the West.
			-Cooks in the East vs. the West.
	Book 3:	Book 3: Happy Halloween	Book 3: Toby Goes Around the World
	Halloween		-Dance in different countries.
			-Famous clocks in different countries.
			-Representative or symbolic animals in different countries.
			-Types of houses in different countries/cultures
	Book 4:	Book 4:	Book 4: Toby Goes
	Easter	Dragon Boat Festival	Around the World
			-Weather disasters in different locations.
			-Traditional clothes in different countries.
			-Special food in different countries.

		-Endangered animals in different locations.
Book 5:	Book 5:	
Sports	Food Festival	
Book 6:	Book 6:	
Food at the Night Market	Transportation Around the World	
Book 7:	Book 7:	
Famous Landmarks Around the World	Hot Spots	
Book 8:	Book 8:	
Endangered Animals	Holidays and Colors	
	Book 9:	
	Cultures and Festivals	
	Book 10:	
	Cultures and Festivals	

<sup>\*</sup>Note: The highlighted parts are identified lessons with contents that aim to introduce the themes of Euro-American Anglo-Saxon cultural festivals in the ELTs.

It is important to note that in the *Follow Me* series, particularly in Books 1 to 4, there is a special section on "Toby Goes Around the World." Through this character of Toby-the Little Alien- these selected lessons/themes seek to present the concept of world cultures with a wider worldview by juxtaposing the Eastern and Western cultures. While these lessons with "cultural contents" provide a window to international cultures through the learning of English, nevertheless, the cultural representations in the texts are tokenistic and limited, with cultural stereotypes (see Picture 5.3).

Picture 5.3: Cultural representations of East vs. West: Toby goes around the world





As illustrated in Figure 5.3, the dominant themes of Western cultures (primarily Euro-American Anglo-Saxon cultures) are evident in both sets of ELTs. The highlighted units/lessons on cultures and festivals in both sets of ELTs focus on Euro-American cultures, festivals and religious holidays. The examples of Christmas, Halloween, Easter, Food Festival (on selected Western foods from countries such as France, Spain, Switzerland, and the U.K.) are the dominating themes and contents in Euro-American contexts for the teaching and learning about culture and festivals. The following examples in Figure 5.4 provide a collection of visual images

to demonstrate what "Western" cultures and festivals look like and are represented in Taiwanese ELTs.

Picture 5.4: Western "cultures and festivals" in Taiwanese ELTs



To analyze the construction of cultural knowledge through English language education by using ELTs as one of the major mediums for teaching and learning, I take the example of Christmas, which appears in both sets of ELTs, as a "key" cultural holiday and/or festival. While Christmas has been widely (if not internationally) celebrated with multiple layers of rationales such as a religious festival, a commercialized "holiday" and cultural "event," in the Taiwanese ELTs, the meanings of Christmas have been reduced to a symbolic representation of a "Western" festival. Without providing deeper cultural understandings about what "Christmas" may entail as a "celebration" with religious and specific cultural meanings, the presentation of Christmas in ELTs is problematic (see Picture 5.4).

The inclusion of "Christmas" as a thematic unit for teaching and learning in any secular educational system can also provoke an age-old debate with viewpoints from both religious and secular sides critiquing Christmas (for some examples, see Clark & Brimhall-Vargas, 2003; Menendez, 1994). Shifting away from the discussions of whether Christmas should be conceptualized as a cultural festival or a public or religious holiday, it is important to acknowledge that the idea of "Christmas" has both religious and cultural roots. Therefore, at the center of analysis and discussion about cultural contents in ELTs is the need to focus on how "cultural events/holidays" (such as Christmas, Easter or Halloween) are visually represented in the ELTs for a "new norm" in cultural knowledge in Taiwan.

As discussed previously, one of the official learning objectives in the *English Curriculum Guidelines* is to "enhance students' understanding of local and foreign cultures and customs in order to compare and respect cultural differences" (Ministry of Education, 2008). However, when conducting a textual analysis of the Taiwanese ELTs for primary school children, the absence from the ELTs of deeper teaching and learning to foster multicultural understanding cannot be ignored (for example, see Chien, 2014). The dominance of visual images with "Euro-American" cultural backgrounds and the lack of local/Taiwanese cultures and festivals are reflections of an implicit cultural logic that has been laced through English language education as well as the production of ELTs in Taiwan. If such narrowed worldviews and cultural biases are being mobilized as the new cultural knowledge through ELTs, the making of English language education in the contemporary Taiwanese national imaginary needs to be destabilized and problematized.

## **Unpacking the New Cultural Logic in ELTs**

The Taiwanese ELTs have perpetuated and promoted an "English-centric" mentality in Taiwan. Illustrated through critical textual analysis of the texts, visual images, and contents in these ELTs, the discussions in this chapter aim to identify and problematize the cultural logic laced within the popularity of compulsory English language education and the production of Taiwanese ELTs. This cultural logic is nested within the predominance of a Taiwanese version of an "English-centric" mentality and is linked to a "bigger project" of a contemporary construction of a national imaginary. Particularly, this Taiwanese version of an "English-centric" mentality is made up of selected Euro-American and white middle class cultures. For instance, as illustrated through the collections of figures (Figures 5.1-5.4) in earlier analyses within this chapter, the dominant usage of Anglo-Saxon children's names, the inclusion of visual images of selected white middle class children and families, and the prevailing representations of Christian cultural events and holidays are all examples of key elements of a particular version of Anglo Saxon cultures that merge to sustain the circulation of a new cultural logic/system of reasoning.

For example, the appearance and inclusion of only English names and the visual images of selected "Western" cultural events in these sets of Taiwanese ELTs are strong elements in the formation of a dominating Euro-American Anglo-Saxon cultural logic, which (re)configures a new cultural knowledge and identity as the "new normal." The use of these ELTs in English language education is perpetuating what counts and what constitutes as desirable and normative cultural knowledge and values. Clearly, these sets of ELTs are not merely reproducing but also producing a set of new cultural norms to shape and (re)enforce the making of "English centric" cultural knowledge and identity through the teaching and learning of English. Here, "English-centric" mentality and Euro-American Anglo-Saxon cultural logic are mutually supporting each

other to further escalate the prevalence of English language education in Taiwan. Adding to it, the ELTs are not only culturally and politically biased cultural artifacts, they are also tools that further immortalise a dominant Anglo-Saxon cultural logic for the fabrication of a "new" and "normative" identity. This contemporary Taiwanese construction of a national imaginary has been dangerously built upon the assumptions of Euro-American connotations of socioeconomic progress, modernity and linear development. Such a new but problematic cultural knowledge and national identity as a "new normal" is embedded in the contemporary national imaginary.

An "English-centric" mentality and the formation of a dominating Euro-American Anglo-Saxon cultural knowledge are constituted and shaped by the amalgamation of multiple geopolitical, sociocultural and educational forces through English language education and the production of ELTs. In other words, what contents are included in as well as what are excluded from ELTs is closely linked with political, socio-political and educational struggles that embody the dynamic of power/knowledge relations. This leads to critical reflection on the question of what is to be learnt through English language teaching and learning. It also opens up different discussions to rethink what the prevalence of compulsory English language education may mean for all children in Taiwan in relation to its relevance and connection to the production of new cultural knowledge and identity. The making of knowledge, cultural identity, and norms is never neutral but is closely linked within the web of knowledge/power relations and is embodied through the production of ELTs. Not unpacking the cultural logic/system of reasoning in compulsory English language education is dangerous, for it can blind us, leading us to accept Taiwanese ELTs as a neutral tool for teaching and learning.

# Conclusion: Rethinking the Production of New Cultural Knowledge and Identity in Taiwanese ELT Textbooks

The construction of the modern school is a practice of the governance of the *souls* (for example, see Popkewitz, 2004, 2017; Rose, 1999). As all "things" of the world are potentially malleable, the projects of the modern state are to administer and discipline the social environment and the "identity" of its subjects/citizens/students to achieve individual freedom (Popkewitz, 1999). The production of contemporary cultural knowledge and identity as "the new normal" is nested within a big(ger) project of national imaginary through which the governing of the new cultural identity is done through making English language education compulsory and through the production of ELTs. In other words, the making of a new cultural knowledge system and identity through English language education in Taiwan is not done through brute force such as dictatorship under the historical moments of Japanese colonization or KMT's national martial law. Rather, the making of a new cultural identity is linked with the landscape of the national imaginary. The acceptance and internalization of new cultural knowledge and identity through English language education are strongly linked with the production of ELTs, which spell out the detailed sociocultural prescription for the "normative" way of be(com)ing in Taiwan.

Recognizably, an "English-centric" mentality is at work through the implementation of Taiwanese English language education. Adding to that is a dominant Anglo-Saxon cultural logic in and through the production of ELTs. Together, this system of reasoning (cultural logic) has mobilized the inclusion of English names, choices of Euro-American visual images and selected holidays/cultural events to build a new cultural identity in Taiwan. This new cultural identity through compulsory elementary English language education reflects the white Western middle-class within the fabrication and mobilization of national development discourses about progress,

development and modernization. Portraying progress and modernization as "Westernization" in the name of "globalization," the promotion of the English language, "English names," visual images/representations that reflect Euro-American Western cultures, and inclusion of Anglo-Saxon holidays in the ELTs are all working together to fabricate a new landscape for the formation of cultural knowledge and identity. Without critical reflection and deconstruction of what is being included/excluded in Taiwanese ELTs for the purpose of teaching and learning the English language, we risk ignoring the fabrication of a new, biased, cultural knowledge and identity.

The production of Taiwanese primary school ELTs packs in a cultural logic to constitute new cultural identity as the new truth and new norm, which (re)defines what is culturally relevant and socio-politically appropriate practice. As discussed, the practice of taking up an English name with Anglo-Saxon cultural roots, and the new tradition of celebrating Halloween and Christmas, are becoming the "new normal" in Taiwan through English language education, as such cultural knowledge and identity are no longer "foreign" concepts but "local" common sense, as articulated and represented in Taiwanese ELTs.

In this chapter, I have analyzed the Taiwanese ELTs in order to address one of the research questions: "What and how is new cultural knowledge and identity fabricated through the production of Taiwanese English Language Textbooks?" I have problematized the influences of Euro-American and Anglo-Saxon systems of cultural knowledges as the dominant cultural logic/system of reasoning in the production of Taiwanese ELTs. In the next chapter, to further understand the socio-political and socio-cultural system of reasoning of compulsory English language education in Taiwan, I will probe deeper to look at and analyze how notions of

sameness/difference as well as inclusion/exclusion are being constructed in Taiwanese ELTs to reflect the dominant cultural discourse(s).

### **Chapter Six**

# Mapping the Assemblage of the Dominant Cultural Discourse:

# Constructing Sameness/Differences and Inclusion/Exclusion in Taiwanese English Language Textbooks

#### Introduction

The production of textbooks is a reflection of how knowledge is constructed and how dominant cultural discourse is created within the larger project of national imaginary.

Knowledge production is never neutral (Apple, 1996, 2018). The formation of school subjects (Popkewitz, 1987/2018) is situated within the socio-political administration as competing forces from socio-political, economic, cultural and historical discourses are always at the center of tensions to pull and push for the formation of a dominant system of reasoning for knowledge production which is considered as politically and culturally correct. As discussed in previous chapters, English Language Textbooks (ELTs) are never bias-free from dimensions of socio-political and sociocultural assumptions. Rather, the texts, images and visuals, and the narratives or storylines in the Taiwanese ELTs are constructed as well as produced through a complex web of power/knowledge.

In this chapter, drawing on Foucault's analytical concept of power/knowledge and governmentality (Foucault, 1980) and a Deleuzoguattarian concept of assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), I work to map and trace the interplays of multiple systems of reasoning that merge and interject ruptures in the landscape of power/knowledge by producing different discourses to (re)shape, constitute and imply the new "normative" ways of be(com)ing through

the notions of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion in Taiwanese ELTs. I continue to build my analysis and discussion by deploying a post-structural perspective and I focus on a third research question of this research project: *How are notions of sameness/difference as well as inclusion/exclusion being constructed in Taiwanese ELTs to reflect the dominant cultural discourse(s)?* 

Conceptually, I see and treat the visuals/images and contents in the ELTs as "lines of flight" for interjecting new (im)possibilities to re(con)figure a new cultural knowledge and identity of sameness/differences and inclusion/exclusion. This onto-epistemological shift allows me to focus on how things (dis)connect rather than what they are at face value. To further the critical analysis and discussion of Taiwanese ELTs, I trace and map the landscape of cultural discourses about English language education in Taiwan. Methodologically, to understand contemporary socio-political and cultural constructions of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion as the new and truthful knowledge through English language education, I conceptualize Taiwanese ELTs as cultural artifacts and texts and pay critical attention to the linkage of the visuals (images and pictures) and narratives (lesson themes/topics and storylines) in the Taiwanese ELTs.

There are two central sections of analyses and discussions in this chapter. In the first section, I focus on tracing and mapping the circulation of cultural logics in the production of visual images in Taiwanese ELTs. My goal here is to unpack the taken-for-granted system of reasoning as cultural logics for the production of sameness/differences and cultural diversity of inclusion/exclusion in ELTs. This also enables me to rethink how ELTs' visual images are visualizing and displaying cultures through an "English centric" mentality. This section of discussion traces the cultural logic of ELTs to rethink why we think what we "see" is "normal."

In the second section, I deconstruct images of sameness/differences and sociocultural inclusion/exclusion that are fabricated as well as fabricating a new way of be(com)ing in ELTs. The discussions and critiques of these visual images enable me to "see" how these visual images are "telling" and "selling" new cultural knowledge as common sense. Additionally, it is important to elucidate how visual images in ELTs and popular advertisements of English tutorial programs are a form of "technology of the self" which is closely knotted within contemporary Taiwanese political and cultural policy discourse to produce, govern and shape a new cultural mentality through English language education in the primary school years.

## **Cultural Logics for the Production of Visual Images in English Language Textbooks**

Visual images in the textbooks do not stand alone in the pages (although for younger learners, illustrations do tell a story). Visual images carry heavy cultural meanings and representations of cultural imagination as well as encounters (Hallam & Street, 2013). The production and assemblage of visual images in ELTs is an alchemy of cultural remembering and forgetting within the national imaginary. The visual images in the production of cultural knowledge can build a "track record" of who we/they are in a project of national imaginary regarding progress, development and modernization. In this section of discussion, I trace the trajectories of cultural logics to understand the contexts in which the visual images are constructed and mobilized to perpetuate a dominant cultural meaning for be(com)ing through the pages of ELTs.

# Cultural logics in the making of cultural representations of "self" and "other"

From a critical theory perspective, sameness/differences and inclusion/exclusion are binary concepts of cultural logic reflecting a repressive and sovereignty notion of power which contribute to a construction of a hierarchical norm/truth of a cultural landscape. There is no doubt that a critical theoretical perspective is important to challenge issues of equity and equality in education, as such a critical theoretical position towards inquiry can empower us to focus on a research question such as who is being included/excluded in the problematic construction of us vs. them. For example, a binary logic for critical structural analysis on the powerful vs. the powerless or the oppressor vs. the oppressed is significant for elucidating a power structure and/or relation is a driving force for rethinking cultural politics and problematizing the construction of "official knowledge" (Apple, 2012).

There is no doubt that within the historical and socio-political context of Taiwan, educational research studies with strong emphases from critical theoretical positions have opened up important discussions to push for educational and social policy improvements on the issues of diversity, equity and equality through waves of socio-political, cultural, economic and education reforms. While I hold strong values and beliefs in the power of critical theories for how such onto-epistemological perspectives enable us to challenge the taken-for-granted "common sense" and destabilize "the regimes of truth," for this research project of critical inquiry and analysis of English language education in Taiwan, I have shifted towards a post-structural onto-epistemological perspective to complicate the knotted cultural representations in a web of power/knowledge.

In my post-structural analysis, moving outside of a binary logic, it is impossible to understand sameness without constructions of differences. Similarly, it is not possible to discuss

practices of inclusion if we do not acknowledge exclusion. I "see" the dimensions of sameness/differences and the categories and inclusion/exclusion as co-existing and co-constructing each other in a web of power/knowledge relations which constitutes contemporary sociocultural and socio-political constructions of Us vs. Them. Through this position of a post-structural onto-epistemological paradigm, it becomes possible to venture into a space where I can pay critical attention to blur the binary distinctions with fluidity for deeper understanding of the alchemy of a "new" Taiwanese cultural knowledge and identity made as "truth."

To understand the cultural logics in the construction and representation of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion which are related to issues of equity and diversity in Taiwanese ELTs, there are several key "lines of flight" which are interlacing or knotted with each other to be charted and mapped:

- The high status of English language in Taiwan.
- English education curriculum guideline and policies in Taiwan.
- Edutainment: educating and entertaining with visual representations

In the following section, I begin to analyze and discuss the trajectory of each line and how these lines have pushed and ruptured the landscape of language education for new discursive space(s) and for the production of a new cultural norm through English language education in Taiwan.

### The high status of English language in Taiwan: Progress, development and modernization

The "high" status of English language education in Taiwan has remained strong since the early 1990s. As discussed in previous chapters, the high status of English language education is linked with a contemporary national imaginary about progress, development and modernity

(Executive Yuan 2002, 2008; MOE, 2012, 2017, 2018; National Development Council, 2019). Since the turn of the 21st century, there have been multiple political and cultural discussions to promote English language as a second official language in Taiwan. For examples, the official production by the central government for a series of documents: Challenge 2008: A National Development Plan (Executive Yuan, 2008) and another official document of Building a Bilingual Nation (National Development Council, 2018). The "high" status of English has become more "official" and prevalent, particularly during political election campaigns in Taiwan. In the Kaohsiung city local political election campaigns during November 2018, the discussions and debates of making English language education available for all children from first grade (rather than third grade in the primary school years) and moving towards bilingual education (rather than just an additional required language education) were highly promoted as political promise from various political parties (for an example, Han, 2018). In these national imaginaries, ideas about progress and development are articulated through measurable outcomes with an upward trajectory about economic growth in the global market. Idolizing the "West" as the model for national improvement, things Western (mainly the English-speaking countries as the center) are thought of as "modern." For example, the English language often signifies and embodies ideas of free market and political democracy. English is thought of as a language that promises progress and development, which lead to modernization.

More recently, during the 2020 Taiwanese Presidential election, the status of English language education in Taiwan has been further elevated to be a significant education and national issue in the name of internationalization and globalization. Various proposed policies during the presidential campaign period in 2019/2020 covered multiple aspects including: making English an official language on an equal status with Mandarin Chinese, importing native English teachers,

starting English language education as early as possible (from the beginning of compulsory education in Year 1, and making public funds available to support Taiwanese students' foreign exchange/study abroad opportunities in English speaking countries to increase and expand their worldviews in a global economy (Han, 2019; Tsai, 2019). While the "solutions" and "action plans" to improve or raise the quality of English language education may be different among different political parties, the common objectives for English language education that uphold a "high" status of English language are a common shared goal and national interest in Taiwan.

Such a political "push" to endorse English language education for all children has become a new common sense in Taiwan. As Tochon (2009) once noted, "nowadays, learning languages other than one's own may become a matter of keeping one's job and maintaining one's survival" (p. 650). Within the geopolitical space of Taiwan, it has been widely believed that if one can master English language, s/he would be(come) more competitive as a potential employee within the global/local job market (National Development Council, 2018). In addition to being closely knotted with the contemporary national imaginary, the high status of English language education in Taiwan has been further mobilized through a mixture of global dominance of Human Capital discourse and local cultural discourse on the promise of English language education. For example, many Taiwanese parents conceptualize English as a significant social and educational investment for their children's/nation's future (C.Y. Huang & I.C. Ke, 2016; Tseng, 2008). The "promise" of English language education for a bright(er) future has been widely circulated and accepted as a new truth in Taiwan, which is difficult to unpack and challenge (Change, 2018).

To further reflect the "high" status of English, during the past 20 years, the shadow education system regarding English language education has tripled in the number of programs

since the year 2000 and a historically high number has been reported in Taiwan (Global Views, 2017). In some recent research studies and reports, drawing on public data, it has been reported that there are more tutoring schools/programs than convenience stores in Taiwan (Commonwealth, 2018)4. This example of a shadow education shows the pervasiveness of English language education as a new socio-cultural phenomenon in Taiwan (for some more examples of shadow education in (East) Asian contexts, see Bray & Lykins, 2012; C.Y. Chung, 2016; Yung, & Yuan, 2020; Zhang & Bray, 2016).

### English education curriculum guidelines and policies in Taiwan

With a "high" status in the field of education as well as being constructed as an international language through the contemporary Taiwanese national imaginary, English language education has a long history in the Taiwanese compulsory education system with multiple waves of rapid policy changes. As discussed in Chapter Four, there have been several key events/changes in the English education curriculum guidelines and policies (see Table 4.1). Among these key events and multiple changes, there are several common shared objectives about English language education. For example, the shared goals and versions of policies about starting English language education for all children as early as possible within the compulsory education system, increasing the instruction hours for English language education, moving from treating English as a foreign language education to making it as a bilingual education (with discussions to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It is important to note the socio-cultural phenomenon of the ecology of convenience stores in Taiwan. In most cities across Taiwan, one could see a convenience store in just about every corner. One of the latest reports has shown that there are more than 10,000 convenience stores in Taiwan. According to the report, Taiwan has the highest density of convenience stores in the world. (Abstracted from https://adventurefilledlife.com/many-convenience-stores-in-taiwan/)

achieve the "status" of English immersion), and raising the qualification/standards of English teachers to improve the quality of English language education for all.

In contemporary education policy changes and national development amendments, English language education is never absent from these waves of reforms. For example, the Ministry of Education announced one of the biggest teacher education reforms in 2017, which is known as the *Global Teacher Education Plan for English Immersion Education* (全英語教學師 資培育實施計畫). In such a reform policy regarding English teacher education, through its short, mid and long-term goals, cultivating a new generation of English teachers who will be more capable with high(er) English proficiency levels to use English as a medium of instruction for teaching is elevated as one of the top priorities regarding the national education reform agenda. What this reform policy signifies is its interconnectedness between teacher education regarding English teachers' levels of qualification, English language curriculum and instruction regarding Chinese-English bilingual education or English immersion education in the compulsory education system, and the national imaginary about progress, development and modernization.

In recent years, multiple education reform policies have focused on how to "extend and begin" English language education as a compulsory subject as early as Year 1 in primary school. With such a goal, multiple but minor adjustments in what constitute appropriate and effect curriculum guidelines for English have been undergoing waves of shifts/changes. How to teach and learn English better in order to raise all children's English proficiency level(s) has been an important goal in English language curriculum reforms. Moving from a traditional and technical emphasis on the importance of grammatical uses of the English language, contemporary curriculum guidelines have shifted to discussions on how to use and implement English language in daily life. In a relatively recent national education position statement update, the Ministry of

Education (2018) in Taiwan emphasized that among the multiple key aims in the new compulsory 12-Year English Curriculum Guidelines, the prominent aims to promote learner autonomy and life-long learning as well as Taiwan's English education are ongoing and aligning with the wholistic restructure of the education system and national development. As announced in the news through the document of Implement in Full Scale Bilingualization of Taiwan's Education System: Cultivate Bilingual Talents to Bring Taiwan to the World:

...and Taiwan's English education will follow the global trend: it will provide more opportunities for students to learn and use the target language (English) in real-life environments instead of sitting in the classroom and learning the English language from textbooks. We expect that our English learners will be more capable of exploring the wider world as their experiences using English are more enriched, and most importantly, they will learn to appreciate and respect different peoples and cultures and be ready to engage in international affairs with confidence and insight (https://english.moe.gov.tw/cp-13-17790-80201-1.html).

As indicated in this official news announcement/press release, the Ministry of Education aims to launch a comprehensive series of policies to implement English language education in a full scale in the direction of "bilingualization" in Taiwan's educational system in order to "cultivate bilingual talents" to bring Taiwan to the world (MOE, 2018). As announced in December 2018, there are five major policies that the Ministry of Education (MOE) plans to implement/launch in order to reflect the contemporary national development plan of building a Bilingual nation. As announced in the official MOE website, these major policies are:

- 1. Adopt a dynamic teaching approach with focus on daily English use to enhance learning motivation: strengthen listening and speaking skills during primary and secondary education; promote CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) in designated primary and secondary learning domains or subjects; implement the TEIE (Teaching English in English) policy for primary and secondary education step-by step; promote ESP (English for specific Purposes) teaching and learning for vocational schools.
- 2. Expand human resources required for English education in response to local needs: Make effective use of English-speaking international students, as well as students and young people of Chinese descent currently studying in or visiting Taiwan, to assist primary and secondary school English teaching; promote the effectiveness of English teaching and learning resources centers sponsored by local governments; establish TEIE (Teach English in English) research centers; host in-service and pre-service TEIE courses for teachers.
- 3. Make effective use of digital technology and promote individualized learning to develop learner potential: Take inventory of and integrate the central and local government resources now available, together with those of the private sector, for effective teaching and learning; promote distance digital learning for young learners and their parents; intensify digital learning and encourage digital learning partnerships.
- Accelerate the internationalization of the educational system to bring the world to
   Taiwan: Expand international exchanges in educational institutions at all levels
   (e.g., educational travel programs and Model United Nations); promote

international joint and dual degree programs; increase the number of colleges and degree programs for international students; make effective use of the resources of social education institutions (e.g., by offering a diverse range of English learning programs).

5. Relax current legislation to allow for flexible mechanisms so that new learning modes can be created: Speed up the process of relaxing the "Primary and Junior High School Act", the "Senior High School Education Act" (to allow for the establishment of bilingual schools), and the "Private School Law" (to permit Taiwanese students to enroll in private international schools such as Taipei American School). It is expected that the revised laws will be submitted to the Legislative Yuan for review and discussion in March 2019 and will be passed together with the subsidiary-legislation and associated implementation Measures.

(https://english.moe.gov.tw/cp-13-17790-80201-1.html)

Expanded and explained in great detail through the official press release, the centralized plans and policies made by the Ministry of Education have mapped out several big changes regarding English language education as a new "grand vision" which is about cultivating bilingual students/citizens as talents as well as developing Taiwan into a bilingual nation by 2030. Hence, it is expected that the numbers of instructional hours for English to be taught in order to achieve the goal of having bilingual classes will be increased by 2020 (MOE, 2018). What's significant in these shifts of English curriculum reforms in Taiwan are beyond the primary objectives of learning any typical foreign language (or L2). As officially articulated by the Ministry of Education, the goal of making and building Taiwan towards a bilingual nation by

2030 has further perpetuated the significant role and "high" status of English language education in Taiwan.

### **Edutainment: educating and entertaining with visual representations**

Edutainment (Cambridge Dictionary)

...the process of entertaining people at the same time as you are teaching them something, and the products, such as television programmes or software.

Edutain (verb)

...This new programme is designed to edutain kids, making sure they get the message about healthy food choices.

(abstracted from <a href="https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/edutainment">https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/edutainment</a>)

The notion of edutainment has been (re)defined and discussed since the late 1990s (for examples, see Buckingham & Scanlon, 2000; Koan, 2003). Elaborating Buckingham and Scanlon's definition of "edu-tainment," Koan (2003) noted that:

"Edu-tainment" is a hybrid genre that relies heavily on visual material, on narrative or game-like formats, and on more informal, less didactic styles of address. The purpose of edutainment is to attract and hold the attention of the learners by engaging their emotions through a computer monitor full of vividly coloured animations. It involves an interactive pedagogy and... totally depends on an obsessive insistence that learning is inevitably "fun." (p. 255)

The ideas of play to learn, play and learn, play and fun learning, fun to play while learning and so on are not "new" revolutionary ideas particularly in the space of early childhood education. To "hold" and "attract" young(er) primary students' English language learning, make it "fun" and "appealing" is often emphasized through the production of ELTs as the designs of the textbooks are students' first "impression" about a core/compulsory school subject which is hardly part of everyday life (e.g., Taiwanese children/people have very limited opportunity to use English as a daily communication language). In the early primary years of English language learning, the elements of *edutain* and *edutainment* are visible in the Taiwanese ELTs' design and curriculum guidelines.

Articulated and noted in the beginning editorial pages of the 'Super Wow' series by Kan Hsuan publishing (2012):

...The main objectives for the learning units in Book 1 to 4 are to use *humorous and imaginative picture/story book style to attract primary school children's active learning in understanding the contents as well as to minimize their hesitation in learning English in the beginning years*. Through including reading and listening the stories, conversations, basic spelling, songs, poems, readers' theater, and cultural festivals in the textbooks, these learning units aim to develop and cultivate students' English communicative skill and ability. (p. i, my translation and added italic for emphasis).

There are several noteworthy trends of rationales from the above abstracted editorial comments:

• The importance of ELTs having an "attractive appearance" (i.e., cartoon-like illustrations and pictures)

- The notion of *humorous and playful learning* materials/resources (in this case, it is the visuals in the ELTs which imply a notion of entertainment), and
- The need to minimize *children's hesitation in learning English* (the importance of making it fun to learn).

These key points function like "objectives" or rationales when designing the ELTs and they have merged to produce a cultural logic for knowledge production. In other words, these key rationales about English language learning have shaped the design and production of Taiwanese ELTs and reflected the concept of *edutainment* to make the teaching and learning of English more playful, fun and attractive to children.

The predominance of cartoon-like illustrations and images in the Taiwanese ELTs for primary school children need to be unpacked in multiple ways (See Picture 6.1-6.4). At a surface level, these visual materials in the ELTs (such as photos, drawings and cartoonish illustrations) function as an attractive medium for the teaching and learning English as a fun, playful and neutral process of learning. The colorful images, fun storylines, and the English songs as well as the "fun" stories from the ELTs may be attractive to young learners just like reading a picture book or a graphic novel filled with elements of entertainment (i.e., the similar storylines with Disney movies). It is important to have a deeper "look" into these visual materials and contents in Taiwanese ELTs as such cultural representations are producing new cultural norms through a sugar coating of edutainment (cartoon-like illustrations to imply learning is fun).

Seeing and Visualizing Representations of Sameness/Differences and

Exclusion/Inclusion in ELTs

In this section of discussion, through the following selections of the pictures, I illustrate and problematize how the visuals and storylines in Taiwanese ELTs provide both explicit and implicit cues and clues to send a subtle but clear socio-cultural message of what constitutes a desirable construction of sameness for inclusion through the teaching and learning of the English language. The presentations of the cartoon-like characters, the facial expressions, actions of the characters and the sociocultural scenes/settings in the illustrations all come together to suggest, encourage and perpetuate a specific culturally appropriate feeling, sentiment and be(com)ing to accompany the visual representations through the ELTs. What's dangerous here is accepting the visual images in the ELTs at face value without problematizing them. From a Foucaultian theoretical perspective, Taiwanese ELTs can be conceptualized as a technology of governmentality, as the ELTs are governing the teaching and learning of English language as well as creating new desirable cultural ways of talking, thinking and being. This conceptualization of ELTs as a technology of governmentality in English language education leads to a discussion about the cultural narratives in ELTs.

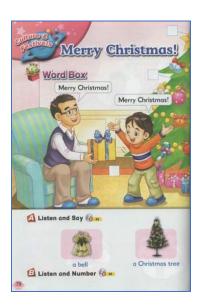
Picture 6.1: Illustrations and Images in English Language Textbooks





These illustrations and images in Taiwanese ELTs have multiple functions and layers of meanings beyond a single purpose as "visual aids" in textbooks (Picture 6.1). This collection of textbook pages shows that the visuals take up a big percentage of the space to set the scenes, "tell" the stories and to "introduce" ways of "seeing" culture(s) in every page of the ELTs. The visual images provide a window of opportunity for children to have a first impression/understanding of what other cultures and other people in/from English-speaking worlds may look like, act and think or live their lives in certain ways. These illustrations and images in the ELTs become a cultural representation to shape students'/children's common and stereotypical cultural understanding about cultures in English worlds.

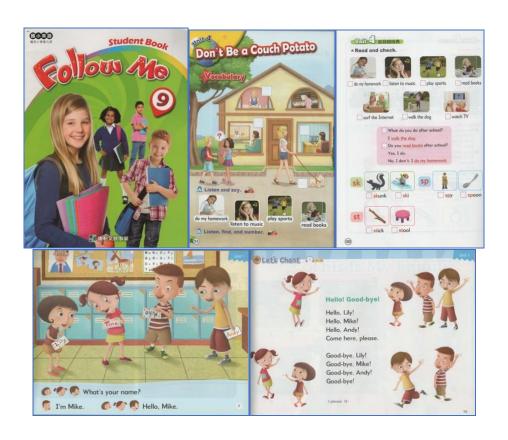
Picture 6.2: Christmas: A Single Line of Cultural Narrative in English Language Textbooks.



In Picture 6.2, the example of a singular cultural narrative about Christmas in Taiwanese ELTs through a "festive flair and flavor" of the visual materials has dangerous implications with the construction of Whiteness and bias (for examples, see Burrows, 2016, 2017; Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012; Weber, 2017). The "cultural assumptions" about what Christmas ought to be or look like and how "people who speak English" are celebrating this holiday are presented through some dangerous images of race and class, which contribute to the formation of cultural bias and stereotypes. That the appearance of such images does not expand children's understanding of diversity through Taiwanese ELTs is dangerous as it perpetuates racial, gender, class, and cultural stereotypes. Discussions on forms of bias in ELTs have long been recognized as problematic all over the world in non-English speaking countries (for a selection of examples, see Amini & Birjandi, 2012; Gharbavi & Mousavi, 2012; Grant & Wong, 2018; Karami, 2020; J. Lee, 2016; Nguyen, Marlina & Cao, 2020). The visual illustrations and images of cultural

festival celebrations of Christmas and other holidays from the "English speaking world" are painting a narrowed representation and stereotypical understanding about what certain cultural holidays look like and/or should be without facilitating a deep(er) understanding of English-speaking worlds where cultures are more diverse with multicultural perspectives on cultural festival holidays.

Picture 6.3: Construction & Representation of Sameness/Differences: Seeing "Us" and Seeing "Them" in English Language Textbooks





In the examples of illustrations/images in Picture 6.3, the cartoonish representation of children at home, school, or in other social/community settings perpetuates an imbalanced and unrealistic image of daily living experiences of the racial makeup of the population in Taiwan. In a "typical" Taiwanese primary classroom setting, the racial/ethnicity composition would often reflect the following variations of multicultural groups: the Hoklo, the Hakka, the Mainlanders (waves of Chinese who migrated to Taiwan in the 1940s), the indigenous population (of which there are 16 indigenous groups recognized by the central government in Taiwan), and the children of immigrants/new residents from the region of Southeast Asia (Damm, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2019). The appearance of "foreigners" with Euro-American racial and cultural backgrounds in a primary classroom would be very limited. In other words, the chances of meeting/seeing a child of a multicultural background from an English-speaking country would be very low in Taiwan. However, the visual images and representations of the children's/characters' racial or ethnicity composition in Taiwanese ELTs are painting a "feel" and "atmosphere" of "English centric." The construction of "Us and Them" in terms of cultural sameness/differences is perpetuating a problem of "Whiteness" through the appearance of cartoon-like characters in textbooks (for examples, see Burrow, 2016, 2017; C. Chang, 2015; Weber, 2017). What these visual images in the ELTs are creating is an assemblage of dominant discourse which is

mobilized and articulated through the images to reinforce the dangerous construction of "Whiteness" without recognizing the notion of "global Englishes" to expand children's worldviews of multiculturalism and diversity (see, M. Kim, 2019; Lie, 2017).

Picture 6.4: Sociocultural Practices of Inclusion/Exclusion: Representation of Desirable Way of Being in English Language Textbooks





The collection of images in Picture 6.4 shows/suggests the idea of how a child's birthday is/should be celebrated with his/her friends and family. Through a "visual narrative" of hosting a party with friends and (or with the "expectation" of) receiving gifts from friends and family needs to be further problematized. Such a socio-cultural representation of a birthday celebration reflects a "common" scene in children's movies from Euro-American genera. Illustrations similar to this are (re)inscribing the images of a middle-class childhood and living experiences. The concept of celebrating birthdays and the construction of childhood are intricately rooted in racialized, classed, and even gendered discourses and practices.

# Problematizing cultural (re)presentations in ELTs: Constructing what?

Illustrated through the assemblage of Picture 6.1-6.4, the problematic construction of cultural knowledge and identity in Taiwanese ELTs are made visible through the production of colorful and cartoon-like illustrations as the dominant visual materials to reflect the mixing of *education* and *entertainment* as "*edutainment*." Taiwanese ELTs have embodied the concept of edutainment through the use of "attractive" cartoon-like images at the cost of ignoring the importance of cultural diversity and sensitivity to engage students/children in deeper learning. The visuals in these sets of ELTs signify power dynamics of race, gender, class, cultural values and social practices to establish narrowed but desirable "patterns of thoughts" about sociocultural sameness for inclusion (the construction of Us vs. Them). As shown in Picture 6.2 about Christmas, these images have perpetuated problematic assumptions of classed and raced representations as stereotypical and culturally biased visual illustrations/images. With a notion of edutainment, these illustrations/images re-shape imaginations and influence socio-cultural

practices of inclusion/exclusion to "sell" desirable "images/ways of be(com)ing" as a construction of new norms.

To further unpack the construction of new cultural norms, it is important to understand the notion of sameness and differences as a "twin concept" that is co-existing and relational to each other rather than as two binary constructs. As previously alluded, sameness is connected to differences through the presence or absence of particular visuals in the ELTs. Within a dominant presence of Han ethnic groups in Taiwan, the appearance of a predominantly high frequency of illustrations of children as figures/characters with Anglo-Saxon features in ELTs are inevitably alluding to a new and problematic construction of be(com)ing; this problem is closely linked with the concept of Whiteness. Race, racism and English language education in Taiwanese ELTs thus become complicated and subtle as the visual contents take on an entertainment spin to sustain children's/students' attention to learn while losing a significant multiculturalism focus on cultural awareness and sensitivity in the primary school years.

As discussed above, it is important to think of the notion of inclusion and exclusion as co-existing in relation to each other. A rhetorical analysis elucidates that without acknowledging forms of exclusion, it would not be possible to think about practices for inclusion. The illustrations and images as visuals in ELTs re(con)figure socio-cultural sameness for desirable inclusion. In the case of ELTs, the visual images certainly embody new norms for ways of being. As shown below (see Picture 6.4) for a selection of illustrations from the two series of ELTs, the construction of desirable sociocultural practices is promoted for inclusion as a way of be(come)ing. To elaborate, as You, Lee and Craig (2019) have noted on the roles of textbooks:

Textbooks are valuable teaching tools and vehicles through which national curriculums - mandated courses of study- are implemented in classrooms. Textbooks function as

mediums that fulfil curriculum guidelines by specifying teaching methods, content selection and organization of education for classroom instruction. (p. 14)

Seeing "textbooks as balancing agents," You et al (2019) highlighted Korean textbooks as an example from the East Asian geopolitical region to assert that textbooks influence student learning outcomes and can affect students' learning experience directly through their daily uses and indirectly through their teachers' uses of the textbooks to guide teaching. It is through such a perspective that Taiwanese ELTs can also be thought of as balancing agents between the centralized national/state curriculum guideline and students' learning.

Within the context of Taiwan, ELTs play a key role in presenting initial opportunities to introduce, deepen and broaden children's diverse understanding of cultures and worldviews through the teaching and learning of the English language. The cultural narratives in Taiwanese ELTs are reflected through the images and storyline to "show" and "tell" what progress, development and internalization would look like (and be desirable). Through the "fun" and "colorful" cartoonish images and "Disney-like" storylines, Taiwanese ELTs have infused education and entertainment together to become a medium of edutainment that has been depoliticized to make "learning English fun." This blurring and mixing of "domains" of education and entertainment together to "attract" children's attention have successfully but dangerously depolitized and de-sanitized the nuances of biased, gendered, raced and classed images in ELTs.

Adding to the layers of complexity, the commercial production of Taiwanese ELTs has further mobilized and created a "semi-market" economy for textbooks and learning resources, as the production of textbooks has been de-centralized in Taiwan since the 1990s. The concept of market economy in ELTs has further perpetuated and facilitated an emergence of dominant "popular culture" in the production of Taiwanese ELTs. Across the pages, the visual images and

storylines in the best-selling Taiwanese ELTs have appeared to resonate or suit the children's market to meet children's "taste" of fun learning while reflecting and perpetuating a problematic dominant cultural discourse which is potentially culturally biased through the politics of sameness/differences and inclusion/exclusion.

Rather than seeing the illustrations and images in ELTs as "the way they are," it is important to shift to treat the visuals (illustrations and images alike) in the ELTs as *codes of cultural representation* that scaffold the (re)construction of a new connotation of sameness/differences as a new "common sense". This shift unpacks how illustrations and images in ELTs are making the invisible dominant cultural discourse visible in that the visuals elucidate how the construction of sameness/difference is situated within power relations (for example, see Block & Gray, 2017; Hall, 1996; Pauly, 2003, 2015). For instance, as noted by Pauly (2003):

...visual images emerged in the last century as one of the most pervasive forms of communication, their enormous social, historical, and cultural power as cultural texts is largely ignored in school. Yet, visual images, and the experiences associated with seeing or being seen, saturate public and private spaces and influence how children, adolescents, and teachers learn, perform, or transform their identities, values, and behaviors. Further, images as visual culture, participate within networks of culturally mediated processes and power relations while they appear as common sense or "the way it is." (p. 264)

The illustrations and images as visuals in ELTs produce cultural meanings for children as well as for teachers (both children and teachers as ELTs users). The cultural phenomenon and production of sameness/difference in ELTs can be further unpacked through analyzing visual culture (and cultural representations) along the categories of *race*, *class* and *gender*. As the images/illustrations embody stereotypical gendered, raced, and classed-specific interest, the

visuals in ELTs signify a certain *lifestyle* or *way of being*. These culturally loaded messages in the visuals come to sustain and perpetuate how power is displayed as well as denoted throughout these illustrations /images in the ELTs.

The constructions of cultural sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion in English language education through ELTs and multiple English language education reforms as well as national development plans have merged to fabricate new cultural norms. However, such new cultural norms have dangerously painted a narrowed vision for understanding diversity and inclusion. To further destabilize and unpack the new cultural norms, it is important to make the invisible biased construction of diversity and inclusion visible. To do so, I use several structural dimensions of differences such as race, class, gender, and culture as signifiers to problematize the contemporary "vision" of diversity and inclusion in ELTs. Pauly (2003) argued that "visual images, and the experiences associated with seeing or being seen, saturate public and private space and influence how children, adolescents and teachers learn, perform, or transform their identities, values, and behaviors" (p. 264). In that, the visual images, the songs, and short stories come to play a significant role as one of the key avenues for shaping children's understanding about what other cultures may look like.

The narrowed cultural constructions about diversity and inclusion in Taiwanese ELTs do not stand alone nor do they appear in a vacuum, but rather they are closely knotted with global/local dominant political and cultural discourses. Globally, the dominant sociocultural, historical, political, and economic discourse influences circulating from the English-speaking countries into the Asian geopolitical region are significant. For instance, multiple waves of global political discourses and economic policies about international trading, military policies, different world and regional forums have further perpetuated the power of English-speaking

countries as leading (or stronger) world power entities. As globalization has become a main focus of discussion in all domains throughout the world, the cultures from English-speaking countries act as a dominant force for shaping the productions of popular cultures. Within the age groups of (young) children, tweens and teenagers, the power of popular cultures including visual images, movies, cartoons, music and so on cannot be ignored. Moreover, with the advancement of social media, the circulation of what counts as desirable ways of living, acting, and thinking can sometime be reduced to how many likes by the followers/viewers. Disney movies can be good examples of the dominant construction of cultures for unpacking the global circulation of desirable ways of being. There have been multiple studies that aim to critically analyze, problematize and critique the biased cultural constructions in Disney movies through stereotypical characters along the lines of race, class, gender and culture (for examples see, Gill, 2016; Giroux & Pollock, 2010; Sandlin & Garlen, 2016). As the popular cultures are now travelling wider at a faster speed in the 21st century, biased constructions and understanding about diversity and inclusion have become problematic and dangerous.

## A Concluding Thought: Re(con)figuring Sameness/Differences and Inclusion/Exclusion

In Taiwan, English has been a strategic foreign language closely knotted with the national imaginary for the promise of progress, development, and modernity, and the impacts and effects of biased constructions and understandings of diversity and inclusion from global to local cannot be overlooked. The making of sameness/differences and inclusion/exclusion in Taiwanese ELTs are nested within the contemporary assemblage of the dominant Euro-American cultural discourse for the formation of a new generation of English-speaking students/citizens to suit a new/different fabrication of a national imaginary in Taiwan. The strong appearances of a "Euro-

American" centric cultural logic in the visual images and cultural narratives in ELTs have highlighted a new cultural logic of reasoning for the production of diversity and inclusion. This cultural logic is embedded within the global circulation of dominant discourse from the English-speaking countries. As previously discussed, contemporary global trends of political, cultural, and economic power are often influential in shaping new desirable normality" which is re(con)figuring what counts as sameness/difference as well as practices of inclusion/exclusion. Sameness cannot exist without the presences of differences and the practice of inclusion would not be possible if exclusion of differences is not acknowledged. Therefore, it is important to identify how sameness/difference is constructed.

In the Taiwanese ELTs for primary school children, the Euro-American centric cultural logic of racial construction, middle class ways of living, stereotypically gendered ways of being, and biased cultural holidays are represented through visual images and storylines to fabricate a new version of diversity and inclusion. However, as much as "diversity" is a key theme and educational goal for the philosophy of education in Taiwan, the biased constructions of sameness/difference in ELTs seem to be contradictory.

In this chapter, as well as throughout this research project, my goal is not to provide a perfect answer nor to discuss whether English language education is good or bad for Taiwanese children. Rather, my intention is to investigate the complexities of systems of reasoning that are embedded through English language education within ELTs and unpack the dominance of a Euro-American centric cultural logic in Taiwan. Therefore, this chapter aims to move beyond a linear analysis and a binary discussion on the issues of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion in Taiwanese ELTs.

As analyzed and discussed in this chapter, the productions of new norms in and through ELTs have come to echo and reflect a national cultural discourse to prescribe what constitutes sameness for inclusion and difference for exclusion. Hence, reconceptualization of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion requires an onto-epistemological shift to understand how and what cultural logics and systems of reasoning entangle together to (re)appropriate the politics of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion. The concepts of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion are conceptualized as sets of relational and relative concepts rather than binary concepts to bring in critical discussions on issues of diversity and inclusion through English language education. It is impossible to discuss inclusion without acknowledging the existence of exclusion through unpacking and problematizing various forms of exclusion. Hence, the constructions of sameness/difference or exclusion/inclusion are not only co-existing but also relational and relative as reference points for each other. Therefore, the construction of Us vs. Them would become relational and relative rather than a simple binary construction. What is problematic here is that the visual images, the storylines as cultural narratives in ELTs have become the truth to be told and held as well as taught and learned. However, constructions of diversity and inclusion should be critically examined rather than becoming a new truth for inscribing the new "official knowledge" through the visual images and storylines in ELTs.

### **Chapter Seven**

# Some Concluding Thoughts: Learning What through English Language Education?

The popularity and desirability of English language education in Asian contexts has been a regional (if not global) phenomenon over the past thirty years. The global and local tensions in multiple domains of political, economic, cultural and educational constructions concerning the high status of English language education across all Asian countries have merged together to signify English as the language of progress and development. Since the turn of the 21st century, through multiple waves of contemporary educational reforms, the inclusion of English as a core subject within the compulsory education systems and the expansion of English language classes to all students starting from primary school all attest to the ever more official status of English language education within the geopolitical space in (East) Asia. Within the (East) Asian context, to understand English language education, it is important to unpack the webs of (inter)national socio-political and socio-cultural discourses across the geopolitical region of (East) Asia and the interplay of multiple and different trajectories about globalization. Among the different countries within the geopolitical space of East Asia, multiple waves of education reform policies supporting primary school English language are not only common but also strongly laced within their similar but yet different national visions about development, progress, modernization, internationalization and globalization.

### Some Notes on Theoretical and Methodological Positioning: A New System of Reasoning

In this research project, I have focused on the topic of English language education by highlighting English Language Textbooks (ELTs) for the primary years of compulsory schooling

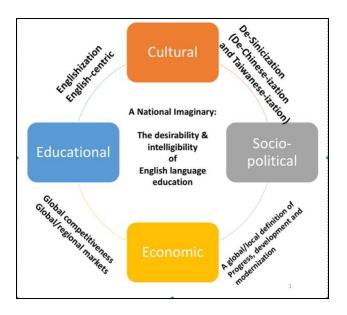
in Taiwan as a case within the context of East Asia. My intention in this research project is *not* to take the dominant or the common understanding about English language at face value. The concept of "common understanding" is never "common" but is instead a socio-political construct, which was made intelligible through an interplay of power/knowledge. Therefore, one of the key objectives of this project is to de-construct and de-stabilize the "official" understanding about English language education through critical examinations of Taiwanese primary ELTs to problematize the production of paradoxical cultural knowledge and identity. To do this, I depart from a binary logic of analysis and discussion on English language education and whether the Taiwanese ELTs for children are "appropriate" or not. Moving away from a binary debate about whether compulsory English language at the primary school level is good or bad, my concerns are mainly centered around how and what "new cultural knowledge" is being produced and circulated as the new "truths" for all to prescribe a new way of be(com)ing.

In this project, theoretically and methodologically, I have departed from a positivist paradigm with conventional research questions on English language education and shifted to engage in a different type of inquiry and analysis for critical discussions to investigate the complexities of English language education in Taiwan. My post-structural methodological choice reflects how I reconceptualize English language education in Taiwan. Such a conceptual framework has made the application of situated analysis possible for me to work within, across, and even against a traditional education research analysis and enabled me to map the dynamics and tensions surrounding the research topic about English language education in Taiwan.

To me, for instance, a Deleuzoguattarian concept of Assemblage is both a theoretical and a methodological concept, which has allowed me to search for flexible and critical situational analyses to address complexity and paradox in English education. Moreover, I take a history of

the present approach to pay attention to the relations of power/knowledge which enables me to investigate the systems of reasoning for the desirability and intelligibility of English. As discussed previously in the methodological chapter (Chapter Four), Lather's (2006) elaboration of situated research methodologies and Clarke's (2005) take on situated analysis with my understanding of a Deleuzoguattarian concept of Assemblage have enabled me to "see" and "visualize" a messy map through which the complexity of English education in Taiwan can be presented (see Picture 7.1 for a visual representation of a messy map for what English language education may mean in Taiwan).

Picture 7.1: A Messy Map for English Language Education in Taiwan.



This messy map not only set the scene for my research project but also encapsulated how English language education is made intelligible in Taiwan. As introduced in Chapter One, an overarching goal of this project is to shift the energy of discussions towards a different set of focus points onto what constitutes the desirability and intelligibility of English language

education in Taiwan. Such a shift for rethinking English language education is related to a research paradigm shift that (re)positions my onto-epistemological framework towards one that is theoretically and methodologically post-structural. It is important to note that I do not disregard the "value" or "importance" of English language education in Taiwan. In fact, this research project is not about "rejecting" the idea of teaching and learning any "foreign" language such as English as an additional language within the context of Taiwan (whether one would like to "see" the teaching and learning of the English language under a variety of different concepts, such as English as Foreign Language, English as a lingua franca, English as an international language, or Global Englishes).

My inquiry, analysis and discussion in this research have been about destabilizing what's taken-for-granted through English language education. Through highlighting Taiwanese primary school English Language Textbooks (ELTs), I have drawn on the approach of a history of the present (Popkewtiz, 2017, 2020) with reference to *Asia as a Method* (Chen, 2010) to unpack the system of reasoning which contributed to the production of new cultural norms in primary school English Language Textbooks (ELTs).

In Chapter Two and Chapter Three, I have presented theoretical and methodological discussions to illustrate how I have (re)conceptualized English language education with a sociopolitical epistemology in a post-structural paradigm to understand the reasoning of the "reasons" or "rationalities" for the intelligibility and desirability of Englishization in Taiwan. In this theoretical/conceptual chapter, to engage in a theoretical discussion of English language education, I first unpacked the contemporary Taiwanese national imaginaries, then made the dominant systems of reasoning visible, and continued to problematize the web of power/knowledge. In these theoretical discussions, I (re)conceptualized the socio-political

construction of English language education for a deeper understanding to analyze the contemporary production of politics of difference for the fabrication of cultural inclusion though simultaneous exclusion in Taiwan.

I have deployed a set of post-structural conceptual/analytical tools such as national imaginaries, systems of reasoning, relation of power/knowledge, governmentality and assemblage for a critical discussion on my theoretical positioning in understanding English language education in Taiwan as socio-political knowledge production. This theoretical and methodological approach has enabled me to pay attention to how the system of reasoning has worked to mobilize the complex making of a new "bilingual" nation intelligible and Englishization desirable through the articulation of a new national imaginary to "promise" a future with progress, development and modernization. The reasoning behind and about English language education has created and told a new "truth" in the crafting of the national imaginary like a "fortune telling" through which the English language is thought of as a form of symbolic capital. This is a particular (East) Asian cultural, economic, socio-political and educational reasoning system and phenomenon. As Chen's (2010) Asia as Method has illustrated, a new form of imperialism is laced with global capitalism as an Asian rationality or interpretation of globalization. What this conceptual framework has done is to illuminate a different system of reasoning, which interjects a new discussion on why and how compulsory English language education is thought to be desirable and intelligible under a Taiwanese interpretation of globalization (within the larger geopolitical space of Asia) as well as a new imaginary for building a bilingual nation.

### Paradoxes in English Language Education and Textbooks

Nowadays, many Taiwanese children have their first encounter with the English language through various media such as cartoons and movies or through attending a private bilingual English preschool/kindergarten/tuition program. English, while it is not yet an official language in Taiwan, is a core subject in the national compulsory education system; therefore, all children start to take "formal" English language education starting in primary school. Chapter Four focused on one of the research questions: What systems of reasoning are manifested in Taiwanese English language education as well as embedded in ELTs for the production of inclusion and exclusion? This question required me to challenge the dominant production of "truth" about English language education to destabilize the common belief about English language education as a "normal" educational practice in the compulsory education system. In Chapter Four, I mapped the layers of cultural discourses and shifts of socio-political positioning to rethink how the contemporary Taiwanese national imaginary has mobilized the formation of a new system of knowledge about English language education to create new and different ideological parameters for the production of sameness/differences and the prescription of sociocultural inclusion/exclusion through the ELTs. The multiple iterations and variations of national development plans as well as English language education policies were placed in the center of analyses and discussions to enable me to untangle the making of an "English-centric" mentality in the Taiwanese national imaginary to tell a new truth about progress and development.

In Chapter Five, primary school ELTs were seen as a powerful and effective teaching and learning tool for achieving the teaching goals and learning outcomes as well as a significant curriculum artifact. This chapter focused on analyzing how textbooks embody cultural politics of

power for the production of cultural norms in order to address one of the research questions: What and how is new cultural knowledge and identity fabricated through the production of Taiwanese English Language Textbooks? In Chapter Five, I highlighted several images/visuals from ELTs to illustrate how an "English-centric" mentality is weaving through the pages. The problematics of an "English-centric" mentality is prescribing a particular way of being and becoming through the images to reflect the production of new cultural knowledge (as embedded in the new national imaginary). As discussed, this new cultural knowledge and way of being is introduced and presented through ELTs as "by products" for children when they pick up new names and new cultural identities. What I have aimed to achieve in such an analysis was not about falling back to the binary categorization of West vs. East. Rather, while problematizing the new cultural knowledge and identities, my discussion was to destabilize the making of a new "normal" to enable a critical examination of the images and visuals in the ELTs. The production of Taiwanese primary school ELTs packs in a cultural logic to constitute a new cultural identity as the new truth and new norm, which (re)defines what is culturally relevant and socio-politically appropriate practice.

Following this line of thinking, in Chapter Six, I continued to unpack the new cultural narrative in Taiwanese primary ELTs. I built and expanded my analysis and discussion to focus on a third research question of this project: How are notions of sameness/difference as well as inclusion/exclusion being constructed in Taiwanese ELTs to reflect the dominant cultural discourse(s)? In this chapter of analysis, I looked at the cultural representation of us vs. them as an "othering" practice in ELTs. However, again, while I acknowledge the dangers and problematics of a repressive and sovereignty notion of power which contribute to a construction of a hierarchical us vs. them as a norm of a cultural landscape, I "see" the dimensions of

sameness/differences and the categories and inclusion/exclusion as co-existing and coconstructing each other in a web of power/knowledge relations. It is not possible to discuss
practices of inclusion if we do not acknowledge exclusion. What's problematic in the cultural
politics of representation of ELTs is how biased images/visuals are disguised by cartoonish
appearances to further perpetuate stereotypical understanding of raced, gendered, and classed
inequality. This is creating and mobilizing a tokenistic understanding about cultural diversity
through a narrowed and biased production of Taiwanese ELTs.

### **Limitation of This Research Study**

The English language has the status of a semi-official language in Taiwan.

Nowadays, the question of "should our children need to learn English" is no longer a question in Taiwan. Rather, discussions about English language education have shifted to questions like: "when are the appropriate ages for young children to start learning English for higher proficiency levels?" or "what are the best pedagogical practices for better outcomes of English language education?" Moving away from such types of research questions from a positivist research paradigm, I have asked a different set of research questions. To reiterate, I started this project with the following research questions:

- 1. What systems of reasoning are manifested in Taiwanese English language education as well as embedded in English Language Textbooks for the production of inclusion and exclusion?
- 2. What and how is new cultural knowledge and identity fabricated through the production of Taiwanese English Language Textbooks?

3. How are notions of sameness/difference as well as inclusion/exclusion being constructed in Taiwanese ELTs to reflect the dominant cultural discourse(s)?

Through these questions, I have focused my analyses and discussions on the "effects" of English language education to:

- 1. trouble the production of "truth" in national imaginary by rethinking English as a "powerful" language to signify progress, development and modernization,
- 2. unpack how English is intelligible and desirable,
- destabilize the production of new norms and cultural knowledge through English language education, and
- 4. problematize how English education has created new paradoxes of sameness and differences, as well as sociocultural inclusion and exclusion.

It is important to note that while I am guided by my post-structural onto-epistemological research paradigm to engage in a deeper analysis on the paradoxical and dangerous effects of English language education in Taiwan, there are several noteworthy "limitations" within this research that need to be addressed. The limitations of this research study are linked with my concerns (and avoidance) of providing a list of suggestions and recommendation as "the true answers" for what constitutes the best or appropriate English language textbooks (ELTs) for children. I am wary about the notion of "answers" as they are never free from politicization and are at risk of being "fixed" in time as a new "truth."

In this study, while I have scrutinized the imperfections of culturally biased ELTs to build a critical foundation for understanding the paradoxes of English language education and

ELTs, my study has not provided any clear guidelines as effective solutions for creating and moving towards culturally relevant textbooks in Taiwan. Recognizing such limitations, it provides some possible directions for future research projects. For example, different sets of research questions will be useful for critical explorations to "find" ways of (re)creating culturally relevant ELTs to encourage children's deep learning in English language education. Such new directions for finding and constructing culturally relevant as well as deeper engagement in the teaching and learning of English are important future directions of research development for addressing and "fixing" the limitations of this research study.

Tochon (2014) has advocated a concept of *Deep Approach* to world languages and cultures. This approach for English language learning can act as a critical guiding post for addressing the limitations of my research project. As Tochon (2014) elaborated:

The Deep Approach establishes a link between language education policies and an open curriculum design focusing on values and creative proficiency in action rather than imposed outcomes. It places the learner as the curriculum builder. (p. 18)

Without culturally relevant ELTs for primary school children, English language learning can be dangerous as younger children may be more "impressionable" and take the textbooks at their face value. Holding ELTs as the official "texts" and sources providing "truthful knowledge" without making a deeper commitment to ethical considerations of culturally relevant English education for multiculturalism to cultivate a worldview of justice and equity would reduce the scope of language education.

### **Some Final Thoughts**

English language education has been politically promoted as one of the strategic languages for national development and educational reform priorities in the Taiwanese education system since the early 1990s. The development of recent English language education policies has elevated the status of English language. For example, the increasing of the hours of teaching and learning within the compulsory education system as well as the construction of English as a "semi-official" language have further perpetuated the intelligibility and desirability of English language education for all in Taiwan.

Recognizing the strategic importance and the promise of English language education for a better future when being "compared" with other countries in (East) Asia, I have attempted to connect multiple trajectories of reform discourses and dots of policy contexts regarding English education and the productions of ELTs to unpack the system of reasoning supporting the desirability and intelligibility of English language education. This has allowed me to rethink and investigate what is being taught through the teaching and learning of the English language in the primary school years.

English language education in Taiwan has been more than teaching and learning a "foreign" language. It has been intertwined within a national imaginary about what constitutes progress, development and modernity. Therefore, English language education has encapsulated as well as contributed to the formation of a new cultural knowledge and identity to produce "hopes" or to tell "truth" about a better (imagined and projected) future. In the newest articulation of a national development plan that is aimed for "building a bilingual nation" by 2030, this grand vision of nation building is nested within the productions of new cultural

knowledge and identity through which Englishization has become a new "normative" way of be(com)ing.

As I have iterated, destabilizing and problematizing English language education through paying critical attention to the socio-political production of ELTs have made it possible for me to rethink the effects of English. By focusing on the politics of ELTs, it opens up opportunities to reconceptualize how contents (i.e., visual images and or storylines as cultural narratives) shape the ways in which children are thinking and learning the English language.

Throughout this project, my critical inquiry of English language education and ELTs has mainly focused on destabilizing what's thought of as "common sense." As Taiwan is immersed in a new development project of building a bilingual nation, it is important to unpack what is being taught through English language education (without rejecting the teaching and learning of the English language). Seeing all language learning beyond just learning new languages, I see language learning is nested within cultural, socio-political, economic, and educational productions of power/knowledge. My critical analyses and discussions (or critiques) of English language education and Taiwanese ELTs problematize the dominant understanding as well as open up a different discursive space of rethinking what's being taught and learnt through compulsory language education.

Rather than a simple binary rationality rejecting English language education or accepting it as is, it is important to "unthink" what is being thought about regarding English language education. This will allow us to ask a series of critical questions, to "see" the system of reasoning which has made the unthinkable "thinkable". In other words, if we don't rethink what's "normal," we risk perpetuating dangerous and singular modes of reasoning without recognizing the multiplicities of connections and disconnections in the assemblages of a new

"normal." After all, the concept of "normal" is a problematic socio-political production of biased cultural knowledge and identity.

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