Trends and Choices—Taiwanese and Chinese Identities: *An Examination of Language and Culture Textbooks in Taiwan*

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Abstract

In many nations educators are fighting to build a curriculum that reflects the knowledge and beliefs of all peoples rather than a dominant political power group. This perspective is particularly significant when examining school discourse in Taiwan, a country with a long-standing multicultural population and a diverse history of alien occupations. After ending 38 years of martial law in 1987, Taiwanese intellectuals began to challenge the Sinocentric education of national standardized Chinese language/culture textbooks which had neglected unrepresented ethnic groups, hindering the development of students' Taiwanese identity. In 2001, the Ministry of Education relinquished the editorship of high school standardized textbooks to private publishers. This paper examines how political ideology and cultural representation in grade-seven Chinese textbooks have influenced the formation of Taiwanese students' identities since the 1970s. The data samples are from junior high school Chinese textbooks between 1970 and 2004. The results indicate in the early 2000s private publishers' textbooks enhanced not only Taiwanese discourse but also a hybrid of Chinese, Taiwanese and Western discourses promoting local and mixed identities, as well as a global identity.

Introduction

The aim of this study is to examine how political ideology and cultural representation in grade-seven Chinese language/culture textbooks have influenced the formation of Taiwanese students' national identity with respect to four different political leaders: Chiang Kai-shek (1970s), Chiang Ching-kuo (1980s), Lee Teng-hui (1990s), and Chen Shui-bian (2000s). This research reveals the relationship between politics and education by examining Chinese textbooks in Taiwan. Using an in-depth qualitative research methodology this study codes and classifies the ideological and thematic perspectives of these textbooks, and seeks to explicate the differences in the Taiwanese political outlook and its effect on the school discourse formation in relation to national identity construction.

This paper is organized into six sections, section 1 offers the background of the study which will lay the foundation for comprehending how the historical and sociopolitical contexts of Taiwan have influenced school discourse formation which, in turn, affected Taiwanese identity construction. Section two discusses the theoretical framework by introducing Foucault's (1979) concept of discourse which emphasizes that discourse is formed and reflected through political power, and Fairclough's (1992) dialectic view of discourse as determined by social structure while also contributing to social change. Fairclough's dialectic view of discourse and social structure provides a means to investigate the relationship between school discourse and sociopolitical changes in recent Taiwanese society. Also presented are Apple's (2000) view of textbooks as official or selected knowledge, and Kramsch's (1998) concept of discourse community which play significant roles in influencing one's collective identity formation. In addition, this section also addresses Brown's (2004) notion of national identity which indicates that national identities are socially constructed based on common sociopolitical experiences rather than common ancestry/culture. Section three presents the data collection and the methodology of this project. Section four offers empirical results. Section five offers the interpretation of this study based on the empirical findings with respect to the four different political leaders from the 1970s to the early 2000s. Finally, the last section concludes this paper

by addressing the issue that the Chinese textbooks underwent three conceptual changes in terms of the political, cultural, and global aspects in relation to national identity construction.

Background of the Study
Known historically as Ilha Formosa, the beautiful island, by the Portuguese who voyaged to Taiwan in the mid-1500s, Taiwan is located in East Asia between the Pacific Ocean and the Taiwan Strait, roughly 100 miles off the coast of China.

The first residents in Taiwan were the Aborigines of Southeast Asia, the Austronesian people, whose language belong to the Austronesian Malaya family. According to the oldest site of archaeological discovery in Chang-bin, a rural township located in Taidong County in southeast Taiwan, the original Aboriginal people might have inhabited Taiwan for nearly fifty thousand years (Chiang, 2005; Huang, 2005). From 1626 to 1642, the Dutch and Spanish had occupied Taiwan. During the Dutch and Spanish rule, although the Taiwanese Aborigines were distributed all over the island and constituted the majority of the population, they had still not formed a confederated political organization connecting the tribes (Chiang, 2005). In the early 1660s, Chinese people began to immigrant to this island. In 1683, the Chinese government (Qing dynasty) took over Taiwan. In the nineteenth century, more Chinese people had immigrated to Taiwan from the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong in southern China. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the ethnic groups of Taiwan were mainly divided into two groups. One group was made up of Taiwanese Aborigines. The other group was the Han Chinese, within which were two Chinese sub-ethnic groups, Hoklo and Hakka, who spoke their own dialects. The Hoklo people (Minnan-ren) spoke a Fujian dialect—Minnan. This group had emigrated from Fujian, a southeastern province of China and comprised the majority of the Han people in Taiwan. The second ethnic group, the Hakka, was from the southwestern part of Fujian province and the northern part of Guangdong province; they spoke Hakka dialect. It should be noted that although Aboriginal, Hakka, and Hoklo people had distinctive local spoken language, they all eventually shared the same written language—Chinese.

In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the defeated Qing government in the treaty of Shimonoseki. Having been under Japanese colonization, the language and dominant discourse of the educational system was Japanese during the last stage of Japanese rule (1936–1945). When the Japanese surrendered unconditionally in 1945 at the end of World War II, Taiwan was returned to China, ending 50 years of Japanese occupation and setting the stage for a new era of Sinocentric cultural domination.

Four years after its return, Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT), was defeated by the Chinese Communist. He retreated from the mainland to Taiwan with 1.5 million of his followers (Kuznets, 1979). There he rebuilt his regime, the Republic of China (ROC), and claimed that the ROC represented all of China. At the beginning of Chiang's rule, resentment and violent riots erupted between some of the islanders and the mainland newcomers. In 1949, in order to control this situation and legitimatize his leadership, Chiang Kai-shek imposed martial law which suspended various freedoms including the freedom of speech and demonstration. In 1953, the KMT stipulated that only Mandarin Chinese should be used as the language of instruction in schools (Miao, 2003). Moreover, in 1964, the KMT government passed a law forbidding the use of the Taiwanese vernaculars including Aboriginal, Hakka and Hoklo dialects at school and on official occasions. During Chiang Kai-shek's period, educational institutions propagated the ROC nationalist political beliefs such as anti-communism; thus constructing the ROC national identity for the Taiwanese people.

Following Chiang Kai-shek's death in 1975 and the two-and-a-half year presidency of Yen Jia-gan, Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-kuo assumed the presidency in 1978. Chiang followed in his father's footsteps claiming that the ROC represented all of China. In addition, he continued the process of Sinicization by official nationalism (Anderson, 1991)—state governments impose compulsory education on its citizens; thus building up a Chinese identity for the Taiwanese students.

Challenged by both external forces (more countries recognized the People's Republic of China, PRC) and internal forces (domestic opposition activists), in 1986 the Taiwanese opposition leaders successfully established the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) which was the first native political party after World War II. In 1987 the KMT regime finally ended the 38 years of martial law allowing for freedom of speech and mass media production. In 1988, Chiang Ching-kuo passed away and vice president Lee Teng-hui succeeded the presidency. Lee became the first Taiwan-born president of the KMT party.

Rather than claiming that the ROC was the sole legitimate government and representation of all of China, in 1991 Lee Teng-hui asserted that the mainland was under the jurisdiction of the PRC. Taiwan was no longer against the Chinese Communist Party. Lee argued that Taiwan and China existed as two political entities—state to state relationship. He guided the establishment of several agencies that negotiated with China such as the Straits Exchange Foundation. However, little progress had been made due to the fact that the "one China" issue remained unresolved. The PRC still claimed that Taiwan was part of China; for them, there was only one China.

In 1996, Lee was reelected as the president by the Taiwanese people—the first direct presidential election in the history of Taiwan. Lee began to emphasize the integration of Taiwanese ethnic groups and to espouse a ″New Taiwanese " identity which implied a fresh and a shared "national identity" for those living in Taiwan who were willing to strive and sacrifice for Taiwan regardless of when their ancestor arrived or what their local heritage was. Rather than locating Taiwanese identity in a common ancestry and history, Lee argued that the New Taiwanese identity should be grounded in common sociopolitical experience of Taiwan. In line with Lee's political agenda, the Lee government promoted homeland studies in schools, with such courses as ″Getting to Know Taiwan."

In 2000, the DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian, who advocated Taiwan as an independent political polity, won the presidential election. For the first time, a non-KMT Party leader took the political power in a peaceful transfer.[1] Chen followed Lee Teng-hui's political agenda of conceptualizing the co-existence of Taiwan and China as state-to-state relationship. In 2002, he stated that there was one country on each side of the Taiwan Strait. The Chen's government political claim also echoed its education policy highlighting Taiwanization of education—the learning of the history/geography of Taiwan.

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[1] Although the 2000 presidential election was a bloodless political power transfer, numerous members from the KMT Party, the New Party (NP), and the People First Party (PFP) who espoused the Republic of China's political ideology were very disappointed and angry with the result. Most accused former President Lee Teng-hui, the chairman of the KMT, for the failure of this election. A group of supporters of James Song, the chairman of the PFP and a candidate of the presidential election, even besieged the KMT headquarter in Taipei after the election, blaming Lee for Song's defeat. They refused to leave unless Lee resigned the KMT chairmanship immediately (see *Taipei Times* March 21, 2000).

The Problem of Chinese Textbooks

In the early 2000s, in order to construct Taiwanese identity, the DPP government advocated Taiwan-centered education and authorized private publishers to produce/edit high school textbooks; thus, terminating the centralization and standardization of high school textbooks published by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT)[2] which was supported by the KMT government for more than 50 years. With the change in textbook production, many educators in Taiwan called for textbook reform in the official subjects of Chinese, history and geography. Among the official textbooks stated above, the high school Chinese textbooks were the most controversial.

In Taiwan, students are mandated to take Chinese courses which are considered the most important language/culture courses in high school. The course title, Guo-wen or Chinese, literally means ″National Language and Literature " and includes the learning of the classical/modern Chinese language, literature, and moral values. The role of Chinese textbooks is to teach students to use Mandarin as the official language, to learn Confucianism, to appreciate Chinese literary works, and to become a good citizen. In other words, one of the main purposes of the Chinese courses is to build up the student's national and cultural identity. However, with the official Chinese textbooks centered on the historical and sociopolitical context of mainland rather than that of Taiwan, the issue of Taiwanese identity construction becomes problematic. The high school Chinese textbooks in Taiwan were dominated by traditional Chinese culture in terms of the presence of Chinese people and places which in reality represents neither current China nor present-day Taiwan. In other words, the official Chinese discourse in Taiwanese schools constructs not a Taiwanese identity, but continues to support one (old China) that is neither Taiwanese nor modern Chinese (PRC).

This problem stems back to 1949, when, in order to legitimatize the ROC regime, the KMT government immediately extinguished the Japanese colonial memory and in the meantime reconstructed Taiwanese people's Chinese identity through national/official Chinese textbooks published by the NICT. Moreover, prior to 1987, the year of lifting martial law, the Taiwanese were not allowed to visit mainland China and the mass media was exclusively controlled by the KMT government. The majority of Taiwanese people derived their impressions of the mainland from the Chinese history or literature textbooks, those of which often included works possibly dating back hundreds or thousands of years (Chen, 2000).

In addition, during the late 1980s, when the KMT regime changed their political agenda and opened up business with the mainland, high school Chinese textbooks only lost the KMT political belief—ant-communism—against China. The remainder of the content was still dominated by classical Chinese texts. Those remaining Chinese texts focused on the historical and sociopolitical life experiences on the mainland, creating an imagined Chinese community and identity for the Taiwanese students. As a result, Taiwanese students were familiar with the Yellow River in China yet totally ignorant about the Chu-shui River in Taiwan (Liou, 2005). They knew the greatest poet in China, Li Bai (701–762) but did not recognize the distinguished Taiwanese writer, Lai Her (1894–1943).

Nevertheless, in the mid-1990s, Taiwanese educators and civil groups began to debate and call for Chinese textbook reform. In 2001, the Ministry of Education (MOE) authorized

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[2] The National Institute for Compilation and Translation was founded in 1932 mainland China by the KMT government under the Ministry of Education. Since the KMT government retreated to Taiwan, it has been the highest agency for the compilation and translation of official textbooks.

private publishers to produce/edit junior high school textbooks which had previously been controlled by the NICT (Chen, 2002). Since the issue of Chinese textbooks and identity construction has become an urgent and crucial topic within current Taiwanese educational discourse, the intent of this study is to examine how school discourse, grade-seven Chinese textbooks, have influenced Taiwanese students' national identity formation with respect to different political leaders from the 1970s to the early 2000s. The older edition Chinese textbooks (1970s–1990s) by NICT were compared with the newer edition Chinese textbooks (2000–2004) by private publishers.

Theoretical Framework
Discourse is formed and reflected though political power
This work examines the official discourse formation, identity construction, and dominant political power transformations in Taiwan. Foucault's theories of critical discourse analysis (CDA) with emphases on discourse, ideology, and power relationships serve as the basic theoretical and methodological framework for this study. For Foucault (1979), discourse plays a central role in creating knowledge. Knowledge is then exercised by authorities through discursive practices to regulate the conduct of others in specific institutions. Not only does political power influence the discursive formation but also reflects the discourse—this is even more obvious within school discourse. As Foucault (1972) indicated, "Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it" (p. 227). This phenomenon is universal; it has been acknowledged throughout the world. For instance, in Bosnia and Israel the use of textbooks perpetuated narratives of conflict and negative images of adversarial states (Gango, 2004). In China, textbooks were monitored by the state to ensure they provided students with a foundation for the development of ideological and moral character suited for Communist society (Liu, 1994).

Foucault's concept that discourse is formed and reflected through political power offers two important insights: 1) different political power groups bring different objects of school knowledge; and 2) what knowledge is included and excluded is due to political reasons.

Discourse is not only determined by social structure but also contributes to social continuity and social change.

Building on Foucault's concept of discourse, Fairclough (1992) proposed a dialectic view of discourse and social structure/institution in which he emphasized that discourse is not only determined by social structure but also contributes to social continuity and social change. Fairclough (1992) believed that discursive practices do not only contribute to reproducing society—social identities, systems of knowledge and belief—but also contribute to transforming society.

Fairclough's dialectic view of discourse and social structure make two significant implications: 1) school discourse is dynamic (here is a possibility that we can challenge, and transform an order of discourse within the school institution); and 2) if a society changes, the order of that discourse might change, too.

Foucault's or Fairclough's concept of discourse is always connected with the power of an authority within a specific institution. How power operates within the discourse is what Foucault calls an institutional apparatus and its technologies (technique)—measurements or assessments.

For instance, in the educational system, the school has administrators and instructors who set certain rules to regulate students' behaviors and to normalize students' thinking patterns. This is done through the school's curriculum, the object of school knowledge—textbooks.

The process of constructing textbook knowledge involves, as Apple (2000) argued, the selection or manipulation of knowledge by a dominant political group. Apple called this knowledge "official knowledge" or "selected knowledge." Apple further argued that textbook knowledge is never neutral: it is socially and politically constructed and serves as a political medium for dominant power groups for their political interest.

Discourse and Imagined Community

By creating official/selected knowledge, state governments not only control what may and may not be talked about, but also consciously impose political beliefs such as nationalism and patriotism. In addition, state governments also positively reinforce the knowledge of dominate political power group's culture, thus forming a discourse community through which the members of states or communities share the same language and culture (Kramsch, 1998). Members of the discourse community not only share the same language/culture but also share the same imagination. As Kramsch (1998) described it:

Discourse communities [imagined communities] are characterized not only by facts and artifacts, but by common dreams, fulfilled and unfulfilled imaginings. These imaginings are mediated through the language that over the life of the community reflects, shapes, and is a metaphor for its cultural reality . . . [Language is linked to] the culture of the imagination that governs people's decisions and actions for more than they think. (p. 8)

Kramsch's perspective was that language learning not only contributes to the cultural imagination shared by the members of a community but also indirectly influences one's identity formation.

National Identity Is Socially and Politically Constructed

It is widely recognized by many scholars that identity formation involves structuring the self in relation to others and creating connections to the past and future (De Ruyter & Conroy, 2002; Ivanic, 1998). Identity is not a fixed fact about us, but a construct that keeps changing through the process of exploring individual or group experiences. Thus, identity has been defined as "the dynamic configuration of the defining characteristics of a person" (De Ruyter & Conroy, 2002, p. 510). However, what makes identity dynamic is the social context in which it is developed. Environments, communities, people, and relationships constantly change; therefore, identity cannot be viewed as a fixed construct. It is a fluid entity determined by both the self and others through social interactions. In this regard, national identity should not be considered as a fixed identity either.

Traditionally, the notion of national identity has always been linked to common ancestry, common culture, and common beliefs. This classical view of national identity has been challenged by later scholars (Bloom, 1990; Brown, 2004). As Brown (2004) argued:

One of the most fundamental misunderstandings about identity is the widely accepted view that ethnic and national identity is based on common ancestry and/or common culture and therefore that identity is grounded in antiquity . . . However, culture and ancestry are not what ultimately unite an ethnic group or a nation. Rather identity is formed and solidified on the base of social experience, including economic and political experience. (p. 2)

Brown's argument, which emphasized that national identities are socially constructed based on sociopolitical experiences, relates to Kohn's (cited in Eley, et al.,1996, p. 4) notion of nationality. Kohn argued that nationality is a political or voluntarist conception as well as an irrational or organic conception. The former conception, a political one, emphasizes a popular sovereignty, which is signified by an individual's determination which is based on his/her own sociopolitical experiences. In contrast, the irrational conception of nationality insists on "inherited, historicist character of national identity . . . individual has no meaning apart from the community of birth" (ibid.), which corresponds to Brown's critique of identity being grounded in antiquity.

Methods
This research is to examine how Chinese textbooks in Taiwan have constructed Taiwanese students' national identity with respect to different political leaders since the 1970s. To accomplish this goal, a qualitative systematic interpretative approach was employed which involved the use of statistical techniques applied to the textual (content) analysis of the textbooks (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The term *qualitative systematic interpretative approach* refers to the process of examining and giving meaning to the findings derived from a system of categories (a coding system), which include Author Ethnicities, Indicators of National Identity, and Explicit Cultural Representations. The last two categories focus on what words, statements and paragraphs in the texts might contribute to national/cultural identity.

This approach involved several procedures. First, a coding system was designed comprising the categories stated above. The texts were then analyzed based on this coding system by counting the frequency of occurrences of each item within each main category of the coding system. After finishing the statistical analysis, a meta analysis and a trend analysis were conducted to determine if any patterns or patterns of change exist. Finally, qualitative analysis, interpreting the relationship between the results of the textual analysis and the historical and sociopolitical contexts of Taiwan was employed.

The data samples are from grade-seven Chinese textbooks between 1970 and 2004. The selection of grade-seven Chinese textbooks is based on the psychological perspective that typical grade-seven students (ages eleven or twelve) are at the beginning stage of adolescence. They are more conscious than elementary school students of developing their identity. Four sets of textbooks, 181 lessons in total, have been chosen with respect to four different political leaders: Chiang Kai-shek (1970s), Chiang Ching-kuo (1980s), Lee Teng-hui (1990s), and Chen Shui-bian (2000-2004).

Results of the Textual Analysis
Coding System Category 1: Author Ethnicities
Author Ethnicities are defined as the ethnic groups of the writers within Chinese textbooks under investigation which includes Aborigine, Chinese Mainlander, Hakka, and Hoklo. The distinction among these four ethnic groups is based on their spoken vernacular (Chen, Chuang & Huang, 1994). Four categories make up this main category.
- *Aborigine* refers to the Taiwanese indigenous inhabitant and is indicated by the author's birthplace, name, or the use of vernacular expression in the texts.
- *Chinese Mainlander* refers to the Chinese people and is indicated by the author's birthplace, name, or the use of vernacular expression in the texts.

- *Hakka* refers to the Taiwanese Haga-ren (guest people) and is indicated by the author's birthplace or the use of vernacular expression in the texts.
- *Hoklo* refers to Taiwanese Minnan-ren and is indicated by the author's birthplace or the use of vernacular expression in the texts.

Table 1*: Author Ethnicities*
(Percentage of the author ethnicities appearing in the Chinese textbooks from the 1970s to the early 2000s)

Year	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
Aborigine	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
Chinese Mainlander	100.0	95.5	84.3	74.5
Hakka	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.4
Hoklo	0.0	4.5	12.5	20.1

Coding System Category 2: Indicators of National Identity

Indicators of National Identity are defined as the linguistic indicators from the texts (words, sentences, or paragraphs) that might contribute to the construction of one's sense of belonging to a specific state (country). This category is made up of four sub-categories as follows:

- *National heroes/heroines* refer to the Chinese historical figures who sacrificed their lives for their country, or contemporary Chinese Nationalist political leaders/ revolutionaries who contributed to the establishment of the ROC in 1911.
- *National holidays* refer to the days which hold significant political meanings of the KMT government, such as Double Tenth Day (commemorating the birth of the ROC).
- *Political beliefs* refer to the ROC Nationalist faiths, such as anti-communism, the recovery of the mainland, and patriotism.
- *National symbols* refer to the descriptions of the ROC national anthem, national flag, and the government of the ROC.

Table 2*:* Indicators of National Identity
(Indicators of national identity appearing in the Chinese textbooks from the 1970s to the early 2000s by percentage)

Year	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
National heroes/ heroines	19.5	2.2	2.0	0.0
National holidays	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Political beliefs	32.5	6.8	3.2	0.0
National symbols	24.0	10.5	5.1	0.0

Coding System Category 3: *Explicit Cultural Representation*

Explicit Cultural Representation is defined as the indication of a particular ethnic group's artifacts, languages, people, places, thoughts, or social events through concrete linguistic indicators within the texts. Eight categories make up this main category.

- ***Analects of Confucius*** refers to the study of Confucianism presented through the dialogues of Confucius and his disciples.
- ***Chinese linguistic registers*** refer to adages, idioms, local dialects, lyrics, poems. and lyrics of folk songs of mainland Chinese.
- ***Taiwanese linguistic registers*** refer to adages, local dialects, poems, and lyrics of folk songs of Aboriginal, Hakka or Hoklo people in Taiwan.
- ***Chinese scenes*** refer to the descriptions of mainland Chinese local places and people.
- ***Taiwanese scenes*** refer to the descriptions of Taiwanese local places and people.
- ***Chinese and Taiwanese*** refer to the descriptions of both Chinese and Taiwanese people, places, or linguistic registers.
- ***Chinese/Taiwanese and Western*** refer to the descriptions of both Chinese or Taiwanese and Western people.
- ***Western public figures*** refer to the descriptions of celebrities, physically challenged people, and scientists who are from the West[3].

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[3] The West include the following countries: Austria, England, France, Germany, Poland, United States, and Yugoslavia which are present in the Chinese textbooks.

Table 3: *Explicit Cultural Representation*

(Percentage of the explicit cultural representation appearing in the Chinese textbooks from the 1970s to the early 2000s.)
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Year	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
Analects of Confucius	4.5	6.3	5.6	2.8
Chinese linguistic registers	92.5	77.4	66.9	55.0
Taiwanese linguistic registers	0.0	8.1	15.3	17.6
Chinese scenes	9.0	34.1	19.4	20.2
Taiwanese scenes	0.0	6.3	13.8	20.1
Chinese and Taiwanese	0.0	10.3	8.8	10.6
Chinese/Taiwanese and Western	0.0	2.3	3.1	6.5
Western public figures	3.0	2.1	0.0	7.3

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The Chiang Kai-shek period (1970s): Nationalist Discourse and Confucianism Nationalist Discourse

This section presents the interpretation of the empirical results of the Chinese textbooks under investigation. As indicated in Table 1, it was striking to see that during the Chiang Kai-shek period (1970s), 100% of the authors were mainlanders. The reason for that is in the 1970s official Chinese textbooks were exclusively edited by the NICT supported by the KMT government, and most editors of Chinese textbooks were part of the ruling elites who followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan. These editors included Ai Hong-yi, Gau Ming, and Pan Guang-cheng. Many of the lessons were written by Nationalist political leaders or distinguished Nationalists such as Dr. Sun Yet-san (the ROC founding father), and Dai Chuan-xian (Nationalists commander in chief). By acknowledging the status of the authors, it was no surprise to discover the prevalence of the Nationalist political beliefs within the texts of the 70s. As Foucault (1984) has reminded us, ". . . an author's name is not simply an element in discourse; it performs a certain role with regard to narrative discourse . . .[it] indicates the status of this discourse within a society . . ." (p. 107).

The 1970s texts also highly promoted the ROC Nationalist political beliefs—kanti-communism and the recovery of mainland, as indicated in Table 2; nearly one third of the lessons (32.5%) reinforced the ROC political ideology. These lessons included "The Anecdotes of the Wu-chang Revolution" (lesson 6,1972), and "The Early Stage of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement" (lesson 12, 1972). These texts aimed to evoke a sense of pride in the

establishment of the ROC government and scathingly denounced the Chinese communists on the mainland.

In addition, as indicated in Table 2, numerous lessons covered the subject of national heroes, patriots, and revolutionaries, stressing sacrificing one's life for one's country. Lessons such as "The Childhood of Our Founding Father" (lesson 11, 1972) and "Speech on Huang-hua-gang Martyr Commemoration Day" (lesson 8, 1973) exemplified such sacrifices. These lessons implicitly enhanced the role model status of patriots, martyrs and national heroes, rather than presenting a variety of role models that the students could actually learn from or relate to, such as model children.

National holidays were another subject in the Nationalist discourse (see Table 2. Such lessons as "First Double Tenth Day" (commemorating the birth of the ROC government, lesson 5, 1972) and "Celebration of the Recovery of Taiwan" (commemorating the recovery of Taiwan from Japan, lesson 8, 1972), glorified the Nationalist revolutionaries. In addition, these lessons were full of Nationalist linguistic expressions like "recovering the lost territory—mainland China" and "rescuing our fellows—mainlanders." These expressions evoked a sense of patriotism and commitment for the Taiwanese people joining the ROC government fighting back to the mainland.

Confucianism—An Icon of Tradition Chinese Culture
The texts of the 1970s not only reinforced Nationalist discourse but also offered moral lessons from the Analects of Confucius (see Table 3) to construct a Chinese national/cultural identity. The KMT government promoted Confucius as the first and foremost educator in the history of China, and named Confucius birthday, September, 28, as Teacher Day (see "Confucius and Teacher Day", lesson four, 1972). The important question was why the KMT government honored Confucius's birthday as Teacher Day, a national holiday, and selected Confucianism as the "official knowledge."

In 1966 the PRC launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. During this period, the Chinese Communists attempted to uproot their five-thousand-year-old cultural heritage. They espoused the belief of Marxist communism. In the same year, Chiang Kai-shek initiated the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement directly against the PRC's Cultural Revolution. In order to claim that the ROC rather than the PRC represented all of China, the Nationalists preserved authentic Chinese culture differently than the Chinese Communists who devalued the Chinese cultural heritage. In the minds of the Nationalists, the Chinese Communists were either not "Chinese" enough (their composition was mostly from the working class of the traditional societies rather than Chinese intellectuals/elites) or not "Chinese" at all (the origins of communism were foreign to China—they were developed by Marx and Lenin).

In the 1970s, through the national education and Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement, the KMT government attempted to nationalize Confucianism with the hope that Taiwan would be the model province of preserving Chinese cultural heritage. Thus, Confucianism became an icon of traditional Chinese culture, offering moral regulations for achieving an ideal citizenry that could directly engender national solidarity (see "Speech on the Opening Ceremony for Secondary Schools in Taiwan," lesson 1, 1972, and "Confucius and Teacher Day," lesson four, 1972, also see Chun, 1994).

In 1975, Chiang Kai-shek passed away, Yen Jia-gan succeeded him. Yen only lasted two and half years in his post. Due to his short term of presidency, the current study does not include Yen's period for investigation. In 1978, Chiang Ching-kuo, the eldest son of Chiang Kai-shek,

became the President of the ROC. The next section will focus on the interpretation of the texts of the 1980s in the Chiang Ching-kuo period.

The Chiang Ching-kuo Period (1980s)
Modern Chinese Discourse and Classical Poetry
In 1978, Chiang Ching-kuo, the eldest son of Chiang Kai-shek, became the President of the ROC. Chiang followed his father's Sinocentric educational policy that highlighted traditional Chinese cultural learning. In the 1980s, official school textbooks were still exclusively compiled and edited by the NICT. As can be seen in Table 1, a high percentage of mainlander authors, 95.5 %, appeared in the 1980s. However, the theme of Chinese Nationalist political beliefs declined from 32.5% (1970s) to 6.8% (1980s) and the subject of national hero/heroine decreased from 19.5% (1970s) to 2.2% (1980s) (see Table 2).

This phenomenon can be explained through the historical lens of contemporary Taiwan. In the late 1970s, Taiwan was transformed from an agricultural society to a modern commercial and industrial society. Consequently, the middle class emerged, and in the meantime, more Taiwanese people were being educated, which led to the rise of a new class of intellectuals. After the death of Chiang Kai-shek in 1975, more Taiwanese intellectuals began to challenge the Nationalist political ideology—fighting their way back to the mainland. In addition, in 1979, the United States established diplomatic relations with the PRC, which symbolized the end of the Nationalist's hope of the recovery of the Chinese mainland. Accordingly, in the 1980s texts, Nationalist discourse only promoted patriotism; the themes of anti-communism and retaking mainland completely disappeared.

Modern Chinese Discourse
Rather than highlighting the Nationalist discourse, the 1980s texts introduced more Chinese local people/places than the texts of the 1970s. As indicated in Table 2, the subject of Chinese scenes increased from 9.0% (1970s) to 34.1% (1980s). Several modern Chinese lessons presented the subject of Chinese landscape including "Country People" (lesson 6 1985); "Zhi-mo's Journal" (lesson 10 1986); and "Daming Lake" (lesson 20 1986). The most popular lesson was "Daming Lake" (the lake is located in Jinan, northern China). In his poetic travel notes, Lao Can described the gorgeous view of Daming Lake, and introduced classical couplets describing the cultural events and the beauty of this lake. In "Zhi-mo's Journal," Xu Zhi-mo expressed the natural beauty of several famous Chinese sites, such as Tai Mountain in northern China and West Lake in southern China. The presence of Chinese local scenes and cultural events reinforced the expectation and imagination of Taiwanese students toward the mainland.

Classical Poetry
Alongside the modern Chinese works (prose), classical Chinese poetry concerning Chinese literati and historical places was also predominant in the 1980s texts (see Table 3). The most popular poem in the texts of the 1980 was "Farewell to Meng Hao-ran at Yellow Crane Tower" (lesson 15-1, 1985). In this poem, Li Bai, the greatest poet of the Tang dynasty, saw his friend, Meng Hao-ran, off at Yellow Crane Tower—one of the famous Chinese historical relics located in Wuhan, Hubei province near the Yangze River, the longest river in China.

During the Tang dynasty, numerous classical Chinese literati met and created their literary works at Yellow Crane Tower. Several legends related to yellow cranes, celestial beings, and poets were associated with this historical site (Chen, 2004). The symbolic representation of

Yellow Crane Tower is not only the physical site, but more importantly, it is part of Chinese culture associated with Chinese history, poets/poetry, and legends. In addition to Yellow Crane Tower, Maple Bridge and Han-shan Temple were other famous historical places represented in the poem "Mooring at Night by Maple Bridge" by Zhang Ji (lesson 15-2, 1985). In this poem, Zhang Ji presented his diasporic experience in Gusu, a historical and gorgeous canal town in Chiangsu province, southern China.

After these poems had been passed down through official discourse, Yellow Crane Tower, and Maple Bridge and Han-shan Temple became deeply ingrained in the minds of the Taiwanese. It was not surprising to see that many visitors from Taiwan were so eager to visit these historical places after 1987, the year that martial law was lifted.

It should be acknowledged that the texts of the 1980s with a prevalence of Chinese discourse, including classical Tang poetry and modern Chinese prose, contributed to form a Chinese discourse or imagined community for the Taiwanese students. Within this discourse community, the Taiwanese students were locked into a cultural matrix with all Chinese elements, including the Chinese literati, thinkers, poetry, historical relics, and legends. Through this cultural learning, the Taiwanese people established their collective literary memories and shared the same cultural values and imagination. Moreover, in the Chinese discourse or imagined community there were also shared assumptions about what objects were appropriate for examination and discussion (Porter, 1986). For instance, the school examination quite often contained the questions such as these: "Where is Han-shan Temple?" Within this sort of discursive construct, official Chinese discourse became the major source of meaning and belonging for Taiwanese students; thus it directly constructed their Chinese identity.

In addition, from the 1950s to the 1980s due to the official nationalism, Chinese culture became culturally hegemonic (Williams, 1977) or came to be cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) supported by the KMT government. As can be seen in Table 3, the subject of Analects of Confucius was still presented in the texts of the 1980s. In the 1980s, Chiang Ching-kuo continued valuing Confucianism.

By the early 1980s, facing domestic opposition activists and diplomatic setbacks, Chinese cultural hegemony began to be challenged by Taiwanese intellectuals. Accordingly, in the mid-1980s, rather than solely promoting Sinicization, Chiang Ching-kuo began the process of localization within the school discourse. As indicated in Table 3, Taiwanese scenes began to appear in the 1980s texts. Such lessons included "Bamboos in Xitou" (lesson 18, 1985) and "Burden" (lesson 3, 1986). In "Bamboos in Xitou," Chang Teng-jiau introduced the famous local bamboo woods, Xitou, in central Taiwan. In "Burden," Wu Sheng-xiong used Taiwanese dialect, A-ba (daddy), to express his role as a father enjoying the sweetest burden, taking care of his children. These lessons were significant because they marked the first appearance of the Taiwanese people, place, and vernacular in this investigation. In 1988, Chiang Ching-kuo passed away. Lee Teng-hui succeeded Chiang's position and became the first Taiwan-born President of the ROC in Taiwan. The next section will focus on the interpretation of the texts of the 1990s in the Lee Teng-hui period.

The Lee Teng-hui Period (1990s)
Chinese and Taiwanese Discourses
As indicated in Table 2, from the 1970s through the 1990s, Chinese Nationalist political beliefs significantly declined from 32.5% (1970s) to 6.8% (1980s) to 3.2% (1990s). In the 1990s, the Nationalist discourse solely promoted the ROC founder, Dr. Sun Yet-san's works ("National

Anthem," lesson 4, 1998; "Resolution to Do Great Things," lesson 1, 1999). The Lee Teng-hui government still belonged to the KMT party. "National Anthem" was the national symbol of the KMT government written by Dr. Sun Yet-san.

In addition to Nationalist discourse, there were two major categories in the 1990s texts: 1) Chinese discourse centering on Chinese classical poetry/prose; and 2) Taiwanese discourse highlighting local people, places, and vernaculars. The majority of these Chinese lessons were reiterated or borrowed from the texts of the1980s. These lessons included "Farewell to Meng Hao-ran at Yellow Crane Tower" (lesson 5-2, 1998), and "Analects of Confucius" (lesson 11, 1998). The repetition of these lessons suggests that these texts served to transmit the core values of a monolithic Chinese high culture.

As stated previously, although Chiang Ching-kuo (the 1980s texts) began to introduce Taiwanese discourse within the official discourse, the national education was still Sinocentric. In the 1990s, in line with Lee Teng-hui's political agenda—Taiwan and China existed as two political entities, and the promotion of a New Taiwanese identity, the Lee government began to accelerate the process of localization within the school discourse. As indicated in Table 1, 12.5% of lessons were authored by Hoklo writers in the 1990s: nearly three times the number (4.5%) in the 1980s. In addition, the presences of Taiwanese scenes in the 1990s (13.8%) increased from the 1970s (0.0%) and the 1980s (6.3%) (see Table 3).

In the 1990s, Taiwanese memories were gradually recalled through the presences of local people/places, and vernaculars within the official texts (see Table 3). These lessons included "Tasting Popsicles" (lesson, 13, 1999), and "On the Grass Slope" (lesson 14, 1999). In "Tasting Popsicles", Gu Meng-ren recalled his childhood memory of eating popsicles when he lived in the community of the Taiwan Cane Sugar Co. (TCSC), which was built during the Japanese colonization period. In the story, it was these sugar popsicles that Gu Meng-ren still felt love for due to a sense of nostalgia. He concluded his article by claiming that although ice cream was tasty, it failed to compare with his nostalgic, sweet memory of Taiwanese popsicles.

 The significance of this lesson is that it invited classroom discussion of the history of the TCSC. It was impossible to talk about the TCSC popsicles without recalling the history of the TCSC during the Japanese rule. Moreover, cane sugar popsicles still exist today and many Taiwanese people enjoy having a bite of TCSC popsicles and feeling a sense of Taiwanese history as well.   In this lesson, nostalgia no longer belonged to the imagination of the Chinese narrative; it became the local reality of the Taiwanese narrative.

 In **"**On the Grass Slope", Zhong Li-her described how his family members felt sad after his wife cooked the mother chicken for dinner on his Lishan farm and thereby orphaned a group of little baby chicks. The significance of this lesson is that Zhong Li-her was the first Taiwanese Hakka author to appear in the texts, as indicated in Table 1. Zhong devoted his lifetime to composing works on local Hakka people. Zhong died of tuberculosis while he was writing at the age of 45 (Peng, 1994). Erected in his memory, Zhong Li-her Memorial Hall was the first private memorial hall in Taiwan built in 1983 and was supported by the local Hakka communities.

Although the Taiwanese discourse significantly increased compared to the older editions (1970s–1980s), the texts of the 1990s still were dominated with Chinese culture in terms of people, places, and linguistic registers. The main reason for this was that high culture or sophisticated culture required the accumulated efforts of several generations and Taiwan had difficulty developing its own sophisticated culture due to the continued changes of alien rulers (Huang, 2005).

In 2000, the DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian won the presidential election. It was the first time that a non-KMT Party member became the President of the ROC. The next section will focus on the interpretation of the texts of the early 2000s in the Chen Shui-bian period.

The Chen Shui-bian Period (2000-2004)
Chinese, Taiwanese, and Western Discourses
The texts of the 2000s stress the integration of Aboriginal, Chinese, Hakka, Hoklo, and Western discourses. In 2001, private publishers rather than the NICT began to produce/edit Chinese textbooks. For this study, three of the most popular private publishers, Han-lin (H), Kang-xiang (K), and Nan-yi (N), were under investigation.

In the 2000s texts, Nationalist discourse including the subjects of the KMT political beliefs, and national hero/heroine completely disappeared (see Table 2), due to the fact that Nationalist discourse was no longer accommodated Taiwan's sociopolitical context. Since the late 1980s, the KMT regime has recognized the jurisdiction of the PRC and opened up trade with the mainland. In addition, in the 2000s, Chen Shui-bian followed Lee Teng-hui's pragmatic policy adopting a co-existence between Taiwan and China and further promoting the Taiwanization of education. As a result, there was no need for the National discourse to exist within the official discourse. This phenomenon accords with critical educators' claim: official knowledge was socially and politically constructed (Apple, 2000; Crawford, 2000; Giroux, 1989).

A New Order of Discourse - Diversified Discourse
The absence of the Nationalist discourse invited the presence of other discourses. The right of narration not only constrained or dominated a particular ethnic group, but it also liberated the others which were once marginalized or devalued. A new order of discourse emerged and a variety of narratives were integrated in the 2000s texts. As stated previously, following Lee Teng-hui's definition of "New Taiwanese," Chen's government called for ethnic solidarity asserting that, despite the diverse political stances, all individuals should share the same commitment for the sake of Taiwan's future. This political position was also reflected in the official discourse which emphasized cultural diversity rather than a monolithic Chinese culture.

As indicated in Table 1, it was unprecedented that the early 2000s texts included authors from all of the so-called four ethnicities: Aborigine, Mainlander, Hakka, and Hoklo. It was the first time that Aboriginal writers appeared in the texts, although on a very humble scale (2.0%) (see Table 1).

Aboriginal Discourse
The Taiwanese Aborigines have never been the dominant political power group in the history of Taiwan. Consequently, the Aboriginal culture was completely absent within the official discourse and the significance of their cultural heritage was gradually forgotten. In the early 2000s, the private publishers began to introduce the Aboriginal memories related to the stories of their hunting lives and how their people helped each other. In the 2000s texts, two lessons presented Aboriginal culture: "The Flying Squirrel" (lesson 9, N2003), and "Bridge of Men" (lesson 9, K2003).

In "The Flying Squirrel" Yazhounglong shared his tribe's hunting philosophy: treating animals like human beings and imagining oneself as an animal which he learned from his father. In addition to introducing Aboriginal philosophy, the author also presented Aboriginal

eating/drinking culture in this lesson. Having a meal was not only for biological needs; every dish was associated with their personal narratives regarding how they won the battles of chasing animals and what recipes they learned from their grandmothers. Part of oral history was created around the dinner table which became one of the important cultural heritages of the Aboriginal. Another lesson, "Bridge of Men", Liglavyau presented her childhood memory regarding the bravery of Aboriginal men. When the bridge (built during Japanese rule) was destroyed by violent rains, the Aboriginal men formed an "arm bridge" with their strong arms to help the tribe's children get across the rapid river on a harshly rainy day. Both of these Aboriginal narratives stated above are particularly significant in that Aborigines had "the right to narrate" (Bhabha, 1990) their Aboriginal memories through the official discourse, rather than solely by oral narrations passed down to subsequent generations. In addition, Aborigines became the protagonists, rather than marginalized figures in subordination to the mainstream groups.

Chinese and Taiwanese
In addition to the presences of the Aboriginal, one of the significant transformations of the early 2000s texts is that the juxtaposition of Chinese with Taiwanese childhood memories emphasized the coexistence of cultural representation. For instance, Kang-xiang juxtaposed "Terrific! It Was a Rainy Day" (lesson 10, K 2004) by the Chinese writer Qi-jun, with "Tasting Popsicles"(lesson 11, K 2004) by the Taiwanese writer Gu Meng-ren. This coexistence of Taiwanese and Chinese texts not only recognized/respected both ethnicities but also implied that Taiwanese discourse was no longer subordinate to Chinese discourse: Taiwanese discourse became an autonomous or alternative discourse to Chinese. For instance, in the 1970s texts the presence of Taiwanese narratives within the ROC Nationalist discourse was subordinate to Chinese grand narratives, which of course stressed that Taiwan was part of Chinese territory and that Taiwan should join the ROC Nationalist's political commitment of recovering of the lost territory. Such lessons included "A Letter to a Dutch General" (lesson 7, 1972) and "Celebration of the Recovery of Taiwan" (lesson 8, 1972). The newer lessons from the 2000s texts, in contrast, were situated in a contemporary Taiwanese economic and sociopolitical contexts completely divorced from the mainland Chinese ones. These contemporary Taiwanese contexts are exemplified in such lessons as "My Dear Grandson, It's Time to Go to Bed" (lesson 10, H 2003), "Flowers Are Not Always Fragrant" (lesson 12, H2004), and "The Song of the Giant Tree" (lesson 1, N2004).

In addition to the juxtaposition of individual discourses, a few narratives indicated a hybrid of Chinese and Taiwanese. As can be seen in Table 3, a hybrid of Chinese and Taiwanese discourses increased as compared to the older editions (1970s–1990s). For instance, "In Moon Light Cakes" (lesson 2, N2003), Qi-jun (a Chinese writer), recalled her nostalgia of eating moon cakes during the Mid-Autumn Festival in the mainland. She also compared the different tastes of Chinese moon cakes with the Taiwanese ones.

This phenomenon of a hybrid of Chinese and Taiwanese narrations also corresponds with the mixed identities in present-day Taiwan—although numerous mainlanders prefer to identify themselves with China, they gradually develop their Taiwanese identity after living in Taiwan for many years. In addition, due to intermarriage between ethnic groups such as Aboriginal and Taiwanese as well as mainlanders and Taiwanese, these "hybrid" people develop their own hybrid identities.

Western Discourse

By the early 2000s, in line with globalization, texts promoted world-known public figures as role models, including physically challenged people and basketball players (see Table 3). These Western figures were included as follows:

- Artist – Albrecht Durer (*A Tale of Hands*, lesson 6, K2003)
- Composers – J. S. Bach, W.A. Mozart, and Arthur Rubinstein ("Composer and Basketball Player", lesson 12, N2004)
- Physically challenged people – Helen Keller ("If I Have Three Days Bright", lesson 7, H2004)
- Public celebrity – Michael Jordan ("Composer and Basketball Player," lesson 12, N2003)
- Religious/Philanthropist – Mother Teresa ("The Youth that Picks up Star Fish," elective reading 2, K2003)
- Scientist – Albert Einstein ("Thanks Heavenly Father", lesson 1, H2004), Thomas Edison ("A Witty Answer by Edison", elective reading, K2004)

The significance of introducing these Western figures is that they offered Taiwanese students alternate role models; allowing them not only to identify with Chinese and local Taiwanese figures but also with Western figures. This phenomenon also reflects the impact of global economic consumerism. In the late 1990s, several American public celebrities, such as Michael Jackson and Michael Jordon, were invited to Taiwan.

Overall, the 2000s texts completely deconstructed the KMT Nationalist discourse. They provided diversified ethnic discourses emphasizing ethnic solidarity and cultural diversity. In addition, they invited Western discourse and a hybrid of Chinese and Taiwanese discourses which implied that the 2000s texts promoted not only local, mixed identities, but also a global identity as well.

Conclusions

Broadly speaking, grade-seven Chinese textbooks from the 1970s to the early 2000s reflected three conceptual changes in terms of political, cultural, and global aspects. Politically, national identity construction within the school discourse gradually shifted from identifying with mainland China to identifying with Taiwan (Law, 2002). The transformation of national identity construction within the Chinese textbooks can be juxtaposed with the different political agenda and educational policies proposed by the different political leaders over this time period in Taiwan.

From the 1950s to the 1970s, Chiang Kai-shek claimed that the ROC represented all of China and was the only legitimate Chinese government. To legitimatize his leadership, Chiang imposed Sinocentric education and introduced a Chinese grand narrative—Nationalist discourse, stressing anti-communism and retaking mainland, within the official Chinese textbooks. This political and ideological indoctrination directly constructed Taiwanese students' Chinese identity.

In the 1980s, Chiang Ching-kuo also asserted that the ROC government represented all of China. Like the texts before them, the 1980s texts were dominated by Chinese discourse. Although Chiang Ching-kuo followed his father's political stance and promoted Sinocentric education, more Taiwanese intellectuals at the time advocated homeland literature. Subsequently, the 1980s texts started to introduce Taiwanese discourse albeit on a humble scale.

In the 1990s, rather than claiming that the ROC was the sole legitimate government and representation of all China, the Lee Teng-hui government redefined the "New Taiwanese," and advocated that Taiwan and China existed as two political entities. Following this political

agenda, the Lee government promoted localization of education or "Getting to Know Taiwan." Consequently, the 1990s texts introduced more Taiwanese discourse including Hakka and Hoklo narratives which then facilitated local Taiwanese identity formation.

In the early 2000s, in line with the Lee government's political agenda, the Chen Shui-bian government further advocated state-to-state relationship between Taiwan and China, and the Taiwanization of education. The texts began to significantly enhance Taiwanese discourse and focused on the contemporary, economic, and sociopolitical contexts of Taiwan, thereby contributing to a Taiwanese identity construction.

Culturally, the texts of the early 2000s accelerated a diversity of discourses including Aboriginal, Chinese, Hakka, and Hoklo cultures which accorded with the Lee and the Chen governments' political beliefs, the so-called "the consolidation/integration of four ethnicities in Taiwan—New Taiwanese."   The political claim of New Taiwanese was that there should be a shared "national identity" of those living in Taiwan who were willing to strive for Taiwan regardless of when their ancestor arrived or what their local heritage was. Under this definition of New Taiwanese, each of these individual ethnic cultures given above became part of Taiwanese culture. The pluralization of Taiwanese discourse and culture did not only imply a reversal of the historical core-margin relationship between China and Taiwan (Hsiau, 2000; Law, 2002), but placed emphases on respecting and sharing other ethnic group's culture. Acknowledging this cultural position, the texts of the early 2000s offered three other ethic groups' discourses rather than a solely monolithic Chinese discourse.

In terms of global change, the 2000s texts introduced Western discourse by presenting the professional achievements of Western public figures, sometimes in terms of role models. The introduction of Western discourse into the texts exhibited the advent of globalization and transnationalism, implying that Taiwan must develop an innovative culture encompassing Aboriginal, Chinese, Taiwanese, and global cultural heritages. In addition, the early 2000s texts also juxtaposed Chinese, Taiwanese and Western discourses under the same thematic union suggesting that within the global or transnational discursive contexts, each discourse had its own role to play in terms of its own cultural representation. Each discourse became autonomous, not subordinated to the others. The Taiwanese students had better opportunities to identify with the discourse they preferred according to their life experiences.

It should be noted that currently private publishers produce/edit junior high school textbooks promoting Taiwanese discourse, they also face the challenges from both the Ma government's political ideology and the complaints of students' parents. On March 22, 2008 the KMT candidate, Ma Ying-jeou, won the presidential election. Due to the discrepancies of the Ma government's political ideology, pro-unification with mainland in the future, it might promote Sinocentric education and authorize the NICT again to produce/edit standardized national textbooks to construct a Chinese identity for the Taiwanese students. Another challenge comes from the appeasement of increasing complaints of parents about their children being heavily burdened with the textbooks from private publishers for national entrance exams—that is, without standardized national Chinese textbooks, students have to study texts from more than one publishing company in order to pass national entrance exams.[4] Both challenges from Ma government and the students' parents can explain why in present-day Taiwan, the critical debates

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[4] See http: www.nict.gov.tw/, for more information

over Chinese textbook reform are still ongoing, which indicate that more collective tasks of school discourse production are called for in such a political, intellectual, and emotional enterprise.

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