

Practical Knowledge, the Making of Lifelong Learners, and the Limits of Inclusion
in Taiwan's Reform of Twelve-year Public Education Program

By

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To my beloved sons, Adrian and Zachary.

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Abstract

This dissertation studies the politics of practical knowledge in the production of lifelong learners in the Taiwanese reform movement of twelve-year public education program. The investigation focuses on the reform's inclusive acts aimed at educating children and teachers into lifelong learners and how this process of inclusion simultaneously produces the limits of difference and exclusion.

The inclusive acts are related to educational transfer from global testing culture and Japanese lesson studies. The majority of scholarship emphasizes lessons drawn from educational transfer and translations for local implementation. Few studies scrutinize how historical complexity and cultural particulars in the Taiwanese context shape translation processes and reform practices. This dissertation uses archival sources to analyze the cultural principles that historically produce children and teachers as kinds of people within pedagogical practices in order to understand the norms of conduct and power effects that continue to work in the present.

The analysis reveals the unspoken politics of seemingly “neutral,” or “practical” knowledge in current Taiwanese educational reform and pedagogies. First, it unpacks a numerical epistemology and a comparative logic by which practical knowledge of “data-driven adaptation” generates new forms of fabricating and dividing kinds of people. Second, the study explores cultural notions of Confucian seeing (i.e. heart-body analogy) intersections with a representational episteme of psychological behaviorism in pedagogy of interactivity, demanding a visible bodily reaction as evidence of inclusion.

This dissertation offers the following contributions. First, it contributes to policy and research through the focus on issues of educational transfer and translations as epistemologies

that, paradoxically, produce homogeneous visions and differences of the children and teachers. Second, it offers the field of curriculum studies in international and comparative education a historical lens for studying educational reform and transfer—not as diachronic tracking of reform efforts or lessons learned from influence-oriented analysis of programs and policies, but as an inquiry into the entanglement of cultural practices and epistemic principles to understand the politics of knowledge in the present.

Key words: educational transfer and translations, practical knowledge, education reform, lifelong learner, difference, inclusion/exclusion

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Chapter 1

Introduction: The Problem of the Study

Circulating transnationally, lifelong learning is associated with social inclusion and progress and was originally conceived of as informal learning such as adult continuing education. It has gradually become institutionalized and operates as a means of preparation for citizenship in many countries around the world. Studies have examined how the practices of lifelong learning are less related to individual rights and freedom (See, e.g., Biesta, 2006; Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2014) but produce principles of governing contemporary educational reforms in many countries of the world (See, e.g., Lawn, 2003; Popkewitz, Olsson, & Petersson, 2006; Popkewitz, 2008). Yet, the proliferation of the discourse of lifelong learning does not suggest the mission, ends, and practices of making lifelong learners are universally comparable. Instead, they are locally situated and configured.

Taiwan's educational reforms in the 21st Century also seek to educate future Taiwanese citizens as lifelong learners. This is manifest in the reform movement of twelve-year public education program, aiming to cultivate the future Taiwanese citizens with "basic competence for life and social adaption" and with "the will and ability of constant learning" (Ministry of Education (MOE), 2014 b, p.2) to "enhance national competitiveness" (MOE, 2014a). The reform movement thus underscores practical knowledge in both students' learning and teachers' practices to increase their agency and to secure the nation's future. What is viewed as "practical" knowledge within the reform movement is often promulgated as politics-free—leaving unscrutinized the truth claims of school practices, homogenous notions of children/citizens or teachers that become the standards of producing lifelong learners by which reformists seek to

identify. With this in mind, the inclusive gestures in the reform of twelve-year public education program are not simply about offering a levels 1-12 free schooling with exemption of high school entrance exams. The alleged claim of including every child is about making all children into lifelong learners. I argue that the process of producing lifelong learners is a political act that animates a series of planning, intervention, and implementation schemes that order conduct of conduct. The political aspect of these interventions lies in its inscription of cultural norms regarding lifelong learners that embodies common-sense assumptions about what schooling is, who children ought to be, and what teachers should do to help themselves grow and students learn. This dissertation seeks to challenge these political presumptions about children, teachers, and pedagogical practices informed by practical knowledge of the reform movement. By examining examples of inclusive acts of the reform movement, this project explores the politics of practical knowledge in educating children and teachers into lifelong learners and how these processes simultaneously generate the limits of difference and exclusion. Archival sources are integral to this dissertation for analyzing the cultural principles that historically produce children and teachers as kinds of people within pedagogical practices in order to understand the norms of conduct and power effects that continue to work in the present.

To actualize the ends of inclusion and progress, the educational reform centered on the search for practicalities to solve enduring problems of educational inequality and inflexibility evoked by past ideological impositions. While searching for practical knowledge to enact changes in Taiwanese school practices, reformists have sought to transfer educational knowledge from global forces/foreign policies and have stressed that lessons can be learned from the world's best practices for local adaptation. For example, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in

Taiwan not only has accepted the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) as the global yardstick for its school system performance and progress over time but has also established a domestic version of a testing mechanism to evaluate students' performance for their on-going learning process as a way to include every child. PISA has attained an almost "taken-for-granted" status in public debate and educational studies about education quality (See, e.g., MOE, 2006; MOE, 2009; MOE, 2012; MOE, 2015; Yang, 2006; Chen, 2011; Chu, 2012). On the other hand, teachers' ability to constantly grow is also considered relevant in enhancing student learning in the current reform discourse. Open-class observation is said to have been adopted from Japanese lesson studies and emphasizes creating transparent, practical opportunities for teachers who work as a community for mutual learning. Education scholars have addressed its importance for teacher's professional development, have identified what we can learn from Japanese experiences, and have offered suggested procedures and methods for reference (See, e.g., Wu, 2012; MOE, 2014; Mao, 2015; Yu & Tang, 2015; Wu, Wu, Chi and Jiang, 2016). These are examples of inclusive gestures of emancipation and empowerment in current educational reform discourse.

However, these examples of educational transfer and borrowing are often introduced in a timeless manner that focuses on strategies and procedures to be copied for a successful implementation. The reform efforts to include everyone engender an assumption of social progress towards national equality and prosperity that has been left unquestioned. An idea of linearity is embedded in thinking about the past, present and future. That is, the social progress lies in the disenchantment and emancipation from ideologies of hegemony in the past and involves the making of future Taiwanese citizens as lifelong learners in order to render them

agents of their future betterment.¹ The reform discourse therefore privileges subject agency and the logics of representation and comparison. Such agency is related to developing individuals with dispositions and competences necessary for democratic life, global competition, and future challenges such as autonomy, self-consciousness, and constant self-development. With this unified notion of the human, the reform movement is also concerned with those at risk for falling behind the competition due to the lack of opportunities for self-growth. Hence, the reform seeks to create more “practical” opportunities informed by educational science studies for students to catch-up based on the concern for promoting individual autonomy, closing achievement gaps to improve social disparity, enhancing global ranking for nation’s competitiveness, and transforming teachers for an inclusive classroom. These “practical” opportunities signal the liberation of education in contrast to past educational inequality and inflexibility since reform presumes the individual’s educability/trainability to trigger collective change.

Such a turn to practicality assumed to come from agency in current educational reform has been taken as ahistorical. If considered historically, I argue the appeal for practicality in the present reform practices is not new but is a recurrent theme and related to broader governmental and administrative theses of changing people in order to change the nation and society. Therefore, the reappearance of calling for educational practicality should be understood as historical, including distinctive concerns, justifications, and utilizations that order school practices and produce different sets of desirable conduct. Studies have pointed out that projects of modernization through schooling and educational reform generate historical particularities and

¹ Since the 1990s, reformers presume the singularity and aberration of schooling derived from past State’s hegemony under which the students/citizens are confined and in need of being “emancipated” to become competent. This binary link between State power and the oppressed people entails a particular reasoning of progress, overlooking historical conditions and complexities that construct the citizens of the nation and actors of schooling.

discrepancies across times and space (e.g., see Popkewitz, 2005, 2008; Popkewitz, Khurshid, & Zhao, 2011). In current Taiwanese educational literature, little attention has been paid to considering how historical complexity impacts educational transfer—how the historical entanglement of cultural particulars interacts with educational transfer/borrowing to inform reform decisions and enact change. In particular, some normative judgements about who the child/citizen and teacher are remain unquestioned in Taiwanese educational discourse. This dissertation seeks to analyze the practices of these inclusive gestures that might embody some unspoken but enduring cultural norms in order to understand the limits of current reform. Thus, this dissertation adopts a historical perspective to study educational reform. Studying educational reform in a historical manner is not meant to document how reforms chronologically changed and evolved to improve our educational present. Instead, it aims to investigate the residue of the past in the present educational reform in order to understand how historical particulars may continually govern our present despite the ways that norms of thought and conduct might have changed.

In this way, studying educational reform through a historical lens offers a way of understanding how the residue of the past continually shapes our educational present. That is, the call for educational practicality is historically reframed and reassembled with national circumstances, cultural (Confucian) particulars, scientific rationalities, and the expertise of educational science to generate strategies in the present to enact change and govern conduct. In this line of thinking, the making of lifelong learners in the present reform movement is bound to historical conditions that embody norms and judgements about who the child/citizen and the teacher are and who they are meant to become. The very modes of reasoning about educational practicality that describe and bind individuals to the collective often go unexamined. It becomes

imperative to scrutinize the systems of reason that historically proposed educational practicality in school practices to solve social problems but which paradoxically produces new forms of planning, intervention, and governance that order conduct.² Accordingly, this dissertation attempts to disrupt the linear assumption about social progress that is informed by educational practicality through examining systems of reason embedded in the inclusive gestures of current Taiwanese educational reform that aims to educate lifelong learners.

The questions guiding this dissertation can be summarized as follows:

1. What are the systems of reason related to the discourse of educational practicality that produce lifelong learners in the current Taiwanese educational reform movement? How is the current formation of citizens as lifelong learners linked to and different from those in past school reforms?
2. What historical practices and principles are embedded in inclusive gestures of current educational reform for educating lifelong learners and how do they produce kinds of people and generate new patterns of governance and exclusion?

In addressing these questions, this dissertation seeks to explore the principles of reasoning in Taiwanese pedagogical practices since the 20th century that order thinking and act upon the child/citizen and teacher in order to understand unspoken ontological assumptions about the child and teacher across time. For example, today's notion of citizens as lifelong learners is not just a psychological category of people who are viewed as educatable. But the notion of a lifelong learner is also linked to historical ideas of morality that serves as a means of

² Following the scholarship of Thomas Popkewitz (e.g., see discussions in Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2004; Pereyra & Franklin, 2014, Popkewitz, 2014), "system of reason" in this study refers to cultural practices of schooling that historically constitute kinds of people, their modes of living and distinctions (e.g., civility/backwardness, intelligence/ignorance, [in]competence, [un]professionalness) that bring about change and progress as a cultural embodiment of practicality.

governance that also assumes people's conscience can be remade not only for individual moral perfection but also to actualize collective ends. Thus, the exploration of today's citizenry as lifelong learners does not just seek to understand the present rules that constitute what is sayable and thinkable as the material reality to which current educational reforms are directed. Moreover, it is also meant to understand historical norms that constantly shape what it means to be a (colonial) citizen in Taiwan. In this way, subjectivities and identities of the Taiwanese citizenry are not static; they are continually changing and transforming and thus they are historical. This does not suggest the present notion of the child/citizen and the teacher are narratives of evolution. Instead, this examination focuses on the network and complexity of cultural principles in which the "continuities and discontinuities" of norms constitute who the child/citizen and the teacher are and ought to be in the present.

Seeing history as a web of ideas and practices, this study considers the making of the lifelong learner in recent Taiwan's inclusive education reform of twelve-year public education program as a historical event, an entanglement of the present and the past driven by a historical "pragmatic" assertion of schooling. Traveling from the West, the desires for practicality in Taiwan's society are in relation to the American progressive tradition of the 20th century that values a particular form of agency as a way of forming collective belonging. More recently, desires for practicality are linked to the global accountability of transnational testing culture and community learning. As a tool of social transformation, the "pragmatic" claims employed to invoke educational planning and implementation since the 20th century have to be understood within the grand collective narratives and cultural traditions of the time; these narratives and traditions have their own configurations and justifications when transferred and adapted in Taiwan's distinctive spatio-temporal context. Hence, I examine various historical conditions in

order to analyze how the idea of educational practicality is historically (re)articulated and actualized in Taiwan's educational practices. These practices are meant to serve as a means for social betterment and unity formation, producing human ideals and regulatory actions. The purpose of this historical exploration is to unveil the boundaries that establish norms for ways of seeing, thinking, and acting and what lies outside these norms.

Next, I examine how today's practical knowledge and techniques for educating lifelong learners are informed not only by forces of global testing culture and foreign lessons of best practice but are also interwoven with cultural residues of the past. That is, this investigation analyzes how cultural aspects such as Confucian values are connected to and reassembled within practical knowledge in Taiwan's educational reform as strategies of inclusion aiming to cultivate both the child/citizen and teacher as lifelong learners whose competences/qualities are made calculable and representable. These same strategies of inclusion ironically inscribe division and exclusion through "objective" ways of seeing, calibration, and comparison.

Theoretical Framework

Drawing on a postmodern approach, in the following sections I discuss the theoretical lens I use in this study as well as my ideas on how to think about this study, its manner of conceptualizing and ordering what is known, talked about, and acted upon regarding the child/citizen, the teacher, and others through pedagogical practices in the case of Taiwan.

The Child/Citizen and Teacher as Discursive Constructions

In contemporary educational studies, the notion of the child/citizen and teacher are usually considered as *prior* existences, and these studies privilege the idea of subjectivity/agency in the interpretation of social changes. Schools usually embody a mission of changing people in order to change society. There is no exception in Taiwan. The sense of progress is often defined by people's changeability (e.g. rendering people as agents with the right to make choices and whose action is deemed as a marker of progress). In the present reform context, individuals are assumed to be agents of change, active participants, and self-directed, constant learners—all of these definitions position how the child/citizen or teacher is/should be seen and known as normal. I argue that the notions of the child/citizen and the teacher are discursive constructions that embody particular cultural gazes and ways of seeing and talking about them in historical time.

My approach to the study of the child/citizen and teacher does not view them as pre-existing entities, but as a discursive materiality within a shared episteme. By discourse, I mean constitutive forms of power including languages, knowledges, systems of reason, beliefs, procedures, and pedagogies that circumscribe a specific understanding about what is true and what can be thought and acted upon. Discourse is power-immanent and performative as it “constitute[s] our consciousness . . . [and] structure[s] our sense of ourselves, [and] our subjectivity” (Weedon, 1987, p. 33). Discourse “define[s] the place of individuals, and establish[es] rules and standards by which expression and practices are made possible” (Popkewitz, 2000, viii).

It is important to mention that this view does not entirely disregard subjectivity/agency, but rather considers it as a discursive construction that may contain limits. As Foucault insightfully states that discourse may legitimize certain forms of knowledge and practices of

procedures and techniques as true while simultaneously constraining other possibilities (1982). These discursive constraints are associated with Foucault's concept of governmentality (Foucault, 1991), which states that the subject is governed "at will." Through the "microphysics of power and anonymous strategies" (Lemke, 2002, p. 51), the child/citizen and teacher adopt their subject positions within "discursive practices,"³—a phrase Foucault (1977a) termed which refers to everyday participation, patterns of general conduct and pedagogical practices. Hence, governmentality does not necessarily involve the brute forces of state control and may need minimal regulation from the outside as individuals largely internalize and conduct what they think are reasonable and meaningful through and in the site of their physical bodies (Dean, 1999). Through practices of pedagogy, for example, children learn a particular "gaze" through which to view themselves and their relations with others and which shapes how they act. This gaze becomes what is reasonable – as a standard for judging the child's competence, personality, success or failures. As Foucault (1980) argues,

There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze which each individual under its weight will end by internalizing to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual this exercising this surveillance over, and against himself. (p. 155)

It is the gaze that is the epistemology that normalizes what the child/citizen or the teacher should do and how they ought to act. In exploring the epistemological limits of the child/citizen and teacher in the case of Taiwan, I focus on pedagogical practices and study how the discourse of

³ Following Foucault(1977a), discourse practices are ways of producing meanings or "truths" which can be "embodied in technical processes, institutions, in patterns for general behavior, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which, at once, impose and maintain them" (p. 200).

educational practicality is historically mobilized to produce the strategies that link the child/citizen to broader narratives of managing collective identity across time. Moreover, I analyze the inclusive gestures in present-day educational reform that seek to produce practical knowledge in order to rescue students and help teachers grow. I do so in order to unravel the discursive principles that constitute the child and teacher. The notion of the child/citizen or teacher ostensibly has its own agency has been disciplined by “a material (re)configuration” of power effects (Barad, 2003) produced through experiencing, learning, and interacting with others in pedagogical practices.

Pedagogical Practices as Making Up Kinds of People

By regarding the child/citizen or teacher as an effect of power relations, this study focuses less on how power restrains agency and more on how identities and subjectivities are constituted. Rather than stressing political identities such as Taiwanese or Chinese, I particularly pay attention to what dispositions, sensibilities, and attitudes the child/citizen or teacher is expected to possess. Accordingly, I consider how pedagogical practices constitute knowledge that individuals use to reason about themselves. The concept of knowledge, however, is not viewed as a hegemonic ideology with which individuals are imbued without their will. Rather, knowledge and power are bound together (Foucault, 1980) to produce governing effects that shape our perceptions, judgments, and our courses of actions. Knowledge generates effects of normalization and classifications in which various kinds of people are created. Before social scientific studies such as psychology were introduced to Taiwan and created divisions of people, Confucianism also contributed to classifying people into the categories of the *junzi* (sage), ordinary people, and petty people. Unlike modern rationality and science that express a secular

mission of rescue, believing in all human being's educability, Confucian's classification of people is contingent upon people's moral conduct in which only ordinary people are deemed as possessing changeability for the possibility of betterment.

Studies have pointed out how social science expertise contributes to producing kinds of people. For example, Ian Hacking (Hacking, 1995; 2002) focuses on dynamic nominalism and analyzes how "names interact with the named" to produce a kind of person. Hacking coined the term "looping effects" to explain how scientific and psychological discourses come into being, leading to mutual changes. For example, Hacking explains that psychological discourses have created the term and the definition of "mental disorder," thus making a person with a mental disorder "real." The naming of discourses is available to and understood by the individuals. Individuals self-ascribe a classificatory term, such as "mental disorder" and its attributes, modify their conduct based on their perception of what is classified, and reaffirm and reinforce its psychological understanding by exhibiting associated traits and behaviors. Through interactions of scientific classifications and the subject classified, "real" effects of power are produced to "make up people" (Hacking 1986; 2002).

Likewise, in the case of this study, there are real effects that make up kinds of people such as lifelong learners and professional teachers in the present. I consider how educational science expertise (e.g., educational psychology, educational statistics, educational sociology) contribute to creating people through identifying their traits. These categories are cultural artifacts produced by systems of knowledge that organize ways of seeing and also "formulate general truths about people" (Hacking, 1995, p. 352). I pay attention to the traits and distinctions of categories as they

reveal the kinds of knowledge, values, and judgement that divide people. In prevalent pedagogical practices within current Taiwanese educational reform, for example, the modern technique of adaptation is used to draw upon practical knowledge defined by objective numbers (statistical reasoning) to inform teaching decisions and determine who needs intervention and how that intervention should be made. Numbers not only function to describe students' performance, but also produce human traits and distinctions, making them up along with a continuum of distinctions such as competent vs incompetent, intelligent vs dumb, civilized vs barbaric, motivated vs less-motivated, etc. through a comparative logic. These traits are given materiality and made visible as characteristics of how children are expected to think and act. In this way, as Foucault (1980) points out, we should remain skeptical toward scientific knowledge because the categories of distinction are not natural or neutral, but are fabrications informed by social science expertise that demand scrutiny. Therefore, this dissertation aims to investigate how practices of some inclusive gestures in current educational reform produce certain kinds of people through some "objective" visions and evidence.

Making Visible Practices of Inclusion/Exclusion: Studying Educational Reform Through Systems of Reason

The current educational reform seeks practical knowledge and techniques to improve enduring problems of aberrant, inflexible schooling and social inequality through the belief in their "practical use" in producing lifelong learners and professional teachers with autonomy. Positing human subjects as lifelong learners or professional teachers is not devoid of politics as educational reform and practices are viewed as embodying assumptions, values, and judgement about kinds of people—who is the human ideal and who is not, and about their presumed agency.

As Rose (1985) argues, school practices contain “a set of norms and expectations tied to the functioning of the techniques of pedagogy” that demands children “display appropriate capacities and conducts” (p.99). Thus, pedagogical practices are cultural theses that evoke norms for human conduct and that require further scrutiny. Rather than viewing school practices as a means of social replication for imposing hegemonic ideologies, this dissertation employs Foucault’s notion of the grid and Deleuzian assemblages (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988)) to consider educational reforms as an ensemble of ideas, practices, and methods that inscribe rules for conduct and participation. Thus, educational reforms are deemed as practices interwoven and reformulated with different historical events in the past and present as well as domestic and international narratives through which the notion of the child/citizen, for example, gets continually changed, reassembled and (re)visioned to provide principles for the present. Specifically, this study investigates the inclusive gestures and their practice within the present reform as embodying values and judgements generating new notions of who the child/citizen and teacher are as well as who do not fit those definitions.

Studying educational reform as a grid or an assemblage of different historical and cultural practices is to understand the systems of reason that evoke planning, strategies, and changes in the continuous (re)making of the child/citizen and teacher. Reason is related to the Western Enlightenment promise of individuals’ changeability and agency as the foundation for changing the world(Foucault, 1984b). Reason polices the boundaries, provides principles for conduct, and simultaneously classifies who/what does not fit as outside reason. For example, the civilizing mission under Japanese rule places those islanders/Taiwanese who do not fit the norms of civilization outside, as they are not sensible and recognizable as civilized. As Popkewitz (1998/2017; 2008) suggests, attending to reasoning is an effective way of understanding

historical principles that order and classify what is seen and acted on in the present. This is meant to eschew viewing the child/citizen or teacher as a transcendental entity, but to explore their “conditions of possibility” (Foucault, 1973, p. 35) that order the ways of seeing, thinking, acting as the child/citizen and teacher across historical time. For example, the discourse of current Taiwanese educational reform intends to include every child—a position that entails a new responsibility, an appreciation of individuality, and a mode of living that embraces liberty and change. There are reasons embedded within the current cultural thesis of “inclusion for equality and progress.” A hope of progress is embodied in the body of the citizenry and is also connected to collective belonging and the nation’s past in the present. For example, the citizen is expected to internalize the cultural qualities of the lifelong learner who is obligated to constantly reflect on his/her existent drawbacks and examine broader constraints on the current self to secure the nation’s democracy; to continually embrace change (although in predefined ways) to ensure the nation’s future competitiveness.

Difference is also produced through compliance with criteria—the homogeneity of the human assumptions (Derrida, 1978; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). This hope carries a “double gesture” articulated as a fear of decay that simultaneously casts out the people who do not meet these criteria. It is hope and fear that drive the necessary educational policies, planning, and management of the students. As I will show in more detail in this dissertation, the current hope/fear for the nation’s prosperity and social equality, for instance, is embodied in the “practical” technology of “data-driven adaptation.” “Data-driven adaptation” is a practice in which numbers reflect a representational epistemology that not only describes students’ competences as a marker of future competitiveness, but also inscribes a logic of comparison that produces (in)competent students as “objective” evidence to guide how teacher adaptation should

be made and how the student perceives and works on themselves for improvement. Rather than prescribing a unified humanity that reinforces the distinction between the oppressed and oppressor, thereby attributing exclusions to the unequal power relations and the lack of social representation, the investigation of reasoning and of hope/fear is a theoretical tool employed in this study in order to unravel the complexity of power relations that produce effects of governance, exclusions, and divisions in the current discourse of Taiwanese educational reform.

Methods of Study

Educational Reform as a Historical Entanglement of the Present

Identifying what works to include every single child and what the best practices to grant agency are in the current Taiwanese educational reform is not only related to a present notion of the child/citizen as a free, autonomous, lifelong learner, but it also means to create the conditions for those who are not free to become free. The process of making lifelong learners involves employing both “practical” and “objective” methods to render what is given as agency to the child/citizen and teacher and it is not free of politics. Instead, epistemological norms and principles that constitute the child/citizen and teacher are prescribed through those inclusive gestures of the reform that engrave new forms of divisions that exclude some. To explore the principles of seeing, thinking, and acting as a lifelong learner in Taiwan, the approach to educational reform employed here is to question how the child/citizen and teacher have historically been seen in ways that prescribe who they are and ought to be. To place the analysis of the subject (e.g., the child/citizen, teacher) within a historical terrain is a way to question the politics of pedagogical practices and educational reforms that are informed by educational science expertise. As Foucault (1980) explains:

One has to dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself, that's to say, to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework. And this is what I would call genealogy, that is, a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects, etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history. (p. 117)

This approach of decentering the subject considers the child/citizen or teacher as a discursive practice constituted by multiple trajectories of ideas and historical practices. As Deleuze and Guattari (1983) highlight, the idea of the subject is bound to a series of contingencies and historical ruptures that enable a continuous process of transformation and a new form of “becoming.” Thus, the notion of the child/citizen or teacher can be understood as an effect of previous discursive formulations that are redefined and manipulated to meet the specificities of cultural practices of a particular moment. The current understanding of a Taiwanese citizen as a lifelong learner is not so much a universal truth but is rather deemed to be a historically formed and specific construct. To study educational reform through an exploration of subject formation is termed “history of the present” and represents a strategy of examining cultural rules about normality, responsibility, and action, and how they are historically (re)visioned in the present and produce effects of difference(normal/abnormal).

Thus, to study educational reform through the “history of present” entails a different notion of time. It is not about a linear development of schooling through the documentation of educational events (policies, strategies) and of efforts or changes (improvement/failure) made in a chronological order(Foucault, 1984a). Instead, the attention is given to the systems of reason

that generate principles to govern who the child/citizen and teacher are and ought to be in the present. To eschew utilizing a linear, evolutionary idea of history when thinking about the present educational reform, the historical approach utilized in this dissertation regards the inclusive gestures in the current Taiwanese educational reform, such as “educating autonomous citizenry,” “data-driven adaptation,” and “open-class observation for teacher transformation,” as historical events. These events are not deemed as a form of transcendental existence or an outcome of historical progress to be used for analyzing how reform efforts improve our educational present. Rather, these events are approached by studying the “forces or relations that make possible” norms of conduct that produce the child/citizen and teacher in the present (Foucault, 1977b, p. 154). Consequently, the overlapping, complex, and arbitrary discourses between the past and present, and between the global domains and the Taiwan locality that intersect to ascribe meanings to the child/citizen and teacher, are analyzed. The analyses adopt “entangled approaches” (Sobe, 2013) to examine the historical conditions—the continuities, contingencies, complexities, and discontinuities—that make our educational present possible. This historical strategy maps how changes are actualized in Taiwanese schooling. For example, why certain historical pedagogical strategies rather than others are recycled, reframed, and utilized in present school practices as a means of social inclusion and progress; and why certain kinds of the child/citizen and teacher are produced rather than other kinds. As Sobe (2013) argues:

The critical leverage of such an approach inheres in the attempt to develop situationally specific understanding of why-this-and not-that. Put in terms of subjectivity, this is to foreground the question of what makes people who they are and who they aren't. In terms

of sociocultural forms and dynamics, this foregrounds the contingency of the worlds we inhabit, constitute, and change through our actions. (p. 100–101)

Studying educational reform in such an entangled way places the reform's inclusive gestures within the practices of the "grid of intelligibility" (Foucault, 1978, p.93) in order to understand the cultural norms of historical practices across diverse times and spaces that organize the possibilities of seeing, thinking, and acting upon as a child/citizen and teacher in the present Taiwanese educational reform.

Instead of documenting and interpreting an individual's intent or comments for a deeper reality, this study aims to depict the shared reasoning, values, and assumptions that underlie change, pedagogical practices, and reform. Thus, the questions that this study asks include:

- What are the systems of reasoning that underlie the reforms?
- What does it mean to be a lifelong learner or a professional teacher in the present, and who are not these kinds of persons?
- How are these principles of making the child/citizen and teacher connected to and/or different from previous school reform and change in Taiwan?

Specifically, "practical knowledge" of cultural practices that make the educational reform possible are examined by looking at how the current inclusive gestures are connected to broader narratives of domestic governmental schemes and global/foreign forces for enhancing social equality and national development, and how these reform gestures are reassembled with past cultural traditions to enable their present constitutions. In so doing, the study of educational reform presented here entails the practice of archiving. However, the term archive is not used here in a conventional sense to indicate an analysis of a collection of documents to discover

ultimate truths for improvement or to summarize the change and evolution of reform efforts (Stoler, 2009). In contrast, the practice of archiving as utilized in this argument means to trace the historical relations and cultural densities related to educational practicality that constitute the modes of living and ways of seeing the child/citizen and teacher across different sets of times and conditions. Thus, archiving here comprises the selection, analysis, and interpretation of historical materials in order to find the principles of reasoning that order our present and serve to classify and divide people. In this way, the materials for further analyses are selected—governmental policy work and reports, educational studies about assessment, educational journals and publications of pedagogy (e.g., adaptation and teacher's observation), materials from teacher's workshops, newspapers, and online news across particular historical moments. The criteria for selecting historical materials for analysis is to identify historical markers that map epistemological shifts and to generate principles that continually shape who the child/citizen and teacher are and should be.

Discourse analysis is an analytical method used in this study that is based on the Foucauldian notions of power and discourse. The discourse analysis does not separate text and milieu, theory and practice, or illusion and reality, as epistemological reasoning that historically forms agency from a theoretical perspective is examined. Through an inter-textual analysis, I illustrated how the present inclusive gestures of the educational reform govern our ways of thinking and patterns of agency for actualizing social equality and collective progress; moreover, I discuss how the so-called practical, innovative practices and techniques for inclusion that entail historical normativity continually conserve our present and simultaneously generate effects of division and exclusion.

By understanding the reasons that underlie the changes in pedagogical practices through educational reform, this dissertation seeks to reveal how some “neutral” and “un-biased” constructions other than ideologies objectify the children/citizens and teachers and to highlight how the cultural norms of conduct historically produce limits for the present, even though there is an impulse to include while excluded. In other words, the study aims to unpack how the practical techniques for inclusion in the present that are formulated by the “objectivity” of educational science paradoxically produce governing principles of conduct and inscribe impracticality at the same time (e.g., constraint of freedom, reduction of human complexity, reinforcement of division).

Organization of the Study

This section discusses the organization of the following chapters of this study. Chapter 2 provides a historical reading of Taiwanese citizen formation in the 20th Century by examining the various historical conditions that came together to provide meaning to the present reform, as well as to the actors of schooling. Shifting cultural norms that cultivate particular citizen qualities and dispositions across historical times are explored in order to think about the contemporary construction of the citizen as a lifelong learner. Driven by the call for educational practicality, this chapter seeks to reveal how the process of citizenry production has shifted from the remaking of moral conscience to an instrumentalized technique of the self, in which the individuals’ consciousnesses can be reshaped through preset method and procedures. Social science is usually deemed to be neutral and objective. In order to disrupt the separateness between nation formation and the pedagogy of science within Taiwan’s educational discourse, this chapter attempts to illustrate how historical pedagogical practices operated as “practical” solutions of social change that mingled together with the collective missions and political

administrations of the time to produce patterns of agency for self-government. The purpose of historicizing is to unlock the making of the lifelong learner as an inscription of practicality, which has its unspoken limits. The analysis shows another layer of school politics beyond that of ideological domination and restriction: the mechanism of self-governance that continues to appear in the present citizenry formation in the form of a lifelong learner.

Chapter 3 focuses on the present in regard to the cultivation of the students' lifelong learning competences, which serves as an exemplar to illustrate how the appeal of educational practicality is re-reconfigured in the present reform practices of Taiwan through a "practical" use of data. The making of the lifelong learner that embodies the hopes for national progress and social inclusion simultaneously evokes the planning and screening of those who have yet to become lifelong learners through a worry over their inability to possess the basic competences for future challenges and global competition. The chapter examines how the inclusive gesture of "data-driven adaptation" in the reform policy that seeks to cultivate basic competences paradoxically inscribes both politics and abjection. The analysis reveals the limits of the current technique of "data-driven adaptation": how the epistemology of numerical data generates an objective illusion through reducing human complexity and how the historical obsession with data employed for social administration and classification of human intelligence is reframed in the present reform technique of adaptation that continually sorts, classifies, and divides the students through a comparative logic. Furthermore, the analysis examines how such data are used to inscribe qualities to form different kinds of people (e.g., competent vs. less-competent lifelong learners, intelligent land children vs. ignorant mountain children, etc.) through educational studies. The chapter argues that "data-driven adaptation" operates as a dividing device that not

only differentiates but also makes visible the distinction and hierarchy among students, ironically reinforcing the abjection in the current pedagogical practice of inclusion.

Chapter 4 examines how the (professional) teacher is historically imagined through an inspection of the historical event of open-class observation in the context of Taiwan. Teachers, as members of the learning community in the present educational discourse, are obligated to constantly learn and embrace change as a marker of self-growth. The assumption is that the contemporary teacher is thus rendered free, as they can learn whatever applicable strategies for their self-transformation and enhancement of student learning through observing other teachers' classes in an open, transparent way. This chapter seeks to suspend such a transcendental assumption about the teacher by looking at this technique of "observation for self-transformation" as part of a modern governmentality that entails an assemblage of historical practices and cultural particulars deployed to order the conduct of teachers. That is, the chapter scrutinizes how a seemingly liberal lesson, which can be learned and enable self-change from observing others, embodies a representational logic of the modern principle of psychological behaviorism. This logic is coupled with historical notion of "Confucian seeing" to produce a "vision" about what teachers can and should do as part of their professional development, which is prevalent in today's Taiwanese educational practices. In order to destabilize the taken-for-granted idea of "observation as transformation," Chapter 4 problematizes its practical (liberal) assumption and exhibits how a historical residue of the Confucian heart-body analogy is reorganized and reinforced in modern pedagogy of interactivity to produce a normalizing gaze on the teacher as an indicator of determining the teacher efficacy and student success, but ends up producing homogeneity and enclosing other possibilities instead.

Chapter 2

Governing Through Consciousness: Pragmatic Schooling and the Historical Production of the Child/Citizen

The discourse of the lifelong learner circulates globally and reflects particular forms of individuality and agency, such as adaptation, flexibility, entrepreneurship, freedom to make choices, self-help etc. (e.g., see Fejes, 2006, OECD 1989,1996; Popkewitz, 2008; Rimke, 2000). Constituted as a response to the information society/learning society, the lifelong learner is ostensibly a universal category, but, I argue, the discourse of the lifelong learner is locally situated and configured. Moreover, the idea of the “lifelong learner” becomes a naturalized term when talking about education and social progress. In the context of Taiwan, lifelong learning is not merely articulated as a form of “resistance” in the face of the future’s uncertainty or global competition; the recent reform movement of twelve-year public education programs aims to make Taiwanese children/citizens into lifelong learners in order to actualize social change through the constant self-remaking of citizens for a democratic society.⁴

Based on this perspective, the child/citizen as a lifelong learner deemed an *a priori* subject who enables historical progress remains unquestioned; this perspective often overlooks the rules of reason and knowledge that constitute individuality (Popkewitz, Pereyra & Franklin, 2001). The idea of citizenry, whether the colonial citizen under Japanese rule, Chinese national citizen, or Taiwanese citizen, can be thought of as a production, ordered by an “assemblage” of ideas,

⁴ Much Taiwanese scholarship has pointed out how schooling under Japanese colonization and the Sinicization of Kuomintang’s (KMT, Nationalist Party) regime reproduced social and structural inequality by reproducing oppressed colonial/national citizens, which mobilized educational reforms toward a “decentralized” and “practice-oriented” schooling since the 1990s. The making of Taiwanese citizens into lifelong learners in present schooling and reform narratives not only seeks to prepare children for global competition but seeks to eradicate the hegemony of past authoritarian regimes.

institutions, and techniques (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). With this in mind, this chapter considers the lifelong learner as a new ethic of personhood, and as such we cannot ignore the historical circumstances of its making. This chapter seeks to excavate how a historical principle of reshaping the mind produced the child/citizen's subjecthood "to dislodge the ordering practices that enclose the boundaries established for thought as action" (Popkewitz, Pereyra & Franklin, 2001, p. 20). Notably, the historical investigation of the child/citizen in this chapter does not refer to the representation of identities due to legal status or ideological imposition. Instead, the idea of the child/citizen is studied as an array of historical dispositions, sensibilities, and inclinations. I analyze the conditions that give birth to distinctive kinds of child/citizens in Taiwan across historical time. In particular, I delve into how a historical "pragmatic" style of education enunciated particular solutions and plans, seemingly free from political charge, paradoxically (re)assembling with national narratives of fear and hope, to order peculiar modes of living and desirable patterns of agency.

Over the course of the 20th Century schooling has been the primary site for producing the imagined kind of child/citizen for Taiwan's future. As it circulates in Taiwan's educational discourse, the call for practicality is meant to create proper modes for everyday living in which experience, agency, and connection between schooling and living in the world are valued. Such an appeal to educational practicality is not new in present-day Taiwan's reform movement, but carries particular cultural theses about agency and reason in the educational realm as part of political efforts for social change. The present reform movement is akin to previous bureaucratic governances of Japanese colonization and Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) government in which schooling was used to actualize colonial and national missions. Influenced by Deweyan pragmatism, the pursuit of educational practicality in Taiwanese educational discourse is used

to avoid dogmatism and focuses on practice and actionability. However, it does not entirely draw upon Deweyian concepts of action or experience. It is instead bound to particular times and spaces and should be understood within its historical milieu. Hence, my exploration of pragmatism in Taiwanese schooling does not look for its transcendental elements in order to provide justifications for how people have acted to shape Taiwanese schooling or to evaluate how Dewey's pragmatism was actualized in Taiwan's case. Rather than taking it as a rigid case of theory or philosophy, the idea of practicality/pragmatism stands as a "style of thought" (Hacking, 1982) and reasoning that assembles varying historical trajectories of ideas and practices. Borrowing from Deleuze and Guattari (1991), I consider how the historical authors and actors related to practicality/pragmatism are "conceptual personae." In this way, the focus is not given to particular people and their works (also see Foucault, 1977c). Rather, this chapter looks at how a particular pragmatic style of thought intertwined with the historical context and provincial culture to order conduct across the 20th Century. This analysis emphasizes the changing assemblages of knowledge, beliefs, and practices through a study of shifting modes of reasoning related to the child/citizen. In other words, I delve into shifting cultural theses for creating collectivity and agency over the time. I do so in order to scrutinize how the recurrent theme of educational practicality emerged and was redefined in the Taiwanese context to inform particular types of "pragmatic" education, school practices, and individual actions.

Studying changing cultural norms by analyzing the recurrence of pragmatic schooling has two purposes. One is to make visible the historical principles of who the child/citizen is and who the child/citizen should be in order to consider the limits of making current the citizenry into lifelong learners so as to disrupt the linear notion of progress. The idea regarding "who the child/citizen is and should be" is not about abstract propositions that constitute the boundaries of

the citizenry, but addresses the reasons and norms that guide “proper” modes of living for the child/citizen. The second purpose is to understand how historical formations of the child/citizen embody particular patterns of agency which operated in pedagogical practices. This includes understanding how the technologies of those “pragmatic” practices mapped out an ethical domain for “governing the soul” (Rose, 1999); these technologies are continuously at work today. In so doing, my goal is to demonstrate that the making of the child/citizen as a self-determined lifelong learner in the present is another production similar to the ones enacted under Japanese rule and the KMT’s regime.

In order to unravel how a discourse of practicality/pragmatism historically played out in schooling to make the child/citizen align with colonial and national collectivity, this chapter does not probe into how hegemonic power replicates docile bodies but scrutinizes regulatory power—how historical and national narratives are woven into psychology, cultural philosophy, and pedagogy and work to tame disposition, desire, and sentiments. As a strategy of inclusion and empowerment, the idea of practicality is re-configured in present Taiwanese reform and schooling and marked for its capricious feature to make children/citizens with autonomy and subjectivity. Yet, this “liberal” or “progressive” assumption about personhood simultaneously reinscribes normality and totality—it involves the very mode of reasoning that guides who the future child/citizen should be, what is possible for them to think and do, and how they can be known and made through schooling. The normative effects of schooling that cross ideological lines make little difference in comparison to the previous (colonial) constitution of citizens. By emphasizing shifting assemblages of cultural imperatives and practices, I explore the series of contingencies that make possible pragmatic styles of schooling/education in Taiwan’s education in the 20th Century. Examining the historical formations of the child/citizen

becomes a way to understand how normality is historically constructed along with its prescribed limits. In what follows, I explore how the discourse of practicality emerged within national narratives of hope and fear and how these narratives interwove with schooling to (re)make reasonable particular kinds of child/citizen with desirable dispositions and conduct during three historical events: Japanese rule, the Kuomintang government, and inclusive movement for Taiwanization and global competition. The exploration of these historical events helps identify epistemological shifts that shape our understanding about what is possible to think and act as the (colonial) child/citizen within historical time.

The emergence of pragmatic schooling: Hopes and fears in making colonial loyalists under Japanese rule

Before 1895, Taiwan, a small island with a heterogeneous population, was under Imperial Qing (China) rule.⁵ The Qing administrators considered Taiwan to be a remote borderland characterized by civil disturbances and lawlessness. At the end of 19th century, the identity of the islanders remained unsettled and fragmented. In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki after Japan defeated Qing China in the first Sino-Japanese war.

As the new governance system was formed, a collective identity of Japanese/Japanization was fabricated and attributed to the islanders. Initially, the Japanese colonial administrators adopted a mild approach of gradual assimilation (*doca*) to curry favor and seek the support from the public. The fear of obtruding upon the islanders was based on the belief that a gradual process

⁵ It is widely believed that the evidence for the settlement of aboriginal ancestors dates back 4,000 years. In the 1400s, immigrants from China's Fujian province arrived in Taiwan. During the early 1500s, immigration from Fujian increased, and the settlers were joined by members of the Hakka tribe from the Guangdong province, another ethnic group leaving mainland China in great numbers. Today, the aboriginal Fujianese (Minnan) and Hakka tribes are viewed as the major original communities within the contemporary Taiwanese population.

would allow sufficient time and interactions to integrate the islanders into the Empire (Abramson, 2004). At that time, cruel oppression and exploitation were viewed as poor means to achieve the ultimate goal of assimilation. The island's first Japanese governor-general, Kabayama Sukenori (1902) stated,

Taiwan is a new territory of the empire. The people on the island have not been enlightened by the emperor's benevolence. Pacification, edification, and consolation will be the strategies to administer this island in the future, so the islanders can be moved and inspired by the emperor's benevolence. (as cited in Ide, 1946, p. 244)

Producing a populace loyal to the empire was the ultimate goal when Japan acquired Taiwan. The unification project embodied a biological (evolutionary) idea of development that is inscribed in the logic of colonial administration. Goto Shimpei, who appointed the civilian chief of the Civil Affairs Bureau in 1898, believed that the human species underwent uneven development: meaning that some people were less developed and civilized than others, and it would take different lengths of time for the species to evolve. He believed that human civilization progresses incrementally and that forceful or sudden changes run counter to the theory of evolution (Peattie, 1984). In a memorandum, Goto explained his idea of biological principles in administering the island:

Any scheme of colonial administration, given the present advances in science, should be based on principles of Biology. What are these principles? They are to promote science and develop agriculture, industry, sanitation, education, communications, and police force. If these are satisfactorily accomplished, we will be able to persevere in the struggle for survival and win the struggle of the "survival of the fittest." Animals survive by overcoming heat and cold, and by enduring thirst and hunger. This is possible for them because they adapt measures and try to overcome the various difficulties that confront us. In our

administration of Taiwan we will then be assured of a future of brilliance and glory (as cited in Chang & Meyers, 1963, p. 438).

Goto's appeal to biological principles implies that the original status of islanders was biologically inferior to the inward citizens of Japan and that it would take a long time for the Taiwanese to become developed.

Rather than using brute force, certain soft techniques such as science and education were suggested to civilize the Taiwanese people.. Before initiating any actions, the first step of Goto's gradual assimilation was to know about the islanders through scientific forms of knowledge. He argued,

The social custom or system is subject to its own historical circumstances and might have persisted or evolved for years. Transferring a civilized system and institutions to an uncivilized place in an enforced way is so-called tyranny. This won't work...In terms of governing Taiwan, the first step is to scientifically investigate the local system and customs before undertaking further policies. If we fully transplant the policies we practice in Japan to Taiwan without engaging in careful investigation beforehand, this will be no different from the naïve idea of transforming the eyes of flatfish to the eyes of scup. (As cited in Liao, 2006, p. 77–78)

The evolutionary reasoning further rationalized “facts” acquired about educational circumstances through investigation as a way to represent social weaknesses that could be improved. Arranged by the office of the governor-general, survey reports were conducted to document the existing educational institutions (e.g., Academy of Chinese classical studies [*shobo*, *shu-fang*] and Chinese private schools charging no tuition) and to analyze teaching conditions in Taiwan. The report revealed that the number of academies of classical education that stressed Confucianism in

human relations was in decline and that an increasing number of islanders disrespected teachers and were unwilling to learn, resulting in potential obstacles for the colonial administration (Office of the governor-general, 1898). Besides, many Chinese schools for the gentry focused on cultivating scholarly elites who spent many years of their life studying Chinese classics, a process which included studying classical characters, their meanings, pronunciations, interpretations of texts, language usages and implications. Not only were these learning programs criticized for their isolation from real-life experience, their instructional methods were also denounced for being inflexible and mechanistic. The report then suggested the necessity of establishing a practical education while retaining the Confucian tradition and culture, both of which were shared in Japan (Office of the governor-general, 1898). The discourse of unlearning and impracticality that prevailed at the time was connected to the fear of barbarism and deterioration. The Japanese aimed to fix these perceived inadequacies through the technique of education. The fear and worry had circulated for years and was manifested in a Taiwanese newspaper editorial that argued about the necessity of advocating for new forms of learning:

The world's civilization is an outcome of academia's civilization. The world's progress is due to academia's progress. Therefore, the intellectuals are the foundation of civilization. The more civilized the world is, the more academic progress there will be...If more people do not learn, it will make the world chaotic. The populace and things become obscure and backward...If the people do not learn, they become innocent. Innocence has no practical value, as the people wouldn't know how to live a life. If the people do not learn, they don't know how to survive and compete with others. This eventually leads to inferiority and degeneration. (Taiwan Daily News, 1906, July 8)

Although such worry over islanders' degeneration was out of Japan's colonial purposes, it nevertheless produced a hope in progress—attempting to put islanders who didn't know how to

live a civilized and practical life on the path toward modernity. To transform the society requires re-educating the child, the future integral member of the Japanese empire. The idea of transforming a society by remaking its populace was derived from the Meiji legacy, the period during which Japan encountered the process of scientization and modernization, coming out of the feudal order in the nineteenth century. The philosophy and experience of the Meiji legacy traveled to the island to help formulate educational planning and programs. Education programs were influenced by a positivistic conception of science where there is a distinction between theory and practice and in which the latter is more valued.⁶ Based on this reason, elementary-level education in the form of common schools with the mission of civilization and enlightenment was established in 1898.⁷

Common schools sought to civilize islanders so that they would be able to use reason to live a rational life. To make them become fit for living in the world involved to looking into what they lacked that was necessary for civilization. Drawing upon the so-called scientific investigation of the objective qualities of people, portraits of superstition, ignorance, vulgarity, and shamelessness were often assigned to the islanders, and these traits demanded improvement. As a strategy of transformation, common schools embodied the hope of modernization from islanders' backward status and focused on practical knowledge and experience in students' learning. Goto stated the goals of common schools in a public speech (1900, 3/15),

The islanders' education is urgent and has a high priority. Therefore, the avenues of learning the national language (Japanese) are provided and increased. It is

⁶ The idea of positivism was introduced to Japan from Europe during the Meiji era and then traveled to Taiwan through Japanese colonial governance.

⁷ Education in Japan under the Meiji tradition was designed to advocate mass literacy with the ultimate aim of cultivating citizens with a higher level of specialty and technical competencies. However, colonial officers shifted the focus to elementary education in the Taiwanese model (Tsurumi, 1977).

more convenient for impartation and learning if the language is the same. From this base of the same language, students further learn *practical subjects related to everyday experience*. When students make progress on their learning subjects, we can enhance their education. On the one hand, we teach students moral ethics and pass on practical knowledge, on the other hand, it is our hope to make them become useful, talented people. (as cited in Ide, 1946, p. 373, my translation, emphasis added)⁸

Instead of emphasizing abstract forms of knowledge for developing scholarly elites, common school curricula directed attention to the practical issues of daily life in relation to Japanese colonial administration, labor needs, and economic growth. The curricula were construed as necessary for islanders' living in order to expedite their development as "useful" people. For example, according to the instructional guidance of common schools (1902, cited as in Xu, 2010), Japanese language was articulated as a practical medium for inculcating common sense and acquiring knowledge and skills; vocational learning (e.g. handicraft, agriculture, and commerce) was thought to be real-world knowledge that students needed for life and job markets; the subject of science (理學, *li xue*) was meant to develop rationality in the students through observing facts from natural phenomena or concrete objects. Moreover, efficient knowledge such as the descriptions of "modern" inventions (i.e., electronic lights, post offices, and banks) was also introduced in the classical Chinese textbooks in order to imbue students with a "civilized" mode of living and acting. Such curricula were perceived as "pragmatic" since

⁸ According to the rules of Taiwan common schools (1898), Chapter one: "First, the goals of common schools were to teach islanders' children moral ethics, impart them with practical (vocational) learning (*shi xue*, 實學), cultivate their national spirits and have them master in national language (aka, Japanese)" (Xu, 2010, p.100).

they were said to be more connected to students' "real life" needs, useful for individual change and societal transformation.

Although some eulogized colonial Japan's efforts to "modernize" Taiwan, much Taiwanese scholarship denounced Japan's colonization and ideological instillation. This type of framework usually assumes the process of transforming islanders into loyal Japanese is top-down. In other words, island students were subjugated to what was taught at common schools. However, what constituted a colonial citizen in order to actualize Japanese colonial governance is not just about what was to be studied, but also involved the use of pedagogical tools in shaping inclination and desire. The ways that school subjects can be taught, for instance, can be organized through the tool of psychology that defines individuals' sensitivity, ability, and competence (Popkewitz, 1998, 2008). The tool of psychology brought to the island through Japan's colonization in order to understand students' minds and capacities was influenced by colonial Japan's conceptions regarding human nature and morality. In the following discussion, I investigate how schooling that draws upon a particular pragmatic idea made possible morally conscious agents. That is, I highlight how developmental psychology worked together with the register of morality to designate the "nature" of the child/colonial citizen in need of moral betterment as a way to link individuals to the empire as a whole, so that islanders could become "useful" people in society and an integral part of the Japanese empire at the end. .

Registers of psychology and morality that defined the child

Common schools claimed to make education connected to children. Getting to know children became a prerequisite for building up this connectedness. Theories about children's nature and development defined by psychology spread over Taiwan through Japanese colonial expansion. Such psychological understandings reframed in Taiwan locality provided knowledge

about what were thought of as fears or threats and implied how they could be managed for collective well-being. Unlike in Chinese schools where people could spend their entire lives studying, only individuals between 8 and 14 could enroll in the common schools (1898); these ages represented a life stage characterized as “a rebellious phase” which was thought of as a dangerous transition toward adulthood (Chang, 1996). The fears of their “backward” status nonetheless inspired a kind of the hope that they could improve. According to an article published by the Taiwanese Education Association regarding juvenile psychology, the child was characterized both as emotionally and developmentally immature in need of alteration and guidance:

Children’s emotions such as delight, anger, sorrow, and happiness are easily aroused. They are often to subject to changing moods...starting from ages six or seven to ages eight or nine. Due to the changes in their physical appearance, they become emotional and capricious...When the children enter the stage of adolescence, they are easily-angered...They should be guided in the right direction with patience and skill. (Takashima, 1904, p. 19)

Common schools hence served to transform school age children from their instable conditions into rational subjects, directing them toward rationality and adulthood. Drawing upon developmental psychology, the excerpt attributed children’s emotional immaturity to their physiological states. Such physiological changes tied to children’s moral development prescribed certain behaviors or characteristics as “immoral,” or “at risk” for students at this age range as they don’t know how to treat one another in moral matters. Takashima, a Japanese educational scholar during colonization continued to argue:

children in this stage have a cruel nature, enjoying cruel misconduct, and they don’t know what is right or wrong. Instead, they feel complacent in

what they do. When catching a dragonfly, they fold its wings, cut off its feet and pull its head...Not merely boys but girls do these inhuman things. When the youth treat creatures so cruelly, it is very likely that they have a tendency to embrace authoritarianism. They easily become arrogant toward people inferior to them, such as their house slaves or younger siblings. Besides this, they will carry a sense of jealousy due to mutual competition. This is all because of their egoism. (Takashima, 1904, p. 20)

The child's presumed immoral "nature" and behavior were considered as an obstacle to adulthood and could further lead to social stratification and classism, hindering the unification and well-being of the whole nation. Being fearful of children's "decline" in morality is also to worry about their potential to become fit for civilization and loyal to the Empire.

Confucianism as a secular and moral guide integrated into Japanese everyday life at the dawn of civilization in Japanese history, was now operative and reinforced on the island through Japan's colonization. In Confucian philosophy, an ideal person (*junzi*, a sage or gentlemen) refers to the one who could act morally in his ordinary life with self-control and wisdom. Hence, moral cultivation as a tool of social change was not regarded as an abstract doctrine to follow, but mobilized as a practical transformation linked to children's needs as they were expected to acquire desirable ethics for future work life. The Confucian's idea of integrating heart-mind and body, suggests that external conduct is an expression of inner intention, as heart-mind (will) is inseparable from the body (Tu, 1994). Acting morally referred to one's inner rational status of self-control. Thus, moral qualities such as diligence and hard work that stressed abstinence were imperative elements in the formation of good students and loyalists. Goto (1898) argued,

Islanders had drifted along for a long time. They did not know the essence of education, but preferred impractical ideas and disregarded the value of

hardwork as well as aiming too high without having down-to-earth moves...To fix it, it is necessary to guide them with the virtue of diligence and efficient management skills, to teach them civil duties and to cultivate them with virtues such as loyalty, goodness, sincerity and persistence (Cited as in Xu, 2010, p. 146).

In this line of thought, physical performance of diligence and hard work as a marker of showing inner level of conscience are circulated as a down-to-earth ways to fix islanders' prescribed irrationality and impracticality. The making of good students and loyalists through the means of education was not just based on the psychological reasoning of the child that informs who the child is and ought to be, but also entails moral modes of living that order children's disposition and action. The registers of psychology and morality were interwoven to give meaning to the imagined child in response to fears of the uncivilized, demanding their constant effort to improve toward "civilization."

Developing self-consciousness through an affective technique of shame

Given the assumption of children's "congenital" lack of morality, self-motivated actions such as diligence and hard work were perceived as strategies for producing self-guided, rational actions. The transformation of the child was made possible through cultivating self-consciousness that brought about behavior changes relevant for the children's public acceptance. Take the dissemination of Japanese language and literacy to fulfill colonial missions as an example. With a belief in the transformative power of language, Japanese language, later termed *national language* (*guo yu*), was more than an assimilationist tool used to unify people, but was treated as an instructional medium for transmitting school knowledge and educating attitudes. It targeted people's needs and interests, producing a sense of practicality that guided how people

should think and act progressively. In comparison to the “old learning,” the propagation of Japanese language and literacy exhibited its own justification, as could be found in Yamaguchi’s (1904) argument:

Taiwan is now part of Japan’s territory. The islanders are our people, the emperor’s folks. To understand and learn our national language helps to inspire intelligence and to cultivate one’s own virtues/character. This is the way to develop a common feeling and the unification of the spirit...[Traditional learning] stressed chanting and memorization without understanding the context. Also, it ignored observation and practical thinking. It was a waste of time and energy. It brought no benefits to one’s life...The agriculture, industry and commerce rigidly adhered to old customs. No signs of progress and improvement were shown. This is all because of the learning of hanzi (Chinese scripts)...Such a palliative and corruptive education! It was nonpractical script learning and a limited outlook that hindered collective progress...However, our national language is different. It is easy to learn and very practical to use. (p. 3)

With its logic of practicality, the discourse of Japanese language and literacy hoped to foster intelligence and virtues beneficial to one’s life. This logic was manifested in the use of census surveys that provided a way of producing objective knowledge about the islanders.

The census surveyed and documented whether an individual could speak fluent Japanese language along with the individual’s Japanese literacy. This knowledge was meant to measure one’s extent of enlightenment and intelligence (Office of the governor-general, 1905). Some effects of power were generated, as Lin states (2013):

There were debates on the use of Japanese literacy to measure whether one is literate or not. Many intellectuals who had received *Han xue* (classical Chinese) education were marked as illiterate as they did not know Japanese alphabets.... This led to the prevalence of learning

Japanese at the time, as intellectuals were afraid of being regarded as Illiterate. (p. 105)

Being literate was thus connected to the ability of mastering Japanese language and literacy. Individuals' competence in Japanese language and literacy was not solely determined by their degree of enlightenment but also joined the moral order ascribing particular attributes to them. Illiteracy in the national language (Japanese) became a marker of impracticality and immorality, and it was perceived as an obstacle to intellectual and moral development as well as to the production of collective unity. The following excerpts are the lyrics of a song used to popularize the national language to young school-age children who were not fully integrated and who were considered at risk of moral abasement. We can take the lyrics as a discursive construction with a pedagogical function through Foucault's concept of "technologies of the self" (1985, p. 11). The "texts elaborate rules, opinions and advice as to how to behave as one should" (p. 12).

1. If you are on the road,
 Someone asked you for directions
 As you don't speak the national language
 You don't know how to answer
 This is so shameful!
2. If you are on the street,
 And would like to buy things
 As you don't speak the national language
 You couldn't buy what you'd like to buy.
 This is so upsetting!

3. It is like a blind person who needs a stick.

Languages are important to us.

We are Japanese people

We should speak the national language to each other

So we can live a happy life.

(as cited in Yu, 2007, p. 90)

The lyrics show the mode of subjectification for the shaping of conduct. Speaking the national language was linked to one's competence and constructed as delightful, honorable, and moral through the relationship of power and knowledge. The individuals compared their competence in Japanese language and literacy in relation to virtual ideals as the norm of conduct from which they identified their deficiency. A sense of shame was generated by connecting their feelings and pride to the self-recognition of such deficiency as an effect of power relations.

Rather than being a passive emotion, shame was derived from Japanese samurai culture, associated with an individual's innermost dignity. The gaze of shame originated from one's perception of the evaluation of others and the outer world. It was then directed back to one's inner self and produced the self-regulation of behavior. Through normalization, private inner feelings were transferred into the public domain as a collective morality. One's moral responsibility and competence became "measurable," because the technique of national language learning connected to morality created borders around what was reasonable for the whole. By comparison, the normalization of shame simultaneously constructed students/individuals who were "not speaking the national language" as "shameful" and "upsetting." Deficiency was a domain of immorality that was subject to self-alteration in order to "live a happy life" and lead to ultimate unification as "Japanese." The presumption of the potential risk of moral degeneration

in the child embedded in the technique of Japanese language and literacy learning functioned as a mechanism of governmentality regulating individuals through their self-consciousness in which the norm of shame produced effects of self-censoring.

In this section, I've showed how the child/ citizen is seen through the interplay of psychology and morality in common schooling during Japan's initial colonial governance. Worries about the impracticality of education in hindering collective progress placed an emphasis on the child. Fears of the child's emotional (developmental) and moral degeneration resulted in a hope placed in the present and future—a hope that the child would turn into a rational adult who would give allegiance to the Empire. The hope of becoming a rational adult was coextensive with the desire to be a diligent kind of future worker or loyalist and was made possible through a moral technique of shame in which a sense of self-consciousness is generated to regulate their conduct.

Re-configuration of pragmatic legacy: Chiang's democratic desire for national unification and the making of the national citizen in the regime of Kuomintang (KMT)

The plea for a pragmatic schooling reappeared in Taiwan in the middle of 20th Century after World War II as a technology of citizenship. This trend of educational practicality is related to the May Fourth Movement in Mainland China at the beginning of 20th Century that emphasized science, realism and revolution to replace imperialism and feudal mannerism. It was re-articulated after the KMT government moved from the Mainland and relocated in Taiwan, highlighting the importance of agency and real-world practice as a strategy of changing the

destiny of the nation.⁹ At the time, Dewey's work was introduced and translated in Taiwan and his ideas of "learning-by-doing," "education as life," and "school as society," were especially spread and underscored in schooling. I argue that the recurrence of educational practicality in Taiwan after World War II was assumed to derive from agency is not power free, but bound to national circumstances and undertones that continued to form new, ethical patterns of conduct to ensure a life of normality.

Chiang Kai-shek's revolutionary agenda included national salvation (*jiuwang*, 救亡), initially aimed at rescuing the nation from imperialism, feudalism, and foreign threats and later seeking to retake the mainland from the Communists after his retreat to Taiwan.¹⁰ Thus, he sought to create a collective culture and sense of belonging in the name of regaining greatness. Chiang's project of regaining greatness sought to remake the island as a modern, democratic *model province of China* (i.e., republican China) as a starting point, in contrast to the evil, authoritarian regime of Communists on the Mainland. Chiang's idea of democracy is context-bound, rather than universal. He picked up Sun Yat-sen's *minben* (literally meaning "people-based") approach to articulate his democratic model in order to establish an effective and good government in Taiwan for the interest of people (Lorenzo, 2013). Yet, Chiang's conception of democracy based on the idea of *minben* did not stress the rights of individuals but is associated

⁹ National belonging on the island of Taiwan was refabricated after World War II. After losing the Chinese civil war to the Communist Party of China, the Republic of China, led by the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party), retreated to Taiwan and established itself on the island with the goal of regaining China and reclaiming the mainland.

¹⁰ According to Fung (2000), the idea of *jiuwang*, 救亡 (national salvation) was initially juxtaposed with Chinese enlightenment (*qimeng*, 啟蒙) that stressed science and reason in the May Fourth Movement. But later *jiuwang* prevailed over *qimeng* as China's crisis of the time—its internal and foreign enemies—and created the urgency to embrace national unity. The demand for solidarity in the name of *jiuwang* later led to Chinese nationalism after Chiang lost the civil war and retreated to Taiwan for intensive preparation against the Communists.

with Chinese culture because he deemed democracy natural and already rooted in Chinese traditions and heritage. In a public speech on November 12, 1968, Chiang asserted:

our democratic idea and spirit were already developed two~three thousand years ago. For example, the book of rites or liji says to love what the people love and hate what the people hate; Mencius also mentions, “The people are most important, the country comes next, the ruler is the least important.” . . . These explain our democratic idea has been embedded in our traditional culture. It is rational, spontaneous, natural and upbeat. (Chiang, 1968/1984, p. 242)

Based on this line of thought, Chiang’s idea of a people-centered democracy was inscribed in the preset political system (i.e., autocracy) and was conceptualized as natural in the cultural practices of human experiences. In other words, democracy was not something from the outside, but located within humans themselves (Lorenzo, 2013). The naturalness of democracy in Chiang’s conception placed Communists out of the norm, as their regime on the Mainland was considered alien to human characteristics and subject to revolution. Chiang’s people-based democracy thereby set the stage for Taiwan’s modernization, pragmatically emphasizing the demand for unifying the populace on Taiwan in order to retake the Mainland in the name of national unification (Taylor, 2009).

A return to Chinese inheritance: Resurgence of an ethical mode of living as a practical renovation to secure the nation

Chiang ascribed the nation’s suffering in the late 19th century to its populace who did not possess a modern mindset and who did not act as practical beings. He then proposed a new mode of living to ameliorate the society by restructuring the mind of people. Such a new way of

life was connected with Chiang's modernizing enterprise on the island in which education was considered as a tool to transform islanders and thought solve the enduring problem of educational mechanism and isolation in the past. Chiang stated the nation's destiny lay in the connection between life and education in a public speech(11/19, 1951/1984):

To become anti-communist and rescue the nation, the purpose of present-day education, whether general schooling or social continuing education, is to underscore life education, tied up life with education.
(p. 269)

As a response to the threat of communism and the nation's crisis, the articulation of a need for life education was translated from Dewey's concept of pragmatism. According to Dewey, pragmatic education is connected to life in which action and practice are stressed. In addition, Dewey viewed thought as inseparable from action. Dewey's pragmatism was meant to fulfill the needs of American education and therefore reflects different intentions and cultural theses than it does within a Taiwanese setting. For Dewey, education was meant to bring agency to the child so as to affect changes in their lives through their choices which reflect their individuality and freedom.

Instead of focusing on Dewey's liberal conception of agency, Chiang's pragmatic idea of agency accentuated how individuals could translate knowledge into actions to realize collective ends. He thought hypocrisy, the impractical attitudes, and the perfunctory behaviors of Chinese people were the reasons leading to national downfalls. To rescue the nation was to shape people's everyday conduct for the betterment of social life through shaping people's minds. Schools were viewed as a site to learn practical issues in life so the child/citizen would know how to live a proper life. Chiang turned to a particular interpretation of Chinese heritage to

illustrate renovated ways of self-conduct and dealing with others. As he pointed out in the fourth national educational meeting in 1962:

Today, Taiwan's national education overemphasizes the impartation of knowledge and ignores ethical education, physical education and group education.... The practical issues in life such as the ways disciples should sweep the floor, react appropriately to others, and take a bow to show respect as well as six classical arts (namely, ritual practice (禮 li), music (樂 yue), archery (射, she), charioteering (御, yu), writing and calligraphy (書 shu), and mathematics (數, shu), have been taught in ancient Chinese education. However, some people consider rituals and music useless nowadays. Other people think archery and charioteering are within the domain of military. Generally, people only emphasize and study writing/calligraphy and mathematics. Life education such as the appropriate ways to sweep, react to others and take a bow have been disregarded. This is a serious deviation and loss as such kind of education that only imparts knowledge but does not develop an appropriate way for living. (as cited in Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 78)

The excerpt, an example of Chiang's ideas about Renaissance of Chinese ethics was intended to solve the national predicament of the time along with the abiding problems of educational inflexibility by shaping people's ways of living. As one of Chiang's revolutionary strategies to save the "country," the promotion of a new mode of life imbued with Chinese traditional ethics was enunciated to "eradicate anachronistic life style[s], impractical harangue without actual actions and irrational thinking and conduct" (Chiang, 1967, p. 67). Chiang's restorative cultural approach was meant to be different from Zedong Mao, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, who called for "continuing revolution" to rule out Chinese traditional culture and Confucianism. Chiang ascribed past failures and degeneration to the loss of national

consciousness and self-confidence. For him, “national cultural inheritance” (民族文化 *min zu wen hua*) could build up a consensus, “a foundation of founding the country,” and became critical for the “survival of the nation.” His idea of cultural inheritance was not only used to restore what had been lost (復生 *fu sheng*) but also for creating novelty for moving forward (發揚 *fa yang*).

Rather than deifying Chinese cultural inheritance, Chiang employed Sun Yat-sen’s words to explain the notion of cultural inheritance—a renewed configuration of fluidity, encompassing “ethical spirits, thoughts, minds, aspiration, political system and organization, social customs, ethical morals, people’s ways of living and conduct...” (1968). The turn to Chinese cultural legacy was Chiang’s means of modern renovation. This method was joined with the social need for creating a consensus by which individuals know how to act and participate as a collective group member. In a speech for celebrating Sun Yat-sen’s memorial birthday, Chiang (1968) restated the importance of practicing ethics in everyday life through which an individual was not just a moral individual but someone with the ultimate goal of becoming a social being:

Self-study and self-autonomy are crucial for cultural revival of ethics. The ethical restoration should start from proper ways of living a life, practicing ethics and morals into ordinary life. Furthermore, ethical restoration should also emphasize schooling’s social function by cultivating togetherness by which those who are deviant could become a man of honor someday. The important things in the present are to inspire the populace’s sense of sympathy in order to eliminate indifference and selfishness; to inspire their gregariousness in order to save them from loneliness and arrogance; to inspire their self-esteem and self-confidence in order to eradicate their partiality, cowardice, dependence and stubbornness. This is to make our youths discern what are propriety and righteousness, and be aware of integrity and the sense of honor. So they could become youths who are

prone to national ethical cultures and morals. (Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 14)

The quotation shows how Chinese cultural ethics were adopted to fulfil Chiang's mission of national rebuilding and unification in which the norms of propriety were valued and organized how people should live a life and how they should act as part of the unity.

To actualize an ethical mode of living as a way of societal reformation, Dewey's use of phrases such as "education as life," "school as society," and "learning by doing" were translated into Taiwanese public schooling, but had different configurations, focuses and interpretations. For Dewey, education is seen as basically a social process through the acts of interaction, communication, and problem-solving. Chiang's notion of life-centered education, instead, was concerned with the execution of proper conduct in life in which a particular kind of social being is prescribed. Drawing upon Confucian principles of human relations regarding how one ought to live, the existence of the self was embedded within different social groups, namely family, society, and the nation. The self was defined in a grid of social relationships, practicing practical ways of "conducting the self and getting along with others (做人處事 *zuo ren chu shi*)" in daily life (Chen, 1977, p.28). In other words, each person had to recognize his roles, corresponding duties, and conduct in relation to family, society, and nation and execute them on the ground in order to live a life of harmony. Applying this principle, Chiang reinforced the bond between the self and the greater self; that is, the nation.

Linking an individual's destiny with that of the nation, life became inseparable from the society or nation as everyone was thought to be responsible for the country. He argued (1947/1984):

No eggs would stay intact under an overturned nest. If our compatriots do nothing today, all would be in an utterly helpless condition in the near future.....The destinies of our compatriots and our country have actually come to such a severe crisis, so I wanted to remind you to maintain a vigilance toward our national plights. (p. 174)

A discursive nation-ness is formed through the fear of future failure in which the destiny of the nation is tied to that of individuals. Such a shared destiny enables individuals to imagine themselves as part of the future and subjects them to act in a manner beneficial to the whole as part of their individual responsibility. Consequently, joining the social need for unity and coherence, the educational focus of producing moral people was revisioned and assembled with Confucian cultural principles in a manner that was also coupled with nationalist qualities. This was palpable in curricular purposes of “life and ethics” for elementary education and “citizen and morals” for secondary education (1968). One of their goals was to “cultivate students to become upright Chinese citizens who could represent Chinese ethical culture and morality by loving their country and their fellowmen, giving service, being gregarious, and responsible as well as adhering to the rules” (Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 17).

Convergence of ethics, democracy, and science: Producing the Chinese nation and the social citizen

Derek Heater (1999) indicated that the meaning of citizenship is not just defined by individuals’ rights and duties in relation to the nation, but is also shaped by the shared cultural forces of tradition, ethnicity, and language. In the preceding section, I’ve shown how the Chinese cultural tradition was borrowed, renovated, and tailored to actualize national ends through the

use of “practical” languages such as everyday practice and life-centered education. The reconnection to a Chinese heritage as a practical means produced new memories and significance about the island’s past in the present. Islanders’ “origins” were detached from Japan and re-attached to mainland China. Similar to Japanese rule, schooling under KMT administration was used to produce subjectivities and desires to meet the collective goals of anti-communism and saving the nation at the time. Instead of only developing elite islanders’ education, as was done during Japan’s regime, KMT government sought to humanize and educate all people as a way to actualize social justice and democracy. National education in Taiwan was thus made available for all and further extended from six years to nine in 1968. The making of the national citizen was not just related to particular policies or institutions, but was perceived as an assemblage of seemingly paradoxical ideas and discourses that would enable people to know and participate as part of the collective being. Chiang (1968) stated in a speech in regard to the reform of education:

[We should] absorb the essence and modern methods and technology in Western education to draw on their strengths and make up our shortcomings. ...In terms of our strong points such as our intrinsic education, exams and ethics—legacy and philosophy of ancient sages, we should renew them and carry them forward...However, the Communists in the Mainland turned the other way, attempting to eliminate them. This is by no means accepted by our national citizens who love our nation and our countrymen. What I am saying today is to urge you to trace our roots....I hoped all levels of schools (elementary, junior high and senior high schools) could hinge on the *spirits of ethics, democracy and science* to design their curricula, materials and instructional methods (my translation, emphasis added).

The above excerpt reveals how ethics, democracy, and science became the primary cultural theses of school education during Chiang's reign in Taiwan after his retreat to the island. His endeavor to modernize Taiwan was not just about adaptation from Western technology or the emphasis on scientific action. Further, he conflated democracy with Chinese ethics in a manner that reinforced ethics as imperative in guiding people's lives.¹¹

What is more, phrased in a democratic rhetoric, Chiang's joining democracy with Chinese ethics aimed to legitimize his ruling on the island by distinguishing himself from his so-called evil Communists of the Mainland. This was in part due to Chiang's perception of their inhuman nature. Unlike Dewey's idea that democracy is an expression of individuality, Chiang's democracy was contingent upon collective progress and emphasized an ethical mode of living based on Confucianism as a prerequisite for modernization. The call for practicality was connected to Chiang's nation-rebuilding through invoking people's memories of past glory and rationalizing people's moral mode of living in order to secure the country. I will continue to show how Chinese ethics alongside Chiang's sense of science functioned to order "right" dispositions, sentiments, and conduct of a national citizen/child.

By embracing Confucian virtues, Chiang's claims of legitimacy as a rightful leader of the Chinese State is obvious as he regarded Confucian ethics as an embodiment of democracy.

¹¹ Chiang repeatedly argued that democracy is "an expression of Chinese culture" (Lorenzo, 2013, p. 87) in his public speeches and publications. His conflation of democracy with Chinese ethics can be exemplified in the following statement.

The democratic sense in Chinese tradition is linked to ethic spirits, the fundamental feature of Chinese culture. That is, the democracy in Chinese culture is to guide people by virtue and unify them by rules of propriety (Chiang, 1968, p.246).

He further used Confucian virtues as a way to maintain social order and tame ordinary citizens (Lorenzo, 2013). As discussed previously, the self in Confucianism is a “relational identity” (Ho, 1993) defined by a network of social relationships. Agency is associated with proper behaviors which are prescribed through one’s “relational identity.” A person can become morally prestigious when he fulfills his role as a minister, a parent, a teacher, or a student, for instance. The virtue, ritual propriety (禮 *li*) goes hand in hand with the virtue of shame (恥 *chi*), entailing the Confucian philosophy of a “self-regulating communal order” (Ames & Rosemont, 2009, p. 73).¹² Ritual propriety (*li*), an embodiment of benevolence, is the highest virtue in Confucius’ viewpoint, including filial piety, fraternal submission, reverence, modesty, and temperateness, etc (Du & Song, 1995). Ritual propriety (*li*) means to cultivate proper dispositions and conduct within prescribed social roles (Hagen, 2010). Practicing ritual propriety (*li*) with reverence means to “keep one away from shame and humiliation” in order to avoid violence and disorder (Analects, 1.13; See Hagen, 2010, p. 10).¹³ Along the same line of thought, Chiang adopted the tools of propriety (禮 *li*) and shame (恥 *chi*) to link the individual to the collective whole. Unlike Confucius’ pursuit of a harmonious society, Chiang attempted to create a shared consensus based on the idea of appropriateness, so the citizens become self-aware of their roles and responsibilities and were able to self-monitor their behaviors so that they aligned with the collective interests of the nation. Such effects of self-regulation are not generated just by

¹² Master said, “.....If people are led with virtue [德 *de*] and guided with propriety [禮 *li*], they will develop a sense of honor and shame and become good.” (Analects, 2.11)

子曰：「.....道之以德，齊之以禮，有恥且格」

¹³ This is extracted from Analects 1.13. Confucius’s disciple says: “....Respect brings one close to propriety (禮 *li*), and keeps one away from shame and humiliation....” 有子曰：「.....恭近於禮，遠恥辱也...」

practicing ritual propriety (*li*) to inform social relationships and ethical acts. On the other hand, the mechanism of shame also produced regulatory effects towards reconciliation and change of conduct, due to fears of negative public evaluation (Hall & Ames, 1987). In this way, rather than just serving as moral processes of self-control, Confucius' ethical tools of propriety (禮 *li*) and shame (恥 *chi*) worked to shape individual conduct within the context of the group or community. That is, practicing propriety (禮 *li*) and shame (恥 *chi*) impacted social coherence and unity through which individuals' actions were presumed to affect group interests and benefit others. The student, a future citizen, was thus fabricated with some social qualities in relation to family, society, and the nation in order to satisfy their moral and social responsibilities. The qualities started from "actualizing propriety" (禮 *li*) in daily lives by "practicing good human relations, e.g., showing filial devotion for parents, and respecting teachers and seniors" (Chen, 1977, p.26). Furthermore, the social qualities also included sentiments and conducts meant for public interests. For example, "being gregarious and cooperative," "practicing good hygiene and living habits," and "loving to give service and to help others" were circulated at the time as a strategy of building solidarity in order to resist Communist disunion and to revitalize the fallen territory (i.e. mainland) (Chen, 1977, P.26-49).

In addition to moral governing by means of propriety and shame, Chiang sought to assert scientific methods through which a collective culture could be generated to solve the problems of social disorder at the time. The fear of the populace's perfunctoriness was linked to the hope of transforming them into rational citizens with scientific manners. This notion of scientific manners is different from what Dewey talked about as experimental approaches and forming hypotheses to be tested in practice. Chiang quoted Yat-Sen Sun's remark to describe science as "a systematic study," "an orderly theory," and "a practical technique for improving

livelihood” (Cited as in Ministry of Education, 1976, p.23). Fused with his idea of agency (practice), scientific manners underscored doing things in a sequential order and practicing them diligently (Chiang, 1946). The demand for rationality and scientific conduct underlay Chiang’s idea of democracy and the rule of law, emphasizing whether procedures and rules were to be followed. This differs from Dewey’s thought regarding democracy as an individual act expressed through choices and desires (1939), although both of them considered democracy to be a moral ideal to be practiced in everyday living. Chiang’s notion of democracy involved the idea of appropriateness in the conduct in the name of scientific manners. Not merely governmental officers but citizens had to follow and diligently practice scientific manners in their daily life in order to obtain ultimate freedom. Chiang (1943) argued:

Freedom should be based on the rule of law. Anything that is out of the boundary of rule of law is overindulgence. If every individual is indulgent, violence such as the strong bullying the weak may occur. If every individual obeys and follows the rule of law, individual freedom can be preserved (p. 117).

Thus, democracy and freedom can be ensured, depending upon the “scientific” course of action which is practice hard and orderly. The emphasis on the course of action reinforced the necessity of compliance with the rule of law, leading to an emphasis on constitutionalism as the means for nation reformation (Chiang, 1943). It was through this logic that democracy made people from all walks of life equal, therefore re-unifying the nation when all people could follow the rule and carry out their own duties diligently.

Notably in favor of narratives regarding constitutionalism and the rule of law, Confucian role-based ethics, through the technique of propriety and shame, were employed alongside Chiang’s emphasis on scientific manners to make self-controlled agents. Moral governing

regulates how people think about their roles and how they should ethically act. In Confucian thought, everyone should confine himself to his own duties based on what is prescribed by his role.¹⁴ In this line of thinking, knowing one's role and carrying out the corresponding duties in a diligent, orderly manner is an actualization of ethical propriety and scientific manners. The role-based ethics, blending with the favor of linearity (e.g., following preset procedures) and appropriate courses of action, was Chiang's normalizing scheme to reduce social chaos and discrepancy. Thus, people's perceptions regarding what are the "right" dispositions and conducts for a "modern" child/citizen for national unification were normalized. Chiang's view of modernity was eclectic—amalgamating Chinese ethics with Western Science, which differs from the claims of May Fourth Movement in Mainland China between the mid-1910s and 1920s that utterly embraced Western ideas of science and democracy and abandoned Chinese imperialism and Confucianism as a way to modernize the nation.

Shaping the self through everyday modes of living

By viewing the self within a network of social relations, the transformation of students into sound and patriotic national citizens focused on everyday mode of living in which students developed their responsibility for the self (*xiaowo*, 小我) and for the great self—the society/nation (*dawo*, 大我). This ethical governing highlights how cultivating the self (*xiushen*, 修身) is a path to fulfill the national mission.¹⁵ Chiang (1934) extracted this idea from Great Learning (Daxue) and remarked:

¹⁴ Master said, "A person who is not in a particular position has nothing to do with the duties of the position its execution." 子曰：「不在其位，不謀其政。」(論語·泰伯第八)

¹⁵ It extracts from the idea, 修身齊家治國平天下 (*xiushen qijia zhiguo pingtianxia*) in Great Learning (Daxue 大學), meaning "cultivating the self, managing family bonds (*jijia*, 齊家), administering a country (*zhiguo*, 治國), all the way up to bring peace to the world (*pingtianxia*, 平天下)."

If we would like to manage the family and administer a country well, as well as restore the status of our nation, we should start from cultivating ourselves. The principle of self-cultivation lies in developing the nature of benevolence (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), propriety (*li* 禮), wisdom (*zhi* 智) and fidelity (*xin* 信); the way [of cultivating the self] lies in making our everyday conduct in clothing, dining manners, and living to accord with virtues of propriety (*li* 禮), righteousness (*yi* 義), integrity (*lian* 廉), and shame (*chi* 恥). (p. 481)

Accordingly, forming national consensus and Chinese patriotism was made possible through less brutal ideological forces but gave direction to the life practices in which traditional ethics blended with Chinese nationalism as a new mode of living to guide everyday action and participation.. Chiang underscored how the success of revolution and nation-building lay in “the improvement of life styles” (Chiang, 1934, p.69), so he sought to reshape all people’s “way of life” with proper decorum. “Guidance Notes on National Life,” “Examples of National Etiquette,” and “Standards of Youth Living,” published by the Commission of Renaissance of Chinese Culture served this purpose. Let’s take “Standards of Youth Living” as an example. The goals were “to develop youths’ patriotic enthusiasm and inherit Chinese cultural traditions by putting life education into practice; to mobilize social atmosphere and influence others through naturally practicing [ethics] into ordinary life and conduct” (Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 4; my translation). The general rules are described as follows:

1. Being allegiant to the leader; being loyal to the country; practice filial piety to parents; respect teachers and seniors; support people in need of help.
2. When participating in singing the national anthem, one should sing the chorus in unison; in the events of flag-raising ceremony or singing the national anthem, one should arise in silence.

3. One should give a salute or send regards when meeting seniors, teachers, guests, classmates, relatives, friends, and neighbors.
4. Pay attention to personal grooming and keep a neat and tidy appearance; don't be rude, careless, or lazy. Behave sedately and decorously.
5. Do not smoke, drink alcohol, or gamble. Do not access bad places in society. Do not read/watch pornographic books/movies.
6. Abstain from laziness, extravagance, deception, hypocrisy, loitering, or brawls.
7. Develop the habits of rising early, punctuality, complying with the law, abiding by one's words, hardworking, thrifty, mutual help, and collaboration.
8. Do not spit or urinate everywhere; do not scatter garbage all over the place; do not break off tree branches, and do not trample on plants.
9. Practice public morals, live up to public orders, maintain public hygiene, and be devoted to social services.

The Standards informed everyday behaviors regarding table manners (食 *shi*), clothing (衣 *yi*), living (住 *zhu*), and daily conduct (行 *xing*) through a prescribed course of action. Adopting the Confucian concept of ritual propriety (禮, *li*), the explicit sets of living behaviors entailed a norm for an ethical mode of living. In Confucianism, ritual propriety (禮, *li*) orders how one ought to act “from table manners to patterns of greeting and leave-taking, to graduations, weddings, funerals, from gestures of deference to ancestral sacrifices” (Ames & Rosemont, 2009, p. 59). The performance standards do not just prescribe what is possible to think and act as appropriate for the self, but also delineate the proper ways to interact with others in society. They also “convey something about one's sentiment, intelligence, morality and the degree of civilization,” (Chen, 1977). The standards normalized who the youth, students, or citizens should be and who they would become in society, thereby making the qualities of “self-cultivating and gregarious,” “keeping a good habit of living,” “obedient to the rules,” and “practicing diligently” (Ministry of Education, 1952, p.12-22) the markers of the citizen at the time.

Producing a national citizen through the making of a good group member

The social relations between the individual and the collective became a practical substance for everyday living, which re-defined what was practical knowledge and skills that students needed to acquire in order to get prepared for their lives. The concern with an individual's level of social relationship placed an educational emphasis on individual character. Character cultivation was to shape individuals' disposition, sentiment, and conduct in order to align with the national goal of unification; individuals were able to become cooperative, patriotic, and social beings. Revising Dewey's student-centeredness into a "student-based and teacher-guided" standpoint (Sun, 1976, p. 4), virtues were presumed to be something that students were missing and subject to teachers' guidance in order to develop. Therefore, character cultivation was not only the Confucian sense of self-searching and self-cultivation of morality, but conjoined the realms of psychology and physiology as a systemic means to understand students' physical and mental development in order to design appropriate teaching to promote self-learning (Sun, 1967).

In what follows, I turn to an example of life-centered curriculum to explore the ways of making a good group member that informed the qualities of the national citizen in 1950s. The making of a good group member was a collective endeavor that sought to heighten social solidarity through shaping individuals' everyday experience and modes of living. Applying Dewey's idea of education as living, schooling was considered a major practice to effect changes and therefore align with national ends. For Dewey, education was a process of "continual reorganization, reconstructing, and transforming" in which experience is comprised of

interaction and continuity (1916, 2012, p. 58). Chiang's emphasis on experience in life as a strategy to change society made it possible to connect Dewey to Taiwanese educational discourse at the time.

Nevertheless, Dewey's pragmatic ideas were inscribed in a different narrative—a collective mission of anti-Communism and nation-building that demanded every individual to work on the self in order to rescue the country. School curriculum was to offer students “real-life” experience and skills. Therefore, the exploratory curriculum of life-centered education was seen as a preparation for students' current life and included the subjects of social studies, natural studies, language/literacy studies, math, well-being activities, production and physical labor, and electives. Social Studies was the core course among all of the curricula and it was comprised of the following themes: (1) our school, (2) our family, (3) our society, and (4) our country and our world (Shen, 1958). The rest of the curricula had to make connections to the themes of social studies. In other words, the relationships between the self, family, society, country, and the world were predefined and suffused through all curricula to inform desirable civic qualities and characteristics. Rather than rote memorization, students were expected to learn their roles and duties through observations, questionnaires, discussions, and presentations. They were further obligated to reflect on whether their deeds would match their roles and duties through group meetings, a technique to identify individual merits.

Class meetings were a central pedagogic practice used in life-centered exploratory programs to discuss affairs regarding academic learning, recreation, service, hygiene, and conduct and discipline (See Chou, Hsu & Liu, 1958). The meetings were employed as a means of developing students' consciousness about self-duties and the skill of cooperation through the technique of self-reporting. Students learned how to organize, plan, prepare, and execute the

meetings on their own. Class meetings emphasized autonomy and interaction between group members. Take the practice of student conduct and discipline as an example. All students were first invited to contribute a set of expectations about living behaviors (i.e., codes of life convention practice, see Table 2.1). It was said that students could cultivate their sense of responsibility and that they tended to live up to the behaviors they came up with. Once the expectations were made, everyone had to reflect on those expectations every day by adding, “+” or “-” into a self-evaluation form. The symbol “+” was present when the expectation of the item was achieved; otherwise, “-” would be added. The self-evaluation was followed by a weekly group report of each student’s daily practice. Each group selected a member who best performed on the day as a good member of the week. Then, the whole class voted on which group member they thought was the best. A work review then took place to discuss what could be changed for the next week. The one who was elected as a good member of the class was thought to be honorable, deserving imitation and considered equivalent to a future good citizen (Chou, Hsu & Liu, 1958).

Table 2.1

Self-evaluation form for life convention practice, by Chou, Hsu & Liu (1958, p. 103).

生活公約實踐情形紀錄表 姓名: 蔡雅彥 座號: 42

Items (項目)	Weeks (週次) 8	9
1. I keep my clothes clean and my appearance upright. 我保持衣服整潔儀容端莊	++++++	+++++

2. I wash my mouth and hands before and after meals.我飯 前飯後洗手漱口	++++ --	+++ --
3. I pay attention to public health. 我注意公共衛生	+++ --	+++ --
4. I obey public order. 我遵守公共秩序	++++++	+++++
5. I fall in the assembly promptly. 我在集合時迅速確實	++++++	+++++
6. I keep good time (I am always punctual). 我嚴守時間	++++++	+++++
7. I cherish public property. 我愛護公物	++++++	+++++
8. I get along with classmates well. 我對同學和藹相處	++++++	+++++
9. I respect the teacher, and follow the guidance of the teacher. 我尊敬師長,聽從師長的指導	++++ --	+++ --
10. I do my best to serve the group. 我盡心竭力為團體服務	++++++	+++++

Through the technique of self-evaluation, a “good group member” was made possible according to codes of conduct provided by life convention practice. Codes of conduct offer practical knowledge that can be used to measure and assess the soul and body of students. Students were invited to assess themselves and their level of self-pride according to the norms of the time. Self-evaluation demanded self-reporting and self-surveillance as evidence of progress and it further fostered comparison among peers. Through the principle of comparison, the best

group member of the class was identified, and they acted as a standard of the “normal” citizen who was able to obey the law and rules, get along well with others, and have public interests.

Self-reporting became a technology for shaping subjects. Such governing was not coercive. Instead, “technologies of the self” (Foucault, 1985) linked to pastoral power not only enabled individuals/students to take responsibility of their own behaviors but also made them believe they were in need of change if they didn’t meet the norms of being a citizen. The following text from a social studies curriculum displays such reasoning and governmentality, and it worked to persuade students’ thoughts and actions in a particular way.

The honor of the group is the honor of each individual. The shame of the group is the shame of every one. The group’s interest has a direct impact on every individual. ... The progress of the group lies in everyone's efforts. Therefore, individuals who participate in group life have to care for the groups and serve the group. (Chou, Hsu & Liu, 1958, p. 109)

According to the text, group pride became a homogenizing technique, connected to an individual’s pride, shame, and daily conduct. As in the preceding discussion, the self in Confucianism is relational and the individual’s agency is built upon the reconciliation between the self and the group he belongs to. In this sense, the individuals and their groups are interrelated—sharing the same pride and shame as they mutually enhance and affect each other (Collins, 2008). This explains why “the progress of the group lies in everyone's efforts,” and “individuals who participate in group life have to care for the groups and serve for the group.” These two statements normalize group interest as an individual’s duty, but also imply a fear of being “an evil member of the herd,” therefore demanding self-change toward collectivity. The ascription of individual honor and shame to the group draws on Confucius’s ethical conceptions of moral governing for perpetual self-cultivation. Ritual propriety (*li*) entailed the obligations and ethical acts in various social groups. The ways that people respond and act in relation to

others determined individual merits (Ho, 1995). On the other hand, shame (*chi*) worked to monitor whether an individual's deeds matched their ascribed roles and to detect potential social threats in a group or perceived deviances from practicing ritual propriety (*li*). Notably, the notion of shame (*chi*) here is related to the fears of devaluation among group members, resulting in self-change and self-improvement in one's conduct. This is different from the norm of shame deriving from Japanese samurai culture that demanded one prove oneself in order to be accepted (by the group) through a means of Japanese language proficiency and literacy.

In this way, a sense of self-responsibility was generated through the mechanisms of ritual propriety (*li*) and shame (*chi*) to normalize students who would become accountable for fulfilling their duties toward the whole. This is because acting in accordance with their ascribed roles not only exhibited their moral development but also showed their individual merit based on how they acted in relation to others. This implies that a child/citizen with a sense of honor and shame is a self-controlled agent who contributes to maintaining socio-political order and ultimately enables national unity at the spiritual level.

The historical recurrence of “pragmatic” education and governance through the self

Although KMT's regime (particularly during Chiang's period) has been criticized for its ideological imposition and authoritarian practice, I've found that the governance is not always top-down or one-dimensional. “Progressive” pedagogy within the context of life-centered education inscribed pastoral power and was mingled with other forms of power. I've shown how a pragmatic need in education was bound together with national narratives of anti-Communism and nationalism between the 1950s and 1970s in Taiwan to make possible a particular kind of citizen expected to dutifully perform their social roles. The appeal to education in order to

transform the populace and the collective whole was recurrent. This is also evident during Japanese rule when common schooling was mobilized to offer “practical” knowledge to the inhabitants on the island. They were not merely categorized as biologically inferior but were subject to the knowledge of their age-appropriate development in mentality and morality. The fear of moral decay and psychological disorder in the school-age children embodied a hope of raising their level of rationality which was considered an imperative to civilization. Such double reasoning overlaps with Japan’s colonial purpose that makes a transformation of islanders into moral subjects necessary.

Despite the prevailing narratives that the regimes of Colonial Japan and KMT have been marked for their enduring and controversial political dominations, I have shown that there are discursive ruptures in conceptualizing these two historical events. The recurrent pragmatic style of education served as a solution to social transformations and also became a site of normalization shaping human qualities. It does not, however, transfer from one period to another intact, but differs across historical and cultural contexts, re-assembling and interweaving with the cultural themes of the time (i.e., civilization under Japanese rule and nationalism during KMT’s control). The notion of an ideal person/citizen thus shifts from a moral loyalist to a social follower. The processes of social transformation, as the examples have shown, involve the techniques of the self (e.g., self-consciousness, self-responsibility) which point towards individuals’ inner world in order to make them capable of external changes. In the name of pragmatism, the two events with distinctive cultural themes produced regulatory power that refers to the self’s own conduct, linked to Foucault’s idea of governmentality (1991). The sovereign power and political control in these events are in play with pastoral power that operates through the means of self-consciousness and self-responsibility.

Re-articulation of the pragmatic mode of life and the fabrication of future citizens as constant learners in an era of localization and globalization

Since the 1990s, a nativist movement–localization has been regarded as a political fracture—a period of liberalization—from past “outsider” oppressions. The pragmatic style of education reoccurred and aligned with this new political trend of decentralization, turning to values of self-direction and self-voice. New competences and dispositions constitute the qualities of the modern citizenry. What a modern citizenry means is not just a response to global competitiveness but also implies a humanitarian idea that enhances individual agency and social justice. I argue that the call for developing new competences embodies a new style of pragmatic reasoning that enables individuals to have their own subjectivity and agency. The effects of regulation have not diminished; rather, new forms of governance have been created.

The critique of the KMT’s past authoritarian reign led to a domestic claim of political liberation and also gave rise to social mobilization for better education. The hope of social change for future betterment hence directed attention to the present. To reform and re-organize the present is to secure the future. Over the last 20 years, several educational reforms have brought changes to the school curriculum, practices, teacher training, and professionalism, as well as educational leadership. These educational reforms are not only meant to reshape a shared consciousness of Taiwan-centric identity, but also work on the flexibility of schooling and cultivation of individuals’ basic competences. Since the end of 20th century, Taiwanese major educational reforms, such as educational localization/Taiwanization, nine-year integrated curriculum, and twelve-year public education program etc., have made efforts toward these ends. Cultivating competence is seen to be essential to enhancing national competitiveness and

overcoming rapid changes in the world. Hence, individuals are able to act in a wide variety of situations with their practical knowledge and skills, instead of sets of compartmentalized and de-contextualised facts (Ministry of Education, 2001, 2008, 2013). Fearful of being left behind in global competition, the competences center on action within the world and are constructed as “basic” abilities needed for students/citizens to live a “democratic and quality” life.¹⁶ According to the general guidance of nine-year integrated curriculum (2001),

The cross-century nine-year curriculum is to develop a sound citizen who is equipped with humanist sentiment, integrated capacity, democratic disposition, local and international consciousness and life-long learning competence. (Ministry of Education, p.4)

Later on, a pragmatic assertion linked to life was reinstated as a solution to reducing the gap between education and work. This was also done in response to global testing and ranking culture. Rather than transmitting knowledge, schools are expected to impart students with core competences necessary for successful adaptation to a changing world and global competition (PISA, 2003). The notion of competence (素養, *suyang*) in the Chinese language refers to the ability to apply theory to practice, constituted by utilitarian knowledge and skills, and also comprised of the necessary disposition and attitude for everyday living. The white paper on

- ¹⁶ According to the general guidance of nine-year integrated curriculum (2001), the curricula of elementary and secondary schools should focus on life experience, align with students’ psychological and physical developments, respect for individuality, stimulate personal potential, cultivate democratic attitude and disposition, appreciate multicultural values, develop scientific knowledge and skills, and meet the needs of modern life. The ten basic competences include:

1. understanding the self and developing potentials
2. appreciation, performance and creativity
3. career planning and life-long learning
4. expression, communication and sharing
5. respect, care and team cooperation
6. culture learning and international understanding
7. plan, organization and practice
8. technology use and information
9. active exploration and research
10. independent thinking and problem-solving (p.5).

human resource development (Ministry of Education, 2013) indicates the characteristics of modern citizenry competence as:

1. universal: It is what everyone needs, not for professional use.
2. futurist: It is for future life and jobs that can produce value-added benefits.
3. adaptable: It is able to adapt to changes in the environment and adjust accordingly as well as apply appropriate knowledge to solve problems.
4. sustainable: It is able to produce the habits and ability of life-long learning.

(p.2)

The concerns about pragmatic education give direction to the well-being of both individuals and society. It seeks to prepare an active citizen who is a life-long learner with a willingness to adapt to society. In other words, such an idea encompasses a changing mode of living by which an individual learns to adapt to changes through constant learning. Education shifts its focus from forming social collectivity to cultivating individuals who “knows his/her own needs, interests and potentials” (Ministry of Education, 2013, p.9). However, this notion of individuality is bound to the social whole of which he/she is not just a part but is able to effect changes through self-agency, extending from understanding the self to treating or caring for others as individuals and as somehow uniting both. According to a report on enhancing the citizenry’s competence (2013):

Education is to prepare individuals who are able to understand the culture and society they are attached to as well as the global trends. This is to enhance social participation and personal well-being. The strategies to achieve the goal are to equip every student with the knowledge and competences of language (Chinese and English), math, science, and technology; to develop the attitude and habit of problem-solving by applying knowledge to identify and solve the problems that individuals would encounter in their daily life and professional work; to

understand, respect, and cooperate with others in order to cultivate a whole person. (Ministry of Education, p. 9)

Expanding from nine-year schooling, the new proposed twelve-year program for basic education served a similar purpose. It aims to educate students with core competence for present life adaption and future challenges. This is visible in the new vision statement of the twelve-year program for basic education, titled “Facilitate self-actualization, adaptive learning to individual fulfillment and life-long learning” (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 1). To achieve the goal, it does not reduce individuality to accomplish social ends. Instead, it hopes to fulfill the collective whole and common good through considering every individual student. As each student is assumed to be different, “taking care of individual needs, respecting multi-culture and ethnical difference as well as caring for vulnerable/disadvantaged students” become the key concerns of contemporary educational reform (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 1).

To avoid the mode of “one-pedagogy-fits-all,” reform discourse in Taiwan finds technologies of life-long learning better able meet individual difference and needs. Notably, life-long learning as a practice of policy also targets disadvantaged people and is circulated as a means to improve disparity and inequality caused by social structures of power, lack of social resources, and ethnic and gender biases, etc. (Ministry of Education, 1998, 2014). The assumption is that individuals can be empowered if each of them keeps up learning continually, particularly for those who are in disadvantaged or oppressed conditions. This contributes to the social mobilization of constant learning that is posited as a way of social participation by means of self-improvement. Accordingly, the call for competences thus changed from previous emphases on moral rationality and collective allegiance to a life-long commitment of self-enhancement. The notion of an active citizen hence emerges in present-day Taiwan as a

practitioner who has a will for social participation through endless working on the self (Liu & Peng, 2008; Tsai, 2012).¹⁷

Toward life-long learning through constant self-reflection

The notion of an active citizen not only embodies Dewey's pragmatic vision of acting upon the world, but is reshaped through learning and re-learning. Part of this reasoning is associated with the development of technology and the use of technology in teaching and learning, which makes people believe they have more power in determining their own learning. Online courses and flipped classrooms, for example, replace conventional classrooms and therefore redefine and govern the patterns of learning (e.g., time, location, learner behavior). Moreover, the criticism of conventional learning from the teacher to the student remains and is mobilized by a liberalized type of teaching and learning. Dewey's pragmatic idea of democracy as "ongoing revelation of truth" is brought into the narratives of education reforms that promote openness as a form of emancipation (Rockefeller, 1998, p.134). The demand for emancipatory education joined people's fear of the recurrence of past political dominations in the present, making life-long learning a strategy to amend social inequality.¹⁸ Initially, the concept of life-long learning refers to adult education or informal learning. It gradually becomes a sentiment of self-working and self-production that K-12 students in Taiwan should cultivate for personal or

¹⁷ According to Article 11 of Life-long Learning Act (2002, 2014), all levels of schools in Taiwan need to design learning activities in order to cultivate in students the concept, attitude, ability, method, and habit regarding life-long learning.

¹⁸ The White paper of "Toward a learning society" (1998) asserts that it is essential to create life-long learning opportunities for minorities to enhance educational equality and social justice. Later on, Article 20 of Life-long Learning Act (2014) re-asserts that all levels of governmental authorities should provide minority people with life-long learning opportunities and resources and guide them to retrieve for social service. The priority is given to aboriginal people, people with disabilities, and low income and as well as Taiwan inhabitants whose foreign spouse lives in Taiwan with the household.

professional development (Ministry of Education, 2001, 2008, 2014). It is believed that individuals can make progress and alter their disadvantaged status through constant learning.

Paulo Freire's work on critical pedagogy provides some insight here. Akin to the thoughts of progressive education, Freire views education as a series of continuous activities and practice. What's more, he argues that social oppression can be converted and transformed through continuous "reflection and action upon the world" in which agency can be guaranteed (1968, p. 28). In other words, change occurs through unceasing activities and action, which, when attached to the idea of life-long learning, reinforces to the push for endless improvement. His idea of critical reflection is meant to inform a person's following actions, a process which resembles Dewey's notion of reflection, which was connected to religious revelation that encouraged problem-solving through "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge" (Dewey, 1933, 2011, p. 5). In opposition to a so-called oppressive "bank" approach, reflection for Freire is promoted as critical pedagogy in order to grant students agency, ultimately helping students learn and grow (1968, Freire; Shor and Freire, 1987).

Reflection is about cultivating self-awareness and critical consciousness. It entails a different pattern of agency related to individuality than was initially developed within Taiwanese socio-political realms in response to the domestic trends of political liberalization and the forces of global competition in the late of 20th Century. Though it seemingly looks like a modern invention transferred from the West, reflection carries historical traces and nuances in its conception. As in the preceding discussion, by connecting the social affect of shame with individual dignity, Japanese colonizers attempted to invoke self-pride to effect individual-level change for the collective good. Reflection involved becoming self-consciousness of one's conduct. Such self-consciousness was attached to an individuals' conscience and their aspiration

for social acceptance, thereby making diligence the marker of loyal colonized people. The colonized people were thus self-regulating because they worked on themselves toward ultimate Japanese assimilation as a demonstration of personal capacity or worth. However, self-awareness in the Confucian tradition is a tool of self-knowledge, and it conditions a person through comparison with others¹⁹ in order to provoke continuous learning²⁰ toward becoming a virtuous person, *junzi*. In this sense, self-cultivation is an interpersonal practice based on a prescribed relation with others. By examining what one has done and learned in everyday life, self-awareness was a pursuit of moral self-perfection.²¹ Chiang's adoption of Confucian role-based ethics was aimed to build up a unified society and nation in which agency was constituted by individuals' self-awareness of their prescribed roles and their enactment of proper conduct. Similar to Confucian role-based agency, reflection through self-evaluation underscores the appropriate relations between the self and others in which a sense of shame and a fear of degradation are coexistent. Reflection in this context makes possible a national, patriotic child/citizen. Although reflection was not used for self-perfection in the Confucian sense, it is still an examination of personal conduct in relation to others, society, and the nation, and it paradoxically establishes a social hierarchy in which success is determined by individual merits.

¹⁹ See *Analects of Confucius* (里仁 *liren*). According to Confucius, when seeing a wise and virtuous man, think of emulating him and try to become the same person; when seeing a virtueless person, reflect on yourself to see if you have the same issue. (*Analects of Confucius* 4:17)

²⁰ Confucius talks about the relation between learning and reflection: "Learning without due reflection leads to perplexity; reflection without learning leads to perilous circumstances" (*Analects of Confucius*, 2.15; Ames & Rosemont (trans), 1999, p. 59).

²¹ The disciple of Confucius, Zengzi speaks of reflecting three times a day to examine self-attitude and self-conduct on the aspects of work, dealing with people, and learning. See *Analects of Confucius*, 1.4. Zengzi says, I reflect on myself three times a day. When working for people, am I being loyal to them? When getting along with friends, am I being trustworthy? When learning the classics and the Way, am I practicing enough? 曾子曰:吾日三省吾身:為人謀而不忠乎? 與朋友交而不信乎? 傳不習乎? (*Analects of Confucius*, 1.4.)

Such role-based agency and social stratum gradually have changed since the 1980s due to Taiwan's "economic development," "the rise of the middle class," "the low rate of illiteracy and the high rate of school enrollment," "improvements in the social welfare system," and "increasing political democratization" (Mao, 2008, p.587). In particular, the dissatisfaction with KMT's authoritarianism, China-centric governance mobilized a different notion of the child/citizen whose agency is about overcoming existing prejudices, ethnical discriminations, and structural inequality. In this way, individual agency no longer lies in appropriate social relationships and proper role-based conduct. Instead, subjectivity and individual choices were highlighted and tied up with a Taiwan-centric identity, namely being Taiwanese. Ex-Taiwan president Teng-hui, Lee (2014) talked about "self-awareness" as a form of human agency through which a shifting collective memory in relation to Taiwan-centric identity can be realized:

Taiwan's transition between two alien regimes had great impact on the formation of my own self-awareness. I realized that I also was a "marginal" man existing between two (Japanese and Chinese) ways of life, two worlds, and two eras. At the same time, I was also placed on a plateau that transcended the conventional dimensions of distance and time, realizing that I could be a link between past and future by establishing new thinking from the lessons of history for the sake of the future. The "marginal man" had taken on a new assignment, so to speak, to rescue the future from his enslaving past. Such a "new assignment" refers to the "Taiwanese with independent identity," who, when forming his own centrality, must be able to "trust the self and not rely on heaven," and generate, from within himself, the energy to pursue the goal of being his own master. (p. 20-21)

To speak of a new collective consciousness—a Taiwan-centric identity—Lee’s “enslaving past” is brought into his autobiography not merely to create an idea of individuality but to form a space in which Lee’s individuality is built upon collective belonging. Therefore, Lee’s “enslaving past” becomes a shared history that had to be overthrown in order to “rescue the future.” Under such conditions, a “marginal” man was then able to be “his own master.” A linear idea of time—past, present, future—was embedded in this conception of agency and was associated with individuality and independence. Progress for the future is assumed to be possible through self-interrogation of the present in relation to the past and taking action accordingly to reshape the present. Thus, the sense of self-awareness has its practical consequences, entailing a hope of social change toward a more egalitarian society made possible through transforming people in their present. In a similar vein, reflection on current Taiwanese reform discourse functions as a pedagogy of empowerment to offer solutions and action plans “for the living problems and life issues in everyday encountering,” based on the general guidance for twelve-year public education program (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 4). In what follows, a pedagogical example is provided to show how reflection works as a linear technique of self-agency to drive constant learning and perpetual improvement by shaping the present.

Developing a sense of self-awareness through reflection ensures that students can be self-conscious of their own capacities and of their disadvantaged or oppressed conditions in order to provoke new actions. By practicing reflection, students are thought to be empowered and take ownership of their own learning. Portfolio assessment and blog and/or journal writing are pedagogical tools used not solely to show one’s learning process and development but to produce a dialogue and help students voice their opinions or feelings. Through the principle of self-revelation where the inner self is made public, transformation and changes are assumed to

occur. As a replacement for punishment and discipline, reflection through the practice of self-disclosure is thought of as an embodiment of lifelong learning that permeates present Taiwanese schooling in order to help students examine their deficiencies.

Table 2.2 provides an example of reflection through disclosure in which the behavior of an individual student can be transformed into an agent. Reflection works as pedagogical governance and promises to free students so that they become autonomous actors who are ready for social participation just as they are willing to analyze and judge their experiences. The process of reflection entails a linear notion of time through which personal growth or progress is defined (Rodgers, 2002). That is, one's current condition is a starting point and there is a hope for change in the future as a proof of development or progress. The practice of self-reflection usually scrutinizes the present by assuming that one's current condition is deficient. For example, admitting and identifying one's deficiency (the deficiency could be caused by the social structures or personal/family factors) is a starting point to develop a critical awareness and a prerequisite for self-improvement. The form (See Table 2.2) shows a prescribed order for self-reflection. After one admits his/her deficiency, a description and interpretation of one's deficiency is needed. This is usually followed by a proposed plan for future change based on one's knowledge and experience. In this linear procedure, one describes what is deficient, the effects of this deficiency, and how things are to be changed. This process is evidence of self-improvement and progress. Learning, transformation, and progress are presumed to be happening if such a procedure of self-reflection is executed. Consequently, self-reflection creates a pre-defined agency in order for a student to become an active citizen and a constant learner. It is not free of values, but involves power relations that normalize and shape desirable behaviors.

Students are pre-ascribed to be deficient or abnormal and are re-shaped into self-probing subjects who should desire to become normal and active future citizen.

Table 2.2

臺中市北區立人學生自我反省單

Taichung City Liren

Student self-reflection form

Class _____ NO _____ Name: _____ Date: _____

____年__班__號 姓名: _____ 日期: ____年__月__日

<p>讀一讀 老師的話 Read teacher's words</p>	<p>這張反省單是讓你寫下事情發生的經過，重新審閱你在事件中的行為，並從中學會判斷是非，進而改正那些不恰當的行為，讓你可以「因反省而進步」，達成「知過能改·不二過」的目標。</p> <p>This reflection form is for you to write down what happened in the event. You can re-examine your behavior in the event and learn to self-judge what is right and what is wrong. Accordingly, you can make progress through the means of self-reflection, so that you understand your own mistakes and can avoid repeating mistakes next time.</p>		
<p>事件發生的 時間 Date/time of event</p>	<p>____月__日__時__分 Date: _____ Time: _____</p>	<p>事件發生 的地點 Location of event</p>	
<p>詳細寫出 事件發生 的經過 Describe in detail about what happened in the event</p>			

<p>自我檢討 想想自己 哪裡做錯了 Think about and self-examine the mistake(s) you made.</p>			
<p>這樣的錯誤 會帶來什麼 後果？ What is the outcome/effect of the mistake you made?</p>			
<p>我以後遇到 類似的事， 應該怎麼做？ What should I do if similar thing happens again in the future?</p>			
<p>如何彌補自己所 造成的傷害或過 失 How do I fix the mistake I made?</p>			
<p>家長的叮嚀： Parent's comments:</p>			
<p>家長簽名 Signature of parent</p>		<p>老師簽收 Teacher's comment</p>	

"Taichung City Liren Student self-reflection form," (n.d.) shows the ways students self-govern toward linear and perpetual development.

The reflective practice reflects a hope in progress that engages individuals in continuous self-examination and self-management. Reflection is more than a psychological state, but applies to present Taiwanese educational policies and practices of inclusion that aim to fix the social wrongs that occurred in the past. Optimism for social equality is achieved by improving each individual. In the same vein, interrogating the present in relation to the past in order to effect changes for future betterment is circulated in current Taiwanese classroom practices and teacher training as an embodiment of subjectivity (e.g., see Chien, 2015; Chien, 2010; Chen, 2009). At the policy level, the inclusive gesture is to bring local or mother-tongue languages (Minnan, Hakka, and aboriginal languages) and cultures that had been ignored in the past into present public schools. On the pedagogical level the work is meant to develop a critical awareness through reflective practices in which the students are able to examine ideological positions in response to power structures as a way to actualize subjectivity and achieve social equality. In an article regarding using reflection to develop critical thinking and promote multicultural learning (2010), one student-teacher reflected on the Taiwanese government's inclusive policy:

The Taiwan government often adopts a compensation approach such as providing money subsidies or lower exam benchmarks for those marginalized and under-represented groups. However, it could never achieve the real justice as the rights of those marginalized groups have never been heightened. Either in the views of others or themselves, these people are often considered weak and need to be helped. The real way to remedy and strengthen them should be through the method of education to enable them to obtain knowledge and skills through which they might become competent and social justice could then be realized (p.32).

Although the compensation approach was denounced for its materiality, the above excerpt indicates a comparative reasoning that enunciated that something as important as “culture, knowledge, and skills” is missing in those under-represented groups and simultaneously divides them into a category considered in need of rescue and fixing through education. Linked to Taiwanese exceptionalism, the so-called “knowledge and skills” are constructed as a necessity for becoming a competent, active citizen who is able to envision the emancipatory future. Simultaneously, a fear of being behind is posited in those marginalized groups due to their lack of intelligence and skills, thereby subjecting them to further educational interventions. Through this logic, the inclusive gesture entails the mechanism of differentiation and division that prevents the marginalized groups from becoming “normal,” a real Taiwanese sense, demanding that they exhibit constant self-improvement to prove their subjectivity and agency.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I’ve shown how the nation’s aspirations for practicality are historically articulated, connected with schooling, and how they operated as a solution to (re)shape children/citizens in response to social circumstances and needs. To fulfill the collective missions (i.e., civilization, unification, or liberalization) in three historical moments, the ideas regarding pragmatism were taken up and transformed when inscribed into Taiwanese schooling. They were no longer notions of pragmatism, but were revised when they mingled with Taiwanese historical circumstances; thus, a distinct kind of subject was formed. The constitutive notion of the child/citizen shifted from a moral loyalist, a social team player, to a lifelong learner. The formation of the child/citizen was produced through a system of reasoning expressed through the hopes of making progress and fears of being left behind (Popkewitz, 2000, 2004). Certain

aspects of pragmatic knowledge were brought in and adapted to the local context across historical times. While the aspiration for practicality was historically employed to address broader social issues and collective missions, cultural themes and norms for enacting change in the children/citizens continuously changed. In particular, the principle of reshaping human's interiority to validate outer behavior has shifted its focus from cultivating conscienceness based on moral norms gradually to an instrumentalized approach in which self-consciousness can be remade in a preset method and order.

Pragmatic education was a means for promoting social change that has historical relevance. It embodied particular styles of reasoning (Hacking, 1992) that aligned with socio-historical narratives and shaped what is possible to think and act upon "normal" children/citizens. The present iteration of the child/citizen as a lifelong learner who is not a logical, liberal effect of the past. The lifelong learner is rather an assemblage of knowledges, practices, techniques, institutions, and the law, all of which shape the child/citizen into a lifelong learner with a constant will to improve. This process is by no means free of politics. As I have illustrated, the technique of the self is not something new; it emerged as a moral means of cultivating conscience during Japanese rule and was later taken and reshaped with the transfer and utilization of Confucian ethics and Dewey's pragmatic ideas during the KMT's reign. Shifting from self- conscience based on moral dignity, pedagogy of science merged with historical particulars to formalize and re-shape self-consciousness in a psychological sense. This new form of pragmatic schooling employed "objective" tools of evaluation and reflection that produced students' "subjectivities." For example, the tool utilized during 1950s requires students to practice self-examination in order to see whether their conduct aligns with a constructed "ideal" norm. Their responses become references for their self-improvement. The governing

scheme operates through Confucian ethics of propriety and shame. However, the technique of reflection in the present, requires students to work on their perceived deficiency or condition of structural inequality as an entry point for future growth. Through the process of self-revelation and self-awareness, students come to understand themselves as prescribed kinds of people, and therefore they become the objects that can be scrutinized, assessed, and compared. These techniques of the self produce a shifting type of rationality, but constantly shape “the conduct of conduct” through governance of the self and others (Foucault, 1982).

My interest in the discourse of schooling and pedagogical practices as a way to think about the historical making of subjectivities is three-folded. First, my investigation not only looks at how particular normalizing qualities are in favor of certain subjectivities of the child/citizen but aligns narratives of the self with national contexts. The examination of norms also implies how certain qualities historically placed outside the norms could be seen as different/deviant. For example, when social responsibility is inscribed as the norm through obeying the rule of law, those who break the rules or who do not make efforts to obey the norms are excluded and considered socially irresponsible because their individual conduct is not beneficial to the group or social interest. Such a process of normalization can be attached to kinds of people (e.g., rule breakers are usually attached to “teenagers” and “aborigines” in Taiwan’s context) and this normalizing scheme has never diminished in the present although the cultural norms may have shifted. Secondly, I argue that the making of collective belonging through the project of schooling is more than an ideological inscription, leading me to examine the intricate reasons and justifications for certain practices in schooling. The process of (re)making the child/citizen can be understood through an epistemological logic, not necessarily through external brutal forces. The historical discourse of education and the aspirations for

practicality were not inseparable from national narratives. Instead, pedagogical techniques of self-governing joined together with the government's collective mission and historical-cultural particulars to actualize collective ends. It is essential to consider how particular reasons about the past and present were carried within national narratives of the time to mobilize a certain type of practical or pragmatic education in order to fulfill cultural missions through the child/citizen.

Third, it is my intention to demonstrate how education and students were made through pedagogical practices and were assembled by different dimensions of knowledge. This includes making visible the particularity of Taiwanese governance. With its purported capricious features, the call for practicality has been repeatedly mobilized in Taiwanese educational contexts as a strategy to fulfill the historical missions of civilization, national unification, and liberalization. This is not to suggest those "practical" assertions are universalized or ahistorical. As I have shown in this chapter, historical pragmatic styles of education embodied shifting cultural standards in terms of the making of the child/citizen. For example, a moral agent during Japanese rule, an ethical social player in the government of KMT, and a lifelong learner in the present were fabricated respectively to guide students in the "right" mode of living of the historical time. In this way, the pragmatic schooling is not exactly about Dewey's model of pragmatic education, but entails its own cultural significance and interpretation. The historical self-techniques I've explored in this chapter included the ways that Taiwanese schooling adopted Western "practical" pedagogies; but these techniques have never been outside the historical cultural particulars but continually interplay with them. For instance, to reform the past's emphasis on social meritocracy and to enhance equality and competitiveness, the pragmatic style of education in the present entails developing an autonomous constant learner who is able to self-determine and self-reflect in order to be liberated and empowered. The Western pedagogy of reflection was

instantiated to analyze how lifelong learning as a quality of Taiwan's modern citizen also produces the effects of regulation in individual conduct. Unlike the purpose of Western confession for religious redemption, the technique of reflection I discuss has been grounded in Chinese Confucian philosophy as a means of self-perfection. This technique has become a new tool of human agency embedded in today's lifelong learner. In this chapter, I have shown how the pedagogical norms of three historical events worked as a technology of citizenship that produced self-regulated and self-responsible children/citizens. This child/citizen (human ideal) in the past was subject to practicing the Confucian style of reflection in order to become an elite member of society; however, being a lifelong learner nowadays is not just a personal right, but is constructed as every child/citizen's responsibility. That is, everyone is obliged to constantly reflect and improve not only for their individual growth, but also for social equality and the nation's future. By examining the reasoning embedded in those three historical events, my analysis reveals how particular "practical" modes of living are rationalized to govern the children/citizens and subjugate them through ethical reshaping of the mind (from conscience to consciousness), no matter in the past or in the present. Thus, the so-called "practical" pedagogies or practices also have impracticalities and limits. Despite that the ways of making the child/citizen have shifted, this chapter has shown how the new "kind" of child/citizen as a lifelong learner in present-day Taiwan is not a liberal figure; rather, the politics of making child/citizen exists within changing modes of life, whether within a moral mode of living under Japanese rule or in a more rational mode of the present. In these cases, citizen subjectivity remains normalized and regulated.

As the analysis shown in this chapter, the epistemological principle of consciousness in the production of the citizenry is made possible through two moves. On the one hand, the principle

of consciousness informs how the child/citizen has been historically positioned and governed through the (re)visioning of pragmatic education. Simultaneously, those perceived as lacking “normal” attitudes and behaviors are treated as problematic and subject to transformation and rescue. Consequently, to historicize the reasons for the making of the child/citizen is not only to demonstrate how the current citizen is another cultural product but is also to uncover the differences between those who are outside the space of the norms in the context of Taiwan. My study of these differences does not focus on the particular ethnic and cultural distinctions, political identities, or socioeconomic divisions, but concerns epistemologies embedded in the practices of social science and educational transfer (e.g., educational studies, international comparative assessments) in which a principle of comparison and a continuum of values were created in order to read, judge, and divide those who are outside the norms. This process of comparison demands that students change and that teachers intervene, which I will discuss further in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Numerical Data, Statistical Reasoning, and Making Up the (In) Competent Child/Citizen

The hope for an inclusive society built through educational reform is not only concerned with how teachers teach to meet student needs in everyday classrooms but is also focused on improving educational outcomes for students. Teachers seek to improve outcomes by trying to eliminate marginalization by recognizing “at-risk” students in need of help. This hope of inclusion is embodied in the rhetoric of “achievement for every single child” (Ministry of Education, 2014, p.1) in the reform of the twelve-year public education program. This chapter focuses on the technology of recognition used to include every single child, which simultaneously functions as a technique that inscribes differences between students.

The notion of the lifelong learner as a “new” pragmatic embodiment of the present reform discourse inscribes another form of normativity in which competence constitutes what it means to be the new Taiwanese citizen. The making of such a competent student or citizen in Taiwan’s current reform is connected to a scientific style of reasoning (Hacking, 1990) reframed in the present to create its double—the space of others who do not fit into the definition of such a child/citizen. This chapter seeks to make visible the process through which difference is constructed and reinscribed in present-day Taiwan’s educational reforms for inclusivity through the “pragmatic” means of adaptation in which students are taught based on their calculated competence. The purpose is to understand how a scientific style of reasoning as a way of knowing and dividing people continues to work in the present.

The numbers’ assumed transparency makes policy makers in Taiwan to believe that information presented as numerical data can be used to make impartial judgements about

students' learning outcomes and development. In this sense, current Taiwanese educational reform seeks to promote the use of data to identify at-risk students in order to provide early intervention. The trust in numerical data for rescuing children assumes that data provides precise diagnosis and reliable information systems for accurately interpreting students' competences and potential learning obstacles without being influenced by other unchangeable socioeconomic factors. In other words, number offers a practical strategy for providing those children with poor social economic status a better access to learning. With the mobilization of global testing culture, the development and use of numerical data for and by disadvantaged students is fostered. Numerical data thus becomes an effective tool to enhance social inclusion in the contemporary discourse of Taiwanese educational reform.

In 2016, Taiwanese news media revealed that the percentage of underachieving students in a national assessment for junior high school students echoed Taiwan's increasing gap in student underachievement from a 2012 international comparative exam. According to the article, "the results of 2015 national comprehensive assessment for junior high school students show that the percentage of underachieving students to be improved in Chinese, English, math, social studies and science is 18%, 33%, 33%, 15%, and 23%, respectively." (United Evening News, May, 9, 2016) The news article used numbers as solid evidence to highlight the increasing learning gap produced in domestic exams similar to that in a 2012 international comparative exam.

Dissemination of student's test scores was meant to raise public awareness regarding student underachievement, social inequality, and national development. The issue of social inequality is a burning one in Taiwan's recent educational reforms and is related to discourses around underachieving students. Reformers and policy makers nowadays ascribe social

distinctions to socioeconomic and cultural factors. Little attention, though, has been directed to the scientific practices that might contribute to the inscription of difference. Historian of psychology, Kurt Danziger (1997) has pointed out how psychology as a scientific practice wedded to sociocultural conventions maps who people are and should be; at the same it creates psychological classifications in order to differentiate people. Objectification of people through statistical calculation, as the news article pointed out, is another example of a scientific practice that seeks to generate truth about “underachieving students” in which difference is delineated. Scores in school achievement exams or intelligence tests also generate divisions to separate normal students from others. Such normal students in a Taiwanese context are often expressed as individuals who are intelligent, motivated, well-behaved, committed to lifelong learning, and from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. Particular forms of labeling or stigmatization attached to people who do not fit this kind of normal student are now expressed through individual difference in competencies. These ways of creating difference through quantification in educational practice is the main theme of this chapter.

The use of data as objective evidence to depict Taiwanese society and people can be traced back to Japanese colonization. Japanese colonizers incorporated statistical data in colonial governance in order to legitimize their administrative actions. The extensive use of quantified knowledge in the present, however, is due to its democratic qualities, generated through the technology of distance (Porter, 1995). Numerical knowledge used for describing, interpreting, and evaluating social practices and kinds of people is never neutral. Because statistical reasoning is embedded in the fabric of political, social, and cultural life, it functions as a technology of the soul (Rose, 1988) and orders what is possible to think and act as (ab)normal. A similar picture emerges in Taiwan’s education system. The belief in numerical facts demonstrated in

contemporary Taiwan's reforms is connected to particular hopes or fears that evoke planning and intervention.

In order to investigate how statistical reasoning embedded in education reform produces rules for action requires an understanding of the role and reframing of history in Taiwan's current reforms and their interaction with global testing culture. Traveling from a globalized policy context pursuing excellence, competence replaced virtues and intelligence and became an integral constituent of the "new" Taiwan citizen.²² Competence requires adaptation to demands and changes within society in order to sustain lifelong learning. It is also perceived as a necessary element for the "achievement for every single child" (Ministry of Education, 2014, p.1) in order to rescue those "at-risk" populations and "left-behind" students.

The Confucian idea of teaching is recycled and intersects with contemporary global assessment culture to objectify and quantify what it means to be competent and what is not, marking those who lack "competence" as in perpetual need of saving.²³ Such effects of power usually remain unquestioned and need to be further challenged. In other words, the dissimilarity of what the competent student is or is not like and how incompetence can be efficiently remedied in current Taiwanese education reform reveals the pragmatic reasoning across historical time. This history of pragmatic reasoning continues to propagate and affect the present through the re-establishment of the distinctions between competent and incompetent students. That is, competence as a calculable quality is used to make up people through "objective" numbers. As

²² Current educational reform regarding extending the twelve-year public education program from nine years aims broadly at preparing students with core competence (核心素養, *he xin su yang*) which was termed as basic competence (基本能力, *ji ben neng li*) in the reform of nine-year integrated education, 2001.

²³ According to the Ministry of Education (2012), the reform of twelve-year public education program emphasizes "adaptive counseling," a concept reworked from Confucius' ideas of "adaption" and "teaching without classes" (which will be discussed later in this chapter). That is, "the junior high school students who are identified/diagnosed as incompetent in the subjects of Chinese, English and math require taking screening tests of remedial teaching assessment system from September to October each year. Those who fail to pass the tests must participate in remedial classes. These students will receive individualized remedial teaching during or after school" (p. 36).

such, “competence” reflects how statistical reasoning not only functioned historically to calibrate students, but entailed principles of comparison and division in order to identify those “incompetent” students based on preset benchmarks making them targets for teacher’s intervention.

In the following sections, the analysis first explores how a scientific style of reasoning, namely statistical reasoning, emerged in early 20th century Taiwan under particular historical conditions to provide a new way of understanding society and distinctions among people. Then, the discussion addresses how this scientific style of reasoning mingled with present-day global testing to reframe so-called “pragmatic” practices in Taiwan’s current inclusive educational reform. Finally, the technology of adaptive instruction is exemplified as a pragmatic practice for analyzing the principles of making up kinds of people and how it produces unspoken exclusive effects despite the gesture to include. The investigation of difference, however, does not focus on how the lack of socio-economic resources or missing political representation of identities results in the status of incompetence. Instead, the chapter looks at how the social factors overlap with the distinctions between the students that are generated through inclusive strategies for competence development, simultaneously reinforcing their differences.

The Historical Production of Statistical Knowledge within Taiwanese Society

Before Japan’s colonization, Taiwan was part of the Imperial Qing Dynasty (China) with whom Taiwan shared a common cultural heritage, particularly Confucian philosophy. Within Confucian philosophy, virtues are the guidepost to judge one’s merit and worth. Being a moral exemplar along with being knowledgeable is characteristic of the Confucian model of replacing hereditary elites ascribed by birth and wealth. Prestige and rewards thereby are

determined by moral conduct. In Confucian thought, to achieve social status depends upon a person's own efforts, rather than hereditary status. The idea of merit based on individual efforts originally refers to self-cultivation in the registers of morality and intelligence and later on links to one's performance in *keju*, the Chinese civic service exam (Ho, 1962). Although the exam, *keju*, was disseminated as a fair scheme for social selection based on meritocratic reasoning, the ideological charge of the exam's content and subjective evaluation were denounced for being obstacles to modernity since the late 19th Century.

The knowledge and vision of humanity based upon morality and meritocracy gradually altered after Taiwan was colonized by the Japanese Empire. Influenced by the positivist movement that focused on empirical evidence and objectivity, a scientific understanding about society and distinctions between people started to emerge. As soon as Japan took over Taiwan in 1895, the Japanese colonial regime, like the French colonizers, held that rationality was part of a universalized human nature and that even less developed people could be enlightened through assimilation (Wang, 2000). However, Japanese colonizers confronted the question of coping with "the harsh colonial environment" (Chang & Myers, 1963, p. 439) due to armed resistance from some islanders. As Japan had no prior experience in colonial administration and was afraid of her failure in governing Taiwan, a gradual approach was thus proposed by Goto Shimpei, the civilian chief of the Civil Affairs Bureau of the time. This gradual approach was based on Goto's belief that the islanders were biologically inferior and in need of a mild, step-by-step strategy to help them become civilized. Attention was then directed to understanding the island, in order to produce a successful adaptation to "the harsh colonial environment." Goto then proposed a scientific approach to colonial governance and development. A thorough study of the colony was then undertaken to gather "facts" about Taiwan's history, topography, people, and economic

potential. Far more detailed and extensive than any in the past (Qing Dynasty, China), a range of astrometric investigations, household surveys, and population censuses were conducted to provide massive, accurate numbers about the territory and people on the island. The quest for knowledge under the guise of administrative necessity created a condition in which quantification became important in colonial administration.

This quantification typified a liberal, rational view in which statistics as a form of knowledge production were used to interpret and validate reality. For example, cadastral enumeration was justified as a way “to promote security and peace by clarifying the topographical situation” (Tsurumi, 1967, p. 112), to produce “facts” about who the landowners were and who was going to pay taxes, and to dissolve ambiguity and uncertainty. The technologies of surveys and censuses conveyed extensive quantities, categories, and “truths” about the colony “at every imaginable level and for every conceivable purpose” (Appadurai, 1997, p. 117). By enumerating the population and resources, statistics produced governing effects related to Appadurai’s notion of the “colonial imaginary” (1997, p. 117). The population census of colonial Taiwan, for instance, mapped discursive features of the imagined social body of the island through the statistics of birth rates, death rates, and ethnic categories. Through the “abstractions” of colonial society (Popkewitz, 2016, 2018), statistical numbers offered a way to think about the colonial condition.

Numerical description of colonial Taiwan opened up a path toward statistical reasoning. George Barclay (1954) states how Japanese colonialism was obsessed with numbers in administering the colony in his book, *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan*.

Huge compilations of statistics and numerous special surveys were made from year to year. The economy, the terrain, the aboriginal tribes, the mineral wealth, the agricultural output, the industrial production and the

foreign trade have all been studied and restudied until there is little to be added to this knowledge unless new evidence is uncovered that is not now available (Barclay, 1954, x).

The quotation shows how the use of numbers was also significant in Japanese colonial political administration. Ostensibly, numbers look innocuous, but numbers actually provide the grounds for maintaining social control and organizing islanders' life in the colony.

Employing scientific numbers to organize society continued when Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT took over Taiwan after World War II. Statistics were used as another means of governance because numbers embody “technologies of trust” (Porter, 1995, p.14) that ensure certainty and inform foreseeable procedures for action. Numbers became a universalized language that fulfilled Chiang's conception of a “triple system” (1940, p.529-530) which was part of his scientific idea for enhancing societal development and administrative efficiency. Statistical knowledge was significant for a few reasons: it “provides prediction for planning (設計 *sheji*), documents what is done for execution (執行 *zhixing*) and exerts results for evaluating accountability (考核 *kaohé*)”, all of which make statistics a descriptor of social conditions and change (Li, 1967, p. 1601). Large-scale government measures were continuously undertaken to provide references for social engineering and to identify potential “social barriers” to the unity and progress of the whole nation.

Numbers as an Inscription of Difference

Numerical data do not just “act” to describe collective life, but work to objectify individuals by highlighting their characteristics. For example, the numbers collected from

colonial household surveys (*koko chosa* 戸口調査)²⁴ depicted demographic development at the household level and further produced knowledge and classifications about islanders based on evidence regarding their ethnicity, gender, birthdate, marital status, occupation, birthplace, Japanese-language proficiency, and islanders' status in relation to disability, foot-binding and opium-smoking (Ide, 1946). These characteristics construed life at the levels of both the household and the individual. The 1905 census/household survey further revealed:

the outcome of the strength of the state and people's minds, and by doing so the census unveils the degree of civilization, seeks the improvement of industry, and finding a good balance between various public advantages and disadvantages (cited of Ishii, 2013, p.97).

The excerpt shows how numbers work to conceal their political judgements about what it means to be civilized. It is through these judgements, even when they are only implied, that a classification of people and interventions are produced. Statistics are generated through identifying characteristics of people and are used to classify them into categories. That is, islanders became calculated objects divided into three categories according to the "individual's potential risk to the social order" (Ishii, 2013, p. 97).²⁵ Such enumerative knowledge and categorical data were used as a mechanism of social control (Rose & Miller, 1992) and became a tool of common language to locate threats and risks within the imagined colonial community.

²⁴ Household surveys (*koko chosa* 戸口調査) are actually a kind of population census. Japanese colonizers used the phrase, household survey (*koko chosa*), to replace census (*kokusei chosa*), in order to reduce islanders' concerns about what was being done. They were worried that islanders' concerns might cause the interruption of implementing the survey (Ishii, 2013) because islanders were more familiar with the practice of household surveys that were conducted in the past.

²⁵ According to an official instruction regarding the census/household survey published in 1903, islanders would be basically divided into three categories: "a) government officials, public servants, and residents who have certain property and common sense and whose conduct is orderly, b) residents who do not belong to category a, and c) convicts..., residents who requires monitoring, and other residents to whom police should pay attention" (Ishii, 2013, p.97).

The classification of the population was also about formulating difference (Popkewitz, & Lindblad, 2016). The cultural distinctions produced by the household survey overlapped with biological classifications and anthropological observations of natives (*Han people*), raw barbarians (*chhi hoan*), and ripe barbarians (*sek hoan*). These classifications operated by a comparative scheme that differentiated those who were a little enlightened, sophisticated, and compliant (e.g., Han ethnic men) from those who did not have those attributes, namely, those who were perceived as irrational, primitive, and backward (e.g., *chhi hoan*, *sek hoan*, and women). A hierarchy formed within the population of islanders based on who had more potential to become civilized, to be a colonial loyalist, and who needed to change.

The above example shows how statistical reasoning was embedded in the social technique of surveys to create cultural distinctions within the Taiwanese population. The cultural traits of these people implied their moral deficiency and later caused them to become the target of Japanese colonial intervention. Different forms of moral transformation (e.g., Education Institute for *Hoan* and public schools for natives of *Han* people) were then suggested, as those groups of people and their characteristics were “unfit” for civilization based on their calculated “threats.”

New differentiations continued to arise due to an increasing number of educational studies. The next section explores how psychological divisions were produced to describe kinds of people in the 1950s during the KMT regime and how new classifications of kinds of people were stabilized through the technology of testing for pedagogical planning.

Classifications Produced through Educational Testing

When Chiang and his political party initially took over Taiwan, he sought to integrate a scientific mode of governing with his bureaucratic administration. At one level, his scientific mode of governing was about putting things into action. It involved recycling Confucian propriety to create a seemingly equal platform in which individual merit was based on how one diligently completed his assigned duties. At another level, he encouraged scholars and researchers to introduce Western scientific studies and conduct scientific research as a way to put science in “action.” With Chiang’s belief that education was a primary site to change the destiny of the society and nation, more and more educational researchers started to employ scientific methods when conducting educational studies to understand the inner traits of Taiwanese people and their relationship to achievement. This later led to the quantification of psychological attributes about populations. It became evident even after Western social science methods, such as psychometrics testing, were adopted in Taiwan since the 1950s. Psychometrics testing aims to produce a consensus about populational characteristics and capabilities, and it objectifies people by “abstracting away their individuality” (Porter, 1995, p.85). For instance, Zong and Han (1953) conducted an intelligence study about Taiwan’s *mountain children*.²⁶ In this study, 2,930 children from various aboriginal tribes (i.e., amei, paiwan, taiyeer, bunu, zou) were tested. Their intelligence and academic performance were compared with those of land children (平地兒童 *pingdiertong*). Mental/cognitive ability was assumed to be innate to human nature, integral to every child. The results showed that land children in general outperformed mountain children in all tests within various age groups. Table 1 is an example of the test results.

²⁶ Mountain children are literally named 山地兒童, *sandiertong* in Chinese. This term refers to Taiwan’s aboriginal children, defined as inhabitants of the mountains during KMT’s regime, and related to *Hoan people* under Japanese rule. The term Indigenous people of Taiwan has been used since the 1990s to replace Mountain children in order to avoid stigmatization and ensure subjectivity.

Statistics condensed complex individual mental capacity into quantified, uniform knowledge not merely to allow comparison, but also to reinforce ethnic/racial divisions by telling the “truth” about people at the population level. That is, the epistemology of numbers hierarchized all children through numeric classification as a way to define who requires improving. The way that children were placed into categories produced some children as part of a “harmful” population that was thought to impede collective progress. Authors in this study correlated children’s test scores with their hereditary or geographical difference, traits which were often linked to the lack of educational resources and social support. Hence, the numerical facts about the classification of children in this statistical report were meant to recognize difference in their mental/cognitive capacity and provide evidence for plausible justification of people’s intelligence. What is more, as Kurt Danziger (1997) has observed, the mind is named through identifying and verifying psychological qualities of people. Unspoken psychological attributes such as intelligent vs. ignorant and motivated vs. inept are ascribed to the populations of land children and mountain children, governing what is possible to think as normal and abnormal. In this way, the

Table 3.1: Median Intelligence Test Score for Mountain Children and Land Children

		阿美 (amei)	排灣 (paiwan)	泰耶爾 (taiyeer)	不奴 (bunu)	滋歐 (z ou)	平地 (land)
First Type	Md	8.70	4.38	5.60	6.16	4.92	19.17
	N	96	71	110	130	50	221
	Md	7.60	3.50	7.30	5.80	7.17	19.64

Seco nd Type	N	96	108	80	133	50	220
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Note. Adapted and translated from “A study of Taiwan’s mountain children’ intelligence”, by Zong, L. and Han, Y. 1953, *Psychological Testing*, 1, 28. Copyright 1953 by Chinese Behavior science Corporation

difference between land children and mountain children is about how territory affects intelligence or achievement, resulting in social inequality. Instead, particular notions of intelligence or mental/cognitive ability becomes the norm. Other forms of intelligence such as musical or bodily intelligence were not counted.

The congenital perspective regarding human capacity was further tied to meritocracy in which individual effort matters. Such meritocratic reasoning defined by individual performance was found in Chiang’s political thought. Chiang adopted Sun Yat-sen’s idea of democracy and “recognized natural imparity within populations as everyone is born different, with different talents” (1935, p. 41). Nevertheless, he considered that hard work and perseverance in relation to morality could recoup such congenital difference. By this reasoning, differentiating between populations was not solely about distinctions of mental capacity but was also coupled with psychological labels and meritocratic performances in which land children were often classified as intelligent, motivated, diligent, and well-behaved while mountain children were deemed as ignorant, indifferent, sluggish, and intemperate.

Sorting and Change as Effects of Testing

The use of scientific testing, such as intelligence tests or achievement exams, to generate “objective” knowledge about students and their capacity was prevalent in Taiwanese schooling between the 1950s and 1980s. The exam results served as a gatekeeper for pedagogical planning and placement and also provided a prediction of a students’ ability for future success. The planning assumed that students are the center of learning and should be taught in accordance with their intelligence and ability (Sun, 1953). In this way, planning incorporated the practice of ability grouping (能力分班 *neng li fen ban*). Testing, as a technique of adaptation, was meant to place students in various tracks based on the numeric calculation of a student’s ability and then to offer them curriculum and instruction that were at an appropriate level for their needs. The sorting of students was linked to meritocratic reasoning; numbers served the purpose of equality in education through which individual performance could be measured and defined. Moreover, numeric scores of mental abilities linked student achievement with certain psychological and moral qualities.²⁷ That is, high test scores were tied to qualities such as intelligence, motivation and self-control; all of these qualities were considered high achievement qualities. Such sorting by intelligence tests or achievement exams was bound to Taiwanese exceptionalism, an ideology “on the move to create standards of the normal in order to isolate and deal with abnormalities” (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2016, p.745). Thus, school planning was meant not only to identify students with higher calculated mental abilities and provide them with rigorous academic training, but also to recognize groups of students who needed vocational training or special education (e.g., programs for students with mental differences) as they were perceived as outside of the norm due to their low academic achievement, disobedience, or misconduct. In this way,

²⁷ One study of factors affecting mountain children’s moral judgement concluded that children’s intelligence and their morality are related (Chen, Chen, Liu & Li, 1982).

social divisions were sustained through training students into their “proper” position in schools, which had effects that reached into the future workforce and society (Cooper, 1996).

The conjunction of Taiwanese exceptionalism, distinctions imposed through numerical reports and testing, and follow-up grouping in school planning were not just about difference based on inborn mental capacity (intelligence) but were connected to psychological and moral traits. This normalized students’ perception of themselves and their “appropriate” place in the course of their life. For instance, a low score in intelligence was easily connected to a student being less motivated, indulgent, or misbehaved. Low scores subjected them to disciplinary treatment, special education, or vocational training for future job preparation. This division produced by school practice often functioned along ethnic and class lines. For example, aboriginal students or disadvantaged children with low socioeconomic status were marked as low achievers and were recommended to take vocational classes as they were considered having less potential for future success according to the numeric results of tests.

The divisions created by achievement tests and ability grouping have been critiqued by much Taiwanese scholarship (e.g., see Huang 1994; Lin 1994; Hung 2000) for reproducing social inequality. The analyses of these studies underscores how the mechanism of exams reproduced social inequality due to the competitive nature of the exam and given that students were ranked based on the scores. What is usually obscured in the analyses of these studies is how the numbers of students’ achievement exams construct cultural distinctions about kinds of people.

Reducing competition caused by the exams was part of Taiwan’s educational decentralization movement in 1990s. Common criticism of testing is that placing importance on test results leads to teachers teaching to the test. The Education Reform Committee thus sought

to “eliminate school testing culture” by “reconnecting schooling with real-world lives of the students” (Executive Yuan, 1996, p. 3-4). Hence, “replacing uniform school entrance exam with multiple-entrance program” was one of the decentralized strategies meant to improve the inflexible schooling in 1990s educational reforms (Education Reform Committee, Executive Yuan, 1996, p. 17). The hope was to promote positive self-learning by lowering exam competition and stress due to comparing and ranking students based on their performance and grades.

Subsequent curriculum reforms shifted the focus from transmission of “right” knowledge to a “pragmatic” oriented education that would connect to students’ life experiences.²⁸ That is, educational reform employed a competence-based approach to teaching, learning, and curriculum development that enabled students to be agents of their own learning. This pragmatic trend in contemporary Taiwan’s educational reform has not only actualized democratic schooling, but has resonated with worldwide attempts to raise competitiveness among nations to ensure domestic educational quality. Notably, this competence-based approach has been recently driven by the global force of evaluation programs such as Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). The diffusion of PISA has governed Taiwan’s policymaking and practice “at a distance” (Latour, 1987, p. 223). That is, Taiwan attempted to align school curriculum with PISA’s competences and build its rationale into teaching and learning.

Because it comes from a particular spatial and temporal framework, PISA’s model has not been entirely translated in Taiwan; certain features have been adopted and reworked while others have been obscured. In the case of Taiwan, the competence-based approach as a new pragmatic model has been implemented along with recent educational reforms in making future

²⁸ The appeal to pragmatic education is a historically recurrent and nuanced theme (see discussion in Chapter 2); it is not the same as Dewey’s spirit in progressive education, though.

Taiwanese citizens into life-long learners. Initially, the competence-based approach served to fix conservative and ossified schooling by preparing students with competences (so-called life skills) necessary for future competition. But then a humanist idea of inclusion emerged in the reform movement through which the technology of testing became a pedagogical tool to help students whose competences were comparable and measurable. Exams that were criticized for their ways of historically classifying and dividing people through comparing their intrinsic mental abilities now have been transformed into tools of diagnosing learning problems and informing “best practices.” Although the use of “objective” data through tests to know about students has long existed in Taiwan, it is revived by PISA and reframed in recent Taiwan’s educational reform because the hope for future progress and fear of degeneration remain embedded in Taiwan’s schooling system. In what follows, I examine how PISA mobilizes and connects to the current discourse of Taiwan’s inclusive educational reform for the purpose of domestic educational planning and inspection in which particular rules are produced to govern students’ conduct.

Seeing National Education Through the Prism of PISA

PISA’s promises to help countries achieve high-quality education has attracted world-wide interest. Through scoring and ranking how nations perform on its test, PISA has a strong impact on the educational policy of world countries. Education becomes a means for improving global competitiveness. However, certain features are made visible when translated into Taiwan. The first feature I will discuss is how PISA’s model of education generates consensus about what education is and ought to be; the second feature offers a domestic model of evaluation to identify educational problems for improvement.

PISA is more than an assessment tool; the framework of PISA represents a paradigm shift from knowledge acquisition to “pragmatic” learning. In this context, pragmatic learning means competence cultivation, or focusing on what students can do with what they have learned, rather than what they have learned. PISA’s competence-based approach echoes and reinforces what Taiwan’s education system has aimed to achieve since the late 1990s.

Competence as Educating the Mind

Competence has been deemed as an imperative quality for Taiwanese students to develop since the late 20th century. Reformers considered competence-based schooling a way to ameliorate social inequality caused by intellectual-oriented schooling and meritocratic practices. Intelligence in Confucianism is perceived as a natural human quality through which people are sorted into different ranks. Currently, it is linked to behavioral learning theory which led to knowledge memorization and ability grouping, which is reinforced in Taiwanese schooling. In contrast to intelligence, the notion of competence historically signals a kind of “technical” knowledge.²⁹ It refers to the ability to perform certain tasks toward mastery in relation to vocational training and work demands. The focus on performing certain tasks makes the notion of competence center around entities that can be observed and acquired. Mobilized by learning theories and the pragmatic legacy of integrating theory and practice, it generated a form of social engineering that attempted to educate the inner self of the students/citizens. By adopting OECD’s policy framework of lifelong learning, reformers in Taiwan sought to cultivate self-managed learners that could constantly be learning in their everyday life as a practical means of

²⁹ In Confucius schools of thought, for example, Mencius believes that the mind is superior to labor, resulting in a hierarchy that intelligence—the ability to think and reason—is preferable to vocational skills in traditional Chinese schooling.

overcoming life's challenges. The education of mind reflects the hope in the nation's progress toward the goals of democracy and excellence. This particular hope is manifest in Taiwanese educational reforms since late 1990s. For instance, the reform of 1-9 integrated curriculum sought to prepare students with “基本能力 *jiben nengli*, literally as basic competence (MOE,1999).” Basic competence is a “survival kit” (Salganik, Rychen, Moser & Konstant, 1999, p.18) that entails the transfer of practical knowledge across situations in order to meet “demands in real-life and the global world” (MOE, 2001, 2008). The switch to a focus on competencies was meant to be different from past educational models which were critiqued for their ideologies. The basic, transferrable life skills can be instantiated through independent thinking, reflection, and problem-solving, which are considered boundary-crossing and “included in multiple subject areas across the curriculum” (Salganik, Rychen, Moser & Konstant, 1999, p.17). These competences are constructed as needed for actualizing a democratic mode of living in which self-directed, capable individuals are generated to function effectively in society.

The emphasis on developing competence as life skills aligns with PISA's claims to assess “the ability to complete tasks relating to real life. . . rather than assessing the possession of specific knowledge” (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, 2001, p. 19). Continuing the cultural thesis of the lifelong learner in 1-9 integrated curriculum, the reform of twelve-year public education program plans to make compulsory education last 12 years and advocate more equitable access and greater lifelong learning opportunities. The reform targets “both individuals' autonomous development and their interaction with others” (OECD, 2005, p.7). Figure 4.1 illustrates the framework of competence as 素養 *suyang* in three categories:

autonomy and self-directed action, communication and interaction, and social/public participation through which a lifelong learner can be imagined.³⁰

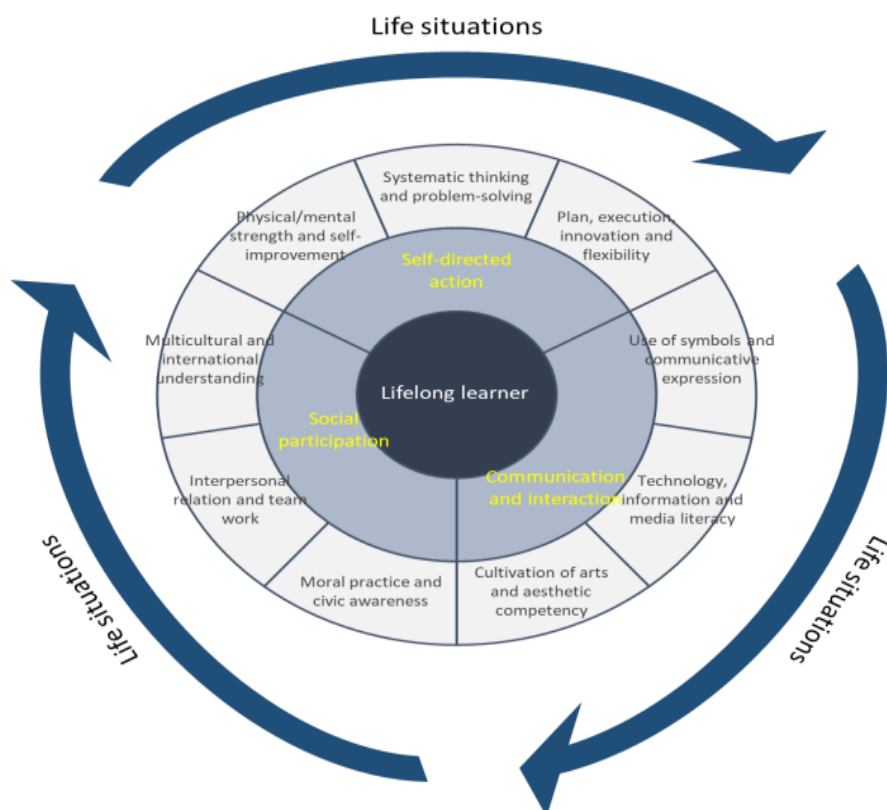


Figure 4.1 Framework of core competence in twelve-year public education (Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 2).

³⁰ A Chinese term, 素養 *suyang* is adopted to denote competence in the reform of twelve-year public education program. Competence as 素養 *suyang* replacing competence as *nengli* is expanded to encompass elements of disposition and sensibility needed for future and global competition.

The cultural theory of a lifelong learner is not only about reshaping the autonomous, self-determined individual, but also involves inclusive ideas of “achievement for every child,” and “lifelong education for all” that enables social equality (MOE, 2014, p.1). The inclusive gesture is embedded in the curriculum of twelve-year public education whose aims are:

to deliver success for every child through adaptation and lifelong learning; to take individual needs into account; to respect various cultures and ethnic differences and to attend to disadvantaged groups. (MOE, 2014, p.1)

Consequently, acquiring fundamental competences is a warrant to ensure the achievement of all students and their adaptation of the future—their capability to cope with complicated life situations in the era of the global economy and information society (MOE, 2014, 2015).

How Numbers Produce kinds of people

There exists a promising link between competence acquisition and the hope of future progress for all through the reform narratives. The questions at hand become: how does one know whether the students have been equipped with basic competences for future competition? To what extent are students’ competences applied to real-life activities? Mobilized by PISA’s evidence-based approach in favor of quantitative indicators, there is a growing body of research in Taiwan that aims to develop reliable and generalizable measures to assess students’ 21st century key competences. In a recent study, Tsai (2018) referred to domestic and international literature and policy to define what 21st century competences are needed for Taiwanese primary and secondary students. Tsai then developed a set of corresponding test items to measure 827 students in order to understand students’ competence performance and the relationship to students’ academic achievement and students’ familiarity with technology use. The conventional

inquiry of such scientific studies has been about issues of reliability and validity in relation to the development of assessment tool or test results. However, this chapter does not focus on those aspects. I am more concerned with the governing effects that numbers produce—how categorical and quantified expressions fabricate a symbolic meaning about kinds of people. At one level, the assessment results signal a particular temporal condition about the desired future of a lifelong learner (Popkewitz, 2018). The categorical representations such as critical thinking, creativity, cooperation, communication, and problem solving are predetermined qualities/competences that characterize the lifelong learner as the norm for future preparedness (See Table 3. 2). At another level, students are standardized, compared, and codified according to the preset rules that appear as a neutral representation of numbers. Quantified numbers and categorical expressions work together and fabricate qualities and distinctions about kinds of people (i.e., gender in this study). The research results shown in Table 3. 2 do not just “invent” explanations about gendered kinds of people meant for universal use, the so-called empirical results were influenced by theoretical assumptions. They also come into “being” regulating people’s consciousness and conduct as a particular kind of person. That is, people self-identify as (less-) competent in certain qualities through self-referencing and self-authorizing numerical comparison. Notably, the process of self-referencing through quantified numbers paradoxically inscribes the perceived division in the kinds of people that reinforce the difference in the act of standardization. The effects of invention or fabrication are not just about making kinds of people, but are also about catalyzing educational planning and intervention in school practices, which will be discussed in the next section.

Table 3.2: 21st Century Key Competence Performance by Gender

	Male (N=390)		Female (N=437)		t
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	
Critical Thinking	48.34	6.195	49.41	6.449	-2.423
Creativity	49.48	6.599	49.80	6.528	-.692
Cooperation	48.65	7.394	49.99	7.513	-2.588
Communication	48.28	7.746	49.55	7.852	-2.323
Problem Solving	48.39	5.763	49.54	5.933	-2.839

Note. Adapted and translated from “A study on the relationship among 21st century skills, ICT familiarity and academic achievements of primary and secondary school students,” by Tsai, Y. T. 2018, unpublished thesis. Copyright 2018 by National University of Tainan, Taiwan.

Trust in PISA Numbers

The numerical results of PISA operated as a tool of “prediction, self-referentiality, and communication” (Halpern, 2014, p. 12). Its purported “objective” data allowed countries “to identify strengths, but also potential problem areas, knowledge of which can be used to improve the educational systems” (OECD, 2015, p.3). In the context of Taiwan, a range of reform measures developed by the university or government-funded organizations were produced in response to the large scale PISA results. This included establishing competence standards in the revision of Taiwan’s national curriculum by concretizing competence into a set of observable

performances that can be described and tested. This process also involved developing tools to measure students' transferrable competence as proof of educational accountability and also to "identify problems in order to encourage teachers and schools to improve and develop more supportive and productive learning environments" (OECD, 2004, p. 24).³¹ The use of PISA results as evidence to address educational problems and demand the improvement of student performance has become increasingly prevalent. In an interview, a Taiwanese educational scholar cited test results of PISA 2012 and OECD's study to establish a link among disadvantaged students, underachievement, and economic growth to caution that the nation's competitiveness is at risk and to suggest "achievement for every child to increase national wealth." Hsu said:

According to the results of the OECD's 2012 PISA, 12.3% of Taiwan's 15-year-old students "do not have the basic competence for participating in a modern society." This rate is far higher than Vietnam, Finland, Japan and Singapore.... This means that 10 % of domestic children, about 200,000 students do not have basic competence. These children are waiting for failure; they even haven't got a chance to grow up.....OECD study found that investing in disadvantaged students can lower crime rates, and produce higher economic efficiency and benefits in the future. ...In the case of Taiwan, if all students have basic competence by 2030, gross national product (GNP) can increase by 852 billion U.S. dollars, which is 80% higher than the current level.

However, our national policies are always in favor of prestigious schools

³¹ The measurement tools used to evaluate students' competences are like standard-based assessment of student achievement for elementary and junior high school students developed by the Research Center for Psychological and Educational Testing. The Taiwan Normal University and comprehensive assessment program for junior high school students replaced basic competence tests for junior high school students in 2013. Both assessment tools are standard-based exams said to be better than norm-based tests (e.g., basic competence test for junior high school students, 2001-2013). The reasoning is standard-referenced exams allow students NOT to pay attention to the ranking or comparison with others' scores, reducing competition in this sense according to Research Center for Psychological and Educational Testing.

and their students; fewer resources are given to disadvantaged students. What is worse is that these disadvantaged students usually come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, which makes it difficult change their social status. (United Evening News, May 9, 2016)

The excerpt shows how PISA numbers work to address national fears through comparing within and among countries. The elements of global competition and fear of national decline are located in “disadvantaged students” with “lower socioeconomic backgrounds.” These “disadvantaged students” are not only constructed as numerical objects, but are also perceived as different, at-risk, and in need of improvement. Expressed in an authoritative tone, on the other hand, PISA numbers work to naturalize a link between disadvantaged students and underachievement and attribute students’ disadvantaged status to socioeconomic backgrounds without looking into other considerations that might produce dividing effects (e.g., see Danziger, 1997, Rose, 1985, Popkewitz, 1998, 2008). Moreover, numbers in the excerpt also embody hopes for future progress by establishing the correlation between good educational outcomes and anticipated economic growth in the future. Although a causality between improving underachievement and economic growth is not supported by historical or empirical data, the aspiration of rescuing those “at-risk” students is embedded and resonates with current Taiwan’s reform efforts for inclusivity. Accordingly, PISA numbers do not just reflect its ability to depict and explain the present, but also reflect how PISA is used to plan for the future.

Constituting Students’ Learning Needs

Mobilized by global testing culture, reformers in Taiwan emphasize the “pragmatic” dimension of assessments for domestic education—how teachers help students learn and succeed

using the tool of assessment. Attention is directed to diagnosing students' learning needs in order to provide the best adaptation. Students are first characterized as lacking and then assumed to have needs for the competences that they are expected to acquire. This is exemplified in the curriculum of the twelve-year public education program whose goal is to "cultivate students to be self-actualized lifelong learners with "core competences for adapting present and future life" (MOE, 2014, p.19). In this way, competence is addressed as a universal human quality of lifelong learners that prepares students for unforeseen life challenges and future competition.

Assumption about students' learning needs are also affected by reasoning about "at-risk" students. Presently in Taiwan, at-risk students are a populational classification whose inferiority is attributed to their socioeconomic backgrounds, rather than biological or cultural distinctions. A humanistic aspiration to save students who lacked core competences is inscribed in current reform discourse as a means to improve the overall quality of education. The inclusivity does not target equal outcomes but lies in expanding learning opportunities that enable all students to receive free education and assure their right and access to good-quality basic education.³² The reform therefore shifts its central focus from how much students ought to learn to how students do learn. Then, the issue at stake becomes how schools and teachers can enhance "the process, methods and strategies of learning" to ensure the students acquire basic competences that are deemed to be essential to success in school and other life contexts (MOE, 2015, p. 1).

The call for adaptation was launched as a new catalyst to enhance educational quality and promote social inclusion in education. "Achievement for every child, adaptation and lifelong learning" are the visions for twelve-year public education program with the curricular goals of

³² This refers to the reform of twelve-year public education program whose primary goals are to "take care of learning minority and reduce inequalities in education" (MOE, 2013, p.45).

“looking into individual needs” through employing “adaptive education to enhance students’ confidence. . . inspire their learning motivation. . . and make them become lifelong learners with social adaptability (MOE, 2014, p.1). The idea of adaptation shifts the teacher’s role from an explicator of life and knowledge to a manager of student performance who monitors students’ progress, evaluates learning results, and develops strategies to help students improve. The Confucian idea of adaptation (因材施教 *yincaishijiao*) which means teaching according to students’ natural qualities was recycled in the current reform movement. Confucius’s *yincaishijiao* was rooted in the principle of propriety that defined how disciples should act in alignment with their natural attributes.³³ Nevertheless, adaptation in the present is meant to meet students’ needs which are defined through the competence of standard-based exams. Confucian *yincaishijiao* seeks to save disciples from breaking cultural norms of propriety in order to maintain social harmony. In 1950s Taiwan, Confucian *yincaishijiao* came out in teachers’ manuals as a pedagogical principle to adapt students’ natural mental capacities. It further worked with ability grouping to stabilize social order through meritocratic reasoning. Today’s adaptation rescues students from failure in an uncertain future marked by global competition.

³³ Confucius’ adaptive approach is based on the Way (dao) in which propriety is underscored. This can be seen in an excerpt in Analects of Confucius that he responded to his students differently with the same question. For example, he urged his student to step forward when the student was hesitant, and Confucius held back another student when that student was rashly aggressive:

Zilu inquired, “On learning-something, should one act upon it?” The Master said, “While your father and elder brothers are still alive, how could you, one learning something, act upon it?” Then Ranyou asked the same question. The Master replied, “On learning something, act upon it.”

Goxi Hua said, “When Zilu asked the question, you observed that his father and elder brothers are still alive, but when Ranyou asked the same question, you told him to act on what he learns. I am confused—could you explain this to me?”

The Master replied, “Ranyou is different, and so I urged him on, But Zilu has the energy of two, and so I sought to rein him in.”(The Analects of Confucius 11.22, cited from Ames & Rosemont (trans), 1998 P. 146-147)

Adaptation Guided by Numbers

To avoid failure, scientific measures are used regularly to assess students whose competences are condensed into data to provide references for teaching decisions. In the twelve-year public education program, students no longer need to take entrance examinations for high schools. Rather, continual assessments have replaced summative, high-stake tests. There are two primary levels of measurement. The first is monitoring and screening testing, such as in the case of comprehensive assessment for 9th graders which employs a descriptive scoring scheme to replace numerical ratings. This is a systematic individual evaluation of students' learning outcomes before they move up to high school. The purpose is to identify potential "at-risk" students who will be placed on a remedial plan. The second type of measurement serves a formative function to oversee the progress of those potentially "at-risk" students through repeated assessments. This type of assessment aims to gather data as "objective" evidence of students' learning outcomes which will then inform subsequent instruction. The Ministry of Education has worked to develop an e-assessment system and has held numerous teacher workshops to promote incorporating formative assessments for adaptation and learning in primary and secondary schooling. The purpose is to check students' understanding periodically and provide appropriate adaptation throughout students' learning for all children. Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 are PowerPoint slides used in a teacher workshop to address how e-assessment and adaptation work to help students learn. The lecturer of the workshop (Huang, 2016) used Figure 4.2 as an example to show a student's assessment in which numbers are used as objective evidence (Huang, 2016, slide 20). This model becomes a natural way to talk about the student's math performance over time, including test results before and after adaptation. The student's math competence is determined by numerical calibration and a set of quantitative data presented

in chronological order tell the truth about the student's progress in math. The student's progress has to be defined through the numerical comparison of linear events. Such numerical presentation, however, cannot explain the complexity of the students' learning since numbers tend to sum up complex events simply and produce homogeneity in order to allow comparison (Porter, 1995, 2018).

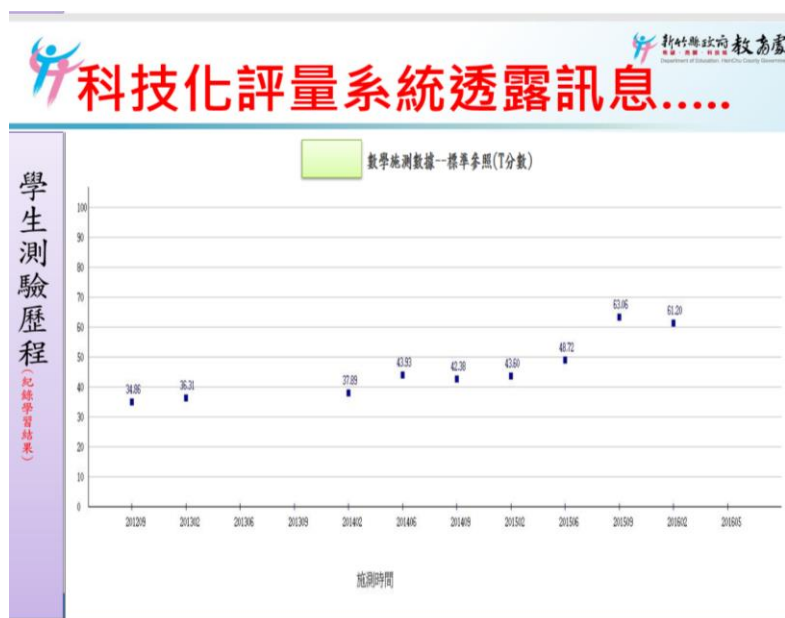


Figure 4.2: Trend in a student's math grades.

Furthermore, this progress-monitoring e-assessment is said to produce self-efficacy and self-learning. It claims to reduce competition among peers as the assessment only focuses on self-comparison for self-progress through a qualitative analysis of individual performance, rather than numerical measures. Yet, the assertion of self-comparison for reducing stress is an illusion as the exam items contain agreed-upon standards expressed as competence indicators (能力指標

nenglizhibiao) in which numbers enable comparison. See Figure 4.3 (Huang, 2016, slide 26).

The so-called self-comparison operates through comparing individual performance to prescribed competence indicators.

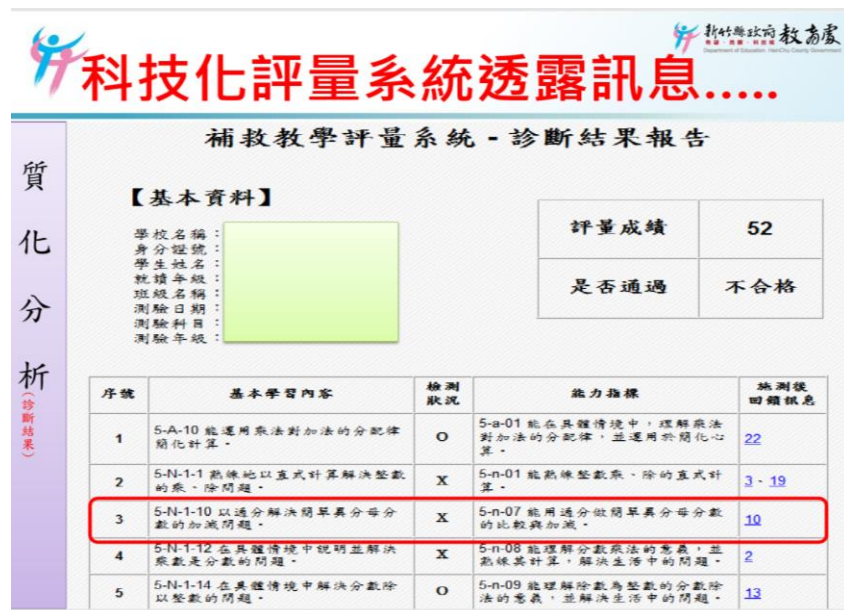


Figure 4.3: Individual student diagnostic report—qualitative analysis.

The adaptation occurs when the teacher finds the student has a learning need. That is, when the student does not acquire the specific competence or skill he/she needs to learn, which is determined by a set of quantitative data that align with preset standards, the student will be marked in need of improvement. The teacher then is able to intervene by drilling down to the specific competence standard and the corresponding question(s) to reteach. With such a form of adaptive instruction, the student is placed into perpetual self-learning and improving until he/she meets the competence standards.

Cultural Effects: Fabrication, Differentiation, and Exclusion

Adaptative instruction, notions of differentiated instruction, and assessment for learning are all contemporary inclusive strategies to enhance educational quality and social equality. In the case of Taiwan, a pragmatic assumption that teachers willingly adjust their teaching based on students' learning needs is embedded in the inclusive reform movement. Ironically, students' learning needs and teachers' adaptation are both defined by statistics in which competence standards are prescribed to determine students who pass and who fail.

Numbers and their embedded competence indicators (standards) serve as guideposts to classify and divide students. The dividing scheme ordered by numbers is far from neutral but embodies a political mission of saving the nation and a cultural practice of what Hacking (1986) coined as "making up kinds of people." On the one hand, the classification of students entails an inclusive aspiration for the "achievement for every child." That is, teacher's intervention is offered to those students who fail on the competence assessment and who have learning needs. The "achievement for every child" is ostensibly about measurement scores that determine students' performance or progress, but the exclusive feature of the phrase, "every child" embodies homogeneity and universality regarding who a Taiwanese citizen should be and become. The universalized image of a Taiwanese citizen can be found in competence indicators inscribed in assessments. The competence indicators entail cultural norms about how a modern Taiwanese citizen/student should think and act. "Lifelong learners" is the term used to characterize modern Taiwanese citizens (See discussion in Chapter2). The descriptive results of "basic" and "mastery" in a comprehensive assessment for junior high students and a "passing" score in progress-monitoring testing construct students as "competent" future citizens. The competent students/citizens are the lifelong learners deemed autonomous, self-directed, and having potential to be successful in the future.

On the other hand, the homogeneity of “every child” not only defines what it means to be a lifelong learner but also presumes what is outside the category of the lifelong learner. That is, students who are categorized as needing “improvement” based on descriptive rankings or receive a failing grade on exams are ascribed to the category of being incompetent, being unable to constantly learn and potentially considered as having challenges for life adaptation and future competition. These “incompetent” students become the target of intervention until they acquire basic competences defined by numbers and exam indicators as their characteristics or ways of living do not fit the norms of being a lifelong learner. According to the Ministry of Education (2016),

Since 2016, *every* student who does not pass screening exam may enroll in remedial class for intervention, without considering his/her socioeconomic status. . . . The results of standard-based e-assessment can reflect students’ competence and ability, enabling teachers to reteach fundamental skills students have not acquired. . . . This purpose is to help students develop transferrable ability for lifelong learning.

Numerical measures of test results (although results are presented in the form of descriptive analysis) seemingly work as a fair and objective scheme to identify students who need help. Some cultural features are inscribed in such statistical practices. Numbers function as cultural agents (Popkewitz, 2018) to attribute “failure” to those “not passed” students and construct the cultural labels of “incompetent,” “left-behind,” and “at-risk.” These terms produce a “deficit” discourse that means that schools and teachers are obligated to provide proper adaptation for these kinds of children in order to save them; however, they are paradoxically prescribed as lacking and thus deviant. Their perceived difference creates an endless process of “becoming” competent, lifelong learners, subject to incessant management and control.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how competence is a constitutive quality of the lifelong learner that aims to resolve social inequality caused by biological and mental classifications as well as socioeconomic status. Competence paradoxically produces new distinctions and exclusive effects through statistical reasoning. My exploration of the formation of new distinctions separating lifelong learners from others involved an understanding of the historical ways that numbers reconfigured and generated ways of dividing people. The use of data to organize Taiwanese society emerged during Japanese rule for the purpose of colonial governance and continues to appear in the present. Data as a “technology of steering and managing society” (Pettersson, Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2016, p. 195) historically worked with social norms to constitute a realm of governance “giving rise as well to comprehensive measures, statistical assessments and interventions aimed at the entire social body or at groups taken as a whole” (Foucault, 1980, 146). The historical investigation in this chapter has revealed how data not only served Taiwan’s collective life, but how it established distinctions regarding kinds of people, and evoked the design and administration of educational practices.

Recently, mobilized by global testing culture such as PISA, competence-based approaches and data comparability for educational quality have appeared in Taiwan and are reframed within Taiwan’s inclusive educational reform. The use of data in educational practice has two primary functions. One is to identify educational “problems” that initiate teacher adaptation. The other is to use data as a pedagogical tool for monitoring and promoting self-growth. The inclusive gesture for promoting self-progress involves the recognition of difference. The identification of difference shifted from a populational reasoning to individual distinction

that is now defined by measured competence. The adaptation is given based on quantified numbers of continuous “comparison with the self.” This mode of comparison that focused on individuals is ordered by a temporal framework. Within this timeframe, individuals juxtapose their present performance with their past ones in a straight, irreversible order to determine individual progress or decline. This mode of comparing with the self generates a governing effect that individual growth is predominantly determined by the increase in numbers. However, this logic for explaining individual development, as this chapter has shown, is to simplify complexity of events and progress into comparable quantified data, which elude multiple facets that define progress. Moreover, the chapter also uncovered that the naive self-comparison in the reform narrative is actually set in relation to the predetermined benchmarks that determine who is making progress, who is competent, who is not, and how subsequent improvement should be made.

Numbers and data that historically created distinctions between people at the populational level were used to stabilize social strata and are now used to improve social inequality. They ironically generate new classifications of who is the lifelong learner, who is competent enough for future challenges, and who is unfit for the future and global competition. Those defined as “unfit” for the future are cast out in spite of reform’s inclusive good intentions as the “need” to acquire competence paradoxically reinforces their difference. They are subject to countless monitoring, adaptation, and improvement schemes under which they would hardly become “competent.” More than as a means of description and interpretation, this chapter has unlocked how numbers and data constitute a regime of classification, not only for diagnosing, monitoring, and control but how they also produce exclusion. However, these governing effects are not new in the present. As the chapter has unraveled, the classifying effects of making up people

produced by statistical numbers and research data are historically contingent and are still at work in the present. This explains the purpose of this chapter: that the administering of society and people is not derived from brutality or ideological imposition, but can be achieved through statistical governing. This leads to a precaution that the so-called liberal, rescuing techniques to reduce social inequality might simultaneously generate limits despite its gesture to include.

Chapter 4

Observation as Transformation: Designing Agency and (Re)making Professional Teachers for Inclusive Classrooms

The reform discourse of lifelong learning also produces adaptable, flexible teachers who are willing to pursue self-improvement with an eye for teaching efficacy and student success. To remain competitive in a fast-changing world and generate competent, self-motivated learners, contemporary Taiwanese teachers are obligated to continuously update their knowledge and teaching skills (MOE, 2014 a; 2014 b). This kind of teacher, referred to as a professional teacher or practitioner, is deemed the agent of change who is able to constantly reflect on his/her practice and take action (實踐 *shijian*; 行動 *xingdong*) for educational change, in contrast to past models of education in which teachers were thought of as the source of information and were offered few opportunities for improvement and growth.

As a requisite for pre-service teachers to complete their teacher training, class observation, previously called 教學觀摩 *jiaoxueguanmo* in Chinese which literally means *teaching for observing and learning*, has also been a routine for in-service teachers (particularly for those incoming teachers) to showcase their teaching since Japanese colonization. More recently, mobilized by the belief that greater transparency and open communication lead to better educational accountability, the reform of twelve-year public education programs demands that 1-12 public school teachers open their teaching practices up to other teachers for suggestions at least once a year as a proof of professional development. The trend of opening classes for observation (公開觀課, *gongkaiguanke*) as a way of demonstrating a teacher's improvement is

inspired by the Japanese idea of *lesson study*³⁴ (Ou, 2012; Lin & Ou, 2013; Ou, 2013; Mao, 2015). Opening class for observation aims to build a learning culture within a community of teachers that nurtures a collegial exchange of ideas by focusing on student learning and interaction rather than evaluating the teacher's teaching performance (Wu, 2012; MOE, 2014; Mao, 2015, Yu & Tang, 2015; Wu, Wu, Chi and Jiang, 2016). The emphasis on observing class interaction is dual. It aims to reveal how students are learning, and then this observation is used for teachers' reflection and exchange afterwards. Open class observation embodies a humanitarian-inclusive assumption that every student can learn through increased in-class interaction. Observation becomes a practical means of tracking progress based on the observer's study and reflection. According to an online news release from the Education Office, Hsinchu City, an elementary school teacher who has taken part in open class observation for years, reflected on his practice:

After all, teaching is an art. Every teacher has a unique style and focus, particularly when he/she accumulates multiple years of experience in teaching. If teachers can share and communicate with others through observing other teachers' classes, we can enhance our teaching wisdom. And such teaching wisdom is often not found in books. (Liao & Yen, 2015)

The excerpt shows that observing others can produce transformations (e.g., strengthening one's teaching abilities).

The idea of "observation as transformation" is not new, but is historically related to what I termed as "Confucian seeing," a style of teaching in which the teacher acts as a role model for

³⁴ *Lesson study*, 授業研究 *kyugyoukenkyuu* started to circulate in Japanese schools as a kind of action research. Around the turn of 21st Century, a serial process engaged teachers in co-planning a lesson, choosing someone in the group to teach the lesson while others observe, and all teachers then reflecting and commenting on what they observe in class (Zuo, 2006; Ou, 2012; Ou, 2013; Liu, 2016).

observational osmosis (潛移默化, 耳濡目染) —frequent seeing and hearing what others are doing to enable the observers' (and the students') moral self-transformation. Transformation through this “Confucian seeing,” —a Confucian style of modeling and observing— is re-organized in today's child-centered pedagogy in which interactivity is valued. Ostensibly, such pedagogy is fashioned from the interference of Western thoughts of Dewey and Vygotsky regarding experience, interaction, and development of social cognition. I argue that Confucian cultural vestiges are also involved in and shape what interactivity means in Taiwanese classrooms as well as how we see and think about teachers. That is, the Confucian style of model teaching geared toward observational osmosis addresses the “proper” mode of acting as a teacher and student and is now transmogrified and reassembled through today's technique of open class observation which gives meaning to interactivity. It not only re-orders the action of the teacher and his/her interaction with students but also serves as a form of knowledge that re-delineates the teacher's efficacy and professional growth.

Much Taiwanese scholarship on open class observation is often concerned with how to mobilize a sustainable and actionable learning culture among teachers through effective strategies. Scholarship also focuses on positive reinforcement (e.g., teaching enhancement or promoting student learning) of in-service teachers' hands-on experiences of open class observation. These perspectives presume that the teacher as a transcendental type of autonomous agents without considering the intriguing historical and cultural rules that (re)formulate professional teachers in the present. In order to understand the complex historical transformations that guide contemporary Taiwanese teachers' agency, this chapter aims to untangle how a “Confucian seeing” is re-defined and enacted through today's professional scheme of open class observation. In other words, I seek to explore what kind of (professional)

teacher is (re)made by examining how “Confucian seeing” mingles with Western pedagogies and national narratives that comprise and favor particular patterns of teaching and learning within today’s teaching reform discourse. To investigate the ways that (professional) teachers are seen in current Taiwan does not necessarily mean looking for semantic meaning or any ultimate truth about the teacher. My approach is meant to address historical rationales that underpin certain modes of student-teacher interaction through which educational normativity and unspoken limits can be located and unpacked.

This chapter thus focuses on the present discourse that calls for professionalizing teachers for inclusive schooling, a process which includes analyzing policy work, scholarly studies and publications, pedagogical manuals for teachers as well as media reports. Through examining these texts, I am able to inspect the ways that historical vestiges are reassembled in current reasoning and thinking about the proper ways of acting as a professional teacher that contribute to creating an interactive and inclusive classroom. Methodologically, I consider the language and statements within these documents as power-immanent and performative (Foucault, 1980). They do not function as a representational device for voice or subjectivity, but are normative enunciations about who the teacher is and how the teacher ought to do and act as a professional teacher. In what follows, I first discuss the way the Confucian notion of the teacher makes *teaching as modeling* an artistic and regulatory practice of self-transformation through observation and how such Confucian style of *teaching as modeling* constitutes a vision seeing and thinking about the teacher. I then examine how this Confucian seeing is reworked within the discourse of Western pedagogy since the 20th century. Initially it interwove with Herbartian pedagogy of science to mechanicalize teaching practices and engender a kind of teacher as a moral guide whose conduct is definable, observable and trainable. Later on, the gaze on proper

teaching responds to contemporary calls for child-centeredness and interactivity, interplaying with the discourses of communication, process, and informational inundation in which the Confucian mode of “model observation” shifts to “systematic observation” and re-determines patterns of proper learning and teaching efficacy. Such an exploration views teaching as an assemblage of different trajectories of ideas in order to understand how historical traces are at work in the present-day’s technique of observation which aim to include students through transforming teachers, and in doing so simultaneously inscribes norms for both teachers and students. Through exploring the modes of vision/reason on the proper way of teaching/learning for inclusive classrooms, I am able to unravel the effects of power relation embedded in this seemingly progressive technique in current Taiwanese educational discourse.

Confucian Teaching: Acting a Role Model for Observational Osmosis

A junzi (sage) in Confucianism is an ideal type of human, a lifelong pursuer of moral perfection. For Confucius, moral virtues offer a solution for restoring a social order that was in a state of decay in his time. To enact his educational ideals, Confucius sought to persuade the political leaders of his time and spent his entire life teaching his disciples regarding how one should live a moral life. Linked to the notion of the junzi as a moral ideal, Confucius’s way of teaching puts a great emphasis on setting a good model for the students. In a passage responding to his disciple’s question about the art of government,³⁵ Confucius states that a person will be followed when he is righteous. However, Confucius also points out the negative consequence that no one will follow if the person does not set a good example.

³⁵ The original text is from Analects, chapter 13, #6. 子曰:其身正, 不令而行, 其身不正, 雖令不从。 Master says: “If a person is righteous himself, he will be followed without giving out orders; if one is not righteous, no one will follow his order.

Setting an example also applies to the interaction between teachers and students. When thinking about a teacher as a model, we ordinarily assume that the teacher authoritatively hands down knowledge or norms of conduct to students who passively emulate and receive them. However, the Confucian notion of a teacher as a moral guide is associated with practicing a proper mode of moral life without giving explicit verbal guidance. It involves a kind of observational osmosis through seeing, hearing, and self-reflecting on what the role model appears to be doing and how they are acting. For instance, Confucius considers observation a means of transformation that requires self-reflection. In Chapter Liren, *Analects*, Confucius states:

When seeing a person with virtue and talent, we should look up and learn from him. When observing a person who is not doing well, we should turn inwards and self-examine ourselves.

The technique of observing others to improve the self is also manifest in the Confucian philosopher Mencius's idea that a junzi teaches "through transformation like that of timely rain" (如時雨化之者), and "by self-development in which a person observes remotely the merit of the junzi (teacher) without direct instruction" (有私淑艾者).³⁶ In this way, teaching as acting a role model is to inspire and nurture one's inner self, further provoking self-reflection and self-transformation of one's own conduct. Such observation for transformation does not come from teacher's obvious instruction, but is a kind of "governing at distance" that happens by inspiring virtuous or bad conduct delineated by

³⁶ The original text is from Mencius, Jin Xin, part one, 7A:40. 孟子曰：君子之所以教者五。有如時雨化之者、有成德者、有達財者、有答問者、有私淑艾者。此五者、君子之所以教也。Mencius (Mengzi) believes the sage (*junzi*) teaches in general five ways: transforming students like timely rain nurturing grass, cultivating their virtues, exploring their talents, answering their questions, and bringing about osmosis to those who develop through self-observing the merit of the sage.

Confucianism and then invoking self-transformation. On the other hand, the art of observation also stresses how constant seeing and hearing can lead to good or bad consequences. For instance, “one can develop a skill on his own”³⁷ or “one might lose his good conscience unconsciously”³⁸ through observational osmosis. The hope of self-transformation toward goodness and the simultaneous fear of going astray are what demand a role model to “observe at distance” in Confucian practices of teaching/learning.

Confucian Seeing

The fear of going astray was thought to be allayed by a role model’s influence; this leads me to inquire into how observation occurred in Confucian sense—how people observed others’ conduct and how their observation lead to their own transformations. Although Confucius does not give explicit instructions about what disciples should observe and follow from the teacher, he details how the junzi should behave in everyday living. In Confucianism, junzi is the ideal person that can be followed due to his prestigious moral virtues. How can a person’s virtues be known and detected? For Confucius, moral ethics can be displayed through what a person says and does. In this sense, a person’s inner being can be revealed through physical conduct. In Chapter Weizheng, *Analects*, Confucius proposes the ways of knowing a person:

Watch what people do, observe what they follow, examine when they feel at ease. How can they conceal? How can they conceal?³⁹

³⁷ The original text is from 清河郡公房公墓碣銘 by Han Yu (韓愈). The scholar and educator from the Song Dynasty, Han Yu (韓愈), argues that one can develop a skill with observational osmosis—frequent seeing and hearing what others are doing (耳濡目染,不學以能).

³⁸ The other scholar from the Song Dynasty, Zhu Xi (朱熹) also talks about the possibility that one might lose his good conscience unconsciously by such observational osmosis (耳濡目染,以陷溺其良心而不自知).

³⁹ The original text is from *Analects* (2:10). 子曰:視其所以,觀其所由,查其所安,人焉廋哉?人焉廋哉?

Additionally, Confucius considers that examining someone's words is also a way to know about a person, as one's words show evidence about his interiority.⁴⁰ Based on this logic, one's proper conduct and utterances are not only for the purpose of sustaining social harmony based on the norm of propriety; the explicit conduct and words denote an "outward manifestation of the inner" (Xu, 2004, p. 515) show the quality of a person's inner self. A person's appearance—how he says and how he conducts himself—hence has no intrinsic divide from reality and truth (Xu, 2004). That is, appearance reveals whether a person is morally virtuous and thereby appearance becomes a marker to determine humanity (*ren*). This is why Confucius put emphasis on "examining one's words and observing his countenances" in order to obtain the "truth" about people (Analects, 2:10, 12:20, 20:3).

Confucius' heart-body analogy directs attention to people's physical appearance thereby making vision, or the gaze, essential for determining moral ideals; therefore the junzi, is envisioned as solemn, wordless, grave, and serious in order to generate dignity and awe.⁴¹ This is why Confucius regards a person with "artful words and pleasing countenance" (Analects, 1:3) as someone without human-heartedness. Seeing the junzi this way, physical appearance as an outer manifestation of inner quality is meant to inspire public reverence in order to avoid social chaos and disorder through exhibiting a serious, solemn mode of presence in alignment with particular moral expectations (Xu, 2004). The stress placed on physical appearance in the process of cultivating junzi seeks to evoke social change by setting a model for ordinary people who can

⁴⁰ The original text is from Analects (20.3).子曰:…不知言, 無以知人也 "There is no way to understand a person if not examining his words".

⁴¹ Confucius argues that the sage/junzi who lacks gravity won't inspire awe. The original text is from Analects (1:8) 君子不重則不威 junzi bu zhong, ze bu wei. Besides, Confucius contends if "junzi as ruler does not rule in a solemn manner, the ordinary people will not respect him." The original text is from Analects(15:33) 不莊以蒞之, 則民不敬 bu zhuang yi lin zhi, ze min bu jing.

transform themselves through implicit observational osmosis. This implies that cultivating junzi is not simply an individual teacher-student mode of regulation for moral advancement, but it functions as a social responsibility through which the image of junzi can invoke public peace, maintain social order, and promote the prosperity of the empire in Confucius' time.

The Interplay of Confucian Seeing and Herbartian Pedagogy

Such a Confucian style of modeling-observing-transforming to trigger social change has not disappeared in 20th Taiwanese schooling but is further interwoven with theories of Western pedagogy that focus on instrumental methods of managing and shaping children's minds. When the Japanese Empire ruled Taiwan at the turn of 20th century, it was a time in which Japan extensively embraced foreign studies in order to mobilize national changes. In the field of education, Japan particularly embraced a gradual shift from the Pestalozzi method toward a Herbartian educational philosophy alongside a return to Confucianism⁴² as a response to the fear of decline in public morals due to excessive Westernization. The fear of moral degeneration also spread in colonial Taiwan at the time. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Japanese colonial gaze normalized and categorized people on the island as morally and psychologically inferior and uncivilized Others in need of change through education. According to this line of thought, the civilizing project under Japan's colonization legitimized the necessity of Herbartian notions of education as character cultivation which resonated and reinforced Confucian ideas of moral perfection (Lincicome, 1995). Akin to Confucian thought, Herbart also believed in the universal influence of education in shaping pupils' character and placed emphasis on the teacher's role as a model for children (Herbart, 1895) as educational discourse during Japanese colonization presumed the natural tendency of the child's mimicry. For instance, Huang states (1904):

⁴² It was said that Confucianism was first introduced to Japan near the end of the third century.

Children naturally love to mimic what others do. It's imperative for teachers to set up a role model for them to emulate.... Father, older brothers and teachers should possess good deeds and virtues for them to follow. If their behaviors are not virtuous, they should avoid being seen. For example, common school teachers should avoid smoking in front of students, in case the students would copy and follow. (p.6)

Another article about educational pedagogy published in the Journal of Taiwan Education Association during Japanese colonialization also indicated the need of a teacher's guidance in children's conduct:

Children's characters are amendable. If they get into bad habits or fall into the wrong way, it's easy to change them with inspiration from the teacher. (Huang, 1903b, p.4)

These excerpts show the power of the role-model to inspire and reinforce a Confucian type of teacher as a moral guide for children's conduct. The teacher, as a moral model, emphasized how to act properly in everyday living, but also employed efficient techniques for inspiring children's intelligence, so they might easily adapt to civilized social life and integrate into the colonial community, becoming loyal colonial citizens of the Empire of Japan.

Education as Science

The making of colonial citizens entailed a moral assumption about the child/student who was deemed to be morally lacking in contrast to the teacher who was the moral model. Overlapping with the Japanese colonizer's evolutionary logic, children for Herbart were viewed as possessing "wild impetuosity" and lacking "true will" for self-determination (De Garmo, 1896, p. 84), in need of transformation. As rational adults, teachers take responsibility for

transforming children into rational beings. Nevertheless, unlike the Confucian type of model teaching that might occur implicitly through observational osmosis thereby triggering disciples' self-transformation, Japanese colonizers turned to a so-called a scientific approach by which they considered the teacher a moral guide who would transform those “immoral” and “uncivilized” children in a more efficient way.

The scientific approach under Japanese colonization was not solely concerned with moral cultivation, but foregrounded the enlightenment of children in order to help them break free from ignorance and irrationality. As Isawa Shuji, an educator of colonial Japan proclaimed, enlightenment had to precede moral education as colonial citizens needed rationality and knowledge to make right moral judgements which correlated with the fate and development of the Japanese Empire (Li, 2011). Isawa Shuji then proposed that knowing things in the world could be the strategy for reaching enlightenment. Consequently, all of the observable objects such as plants, animals, minerals, and natural/secular phenomena were compiled in the textbooks and introduced to school children at the time. Understanding nature required the right mode of living which would benefit colonial development. That is, observing what is going on in the world was a path to acquiring the knowledge and rationality considered imperative for improving the perceived barbarity of the colony. What is more, in addition to understanding the natural world and objects to gain objective truths, the teacher's comportment and appearance (教師的儀範 *jiaoshi de yifan*) were considered worth observing for the purpose of character illumination and mutation (Eiichi & Yujiro, 1936). This is why Akira Kurita (1910) asserts, “all teaching had to be based on observation; direct observation is the foundation of all knowledge” (p. 34).

Additionally, observation was also regarded as a means of motivating learning. The scientific method thus focused on developing students' ability to observe and pay attention to sensory

practices in order to sustain learning. Observation as ways of knowing and motivating learning thus gave attention to the process of acquiring educational knowledge. The teacher was a role model not only for character guidance, but they were also expected to employ instrumental procedures to organize perceivable educational experiences, so students would be able to obtain knowledge easily. The Herbartian five formal steps of teaching, 豫備 preparation, 提示 presentation, 比較 comparison, 總括 generalization, and 應用 application (See e.g., Huang, 1904, p.11), were highlighted in Taiwan's pedagogical discourse at the time. How a teacher could teach a lesson by applying those procedures was particularly addressed and discussed in several articles from the journals of Taiwan Education Association during the earlier period of Japanese colonization.

When colonial educators began employing the Herbartian formal steps of teaching, observation was no longer an implicit experience of the disciple's arbitrary self-observation of the junzi's physical appearance in the Confucian style. Confucian seeing of a teacher was subject to intersection of Western rationalities and cultural tradition of Confucianism—preset disciplined procedures and certain noticeable particulars of teacher body (e.g., comportment and postures). Observation became a tool for the teacher to use to mediate abstract forms of knowledge and concrete educational conditions. Children's intelligence, judgment, and rationality could presumably grow through such teacher-led sensory experience. Students were guided to observe in a certain way in order to obtain the right perception of the world. In other words, to obtain knowledge of the world, one has to observe in a pre-organized, sensory experience where the teacher manipulated students to see specific particulars in order to compare, analogize, and generalize concepts for new knowledge production (Herbart, 1895; Miya Daisuro, 1904). Huang (1903a) illustrated how the Herbartian steps of teaching were modified in the practice of teaching

to produce a new concept through external observation. He explained this in an example of teaching guidance:

Suppose the idea of the tiger is a new concept, and the cat is an old lesson. When a teacher teaches the “tiger,” he/she can ask students if they have seen the cat before. If they answered yes, the teacher can continue and ask what the cat’s eyes look like. The students might have different answers, so the teacher should pop up to elaborate . . . till students are familiar with old knowledge about cats. Then, it’s time for teacher to bring about new learning—by asking students “Have you seen a tiger?” If the students’ answer is “no,” the teacher reveals that tigers look similar to cats; tigers’ eyes are akin to cats’ . . . Or give an example of dogs and ask students the tongue difference between cats and dogs. . . Lastly, the teacher can hand out and show the pictures of tigers and cats for all students to observe their bodies and sizes. (p.12-13)

This example shows that the production of educational knowledge has to be subject to orderly observation through which the properties of things only exist through viewing. In the example, Herbart’s scientific teachings are applied, and the application demands methodical observation and association (through connecting outer objects and inner imagination, and through linking students’ past knowledge to new learning) in order to produce new knowledge. That is, learning has to involve an explicit sensory practice connecting students to their previous knowledge—the cat—as the basis from which to learn new stuff—the tiger. Observation was made through recalling the visible body parts of the analogized object—the cat—and then the teacher stressed the similarities and differences between these two analogous objects through comparison. In this way, learning was not only about memory and imagination, but also about attending to objects. Attention was directed to the shape and/or form of objects in order to generate perception and knowledge about new learning. Observing forms and shapes became one way to train the mind

of children as it provoked what Herbart termed “speculative interest” which helped them perceive “rational connection” among things (De Garmo, 1895, p. 61).

Mitsuya Daigoro, 三屋大五郎, an educator and journalist during the Japanese colonial period shared a similar perspective. He contended that intelligence and rationality were derived from sensory observation; particularly, he gave an example that highlighted the contours and colors of objects to consider how students discerned the differences and similarities between objects, abilities which constituted human intelligence (1904, 8-9). In this line of reasoning, focusing on the form and details through external observation lay a foundation for knowledge acquisition and judgment formation circulating in educational discourse of the time. The hope was to reform children’s minds from the realm of religion and superstition by training their minds with sensory practices of the “natural world,” enabling them to live a civilized mode of life.

Such acute and external observation not only orders learning and modern modes of living in early 19th century Taiwan, but also produces an “eye” for envisioning proper teachers and teaching. The proper teacher and teaching method is predefined by a modified Herbartian pedagogy that includes disciplined procedures about proper ways of acquiring knowledge and the teacher’s physical appearance, both of which were considered imperative for motivating students’ learning. The disciplined procedures involved the steps that a teacher should employ for starting a new learning activity. As the above instance shows, using explicit visual knowledge of past learning (the cat) as a point of entry for viewing, imagination, comparison, analogy, and application circulated when teaching/learning a new concept (the tiger). This method implies that teachers who do not apply this procedure would not be considered appropriate for driving student learning motivation. In this way, observing the practice of teaching had nothing to do with what

a teacher imparts. The “eye” was directed to the seeable particulars, such as pedagogical forms, procedures, and techniques a teacher was expected to employ to guide students’ learning (also see Popkewitz 1998/2017).

The gaze which normalized the proper teacher and teaching method is not solely about noticeable procedures for organizing a lesson; the demand for a teacher to be an explicit role model for observation/learning in the Confucian fashion was recycled during Japanese rule. Rather than stressing living a moral life for social harmony, the notion of teacher as a role model in scientific pedagogy was about managing students to retain their learning interests. Inspired by Herbart, proper presentation was thought to be the foundation of entire student learning.⁴³ Not only defined by the amount of knowledge a teacher had to impart, in the case of Taiwan, the proper presentation was regarded as the “best manner” and particularly referred to the attitude, disposition, and comportment that a teacher showed and performed when communicating with students. The Confucian notion of junzi, whose conduct was in entire accord with rules of propriety, was reassembled to shape the proper forms of communication. As noted earlier, the body and mind are inseparable in Confucian thought. Moral virtues are related to inner cultivation infused with elegant, aesthetic forms that people could display through explicit physical conduct. Thus, exhibiting a graceful, natural, moderate mode of utterance implied a teacher’s inner state of morality and also showed his or her level of communication and clarity. For example, as Huang (1904) stated:

the way that a teacher utters is the most crucial. When a teacher speaks too quickly or too slowly, the students will have a hard time comprehending. . . .
The teacher’s words should meet the principles of clearness and

⁴³ Herbart argued students’ interests could be incited “through a proper presentation of the right amount of knowledge in the best manner and at the right time” (Garmo, 1895, p. 61).

beautifulness, and his voice volume should avoid too high or too low, but maintain a moderate pitch. . . The teacher's gamut of four feelings including happiness, anger, grief, and joy should exhibit naturally. (p.13)

The excerpt shows how a teacher's utterances serve as a mode of viewing a teacher, both standing in for and producing an ethical/professional teacher. Reconnecting to junzi's prudence and decorum in speech in Confucian thought, the teacher in early 19th century Taiwanese schooling was obligated to display a neutral mode of utterance and comportment as an index of his/her ability to clearly "communicate" with students.

Similarly, the "Confucian seeing" places an emphasis on appearance, which characterized the internal ethical status of being a teacher, was reinforced in the earlier 19th century. In a reflection log after observing a pre-service teacher's Hanwen (classical Chinese) teaching, one critical comment (besides the suggestions of instructional procedures) was about bodily movement: "The student teacher's body was too shaken and his way of utterance lacked solemnity and earnestness" (Common school, 1905, p. 6). The comment was directed to a figurative episteme that proper teacher/teaching should be seen and judged by bodily gestures, signaling a teacher's inner ethics and becoming an indicator to determine whether the person is qualified to be the teacher, a model for students. Such a way of seeing the teacher was also exploited for teacher development during the Japanese colonial period. Routine after-school workshops were often organized for common school teachers for mutual observation and exchange of experience (Chu, 2011). Liu (1923, 1924, 1925) conducted several empirical studies about Hanwen teaching and published his observational reports in which he especially looked into visible particulars such as a teacher's facial expression (e.g., whether a teacher looked firm or determined, kind and caring with a slight smile and neutral eyes), bodily movement (e.g., whether a teacher appeared prudent without shaking his/her body swiftly) and physical position

(e.g., whether a teacher's positioning effected students' learning) in class to determine whether the teacher was doing things properly and thus performing ethically, (thus professionally).

Distinctive from implicit and incidental types of observation for transformation/learning in Confucian seeing, scientific pedagogy inscribed a figurative logic of perception in an explicit, predetermined manner, underscoring disciplined procedures for knowledge acquisition and the physical appearance of the teacher as a force to motivate students, no matter in classroom teaching or in the evaluation of teacher performance.⁴⁴ As such, education as scientific pedagogy provides a particular epistemological prism that orders what to look for and how to see it. A metaphorical logic was based on attending to what is perceptible about the teacher: not only the teacher's physical appearance but also how a teacher proceeds and organizes his/her instruction as "objective" evidence used to construe what are (im)proper learning and teaching. In other words, observation in the scientific method provides a normalized vision of the teacher, which was subject to describable perceptual experiences. Likewise, a teacher's ethics and efficacy were designated and gauged by those visible and audible behaviors. Along this line of thinking, the ideas of good teachers and proper teaching/learning were regarded as discernible and calibratable objects based on how they appear to others.

A New Mode of Observation

The scientific method through perceptual observation was a part of colonial Japan's educational attempts to reform islanders' interiority and is still relevant in contemporary Taiwanese education. It serves as a means of monitoring student conduct and pre-service teachers' quality, and more recently, also functions as a primary tool for teacher's professional development.

⁴⁴ The Confucian style of modeling-observing-transforming implies that teaching is not absolutely explicit, as Confucius "would not explain and answer unless one is eager to learn" (*Analects of Confucius, Chapter 7*).

However, the form of spectatorship does not remain the same—the concern is no longer about the objectivity and description of observable objects, but after World War II entails new forms of seeing and communicating, underscoring process, interaction, and feedback (Wiener, 1954; Halpern, 2014, 2016). The technique of open class observation for teacher development is currently practiced in Taiwan’s education reform and can illustrate a process-driven and network-based approach to education. The uptake of interaction in this shifting observational mode is fused and reinforced with Western psychological thought about making autonomous individuals in order to enhance social change and influences pedagogical trends in the late 20th Century.

Confluence with Psychological Child-centeredness

With the translation of Dewey’s pragmatism in the first half of the 20th Century, psychological verification about human autonomy used for enhancing social progress started to disperse. Schooling thus turned away from teacher authoritarianism to child-centeredness with the hope of making more autonomous individuals in order to bring about social changes and enable national development. When the assertion of child-centeredness arrived in Taiwan in the middle of the 20th Century, the emphasis was on how to motivate students’ interests and design developmentally appropriate curriculum to meet students’ needs. This conception of child-centeredness does not disregard the role of teacher in students learning. Instead, it affirms the positive effects of a teacher’s guidance. For example, Shen (1958) underscored that developing children’s autonomy can mobilize learning interests while demanding teacher’s role in retaining their attention. This was expressed during Taiwan’s movement of life-centered education in the 1950s. Shen argued,

Teaching is an art. Different strategies are applied dependent upon the context and student developmental needs ... Emphasizing children's autonomy does not imply the reduction of teacher's responsibility and workload. Instead, the teacher is responsible for planning a dynamic teaching context for students to learn. The teacher has to prepare in advance, jump in to offer assistance in the process of student learning. (p. 11)

In this sense, the child-centered approach to learning still involves a teacher's direction. The teacher is assumed as a matured, rational social agent who can effect changes through providing advice to children (Shen, 1958). The introduction of child-centeredness for individual development in the discourse of 1950s' Taiwanese schooling simultaneously underlined social development and reciprocal effects between the individual and the social. Attached to the project of nation building of the time, Dewey's child-oriented, agency-based, life-centered approach was applied to develop individual autonomy and responsibility as the cornerstones for national development (See Chou, Hsu & Liu, 1958). Dewey's approach can be seen as engaging in social engineering that sought to plan and administer the child's mind as autonomous while in need of a teacher's guidance to bring about social betterment and a particular vision of democracy in the 1950s.

Since the 1980s, the conception of child-centeredness in Taiwan's education system involved social understanding and stressed the ways individuals acquire knowledge to become social members. More educational scholars started to translate and employ Piagetian psychological theory of how a child's cognition develops through interaction with the environment. Later on scholars employed a Vygotskian perspective in which individuals gain their knowledge not only from the material world but more importantly through sociocultural

communication and interactions that highlight the importance of process in student learning. The focus of the process of learning, rather than the end product has been widely accepted by educators, teachers, and parents as it embodies the hope of eliminating knowledge-based, exam-orientated school culture long prevalent in Taiwan. Notably, through the advertising slogans such as “autonomy and interaction,” the recent reform of twelve-year public education program further buttressed this educational trend. In the wave of promoting the reform, many educational scholars cited Vygotsky’s thought to argue how learning through interaction should be done to create an inclusive classroom. For instance, Wu, Huang, Chou & Cao (2013) argue,

Learning and development can be achieved through children’s autonomous exploration. The process should be through children’s interactions with others (instead of teacher instructs and students memorize or emulate). The ideal people for interaction include family, teachers and student peers who are more experienced. ...The ways that a teacher guides are to plan opportunities for students to interact with others or offer cultural tools to stimulate students to move up. (p. 12)

From the excerpt, teacher’s planning and guidance are presumed necessary to generate student reaction and class interaction. The Confucian “seeing” teacher as a model and the Herbartian teacher-based, procedure-driven method are reworked in the present. Instead of being either a moral guide for students to implicitly observe and emulate or a Herbartian kind of the teacher who gives explicit instruction grounded in pre-defined procedures and norms of physical conduct, today’s teacher is a coach, a mediator who is obligated to design developmentally appropriate lessons and employ interactive instructional methods to empower students and educate desirable citizenry competences as a sign of inclusion (MOE, 2014a; 2014b). To achieve the goal of competence cultivation, the reform of twelve-year public education program highlighted the importance of learning process. Rather than stressing the procedures and details

of what to teach, setting up “learning focus” (學習重點) and illustrating “how students are going to perform” (學習表現) become the markers of students’ competences and are the only major guidance in order to render teachers maximum autonomy (p.17-19). In particular, Ministry of Education (MOE, 2014a) draws upon Bloom’s Taxonomy of Educational Objectives to explain desirable competences “in the dimensions of cognition, affection and psychomotor” a student should cultivate (p. 57). The reform is to expand the mechanical conception of competence from the previous reform movement into an integrated notion of competence in order to cover all dimensions of competence a student needs in the whole process of learning.

Toward a Pedagogy of Interaction

The shift from Herbartian procedure-based instruction to process-oriented, objective-driven teaching is considered progressive as the latter claims to provide teachers with minimum governance in their teaching practices while the former has fixed steps to follow. Such process-oriented, objective-driven teaching/learning is currently prevalent in Taiwan’s reform discourse as it accentuates interaction between the teacher and students. This interaction is a new marker defining teaching efficiency and growth as well as learning performance. The recent reform technique of open class observation for teachers’ professional development attends to how a teacher administers students and increases their interaction. The assumption is that observing teachers enables them to reflect on their own teaching practices for future improvement based on what they discover from other teacher’s classes. Post-observation discussions are considered a turning point for teacher’s growth. Some public schools in Taiwan require observing teachers to fill out a classroom observation form to document what they see and share their observation with the observed teacher. The indicators of observation form (see table

4-1) as a discursive technology guide how to think and act as a proper teacher in the present. Yet there are remnants of past modes of teaching even in the current reform style. For example, a teacher's proper demonstration is defined by lucid written presentation, comprehensible utterance, moderate voice volume, and appropriate bodily gesture but is no longer about a teacher's inner ethical virtues. Rather, the focus on these perceptible particulars is to delineate a teacher's communication skills as a requisite for boosting class interaction that are considered trainable and measurable in the present.

Table 4-1 A. **Curriculum Design and Instruction**

Evaluation indicators and reference check points (Check all that apply)	State specific objective facts
A-3 Master disciplinary knowledge	
□A-3-1 Correctly grasp the content of the teaching materials.	
□A-3-2 Efficiently connect students experiences to old knowledge and skills.	
□A-3-3 Learning materials connect student living experience.	
A-4 Clearly present learning materials.	
□A-4-1 State learning objectives and learning focus.	

<input type="checkbox"/> A-4-2 Present learning materials in an orderly way.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-4-3 Explain clearly important concepts, rules or skills.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-4-4 Provide students appropriate opportunities for practice.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-4-5 Clarify concepts or ideas that students easily misunderstand or make mistakes, or guide their belief systems.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-4-6 Design a learning context that invokes student thinking and discussion.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-4-7 Sum up learning focus and concepts properly.	
A-5 Employ practical teaching skills.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-5-1 Motivate and maintain students' learning interests.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-5-2 Good at changing instructional activities and teaching methods.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-5-3 Apply learning strategies in instructional activities.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-5-4 Instructional activities are changed and connected smoothly.	
<input type="checkbox"/> A-5-5 Control time and teaching pace.	

□A-5-6 Guide students how to think through inquiry methods.	
□A-5-7 Use instructional technology and materials to help students learn.	
□A-5-8 Apply teaching techniques according to individual difference.	
□A-5-9 Make good use of information technology equipment and integrate it for effective teaching	
A-6 Good communication skills	
□A-6-1 Blackboard writing is correct and organized.	
□A-6-2 Clear and comprehensive spoken language with moderate volume.	
□A-6-3 Make good use of bodily language to increase teacher-student interaction	
□A-6-4 Move around the classroom and remain eye contact with majority of students.	

Note. Adapted and translated from Open Class Observation Form, by Wulong elementary school, Hsinchu County, Taiwan.

Additionally, from the indicators, exhibiting lesson objectives is required in every lesson observation as teachers are evaluated on the degree to which they attain lesson objectives which are predetermined in advance. To evaluate whether a lesson objective is achieved is not determined by how well a teacher organizes and instructs a lesson, but is now specified by how

students take part in class as a sign to show the extent of student-teacher interaction.

Accordingly, of the gaze of viewing is given to the whole process and the ways that a teacher employed strategies to trigger students' reaction in order to determine if students are learning and thus included. This can be manifested by some major indicators in the observation form that the teacher should "clearly present learning materials," "employ practical teaching skills" and "good communication skills." These primary indicators recycle some historical constitution of being a teacher, re-inscribing the importance of a teacher's effect in the process of student learning.

New Way of Seeing: Process, Evidence and Psychological Norm

The educational discourse in present-day Taiwan generally considers that observing students' learning process can lead to meeting students' needs and can also render maximum teacher autonomy for professional growth without requiring teachers to follow specific procedures as they did when the Herbartian method was popular. Ostensibly, the teacher is not the center of observation and can utilize whatever pedagogical techniques to relate with students and also make students interact with each other. The method and procedure may be free and adjustable, but learning outcomes are already stipulated and preset in advance. At one level, the focus on students' learning process in Taiwan's educational discourse is linked to behaviorism that looks at how a teacher models and guides in order to stimulate student response. In a recent report on how a teacher with more than twenty-years of experience changes and grows through open class observation, the experienced teacher reflected and commented on what she did differently from her past teaching observation and demonstration:

Now, I care more about how students learn. . . In the whole process, I would look into whether they took part in the actively. Moreover, I paid attention to disadvantaged students' learning difficulties: whether they

were able to have a conversation with others. I also guided other students in the same group to help those disadvantaged students...I told those students with lower academic performance: "I hope you can be more active. If you don't know the answer, you can express that. In other words, you may want to say, 'I don't understand and hope you (other classmates) can help me.'" For those students who talk frequently from the beginning, I told them, 'Can you not talk first? Can you listen to your peers? You can ask your peers if they have something to say.' Later on, those students who are smarter and more competent were able to say: 'XXX, what do you think? Do you want to share?' (as cited in Yu & Tang, 2015, p. 26-27)

From the teacher's reflection, the distinction between competent and incompetent students is not merely about the difference in intelligence or socioeconomic status. The division is also implied through a psychological lens and can be characterized by the extent of uttering what they just learned, an indicator to show their awareness. It suggests that those who are afraid to express themselves have low level of self-esteem and interpersonal confidence, demanding help from others. The teacher thus continued to talk about how a student "dialogue" is produced as a way to include a less competent student with a peer guide in which a small learning community is formed:

At the beginning, Xiaoxuan (incompetent student) was afraid to express her ideas. She repeated the last paragraph of what Xiaozhe (competent student) just said. . . . Other students in the group encouraged her, 'say one more time from the beginning.' Xiaoxuan replied, 'What Xiaozhe just said is what I wanted to say.' Xiaozhe then told Xiaoxuan to reiterate one more time. (as cited in Yu & Tang, 2015, p.28)

The experienced teacher then remarked, “From the student interaction, they already know she is able to comprehend only when she speaks out” (Yu & Tang, 2015, p.28).

Although it is not clear whether the student’s utterance stands for her comprehension, the above example presents a process of stimulus and response—how student utterances and interaction can be mediated and manipulated with teacher’s guide. Without devaluing the efforts that the teacher made for an inclusive classroom, I instead shift the discussion to the effects that such interactive pedagogy might produce. The interactive pedagogy embodied a Vygotskian idea that social interaction or relationships contribute to self-formation and social inclusion is the main goal of twelve-year public education reform. Through a learning community that the experienced teacher attempted to build as instantiated above, the students are prescribed as trainable, responsive, and ready-to-respond to objects at any time in order to claim their agency and become a member of learning community. The type of community learning (small group activity) gives an impression that forceful governance from the teacher is lifted. However, the pattern of student act and “interaction” is driven by preset learning objectives about provoking and retaining learning interests. Through the technology of interactive pedagogy, the ready-to-respond students are manipulated first by teacher’s modeling and then through a peer’s guide. They become self-disciplined agents who utter explicitly and continually as evidence in alignment with preset objectives (despite the utterance may be produced with other’s help). Such interactive pedagogy for inclusion is far from being free and spontaneous, but is to constantly focus students’ attention and monitor their development in an endless process. Notably, those who do not follow the norm by uttering what they just learned from class will be classified as

“incompetent” and in need of others’ assistance until they do so to temporarily remove their status of “incompetency.”

This trend of stressing explicit or concrete performance as evidence of learning is also manifested in a teacher manual talking about proper ways of observing a teacher’s lesson. In order to examine whether learning objectives are attained, when they are accomplished, and what patterns of behavior are generated, observing teachers are advised to specifically see and record some quantifiable and salient particulars, such as how many times a student utters over a period of time, whether the student relates learning materials to his/her utterance, what are the characteristics of the student’s body language, and what is the level of student’s volume (Pan, Lee, Huang, Yu & Shue, 2013, 49). The observation does not focus on one single student, but records the movement/utterance of all students based on the class seating chart and the communicative acts among students and the teacher. That is, data about what happens in the classroom are documented in detail and repeatedly recorded to update the progress of both teacher and students. These observable particulars not only inform students’ learning outcomes, they are evidence of the effect of the teacher’s strategy for student behavior and outcomes. The new mode of observation is not to inspect how well a teacher presents in his/her course of instruction through a fixed metaphoric logic. It instead analyzes systematic patterns of behaviors such as verbal and non-verbal responses and interactive patterns among students and the teacher from an inundation of observable data as evidence for ongoing feedback and reflection on teacher strategies. In other words, to learn to observe is to acquire a new way of seeing in which students and the teacher are perceived as material actors that provide thoughts for change and improvement (Daston and Galison, 2007; Halpern, 2012; 2014).

Observation has been circulated as an effective learning tool for improving quality of teaching/learning practices. In current Taiwanese educational discourse, observation as an opportunity to learn/transform creates a different kind of “eye” on the teacher who no longer serves as a moral guide or a perfect presenter, but is redesigned as a mediator who administers learning that is delineated and divulged by the evidence of temporal, relational (non-)verbal acts, and responses in class. Drawn upon Halpern’s idea of communicative objectivity (2014), this mode of viewing embodies a new notion of objectivity—students or the teacher as material objects that can be converted to a set of data for continuous extraction, analysis and interpretation. The truth of today teacher’s performance is seen through discernable experiences and is told with data. Hence, observation re-visions teaching as a process of collecting evidence that provides the basis for ongoing feedback, continuous reflection, and self-improvement. Attached to the discourse of accountability for teacher development, observation becomes a “systematic method” infused with rich, a varied range of data used to find patterns or ideas that can be replicated into other teaching conditions (Halpern, 2014). Observing other teacher’s classes is then meant to focus vision on the processes that produce spontaneous interactions in order to find generalizable strategies or solutions for mutual improvement. Yet, as the above example shows the utterance and interaction among students ironically can be manipulated within a conditioned situation. Observation as a method to find applicable strategies for changes thereby cannot be viewed as power free. Influenced by psychological behaviorism and the ideas of feedback, it instead favors and normalizes certain conditioned responses and patterns of interaction as pedagogical ideals, but it excludes other possibilities in a certain way.

Conclusion: Historical “Eye” on the Teacher and Politics of Inclusion as Exclusion

In this chapter, I mean to highlight the continuities and discontinuities in seeing teachers in Taiwan across several historical periods. The need for a role model is historically embedded in Confucianism through the implicit observation. It is still apparent in Taiwan not only in a more overt style of Herbartian-style observation in early 19th century, but also in recent evidence-based observation where interactivity is stressed. By delving into historical circumstances and cultural reasons, this chapter unpacks shifting ways of seeing the proper teachers/teaching and historical norms of conduct for teachers in Taiwanese educational discourse in order to unpack the unscrutinized power effects embodied in recent techniques of open class observation. To achieve this goal, I’ve investigated the intersection of past cultural traditions and contemporary Western rationalities of psychology and pedagogy. I first inquired into how Confucian ideas of implicit observational osmosis necessitated a role model for self-transformation and how Confucian style of casual practice of observation wove together with a Confucian heart-body analogy to create a Confucian seeing—a metaphorical view of the junzi whose physical appearance could project his inner status. I then probed into how this cultural politics continued to haunt 19th century Taiwanese schooling by looking into the ways that the Confucian style of seeing teacher as a moral guide resonated with and interlinked with Japanese colonial administration and Herbartian scientific pedagogy. The scientific mode of viewing deemed necessary for a civilized life was spread through Japanese colonization in which practices of proper learning and teaching were defined by perceptible particulars. In the revamped model of the Herbartian method, observing what is noticeable was circulated as a way to gain truth and rationality, and also to fulfill Japanese colonizers’ attempts of civilizing ignorant colonial

islanders in historical time. Observation (of teacher-model) as transformation was not an implicit experience in the Confucian sense, but became a scientific act that could be planned, visualized, and described. The teacher was envisioned as a skillful presenter who was obligated to follow the procedures of knowledge-making and exhibit moderate manners of speech and conduct. The assumption is that children could achieve their own knowledge production and develop the ability to reason through visualizing the teacher's presentation.

Infusing psychological theories of child-centeredness and pedagogical interactivity, the emblematic perception of the teacher in Confucianism and Herbartianism is reworked and creates a different kind of "eye" for the teacher through today's open class observation. The vision on the teacher is seemingly progressive, as attention is directed to the teacher and his/her environment, i.e., communicative process and patterns between teacher and students. Focusing on process suggests that teachers require some sort of freedom or release from regulation. Also, it implies that observing teachers don't have to fix their eyes on the observed teacher with tradition-bound norms, but learn from "whatever works" practices as a kind of self-improvement/enhancement. As my analysis shows, however, the so-called "what works" practices lie in students' explicit reactions which were mediated by the teacher in alignment with preset learning goals. A metaphorical "eye" on the teacher is still apparent in today's techniques of observation, as the attention to the process involves a view on how well a teacher intervenes to evoke students' response based on preset "stimulus" (learning goals); this is a normalizing gaze under psychological behaviorism. Additionally, when producing a response is a marker of an inclusive classroom that denotes a certain type of learning is proceeding, those students who do

not come up with explicit responses won't be regarded as participating, and will thus be excluded.

Furthermore, current techniques of observation also embody statistical reasoning that data about the patterns of teacher-student interactions and communicative acts are collected and analyzed as objective evidence for a continuous self-improving feedback loop for teachers. Informed by both metaphorical logic and statistical reasoning, teachers are normalized in terms of what they can do and need to do to build inclusion for students. Simultaneously, teachers are classified and cast out as improper and unprofessional if they fail to meet the psychological norms of evoking explicit responses from students, a sign representing an inclusive classroom in the contemporary discourse of Taiwanese schooling.

Open class observation is meant to make teaching/learning practices available for public scrutiny for future improvement on teacher's practice. Instead, for the purpose of evaluating teacher performance, observing a teacher's class is said to welcome opportunities to learn and transform. Historical ideas of observation as self-transformation are reorganized and reinforced in today's notion of the teacher through expertise of educational psychology and pedagogical knowledge. Ostensibly, the teacher was no longer subjugated to regulated teaching process and model-like performance in Herbartian "eye." The politics of the need of shaping children through teachers remains in today's discourse of educational reforms. Today's teacher as a lifelong learner is constructed as an ethical subject who is not only obligated to work on the self and others but also continuously embrace change. The teacher is not only governed through the will to endless change, but is directed to embracing certain patterns of change. As the analysis reveals, specific forms of teacher intervention in the fashion of psychological behaviorism are inscribed in the technique of open class observation and underscored in current discourse of

teacher professionalism in order to define change, growth, and progress. In this way, rather than as an instance of empowerment or liberation that can bring about different possibilities, open class observation as a method for teacher transformation has its limits when it is utilized in conditioned ways without difference.

Chapter 5

Reinserting the Political: Inclusive Educational Reforms and Production of New Patterns of Governance and Divisions

Educational reforms are not simply about improvement, as I have revealed in this dissertation; the current reform of twelve-year public education program in Taiwan embodies rules of conduct that are context-bound and historically informed. The use of a historical approach in studying educational reform might seem odd on the surface, as we often think of history as a diachronic collection of events and “facts” that are power constrained and old-fashioned, compared to present constructions that are thought of as liberal and progressive through a positivist, scientific lens. For example, current reform approaches to building an inclusive society emphasize borrowing and transferring (*qujing*) from globally evidence-based, “what works” practices to increase participation and agency. Current reform efforts seek practicalities to solve social problems and are seen as a way to step away from the unequal power structures of the past and are considered ideologically impartial. However, the distinction between the past and present within the contemporary reform movement might have been inflated. As my analysis shows, the objective, transparent techniques in current Taiwanese inclusive educational practices embody certain historically bound cultural norms and epistemologies that continue to work in the present. These norms and epistemologies delineate the borders of thought and action for both students and teachers in current Taiwanese inclusive educational reform.

Rather than focusing on how educational borrowing or transfer is (in)adequately adapted or what foreign lessons are to be learned, this dissertation has explored the complex, relational,

continuous and contingent elements embedded in present techniques of educational reform to understand upspoken norms and values that not only produce desirable Taiwanese children/citizens but also differentiate who are “dangerous” children in need of help and regulate how they can be rescued. The making of lifelong learners for a more humanitarian and just society in present educational discourses presumes an individual who is not only autonomous, free of political constraint, but who is also an agent of change, responsible for individual and collective progress. The presumption of the current citizenry as lifelong learners is based on “practical” forms of expertise, e.g., knowledge and methods of social science and educational science which are used as tools not only for shaping individuals’ consciousness and their modes of living, but also for enacting and planning their futures. The use of social science expertise to increase school access and quality as a strategy of inclusion might seem free of political charge. Yet, as I’ve explored in this dissertation, multiple forms of governance have been reconfigured and continue to work in the present. It becomes possible to unpack the limits of inclusive techniques in current Taiwanese educational reform as they are founded upon unquestioned presumptions about a certain kind of human informed by knowledge and techniques of educational science. This study has attempted to provide what Rancière (2010) termed a “dissensus” that analyzes the politics that go beyond state hegemony which enabled and led to present-day forms of thought, action and reflection.

To understand the complex power effects that are inscribed in current educational policies and reforms, this study has examined varying styles of reasoning (Hacking, 1991; Popkewitz, 2013) that function to enact changes by ordering the conduct of the child and teacher, but also equip them with certain dispositions, sensibilities and capabilities. To examine styles of reasoning/systems of reasoning as a technique of studying educational reform is to avoid

ontological fixity, a representative category that sustains rather than converts existent power relations (Popkewitz, Pereyra & Frankin, 2001). Seeing power as productive rather than repressive, “entangled approaches” (Sobe, 2013) are adopted to map why and how changes are brought about and enacted in Taiwanese schooling to produce certain kinds of children and teachers rather than other kinds. Attending to styles of reasoning as a historical problem of studying educational reform, I sought to unveil how historically constituted principles govern our present identities and conduct, and simultaneously inscribe new forms of difference.

Governance by Consciousness: Lifelong Learners as a Historical Fabrication of the Present

First, I explored how identities were constituted as objects within the deployment of time “marked by transformations, continuities and discontinuities between pasts, presents and futures” (Sobe, 2013, p.100) in order to consider how the epistemological kind of child/citizen was shaped into a lifelong learner in the discourse of present-day educational reform. My analysis of identity is not concerned with spatial or geographical identities such as Taiwanese or Chinese, but views identity as discursive constitution bound to historical temporalities and complexities (See Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999, pp.27-28). For example, the making of the child/citizen into a lifelong learner in the present is constituted as a practical pursuit in education and is seemingly unrelated to any political charge or moral norms; however, as I analyzed in Chapter 2, the recurring pragmatic modes of schooling meant to produce a desirable kind(s) of child/citizen across historical moments involves different selective concerns, cultural imperatives, and shifting national hopes/fears of historical time. In this way, pragmatic schooling is like an “empty signifier” (Buenfil, 2003) that is continuously reconfigured and imbued with manifold meanings in need of historical interrogation. Chapter 2 showed how historically-bound pragmatic

schooling intersected with discourses of collective objectives and political administration across time to produce norms in shaping desirable children/citizens. Through probing the historical formation of the child/citizen, I've demonstrated that the moral loyalist during Japanese rule, the social player in the regime of KMT, and the lifelong learner in the present are not necessarily a historical evolution or sign of progress but entail continuously shifting norms that shape who the child/citizen is and ought to be.

Chapter 2 provides a new reading and understanding of Taiwanese scholarship and education history, namely that governance is not top-down, but works through the pedagogical technique of the self. Narrated as a civilizing mission under Japanese colonization, nation rebuilding in the KMT's regime and education for inclusion in the present, are all models of school reform with pragmatic claims that have presumed an individual whose consciousness and agency can be remade. Rather than focusing on outer ideological instillations, this dissertation has unpacked how people's consciousness and disposition were reshaped through changing modes of living where past cultural traditions were interwoven with techniques of acquiring rationality to enable self-governing. No matter in the past or present, the modes of self-governing are related to the hopes of progress and fear of degeneration, although cultural themes for governance have shifted. As illustrated in Chapter 2, "civilizing" techniques in Japanese colonial common schools were used to evoke people's internal mechanisms of self-censoring and behavioral change based on the Japanese samurai norm of shame. The shaping of consciousness through the gaze of shame was resembled with the Confucian norm of role-based propriety that orders how the child behaves as a group member and a social example within a hierarchy of learning, so that the child can be a social player who fulfills the "democratic" dream of being a Chinese republican in contrast to communism in Mainland China during the KMT's regime.

Such ethical normalization entails a hope for betterment and a fear of decay and remains apparent in the modern pedagogical technique of the self.

Today's reform necessitates a specific agent, termed as a lifelong learner, in order to change society. This lifelong learner is neither universally compatible nor ahistorically situated. The lifelong learner is obligated to perform ethical self-governance, endless self-reflection geared toward future change. And this lifelong learner is related to collective progress, not only defined by global competitiveness but also linked to national movement of democratization that demands a new sense of Taiwanese national belonging. In one sense, the present does not exclude the past. That is, to be a lifelong learner in the present requires an entry point—reflecting on past social wrongs and constraints and identifying “a way forward” in order to gain agency and subjectivity as Taiwanese. In this way, reflection is precluded upon the human quality of evoking historical consciousness and memories that not only build one's sense of identity, but order our ways of acting, thinking, and feeling about democracy, freedom and emancipation. Further, the quality of self-reflection as an imperative component of the lifelong learner is not devoid of historical traces. For example, as shown in Chapter 2, the Confucian virtue of daily reflection that reinforces the need for self-disclosure in private for moral perfection was reformulated in modern pedagogies as an overt tool of self-development with prescribed procedures. The present kind of the Taiwanese citizen as a lifelong learner, as Cruikshank argues (1999) has a will to empower and can be pedagogically administered. By attending to the historical formation of the Taiwanese citizenry, I have shown how the principle of consciousness has remained a catalyst for developing sensibilities and dispositions in relation to collective progress and how this principle continues to produce governing effects in today's Taiwanese educational reforms, despite the changes in identities marked as a sign of progress.

Numbers as Making Up Competence and Inscribing Difference

In addition to the principle of consciousness, I have scrutinized certain inclusive gestures for educating lifelong learners in current Taiwanese educational reform of twelve-year public education programs in order to unpack the politics of liberal rationalities. For example, in Chapter 3 I analyzed how adaptive instruction—considered an inclusive technique that favors an “objective,” “impartial” approach for developing “every” single child into competent lifelong learners—paradoxically produced new forms of governance and divisions through a comparative logic. The objective approach refers to administering benchmark assessments periodically throughout students’ learning process to monitor their progress and provide teachers with instant data about how to adjust instruction. The idea of adaptive instruction underscores the teacher’s adjustment to meet the students’ needs. The use of data to guide instruction is not merely influenced by global testing culture such as PISA results, but also carries within its historical vestiges. For example, the Confucian idea of adaptation (*yincaishijiao*) denoting that teaching should be in accordance with prescribed distinctions of human natural tendencies was reframed in current inclusive techniques of adaptive instruction that seek to meet students’ learning needs defined and calculated by numerical data. As I have shown in Chapter 3, the obsession with numbers in organizing the Taiwanese people’s life since Japanese colonization continues to appear in the present. In the Taiwanese educational field since the latter half of 20th century, numbers were thought to tell the truth about pupils’ intelligence and mental ability while nowadays numbers are considered solid evidence to represent one’s “practical” competences.

The politics of using numbers to gauge students’ competence is not only about what to measure and how the results are interpreted and administered. The intrinsic power of numbers is used to “map the boundaries and the internal characteristics of the spaces of population” (Rose,

1999, 197). Data's assumed objectivity lies in the reduction of complexity through which numbers are made possible for comparison, classification, and differentiation (Porter, 1995, Rose, 1999). In this way, as described in Chapter 3, the practice of adaptive instruction is bound to such "objective" numerical norms that not only assign a status of (in)competence to the student, but also determine who has to change and how the change should be made. Like I pointed out in Chapter 3, a political judgement that entails a universal human assumption about who a Taiwanese citizen ought to be is concealed in the numerical calculation and representation. The homogeneous kind of human is now defined as the one who embodies competence, a basic qualification for collective progress in the 21st century, though it was phrased as natural goodness in Confucian time and as intelligence since the 1950s' in Taiwan.

Distinctive from a majority of Taiwanese scholarship that is concerned with how agency is related to what students learn, in Chapter 3 I showed that the educational inflexibility and inequality in Taiwan is also related to a unified, singular assumption about the human (despite the fact that the conception of citizenry identity in Taiwan has changed) and to the ways that comparison is the favored method of defining progress. In the past and present, numbers have been linked to a singular notion of the human that continues to produce divisions through a comparative principle that separates intelligent elites from the ignorant dregs of society, while nowadays a new distinction is produced by classifying competent lifelong learners from less competent others. In this view, adaptive instruction based on statistical calculation to inform teaching decisions does not really target students themselves. Instead, the adaptation is subject to external, data-driven judgements. That is, adaptation occurs when the data shows a distance from the preset standards that constitute so-called "practical" competences in current the Taiwanese reform movement. Data becomes attached to people and renders them meaningful through

statistical norms. The politics of numbers is that they continue to compare and divide students while covering up the human judgement and values behind them. Numbers mark and filter out those who do not meet certain standards, subjugating them to endless teacher monitoring and self-correction. The good intentions meant to include *every* single child through adaptive instruction turn out to merely focus on those “dangerous” students for their inability to meet standards. The inclusive gesture through regular check-ups using this “neutral,” “fair” mechanism ironically engenders finer distinctions; divisions and hierarchies are therefore made more visible than ever, thereby conserving rather than erasing power effects and social inequality.

Governmentality of the Teacher: Confucian “Seeing,” Modern Pedagogies, and the Psychological Principle

Finally, I have examined how the teacher as an agent of change is seen and positioned as capable of creating an inclusive classroom in current Taiwanese educational reform through the technique of open-class observation. As Chapter 4 displays, the panoptic, normalizing gaze on the teacher through transparent observation contains historical residues. What a teacher should think and how a teacher should act in present-day Taiwan are considered a grid of practices laced with historical ideas and values. Thus, I have explored how the principle of Confucian “seeing” (the junzi’s/sage appearance is a representation of his inner world) marked by the cultural norm of propriety is connected to the Herbartian overt pedagogy popular during Japanese colonization to rationalize the teacher’s body as a sign of the teacher’s ethics/professionalness. Then, I investigated how this metaphorical logic of pedagogy coupled with psychological behaviorism

reinforced the need for the teacher's manipulation to evoke student responses as evidence of class participation and interaction.

The historical examination of the teacher has illuminated how the ostensibly liberal formation of teachers who embrace change for self-growth actually entails a predefined normativity that guides how they should act as professional teachers. Also, the analysis also exhibits how the so-called student-centered modern pedagogy is historically and culturally situated and might contain limits. As examined in Chapter 4, a historical episteme of focusing on physical appearance intersects with and is inscribed within the interactive pedagogy the reformists have promoted; this guides how teachers should think and act in order to elicit conditioned responses as a marker of an inclusive class without considering other possibilities. Simultaneously, the students are also governed to perform such salient behavior to show that they are engaged and thus included; however, the prominence of student response might be just the power effects of ordering student attention through the teacher's manipulation. Seeing this type of interactive pedagogy as inclusive obscures—its double gesture of exclusion. This inclusive pedagogy might unintentionally engage both students and teachers in a process of exclusion when students who are unable or not willing to produce such reciprocity. On one level, learning and interaction can only be identified through a set of in-class noticeable behaviors visible on the surface. This way, student performances that are not observable will not count as learning and students might be subject to the teacher's redirection for self-change in order to be included. At another level, the teacher's efficacy will be called in question if he/she doesn't have exterior evidence of student learning while in the past the regulation of the teacher only directs to the teacher's body, whether a teacher "acts" like a teacher through presenting his/her physical body in a proper mode.

In this dissertation, I have attempted to unveil how the current Taiwanese educational reform for inclusion produces new patterns of governance, distinctions, and exclusions through certain historical events. The events I have studied in this study (e.g., adaptive instruction based on numerical norms; open-class observation) not only generate principles for action, but also produce new modes of knowing, administrating and governing. For example, they exhibit a representational logic as a marker of telling the truth about individuals' calculated competences (e.g., grade chart), or as a signifier of empowerment or progress that is not only tied to Western reason and rationality (see Rancière, 2004), but is also engraved in the past cultural practices in the education history of Taiwan. Nowadays the value of representation (e.g., through numerical norms) remains manifest and linked to Western rationalities and pedagogies in contemporary Taiwanese educational reform. Current Taiwanese educational reform reflects ideas about agency and empowerment and seeks to improve social problems, but ironically reinforces an idea of "representation as sameness" in stabilizing the "visions" about who the child/citizen and teacher ought to be and out to do in the present (See Deleuze, 1994). Although issues of identities and representation are important for political participation today, this dissertation offers another dimension of thought for rethinking social inequality and injustice. Since we often regard knowledge and techniques of social science as neutral and impartial, this study has sought to make visible the cultural complexities that inscribe politics within those inclusive gestures informed by "practical" knowledge of social science.

Contributions to the Study

The current Taiwanese educational reform puts emphasis on seeking “practical,” “what works” knowledge to increase human agency. This is the case in both students’ learning and teacher’s instruction and development. What is regarded as “practical” in the educational reform movement embodies assumptions about what the schooling is, who children ought to be, and what teachers should do to help themselves grow and students learn. This dissertation seeks to challenge these presumptions informed by practical knowledge of the reform movement and offer the following contributions.

First, I provide an analysis of a temporal notion of educational practicality and its political understanding to reform and school practices. This dissertation explores that practical knowledge highlighted in current Taiwanese educational reform is not a singular novelty. It is instead related to a recurrence of educational practicality assumed to come from agency, and it inscribes temporal meanings across historical time. Specifically, the study analyzes how the notion of educational practicality is historically reframed in schooling and pedagogical practices bound to distinctive national missions. For example, educational practicality under Japanese rule values educating a civilized (moral) mind, while in the KMT regime educational practicality focused on the ability to put into practice preset procedures. In the present, educational practicality underscores endless self-development in a linear manner. Serving as a technology of citizenship, the temporal notion of educational practicality not only informs proper modes of living but incessantly makes up kinds of people through reshaping their mind, i.e., fabricating people as moral loyalists, social group players, or lifelong learners. The analysis unravels the patterns and constraints of pedagogies in producing lifelong learners similar to past (colonial) citizen formations. Ultimately, I show that practical knowledge in educational reforms is not

something neutral or power-free but entails cultural theses that govern how people should think and act.

Second, this study emphasizes cultural analysis of conceptualizations of the child and teacher in order to make policy makers and researchers aware that the transfer and translation of educational policies are epistemological practices. This dissertation shows that educational reforms encompass multilateral reasons and cultural theses across historical times and spaces that continuously produce normative visions of people. The present reform of twelve-year public education seeks to transfer foreign policies to enact changes in reform practices. The majority of educational scholarship often foregrounds institutional and managerial analyses of policy transfer for local implementation. Some normative judgements about who the Taiwanese children/citizens and (professional) teachers are remain unquestioned. Through examining reform practices of educational transfer (e.g., data-driven adaptation and open-class observation for transformation), this study investigates epistemological principles that produce Taiwanese children/citizens and teachers as lifelong learners. Moreover, it makes visible practices of educational transfer and translations as a field of epistemology by revealing the limits of the inclusive techniques of the present reform, such as self-regulation, division, and rejection.

Lastly, this dissertation enriches curriculum studies of international and comparative education by employing a historical perspective in studying educational reform and schooling practices. When studying educational reforms of twelve-year public education programs, the majority of Taiwanese scholarship has stressed lessons learned in thinking about horizontally transferrable best practices with “fixed departure and arrival” (Sobe, 2013, p. 100) from other places/countries. Little attention has been paid to considering how historical complexity impacts

educational transfer (i.e., PISA and Japanese lesson studies). This study considers educational reforms as a historical entanglement. It employs a historical lens in studying educational reform focusing on historical continuities, the epistemological principles of practical knowledge that continue to work in forming normative visions about children and teachers. Through an examination of two reform events translated from PISA and Japanese lesson studies, my study shows that principles of numerical and figurative epistemologies remain in current inclusive reform and normalize what it means to be a Taiwanese child/citizen or a professional teacher. Simultaneously, differentiation, division and exclusion have never been dismissed despite the instructional/learning practices or assessment schemes that have changed to become more inclusive. In sum, this dissertation research unlocks the modern empowering sensibilities, normalizing judgements, and capillary powers in current inclusive reform that continue to govern education and conduct as in previous political dominations in Taiwan.

Perhaps, it's time to take a break from thinking about how to change education based on preordered notions of "betterment," but instead to scrutinize the common-sense assumptions of schooling and practices of our own time. Doing so will help us discover the ways that historical and cultural practices affect the translations of international policies and educational reform that remain normative for conduct and thought. Through this historical, entangled method, this dissertation has unmasked the ways that seemingly innovative, practical knowledge in the present reform is a cultural reconfiguration of historical time that embodies norms of historical residues interplayed with educational transfer to order conduct and thus have limits. This study contributes an alternative perspective to the curriculum studies of international and comparative

education as a practice of inquiry into the intermingling of the past and present, and rejects presumptions derived from horizontal transfer studies or ideological impositions.

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