Constructing a citizenship community: identity, inclusion or exclusion

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Abstract

This study is an analysis of the issues of language education and identity in Taiwan. The purpose of this study is to analyse the relationship between the ideology of identity and language education with respect to the histories of interethnic relations in Taiwan. Qualitative data has been collected from (1) the first-hand accounts of seven key informants' in-depth interviews and (2) documentary data from primary and secondary sources. Findings demonstrate that the politics of language education ideology has deep roots in the institutional homogeneous structure of society, which results in the dilemma of language problems in Taiwan: inclusion (multilingualism) or exclusion (monolingualism). In spite of this, in the context of the evolution of Taiwanese linguistic identity, the theorist's paradigmatic case of (nation-state model) one language per country and one linguistic identity is challenged. So, the case of Taiwan stands both for and against the nation-state theory. In general, the study ends by outlining some conclusions, and some implications. That is, the historical case of postcolonial Taiwan can serve as a good heuristic model for examining the histories of interethnic relation in nation identity formation (construction), and language education. Additionally, some suggestions and reflections for possible future research are presented. That is, the study's focus on the community of intercultural citizenship or multilingualism would be worth being explored in order to yield more insight into the interactive connection between language education and national identity.

Keywords: language education, identity, ideology, intercultural citizenship, multilingualism

Background to the topic

The population of Taiwan is made up of four main ethnic groups, each of which has its own language (Huang, 1995, p. 21): the number of speakers of Hakka is about 12% of the population and the number of speakers of the aboriginal languages is about 1.7%, the number of speakers of the Mainlanders is 13%, and the Southern-Min, actually a majority language, is about 73.3%.

Like many colonies in Asia, Taiwan experienced decolonization in the twentieth century. It started with the termination of Japanese occupation when Taiwan was returned to the Chinese Nationalist government (namely, KMT party) in 1945, based on the Cairo Declaration of December 1943. On October 25, 1945 Japan transferred the island to China's ownership. Taiwan officially became a part of the ROC (Cheng, 1991, pp. 218-

9; Gate, 1981; Gold, 1986, pp. 49-50).

Seen in this light, at that time, there existed a ruling class of Mainlanders, most of whom could speak some form of Mandarin and a lower class of people comprising Southern Min, Hakka and Austro-Polynesian speakers in the Taiwanese society, and there was no way for these groups to communicate with each other except through translation. Hence, the sociolinguistic situation of the island at that time can be roughly characterized as 'a diglossia without societal bilingualism' (Fishman, 1967; Tsao, 1999). The diglossia of the Japanese period was replaced by a new kind of diglossia. Thus, the researcher asserts that in so far as the language problem was concerned, the takeover administration had a great challenge, the job was highly demanding. Therefore, in a multiethnic and multilinguistic society like Taiwan the linguistic situation was extremely delicate and needed to be handled with care (Gold 1986, pp. 49-50).

Thus, there is the conflict of ethnic consciousness between these two major ethnic groups: the majority 'native Taiwanese' or the 'non-Mainlanders', and the minority 'Chinese' or the 'Mainlanders'. And the clash between the so-called 'Chinese consciousness (represented by Chinese national identity)' and the 'Taiwanese consciousness (represented by Taiwanese national identity)' will play one of the primary roles in this research analysis. To be specific, the politics of national identity will be used as one of the analytical concepts.

Within this context, it was not surprising that the national educational system was highly subjected to KMT government control (Tsao, 1999), because language and education have always been regarded as the important pillar in group identity maintenance, and Young et al (1992) point out that the national language plays an instrumental role in unifying the peoples of Taiwan, especially KMT's Mandarin-only language movement.

Therefore, in addition to raising the above-mentioned theme—the recognition politics of national identity—the tension of identity politics in language education between these two major ethnic groups in Taiwan: the majority 'native Taiwanese' or the 'non-Mainlanders', and the minority 'Chinese' or the 'Mainlanders' is an ongoing phenomenon and remains a complex issue and will also be used as an analytical concept in this study.

Theoretical framework: the interplay among hegemony, national identity and language education

As mentioned earlier, the struggles of the nation-state to construct its national identity and to control the instrumental role of language identity in education in order to fulfill the policy of homogenisation and assimilation prompt the researcher to propose that theories of national identity and language education will be better understood if the concept of hegemony is delineated further, which is another key analytic tool, and its connections with the above two concepts of national identity and language education is clarified.

1. *An approach to the concept of hegemony*

The concept of hegemony, taken from Antonio Gramsci and Raymond Williams, is a form of domination built through incorporating and transforming the culture of the subordinated groups and then co-opting it into supporting existing power relations. This notion implies that culture – in the sense of shared beliefs, values and behaviours – plays a significant role in the formation of social power and that domination can be formed by rearticulating and transforming the culture of the subordinate groups (Gramsci, 1971/1999: 12). For Gramsci, class is determined by struggles in ideology and politics in specific historical settings (Gramsci, 1971/1999: 181-182).

Therefore, this idea of hegemony describes a picture of the complex relationship between the ruling group and the subordinated, for it highlights that the building of asymmetrical power relationships always involves a politics of hegemonic ideologies among various groups during nation-building. In other words, it is an essential analytic tool in disclosing some of the ways in which differential power is disseminated and used in the construction of a nationalist linguistic narrative in state education, in nation/state formation, and in the long-winded construction of national identity.

2. *The politics of national identity*

As far as the contemporary study of identity is concerned, especially in the field of cultural studies, it is evident that in almost all postcolonial political/cultural struggles, a conception of identity has played a central role (Hall, 1990, p. 223). In the words of Haddon (2005, p. 103):

> Constructing a nation is a nostalgic, postmodern endeavor associated with the waning of colonialism. With decolonization, the passing of the old order of colonialism and/or neocolonialism brought into being new national identities that present varying degrees of the accommodation of difference.

Haddon's argument is further echoed by Fanon's (1966, p. 170) assertion that postcolonial societies are exemplified by the rediscovery of identity, enabling them to move beyond the misery and humiliation caused by colonisation. For those who embrace such a conception of identity, their collective identity comes from a shared history, culture (such as language, religion…), and ancestry and represents a sort of collective essence, or collective 'true self,' that provides them with a stable frame of reference and meaning.

Further, for those who are socially marginalized, such a conception of identity has always been a constant source of creativity in representing and asserting themselves. It is an act of empowerment (Hall, 1990, p. 223).

At this point, the problems of identity and hegemonic power relation within community organisation are significant, because, if the social structures of the past, of the collective memories, are reflected on at a deeper level, the past is formulated as an ideological weapon to differentiate one's in-group from the other groups and individuals

(Hobsbawm, 1983a, pp. 7-12), and creating a link with the past is therefore a common device and part of theory of nation building. Thus, Gramsci's (1971/1999) theory of hegemony provides the insights to view the relationship between a state's political power and history and the groups it wishes to include in its territory. More specifically, in converting the diverse memories and values into political strength many distinctive features or social marks may be used to make these categorisations, such as ethnicity, language, and race, etc.

Thus, it is very clear that nation identity requires 'an impossible homogeneous unity and a singular linear history or master narrative', and all politics of identity tend toward 'exclusionism and a singular homogeneity' and then in turn, some social categories are mobilised into power of resistance (Kedourie, 1961/1993, p. 112).

Such homogeneity presupposes an opposition between exteriority and interiority (Grillo, 1989, p. 29, 37), and national identity is a 'complicated discourse where materiality, history, ideology and symbology interact in diverse and complex ways' (Anderson, 1991, p. 31). To be specific, the creation of homogeneity is crucial to national identity. But in fact in Taiwan, there is no homogeneity. Therefore, the critical issues, such as (1) the role of language identity and education in fulfilling the policy of homogeneity and assimilation made by the colonial rulers in Taiwan, and (2) the issue of identity of language and education which serves as an impetus to national identity and nation-building, could be looked into fruitfully and have become the focus of this study.

3. *The politics of language education*

Language is a powerful 'boundary marker' (Barth, 1969), i.e. language is one of the most important markers of differences or 'boundaries' between groups. Language is one of the principal means by which a minority defines itself and marks its identity in contrast to other groups around it (Edwards, 1983) and it is difficult for groups/individuals to escape other people's categorisation of them in terms of their linguistic (national) identity.

This view is echoed by Woolard et al's (1994) arguments that language is testimony of its cultural heritage, and often language is used as a process of assimilation to construct a single cultural identity to fit the new political identity as will be shown later to be the case in Taiwan. At group level, one way of ensuring the continuity of a language is through education or schooling. School preserves the use of a language by using it as a medium, and Kedourie (1961/1993, pp. 83-84) points out: 'National control of education', and 'transmission of national values' and 'the moral messages' of the dominant cultural group, are often assured through the implementation of a national language education.

The issues are similar but even more complex in situations where a language has been used by a colonial power to create allegiance and to unify disparate ethnic groups. Post-colonial countries then inherit the complex mix of ethnicities and a belief in the nation state, and try to resolve the problems of identity by the ideological politics of language education (Romaine, 1984). As Apple (1996, p. xiv) points out, this means that language

is partly a site of resistance and struggle, but also that for schooling to make a difference it must connect to language education. So, the cultural politics of education devotes much of its attention to matters specifically related to the politics of curriculum and language teaching.

Seen in this light, it is clear that everything that exists within the educational system, especially in language education, is likely to bear the marks of domination where there are majority/dominant and minority/dominated groups, and the authors cited above point out the very real and massive relations of inequality and the role of schooling in partly reproducing and partly disputing them.

As a consequence, the concept of language identity in education is a useful variable for analysing political change in postwar Taiwan because it sheds light on the ideological and hegemonic processes through which conflicting interests are represented and deliberated through state apparatuses, through which the exclusive interests of dominant groups become legitimised in the state's language educational policies.

Method and design

The researcher agrees with the argument of McCulloch and Richardson (2000) that the rise in the growth of qualitative approaches in historical research from the historical and sociological perspectives can provide insight into understanding educational issues, and thus the researcher will work on this historical qualitative approach for understanding the language educational issues in national identity in the study.

Beside**s,** two major sources of data were selected to collect information needed to answer the research purposes. They are analysis of historical documentary sources and the first-hand accounts of seven key informants collected during in-depth interviews.

The research interview as a tool for constructing knowledge (Kvale, 1997) implied that there is no fixed meaning but a creative interaction between two active parts. The interview is a continuous process of meaning. During the interviews the researcher kept turning back all the time asking questions like: 'You said at the beginning of our talk that … how does that rhyme with what you are just saying' etc. All interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. After the first occasion the informants were sent 'their text' and asked to comment upon and clarify certain issues (respondent validation). The interviews followed a semi-structured interview guide, the researcher tried to cover the various aspects in the interview guide.

Finding and discussion

Here the findings will provide an historical analysis of how the national identity is built/is not built through the hegemony of language education ideology which is further evidenced by the interpretation of the themes analysed from key informants' interviews in addition to the evidence from the analysis of the historical primary and secondary sources.

1. The constructing of the ideology of Chinese national identity in Taiwan after 1945

On the part of the KMT government, language education was a highly political agenda after it took over Taiwan from Japan. The promotion of the Mandarin-only movement was crucial to the re-socialisation project. The KMT language ideology was closely related to the identity politics of modern Chinese national identity. Therefore, there were lots of regulations and approaches on the promotion of Mandarin made by the Taiwan Provincial Government and the Provincial Department of Education in this period (1945-1969).

1.1 The period of de-Japanisation and Sinicisation in Taiwan (1945-1969)

In table 1, the step-by-step promotion regulations were announced to achieve the goal of language unity.

Table 1: Regulations of the promotion of national language in school education from 1945 to 1969		Date	Source
1	Taiwan Provincial Committee for the Promotion and Propagation of the National Language is formally established and national language education promotion of CPPNL must be enacted effectively.	April 2, 1946	Education Department of the Provisional Provincial Government
2	"A special program **must be adopted to spread Mandarin** among the aboriginal people of the mountain tribes. Special groups consisting of the village chief, the local Mandarin specialist, a few local government leaders, representatives from the police, and school teachers **have to be established to coordinate** the work of Mandarin promotion. Small libraries of books written in the phonetic alphabet **must be begun in each primary school**"	1956	Taiwan Provincial Government Press, 1957, Spring Volume 50
3	"All communication in the schools should use Mandarin as much as possible, and avoid dialect speaking. If students do break the regulation, they **must be punished in various degrees**"	May 30, 1956	Taiwan Provincial Government Press, 1966, Summer Volume 2
4	"All teacher training schools and colleges in Taiwan **must initiate periodic Mandarin proficiency testing** for all their students and add a required examination in Mandarin, covering both theoretical and practical aspects, which **must be passed prior to graduation**"	Beginning in 1958	Taiwan Provincial Department of Education
5	"All official institution and schools **must use Mandarin during the offices/school time**"	Sept. 12, 1964	The Taiwan Provincial Government

The researcher notes that there is a repeated use of 'have to' or 'must' in the messages of these regulations. So, the theory behind these regulations is salient. That is, the purpose of reinforcing 'have to' or 'must' is a deliberate way of preparing the Taiwanese people to buy into the need to support the new KMT government to work towards the goal of language unity and a thriving new nation-state.

1.2 The period of Mandarin-only language movement and complete Chinese national identity ideology (1970-1980)

From 1970 to 1986 (the period of complete Chinese nationalism ideology), the KMT's language ideology was realised through several further approaches (The MOE Bulletin; Hung, 1992a: 48). Please see Table 2 for details.

Table 2: Regulations of the national language promotion from 1970 to 1986	Date	Source
1 Non-Mandarin programmes should be decreased and that the southern Min programmes, which included soap operas, puppet shows, traditional Taiwanese operas, and commercials, should take up less than one hour per day on each channel of the three television companies (Taiwan TV, China TV, and China Station).	December 1, 1972	The Bureau of Culture of the MOE.
2 The ratio of the use of the national language by radio broadcasts must not be less than 55%; for television, this ratio must not less than 70%. The use of dialects should decrease year by year. Those surviving traditional Taiwanese operas and puppet shows on television were forced to use Mandarin in the early 1970s. (in article 20 of the Law of Radio Broadcasting and Television Programming (RBTP Law) which was approved by the Legislative Yuan.)	January 8, 1976	The Culture Bureau of the MOE, The Executive Yuan.
3 To increase linguistic unity and to enhance the country's unity and stability, draft of the Law of Language and orthography should be established as a national policy and be approved.	October 1, 1985	The Ministry of Education

Again, there is intentional use of 'should' to naturalise the ideological conviction, i.e. the goal of building Chinese nationalism through the national language in table 6.13. The issues presented include the high language/culture of national language; linguistic unity as language symbol; and the dominance of state power.

In summary, the promotion of Mandarin as the national language by the KMT established a linguistic hierarchy. The linguistic hierarchy corresponded to the ethnic one in the political arena, i.e. the Mainlander as dominant, and all the native Taiwanese—such as the southern-Min, the Hakka and Austronesian Aborigines – as dominated.

2. The constructing of the ideology of Taiwanese national identity in Taiwan after 1987

On the part of the native Taiwanese opposition/nationalists, the second half of the 1980's saw the rapid development of Taiwanese nationalism with a distinct Taiwanese ethnic color.

2.1 The period of de- Sinicisation and Taiwanisation in Taiwan (1984-1986)

In "de-Sinicising" Taiwanese nationalism developed in the revival of native languages in the early 1980s, there were lots of linguistic struggles and some debates about the exalting of the status of native languages and language educational issues also took place between the KMT government and the cultural intellectuals or the opposition activists during the early 1980s (from 1984 to 1986) and it is clear that the intensity of the activity maybe draw attention to the importance of both written and TV media (see table 3 for details).

Table 3: Linguistic struggles and disputes between the KMT government and the oppositionist groups during the early 1980s				
	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
1	Aboriginals' Rights Facilitating Association should be established. (*People Daily News,* December 28, 1984)	Aboriginal Activist Group/The Oppositionists / The DPP	December 29, 1984	On November 01, 1996, the bill of the Aboriginal Council Organization was sectioned by Legislative Yuan
2	Draft of the Law of Language and Orthography, one article of which stated that only the national language could be used in a public meeting, official business and conversation in public domains. (*China Times,* October 26, 1995)	Ministry of Education (MOE)	October 25,1985	Under the protest from the oppositionists and strong pressure, the Executive Yuan stopped establishing the Law of Language and Orthography on December 19, 1985
3	The program of news segment in Southern Min on three national TV channels. (*Independent Evening Times,* November 02, 1987)	The DPP legislators	June 19,1986	November 2, 1987, a twenty-minute Southern-Min news segment was added to the-existing short Southern-Min programs broadcast everyday
4	Southern Min, Mandarin, and Hakka should be promoted as national communication languages. (*Taiwan Documentary,* Vol. 46, No3, September 30, 1995: 148)	The Opposition Activists	September 7, 1986	Rejection from the KMT government due to the Mandarin-only language policy

Sources: Adopted from Taiwan Documentary (1995); Huang (1995: 55-73); as well as Taiwan Historical Chronicle, Vol. III (1979-1988), (Li & Xue, 2001), and modified and expanded by the researcher.

2.2 The Period of complete Taiwanese Nationalism Ideology (1987-1990)

Besides, in constructing a national language－Taiwanising the ethnic symbol of language as testimony to a Taiwanese nation in the second half of 1980s(from 1987 to 1990), many different kinds of activities, movement, conferences, curriculum reforms, and teaching on native language education have been promoted and there seems to have been competing legislation in national and local levels. Table 4 shows the fact.

Table 4: Linguistic struggles and disputes between the KMT government and the oppositionist groups in the second half of the 1980s				
	Events/Sources	**Presenter**	**Date**	**Response from the KMT government**
1	Hakka & Southern Min programs should be included in national TV channels	Provincial Representatives	March 28,1987	According to Article 20 of the RBTP Law, this is not allowed by the Government Information Office (hereafter The GIO)
2	News segment in Southern Min should be founded. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No 3, September 30, 1995: 148)	The Southern-Min Legislators	March 30, 1987	November 2, 1987, a twenty-minute Southern-Min news segment was added to the-existing short Southern-Min programs broadcast everyday
3	Aboriginal programs on TV channels should be established	The Aboriginal Legislators	May 14, 1987	
4	Bilingual education and the use of Southern Min should be implemented. (*Legislative Yuan Bulletin,* Vol. 76, 1987: 29-30)	Provincial Representatives	June 22, 1987	Rejection from the government on June 25,1987 due to "we are a mono-lingual country, and it is inappropriate to implement bilingual education"
5	The suppression and time limitation of the use of local native languages on the radio and TV programs in Article 20 of the RBTP Law should be deleted	Provincial Representatives	June 22, 1987	The KMT abolished the censorship of the use of local native languages on Television in May 18, 1990. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No3, September 30, 1995: 149)
6	The Society of Taiwanese Language and Literature should be founded in order to elevate the status of native languages	Legislator groups	July 19,1987	It was established in Taipei on August 17, 1991. (Ibid: 149)
7	All elementary and junior high schools should not punish students speaking dialects. (Ibid.: 148)	Taiwan Provincial government's Department of Education	August 20, 1987	
8	The Hakka Culture	The Hakka	October	On December 01, 1990.

	Research Center should be founded and "Hakka Issue" magazine should be published ("*Hakka Issue*", August, 1990: 8)	Legislators	1, 1987	Hakka Association For Public Affairs (HAPA) was founded in Taipei; On October 25, 1987, "*Hakka Issue*" was published
9	A street demonstration for the "Bring My Hakka Back Movement" to campaign for the right to speak Hakka on the television programmes (*The Liberty Times*, December 29, 1988)	The Hakka revivalists	December 28, 1988	What the movement achieved was only a one-half-hour Hakka programme per week on one channel approved by the government in 1989
10	Hakka's Taiwan culture forum was held in America and it tried in vain to organize a 'Hakka party'	The Hakka revivalists	1989	On November 01, 1991. Taiwan Hakka Association for Public Affairs in North American (HAPA/NA) was established (*The Liberty Times,* November 02, 1991)
11	The First Academic Conference on the Issues of Native Language Education was held in the Academia Sinica, Taipei. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No3, September 30, 1995: 148)	The seven DPP governed counties.	June 23, 1990	The purpose of this conference was to combine the wisdom and efforts of linguists for guiding the compilation of native language curriculum, textbooks instruction.
12	Seven DPP-controlled counties and districts conducted a program of teaching local languages, i.e. bilingual education in the elementary and junior high schools (*Legislative Yuan Bulletin*, Vol. 80, 1991: 41)	The DPP-controlled counties and districts	At the end of 1990	The KMT-controlled city or county councils usually cut bilingual education budgets

Sources: Adopted from *Hakka Issue* (1987, 1990); *Taiwan Documentary* (1995); Huang (1995); as well as *Taiwan Historical Chronicle* (Li & Xue, 2001)*,* Vol. III (1979-1988) and Vol. IV (1989-1994), and modified and expanded by the researcher.

2.3 Constructing a Citizenship Community: Inclusion (Bilingual education or multilingual education) or exclusion

Concerning one of the goals of the native language movement, i.e. to advocate bilingual, or even multilingual education, it is evident that the efforts made by the KMT's conducting the native-language education to achieve "Taiwanisation" or "localisation" can be seen from Table 5 during the early 1990s and several linguistic events elevating the status of native language educational issues which took place during 1990s are also summarized here.

Table 5: Linguistic struggles and disputes between the KMT government and the

oppositionist groups during the 1990s				
	Events/Sources	**Presenter**	**Date**	**Response from the KMT government**
1	On the Chinese Lunar New Year's Eve, President Lee Deng-hui's talk on TV, a routine congratulatory speech to all the people in Taiwan, was presented in Mandarin, Southern Min, and Hakka Symbolically (*Presidential office news,* 1990)	The Presidential office	January 26, 1990	This suggested that Taiwan is a multilingual society, and President Lee's identification with native (indigenous) languages
2	The Saisiat tribe appealed to ensure that its language and culture will be promoted from generation to generation. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No3, September 30, 1995: 149)	The aboriginal and local activist groups	December 3, 1990, on the day of the tri-annual ceremony of "Pasitaai" (Ai Lin Ji)	An Association for the Promotion of the Culture of Saisiat Tribe was allowed to be established.
*3	That all schools should no longer discriminate against dialects was declared	The MOE	December 22, 1990	
4	The first Southern-Min language course in the state-controlled education system opened in a national university in Southern Taiwan. (*Legislative Yuan Bulletin*, Vol. 79, 1990: 117)	The DPP legislators	February 1990	
5	Yam Poetry club was established, which tries to combine the strength of Southern Min, Hakka and aboriginal languages to vitalize Taiwanese literature. (*Taiwan Documentary,* Vol. 46, No3, September 30, 1995: 149)	A group of local poets	May 25, 1991	
6	Agreed that article 20 of the RBTP Law violated the language freedom of TV broadcasting should be deleted (*Television Yearbook of the Republic of China*, hereafter TYB, 1991: 235)	The legislator groups	On June 21, 1991	On July 14, 1993, the Legislative Yuan approved the deletion of time limitation on dialect programs.
7	The Southern Min Great Dictionary was allowed to be published. (*Legislative Yuan Bulletin*, Vol. 82, 1993: 345-346)	The Southern-Min intellectuals and the specially committed publisher	January 15, 1993	
8	The Student Society for the Promotion of Taiwanese Language and Literature	Students from the Taiwanese	May 3, 1992	The intention of this movement was to enhance the status of

	was established in nine universities. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No3, September 30, 1995: 149)	Studies Club of nine universities.		native Taiwanese languages. Students even requested the members of the Taiwan Association of University Professors to use Taiwanese languages in their instruction under appropriate situations, so the native languages could make their first autonomous step on campus.
9	The Hakka Dictionary was allowed to be published.	The Hakka intellectuals and the specially committed publisher	June 23, 1992	On August, 2005, Taiwan Hakka Dictionary was published
*10	A special report, entitled "Native language Education and Homeland Materials", stated native language education materials were compiled and teachers were trained (*The MOE Bulletin*, Vol. 221, 1993: 39-45)	The new Minister of Education of the MOE	March 31, 1993	But native language education, included in regular teaching, should not obstruct the promotion of Mandarin ("*Mother Tongue Education*", 1993, article 1 & 4)
11	The new revised Curriculum Standards were approved. Thus the native language education was definitely attached to the curriculum of "Homeland culture educational activity" (*The MOE Bulletin,* Vol. 224, 1993: 33-34)	The MOE	June 29, 1993	Elementary school students in the third through sixth grades would spend one hour a week learning one of the indigenous (native) languages i.e. Southern Min, Hakka or an aboriginal language, and other related teaching activities about the home-land culture
12	The College of Taiwanese Culture was founded.	The YMCA in Taichung	On July 21, 1993	This college was the first of its kind-promote the localism and the language of instruction there is mainly Southern Min.
13	President Lee Deng-hui's speech to the principals of elementary schools in a symposium (*The MOE Bulletin,* Vol. 226, 1993: 34).	The MOE	On August 31, 1993	President Lee explained that, "Education needs to let students understand their own living environment . . . . Only through implementing homeland education and fostering their sentiment attachment, responsibility, and concern toward homeland culture, then the idea of collective

				community of fate (i.e. the fate of togetherness) could be created and therefore the ethos for serving homeland and society and country could be developed".
*1 4	Mother-tongue education would be made compulsory in elementary school education from the 2001 academic year responding to the pressure of the trend of localisation and the growing of the native Taiwanese identity. (*The MOE Bulletin*, Vol. 310, 2000: 43 and Vol. 311, 2000; *Central Daily News,* September 22, 2000; *The China Post*, September 22, 2000)	The MOE announced the resolutions of The Educational Re-engineering Promotion Team of the Executive Yuan	September 21, 2000	In addition to Mandarin, elementary school students in the first through fourth grades would be required to spend one or two hours a week learning one of indigenous (native) languages－Southern Min, Hakka, or an aboriginal language. The fifth-and sixth-grade students would have reduced hours in learning their languages (i.e. native mother tongue) while beginning to study English. As for junior high school level, indigenous language classes would become optional according to the school's discretion
*1 5	The Proposal of the Southern Min as Taiwan's second official language, alongside Mandarin, was presented. (*The Taipei Times*, March 10, 2002)	Legislators of Taiwan Solidarity Union(TSU)[i], one of the opposition parties in Taiwan established on July 24, 2001	In the early 2002	Since more than 75 percent of the population in Taiwan speak or understand Southern Min, there was no reason why Southern Min could not be exalted as an official language.

Sources: Adopted from Television Yearbook of Republic of China (1991); Taiwan Documentary (1995); The Central Daily News (2000) ; The China Post (2000);The MOE Bulletin (2000); Taiwan Historical Chronicle ,Vol. IV (1989-1994) , (Li & Xue, 2001); as well as The Taipei Times (2002); and modified and expanded by the researcher.

Notes: * indicates linguistic events related with native-language educational issues.

Conclusion

At the end of the study, the researcher would like to offer some additional reflections on the aim of the study in terms of a number of important implications during the research:

- This historical example of post-colonial Taiwan testifies that language

    education and schooling systems, themselves parts of the cultural system, can advance or hinder the national identity building. Therefore, the connection between national identity and language education is reciprocal and interactive.

- Because of having been shaped by the colonial rulers and cultural intellectuals, the language educational policies in Taiwan had many ingrained rules, practices, vested interests, and social relations, these deeply fixed features of the educational domination made the language educational policies operate in ways that are bound up with ideological national-identity building. Therefore, in future researchers could look into content analysis of the syllabuses of the language education curriculum, and textbooks, in other words, to investigate whether the nation identity-building of the nationalisation plan will be affected by a particular ideology of language education in curriculums and textbooks.

- The study attests to that language functions as marker of a nation/or ethnic identities, nationalism and language education as a means of social control. In other words, languages education and identities are embedded within the relations of power. In this view, ideologies of language education are not about language and education alone, but are socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in nation-state communities.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, Taiwan is a historically multiethnic and multicultural society. There are four main ethnic groups in Taiwan. For the harmony among groups, either bilingualism or multilingualism is always perceived as a desirable linguistic condition in Taiwan society. But for more than five decades, the propagation of the National Language Movement (i.e. Mandarin Chinese Promotion) is for sure a success, only at the expense of the other local native languages which are in fact eroding (Tsao, 1999: 347). Within such a complex ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and political background, Taiwan's language planning is inmate politically challenging and controversial , and that the dilemma of language problems in Taiwan— either for promoting inclusion (bilingualism or multilingualism) or exclusion (monolinguals)—is still obvious and needs to be carefully taken care of.

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