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A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CHINESE AND ENGLISH TESTS OF THE
JOINT COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS IN TAIWAN FROM 1954 TO 2008

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of English

Shu-Fen Cheng

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

August 2011

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It has been claimed that language testing is not only a method to assess test-takers' language ability; it can also become a medium to promote ideological positions via the contents of the test, which may compel test-takers to adjust their learning as they prepare for the tests. In particular, the contents of a given test may reinforce or promote knowledge of a specific culture.

This research examines the contents of the Chinese and English tests in the Joint College Entrance Exam (JCEE), particularly based on Taiwan's current multicultural context. This paper explores selected aspects of the cultural content of both the Chinese and English tests in the JCEE from 1954 to 2008. One focus was to examine to what extent the contents of these tests might represent more multicultural components in the 1990s and 2000s, as compared earlier exams, given that important political and social changes have taken place in Taiwan during these last two periods examined in the study.

As theoretical bases, this study adopts Michel Foucault's theory of knowledge/power and Elena Shohamy's critical language testing, as well as Stuart Hall's concepts regarding the study of cultural values. The study provides an overview of Taiwan's history and the background of the Joint College Entrance Exam in Taiwan. Next, the study analyzes items from the JCEE in selected years ranging from 1954 to 2008, arranged into four periods, corresponding with political eras in Taiwan.

The results from the analyses of the data showed that the Chinese and English tests were culturally hegemonic, representing mainland Chinese themes and references in the Chinese test, and to a lesser degree, American culture in the English tests. These trends, in both cases, stand in stark contrast to examinations which might represent Taiwan's multicultural situation, with its Hakka, Hoklo and aboriginal elements. During the 2000s, the contents of both the Chinese and the English tests evolved to include more multicultural elements; however this change was found to be minimal. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of directions in which both testing and teaching in Taiwan might be revised to better reflect Taiwan's multicultural society today.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Taiwan is a multicultural and multilingual society and has been colonized by the Dutch, Spanish, and Japanese. Taiwan also has been dominated by the Chinese Nationalist Party which retreated from mainland China in 1949 according to some sources (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2000; Manthorpe, 2009; New Taiwan Ilha Formosa, 2009; Roy, 2003; Tsao, 2008a). This party has been imposing a China-centric culture upon the Taiwanese people for more than five decades. At the same time, in this complicated context, political, social, and economical components have been intertwined to construct the uniqueness of Taiwanese culture. As time has changed, awareness of the cultural components in Taiwanese identity has been deconstructed and reconstructed.

The Joint College Entrance Examination (JCEE) plays a vital role in this process; again, it is thought that the government has traditionally used this test system as a filter to select university students from among certain elites. The JCEE (later subsumed under a system called “Multiple Ways of Entering University System” in 2002) is an examination system designed by the Taiwanese government for students to gain college admission. The JCEE began to be implemented in 1954 and has evolved through five stages so far.

Because the JCEE had been controlled and conducted by the Taiwanese government for almost five decades, the test has the potential even today to become the source for a hidden agenda of language and cultural policy. As Israeli scholar, Elana Shohamy (1998) states, “Tests are powerful in that they symbolize social order...For elite groups, tests provide a means for perpetuating dominance while the low status groups,

minorities, who are constantly excluded by tests, have an overwhelming respect for tests and often fight against their abandonment” (p. 338). Based on this statement, the testing itself can become a hidden policy agenda to impose ideology on test-takers through the test. As Shohamy (2006) further suggests, through this hidden agenda, hegemonic cultural ideology could be constructed. Tollefson (1995) identifies three aspects of power: state, discourse, and ideology. Tests represent all three of these because state power, exercised through bureaucrats, identifies what is right, what is wrong, what is good knowledge and what is not (Shohamy, 1998). If researchers like Shohamy are right, the ideology associated with the judgments on “right” or “wrong” answers to test questions will be imposed on the test takers sooner or later.

Due to the important role of the JCEE in Taiwan’s educational system, some scholars have conducted research in relation to the effect of the JCEE on teaching and learning at school. For instance, Liu (1996) and Chen (1993) focused on the impact of the JCEE upon high school students’ learning stress and high school teachers’ instruction in Taiwan. Some scholars, such as Tung (2008), have analyzed English tests in the JCEE to examine students’ language abilities measured in the JCEE, while others, such as Chiu (1997) and Cheng (2002), address the evolution of the JCEE without analyzing the contents of the tests. Only a few scholars, such as Kuan (2004) and Ma (2007), focus on the relation between the JCEE and educational control by analyzing the contents of the Chinese tests and history tests in different periods. Therefore, the present research, emphasizing the relations among language testing, ideology, national identity and multicultural phenomena in Taiwan’s society, might contribute to raising Taiwanese awareness as it considers the ideology embedded in language tests (the Chinese and

English tests) in the college entrance examinations.

Language testing plays an important role in this cultural situation given that Taiwan is a multicultural/multiethnic and multilingual society. The ethnic groups and languages in Taiwan include Chinese mainlanders (speaking Mandarin Chinese), the Hoklo (whose language is considered the main Taiwanese language), the Hakka (who also have their own language), and the 14 aboriginal Taiwanese tribes (each tribe has their own language). After the Chinese Nationalist Party gained control in Taiwan, the party implemented national language (Mandarin Chinese) policy and nowadays Mandarin Chinese has become the predominant official language in Taiwan. In addition to the linguistic forms used on the Joint College Entrance Examination, the contents of the language testing — both in Chinese and English — can reveal much about the cultural values that the Taiwanese government chooses to emphasize. As a result, the implementation of this exam becomes a potential mechanism to create and impose a national ideology, cultural hegemony, or multicultural consciousness upon the test-takers. This phenomenon reflects the ways in which the sociopolitical situation has evolved since the mid-to-late twentieth century, when the KMT (The Chinese Nationalist Party) controlled Taiwan and developed a relationship between Taiwan and the United States. In next section, the background of the study will be introduced.

Background of the Study

Taiwan is considered to be a multiethnic and multilingual country as well as a multicultural society based on Taiwanese history (Shih, 2002). In addition to the mainstream Chinese culture, the cultures of the Hoklo and the Hakka (which are historically Chinese-based), are important to the island's culture; in fact, about 70 percent

of the population speak Hoklo, a variety that differs strikingly from Mandarin and has digressed from its origins so much that many linguists consider it a separate language, rather than a ‘dialect’ of Chinese¹. In addition, fourteen aboriginal peoples also contribute to the makeup of the Taiwanese society. However, a Taiwanese scholar, Chang Mai-quai, argues that although constructing Taiwan as a multicultural country has become political policy, as a matter of fact, the mass media do not pay much attention to these subcultures. Chang (2003) implies that this issue is generally ignored by the Taiwanese. Multiple claims are made about the nature of Taiwanese society; and these lead to several questions. First, has Taiwan really become a multicultural country? Second, why do Taiwanese people not pay much attention to multiculturalism?

One probable response to this last question is that Mandarin was the country’s official/national language from the 1950s to the 1990s. During this period other languages spoken in Taiwan, such as Hoklo and Hakka, were intentionally suppressed and ignored by the government. Because only Mandarin was taught and learned in school, almost all national tests, including the Joint College Entrance Examination, employed only Mandarin as the medium of the tests; language subjects in the Joint College Entrance Exam were only Chinese and English, excluding Hoklo, Hakka, and the fourteen aboriginal languages. Thus, Taiwan can be said to have experienced a developing Chinese and English cultural hegemonic phenomenon during this time (Chang 2007a; Yang, 2009).

In recent years, some Taiwanese have sensed the importance of preserving their mother tongues instead of speaking only Mandarin. Accordingly, in 2002, the government

1 Hoklo, Hakka, and Mandarin Chinese are different languages; see the comparison of their phonemic systems in Appendix A.

passed a law mandating that teachers teach students' mother tongues, including Hoklo and Hakka as well as the fourteen aboriginal languages (Lee, 2007), none of which is classified as a dialect of Chinese. Currently, the Taiwanese government even publishes Romanized Hoklo, Hakka and aboriginal phonemic systems to be taught from the fourth grade in elementary school (National Museum of Taiwan Literature, 2009). This emphasis on teaching other local languages in school is important because language is not only a tool of communication but a way to construct personal, national, and cultural identity. According to Hall (1996b),

A national culture is a discourse... National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about the nation" with which we can identify: these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, images which are constructed of it." (pp. 595)

In other words, cultural knowledge needs to be passed down through language.

In Taiwan, although curricular policies have evolved to some extent to include minority languages, it remains questionable as to whether the national testing practice has changed substantially enough to reflect this evolution. One way to select and strengthen cultural knowledge is to use standardized tests, especially high-stakes tests, which might force students to memorize a certain body of accepted knowledge and internalize it, in the process of coming to accept a certain ideology. Shohamy states that "language testing is a set of mechanisms to manipulate language and create de facto language policy" (2006, pp. 93-94); moreover, such testing "even changes the test takers' behavior in line with the demands of tests" (2001a, p. 37). Thus, the values and characteristics of a specific culture might arbitrarily come to dominate the people in a society or country.

This kind of high-stakes standardized testing has been conducted in Taiwan for more than fifty years, since 1954, in the form of the Joint College Entrance Exam (Lee, 2009). The Taiwanese scholar, Ma Hsiang-ching (2007) claims that the government employs this powerful mechanism to privilege certain kinds of knowledge and to force students to memorize and internalize this knowledge; in the long term, according to Ma, this practice has been transformed into an ideology. Lee (2007) also claims that The KMT (Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist Party, Taiwan's largest party) government has used Chinese culture to strengthen and construct Taiwanese identity. For instance, Lee (2007) found that the role of junior high school Chinese textbooks is to teach students how to become good citizens by learning the Chinese language, literature, and moral values through the lessons provided by Chinese authors. This trend toward cultural homogeneity stands in contrast to the government's stated objective of becoming a more open society.

Supporters of the movement in favor of diversity emphasize the importance of local language and local culture through what has been called a "peaceful revolution" (Lee, 2007). The tension between this movement and earlier policies contributed to a surprise victory for a smaller party, the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) in the 2000 presidential election. In the years since that victory, Taiwan seems to be growing more aware of cultural diversity. Furthermore, due to educational reforms, the Joint College Entrance Exam has reputedly been modified to be more multi-faceted and flexible since 2000.

The Joint College Entrance Exam has evolved in several different stages. From the beginning, it was developed by a group of about ten prestigious national universities; however, the tests are now controlled by a college entrance exam center established in

1989. As the society and politics have changed, the contents of the test have become more diverse. The previous standard for the contents of the test was based on the textbooks from 10th grade to 12th grade in high school. Each subject included six textbooks, edited and published by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation. In 2001, the Minister of Education relinquished its power to private publishers to produce high school textbooks. Because the government tries to avoid being blamed for franchising some private publishers who can benefit from the exams, the tests of the exam have become more flexible and diverse, and their contents are no longer determined by a small set of specific textbooks.

However, the question arises; can the tests created by the exam center effectively override the ideological homogeneity imposed on Taiwanese students for decades? In particular, have the contents really come to reflect multicultural issues, as the government claims? As the contents have changed, how do they reflect a balance in their content between Chinese, Hoklo, Hakka, aboriginal and other foreign cultural materials in the Chinese and English subjects in the Joint College Entrance Exam? Based on these reflections, I will address the purpose of my study in the following section.

Purpose of Study

This project will explore the extent to which the current Chinese and English tests reflect multicultural phenomena based on the Taiwanese historical and social context, and to what extent the current contents of the Chinese and English tests represent more multicultural components as compared to the previous tests. My goal is to try to understand how the exam reflects the representation and construction of Taiwanese culture, given that the power of the exam may dominate Taiwanese cultural perceptions. I

will seek insights into these questions by analyzing the culturally relevant contents of the Chinese and English tests.

Research Questions

The overall guiding question for this study will be the following:

How have the contents of the Joint College Entrance Exam in English and Chinese developed to reflect the sociopolitical contexts in Taiwan from 1954 to 2008, and how have the contents of those exams reflected cultural issues or values?

Sub-questions to this main question include the following:

1. What ethnic culture has been presented the most in terms of authors cited, individuals, places/artifacts/events within the texts over the years? How have these choices changed, especially since 2000, when the Democratic Progressive Party claimed multicultural/multilingual consciousness in Taiwan?
2. What themes/values, and (non)contemporary events have appeared the most within the texts, and what changes have taken place over time in these? What themes/values, (non)contemporary events, if any, have become more common within the texts? What themes/values and events have been discontinued or have appeared less frequently within the texts?
3. How do the patterns found in the answers to questions 1-2 reflect cultural references to ethnic and social groups? What patterns have appeared during the tenure of four different political leaders from 1954 to 2008?
4. How have the English and Chinese tests in the exam reflected the Historical and sociopolitical context of Taiwan within the last four decades under the different presidencies? To what extent and in what ways can the contents of the

exams over time be seen as implying inequality between different cultural groups?

Which group or groups seem to be favored, and which disfavored, in this respect?

Significance of Study

There are two perspectives regarding the significance of this study. First, from the perspective of the testers and policy makers, it is important for these policy makers to realize that the contents of the tests are potentially a means of imposing ideology on the test-takers and favoring certain cultural phenomena in society, which can lead to problems of inequality in the society, as one group gains cultural hegemony. If those who design these tests become more sensitive to issues of cultural balance, they might be able to directly or indirectly lead people to respect different cultures in their society, and thus they might be able to influence the development of a truly multicultural and multilingual society. More and more Taiwanese people are becoming aware of the multilingual and multicultural phenomena in Taiwan. This study, from the viewpoint of language testing, provides an alternative dimension to reflect the important components related to language testing in this context.

The second significance of this study is based on the educators' and teachers' perspectives. Educators and teachers should be aware of the cultural consequences of the pedagogy they use and the materials they choose in their teaching. This critical awareness includes the contents of the language testing itself. "Testing-oriented teaching" is a very serious phenomenon in Taiwan, and is in some ways inevitable, given the importance of the country's examination system. Thus, in any period where the exam is itself biased, this can ultimately exert a very negative influence on teaching and learning. This negative affect may lead to classrooms and teachers that ignore the rights of minority languages

and cultures due to lack of the emphasis on the importance of these minority languages and cultures in the contents of the tests. Hopefully, this study can raise educators' and teachers' critical awareness of the essential cultural problems in language testing. This awareness can in turn remind them to pay more attention to understanding the relations among ideology, power, language testing, culture, and teaching. Thus, they might modify their teaching pedagogy to teach students in ways that respect minority and suppressed cultures, even if they are not represented (or are under-represented) in the examinations.

Overviews of Chapters

In Chapter 1, I have generally described the background and goals of the study, the significance of the research, and the research questions. Chapter 2 will provide a discussion of the study's theoretical framework. The relevant theories in relation to knowledge/power, language testing, and cultural study will be explicated in that chapter. In Chapter 3, Taiwanese history and the history of the JCEE will be described based on scholars' work covering the periods under consideration in the present study. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the history of Taiwan and the Joint College Entrance Examination, and to lay the foundation for an understanding of how the historical/sociopolitical context may have influenced the cultural factors being studied in the present research. In Chapter 4, the methods of this research, including the theory of critical content analysis and the methods for data collection and data analysis, will be presented. Chapter 5 will present the results from the data. Based on these results, the interpretation of the data will be addressed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 will present concluding reflections, covering implications of the study, suggestions for educators and policy makers, and ideas for future research.

CHAPTER II

KNOWLEDGE, POWER, TESTING, CULTURE, AND SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTROL

Language testing is not only a method to evaluate language learners' abilities; it can also act as a powerful mechanism for affecting and manipulating the language behaviors of members of society. This can take place because language policies may be linked with political agendas that play out in the context of the examinations. Elana Shohamy (2006) states that tests have been viewed not only as pedagogical tools, but also (in fact especially) as sociopolitical instruments that have a strong impact on education and that can determine social order. Thus, tests cannot be viewed in isolation, but must rather be connected to social and political variables that have effects in widespread areas involving, ethical values, social classes, bureaucracy, politics and ultimately even basic views on knowledge; these in turn can lead to profound decisions in the practical area of school curriculum.

This study is intended to explore how the Joint College Entrance Examinations reflect social, political, and cultural phenomena based on Taiwan's historical context. More specifically, this research has been conducted to determine how the current contents of the Chinese and English tests in the Joint College Entrance Examinations in Taiwan represent different multicultural components and developing social changes over a span of time marked by four different political leaders from 1954 to 2008. In order to analyze the relationships among the factors involved in this situation, Michel Foucault's concepts of knowledge/power, as well as Elana Shohamy's theory of critical language testing, have been identified as the theoretical framework for this project.

This chapter will deal with three main areas. First, I will explain Foucault's

theory of discourse and Norman Fairclough's idea of critical discourse analysis. Secondly, I will discuss how languages affect cultural phenomena, and how language testing reflects the specific sociopolitical contexts in Taiwan. Finally, this chapter will suggest ways in which there may be connections between the contents of the English and Chinese tests on the one hand, and the issues of language, culture, knowledge and power on the other.

The Theory of Discourse

In this section, I will address the concept of discourse, mainly based on Michel Foucault's theory. Foucault defines discourse as a group of statements which represent a thought, belief, or an attitude. His theory emphasizes that discourse cannot be separated from its social, political, and historical framework, and must be situated within a larger context.

Discourse is a Group of Statements

Discourse is traditionally defined as "actual instances of communicative action in the medium of language" (Johnstone, 2008, p.2). In other words, we can say that discourse is made up of the units of language that are used to communicate. More specifically, for Michel Foucault (1972), discourse is not only a way to construct language for communication, but also a method to analyze a thought, a belief, or an attitude which is articulated in a text.

An underlying theme or trend in a discourse can represent or emphasize the intentions of the writer or speaker. Stuart Hall (1996a) proposed an example to explain this idea. He says, "We may not ourselves believe in the natural superiority of the West. But if we use the discourse of 'the West and the Rest' we will necessarily find ourselves

speaking from a position that holds that the West is a superior civilization” (P. 202). Hall uses the term ‘the Rest’ to emphasize a view that sees the West as the center of the world while ‘the rest’ of the world is a vague and indistinguishable concept and can be either ignored or seen as inferior.

To move to a very different example, consider the following statement from the Analects of Confucius (500 B.C.): “ To learn, and to practice on occasion what one has learnt- is this not true pleasure? The coming of a friend from a far-off land- is this not true joy?” (Giles, 1970, p. 73)? This statement, which emphasizes the importance of learning and friendship, is short; but it is repeated very often in Taiwan, not only in school discourse, but also on the civil officer’s examinations, entrance examinations and in public discourse. The KMT (Kuomintang-The Chinese Nationalist Party) viewed Taiwan as a model province of mainland China whose mission was to be the preserver and transmitter of Chinese traditional culture. The KMT used quotations from traditional Chinese discourse to emphasize the relationship between Taiwan and China. The KMT regime used these classical statements to strengthen Taiwanese students’ sense of Chinese identity and reinforce Taiwanese culture as Chinese culture. Today, when quotations like this are used, they still can be seen as functioning to link Taiwan to Chinese cultural values, and in particular to Confucianism.

Intertextuality in Discourse Analysis

Since discourse is a group of statements, there are meanings represented by discourse within various texts. These texts need to be interconnected; otherwise, the texts will appear as disjointed segments without a context to make their meaning whole. Norman Fairclough (1992) borrowed the French scholar Julia Kristeva’s (1986) term

“intertextuality” to identify how texts interact and relate to each other. The term “intertextuality” means that each new text is built upon texts from the past. These newer texts also respond to past texts, and in doing so help to shape subsequent texts. Through this process, a concept, idea, or statement will be emphasized and repeated through a series of texts over time.

Fairclough (2001) further interprets this concept: “Discourses and the texts which occur within them have histories, they belong to historical series, and the interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of deciding which series a text belongs to, and therefore what can be taken as common ground for participants” (p. 127). According to Fairclough’s interpretation, if a discourse theme or element is repeated in texts from diverse genres, such as poetry, prose, novels, drama, etc, all the genres are connected to construct a whole history. These connected genres thus strengthen an existing discourse, which represents certain specific beliefs and attitudes. As an example, Wilson-Tagoe (1999) looked at intertextuality in two African writers’ historical novels, and concluded that the African writers’ conflation of written narrative and indigenous oral form creates a narrative history. This instance of intertextuality enables the narrative history in these African novels to be recognized and understood through discourse analysis.

Discourse is Constructed by Political Power

Foucault (1972) states that [discourse] will be built on gaining knowledge as “the outcome of linguistic practices” (Gutting, 1989, p. 256). But where to acquire this knowledge? Foucault’s perspective proposes that this knowledge needs to be read in the context of its political, social milieu, often in the light of factors beyond its direct scope, involving speculation, emotions, and desires. In short, discourse “must interact with what

Foucault calls ideology” (William, 2005, p. 130).

Barker and Galasinski (2001) interpret Foucault’s (1980) concept of ideology in these terms: “ideology is the forms of power/knowledge justifying the actions of all groups...all ideology of all groups is implicated in their power relations” (p. 66).

Through ideology, power can be presented as a coherent set of ideas, though it is more often seen as fragmented meanings located intertextually in a variety of genres or types of texts. For example, the fragmented messages might appear in a series of poems, fairytales, textbooks, and the contents of exams.

Larry Shiner (1982) elaborated on Foucault’s idea. Shiner states,

Every society has a kind of political economy of truth which says what kinds of discourse are true, what the mechanisms and sanctions are for distinguishing true from false, the techniques for acquiring truth and the status of those who are empowered to say what is true.” (p. 384)

To decide what is true or false, one tends to refer to a set of values that is based on a system or institution. Within any discourse, some figures, such as political leaders, or organizations, such as the ETS (Educational Testing Service), can control a system to select knowledge and define truth, embedding an ideology into the fabric of the discourse.

To take another example, in Andrea Mayr’s (2008) study, she found that “enterprise discourse,” based on competitive business practices, has been employed by higher education systems because of government cuts in funding. The universities need to use this so-called “enterprise discourse” to attract more students to enroll in their university. In this model, enterprising knowledge is acceptable and becomes a source of

value. Thus, a university, an institution imparting knowledge, becomes a commercial entity by validating enterprise discourse in higher education. Once established, this type of underlying value is accepted as truth. This “truth” thus gradually comes to be based on ideology, and discourse is constructed by the political powers whose values it ultimately reflects back into the society.

In order to exercise their power without coercion, leaders have an interest in promoting “rules” which discipline the dominated people so that the dominant group maintains its power. When the subjugated people take any given rule for granted, and accept punishment as the appropriate way to correct those who do not abide by the rule, then the more powerful people will have succeeded in maintaining their control. As Foucault (1995) states, “Discipline is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures,...it might be used as an essential instrument for a particular end by schools, hospitals, or by pre-existing authorities that find it a means of reinforcing or reorganizing their internal mechanisms of power” (p. 215). Foucault uses a particular kind of prison design as a metaphor for societal control. The *Panopticon* was an 18th century prison design that allowed officials to survey prisoners without the incarcerated persons knowing whether or not they were being watched. A “Panopticon” acts as a powerful mechanism, compelling those subject to its control to discipline themselves without using coercion because they know they can be observed at random times beyond their control.

This concept can be extended to other institutions, such as schools. Christopher Bjork (2002) observed that rituals such as flag ceremonies in elementary and secondary schools are used by the Indonesian government to remind all citizens of their ties to the

national government and their duty to support the national cause. The discipline of patriotism is embedded into the flag ritual. The Indonesian government uses such school rituals as a mechanism to maintain its power. If students or teachers do not follow the rituals, they can be blamed or punished; insubordinate students might be suspended and expelled from school. Thus, recognizing the possible consequences of not conforming to the dominant idea of “patriotism” in the discourse, students eventually come to internalize the relevant value, and those in power maintain their hold on the young.

Discourse is Situated in History

As mentioned in discussing the concept of intertextuality, discourse cannot be detached from historical context because any given text is connected to both prior and later texts. In this way, as Fairclough (1992) states, “texts [are] historically linked within various time-scales and along various parameters, including texts which are more or less contemporary” with a particular text (p. 103). Basically, texts cannot leave their specific space and time; and as part of that space and time, texts can reflect historical meaning. Hubert Dreyfus & Paul Rabinow (1983) interpret Foucault’s concept of discourse, emphasizing that knowledge constructed in discourse must be understood in its historical context.

Terrence Wiley (2000) claimed that the American government has employed linguistic assimilation through language policy to impose English on all groups in the society. In his analysis, English-only monolingual tenets gradually became part of the dominant ideology in the United States. It was the Anglo-dominant government who made this decision to create the English/Anglo-centric ideology, which they presumed to be culturally, religiously, and economically superior to other languages and ethnic

cultures. Terrence Wiley tracks this concept of Americanization back to policies such as the removal of Native Americans from their ancestral lands in the early decades of the nineteenth century. During this period the federal government imposed a series of fraudulent treaties to uproot 125,000 Indians and established a system of English only boarding schools to educate Indian children, thus reducing the influence of their parents, grandparents, and tribal elders. Therefore, these Native American children lost their ability to speak their native languages, and eventually, subsequent generations have taken the concept of Americanization for granted. In different eras and by different means, Americanization has been expanded to European immigrants and other minority groups.

Discourse Acts as Social Practice

As Suresh Canagarajah (1999) points out, language is a dynamic agent that speakers use to make sense of this world and create thoughts that are shared and disseminated through the symbolic system of language and communication. Through language, we interact with community, society and the world at large. In the context of any given community, language creates discourse, ideologies, texts, and social systems.

Judging from that statement, discourse is not only embedded in history, but also “acts as a social practice” (Fairclough, 2001, p.18). Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2001) borrowed Foucault’s (1972) phrase “order of discourse” to represent this idea. He states, “Discourse and practice are constrained not by various independent types of discourse and practice, but by interdependent networks which we can call ‘order’- *order of discourse* and *social order*” (2001, p. 24). This “social order” refers to a structuring of a particular social “space” into various domains associated with various types of practices. Orders of discourse are situated in a society because “we always experience the society

and the various social institutions with which we operate as divided up” (2001, p. 24). This implies that in any practice, there is a hierarchy of power involved, wherein one participant, through language choice, can “position” the other participant in a less powerful position. Fairclough (2001) provides an example to explain this situation. In classroom discourse, a teacher usually uses declarative sentences to make statements such as “The assignment for next week is” in addressing students. This usage creates a power relationship, as other members of the community (the students) do not have the authority to make such statements.

Because there are many diverse orders of discourse, language testing might embody an institutional discourse situated by test-makers, the ultimate result of which is to create unequal relationships or impose ideologies on test-takers. Especially if the test-makers are assigned by the government, some ideological themes might be promoted as common sense to become part of a “grand narrative” to construct national identity in a society. For example, the theory of critical language testing applies the notion of orders of discourse to support the claim that those who control the content of tests can enforce ideology upon test takers.

The Theory of Critical Language Testing

In this section, three main concepts will be discussed. These are *language testing as a discourse*, *standardized tests as a method of social control*, and *the influence of washback in testing*. In these sections I will articulate how language testing plays a role in a society and how standardized tests are manipulated as a mechanism to fulfill their function of social control. Finally, I will address some arguments focusing on washback, to further emphasize the role of testing in a society.

The Contents of Language Testing as a Discourse

As mentioned in the first section, a discourse conveys a specific ideology. As Spolsky (2008) points out, “Testing might be developed as an instrument of central power and control” (p. 303). This concept is also expressed in Elana Shohamy’s theory of critical language testing. Shohamy (1998) discussed what she saw as crucial features of critical language testing. She assumes that “the act of language testing is not neutral. Rather, it is a product and agent of cultural, social, political, educational and ideological agendas that shape the lives of individual participants, teachers, and learners” (p. 2). Critical language testing emphasizes that language testing is purpose-oriented and able to construct or change the ideology of test-takers and others involved in the testing. Consequently, given the contents embedded within the tests, language testing as a discourse may reflect a hidden agenda.

Shohamy’s (2001a) research found that in Israel the content knowledge of the tests for entrance into higher educational institutions mainly included Jewish content such as the Talmud, the Bible, and Hebrew literature. In contrast, these same tests contained very limited Arabic content knowledge. In this sense, Israeli-Arab students who had not mastered the knowledge of the dominant group (Israeli Jewish) were at a disadvantage with respect to being accepted into higher educational institutions. Based on this research, Shohamy (2001a) concluded that language tests can be used to “control knowledge and entrance to higher education” (p. 91).

To extend this concept, if language tests are used in “naturalization,” these tests for citizenship might become a way of diminishing social differentiation, as stated by Tommaso Malani (2008). Malani (2008) analyzed a public debate which took place in

Sweden in 2002 regarding the Swedish Liberal Party's proposal to introduce a language test for naturalization. Based on Malani's analysis, the relevant policy documents and newspaper articles used in the language test perpetuated racist and discriminatory ideologies. Malani still agrees with using language tests for naturalization, based on Bourdieu's (1991) idea of "a rite of institution." However, Malani (2008) warns that such a test may "[contribute] to rather than [challenge] the reproduction of social differentiation, thereby legitimizing the exclusion of certain groups from both the civic and symbolic domains of Sweden as a nation-state" (p. 53).

Malani supports this language test for citizenship by standing on the concept of the 'nation-state'. However, others, such as Shohamy (2006), raise objections to such tests. In Shohamy's (2006) terms, "The intentions and motivations for introducing [language] tests are able to affect the language knowledge, language teaching, and the consequences of tests on education and society" (pp. 93-94). Deborah Palmer and Anissa Wicktor Lynch (2008) provide a case study to illustrate that the high-stakes Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) has influenced bilingual (English and Spanish) education in Texas. The TAKS is a test that is supposed to be offered in both English and Spanish in 3rd – 6th grades and used for school and district rankings at both state and federal levels. However, in practice state and federal accountability policy requires schools to administer this test to all children in English. Given the present power of the TAKS, the TAKS has impacted teachers' decisions about the language of instruction (English as the priority) for their students and has accordingly undermined the purposes of the bilingual program. The result of this study implies that this high-stakes and standardized test has not only influenced school curricula and teachers' choices of

pedagogy in an attempt to prepare students for the tests, but has also sacrificed the rights of minority language speakers.

Standardized Tests Manipulate Socio-political and Cultural Control

It is a major purpose of standardized testing to measure people's ability accurately. For this reason, theories of traditional testing emphasize reliability, validity, and fairness in connection with standardized tests. These theories emphasize that the tests are used as screening or prediction devices (Cronbach, 1988; Fulcher & Davidson, 2009; Fox, 2004; Kane, 1992, 2001, 2006; McNamara & Roever, 2006; Mehrens & Lehman, 1980). For example, Kane (2006) points out that placement tests are widely used in higher education to assign students to a sequence of related courses. It is assumed that the competencies developed in earlier courses serve as prerequisites for later courses. A student with a very low score on the placement test, indicating a low level of skill in the competencies, would be predicted to do poorly in any course beyond the first. If a student earns a very high score on the placement test, the student would be expected to profit most from higher level courses.

However, even if the theory of testing emphasizes the fairness and objectivity of tests, some scholars have different views. For example, Tim McNamara (2005) challenges these psychometric traditions. He argues, "all language testing is potentially political; it can be associated with, and operate in the service of, power and control" (p. 368). Samuel Messick (1989) also states that testing could never be understood as a purely technical activity, never "scientific" or "objective" in a positivist sense. In support of views such as McNamara's and Messick's, Brindley (2001) argues that there is a bias and dilemma in teacher-developed assessment used to gauge the achievement of language

competencies in the Australian Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP). Citing the lack of a common standard of assessment, researchers such as Brindley have doubted the consistency and comparability of the tests. They caution that using standardized tests in language testing might create social norms which differentiate between people, even when the fairness of the tests has been emphasized.

Hanauer (2009), Chriss (2007), and Madaus, Russell, and Higgins (2009) also suggest that the discourse and scientific procedure of standardized tests tends to overcome opposition and enact social control. As Chriss (2007) puts it, “social norms are created to regulate individuals who do not comply with the rules” (p. 33). These rules include school discipline and social conventions, which are in turn supported by the “correct” standardized test answers. When the “right” answer involves some point of social or institutional regulation, the need to produce that answer can ultimately control the test-takers’ behavior or beliefs, whether directly or indirectly. To take one specific example relevant to the present study, Confucianism emphasizes certain cultural values such as the importance of filial duty and respect. Confucius says, “while one’s parents are still alive, one should not travel a distance; if one must travel, it should be to a fixed destination²” (Giles, 1970, p.24). If this value is cited or emphasized in examination materials, it may ultimately reinforce socially conservative values in those who take the test.

To paraphrase Mehrens and Lehmann (1980), there are two different goals or objectives in achievement testing: (1) to discriminate among all individuals according to their degrees of achievement; and (2) to discriminate among those who have and have not

2 The original text in Chinese reads, 父母在，不遠遊，遊必有方。

reached set standards (or to determine whether each person has or has not achieved a specific set of objectives). From this explanation, it might be said that standardized tests are one system for filtering out or discriminating against people who are disfavored by the authorities, the test-makers. Lynch (2001) and Shohamy (1998) claim that the critical perspective on language testing is of interest when considering particular domains such as gender, class, ethnicity, and other aspects of human relations and activities that can be interconnected with the issues that appear in language testing materials.

Supplementing this idea, Hanauer (2009) points out that test designers use statistical and scientific methods to make their tests as objective, reliable, and accurate as possible. Accordingly, the power of science is applied in the creation of standardized testing. Ironically, while the use of “scientific” methods hints at objectivity and fairness in the public mind, these methods applied to testing may ultimately help the testing become an even more effective discriminatory mechanism.

One problem involves questions about what is measured in standardized tests. Peter Sack (1999) provides an example to support such doubts. Based on his research on the professional fields of journalism, business, football, and teaching, Sack discovered that using standardized tests, such as aptitude tests, to select “appropriate” staff or workers or to dismiss them, is not effective. Job performance is not correlated with test performance because test performance only measures partial ability. Hanauer (2009) elaborates upon this point: “[T]he decontextualized standardized test only provides partial information to evaluate literacy abilities” (p. 57); the results of such tests can thus be influenced, for instance, by the test taker’s lack of personal experience with multiple choice exams. Standardized tests evaluate only a small portion of memorized knowledge,

instead of evaluating the whole of the knowledge or skills that test-takers possesses.

Pursuing the point introduced above, Sack (1999) finds that standardized tests have become social engineers to legislate the pathways for some people to succeed in the American workplace. He paints a hypothetical scenario in which “scientific” methods have been used to predict worker success and screen applicants for a variety of unrelated jobs:

[S]ocial engineers would discover an increasing sort of standardization of the profiles among people working those jobs [such as, journalism, business, and teaching]. Successful applicants are more likely not to be Hispanic or African American, and more likely not to come from homes of modest or poor economic means. They are more likely to be white, middle-, and upper-middle-class, with parents who are white, middle, and upper-middle-class. They are more likely to think alike. And more likely than the rest to test into the structured pathways of success. (p. 199)

Naturally, fair-minded individuals would reject guidelines that directly and overtly favored those described in this quote. Nevertheless, and ironically partly due to the emphasis on the “fairness” of the standardized test as associated with scientific procedures, “the standardized test can function to silence and overcome opposition and impose social control” (Hanauer, 2009, p. 57). While not directly choosing the white, middle and upper-middle class people mentioned by Sack, the tests may contain items that will identify people in this class as superior based on the “correct” answers they provide. Because the test has been vetted by means that seem scientific, a government which uses standardized testing as a means of discrimination against people for social

control is above criticism because it can claim fairness as a result of scientific method.

Some scholars agree that authorities manipulate their agendas and impose their ideologies or identities on students. However, they have different ideas about the ways in which this is done. For example, scholars who connect textbooks with identity, such as Apple (1999, 2000), Crawford (2000), Giroux (1989), and Inglis (1985), argue that official textbooks are tools that create official or selected knowledge. Apple (2000) thus claims that, “texts help set the canons of truthfulness, and as such, also help recreate a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief and morality really are” (p. 46). In this statement, we can see that textbooks might be so powerful that they can create their own definitions of so-called “truthfulness” and “knowledge.” However, some scholars argue that tests are ultimately the more powerful tool in selecting what knowledge is emphasized as important, based on the concept of *washback*. Accordingly, I will discuss this important concept in the next section.

The Influence of Washback in Testing

The term “washback” (Alderson & Wall, 1993; Shohamy, 1992) or “backwash” (Hughes, 1989) was first used around 1990, and refers to the idea that testing can affect teaching and learning by influencing the content and the way in which educators teach their students. Messick (1996) further defines washback as “a concept prominent in applied linguistics, which refers to the extent to which the introduction and use of a test influences language teachers and learners to do things they would not otherwise do that promote or inhibit language learning” (p. 241). Essentially, the idea is that standardized testing can drive important aspects of school curriculum.

In fact, standardized tests have caused well known negative results or washback

in language teaching. One such washback effect is to minimize the use of certain popular methodologies for language learning, such as the communicative language approach (Bailey, 1996; Cheng & Curtis, 2004; Shohamy, 1992). Since communicative abilities are complex and multifaceted, they cannot be “tested” via simple short-answer or multiple choice items. Hence, if teachers are preparing students for a test based on such items, they will tend to downplay communicative teaching and instead concentrate on class plans that emphasize material such as minor grammatical patterns.

Addressing this issue in relation to Taiwan, Shueu-Jen Ou Lee (2007) claims that textbooks play an important role in imposing ideology on students. Lee (2007) states that, “by creating official/selected knowledge [through textbooks], state governments not only dominate what may and may not be talked about, but also consciously impose political beliefs such as nationalism and patriotism to construct the students’ national identity” (p. 28). Going beyond this claim, some scholars argue that tests will deeply affect teachers’ methodologies and materials (Bailey, 1996; Cheng, Watanabe, & Curtis, 2004; Shohamy, 1992). For example, Cheng *et al.* (2004) propose that if the test is of great importance, then it will have a strong effect in determining everything that happens in the classroom. According to this claim, although textbooks select knowledge for students to learn, the contents of the tests further force teachers to select only specific materials from those textbooks, potentially leaving students with gaps in their knowledge. This pattern plays out in connection with the present study, in that, wherever a pattern of change over time is found in the Chinese or English exams being studied, one may reasonably ask how that pattern compares with what has happened in textbook content over the same period. I will return briefly to this issue in Chapter 7.

Washback not only influences the materials chosen by the teachers, but it also influences the language skills on which the class must focus. This influence on language skills also reflects cultural values. In one example, a study conducted by Akiyama (2004), junior high school teachers in Japan paid little attention to teaching English speaking skills, as these were not included in the highly competitive university admissions tests. These tests subsequently formed the primary goals for teaching English at the senior high school. Thus, both junior and senior high school teachers in Japan devalued English speaking skills.

Akiyama's research also highlighted one last important point, related to the very use of a standardized exam, no matter what its content. Akiyama pointed out that education in Japan is influenced by the Japanese cultural values of meritocracy and egalitarianism, originating in Confucianism. These values are expressed in the merit-based system of competitive examinations, in which candidates are differentiated purely according to test scores. The higher the scores the candidates earn, the more diligently and harder they are believed to work. Noting this link between hard work and test results, McNamara and Roever (2006) observe that "the actual content of the test and its validity is not the central issue; what matters is that tests should be difficult and play the role of selecting for the character attributes of diligence and effort" (p. 208). This conclusion reflects one more aspect of what the previous section discusses: that testing itself can be a mechanism for the testers to select and differentiate between people.

Discourse, Language Testing, and Culture

In this section, I will discuss the relationships among discourse, language, and culture. Current research trends have featured various definitions of culture that include

reference to language as a central factor in culture. Furthermore, as stated in the last section, discourse is not only a way to construct language for communication, but also a method to represent thoughts and attitudes. In this sense, language testing as a form of institutional discourse might represent cultural preferences or hegemony in a larger context.

Discourse, Language, and Culture

Robert Bocock's (1996) outline of culture includes five definitions. The first meaning of "culture" involves "agriculture," which indicates the connection between a culture and its agricultural activities. The second meaning indicates that only certain individuals, groups, or classes have "cultured" or cultivated minds and manners; this usage tends to emphasize that only some nations (mainly European ones) exhibit a "high" standard of culture or civilization. A third definition of culture refers to a process of social development. The self-development of humanity was constructed through this process. The fourth definition of culture includes the distinctive way of life and the shared values and meanings which are common to all groups—nations, classes, subcultures and historical periods. Addressing this fifth definition, Bocock states that a culture is directly connected to its language. The last three of these definitions indicate that language is a fundamental social practice. By using signs and symbols, such as words or pictures, a group of people thus shares a culture because they share a common set of meanings which are constructed and exchanged through the practice of using language.

Given that a discourse is a group of statements to represent a concept, a set of beliefs, attitudes, and even an ideology, a preference for certain cultural elements might appear in a multicultural society through the effects of language policies and school

educational policy. As Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski (2001) emphasize, “to understand culture is to explore how meaning is produced symbolically through the signifying practices of language within material and institutional contexts” (p. 4). In the modern world, multilingual societies are not unusual; however, orders of discourse and power relationships are perpetuated everywhere. Even speakers using varieties of the same language may have an unequal relationship, not to mention those using different languages in the same social context. This unequal situation results from the symbolic power embedded in language and discourse. As a title by Shi (2007) suggests, “discourse [is] cultural struggle” (p. 6).

Language Capital, Cultural Hegemony, and Language Policy

As ideology is embedded in language, language can be developed into a dominant tool by those in power to impose ideology upon their subjects. Bourdieu (1991) asserts, “[L]anguage is a linguistic capital that can be negotiated on the linguistic market and it reflects power relations in society. Those who master the norm have the largest linguistic capital and are eager to keep it” (pp. 61-65). In addition to the concept of linguistic capital, Bourdieu (1991) also states that capital may be economic, social or cultural. Thus, “all forms of capital are convertible into ‘symbolic capital,’ once they are (mis)recognized as having the effects of forms of power” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 101).

In this context, any language that becomes a “standard” language is likely to turn into a dominant tool in deciding who is superior or inferior in a society or a nation. In such an unequal position, those who manipulate a standard language own more linguistic capital, which in turn leads to more opportunities to succeed in their learning

and careers.

Phillipson (1992) provides an example to demonstrate this point. Given that an English-only, standard-English-preferred policy was institutionalized in the late nineteenth century in the United States, the cultures and languages of the indigenous peoples, such as Navajo and Pueblo, have been devastated. Today, Navajo children grow up with a sense of loss of self-identity and failure in classroom learning activities due to the effects of this standard English policy. The language policy has thus influenced the children's opportunity for learning, and has ultimately excluded them from the benefits of Anglo-Saxon mainstream culture, while also barring them from fully experiencing their Native American heritage.

It can be claimed that a similar situation has happened in Japan. Rumiko Shinzato (2003) found that due to nationalism, the Japanese government implemented language policy to force the indigenous people of Okinawa to speak standard Japanese during the early twentieth century. The Japanese government took the radical step of replacing old village schools, where the language medium was Okinawan³, with new schools where Japanese was to be spoken. Additionally, the radical system of punishment for speaking Okinawan caused many Okinawans to deny their own ethnicity. Nowadays, this situation has changed. Ethnic diversity has increased since the early 1990s. However, Nanette Gottlieb (2007) states that, although Okinawan language and culture seemed to be approaching a revival, there is still no provision for education in students' native language on Okinawa. Regarding this situation, Shinzato (2003) criticizes,

The fate of 'small' languages tells us much about the cultural hegemony of

3 Okinawan is a language that blends elements of Malay from Formosa and the Philippines as well as Chinese and Japanese.

large powers, and can be regarded as a litmus test for war that is historically proximate. Symbolic violence is sure to precede, accompany and follow physical violence, [and this symbolic violence] leaves telltale signs as indigenous languages wane under the influence of education, media and business domination from outside (p. 305).

This symbolic violence abolishes the minority group's language rights and social benefits. Through symbolic violence, cultural hegemony thus guarantees that some groups in a society will gain or maintain their power. In an age where on average one language is being lost every two weeks, and in which certain languages, like English and Mandarin are gaining in power on the global scale, this issue is one that deserves attention.

These concepts are relevant as well in Taiwan. Although Taiwan is a multicultural and multilingual society, Mandarin Chinese has been a national language, *gouyu*, since the KMT (Kuomintang/ the Chinese Nationalist Party) gained power in Taiwan in 1949. Therefore, if the Taiwanese do not speak standard Mandarin Chinese, they tend to be devalued to a lower social class. In terms of Bourdieu's theory, all other languages in Taiwan possess low capital. In this way, Mandarin Chinese serves not only as a communicative tool but also as a symbolic tool for the manipulation of political, social and economic agendas.

This situation of linguistic hegemony is also demonstrated in the teaching of foreign languages, where one second language, English, has come to hold power along with Mandarin in Taiwanese society. With the emerging global importance of English, questions arise about the power relations involving both Mandarin Chinese and Anglo values in education at large, and also in the context of teaching. One of the main reasons

for bringing English hegemony into the equation for the present study is the close relationship between Taiwan and the United States.

It is because of the hegemonic position of both Mandarin and English that exams for these languages have been chosen as the focus of the present study.

Cultural and National Identity-Imagined Community

For Hall (1996b), “national cultures into which we are born serve as one of the principal sources of cultural identity” (p. 611). Based on this statement, a nation is not just described as being a population comprised of an entity and having affection for and loyalty toward a group (Simpson, 2007a), but is also as a population sharing a common culture, language, and history. Hall (1996b) continues:

A national culture is a *discourse*- a way of constructing meaning which influences and organizes both our actions and our conceptions of ourselves...National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about “the nation” with which we can *identify*; these are contained in the stories which are told about, memories which connect its present with its past, images which are constructed of it. (p. 613)

For Foucault, the idea of discourse provides a way of thinking about culture and power (Smith & Riley, 2009) because a certain culture could be molded as a collective memory through discourse. For instance, Ma (1998) describes how Hong Kong had to reinvent a new memory and identity in the process of “re-Sinicization” by using film and TV as major agents of change in the region’s speakers’ transition from British colonists to people with a Chinese identity. This idea of memory as cultural discourse emphasizes Chinese culture as a mainstream culture instead of British culture in Hong

Kong, and in the process refigures popular imagination of membership in the Chinese nation-state.

Along similar lines, scholars have theorized that national identities are shaped in *imagined communities* that are discursively constructed (Anderson, 2006; Bauer, 1996; Renan, 1996). According to these statements, cultural identity includes national identity built through the development of language.

This development of national identity can be implemented in a system such as language testing. Andrew Hartman (2003) provides research to indicate how the US government uses the standardized testing reform in the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) as a tool to build American identity as white identity. The SAT thus becomes an apparatus of “Americanization.” Henry Chauncey, the founder of the Educational Testing Service (ETS), and James Conant, the former president of Harvard University, state that after the implementation of the SAT, African Americans and other peripheral groups were supposed to enjoy increased opportunities for success in their life (Lemann, 1999). However, Lemann points out that the SAT did not accommodate African Americans or female identities with their different learning styles. In order for a more fully integrated society to emerge from the SAT, he suggests, African Americans would have to assimilate to American identity. The SAT further entrenched a seemingly elusive white identity as the de facto American identity. The American identity was built upon on imagined communities, white communities, based on a hidden agenda in the SAT.

In addition, Hartman (2003) also points out that the design of the SAT is deceptive as “meritocracy.” If a test is “standardized,” that test is a measurement of a “standard” as defined by particular interests. Familiarity with the language, style and

other subjective qualities that are unavoidable in the creation of a standardized test, give test-takers with such familiarity a clear advantage. This situation fits into Foucault's (1972) concept of "discipline." Based on this concept, Hartman (2003) further explains, "discipline is the link between increased aptitude, such as a better score on the SAT, and increased subjugation" (p. 2). In other words, the more diligently you work to improve your SAT score, the more fully you are subsumed by the imperatives of the state and the economy, whose disciplinarian capabilities are enhanced through this system of assessment.

Furthermore, Hartman (2003) also criticizes standardized testing on the grounds that it negates multiculturalism. Although the United States is considered as a multicultural society, the theory is in contrast to the reality. Hartman provides an example. The Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment (MCA) is the state's assessment system for the public high schools. The MCA system's 10th grade history and social sciences test is representative of knowledge that negates multiculturalism. Of the fifty-seven questions, forty ask about European history and five about capitalism, leaving only twelve questions to assess students' knowledge on the remaining countries, cultures, and histories of the world. The breakdown of the questions on the MCA implicitly supports American white identity as national identity. If a real multicultural society existed, then these ratios of the questions contained in the tests would be more equal. The standardized testing thus becomes a hidden agenda to perpetuate American identity as white identity. In this imagined community constructed by the standardized testing system, minority groups' voices and identity are excluded.

Resistance and a New Order of Discourse

Foucault (1972) in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, argues that there is a difference between views of history as continuous or discontinuous. Foucault states that history itself is discontinuous rather than continuous. If history is discontinuous, then it is limited and fragmentary. “We do not only inherit necessary forms and compulsions, but also gaps and opportunities [within those fragments of history]” (Williams, 2005, p. 111). Through this fragmentation, history is open for interpretation from different perspectives.

From this viewpoint, a discourse specifically constructed by some authority could be challenged and deconstructed in some specific time and space. Jackie Abell, Susan Condor, and Clifford Stevenson (2006) have found that a British person who had moved from England to Scotland uses the political viewpoint, “We are an island”, to avoid social conflict. The British use this island imagery to display recognition of the indigenous population’s claims to distinctive national culture and identity. In this case, the people in Scotland consider themselves as Scottish instead of British. Because of the complicated historical relationship between England and Scotland, people moving from England to Scotland use this political notion, “We are an island,” to negotiate with Scottish civil society to avoid conflicts based on the resistance of the Scottish to British authority.

Foucault (1980) proposes a concept of *bio-power*. He states,

If one can apply the term bio-history as the pressures through which the movements of life and the processes of history interfere with one another, one would have to speak of bio-power to designate what brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power

an agent of transformation of human life. (p. 143)

This statement implies that “Bio-power is a form of relations that exert themselves...as a means of regulating life itself” (Brown, 2000, p. 44). In this bio-power relationship, Foucault emphasizes that power is dynamic and will be altered due to temporal and spatial changes. Charles Taylor (1986) further interprets this concept, “There is no power without resistance” (p. 91). This resistance will become a new order of discourse to change a given situation or political balance of power. For example, Wong and Apple (2002) found that although the Singaporean government tried to use its educational system to override the Chinese schools’ curriculum⁴ to build a national identity in the 1950s and 1960s, they were not fully successful. This failure resulted from the resistance of Chinese educators and the Chinese community, who objected to the elimination of Chinese culture from the textbooks.

Phillipson (2003) notes that in Canada in the 1960s, resentment at the marginalization of French, specifically in Quebec, lead to a process of redefining the balance of power between speakers of English and French. As a result, in Quebec, French has since become the dominant language. Likewise, Taiwan underwent a similar situation when resisting the government’s imposition of Chinese identity. In the 1990s, Taiwanese people resisted the imposition of the KMT’s China-centered ideology on the educational system; this resistance initiated educational reforms to emphasize the characteristics of the native Taiwanese culture, given that Taiwan is a multicultural and multilingual society

4 The population of Singapore is highly mixed and is composed of the descendants of immigrants into Singapore from China, India, and Malaysia. Singapore is also a multilingual state. The official languages include Chinese, Tamil, Malay, and English (Simpson, 2007c).

Multiple Cultures and Taiwanese Identity

Taiwan is a de facto multicultural and multilingual, and multiethnic society (Hong, 2000; Kuo, 2003; Shih, 2002; Wang, 2004). As Li-jung Wang (2004) states, “The concept of ‘multicultural Taiwan’ refers to ethnic cultures, Taiwanese and Chinese cultures, regional/communal cultures, local/native cultures, and foreign/global culture” (p. 306). According to Wang, the four ethnic groups (Hoklo, Hakka, the mainlanders, and the aborigines) construct multicultural Taiwan. In this research, these two terms, multicultural and multiethnic will be used interchangeably. The groups in Taiwan will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Although the roots and the reality of diversity go far back in Taiwan, the term “multiculturalism” was not commonly mentioned in the mass media until the 1990s (Chang, 2003; Wang, 2004). For example, Chang (2003) provided evidence from one Taiwanese newspaper, the *United Daily News* (one of the most popular newspapers in Taiwan). The terms “multiculture” or “multiculturalism” did not appear in this newspaper until 1993. Before 1990s, Taiwanese national identity had been constructed either as “Japanese” under Japanese colonization or as “Chinese” under the Chinese Nationalist Party’s rule.

The concept of a “multicultural Taiwan” dates back to 1992. At this time, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) (1992) proposed an “Ethnicity and Cultural Policy,” which mainly emphasized that no single ethnic group should be allowed to discriminate against or degrade the cultural values of any minority groups, and that the status of minority groups should be improved. In 1996, the Committee of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) was established to take charge of aboriginal cultural policy. In 2001, after the Committee

of the Hakka (CH) was established, the former president, Chen Shui-bian, declared that “The Republic of China is a multiethnic and multicultural nation...One of our national policies is to support and affirm multiculturalism” (Chang, 2003, p. 1). In recent years, multiculturalism has been used to emphasize national identity and to resolve the conflicts between Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese consciousness. Some scholars might argue that the cultures of the original mainlanders, Hakka, and Hoklo, all belonged to the Chinese culture, given that they originally came from mainland China several centuries ago. However, as Yu and Kwan (2008) argue, “national reality originates from everyday life experience taken for granted during socialization” (p. 33). Although these cultures originally came from Mainland China, their everyday life is different from that of today’s Chinese citizens. Taiwanese people living on this island have their own unique culture. They have shared the same history and living experience, instead of living in an “imagined community” of Chineseness which was constructed by political power through using “collective memory.”

Chinese origin is surely a cultural resource in Taiwanese culture, but the Chinese element in Taiwanese culture is not the same as its mainland counterpart. For example, Eleanor Wu (2006) found that an indigenous folk temple, *Lung-shan Si*, which worships local gods from mainland China and was built in the 18th century, represents a blend of “pan-Chinese ethos, universalistic Buddhism, and syncretic modernism in Taiwan” (p. 34). Additionally, Wu (2006) also found that the *Pingpu* people (one of the aboriginal peoples assimilated into the Han Chinese) had helped build a temple, *Pao-an Kung* (founded in 1805); in the process, some of the *Pingpu* people’s names had been inscribed on the pillars of the temple. Furthermore, some *Pingpu* people also worshipped in this

temple. This phenomenon suggests that, while part of Taiwan's native culture originally came from mainland China, this element has developed its own distinctiveness from the Chinese, as it has been influenced by specifically Taiwanese minority cultures.

This distinctiveness also appears in Taiwanese literary discourse. Before 1949, Taiwanese literature had absorbed Chinese components into its canon. Classical Chinese literature was introduced to Taiwan in the seventeenth century (Hsiau, 2000; Republic of China Yearbook-Taiwan, 2001; Wang, 2007). During Japanese colonial rule, writers, such as Yeh Shih-tao (Hoklo) and Wu Cho-liu (Hoklo) and Chung Li-ho (Hakka) used a hybrid style of writing composed of elements from Japanese, classical Chinese, and vernacular literature⁵ (or *pai-hua*), which led to the development of a characteristic style of Taiwanese literature.

After the KMT's regime, many mainland writers, such as Pai Xiang-uong, Yu Guang-zhong, Pan Jen-mu, and Su-ma Chung-yuan, followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan. These writers frequently articulated their nostalgic feelings toward mainland China within their literary works. This imaginary nostalgia helped the KMT to create an "imaginary homeland" for the Taiwanese people and further to form Taiwanese national identity as Chinese (Haddon, 2005; Hsiau, 2000).

In the debate over "native literature" in the early 1970s, some mainland writers, such as Wang Wenxing, challenged the ethical underpinnings of the Chinese tradition (Chang, 2007a). Huang Chu-ming and Wang Chen-ho significantly incorporated many elements of Hoklo language into their writing, and they depicted the rural life of the

5 Traditionally, Chinese written literature (*wen-yen*) is different from vernacular literature (*pai-hua*). Literature written in the classical language received official sanction by becoming the testing material for the examination system, while vernacular literature owed its increasing popularity mainly to growth in the popular entertainment industry. Specifically, after the new literature movement, initiated by Hu Shih, etc. in 1919, vernacular literature replaced Chinese written literature as a main literary trend in Taiwan.

Hoklo in Taiwan in their fiction (Republic of China Yearbook-Taiwan, 2001). After 1987, because of the rise of “Taiwanese consciousness” and “indigenization” (*Bentuhua*), native Taiwanese writers, such as Lin Tsung-yuan, used Chinese characters to write Hoklo poems (Hsiau, 2000). In Hakka literature, Chung Chao-cheng and Li Chiao also emphasized the Hakka culture in their work. As for aboriginal literature, since 1980, aboriginal intellectuals have tried to recreate their own past by preserving their peoples’ oral traditions (Republic of China Yearbook-Taiwan, 2001). Some modern aboriginal writers, such as Shiaman Laboan, describe the modern life on Orchid Island⁶ and how the residents, the *Yumi*, face conflicts between other cultures (mainly the Han Chinese) and their own traditional cultures (Chang, 2000). These depictions are representative of the multicultural diversity in Taiwan.

Do the Contents of the JCEE Reflect the Multicultural Phenomena of Taiwan?

Since Taiwan is a multicultural society, what culture should be representative of Taiwan? Should it be the Taiwanese (Haklo, Hakka), Chinese (mainlander’s or other China-centered culture), or any of the other aboriginal cultures—or some combination of these? Additionally, with Taiwan’s relationship to the United States and the increase of globalization, Taiwan has been influenced by various cultures, including those from the west and east Asia. Moreover, many new immigrants from south-east Asia and China have married into the Taiwanese culture. This further complicates the issue of designating one dominant culture within Taiwan, as well as complicating the process of creating the Joint College Entrance Examination and assessing its cultural content in comparison with the multicultural makeup of Taiwanese society.

6 Orchid Island is a small volcanic island off the southeastern coast of Taiwan island. The island is home to the *Yami*, an ethnic minority group who migrated to the island from the Batan Archipelago 800 years ago.

CHAPTER III

OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF TAIWAN AND HISTORY OF THE JOINT COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION

The purpose of this research is to explore the relationships among hidden ideology, language policy, and cultural phenomena through analyzing the contents of the Joint College Entrance Examinations (JCEE), which were later subsumed under an umbrella system described in a document entitled “Multiple Ways of Entering [the] College/University System” (College Entrance Examination Center, 2009). As explained later in this chapter, at this later stage (up to the present), a version of the JCEE still exists, though it is now conceived as one of two ways to enter college.

The data to be analyzed are the contents from the entrance examination system dating from 1954 until 2008. Thus, one of the most important elements in designing this project has been to understand Taiwan’s history and the history of the Joint College Entrance Examination during that period. This chapter covers these two topics in some detail, as background for the analysis that follows in later chapters.

Physical Setting and Ethnicities

Taiwan is a small island, slightly larger than the state of New Hampshire, with a population of about 23,000,000 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2009; Government Information Office, ROC, 2009a). Taiwan lies close to mainland China and is located in the arc of islands that rims the western Pacific Ocean basin from the Kuriles to Indonesia (Global security organization, 2009; Hung, 2000; Knapp, 2007; Roy, 2003).

Taiwan includes several diverse ethnic groups: “Native Taiwanese,” 85% (broken down into Hoklo, 70%, and Hakka, 15%; these are originally Han Chinese, but

they have been in Taiwan for four centuries now and are no longer viewed as “Chinese”); mainland Chinese (who retreated from mainland China after 1949), 13%; and 14 aboriginal groups⁷, 2% (Government Information Office, 2011). Each ethnic group has its own distinct language (Hsiau, 2000; Tsao, 2008a).

Due to its important location in East Asia, Taiwan’s history has been complicated. This chapter will first briefly describe Taiwan’s history from the period of prehistory to the time of Japanese colonization, and will later explicate the country’s recent history from World War II, since an understanding of this period is important in relation to the Taiwan’s Joint College Entrance Examination system, the history of which is covered later in the chapter.

Brief History of Taiwan from Prehistory to Japanese Rule

Aboriginal People, Prehistoric Cultures, and Han (Chinese) Immigration

Although there are various theories of the origin of Taiwan’s aboriginal people, currently most scholars agree that Taiwan is the homeland of an ancient Austronesian expansion. The aboriginal people have undoubtedly been settled in Taiwan for at least fifteen thousand years (Bellwood, 2000; Blundell, 2003). Today, of these aboriginal peoples, fourteen tribes are recognized by Taiwan’s government. They are the Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, and Sediq. Each tribe has its own distinct language, cultural features, traditional customs and social structure (Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuan, 2009).

By the seventeenth century, late in the period of the Ming dynasty in China,

⁷ Taiwanese aboriginal tribes.

there was a rapid expansion of the population in Fukien (Fujian)⁸, a province off the southeastern coast of China, only 137 kilometers from Taiwan (Copper, 1999). At this time, Han Chinese people from Fukien (Fujian) and Guotong provinces, most of whom were Hoklo (or *Minlanren*, meaning people living in the southern Min) and Hakka (originally meaning a group of guests temporarily living in a place), immigrated to Taiwan (Roy, 2003; Vermeer, 2007). These people are now considered to be “native Taiwanese.”

Dutch and Spanish Occupation (1624-1661)

A brief period of Dutch (and Spanish) dominance in Taiwan left little lasting cultural influence. During this time, the Dutch developed a Romanized script called *Sinkang*, in order to translate the New Testament into native aboriginal languages. Today the resulting writings are generally called *Sinkang Bunsu*, or “Sinkang manuscripts” (Chiung, 2004; Hung, 2000; Roy, 2003; Wills, Jr, 2007), and the Sinkang transcription system is no longer used (Chiung, 2001).

The Cheng Regime (1661-1684)

In 1661, a Chinese Ming loyalist called Cheng Ch’eng-kung (Koxinga), who overthrew the Dutch authorities (he himself had been fleeing from central authority, in the form of the Ch’ing dynasty then ruling on the mainland). This was the first time that Taiwan had a Chinese ruler and a Chinese form of government. During the resulting Cheng dynasty, many Chinese emigrated from the mainland to Taiwan. Cheng’s descendents not only brought the Chinese form of government to Taiwan during their

⁸ *Fukien* is the name of the province, transcribed in the phonetic system used in Taiwan, while *Fujian* reflects the phonetic system used in mainland China. My practice in this dissertation will be to favor the Taiwanese form in most cases, but to provide the mainland form, as here, in parentheses where this might be useful for readers.

brief time in power, but also introduced the Chinese form of education and civil service examination (Clements, 2004; Hung, 2000; Manthorpe, 2009; New Taiwan Ilha Formosa, 2010; Roy, 2003; Wills, Jr., 2007), thus setting the stage historically for the situation that is under review in the present study.

Taiwan under the Ch'ing (Qing) (1684-1895)

After the third Cheng king, Cheng Ko-Shuang, surrendered to Shih Lang, the victorious Ch'ing admiral, in 1664, China incorporated Taiwan as a prefecture of Fukien (Fujian) Province (Roy, 2003; Shepherd, 2007). In 1685, the Ch'ing government proclaimed Taiwan a province (Hung, 2000; Gardella, 2007; Roy, 2003; Winckler, 1988), and started recruiting students in Taiwan for the civil service examination in 1686. Overall, during the Ch'ing dynasty, there were no formal entrance examinations for colleges, only the civil service examination.

Taiwan under Japanese Colonization (1895-1945)

On April 17, 1895, the Ch'ing Empire ceded the islands of Taiwan and Penghu, an archipelago of about 90 islands between Taiwan and mainland China, to Japan after the Sino-Japan War of 1894-1895. Under Japanese rule from 1895 to 1945, Taiwan had very few colleges, given that the Japanese did not want its colonized people to gain a higher education. By the 1930s, Japanese had become a lingua franca in Taiwan. During the stages of assimilation and Japanization, Japanese was taught in school and examinations were conducted in Japanese. A national language (*Kokugo*) program was initiated in 1937. This program discouraged the use of Chinese and increased the percentage of Japanese speakers among the Taiwanese population (Chou, 1991; Hung, 2000; Lamley, 2007; Manthorpe, 2009). The Japanese government also promoted

Confucian culture and ideas via its colonial policies, for instance through university entrance examinations, which were introduced as a method of control, as they emphasized the importance of notions such as loyalty to the emperor (Zeng, 1996).

The History of Taiwan after World War II (1945 to 2008)

Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) Rule Established in Taiwan (1945-1949)

At the end of World War II, the Japanese surrendered to the Allied Forces, which included the Republic of China (ROC). Meanwhile, on the mainland, the Ch'ing dynasty had been overthrown by a revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (the founder of the Chinese Nationalist Party) (Roy, 2003). On September 2, 1945, Taiwan was claimed as part of the ROC on behalf of the Allied Powers (Peng & Hung, 1995). At that time, the ROC President was Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party (the KMT, or *Kuomingtang*, established in 1912). However, Chiang's KMT, after a complicated struggle against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led by Mao Tse-Tung (Mao Zedong), was defeated in 1949.

At that point, Chiang decided to occupy Taiwan as a base from which he could fight his way back to Mainland China (Chiung, 2004; Kerr, 1992; Ong, 1993; Peng & Hung, 1995). Chiang's troops had come to Taiwan before him, and had been involved in incidents that ultimately fostered conflicts between Taiwan and the mainland. Prominent among these was the so-called "228 Incident," on February 28, 1947, in which many thousands of Taiwanese were killed (estimates vary from 10,000 to vastly more) in the KMT's violent suppression of a widespread anti-government uprising. The victims of this massacre are still commemorated every year in Taiwan, and the event's prominence in the Taiwanese people's memory helps to illuminate the roots of the perceived divisions

between Taiwan and the mainland.

Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan: Authoritarianism (1949-1975)

On December 7, 1949, the Republic of China's capital officially moved to Taipei after the KMT lost the civil war in mainland China, leaving the Communist Party to found the PRC (People's Republic of China) on the mainland. At that point, Taiwan was taken over by Chiang Kai-shek. During the ensuing years, more than 1.5 million people who were identified as "mainlanders" fled to Taiwan. Under the rule of the Chinese Nationalist Party (the KMT), these mainlanders dominated the government and civil services (Roy, 2003). Chiang Kai-shek held the most powerful position in Taiwan; in essence, his attitude toward the island was still to treat it as a temporary state for the KMT. He aspired to defeat the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and then to return to China. In the process, he hoped to establish Taiwan as a "model" of "a democratic province" for all China. The means by which he desired to do this was through Sun Yat-sen's doctrine called *The Three Principles of the People* (these were nationalism, democracy, and the people's livelihood).

White Terror in the 1950s and 1960s. Chiang Kai-shek and his KMT controlled the mass media and banned the formation of oppositional parties (Manthorpe, 2009; Roy, 2003). Chiang had also declared martial law in May 1948 in order to suppress communists and prominent native Taiwanese dissidents. Under martial law (which remained in effect until 1987), Taiwan experienced what has become known as the *White Terror* period. Rooted in anti-Communist fervor, *White Terror* came to refer to a general suppression of political dissidence; the term describes the fear people felt from the KMT. During this period, according to a Taiwanese scholar (Tien, 1989), around 90,000 people

were arrested and an unknown number of those were executed.

Economical development and aid from the United States. In order to defeat the Communists, Chiang Kai-shek exerted his best efforts toward developing Taiwan's economy, and transforming Taiwan's initial agricultural economy to one based on labor-intensive light manufacturing (Roy, 2003; Wang, 2007). In the era of the Cold War, fearing that Taiwan might fall into Communist hands, the United States began to aid Taiwan in 1959. This aid influenced Taiwan's educational policy, promoting the teaching of English; however, as will be seen in the next section, Mandarin Chinese would also acquire cultural importance during this period.

Promotion of Mandarin Chinese as national language. In order to develop Taiwan's economy, the KMT made great efforts to promote education in the last half of the twentieth century. The number of higher education institutions, as well as elementary and secondary schools, was increased (Roy, 2003; History of the Ministry of Education of the ROC, 2010; Wang, 2007). At this stage, language policy was embedded into the education system, and language became a battleground for Taiwanese-Mainlander political tensions. In order to stamp out the Japanese influence, the KMT banned the use of Japanese everywhere and further declared Mandarin as the national language of Taiwan. Mandarin Chinese dominated in the civil service, over the airwaves, and in the schools, all of which were under some degree of government control. This was consistent with the KMT's view of Taiwan as an integral part of China and as a temporary depository of Chinese civilization. As a result, local (Hoklo and Hakka) and aboriginal languages were marginalized under the harsh implementation policies. The curriculum was China-centered, with little attention paid to Taiwan as having its own culture and

languages. The purpose, driven by KMT-developed goals, was to create a Chinese national identity that embraced both the mainland and Taiwan.

The language policy also brought social injustice, such as through the college entrance examination system. The college entrance tests were systematically biased to benefit mainlanders over Taiwanese and aboriginal people, since many questions required in-depth knowledge of mainland Chinese history and literature. Additionally, all tests used Chinese, ignoring other written languages existing in Taiwan (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2000; Chiung, 2004; Roy, 2003; Simpson, 2007b; Tsao, 2008a).

The Chinese cultural renaissance movement. In 1966, furthering the dominance of Mandarin, Chiang Kai-shek started a “Chinese Cultural Renaissance” movement to promote Chinese culture in Taiwan. The stated main purpose of the movement was to improve educational standards and to promote family education with an emphasis on the Confucian principles of filial duty and fraternal love, as well as to reissue Chinese classical literary works (Chang, 2007b). But again, seen through Taiwanese eyes, the movement seemed aimed to enforce Chinese cultural identity over indigenous Taiwanese values and identity (Lee, 2007).

Chiang Ching-kuo’s Era: Soft Authoritarianism (1978-1988)

Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-shek, was elected as president in 1978 by the National Assembly⁹ (Roy, 2003; Rubinstein, 2007a). During his presidency, he worked to develop Taiwan economically and socially and to implement political reform until he died in 1988.

9 The National Assembly was a parliamentary body. It was founded in 1913 as the first legislature in mainland China through a constitutional convention and electoral college. It was transplanted to Taiwan in 1949 after the Kuomintang (KMT) lost mainland China to the Communists in the Chinese Civil War. Its powers were gradually reduced in the late 20th century, and it has not been a functioning entity since 2000.

From authoritarianism to protodemocracy. Chiang Ching-kuo initiated a process of “Taiwanization,” which moved Taiwan from authoritarianism to what has been called “protodemocracy” (Rubinstein, 2007a). During this period, economic modernization and the growing middle class brought with it political developments such as challenges from *dang-wai* (“out of the party”) political opposition to the KMT (Roy, 2003; Rubinstein, 2007b). However, political freedom was still severely restricted. In the well-known Kaohsiung (Formosa) Incident in 1979, eight *dang-wai* leaders who ran *Meilidao* (Beautiful Island/Formosa) magazine were arrested and received stiff sentences for protesting against unfairness in elections. Still, Taiwanese people continued to demand more political freedom, and in 1986, a new political party, the Democratic Progressive Party (*Minjintang*, DPP) was established. Responding to increasing public demand, Chiang Ching-kuo lifted martial law in July 1987, and in 1988, the ROC government removed restrictions on the press and media (Brown 2004; Government International Office, ROC. 2009b; Hung, 2000; New Taiwan Ilha Formosa, 2009; Roy, 2003; Rubinstein, 2007b). These decisions constituted a milestone for Taiwan as it progressed on its way to becoming a more democratic country.

Economic modernization, social change and relations with the United States. Under Chiang Ching-kuo’s rule, Taiwan’s economy became capital and knowledge-intensive, and a new middle class had formed by the late 1980s. During this period, changes took place in education and language policy, and cultural and political consciousness was raised. In the 1990s, these changes were referred to collectively as *bentuhua* (“indigenization,” or “Taiwanization”) (Chang, 2004; Makeham, 2005). Additionally, although the U.S. had diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of

China (the PRC), Taiwan (the ROC) had established unofficial relations with the United States (Hung, 2000), and American influence led to further developments in Taiwanese culture.

Changes in high school and college entrance exams. The new industrial and social situation led to the development of the high school system in the 1970s (junior high schools had been constructed all over the country since 1968). Students who wanted to attend high schools and colleges needed to take a comprehensive examination. However, by the mid-1970s, only about 30 percent of those who took these exams passed. Responding to criticism of this exam's fairness, in the late 1980s the Ministry of Education began to revise the University Law for the reformation of the exam system (Rubinstein, 2007b).

Language policy and the *Taibun* movement. In the 1960s and 1970s, the governments' organized efforts to promote Mandarin largely ended. Nevertheless, the work of promoting Mandarin was continued by lower-level committees under the Provincial Department of Education and other educational organizations, which organized activities such as Mandarin pronunciation, speech and composition contests (Tsao, 2008a). Under Chiang Ching-kuo's rule, education and language still focused on Chinese-centered ideology and culture. In contrast, those who promoted the movement for Taiwanese independence advocated the use of Hoklo, which is considered the main Taiwanese language. These Hoklo-language activists resisted Chinese cultural "imperialism" and the imposition of Mandarin language in Taiwan (Dreyer, 2003; Winckler, 1984). In the 1980s, the popular *Taibun* ("Taiwanese literacy") movement started, which promoted modern Taiwanese writing, in contrast to *Zhongwen* ("Chinese

literacy”), an approach that focused on modern Chinese writing. This movement, which still continues today, aims at promoting Taiwanese languages and Taiwanese literature (Chiung, 2004).

To sum up, cultural developments have mirrored the changing nature of politics in Taiwan. However, even as culture became a more pluralistic one, and less subject to government regulation in the 1980s, Chinese-centered culture still predominated in Taiwan.

Democracy under Lee Teng-hui (1988-2000)

Lee Teng-hui succeeded to the presidency, appointed by the KMT immediately after Chiang Ching-kuo’s death in January 1988. During his presidency, Lee reformed the political system to make Taiwan increasingly democratic. Under his version of Taiwanization, awareness of native Taiwanese languages and cultures, as well as Taiwanese identity, was greatly raised. On March 23, 1996, the first popular presidential election took place in Taiwan and, Lee Teng-hui won the vote for the presidency. This was a milestone for democracy in Taiwan (Hung, 2000; Roy, 2003). Additionally, some restrictions on society were also lifted, such as the ban on publishing newspapers.

With the beginning of political liberalization, Taiwan’s populace became increasingly concerned about promoting the well-being of the individual. For example, the collective interest trended toward accentuating individual uniqueness and difference from others instead of focusing on collective thought. A popular Taiwanese TV commercial in the 1990s featured the slogan, “If I like, why can I not do it?” The emphasis on individualism was again serving to move Taiwan’s culture away from that of mainland China (Chiu, 1997).

Taiwanization in educational reform and language policy. In 1998, ROC president Lee Teng-hui coined the term *Hsing Taiwanren* (“New Taiwanese”), to reflect the emerging Taiwanese identity. According to Hung (2000), “New Taiwanese means a man or woman resident on the island who loves it and works to promote its interests” (p. 333). This new term reflects growing awareness of Taiwan as a multiethnic, multilingual, and multicultural place with its own unique identity.

A new language policy, embedded in educational reforms, played an important role in constructing the concept of Taiwanization. After a massive demonstration demanding educational reform on April 10, 1994, the Ministry of Education (MOE) declared that native Taiwanese languages would be included in the curriculum in the elementary and secondary schools. The school curriculum now included activities that emphasized “Home Villages,” including lessons on local history, geography, language, and art, in contrast to the KMT’s traditional China-centric education. A phonemic transcription system was also introduced for the aboriginal languages by the MOE. In 1996, native languages began to be taught from third grade to sixth grade. In 1998 Hoklo and Hakka phonemic systems were approved by the MOE. These developments have spurred a new awareness of native Taiwanese culture in the educational system (National Museum of Taiwan Literature, 2009).

The reform of the JCEE (Joint College Entrance Examination) and textbook choice. The government also implemented other important reforms during the 1990s. First of all a “Teacher Law” was declared by the President in 1995, which, among other things, granted teachers more freedom in the choice of materials for their courses. More high schools and universities or colleges were established, and the Joint College

Entrance Examination was revised as the system for entering colleges and universities was reformed. Additionally, private publishing companies began to have opportunities to publish textbooks. From 1989 to 1996, the MOE revised the textbook system, with new textbooks finally appearing in 2002 under Chen Shui-bian's presidency (History of [the] Ministry of Education [of the ROC], 2010). This right to publish textbooks was now opened to private publishers, not only the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (Lee, 2007), which had previously controlled all textbooks.

Taiwanese cultural identity-Taiwanese literature and arts. During this most recent period, developments in literature, arts, and music have emphasized Taiwan's cultural identity as unique and pluralistic. In literature, the contemporary *Taibun* movement has promoted Taiwanese languages, Taiwanese literature, and modern Taiwanese writing (Chiung, 2004), and has encouraged the use of mixed genres and multilingual devices in supporting diverse authorial modes (Hung, 2000).

Other arts also supported the concept of Taiwanization. For example, the Taiwanese opera replaced the Peking opera (Chinese opera) as the island's most popular theatrical entertainment (Hung, 2000). In music, as early as 1975, a Hoklo singer, Lee Shun-tse advocated singing "our own songs," which encouraged Taiwanese young people to compose original tunes. Most songs composed by college students in earlier periods were called "campus folk songs" and were sung in Mandarin Chinese. In the mid-1990s, new Taiwanese folk songs, sung in local languages, replaced the campus folk songs.

Chen Shui-bian (2000-2008): A Maturing Democracy (The Democratic Progressive Party Captures the Presidency)

Democracy and Taiwanese nationalism. In March 2000, the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) candidate, the Taiwanese-born Chen Shui-bian, won the presidential election; Chen Shui-bian mentioned above was in connection with his support for recent reforms. His election was important, in that this was the first time since 1945 that the KMT had lost its political power to an opposition party through a popular election. The resulting peaceful transformation of political power was called a “calm revolution.” Building on former ROC president Lee Teng-hui’s “New Taiwanese agenda,” Chen and his DPP emphasized the emotional aspect of an individual’s personal and national identity as expressed in various ethnicities, languages and cultures in Taiwan. In effect, their emphasis on a “New Taiwanese” identity served to promote Taiwanese nationalism and awareness of Taiwan as a multiethnic, multilingual, and multicultural society.

The One China Policy and Taiwanese identity. During his first presidential term, Chen faced significant challenges in his China policy. In 2006, mainland China repeated its “one China” policy, which renewed tensions between the Republic of China (ROC) and the People’s Republic of China (PRC). In 2007, Chen’s government defied this proclamation and applied for membership to the United Nations under the name “Taiwan,” as a nation, a request that was rejected by the U.N. General Assembly (Clark, 2007). Although Chen implemented policies to increase cooperation with China for economic reasons, opinion polls demonstrated the success of his cultural project, which had stressed Taiwan’s separate identity. In fact, after Chen’s eight years in power, the

2008 polls indicated an increase from 30 percent of the island's population to 70 percent of Taiwan's people identifying themselves primarily as Taiwanese (Manthorpe, 2009; Simpson, 2007b). This testimony from the Taiwanese people also confirms the view of Taiwan as a multicultural, multilingual, and multiethnic nation, instead of one based on China-centered ideology.

Taiwanese multiculturalism through educational reform and language policy. In 2000, Lee Yuan-tseh, winner of the 1986 Nobel Prize for chemistry, led the movement for educational reform through his endorsement of Chen's candidacy. This reform movement aimed to reduce the emphasis on central control and standardized tests, including the Joint College Entrance Examination. Three initiatives were important in this process. Firstly, the school curriculum reduced the number of hours for China-centric subjects and increased the time devoted to the teaching of native Taiwanese languages and culture (Ministry of Education, ROC, Taiwan, 2010). Secondly, in 2002, the textbook choice process was made more open to private publishing companies, allowing materials that covered the geography, history, and multi-ethnic society of Taiwan in a novel and open-minded way. Thirdly, at the university level, courses on Taiwanese literature, religion, and society began to attract significant numbers of students (Lee, 2007; Simpson, 2007b; Ministry of Education, ROC, 2010).

In line with these reforms, in 2003, the Ministry of Education drafted the law of language equality, which established the principle of equal status for all Taiwanese languages. In 2006, in order to show that all languages were accorded equal importance, the Ministry of Education instated a Roman script system for Hoklo. In 2007, the

Legislative Yuan¹⁰ passed national legislation indicating that Taiwan's national languages include all languages used by Taiwanese ethnicities.

Reforming English education. In addition to Native Taiwanese language education, Taiwan has also started to reform its system of English education, in this case as a significant result of globalization and trade. For instance, beginning in 2006, elementary school students start learning English in the third grade. Prior to 2006, English education started in grade seven (Ministry of Education, ROC, Taiwan, 2010, Tsao, 2008b). This change came about because of globalization and its influence on the perceived need for English fluency (e.g. in competition for international trade).

In the next section, I will examine the history and the sociopolitical background of the Joint College Entrance Examination.

History of the Joint College Entrance Examination in Taiwan

This historical review of the Joint College Entrance Exam is based on several scholarly sources; most information is extracted from Cheng Chiu-hsia (2002), Chiu A-ling (1997), Kuan Mei-jung (2004), and Zeng Kangmin (1996).

The Influences of the Chinese and the Japanese Exam Systems

Influenced by the traditional Chinese civil exams (*keju*) and the Japanese exam system, the Joint College Entrance Exams in Taiwan are similar to Japanese and Korean college entrance examinations. The examination system essentially promotes “a national pecking order of universities based on a national pecking order of students. It enables the

10 Taiwan's government contains five 'yuàn', or branches of government: the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Control Yuan, the Examination Yuan, and the Judicial Yuan. These five Yuans are stipulated by the Constitution of the Republic of China, which follows Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People*. The Legislative Yuan, literally "law-establishing court," is the unicameral legislature of the Republic of China (Taiwan).

central authorities to dictate what the élite should be, what they should know, and select them accordingly” (Zeng, 1996). Chiu’s dissertation, *The Evolution of the Joint College Entrance Examination in Taiwan* (1997), an evaluation of Taiwan’s examination system, validates Zeng’s statement to this effect, at least for the period in which the dissertation was written. In Chiu’s work, she mainly introduced the evolution of the JCEE without analyzing the contents of the JCEE. The present study builds on this work, focusing on the contents of the two language tests, Chinese and English in the context of Taiwan’s changing socio-political situation.

Although the Joint College Entrance Examination in Taiwan was initiated in 1954, this exam system can be traced back to the period of Japanese colonization, and ultimately to the imperial *keju*-a civil service examination system used in the Han dynasty in China to recruit officials from the elite strata of the society (Zeng, 1996) and whose spirit continued in following dynasties in the form of public, competitive exams to recruit state officials (Menzel, 1963; Smith, 1991; Spolsky, 1995; Zeng, 1996). Today, though the examination system has been modified since Chiang Kai-shek adopted it, it is still a very influential device which dominates Taiwanese thinking.

Taiwan’s examination system claims to be based on equality of educational opportunity and social justice. It emphasizes fairness to each test-taker, *kuan-xi* (individual relationship), and family background. However, in spite of these public claims, the examination system still most probably functions as a mechanism to exert social control and create or maintain a certain elite. In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to explore the historical development of this examination system in connection with its political, social, economic, and cultural components.

The Exams under the KMT in Mainland China- from World War II to 1949

Although the Joint College Entrance Examination system in Taiwan is influenced in part by the Japanese exam system, the most powerful historical influence on its development is the Joint National College Entrance Examination, originally conducted in Mainland China by the Nationalist Party (KMT) and imported to Taiwan by Chiang Kai-shek. Before the war between China and Japan in 1937, universities in mainland China could establish their own policies of admission without the government's intervention. After the war began, however, the government (then dominated by the KMT) changed the policy to control the admission to all universities and colleges. There are several reasons why the government implemented this new policy (Chiu, 1997).

First, many universities had been accepting too many students, which caused a negative influence on the quality of teaching and learning. Second, China needed more technological expertise due to the needs of the war. By controlling the numbers of students entering colleges/universities, the government could select the students they needed. Third, most universities were relocated to southwest China due to the Japanese invasion. With the relocation of the universities to one region, it was easier for the KMT to control the examination system. Fourth, the educational budget was insufficient due to the government's spending on national defense during the war. With the creation of the *Joint Entrance Examinations*, students would incur the cost of the exams, reducing the fiscal burden of college admissions on the government (previously, although the universities controlled the admissions decisions, the cost of the process was borne by the government). Fifth, in order to foster patriotism, the KMT decided to employ Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People" as foundational to education in Taiwan;

through the examinations, the KMT could impose this ideology on all high school students in China. For the above reasons, the administrator of the Ministry of Education, Chen Li-fu, commanded that the new examination system be implemented in 1937. At that point, all decisions became centralized, including the creation of the contents of the tests, the testing dates, the numbers of prospective students in colleges/universities, and the methods of examination (Chiu, 1997; Kuan, 2004).

From 1937 to 1949, before the KMT retreated to Taiwan, the KMT officials used three methods for university admissions. However, in 1949 and subsequently, the Joint National College Entrance examinations, which were used by forty-one universities and colleges, became an essential test for college admission as well as a sign of the government's administrative power (Chiu, 1997).

The subjects of the exams included public morality, Chinese, English, mathematics, history, geography, physics, chemistry, and biology¹¹. In the category of foreign languages, in addition to English, students could choose German or French. Aside from that one area of choice, students needed to take all the subjects on this list, though students from various prospective majors were held to different standards and different levels of difficulty on the exams (Chiu, 1997).

The Ministry of Education divided the country into sixteen areas for administering the examinations. After students received their grades, the Ministry of Education assigned the successful test-takers to universities; thus, the processes of taking the examination and applying to attend universities were closely intertwined.

¹¹ The methods and subjects of the JCEE in five stages are provided in Appendix B.

The Development of the Exam System in Taiwan-Five stages

Based on Chiu (1997), Cheng (2002), Kuan (2004), Lee (2009), and media reports as well as government documents, the Joint College Entrance Examinations in Taiwan (later reconceived as one part of two tracks in the “Multiple Ways of Entering Colleges/Universities System”) can be divided into five stages from 1954-2008.

The first stage (1954-1971)- the founding period. After retreating to Taiwan in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek felt that the KMT’s failure in the civil war was largely due to lack of educational and cultural development. Therefore, he felt it was essential to overhaul the educational system to save the country (Chang, 1952). One way to reform the educational system was to implement a centralized system of university examinations, as educational control was seen as a powerful tool. However, it is worth mentioning that this examination system was implemented by a government that was capable of resorting to draconian measures. In fact, during the “White Terror” period in the 1950s and 1960s, incidents on campuses often led to “missing” professors or administrators thought to be betraying the KMT.

In 1954, Chiang Kai-shek assigned Chang Chi-yung as the administrator of the Ministry of Education to take charge of the Joint College Entrance Examinations (Central Daily News, 1954). At this point, four national/provincial colleges were identified as the organizing committee for admissions: National Taiwan University, Provincial Taiwan Normal University (later National Taiwan Normal University), Provincial Agricultural College (later National Chung-Hsing University), and Provincial Technological University (later National Cheng-Kong University). Achieving acceptable grades on the Joint Public College Entrance Examinations was essential for students who wanted to

enter these universities or the official army colleges.

In 1955, five public colleges, i.e. the four universities mentioned above and National Cheng-chi University, took charge of the Joint College Entrance Examination. The committee decided which professors would create the tests for the examination and established the dates for the examination, usually July 1-3. The committee also set grade requirements for successful university admission, though the numbers of students in each university were set by the Ministry of Education (Chiu, 1997; Kuan, 2004).

During this period, as noted earlier, Taiwan was governed by only one party, the Chinese Nationalist Party (the KMT). The educational system was completely controlled by the central government. The organization of the Joint College Entrance Examination was established by order of the Ministry of Education, and the relevant committees were made up of university presidents chosen by the Ministry of Education. The Joint College Entrance Examination was administered by an organization with no permanent members. All committees were recruited anew every year. Given its temporary status, the administering committee had no right to weigh in on central questions involving the examination system. The Joint College Entrance Examination was dominated by the government, under its prime commander, Chiang Kai-shek (Chiu, 1997).

In this first stage, there were three general subjects in the examination, required of all students: the first of these consisted of Sun Yat-Sen's *Three Principles of the People*, the tenets of the Nationalist Party (Chiu, 1997). Second, Chinese was universally required. Third, English tests were likewise required on political grounds due to the economic and military support of the United States; the earlier mainland practice, on which the current

exam is modeled, had allowed students to choose English, German, or French as the subject of their foreign language tests.

In addition to taking the three general subjects, students were divided into one of four different groups (A, B, C, and D) according to their fields of study. Those four groups were group A (technology, physics, chemistry, geography, and geology); group B (liberal arts); group C (medical sciences, agriculture, biology, and psychology); group D (law and business). Each group took a prescribed set of examination subjects (Chiu, 1997; Zeng, 1996). Before students took the examinations, they needed to compose a list of the universities they wanted to enter. After the examination results were known, the organization would then assign the students to universities or colleges based on their scores. Generally speaking, from 1954 to 1971, the number of admissions was quite low (Chiu, 1997).

To summarize, based on Chiu (1997) and Kuan (2004), three characteristics of this initial period of the Joint College Entrance Examination can be noted: first, the political leader, Chiang Kai-shek, completely dominated decisions regarding the examinations; second, a committee was given the responsibility of conducting the examination, but its members held no practical power; third, strong political intentions were embedded in the Joint College Entrance Examinations.

The second stage (1972-1983)-the planning period. Chiang Kai-shek's son Chiang Ching-kuo, who was influential in Taiwan for some years before his tenure as president began in 1975, started employing some Taiwanese-born elites in important government posts once he gained power. In the 1970s, the Taiwanese government took on a new industrial focus. Additionally, American scholar T.W. Schultz's theory of "human

investment” encouraged the administration to invest much more money in education than ever before (Shen, 1994). Due to Taiwan’s growing economic prosperity, the middle class in Taiwan had gradually been developing. Hsiao Hsin-huang (1990) states that the educational level of the new middle class in Taiwan was a key to management-level employment. In other words, this was a newly developed social class based on human resource capitalism, a class that was willing to emphasize and support their children’s education (Rubinstein, 2007b).

In 1976, the Ministry of Education established a regular committee, divided into three subcommittees, to administer the Joint College Entrance Examinations. The administrator of the Ministry of Education, Chiang Yin-shi, a native Taiwanese-born official, became the chair of the committee, which now controlled the JCEE, though under government authority (Chui, 1997; The Ministry of Education of the ROC, 1976). Although the purpose of the committee was to avoid bias, the structure of this committee still was controlled by the bureaucratic system, and the committee membership varied over time in ways that favored established power. For example, the relative proportion of governors and university presidents increased over time, while the proportion of professional scholars decreased (Chiu, 1997; Ministry of Education of the ROC, 1976).

Beginning in 1973, the Joint College Entrance Examination incorporated computers to conduct the entire examination. John S. Helmick (1972), the associate administrator of ETS in the United States, suggested that the examination use multiple choice items, except in the area of Chinese composition. In fact, computers were used not only to conduct the entire examination, but also to create and correct the test as well. In short, the Joint College Entrance Examinations started to become computerized in an

attempt to become more scientifically based and to decrease the margin for human error.

The examination procedures of the second stage were similar to those of the first stage; however, there were a few changes. In 1974, the committee introduced a new policy regarding low and high standards for the grades for each subject. The “low standard” was the average of the scores for all participants for a given subject; the “high standard” was the average scores of half of highest scores. Departments were then allowed to determine which scores they would accept. This policy was designed to keep the students from entering inappropriate departments.

Due to the desire for economic development in the 1970s, the number of new undergraduate students was controlled ultimately by the Executive Yuan (the Executive Branch of government in Taiwan) (Chiang, 1975). In particular, with the emphasis on the need for technological talents, the rate of admission for students in technological fields was increased to 55 percent during this time (Chiu, 1997).

Basically, in spite of some changes in administration and content, the Joint College Entrance Examination, as in the first period, still functioned to maintain the authority of the Chinese Nationalist Party and support economic development according to the views of the ruling authorities.

The third stage (1984-1992)-the new examination system. The third stage developed in an era of relatively greater political and economic freedom, due to the change from Chiang Ching-kuo’s authoritarianism to Lee Teng-hui’s consolidated democracy. During this time, the educational atmosphere became more and more open under the influence of political and economic changes. University presidents could now be voted into their positions, instead of being appointed by the government. Some

universities started to request autonomy within the administration and more academic freedom to avoid the intervention of political control.

In 1981, the Premier of the Executive Yuan (the executive branch of the ROC government), Sun Yun-hsuan, asserted that the JCEE should be substantially improved. The administrator of the Ministry of Education, Chu Huen-sen, ordered the establishment of a research committee of five people: the administrator of Educational *Ting*¹², three presidents from prestigious universities and one principal from a prestigious high school (The Ministry of Education, 1983). The purpose of this research committee was to decide how to improve the JCEE.

In July 1984, the resulting new JCEE was implemented in Taiwan. The largest difference from the traditional system involved matching entrants to universities. In the traditional system, students made a list of their top university choices and then took the exam, whereas the new system allowed students to take the exam first, receive their scores, and then choose the universities they wished to attend (Cheng, 2002; Chiu, 1997; Ministry of Education, 1983). This change benefitted test-takers by allowing them to see their scores beforehand, thus affording them the opportunity to speculate on which universities might accept them, instead of blindly applying to universities without knowledge of their performance.

In the new JCEE, test-takers could choose from one of four groups. As in earlier versions of the exam system, each group was required to take the exams in three subjects: the *Three Principles of the People*, Chinese, and English. Additionally, Each group took its own set of further exam subjects: group one took Chinese and foreign history and geography, and basic mathematics; group two took physics, chemistry, and

12 Educational Ting =Department of Education of Taiwan Province

advanced mathematics; group three took physics, chemistry, biology, and advanced mathematics; group four took chemistry, biology, and advanced mathematics.

In this new system, there was considerably more flexibility; test-takers could cross over to other groups and take anywhere from five to ten subject exams, although three of the four groups defined were heavily weighted in favor of science and advanced math. In any case, despite the new flexibility, the result was not very positive: most test takers simply followed the rules of the old system and concentrated on specific subjects (Chiu, 1997).

In the new system, each department in each university could determine required grades for up to three subjects. The new system continued to adopt the notions of high and low standards. As before, exam grades would decide in which universities the test-takers would enroll. After test takers attained their examination grades, they could make a list of the universities they wanted to enter based on the previous year's standards of admissions for each university.

In 1987, the new administrator of the Ministry of Education, Mao Gao-wen, who had earned his PhD in the United States, earnestly proposed to improve the college entrance examination system and proposed the establishment of a professional examination center, which could conduct research on the testing system. Thus, on July 1, 1989 the ROC College Entrance Examination Center was established (College Entrance Examination Center, 2009). The tasks of this center included not only conducting college entrance examination affairs, such as creating tests and monitoring grading, but also taking responsibility for all research projects regarding innovations in the college admissions system and the testing administration.

In March, 1993, the ROC College Entrance Examination Center was renamed The College Entrance Examination Center (CEEC). Although the center now became a non-governmental organization in name, the funds, personnel, and research projects were still controlled by the Ministry of Education. Thus, the center still actually belonged to a branch of the government. From 1984 to 1992, in spite of the reform of the JCEE, the government's control over the JCEE was still very strong: the Ministry of Education still controlled the JCEE, and the number of admissions of students in various disciplines was still based on the government's economic policies.

The fourth stage (1993- 2001)-the experimental stage. As mentioned earlier, educational reform was one of Lee Teng-hui's most important campaign issues. His slogan was "fulfilling happiness, satisfaction, and diversity; inspiring learning potential, respecting human beings and developing individual personality; encouraging creativity and independence" (Lee, 1996). This was the first time in Taiwan's history that a public official was claiming human dignity as a basic idea to be respected along with other societal goals.

In 1994, Huang Wu-hsung, a professor at Taiwan university, launched a movement advocating a major educational reform, which included making education more modernized, and regulating the basic education laws (4-10¹³ League of Educational Reform, 1996). Under pressure from this movement, the Ministry of Education established a Committee of Educational Reform in 1994. The committee included scholars, professional people, non-governmental people, and members of central and local government staff, making the committee more diverse than earlier groups of stakeholders in the examination process. This stage can be seen as a transitional period

¹³ 4-10=April, 10th

between earlier systems and the current one. In 1997, the process for applying to universities was revised, and each university established its own committee of admissions to determine policies regarding student recruitment. In 1999, the modified Joint College Entrance Exam was implemented, and the new system went into effect in 2002 (Kuan, 2004; Lee, 2009).

This period saw considerable change in the examination system. In 1994, a Recommendation and Screening Project (RSP) was implemented as an alternative route to university admissions. In particular, the RSP offered its own version of a university entrance system, which used a modified test system and considered factors in addition to the traditional JCEE. To enter a university through the RSP, students could apply to a university directly from high school; to follow this route, students needed to provide documentation on extra-curricular activities, awards, and competitions. Additionally, their GPA in high school and recommendation letters would be evaluated by the universities to which the students had applied. However, the number of students applying to universities through the RSP was limited by regulation, based on the class size of the high schools. The RSP did require a series of examinations. However, the subjects of the tests and the way in which students were evaluated differed from the traditional JCEE. The subjects of the tests on the RSP included Chinese, English, mathematics, natural sciences (combining physics, chemistry, biology, earth science), and social sciences (combining Three Principles of the People, history and geography). In addition, the traditional JCEE covered all six semesters of high school curricular material. However, due to the testing time during winter vacation, the contents of the RSP test included only five semesters

worth of high school curricular material¹⁴ (Lee, 2009). Additionally, the traditional JCEE was designed by professors in universities, whereas the tests on the RSP were designed by the examination center. The staff members in the center had the right to choose the questions for the exams; these now included administrators as well as scholars. The grading system also differed in the new examination system. The RSP evaluation was based on a scale of one to ten, with ten being the highest achievable score, instead of one hundred points, as in the traditional JCEE.

As noted earlier, in addition to taking the basic academic tests created by the examination center, RSP applicants now needed to submit evidence of other performance and recommendation letters. Furthermore, oral tests or interviews were included in the RSP system. The purpose of this more complex system was to enable students to choose a university based on their interests and abilities, and to help universities choose the appropriate students to fit their needs by including a broader range of input to the admissions process.

At this stage, deregulation and the function of world markets became the slogans of educational reform. Generally speaking, from 1992 to 2001, educational reform became one of more important political issues, as universities and colleges tried to become increasingly autonomous from the government. Under the precepts of liberalization and deregulation, the RSP began to be more and more eagerly accepted by high school students (Cheng, 2002).

14 In Taiwan, high schools have six semesters. After the first semester of their third year, students may take the RSP tests during winter break—i.e. before completing their sixth semester.

The fifth stage (2002-2008)- the Multiple Ways of Entering Universities System (MWEUS). After the experimental, transitional fourth stage, the new dual entrance system for universities was implemented in 2002. As explained above, this new system includes two different routes to university admission, each with its own testing process. It is in this new era that the term *Multiple Ways of Entering Universities System (MWEUS)* became attached to the university admissions process.

By the late 1990s, Taiwan had transformed its political reality from a dominant-party system into a more open civil society. Specifically, in March 2000, as noted earlier, the Democratic Progressive Party candidate, Chen Shui-bian, won the presidential election. The more open atmosphere during this time allowed for further building on the educational reforms that had begun in Lee Teng-hui's period. As a result, the traditional Joint College Entrance Exam was finally eliminated ("technically eliminated" but an exam very like the old JCEE is used and can be seen as a continuation of the JCEE) and the decision-making body for the entrance examination was renamed the Joint Board for College Recruitment in 2002. That same year also saw the start of the Multiple Ways of Entering Universities System.

As outlined above, for the transitional period, there are now still two ways of entering universities and colleges. One is via the Recommendation and Screening Project, and the other has been named the *Taking Exams and Deployment System*. The tests in the new program of this Taking Exams and Deployment System are conducted by the Examination Center. The center continues to take the responsibility for choosing and assigning successful test-takers to universities or colleges (Lee, 2009).

Test-takers need to take their tests in two stages if they choose the RSP. In the

first stage, test-takers need to pass an exam on basic academic requirements, taken in February or April. These exams include the subjects of Chinese, English, Mathematics, Social sciences and Natural sciences. In the second stage of the exams, scheduled in July, students take tests assigned by the universities. These include Chinese, English, basic mathematics, advanced mathematics, history, geography, physics, chemistry, biology, and civics. In total, there are ten subjects, which any department in university/college can require of the test-takers who want to enroll in their university (College Entrance Examination Center, 2009). Additionally, all tests are conducted in Chinese except the English tests.

After taking university-assigned subject tests, students fill in a card to choose the universities they want to enter. In the RSP, after passing the exam, test-takers will have interviews and possibly some further specific tests, such as on essay writing, based on their chosen department's requests. If the test-takers are accepted, but do not want to attend the university where they are accepted by the RSP, they need to sign a paper which states that they refuse enrollment. They can then take the tests for the Taking Exams and Deployment System in July, which is similar to the traditional JCEE. If test-takers choose only the Taking Exams and Deployment System, their experience amounts to a modified version of the original JCEE. The Multiple Entrance Program for Colleges and Universities, according to Hsu (2001), provides more opportunities for students and universities to meet their needs.

Conclusion

Over the span of its unique history, Taiwan's society has absorbed different cultural influences from the aboriginals, the Dutch. The Spanish, the Han (Chinese), the

Japanese, and the mainlanders, to construct today's multilingual, multiethnic, and multicultural society. However, after World War II when the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) came to dominate Taiwan, it imposed Chinese identity and fostered a China-centered society through different institutions such as education, language policy, and the College Entrance Examination System. But as Taiwan's changing political scene has transformed the country into a democratic society, so too has the JCEE changed accordingly, with its contents and administration reflecting the various stages in the change in political milieu.

In the spirit of the review offered in this chapter, the present study's goal is to examine the contents of the developing exams of the JCEE over the five periods outlined here, to determine the types of culturally-based content that seems to have been most prominent in each period, and to interpret changing trends in the tests' content in the light of possible political and/or cultural developments. Ultimately, the goal is to contribute to an understanding of the effect of today's examinations upon the test-takers' views and learning, and potentially upon the cultural values of a broader Taiwanese society.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS

The framework of the methodology used in this research is mainly based on content analysis as outlined in Berelson (1971), Holsti (1969), Krippendorff (2004), and Neuendorf (2002) as well as Fairclough's (1995, 2001) critical discourse analysis.

Berelson and Holsti provide the foundations of the content analysis which has been used in this project. Content analysis is a technique for making inferences by systematically identifying specified characteristics of certain contents. This method fits into the present project because my goal in this research has been to analyze the contents of the JCEE to examine the way cultural representation may be displayed by a set of references and themes in the exam's items. Krippendorff and Neuendorf offer the model of a codebook to code and categorize data.

After coding and categorizing the data, I employ Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, which emphasizes that discourse is strongly embedded in a socio-political and historical context, in order to interpret the findings as represented in the coding categories. Additionally, some of the categories from Lee's (2007) model were employed in this research. The methodology chosen is qualitative, although some limited use has been made of descriptive statistics. As Weber (1990) suggests, "the best content-analysis studies use both qualitative and quantitative operations on texts" (p. 10).

Reasons for Employing Content Analysis

Since this study focuses on cultural themes, content analysis is an appropriate research methodology, based on the statements of Weber (1990) and Krippendorff (2004). These scholars both mention that content analysis can reflect the cultural patterns of

groups, institutions, or societies by analyzing the various kinds of documents existing over long periods of time. Cultural indicators are generated from a series of documents that may span even centuries. Those indicators can be used to quantitatively assess the relationships among economic, social, political, and cultural change (Weber, 1990; Krippendorff, 2004). This statement fits into the present research, given that the present study focuses on the change of cultural phenomena in response to social and political changes in Taiwan's recent history. The data analyzed in this research extends over fifty years, and thus also fits the description of content analysis as a method for interpreting trends over time.

Although content analysis tends to focus on nonfiction accounts of social or cultural phenomena, Sebald (1962) also uses content analysis to study the cultural differences reflected in the songs and literature of various nations. This method actually has a broad range of applications. As Holsti (1969) states, "content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (p. 14). This research focuses on features of Taiwan's Joint College Entrance Examination that may be said to embody cultural representation, and how these features might change over time based on historical changes in Taiwan.

From the viewpoint of qualitative and quantitative research, Berelson (1971) describes content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). In this research, key words and phrases were identified for their cultural content; these were counted and categorized, and patterns and trends were found in the relative frequency of items in different cultural categories over the fifty years being studied. I then interpreted

the trends that seemed to appear in order to understand what cultural phenomena were reflected over the fifty year period.

In the present research, I have consistently compared the trends and categories that emerged from the data, to identify the different representations of cultural phenomena in the JCEE during different historical stages in which political and social changes were taking place in Taiwan. I have then offered interpretations for these trends and patterns to answer the research questions and elaborate on the different cultural phenomena that the trends may be said to represent.

Procedures for Conducting Content Analysis

The theoretical framework for this research is based on the concept of Foucault's power/knowledge. Foucault (1972, 1980) argues that discourse is historically and socially constructed, and that discourses are practices, such as ideologies, and attitudes, etc., that systematically constitute the subjects and objects of which they speak (Schwandt, 2007). In this framework, knowledge is seen as being under the control of authorities who regulate specific institutions through discursive practices. Ideology, which "invents language at various levels," (Fairclough, 1995, p.71), is embedded in the knowledge that is selected by those in power in a society. The theory of critical language testing, based on Foucault's concept of knowledge/power and Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, widens the field of language testing by relating it to social and political debate instead of just seeing the test as a neutral way of evaluating the test takers' language ability (Shohamy, 1998).

Given that language and culture mutually interact (Canagarajah, 1999; Mayr, 2008; Williams, 2005), to understand culture is to explore how its meaning is produced

symbolically through the signifying practices of language in material and institutional contexts (Williams, 1983). These contexts include language testing, particularly in the case of widely used or obligatory examinations that function as gate keeping mechanisms, for instance for university admission. The present research examines how the contents of the Chinese and English college entrance tests have reflected different cultural phenomena in five different political and cultural eras from the mid-twentieth century in Taiwan. I have undertaken this project with the assumption that historically constructed discourses reflect their social and political contexts. As changes in political power and social phenomena occur, the different cultural representations in tests, such as the Taiwanese examinations, will also change. Items of any particular type might be kept, discontinued, or decrease or increase in frequency in line with social and cultural fluctuations. In the next section, the procedures of content analysis will be described as they apply to the present study. This discussion covers the following areas: data collection, data sources, the procedure for data analysis, and the evaluation of reliability and validity for the research.

Data Collection: Relevant Texts

The data consist of selected versions of the Chinese and English tests on the Joint College Entrance Examination between 1954 and 2008. The materials were chosen from texts representing four groups, based on Lee's model (2007), which identifies four periods of Taiwan's history: the Chiang-Kai-shek period (1954-1970s), the Chiang Ching-kuo period (1980s), the Lee Teng-hue period (1990s), and the Chen Sui-bian period (2000s). The data were analyzed with reference to these four periods because the different presidents in power in those periods have represented four different political

situations, and the associated political and social conditions of these might in turn have influenced the contents of the Joint College Entrance Examinations. The Joint College Entrance Examinations have actually evolved in five stages (Cheng, 2002; Chiu, 1997; Kuan, 2004), during which profound political and social changes were taking place. Given that the JCEE has been influenced and implemented by political power, the stages for data analysis in the present study are based on the four presidencies, rather than the five stages that have been identified for the JCEE. Appendix F shows how the two time systems compare.

The data, consisting of actual exam items, were collected from the official examination center where possible, and otherwise from mainstream newspapers in Taiwan, which published test material for the earlier years in the study. The data from 1978 to 2008 were collected from the examination center. Examination copies from the earlier years, from 1954 to 1977, are no longer available through the examination center. However, these exams were printed by various newspapers and were drawn from these newspapers for the present study. The data collected from the newspapers are also reliable sources because during those years the newspapers were allowed to print the complete contents of all tests of the examination on the day after the examination. The newspapers to be consulted included *People's Life News*, *Taiwan News*, *Taiwan New life News*, *Independent Evening News*, and *China Times Evening News*.

Data Sources

As mentioned above, in order to find the different cultural phenomena appearing in the contents of the tests and to indicate changes in these, samples of the texts

have been analyzed; as noted earlier, these samples¹⁵ were chosen from the periods of four different presidencies. In total, I have analyzed 24 years of data, including 48 tests from each of the two exams (Chinese and English). These four periods that define the groupings of data are outlined below.

Stage one: 1954-1975. The first stage of the Joint College Entrance Examination is from 1954 to 1971. This stage falls completely under Chiang Kai-shek's presidency¹⁶. The data (see appendix C) available for this period of eighteen years contains 15 years. The exam contents for this period are available for all years except 1954, 1970, and 1971.

During this period, the Chinese tests contained few questions. The number ranged from eight to fifteen questions in the period from 1954 to 1966. After 1966, multiple choice items were used and the number of questions increased, to range from 22 to 25. At this stage, in addition to multiple choice items, students were asked to provide translations of texts, from classic written forms to vernacular forms; composition tests were also included in the tests of the first period. Data samples to be analyzed from this stage are drawn from the years 1955, 1956, 1959, 1961, 1963, and 1968.

For the English tests in this first period, most of the questions were multiple choice, so the English exams contained a larger number of questions than the Chinese tests, usually about 60 questions. The samples to serve as data from the English tests have been drawn from the same years as the Chinese exams.

15 The exam items are shown in Appendix C.

The samples of the contents of the Chinese and English tests of 2002 are shown in Appendix D and Appendix E.

16 As noted earlier, the timeline of the four presidencies and five stages of the JCEE is provided in Appendix F.

Stage two: 1975-1988. Technically, historians identify a second stage for the Joint College Entrance Examination as lasting from 1972 to 1983, and coinciding with the period of Chiang Ching-kuo's rule from 1978 to 1982. However, since data for the exams is lacking for the years 1972, 1974, and 1975, I have defined this period as lasting somewhat longer, from 1978 to 1987. From this period, data (exam items) from six years (1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1987) have been analyzed. The number of questions in this period is now closer for the two (Chinese and English) exams, as the Chinese exams contain more items than in the previous period, while the English exam contains fewer items: for the Chinese tests, the number ranges from 28 to 46, counting a composition prompt as one item; English tests for this period contain around 60 items.

Stage three: 1988-2000. Lee Teng-hui's period is from 1988 to 2000. It covers what have been defined as the third (1984-1992) and fourth stages (1993-2001) for the Joint College Entrance College Examination. However, I have combined these into a single stage, since the contents of the examination are similar during these years, which serve as precursor years to the final overhaul of the examination system. For this third stage of the study, data samples were be taken from 1988, 1990, and 1992 (the original "third stage" for the examinations) as well as 1993, 1995, 1997 (the original "fourth" stage).

Stage four: 2000-2008. Chen Shui-bian's period in power ranges from 2000 to 2008. In earlier accounts, this period actually overlaps stage five, containing a short period at the end of what has been called the "fourth stage" for the exam, but mostly containing the period usually thought of as the "fifth stage" of the Joint College Entrance Examination (see Chapter 3). However, in my attempt to identify culturally meaningful

eras, I have identified this range of years, from 2000 to 2008, as Stage 4 in my study. It is during this period that the system for university entrance was reconceived as one part of the *Multiple Entrance Programs for Colleges and Universities*, a title that was introduced in 2002. In this most recent period, there have been two kinds of tests for academic admission. Because one of these tests is more similar to the Joint College Entrance Examination system and can be seen as a continuation of that exam, I have used this form in the study. Texts have been analyzed from 2000 and 2001 (the original “fourth stage” for the exam) and from 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 (the original “fifth stage”). During these years, the length of the tests is from 51 to 66 items.

The Procedures for Data Analysis

In this study, I have followed four steps in analyzing the data. These are described in the sections that follow.

First step: setting up the coding scheme. This step involves four activities: reading the original data, elaborating on reasons for choosing the units and creating the coding scheme, defining units of the analysis, and developing categories.

I first read through the forty-eight (twenty four English, and twenty four Chinese) tests to be analyzed. During a second reading, I identified codes, and developed explanations for why I choose the units in question. This has set the standard for creating the coding scheme (Berelson, 1971). Due to the goals of the present study, with its interest in the multiethnic and multilingual situation in Taiwan, these codes were based on test contents that reflect cultural phenomena, or that seem to reflect cultural values dominant in the society. For instance, in periods characterized by democracy, I reasoned that social thoughts may become more open and diverse; in this sense, the contents of the

testing itself might reflect contemporary life, social and international events. Another factor included in the coding involved the presence of cultural references, such as reference to authors or other well-known figures from China, Hoklo, Hakka and Taiwanese aboriginal cultures, the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries. The coding units were put into different coding categories, such as authors, themes, and values, which will be elaborated on later in this chapter.

The basic components for content analysis are units. In this study, the smallest unit, word (or its variant, idiom or phrase), was considered at the narrowest level of analysis. These basic units have been employed by many researchers and have been found to yield valid results (Berelson, 1971; Krippendorff, 2004, 2009; Neuendorf, 2002). For example, in the English tests, reference to *McDonald's* might be said to indicate a bias toward American culture, while *Shakespeare* might indicate British cultural influence. In the Chinese tests, the mention of *Wu Zo-lui* would count as a reference to Taiwanese culture because he is a Taiwanese-born author. Han folk stories, on the other hand, indicate Chinese culture. The borrowed term *Bien-don* (box lunch in Japanese), and its associated references can be taken to indicate Japanese culture, while reference to aboriginal myth indicates attention to Taiwanese aboriginal culture.

In addition to words as units to be analyzed, broader themes were also employed in the study. In content analysis, a theme is a sentence, a summary or abstracted sentence, under which a wide range of specific formulations can be subsumed (Berelson, 1971). The themes hidden in the sentences could be broad areas, such as nature, ideas, or values, etc. I included this level of analysis, as it might be especially relevant in dealing with the essay portions of the English and Chinese tests. The prompts

given or titles assigned for the essays may indicate important values or cultural concepts. Thus, the titles that serve as prompts for these essays were considered as possible thematic units for analysis, as were the topics of written passages chosen for the exams.

It is important for the sake of consistency that the system of categories should be established before coding is undertaken. Additionally, “the categories of a variable must fulfill the usual requirements; they must be mutually exclusive and complete” (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2000, pp. 58-59). In this study, after some period of testing and refinement, I identified a list of categories that has been used for the coding system: 1. authors whose materials are chosen; 2. reference to individuals from different cultures; 3. reference to places, cultural artifacts or cultural events; 4. culturally relevant themes/values; 5. (non)contemporary events.

After the units were counted and put into the categories, the items which could be judged to represent cultural trends or references within each category were identified (Berelson, 1971; Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002). As Berelson (1971) states, “subject-matters are usually quite obvious ... and hence [are] easily analyzed. Subject-matter categories have been especially used in trend studies in various media, with the same categories analyzed at different points in time” (p. 149). Berelson is referring here to a type of study similar to the present one, where relative trends in references or themes have been seen as varying over different historical periods in a given kind of text.

The categories that were established in this first step make up what is called a “codebook.” Neuendorff (2002) addresses the nature of this research tool,

The codebook corresponds to a coding form, which provides spaces

appropriate for recording the codes for all variables measured...The goal in creating codebooks and coding forms is to make the set so complete and unambiguous as to almost eliminate the individual differences among coders. (p.132)

Second step: analytical procedure. In the second phase of data analysis, the codes identified in step 1 are applied to the data and are further refined or elaborated. As noted above, I used five coding system categories in this study (1) authors whose materials are chosen; (2) reference to individuals from different cultures; (3) reference to places, cultural artifacts or cultural events; (4) culturally relevant themes/values; (5) (non)contemporary events. These will be explained in the paragraphs to follow.

Coding system category 1(Relevant to Chinese Exams): Authors whose materials are chosen. The purpose of creating this category is to identify the different authors whose written texts are used in the tests. Authors whose materials appear in the tests might be born in Mainland China, Taiwan, the USA, or the UK, etc. In addition, authors born in Taiwan might be Hoklo, Hakka, or aboriginal people, as each of these groups include prominent authors. Authors from any of these cultures may be male or female. The choice of authors in the contents of the tests can be seen as representing a focus on the different cultures, and in the case of gender, might reflect the degree of balance in the exams.

Coding system category 2 (Relevant to both Chinese and English Exams): Reference to individuals from different cultures. This category includes reference to any prominent individuals. In this case, the choice of individual will matter (for instance the person's culture or profession or gender); for example, Frank Lloyd Wright could be seen

as representing American culture.

Coding system category 3 (Relevant to both Chinese and English Exams):

Reference to places, cultural artifacts or cultural events. As is the case for individuals, reference to places or cultural artifacts/events appearing in the tests might represent some specific culture. For example reference to New York City, or to *Reader's Digest*, which originally was published in the USA, would be classed as related to American culture. Reference to Tai-shan (a mountain in San-tong Province in China) stands for Chinese culture, as does reference to Poet's Day, a traditional commemoration of the Chinese poet Chu Yan (340-278 B.C.).

Coding system category 4 (Relevant to both Chinese and English Exams):

Culturally relevant themes/values. Themes are the most popular category in content analysis, and are used in every study using this methodology (Berelson, 1971; Krippendorff, 2004; Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2000). To identify the theme or themes in any passage is sometimes a difficult task. In many cases, the theme may be expressed in a simple sentence, usually a summary sentence. This notion often overlaps with the idea of the "topic sentence" in writing pedagogy; however, in the authentic passages being examined, a single paragraph may contain more than one theme.

Berelson (1971) points out that themes "could be propaganda, non-political materials such as competition or personal appeals" (pp.139). The subcategory of themes in this research includes natural topics (such as earthquakes and typhoons), scientific references (such as to the Ice Age), and topics related to economics.

Also potentially important in this category is the subcategory of values.

Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter (2000) defines the values category in content analysis

as “what attitudes, goals and wishes are displayed” (p. 59). The subcategories of culturally referent to values include politics (anti-communism, patriotism,) morality (filial duty, frugality,) education (ideas on the role of teachers), ecology and the environment (environmental awareness), and personal themes (personal emotions). The coding here has required some subjective interpretation, since the linguistic forms being considered do not directly constitute labels for the values represented in an exam item. For instance, a reference to saving energy would be classed as an expression of environmental awareness.

Coding system category 5 (Relevant to both Chinese and English Exams):

(Non)contemporary events. In this category, the reference to historical or contemporary events was counted in the tests because these events reflect social and political situations which can be said to represent different cultural emphases. In fact, the degree to which exams either featured recent events or concentrated on long past happenings turned out to yield interesting patterns.

Third step: analyzing the representation of cultural phenomena. During this step, the representation of cultural phenomena was analyzed based on the results of the coding process. Applied to the present study, changes in the patterns and trends were identified over the periods of the four political periods under consideration.

Fourth step: interpretation of the cultural phenomena. After determining the patterns of change in culturally relevant references in the tests being analyzed, I have further interpreted how these phenomena seem to relate to Taiwan’s history in terms of the historical/social/political perspectives. I have tried to illustrate how these relationships between test material and political eras could reflect the changing contexts

in Taiwan. Finally, relying on the theoretical work of Foucault and others, outlined in Chapter 2, I have suggested ways in which the examinations might themselves be a driving force in social and political change in Taiwan.

The Evaluation of Reliability

The concept of reliability in quantitative research depends on the extent to which the results obtained are replicable (Schwandt, 2007). With its use of descriptive statistics, the present study's method of content analysis leans farther toward a qualitative than a quantitative approach. In content analysis, in order to reach an acceptable level of reliability, the explicit definitions of the categories and the reliability of the calculation of the figures should be carefully defined and monitored (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000). Every attempt has been made to revise categories as needed for the present study, in order to obtain results that would be consistent across different research studies upon the examinations analyzed or upon similar material.

To further ensure the reliability of my results, I have asked a professional colleague to act as a research assistant. This was a Chinese-English bilingual researcher familiar with the Taiwanese context, who is qualified to verify or challenge my counts of units in each coding category. With this additional safeguard, I am confident that I have taken appropriate steps to establish reliability in this research.

The Evaluation of Validity

The traditional concept of validity in quantitative research has been defined as whether the means of measurement are accurate and whether they are actually measuring what they are intended to measure (Golafshani, 2003). However, in qualitative research, Maxwell (1996) provides a different definition: "the validity is to refer to the correctness

or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account” (p. 87).

In order to increase correctness or credibility, ruling out validity threats is necessary. Three types of validity threats involve description, interpretation, and theory. The main threat to valid description is the inaccuracy or incompleteness of the data. The data of this study are the tests, which were printed in Taiwan’s newspapers and published by Taiwan’s official examination center. The data are valid as explained in the section on data collection, where it was emphasized that tests have been carefully drawn from numerous years that are thought to represent possible eras of change in Taiwan’s social and political life.

Maxwell’s second threat to valid interpretation involves “imposing one’s own framework or meaning, rather than understanding the perspective of the people studied and the meanings they attach to their words and actions” (p. 90). In this study, although some categories are inspired by Lee (2007), such as authors whose materials are chosen, I have also created the category which I have called (non)contemporary events based on pilot study work looking at actual exam data. In addition to consulting the data in developing the codes, I have made detailed, careful attempts to define the categories clearly, and as noted above, I have employed a qualified assistant to help verify my coding. As for interpretation, I have referred in-depth to scholarly sources that validate and ground my interpretation of the study results, insofar as such sources are available. With these constraints in place, I hope to have ensured the validity of my results. Maxwell’s third threat, theory, has also been addressed, in that I have made every effort to design the study according to well known processes in content analysis, and I have

approached this work with the theoretical notions of critical discourse analysis as background theory.

Researcher Bias

I approached this project with a personal belief that the contents of the tests might represent a China-centered ideology from the 1950s to 1980s, and a multicultural perspective in the 1990s and 2000s. However, I approached the data with this bias in mind, and carefully analyzed the data with an open mind to any results that were contrary to my belief. In fact, even in my preliminary examination of the tests, I had to modify one of my original expectations, namely that the Chinese tests might even today represent heavy and monolithic support for Chinese culture. It became clear that the contents of the tests are more complex in their cultural references and the implications of those references.

Summary

In this chapter, the first section has described the reasons for employing content analysis. Next, the procedures of the research methodology were elaborated; these included details on the choice of data, and the procedures for coding procedures and data analysis. Finally, issues such as the evaluation of reliability and validity, and the need to recognize and minimize researcher bias have been discussed.

The results from the coding procedures will be presented in chapter 5, followed by the identification of patterns, and discussion of how these may be interpreted in chapter 6. A final chapter, chapter 7, will discuss implications and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS OF THE DATA CODING

This chapter reports the results of the coding and data analysis from the Chinese and English tests of the Joint College Entrance Examination. As mentioned in chapter four, the data have been divided into four periods based upon four presidencies. The first president, Chiang Kai-shek, served from 1954 to 1975, which represents the 1950s and the 1960s. His presidency covered the period of the first stage of the JCEE, from 1954 to 1971. From this period, six years (1955, 1956, 1959, 1961, 1965, and 1968) of data will be analyzed.

The presidency of the second president, Chiang Chin-kuo, lasted from 1978 to 1988, which represents the 1970s and the 1980s. His presidency overlapped with what have been termed the second (1972 -1982) and the third (1983- 1992) stages of the JCEE. For this second presidency, I chose to analyze the years, 1978, 1980, 1982 (second stage of the exam), and the years, 1984, 1986, and 1987 (third stage of the exam). The term of the third president, Lee Teng-hui (1988- 2000), which represents the 1990s, also spanned part of the third stage (1983-1992) and all of the fourth (1993-2001) stage of the JCEE. In this third period, the study data includes the years, 1988, 1990, and 1992 (third stage of the exam), and the years, 1993, 1995, and 1997 (fourth stage). The last president included in this research is Chen Shui-bian (2000-2008), whose term represents the 2000s. This fourth period in the study coincides with the rest of the fourth stage (1993-2001) and the final stage (2002-2008) of the JCEE. The years chosen to be analyzed in this last period are 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008. In sum, each president's period of service covers six years of the data analysis.

The Categories of the Coding System

The following five categories were developed in the form of a coding system for this study:

- authors whose materials are chosen (relevant to only Chinese exams);
- reference to individuals from different cultures (relevant to both Chinese and English exams);
- reference to places, cultural artifacts or cultural events (relevant to both Chinese and English exams);
- culturally relevant themes/values (relevant to both Chinese and English exams);
- (Non)contemporary events (relevant to both Chinese and English exams).

However, as will become clear, the categories were very uneven in their contribution to the results. The first four categories yielded rich information on cultural patterns, while (non)contemporary events made a relatively modest contribution in the form of providing context for the study.

Coding System Category 1 -Authors whose Materials are Chosen

This coding category looks at which authors were chosen when excerpts from professional writing are included in the examinations. Three subcategories are included in this coding system category. They are ethnicity, date of birth, and gender.

There are five groups in the ethnicities category: three Native Taiwanese ethnic groups (Aborigine, Hakka and Hoklo), Chinese mainlander, and unknown (i.e. the source of some quoted material is not identified in the exam). The Chinese mainlander category includes three distinct groups: Chinese born before 1895, those born between 1895 to 1945 (during the period of the Japanese colonization of Taiwan), and those born after

1945 (including Chinese born in the People's Republic of China). These are included under a single coding because they are seen as representing Mandarin Chinese culture.

Foreign authors (Foreigners) also appear in some Chinese tests.

Chinese tests. Table 1 presents an overview of the authors whose writing appears as material for the Chinese examinations, broken down by period and by ethnicity.

Table 1

Chinese Tests: Ethnicity of Authors Whose Materials are Chosen, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=83)	(n=227)	(n=168)	(n=169)
Ethnicities:				
Aborigine	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Hakka	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hoklo	0.0	2.2	0.6	3.6
Chinese mainlander ^a	96.4	75.8	85.7	75.1
Foreigner	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Unknown ^b	3.6	22.0	13.7	20.1
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of the questions in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

^a Chinese mainlanders include Chinese from both the ROC and the PRC.

^b The group of “unknown” indicates that the materials in the exams could not be identified.

Table 2 presents an overview of the authors whose writing appears as material for the Chinese examinations, broken down by period and by date of birth.

Table 2

Date of Birth of Authors Chosen, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=83)	(n=227)	(n=168)	(n=169)
Date of Birth:				
Before 1895	94.0	74.0	82.7	71.6
1895-1945	2.4	4.0	3.0	6.5
After 1945	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.8
Unknown ^a	3.6	22.0	13.7	20.1
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of the questions in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

^aThe group of “unknown” indicates that the materials in the exams could not be identified.

Table 3 presents an overview of the authors whose writing appears as material for the Chinese examinations, broken down by period and by gender

Table 3

Authors Chosen, Broken Down by Gender, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=83)	(n=227)	(n=168)	(n=169)
Gender:				
Male	96.4	78.0	86.3	78.7
Female	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Unknown ^a	3.6	22.0	13.7	20.1
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of the questions in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

^aThe group of “unknown” indicates that the materials in the exams could not be identified.

Summary of the results. Based on Table 1, 2, and 3, it can clearly be seen that Mainland Chinese authors are dominant in all four periods under review, although the percentage representing that dominance decreases over the four periods, from well over 90 percent in the first period, to just under three-quarters of the authors in the fourth period. Those Mainland Chinese authors spanned a time period from Confucius, born around 551 BC, to Chiang Ching-kuo, president of the ROC, born in 1910. For example, Sima Chian was an excellent historian and litterateur in the Han Dynasty (202 BC-AD 220). His work, *Shiji* (Records of the grand historian), recounted Chinese history from the time of the Yellow Emperor until his own era. This book profoundly influenced Chinese historiography and prose. Some other authors, such as Chao-pi and Zhuge-liang, were both famous and important litterateurs and politicians, who led the mainstream of literary style known as *fu*, a traditional Chinese writing style between prose and poetry, during the period called the Three Kingdoms, Wu, Shu, and Wei, (AD 220-280). With respect to modern China, authors such as Hu Shi (1891-1962), a prominent philosopher and diplomat in the early twentieth century, contributed to Chinese liberalism and language reform in his advocacy for the use of vernacular Chinese.

At the other extreme, questions including Aboriginal authors did not appear until the 2000s, the last stage of the JCEE; even then, the excerpts chosen from these authors only comprise 0.6 percent of the total. One aboriginal author, Arong Sakenu, is a policeman in Taitung county, Taiwan and an amateur writer, whose work describes the aboriginal living experience and wisdom passed on from generation to generation. His work, *Wild Boar, Flying Squirrel, and Sakenu*, has been adapted to a movie, whose theme focuses on discovering his own aboriginal identity and the great wisdom of his people

and their way of life.

Such famous Hakka authors as Chung Li-he (1915-1960), and Wu Chuo-liuo (1900-1976), do not appear in the JCEE in any period, while Hoklo authors, appearing from the 1970s to the 2000s, only represent less than 4 percent of the total in the most recent period, where their presence is the highest. The Hoklo authors cited include Hung Chun-ming, Gu Men-ren, and Chen Li, who represent Taiwanese culture. Take Hung Chun-ming for example. He was a prominent icon in the debate over “native literature” in the early 1970s. He significantly incorporated many elements of Hoklo language into his writing.

In the 2000s there appeared only one foreign author, accounting for a very low percentage of exam items, only 0.6 percent. This popular Bengali poet, novelist, playwright, and musician, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), who reshaped Bengali literature and music, appeared in the 2006 exam. He was the first non-European who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913. His poetry was viewed as spiritual; specifically, his book, *Gitanjali* was considered to be full of profoundly sensitive, fresh, and beautiful verse.

Under the subcategory of date of birth, the selections in all periods were heavily slanted toward non-contemporary (older) authors born before 1895. Interestingly, the pattern here is similar to that for the ethnic coding. That is, in the earliest period, over 90 percent of the authors are pre-twentieth century, while in the last period, though the percentage has dwindled to less than three-quarters, the older authors still predominate. Prominent among the classic authors were writers such as Confucius and Mencius. Authors such as Yu Kung-chung and Pai Xiang-uong, born between 1895 to

1945, represented just 2.4 percent of the total in the 1950s and the 1960s, and this figure never rises above 4 percent until the last period, the 2000s, when it increased to 6.5 percent. Yu Kung-chung and Pai Xiang-oung, who followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan, frequently articulated their nostalgic feelings toward mainland China within their literary works. As a result, these authors are more representative of China than Taiwan.

Authors born after 1945 did not appear at all until the 1990s and they only represented less than 1 percent of the total. In the 2000s this increased slightly to 1.8 percent. One of the authors, Chen Xiao-ming, born in 1959, was a professor and writer in the PRC. He represents modern Chinese literature in mainland China.

Under the gender category, male authors, such as Tu Fu, a prominent poet in the Tong Dynasty (618-907AD), dominated the test selections in all periods, though once again there is a decrease over time, in this case a more uneven decrease. In the 1950s and the 1960s the relevant figure was 96.4 percent for male authors, while in subsequent periods it ranged from 86.3 percent to 78 percent. Female authors only appeared in the 2000s, and at a low figure of 1.2 percent. Those female authors include only Li Ching-chao and Chi Chun. Li Ching-chao was a poet during the Song Dynasty (960-1279AD), and was honored as one of best poets in the Song dynasty. Chi Chun was a mainlander who followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan in 1949. Her literary work, like Yu Kung-chung's, was filled with memories of her hometown in mainland China. For instance, one of her works, *A Pair of Golden Bracelets*, describes the connection between her and her nanny's daughter, as symbolized by a set of the golden bracelets, and the deep feeling toward her hometown, Hungzhou, China.

Main points of the summary. There are four main points in this summary.

1. Selections from Chinese Mainlander authors were predominant in the Chinese tests from the 1950s to the 2000s. Although the proportion of Chinese Mainlander authors decreased from the 1950s to the 2000s, the average was still more than 70 percent in the latest period.
2. The Hoklo and aboriginal people appeared at less than 4 percent in each period and selections from Hakka authors never appeared in the tests.
3. Most of authors who appeared from the 1950s to the 2000s were born before 1895. Authors born between 1895 to 1945 also appeared during all four periods but at very low rates, 2.4 percent in the 1950 and the 1960s, and 6.5 percent in the 2000s. Excerpts from authors born after 1945 only appeared in the 1990s and the 2000s, but at rates less than 2 percent.
4. Male authors dominated the tests. In the 1950s and the 1960s they represented almost 100 percent of selection but this percentage decreased to about 75 percent in the 2000s. Female authors did not appear until the 2000s and the percentage of their numbers was also quite low at only 1.2 percent.

Coding System Category 2-Reference to Individuals from Different Cultures

This coding category examines which individuals representing different cultures are included in the examinations. In the Chinese tests, three subcategories are included in this coding system category. These are the same as coding system category 1: ethnicity, date of birth, and gender. The English tests do not have subcategories.

Chinese tests. Table 4 presents a simple report of the proportion of items in the exams from all four periods that make reference to well-known individuals. These are

presented as percentages in each case. As can be seen from this table, there was an overall increase in the tendency for exam items to refer to individuals, with 12 percent of the items doing so in the first period, eventually increasing to 42 percent in the fourth period under study.

Table 4

Chinese Tests-Frequency of Reference to Individuals from Different Cultures

(Proportion of items referring to individuals)

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=83)	(n=227)	(n=168)	(n=169)
Individuals	12	35	41	42
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of the questions in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

In this category individuals representing different cultures in the Chinese tests only appeared in 12 percent of all the questions in the 1950s and the 1960s. In the 1970s and the 1980s the number was 35 percent. In the subsequent periods they represented 41 percent and 42 percent. The proportion of questions referring to individuals from different cultural groups in the Chinese tests increased from the 1950s to the 2000s.

Table 5 represents a survey of the individuals in the Chinese tests, broken down by period and by ethnicity.

Table 5

Chinese Tests- Reference to Individuals by Ethnicity, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=10)	(n=80)	(n=69)	(n=71)
Ethnicities:				
Aborigine	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hakka	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hoklo	0.0	6.2	0.0	0.6
Chinese mainlander ^a	100.0	93.8	100.0	91.5
Foreigner	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of questions relating to individuals in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

Table 6 represents an overview of the individuals in the Chinese tests, broken down by period and by date of birth.

Table 6

Chinese Tests- Reference to Individuals by Date of Birth, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=10)	(n=80)	(n=69)	(n=71)
Date of Birth:				
Before 1895	100	92.5	97.1	97.2
1895-1945	0.0	6.3	2.9	1.4
After 1945	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.4
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of the questions relating to individuals in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

Table 7 represents a survey of the individuals in the Chinese tests, broken down by period and by gender.

Table 7

Chinese Tests- Reference to Individuals by Gender, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=10)	(n=80)	(n=69)	(n=71)
Gender:				
Male	100	98.7	97.1	98.6
Female	0.0	1.3	2.9	1.4
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of the questions relating to individuals in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

Summary of the results. Based on table 5, Chinese mainland figures were predominant in the Chinese tests. The percentage of Chinese mainlanders in each period varied from 100 percent to 91.5 percent in different political eras. In addition to Confucius and Mencius, other important figures are prominent in the exam. For instance, Chu-yeng, a poet and politician, represented patriotism in the Warring States Period of Chinese history (476-221 BC). Because his king did not accept his advice, his country, Chu, finally was overcome by another country, Chin. With despair and lament, he committed suicide by throwing himself into a river. Due to his patriotism, the day he died, May 5th, became a poetry festival and is still celebrated today in Taiwan and China to memorialize his loyalty to his country.

The Hoklo only appeared in the exams in the second and fourth periods, and the percentage of reference to these is low, only 6.2 percent and 0.6 percent, respectively. Only Lian Heng, a Hoklo, but an official in the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911), appeared in

the 1980 exam; in fact, five separate questions were about this one prominent figure, a fact that points to a lack of diversity in even the minimal representation of Hoklo culture. Sou Huan-jien, a famous fictitious figure in Taiwanese drama, appeared in the 2004 exam. This drama “*A Chivalrous Man in Yenjow*” was very popular in the 1970s in Taiwan. Again, a closer look provides a more complex picture of this reference: the play that features Sou Huan-jien was written by a Taiwanese, and is largely in the Hoklo language; however, the setting is mainland China.

It was not until the beginning of the 21st century that foreigners began to appear in entrance examinations. These foreigners include Charles Darwin, Thomas Robert Malthus (a British scholar famous for his treatise, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*), and Leo Tolstoy, who represents 19th century Russian life and attitudes. These foreign authors made a very limited appearance in the exams.

As for the date of birth (Table 6), the number of the individuals born before 1895 was 100 percent in the 1950s and the 1960s; in the later periods, although reduced, it was still more than 90 percent. Those individuals spanned from the ancient Chinese to the 19th century in different dynasties in Chinese history. For instance, Pao-ting was a famous chef in the Warring States Period (476-221 BC). Nowadays, his name is used as a metaphor for a chef of incomparable skill. Another example is Wu Sung, a strong and honorable outlaw who killed a tiger with his bare hands and later became the central character in the famous novel, *Shui Hu Chung* (Outlaws of the Marsh), written during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 AD). Thus, Wu Sung represents a brave man in Chinese history. Also included in the exams, was Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), founding father of the ROC.

Individuals born between 1895 and 1945 did not appear in the exams until the second period, the 70s and 80s, at 6.3 percent. They appeared in the other two periods at only, 2.9 percent, and 1.4 percent, respectively (Table 6). Those individuals include Cheng Chuo-yu, (poet), Lin Ling (poet), Chiang Kai-shek, Chao Yuan-ren (linguist), Lin Yu-tong (litterateur), and Tong Chuo-bian, an expert in what is called oracle bone script, perhaps the first written language in China dating back almost 5000 years. All of these individuals retreated from mainland China to Taiwan around 1949; however, as their formative years were spent in China, they are included here as representing mainland Chinese culture.

Individuals born after 1945 appeared in the second period as well as the 2000s, but at a rate of less than 2 percent. Those people only include Sou Huan-jien, the famous fictional figure mentioned earlier, and Chen Bao-chung, a Chinese pilot, who succeeded in making a daring and unusual escape from mainland China (the PRC) to Taiwan in 1986 via a flight in a military airplane.

With respect to gender, the number of questions relating to male individuals, such as Shi Ke-fa (a patriot in the Ming dynasty), dropped by only 2 percent (100% to 98%) over the course of fifty years from the 1950s to the 2000s (Table 7). In contrast, questions relating to female individuals, such as author Li Ching- chao mentioned earlier, did not appear until the second period, at 1.3 percent, increasing only slightly and temporarily to almost 3 percent in the third period.

Main points of the summary. There are five points in the summary.

1. Chinese mainlanders predominated the content of the test questions.
2. Of the native Taiwanese people, only the Hoklo appeared in the tests,

contributing less than 7 percent of the questions, and representing only one figure.

3. Foreigners did not appear until the 2000s and at a percentage rate that was less than 10 percent.
4. Individuals born before 1895 represented the largest group of those involved in the tests. Individuals born after 1895 did not appear until the 1970s, but the number represented in each period was less than 7 percent.
5. Male individuals represented the largest category in this grouping. Females did not appear until the 1970s but their percentage rate in each period was less than 3 percent.

English tests. Table 8 contains a simple report of the proportion of items in the exams from all four periods that make reference to individuals on the exam. These are presented as percentages in each case. As can be seen from this table, as in the Chinese tests, there was an overall increase in the tendency for exam items to refer to individuals, with 5.5 percent of the items doing so in the first period, eventually increasing to 23.6 percent in the fourth period in this study.

Table 8

English Tests- Proportion in Percentages of Reference to Individuals from Different Cultures-1

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=494)	(n=333)	(n=344)	(n=365)
Individuals	5.5	10.8	7.3	23.6
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of the questions in the English tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s. Proportion of items referring to individuals.

The reference to individuals from different cultures in the English tests represented less than 10 percent of the totals in the 1950s and the 1960s as well as in the 1990s. In the 2000s this proportion increased to 23.6 percent.

Table 9 represents an overview of the individuals in the English tests, broken down by period and by region.

Table 9

English Tests- Reference to Individuals from Different Cultures-2

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=27)	(n=36)	(n=25)	(n=86)
American	48.2	36.1	56.0	45.3
European	44.4	2.8	32.0	20.9
British	7.4	0.0	0.0	16.3
Latin American	0.0	27.8	0.0	0.0
Chinese	0.0	19.4	0.0	1.2
African	0.0	13.9	4.0	3.5
Asian	0.0	0.0	8.0	4.6
Taiwanese	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0
Australian	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= total number of the questions in the English tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s. Asian excludes Chinese and Taiwanese. European excludes British.

Percentage of reference to individuals from different cultures in the English tests in the JCEE from the 1950s to the 2000s, according to various countries or regions

Summary of the results. Table 9 indicates that Americans appeared most frequently in every period from the 1950s through the 2000s. The Americans referred to include both prominent and unknown people. For example, Jerry Siegel and Joseph Shuster are the authors of perhaps the most famous comic book, *Superman*. Superman represents the iconic American hero. And representing their respective natural environments are the Native American tribes, the Lakota, Blackfeet, and Shoshone.

Another figure, Horace A. Moses, was an industrialist, who started a Junior Achievement program in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1919. Horace A. Moses represented a way that American industrialists developed industrial and business activity in cities. Mary Anderson invented windshield wipers in the 1910s, and she appears in an item representing American industrial invention. Morris Frank, a young blind American, was the first blind person to use a German Shepherd as his guide dog. Dick McDonald, who established the McDonald's fast-food chain restaurant, is depicted as representing American business entrepreneurship. Other questions included the stories of some obscure farmers in Georgia who changed their lives from farmers to blue collar workers in the cities. A Taiwanese-American, Paul Ning, appears in an item that demonstrates how Asian Americans' parents educate their children in the United States. As for politicians, The American presidents, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, also appeared in the English test in 1965; Benjamin Franklin appeared in 1962. Finally, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Eleanor Roosevelt and Bernard Baruch appeared in the test in 1955.

Europeans (excluding the British) appeared in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s. They appeared at a higher proportion of more than 20 percent in each period except in the second. These individuals include the Austrian composer Franz Schubert, whose story appeared in the English exam in 1956. Lois Braille, who devised the Braille system, was presented in the test in 1982. Anton Boll, a German scientist, was the star of the Manhattan project in the 1940s; Boll's lament about the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan appeared in the tests in 2002. Ole Kirk Christiansen, a Danish carpenter, and his son, invented LegosTM and improved the Lego bricks; their stories appeared in the tests in 2008. Other stories involved the invention of military tactics by

unknown Greek and Roman soldiers, and an item in 1997 about how Norwegians form and maintain friendships. These are just some examples of the contents of the English reading exams, in which test-makers channeled their ideas regarding European cultures.

Interestingly, British figures appeared proportionally less often than either American or European individuals. British figures cited include Queen Victoria, Francis Bacon, the Earl of Sandwich, and Shakespeare. Their stories or contribution were only present in the tests of 1963, 2000, 2002, and 2006.

Africans began to appear in the second period at 13.9 percent and decreased to less than 5 percent in the 1990s and the 2000s. Those Africans include a young eastern Nigerian, who helped an American visitor finish his trip in Nigeria by translating Ibo (an indigenous African language) into English and vice versa. Other African content included the method of sending messages by beating on a series of large drums, and the conflicts among some African ethnic groups (Chad, Zaire, Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Ibo, and Burundi). In clear contrast to every category discussed so far, references to African individuals represented relatively little known or unknown persons.

Asians (excluding Chinese and Taiwanese cultures), only appeared in the 1990s and the 2000s at 8 percent and 4.6 percent, respectively. In the test of 1990, a true story of a twelve- year-old Japanese boy, Jiro Nakayama, demonstrated how young people could help preserve the world's rain forests by collecting old newspaper and empty aluminum cans to sell to a recycling plant, and then donating the money to the International Children's Rainforest Program. In the test of 2000, a tale is included about how the Buddha taught a young Indian married couple the truth that, "death is natural and is part of our life cycle." These tests illustrate the ancient wisdoms and modern thoughts about

nature.

Chinese figures, such as Confucius, appeared in the second period at about 19 percent and in the 2000s at less than 5 percent. Taiwanese appeared in the 2000s alone, at only 7 percent. One example of modern Taiwanese appearances on the exam is the famous Taiwanese movie director, Ang Lee, whose internationally popular movie, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, was discussed in the exam of 2001.

Other groups were largely not prominent, although Latin Americans, made a brief appearance in the second period at 27.8 percent. One item in that group dealt with farmers trying to protect their traditional ways. One Australian, Geoff Brodie (a birth control services medical director), appeared in the 2000s, causing a 1.2 percent score for that period.

Main points of the summary. The following seven main points summarize the main patterns found:

1. American and European cultures were predominant in the English tests in every period in this category. Specifically, American culture represented an average of 50 percent while European cultures displayed a figure of 25 percent.
2. African cultures appeared from the 1970s to the 2000s, but represented only about 14 percent in the second period and decreased to less than 5 percent in the subsequent year. Only relatively unknown figures appeared from this region, and often in connection with themes that might be seen as negative.
3. British culture only appeared in the first period at about 7 percent and in the 2000s increased to almost 17 percent; these references were to highly visible

historical figures.

4. Chinese culture appeared in the second period and the 2000s, but displayed a difference of 18 percent between the two periods.
5. Taiwanese and Australian cultures only appeared in the 2000s at 7 percent and 1.2 percent, respectively while other Asian cultures appeared in the 1990s and the 2000s at less than 9 percent.
6. Latin culture appeared only in the second period at 27.8 percent.
7. There was a gradual movement toward more cultural diversity in the exams over time. Altogether, three cultural areas appeared in the 1950s and the 1960s, five in the 1970s and the 1980s, four in the 1990s, and finally eight cultural areas in the 2000s.

Coding System Category 3-Reference to Places, Cultural Artifacts or Cultural Events

This coding category looks at which places/countries, cultural artifacts or cultural events are cited in the examinations. Eight subcategories are included in this coding system: places/countries, nature (including animals, plants, and the features of places), industrial products (including technical products), publications (including books, newspapers, and magazines), food, art (including movies, music, drama, painting, and architecture), belief systems (including temples, theories, and sacred writings of religions), and holidays/festivals.

Chinese tests. Table 10 represents an overview of the places, cultural artifacts, and cultural events that appear in the Chinese tests, broken down by period and by the subcategories listed above.

Table 10

Chinese Tests-Reference to Places, Cultural Artifacts or Cultural Events, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=83)	(n=227)	(n=168)	(n=169)
Places/Countries				
China	18.4	39.8	41.7	28.2
Taiwan	0.0	5.7	1.3	2.6
Europe	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.7
USA	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Asia^a	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Nature				
China	21.1	23.8	25.3	33.3
Taiwan	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Publications				
China	5.3	6.8	6.3	15.3
Taiwan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Europe	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Food				
China	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Belief Systems				
Confucianism(China)^b	55.2	23.9	22.8	9.4
Holidays/Festivals				
China	0.0	0.0	1.3	2.5
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note: n= the total number of the questions in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

The percentage of reference to places, cultural artifacts or cultural events in the Chinese tests in the JCEE from the 1950s to the 2000s is based on different subcategories

^a Asia excludes Taiwan and China.

^b Confucianism originally came from China.

Summary of the results. As shown in Table 10, the names of places in China appeared in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s. They appeared in the first period at 18.4 percent and increased to about 40 percent in the next two periods, finally decreasing to less than 30 percent in the 2000s. These Chinese places include the capitals

in different dynasties, such as Jinling (the old name for Nanking, the capital of the Southern Song Dynasty—1127-1279), Yienjing (the old name for Beijing, the Chinese capital in the Ming Dynasty—1368-1644), Changan (Hsian, the capital of the Western Han Dynasty—221-206 BC and the Tong Dynasty—AD 618-907), and Liouyang (the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty—AD 960-1127). Many other cities and provinces, such as Jioujing, Hsijing, Danre, Hungjou, Wuchang, Hsishan, Shantong, and Chutong, appeared throughout the years of the exams. These cities often appeared in connection with literature written by the authors whose writing was chosen for the exams. For instance, Jioujing was cited in a literary work entitled, *Yu Yuan Wuei-chi Shu* (A Letter for Yuan Wuei-chi), written by Bai Ju-ya, a litterateur in the Tong Dynasty. This Chinese city, Jioujing, came to symbolize intimate friendship. Today, this city stands symbolically for friendship or relationships.

Famous Chinese landscapes also appeared in the exams. These landscapes include Chi-bi (Red Wall) in Hubei Province, a very famous battlefield in the Three kingdoms period (AD 220-280) and Hunghua-gang (Yellow Flower Hill), a revolutionary battlefield representing a milestone in the switch of political power in China. Other landscapes comprise Chunian-shan, (a mountain in Shanhsi Province), Tai-shan (a mountain in Shantong province), Hsihu (a famous lake in Hungjou, Chejian Province), and Taihu (a popular lake in Hunian Province). All of these places were presented in some of the most important Chinese literary works, such as *Yuyian Lou Ji* (A Note on Yuyian Tower), written by Ouyian Hsiou in the Song Dynasty.

Places in Taiwan began to appear in the second period at about 6 percent, then decrease to about 2 percent in the 2000s. These places include Kaohsiung city (the largest

city in southern Taiwan), Taipei city (the capital of Taiwan), and Yilan and Hualien counties (both counties in eastern Taiwan.) These places also include Jioufen (located in northeastern Taiwan, once an important coal mining and fishing village, but now a famous tourist attraction), Cihu (Chiang Kai-shek's burial place, in Taoyuen county), and Kinmen (also known as Quemoy, a small archipelago very near Xianmen, China). Some exams, however, only mentioned Taiwan without mentioning specific places.

The Mississippi River is the only place representing American culture that appeared in the exam. The percentage of questions regarding the USA and Europe were very small, never reaching more than 2 percent. European countries mentioned include the United Kingdom- home of Charles Darwin and Thomas Robert Malthus, Russia where Leo Tolstoy came from, as well as Florence, Italy, the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance.

Asian Countries, including the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, and India, represent only 0.9 percent of the questions in the 2000s and are referred to only very generally. For example, in one of the exams, an essay question asks the student to discuss Southeast Asian countries' cultural beliefs regarding time and money.

Under the subcategory of nature, it is not surprising that China's natural environment represented the largest proportion, with the mean percentage at about 20 percent from the first to the second period, increasing to about 30 percent in the next two periods. References here include specific fish, swallows, yellow cranes, wild geese, chickens, ancient paths, pines, phoenixes, eagles, lilies, and bitter fleabane. Most of these plants and animals did not have specific names tying them to China, although those familiar with them would clearly recognize them as Chinese plants, animals, mountains,

or rivers; more specific nature references included Fuju (a kind of orange planted in Fujou city), the Yangtze River, the Miluo River (a river where the famous patriotic poet, Chu Yuan, committed suicide), Nanshan bamboo (a specific bamboo in the Southern Mountains) and Chu-lou (a Chinese plant growing in southern China). Items from Taiwanese nature, including aboriginal millet and Taiwanese rice, only appeared in the 2000s at about 2 percent.

In the subcategory of publications, only Chinese books appear as a notable quantity. Taiwanese and European books represent about 1 percent in the 2000s only. In fact, only one Taiwanese book, Hung Chun-ming's *My Son's Big Toy*, appeared in 2001. This book represented the Taiwanese trials and tribulations in transitioning from a farming to an industrial society in the 1960s. European books include Robert Malthus' *An Essay on the Principle of Population* and Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. Chinese books appeared in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s. These books included *Hou Han Shu* (The History of Post-Han Dynasty), written in the fifth century, and *Analects of Confucius* and *Analects of Mencius*, which appeared more frequently than any other Chinese books in the Chinese tests. Recall that the appearance of these ancient classics is consistent with the pattern found in authors whose writings are included in the exams.

Only Chinese food, such as *huo-shao* (a Chinese baked cake) and Chinese rice dumplings, which commemorate Chu Yuan (the patriotic poet), appeared in the Chinese exams at 1.7 percent in the 2000s. Additionally, only Confucianism appeared in the subcategory of belief systems.

In the relatively small subcategory of holidays, only Chinese holidays appeared

in the tests, at less than 3 percent in the 1990s and the 2000s. These holidays include *Hain-shi*, which means eating cold food, and is celebrated in early April. This holiday commemorates Jie Chi-tuei, a Chinese politician greatly faithful to his country in the 200s BC who sacrificed himself by burning to death in a fire rather than accepted service in a new regime. Today the Chinese eat cold food on this holiday to comfort Jie Chi-tuei. Other celebrations included the *Mid-Autumn Festival* or Moon Festival, and the Chinese New Year, as well as the Poet Festival or Dragon Boat Festival. The Chinese New Year, Dragon Festival, and Mid-Autumn Festival represent the three most important Chinese holidays. The Chinese New Year and Mid-Autumn Festival indicate the reunion of the entire family, like the full moon on a mid-autumn day. The Dragon Boat Festival resulted from people's admiration for Chu Yuan, a patriotic poet. On the day he committed suicide, May 5th, the local people living near the Milou River rushed into their boats to search for him while throwing rice into the water to appease the river dragons and beseech them to rescue Chu Yuan. Although the local people were unable to find Chu Yuan, their efforts are still commemorated today during the Dragon Boat Festival. Although these festivals are celebrated in Taiwan as well as in China, they are linked strongly to China in the minds of the Taiwanese people. Thus, it is fair to say that this subcategory of holidays and festivals was dominated by Chinese culture.

Main points of the summary. There are five main points in this summary.

1. Chinese culture was predominant in the subcategories of places/countries, nature, publications, and belief systems. In the subcategory of places/countries, Chinese culture reached its highest rate in the 1990s and its lowest in the 1950s and 1960s. In the subcategory of nature, the highest rate

of Chinese references was about 33 percent in the 2000s and the lowest rate at about 20 percent in the 1950s and 1960s. In the group of food and holidays/festivals, only the Chinese culture appeared at less than 3 percent in the 1990s and the 2000s.

2. Confucianism was predominant in the subcategory of belief systems, but at proportions that dropped from about 55 percent in the first period to about 9 percent in the 2000s.
3. Taiwanese culture only appeared in the subcategories of places/countries, nature, and publications at a very low rate of less than 6 percent. In the subcategories of nature and publications, Taiwanese culture only appeared in the 2000s at less than 2 percent.
4. American culture only appeared in the subcategory of places/countries at less than 1 percent in the 2000s.
5. European culture in the subcategory of places/countries only appeared in the 1990s and the 2000s at less than 2 percent and also appeared in the subcategory of publications, but only represented less than 1 percent in the 2000s.

English tests. Table 11 represents a survey of the places, cultural artifacts, or cultural events in the English tests, broken down by period and by different subcategories.

Table 11

English Tests-Reference to Places, Cultural Artifacts or Cultural Events, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=494)	(n=333)	(n=344)	(n=365)
Places/Countries				
USA	51.9	19.4	25.0	35.1
Europe	18.5	3.2	17.6	8.9
Taiwan	7.8	21.0	22.1	2.1
China	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Asia ^a	3.7	1.6	2.9	3.4
Africa	0.0	8.1	1.5	10.3
Latin America	0.0	11.3	1.5	5.5
Canada	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Australia	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Nature				
USA	0.0	0.0	13.2	1.4
Europe	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0
Middle East	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unknown	0.0	8.1	0.0	0.0
Publications				
USA	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.5
Europe	0.0	3.2	0.0	2.1
Unknown	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
Food				
USA	0.0	8.1	1.5	0.0
Latin America	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0
Asia	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.4
China	0.0	0.0	4.4	0.0
Taiwan	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0
Europe	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
Arts				
China	0.0	0.0	2.9	2.1
Taiwan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
USA	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.4
Belief systems				
Taiwanese Temple	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.7

Confucianism(China)	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0
Taoism(China)	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
Buddhism(Asia)	0.0	1.6	0.0	2.8
Christianity(Europe)	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Holidays/Festivals				
USA	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
Latin America	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
Europe	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

Note. n= the total number of the questions in the English tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

^a Asia excludes Taiwan and China.

Summary of the results. As Table 11 shows, the American places appeared in an impressive 52 percent of the test items in the 1950s and the 1960s, then remained dominant while decreasing to about 35 percent in the 2000s. These American places include Washington D. C., Georgia, Springfield, MA (the place of origin of the Junior Achievement Program), Wisconsin, Michigan, and Montana (cited as habitat of American wolves), Los Angeles, and New York City (Times Square, Fifth Avenue, and Central Park). Specifically, New York City appeared more than 10 times in the tests. Prestigious American institutions in the exams include the Bronx High School of Science in New York City (a famous high school where Paul Ning, an Asian American, studied), Harvard University, the University of California, Stanford University, and Johns Hopkins University. Other famous places, such as the Lincoln Memorial Museum and the Guggenheim Museum, also appeared in the tests. Some test items mentioned the United States more generally; for example, some questions addressed the issue of American attitudes toward marriage as well as divorce rates and child custody cases.

Like the United States, European places/countries were represented in every period from the 1950s through the 2000s. These countries or places appeared variably over the four periods at rates that range from 18 percent in the first period to less than 4

percent in the second period. These European places/countries include specific references to Paris, London, the Lake District in England, as well as general references to various countries (Germany, Greece, Rome, Switzerland, Norway, and Denmark). At the most general level, some questions simply mentioned Europe in general. Some places or countries represent their own unique culture in the exams. For example, the café culture in Paris, the Lake District representing a popular tourist attraction in England, the way the ancient Greek and Roman soldiers fought on the plains of Marathon, for which marathon, the running race, was named, and the German shepherd dog from Switzerland.

The percentages in the subcategory of Taiwan represented about 8 percent in the first period, increased to about 22 percent in the second and third period, but decreased to only 2 percent in the 2000s. Most places included in this group were large cities, such as Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, where the Palace Museum and the Taipei Metro System are located, Taichung city, the largest city in the middle of Taiwan, and the beautiful scenery in Hualien and Ilan counties, located in the east of Taiwan. Some contents in the exams mentioned telephone etiquette and copyright violation activities in Taipei city.

China only appeared in the first period at 13 percent and in the last period at less than 1 percent. Except for the Yangtze River, the exams only mentioned China in general concerning how Chinese people acquired the love of foreigners, and how Chinese painting was developed.

Asian places/countries (excluding Taiwan and China) appeared in each period, but the percentage was low, less than 4 percent of the questions in each period. These places included Hiroshima, Japan, the site of the nuclear attack during World War II, and

Nagano, where a Japanese teenager, Jiro Nakayama, helped preserve the world's rain forests. Other places mentioned include an Indian village where the Buddha once lived, as well as Thailand and Vietnam, where some people travel to Taiwan for work.

African and Latin American places/countries began to appear in the 1970s and the 1980s. Africa represented about 8 percent in the second period while Latin America appeared at about 11 percent. Percentages of both groups dropped to less than 3 percent in the third period, but again increased to about 10 percent and 7 percent in the 2000s, respectively. These African places/countries included French speaking areas in Nigeria, Lagos, Contonou, and Dahomey, as well as Kenya, where the people were encouraged to speak Swahili, Kikuyu and Luo instead of English. In East Africa, the "Send a Cow" program was organized to solve the problems of poverty and hunger in this area. Additionally, some ethnic groups in Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Nigeria encountered conflicts resulting from European policies of colonization. In the group of Latin America, the places/countries included Catemaco, a small town in the south of Mexico, which hosts an Annual Witch Gathering, the forest land in Costa Rica, the typical agriculture in Mexico, and the Nazca Indian culture in the desert of southwest Peru.

Canadian and Australian cultures only appeared in the 2000s, and at less than 1 percent. References here were to an Australian city that Anto Boll's wife comes from (Boll was an important member in the Manhattan Project during World War II), and the Bay of Fundy, Canada, where the waves and the tides are used to produce electricity.

In the subcategory of nature, references included American bison, American wolves, and the hummingbird in the test of 1995. European nature, such as German

shepherds (which only marginally “represent” Germany in any case), only appeared in the 1990s at 1.5 percent. The Middle Eastern camels appeared only in the first period at less than 2 percent. A number of natural references were not culturally identifiable, such as a reference to ancient apes.

The items in the subcategory of publications did not appear until the 2000s at 7.5 percent. This group includes *American Prospect*, an American magazine, and *Superman*, an American Comic book. European newspapers appeared in the second and fourth periods. Such publications include the *Guardian*, an English newspaper, *Harry Potter* and *Alice in Wonderland*, English fiction novels. References to unidentified publications appeared at about 2 percent in the 1970s and the 1980s.

In the subcategory of food, American food, including McDonald’s fast food, and the soft drink, Coca Cola, did not appear until the second period and represented less than 2 percent in the 1990s. Asian food, Japanese rice balls and Indian curry, represented about 2 percent in the 1990s and the 2000s. Regarding Taiwanese food, only Taiwanese fried shrimp balls, appeared at 1.5 percent in the 1990s while Chinese tea, represented 4.4 at the same period. Latin American food, such as black beans, only appeared at about 5 percent in the 1970s and 1980s. European food, sandwiches and hamburgers (originally from England and Germany), did not appear until the 2000s at less than 2 percent.

American art, including the American movie-*Gone With the Wind*, and the Guggenheim Museum designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, represented less than 2 percent in the first and the last period. Regarding Chinese art, only traditional Chinese painting began to appear in the 1990s and the 2000s. Taiwanese art, such as the Taiwanese drama, *Gu Zi Hsi*, and the Taiwanese movie, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, represented less

than 1 percent in the 2000s.

In the subcategory of belief systems, Taiwanese temples, which worship the various gods from Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, appeared about at 3 percent in the 1990s but decreased to less than 1 percent in the 2000s. Confucianism and Taoism, representing Chinese culture, appeared 4.8 percent and 1.6 percent in the 1970s and the 1980s. Christianity only represented 1.9 percent in the 1950s and 1960s.

In the category of holidays/festivals, only American, Latin American, and European cultures appeared in the 2000s at 1.4, 1.4, and 6.9 percent, respectively. Of American holidays, only Farewell Day on Christmas Eve in New York City appeared in the exams; Latin American, only Witch Gathering in Mexico; and European, only Valentine's day.

Main points of the summary. There are ten main points in this summary.

1. In the subcategory of places/countries, American culture was predominant in the English tests; however, the relevant percentages decreased from about 52 percent in the 1950s and the 1960s to about 35 percent in the 2000s. European culture was the second largest group. Taiwanese culture represented more than 20 percent in the second and third periods, but in the 2000s its totals decreased to 2.1 percent. China reached its highest rate at 13 percent in the first period but appeared in the 2000s at only less than 1 percent. Other Asian cultures appeared in each period but at less than 4 percent.
2. African cultures only appeared in the subcategory of places/countries in each period from the 1970s and the 1980s through the 2000s. However, the

highest percentage was about 10 percent.

3. Latin American culture appeared in the subcategories of places/countries, food, and holidays/festivals. However, it appeared in the subcategory of places/countries at more than 10 percent in the 1970s and the 1980s, but in the other two subcategories at less than 6 percent.
4. Compared with other cultures, Canadian and Australian cultures only appeared in the 2000s at the lowest rate of less than 1 percent.
5. In the subcategory of nature only American, European, and Middle East cultures appeared. However, the average of the percentages was very low at 1.5 percent except for American culture, which appeared in the 1990s at more than 10 percent.
6. Industrial products and publications did not play an important role in this coding category. Only American and European cultures appeared in one period at less than 2 percent and at less than 8 percent.
7. In the subcategory of food, only American and Latin American cultures appeared in the 1970s and the 1980s at less than 10 percent. In the 1990s, food culture, including that of Taiwan, China, America, and Asia, represented less than 5 percent. In the 2000s only European and Asian culture appeared at less than 2 percent.
8. The subcategory of art included Taiwanese, American, and Chinese cultures, but the average percentage was only 2.
9. Confucianism had the highest rate in the subcategory of belief systems at about 5 percent in the second period. Buddhism had an average of 2.5 percent.

The lowest rate of reference was to Taiwanese temples in the 2000s at less than 1 percent.

10. Holidays/festivals did not appear until the 2000s and only in the group including the USA, Latin America, and Europe at less than 7 percent.

Basically, most of the subcategories here, except for place names, yield little insight, particularly when considered only quantitatively. However, given the predominance of American place names, it is fair to say that the United States dominated the exams in this category overall.

Coding System Category 4-Culturally Relevant Themes/Values

This coding category examines which themes and values are cited in the examinations. There are seven subcategories: politics (including anti-communism, patriotism, the methods of governing a country, and other political themes,) morality (including discipline, filial piety, frugality, and politeness), education (including respecting teachers/elders, knowledge of national literature, and learning attitude and teaching methods), ecology and the environment (including environmental awareness and scenery description), economy (including business, travel, industry and science, and entertainment), personal themes (including personal emotion, and love of family and friends), and one other category which includes miscellaneous items.

Chinese tests. Table 12 represents an overview of the themes/values relating to these seven subcategories. The patterns reported here reflect some changes in sociopolitical thought in the course of the four periods under review.

Table 12

Chinese Tests- Cultural Relevant Themes/Values, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=83)	(n=227)	(n=168)	(n=169)
Politics				
Govern a country	14.5	11.5	17.2	12.4
Patriotism	24.1	13.2	4.8	4.1
Other political themes	10.9	3.5	6.0	1.8
Anti-communism	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0
Morality				
Discipline	24.1	22.9	22.6	28.4
Filial piety	6.0	4.0	3.6	3.0
Frugality	2.4	2.2	1.8	0.6
Politeness	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Education				
Knowledge of national literature	3.7	19.4	21.4	19.5
Learning attitude and Teaching method	3.7	5.3	5.9	1.2
Respect for teachers/elders	0.0	3.5	1.8	0.6
Ecology/Environment				
Scenery description	3.6	2.7	4.2	4.7
Environment awareness	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Economy				
Industry/Science	0.0	0.9	1.2	2.4
Business	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Travel	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Entertainment	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Personal Themes				
Personal emotion	2.4	5.3	6.0	16.5
Love for family/friend	4.7	2.7	3.0	2.4
Others	0.0	1.3	0.5	1.2
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note. n= the total number of questions in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

Summary of the results. Table 12 represents the proportion of the exam items under each category, For instance, in the subcategory of politics, reference was made to

methods of governing a country at a fairly stable rate. That is, in the first period the proportion of questions of this type represented about 15 percent, and then decreased to about 12 percent in the second period and increased again to about 17 percent in the third period, finally dropping to just over 12 percent in the last period.

In this subcategory, as in many of the others in this category, traditional writings were involved, and appeared equally prominently in all periods. Many excerpts came from *the Analects of Confucius* and *Mencius* as well as literary works written by authors who held positions as both politicians and litterateurs in different Chinese dynasties. In Confucius and Mencius's concept of rulership, a *Sheng Wang* (holy king or emperor) should rule his country or empire by using *Ren* (benevolence) and *Yi* (righteousness). Additionally, Mencius believed that a king or emperor's first concern is for the safety and happiness of his people and that his thoughts should focus on potential disasters so that he might be prepared to protect his people. When the ordinary people are content, then the idea is that the king or emperor can be content. Furthermore, a king or emperor should employ a person of virtue and ability to help him govern his country and discourage the employment of the overly greedy and ambitious. The methods of governing a country included the basic requirements of maintaining the society, including providing abundant materials, building the infrastructure and avoiding cases of injustice.

In addition, the test items often spoke of the need for the ruler to accept complaints and critiques of the government's policies from ordinary people and try to modify the policies accordingly. The contents of the exams mentioned that ordinary people's complaints, like flowing water, should not be ignored. If a king or official ignored these complaints and critiques, like flowing water, they could not find a proper

outlet, and would inevitably breed discontent and result in a disastrous flood. These contents emphasize the importance of ordinary people. However, ordinary people often passively wait for *Sheng Wang* or “good officials” to rescue them and improve their lives, instead of using their own power to overthrow a tyrant or change their lives. This traditional Chinese feudal concept dominated all of the tests.

Patriotism shows an interesting decline over the four periods. This sub-theme appeared in the first period at the highest rate at about 24 percent, and continued to drop to less than 5 percent in the last two periods. The patriotic contents in some exams relate to the idea of people dying for their country. If people (specifically higher-positioned officials) surrendered to another political power, it was a national shame. The essay, *On a Sense of Shame*, written by Gu Yian-wu (a politician and literati in the Ming Dynasty), mentions this concept. Thus, most of the national heroes in the tests had not surrendered to the newer dynasties, and had chose rather to die for their own emperor or dynasty. These heroes, which appeared in the tests frequently, included : Shi Ke-fa, an official in the Ming Dynasty, who died guarding Yianjou when Manchings¹⁷ soliders attacked the city; Wen Tien-yian, an official in the Southern Song Dynasty who was arrested by Mongolian¹⁸ soldiers; Wen Tien-yian, who rejected the offer to join the Yuan Dynasty, and was finally executed by the emperor of that Dynasty; and Chu Yuan, a poet, who committed suicide in the Milou River (The exams cite Chu-Yuan’s famous works, *Gou Shang* (“Lament for My Country”) and *Bu Ju* (“Divination”, a reflection upon how one could survive in this chaotic world). These figures mentioned represent the ideal model of traditional Chinese heroes. Chiang Kai-shek also is featured in the exams, expressing his

¹⁷ Manchings is the ethnic minority which started and established the Chin Dynasty.

¹⁸ Mongolian is another ethnic minority which started and established the Yuan Dynasty.

patriotism to the ROC. Additionally, some contents emphasized loyalty to the Nationalist Party. For example, in the test of 1959, one essay topic was “Knowledge is the Foundation of Securing a Society”, which was one of the slogans created by the Nationalist Party for all Taiwanese students to recite. Furthermore, the contents also honored the people who were sacrificed on the HunghuaGang (Yellow Flower Hill) revolution, in which the Ching Dynasty was overthrown by the Nationalist Party. Also included in an early exam was an essay, *Crying for the Ming Royal Family’s Mausoleum*, written by Yu Yiou-ren, a prominent member of the Nationalist Party; this essay confirmed his determination to overthrow the Ching Dynasty. In the tests of 1980, 1984, 1986, and 1990, the contents of the tests encouraged people, specifically teenagers, to love their country. In 1984, the test also mentioned Confucius’ *Ren* (humanity and kindheartedness), love, trust, and justice, traditional Chinese principles. In sum, these exam questions powerfully emphasize patriotism to the ROC, but do not pertain specifically to patriotism in relation to Taiwan.

Regarding the subcategory of other political themes, about 11 percent appeared in the 1950s and the 1960s, but the percentage decreased to about 2 percent in the 2000s. These political themes consist of three topics. The first discusses methods by which aristocrats maintained capable people to serve them, such as how Men Chang-chuen politely treated Fen Hsuan during the Warring States Period (475-221BC). The second topic is about the chaotic situation during the Tienbao period in the Tang Dynasty (AD 713-741) when there was much suffering and oppression. The third and final topic considers the civil wars occurring in different dynasties, such as the war between Liu Bang and Hsiang Yu in about the 200s BC. Again, these themes all pertain to ancient

Chinese history, and could be said to have the effect of connecting Taiwanese people to this history.

In addition, the exams also include illustrations of various military tactics used in wars, as well as the titles of kings or emperors, such as *Chen* (small) or *Bi Hsia* (under the stairs), titles which were used to suggest that kings and emperors should themselves be more humble than their subjects. In modern times, the tests mentioned Chiang Kai-shek's death and Chiang Chiang-kuo's election as the President of the ROC in 1986 by the National Assembly. Chian Chiang-kuo is also cited for his promotion of Sun Yat-sen's principles as a role model for political leaders. To sum up, more than 90 percent of the political themes were related to China rather than Taiwan.

In another pattern, which can be seen as subtly ignoring a strong Taiwanese theme, it is interesting to note that anti-communism only appeared in the exams of 1982, 1984, and 1986 at about 1.5 percent of the total questions. This anti-communist theme includes a comparison between the prosperity in Taiwan (because of adopting the *Three Principles of People*) and the poverty in mainland China under the rule of the Communist Party. It also includes the possibility of recovering mainland China from the enemy (the Communist Party), which is seen as having governed mainland China tyrannically. Additionally, Chen Bao-chung, who escaped from mainland China (the PRC), is cited once in the exams, representing the mainlanders' extreme disappointment with the Communist Party's rule.

The subcategory of morality was dominant, with nearly a quarter of the relevant questions in any exam in this category addressing this area. These citations dealt with individual discipline and covered topics such as self-control of one's temper, being

trustful, self-criticism and forgiveness of others, and humility (supported by the metaphor of being “humble as fully ripened grain bending its head”). Others included self-dignity, honesty, trustworthiness, being content with what one has, empathy, reasonable judgment, and honor. For example, Lien Hsiang-ru, a high official, avoided conflicts when another high official, Lian Pou, tried to challenge him. Frequently, the exams mention how a wise man should behave—in particularly emphasizing the importance of following reason and logic, following social rules and customs, and not admiring wealth and high position.

Exams in all but the last period featured writing prompts asking students to discuss moral issues: in 1968 one prompt addressed the principles of forgiveness and public morality; in 1978, another focused on a writing prompt which asked students to write about “the brightness of humanity and compassion”; in 1995, a topic was “honor and insult.”

It is not surprising that much of this moral advice is quoted from *Confucius’ Analects*. For example, Confucius says that a wise man should not be irritated by meeting a person who does not know that he is wise. In addition, the content of the exams include treating people sincerely, avoiding ostentatious vocabulary, and taking responsibility for and correcting one’s mistakes. Mencius also serves as a model in these items, as he emphasized courage, incorruptibility, diligence, being humble, being responsible, helping the poor, and generosity.

Historical role models of morality are offered in some exams: Chuge Liang as a model of caution, Ouliang Hsou representing courtesy, and Bao Chen for honesty. Tao Yuan-ming and Su Shi are included as demonstrating how to live and abide by one’s own principles and philosophies, even though they were not in a high political position.

Based on these values, students are encouraged to behave as a traditional Chinese sage. These values reinforce an ancient Chinese collective concept, a kind of conformity imbued in Chinese people from childhood, which allows a government to more easily rule its people. Furthermore, the contents of the exams seem to prepare the students for becoming high officials. Therefore, many speak of how a man in high political position should behave, or refer to *Ke-ju*, the traditional Chinese national exam system for high office, which supported the feudal ideology of its time.

Filial piety, seen as the foundation of all morality, appeared in each period from the 1950s to the 2000s. This concept includes taking care of parents carefully, not shaming parents through bad behaviors, being aware of parents' moods, and worshiping parents after their death. Additionally, the definition includes some items not directly related to one's elders, such as only hunting during appropriate seasons (cited from Confucius) and having loyalty to emperor or country. Figures illustrating filial piety tend to mix politics (or at least public presence) with family. These include Mu Lian, a girl of around the 3rd century AD, who took her father's place to go to war, and Li Mi (582-619 AD) who resigned his official position because he had to take care of his grandmother. Both the value itself, and the models offered, are Chinese, and in fact are ancient.

The theme of frugality, explained in the exam as not wasting money to buy that which is not needed, also relates to family, as is the case with Confucius, who inherited this virtue from his thrifty ancestor, Cheng Ka-fu. The concept of frugality included the idea that prosperity or success begins with thrift. The exam of 1997 features a passage on the Song Dynasty, which was reputedly destroyed because its people were too wasteful, with even the famers ostentatiously wearing silk shoes.

The topic of politeness, a central value in Taiwanese society, only appeared on the exams in the second period, and even then at less than 1 percent, with only one question in 1984. The content of this question discussed the courtesy of a traveler who returns home with gifts for his friends and family. This is surprising, considering how important this value is in modern Taiwanese culture.

In the subcategory of education, themes relating to knowledge of national literature (Chinese literature) and learning attitudes and teaching methods appeared over four periods. In the group of knowledge of national literature, the percentage of the total relevant questions represented in the first period was less than 4 percent but hovered at nearly 20 percent in the other three periods. In this subcategory (under knowledge of national literature) one finds reference to literary genres in different dynasties. For example, *Fu* (the form between poetry and prose), during the Han Dynasty, *Shi*, Chinese classical poetry, in the Tang Dynasty, *Ci*, a poetic form based on the tunes of popular songs, in the Song Dynasty, *Chu*, a form of verse, in the Yuan Dynasty, and novels in the Ming Dynasty. The knowledge of the most important authors included the lives and characteristic of the literary works of Li Bai, Du Fu, and Bai Chu-yi in the Tang Dynasty, and Su Shi in the Song Dynasty. Additionally, references were made to the writing of formal letters and the format of official documents, as well as to writing skills, rhetoric, and to specific idioms and phrases originally from classical Chinese literary works.

Themes relating to learning attitudes and teaching methods also appeared in different periods. The learning attitudes covered include concentration, perseverance, determination, diligence, and making progress. Teaching attitudes and methods focused on values expounded by Confucius: teaching anyone who wants to learn no matter how

poor or low his social position, adopting different teaching methods according to students' talents, and the requirements for being a teacher. Respect for teachers/elders began to appear in the second period at about 4 percent, but the number continued to drop in the next periods. For instance, in the exams of 1988 and 1993 Shi Ka-fa demonstrated how he respected his teacher. Although his teacher, Chuo Chong-yi, was incarcerated, Shi Ka-fa still made an effort to visit his teacher in prison. This subcategory of education emphasizes the importance of traditional Chinese literature and the teachers' role in a society. One important reason to emphasize the teacher's role is, again, traceable to Confucius, who was treated as "Chi Sheng Hsian Shi" (the Sacred Sage and Progressive Teacher). Confucius emphasized the importance of social hierarchy. In addition, his concept of teaching involved serving one's country and honoring one's king/emperor.

In the subcategory of ecology and environment, questions relating to environmental awareness never appeared in the Chinese tests. Scenery descriptions only appeared at less than 5 percent in any period. These descriptions include the lonely scenery of fall, the moon shining on the window or on the bed, the Great Bear constellation in the sky, butterflies and bees flying in the garden on a sunny day in spring, and the ripening rice grains on the farm. Although some of these scenery descriptions did not clearly represent any specific culture or country, some included key words which specified the place, such as the snowy scenery in northern China. In contrast, scenes suggesting Taiwanese culture referred to the night scene in the city, and the ripening rice grains on the farm. Although this category is small, overall, the percentages still favor China.

The subcategory of economy includes four groups: business, travel, industry

and science, and entertainment. The questions relating to business only appeared in 2002 and 2004. The businesses referred to include things having to do with how to run a seafood restaurant and a convenience store, which are both popular in Taiwan. The group of industry and science only appeared in 1994, 1986, 1988, 1997, and 2005. The items included the technique of photomontage in 1988, and three references in 1984: to electronic chicken (a handheld electronic game), which many teenagers were addicted to, the Darwin's theory of evolution, and to the importance of both high technology and cultural development.

In the subcategory of personal themes, personal emotions appeared in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s, rising from less than 3 percent in the first period to more than 15 percent in the 2000s. Topics involving personal emotions included the loss of a personal dream, the lament over getting old, and the feeling of falling in love with someone secretly. Positive feelings were also included in the exams. For example, the joy of travelling in beautiful landscapes and having breakfast on a Sunday morning. Some essay prompts were classified in this area as well, such as "I want to fly" and "My idols." The group of love for family and friends also appeared in each period but the percentage was lower than that of personal emotions. The group of love for family and friends also appeared in a poem, written by Bai Chu-yi, in which he expressed his feeling of missing his friend, Yuan Wei-chi. The group of love for family and friends included young women's laments over losing their husbands. The subcategory of personal themes might reflect Taiwanese society's move from collective thought, such as the love for a nation, to individual thinking and creativity.

The subcategory of "other", such as describing traditional beauty, is represented

in each period from the 1970s through the 2000s. These neutral items include essay prompts, such as “the light tower and candle fire” in 1980, and “describing the delicious food” in 2006. While these prompts invite test-takers to address values, they do not prompt them toward any particular values or theme.

Main points of the summary. There are eight main points in the summary.

1. Politics and morality were predominant in the culturally relevant themes/values in Chinese tests from the 1950s through the 2000s.
2. In the 1950s and 1960s, patriotism and discipline overrode the other subcategories, followed by a closely related third largest group, the methods of governing a country.
3. In the 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s, discipline and the themes related to learning attitudes and study played an important role in this category, with rates of over 25 percent in all periods.
4. In the 2000s the groups of discipline, the themes relating to learning attitudes and study, and personal emotion represented the three highest percentages.
5. In the subcategory of politics, patriotism decreased in the relevant percentage measure, from about 25 percent in the 1950s and the 1960s to about 4 percent in the 2000s. Other political themes also decreased from 11 percent in the 1950s and the 1960s to about 2 percent in the 2000s.
6. Themes relating to knowledge of national literature, learning attitudes and teaching methods appeared in each period. However, knowledge of national literature was more prominent (rising to about 20 percent in three periods)

than learning attitudes and teaching methods (which never reached 4 percent, and decreased to about 1 percent in the most recent period).

7. Several themes (anti-communism and politeness) appeared only in the 1970s and the 1980s; these themes never became prominent, as they remained below 5 percent of exam items in all periods. Environment awareness never appeared in any period.

8. Personal emotion increased overtime while love for family/friend decreased.

English tests. Table 13 represents an overview of the themes/values relating to politics, morality, education, ecology and environment, economy, and personal theme in the English tests.

Table 13

English Tests- Cultural Relevant Themes/Values, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=83)	(n=227)	(n=168)	(n=169)
Politics				
Govern a country	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0
Patriotism	0.2	0.6	0.0	1.3
Other political themes	2.6	3.9	2.3	5.5
Anti-communism	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Morality				
Discipline	13.4	15.0	5.8	9.6
Filial piety	3.9	4.5	5.5	2.4
Frugality	1.4	0.0	0.3	0.0
Politeness	3.0	5.1	2.6	0.0
Education				
Knowledge of English	19.3	4.5	5.5	2.2
Learning attitude and Teaching method	8.9	13.2	10.2	4.4
Respect for teachers/elders	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.4
Ecology/Environment				

Scenery description	4.5	7.8	3.2	2.7
Environment awareness	0.2	0.6	1.8	5.8
Economy				
Industry/Science	4.3	12.7	23.0	27.1
Business	10.3	11.4	11.1	12.1
Travel	3.2	2.4	7.0	3.3
Entertainment	8.4	5.7	6.1	13.2
Personal Themes				
Personal emotion	13.6	9.9	11.6	6.3
Love for family/friend	2.8	2.7	2.0	2.7
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note. n= the total number of questions in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

Summary of the results. As Table 13 shows, the group of “other” political themes represented about 3 percent of the questions in the four periods. These themes include the responsibility of the members of the United Nations, George Washington elected as the president of the USA in 1789, Abraham Lincoln living in the nineteenth century, a good system of education as the foundation of democracy, tolerance of different opinions in a democratic society, the problems of divorce, drug abuse, the discussion of nuclear weapons, and presidential speeches. These themes reflect various social and political problems. Many questions on the exams did not indicate which places/countries the events occurred in, but events in the USA represented the highest frequency compared with other countries, when identification was possible.

Patriotism appeared in three periods except in the 1990s, but at less than 2 percent in each period. Patriotism includes love and loyalty to one’s own country, such as questions on the story of Queen Victoria and her affection for England. Another example was protecting the nation’s symbol, such as an essay prompt entitled, “the national flag and I,” appearing in the exam of 1982. The group of governing a country included a public official’s resignation due to a political scandal, strengthening international

cooperation, and the way by which a tyrant governed his country. Anti-communism never appeared in any period from the 1950s through the 2000s. In this subcategory, all statements were very general, but most cases related to the USA or the United Kingdom if the items mentioned specific figures or countries.

In the subcategory of morality, discipline represented about 13 percent in the 1950s and the 1960s and decreased to about 6 percent in the 1990s and then increased again to about 10 percent in the 2000s. The disciplines appearing in the exams include the importance of punctuality in the USA, diligence, reputation, work ethic, cooperation, efficiency, trust, humility, intelligence, concentration, creativity, perseverance, patience, faithfulness, courage, kindness, bravery, determination, and enthusiasm. Other examples of morality included in the exams are honesty, for example, returning money to someone who lost it; compassion, as in donating money to those in need; generosity, or providing food and water to homeless people; and wisdom, such as the ability to know the difference between fact and opinion. Although this group did not directly make reference to specific cultures, the implication is that these disciplines are very important issues in the language tests, and are generally universal.

Filial piety also appeared at less than 5 percent in each period. The behaviors of filial piety include parent-teen relations, studying hard, passing exams, and being considerate of parents, such as visiting parents after leaving home. The English exams also emphasized that filial piety is a very important value in Asian American families because they believe it is one factor that helps people to succeed in the USA. A good example demonstrating this value on the exam was the story of Paul Ning, a Taiwanese American who moved with his family to the US to find success in higher education.

Although filial piety only represented a very low percentage, it should not be ignored, especially with respect to Asian societies.

Politeness only appeared at about 4 percent in the four periods. Polite behaviors included greeting and asking for help in a courteous way. They also include expressing thankfulness, turning down someone's offer politely, listening carefully when someone is talking to you, appreciating someone's nice photos, and not interrupting when people are discussing important matters.

The questions relating to frugality only appeared at 1 percent in the first and the third periods. In this, frugality only included turning off the light before sleeping, not wasting water, and buying something one needs versus buying what they want. In this subcategory, the group of discipline was emphasized more than others.

In the subcategory of education, the group relating to learning attitudes, study, and teaching decreased to 4 percent in the fourth period. The diverse contents in this group included the subjects of examinations, and passing or failing the college entrance exams. Additionally, this group included items about learning languages, such as mastering English, speaking French, the appropriate practice of speaking a non-accented English, and effective listening skills in English.

Regarding study and teaching, the themes included discussing homework with a classmate, relaxing after studying, failing to keep pace with the class, a teacher's comments on students' work, a student's complaint about his bad grades, assignments for students, professors' duties, and the important qualities of good teaching.

Regarding education in general, the ideas included education being the best alternative to poverty, sharing teaching and library sources in rural areas, the comparison

between Chinese students' study under pressure and that of Americans, and the purpose of studying hard, which is to become well educated.

The group, knowledge of English, including vocabulary of spelling, pronunciation, and grammar as well as English sayings and the origin of English words, appeared at about 20 percent in the 1950s and the 1960s, but dropped to about 2 percent in the 2000s. Most of the contents in this group represented the items of vocabulary, spelling, explanation and definition of words, and syntax. Some examples included *skip*, *attitude*, *similar*, *sugar*, *bought*, *lose*, *approve*, and *divide* which students were asked to define, explain, or spell. Additionally, English sayings, such as "Fire is a good servant but a bad master" was cited in the test of 1992.

Respect for teachers/elders only appeared in the 1990s and the 2000s at 1.3 percent and 1.4 percent, respectively. This group included honoring a teacher, Nancy Neumann, because of her eagerness for helping students to learn effectively by providing various multimedia (in the test of 2001); and appreciating a teacher who tried her best to help a student regain her confidence and make improved progress (in the test of 2002). This subcategory of education, generally speaking, seems not to indicate any particularly cultural reference. However, it is not surprising that these English exams would stress how to learn English well and the positive values of learning English. Interestingly, the comparison of the Chinese students' study pressure with that of the Americans was highlighted, which might imply that these two cultures, as opposed to other cultures, were both emphasized in the English tests.

In the subcategory of ecology/environment, scenery description appeared in each period at about 5 percent. The description includes the weather in spring (in the test

of 2000) in an anonymous poem, the sun making things warm, animals' survival in a storm, strange objects in the sky (UFOS), a thundershower in Kaohsiung city, the steep mountains in Mexico, and the Nazcan Line in Peru.

Environmental awareness also appeared in each period. Environmental awareness included the problem of pollution, the protection of water, trees, wildlife, rain forests and the ozone layer, recycling newspapers, and the global food crisis. This subcategory also did not directly refer to any specific culture, but it does fit in with how the Taiwanese have begun to feel more sensitively about living environments and the change of that society from concerns about consumption to those that involve conservation.

In the subcategory of economics, business represented about 10 percent of the questions in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s. The businesses involved included a company dealing with foreign markets, job interviewing, the sale and demonstration of appliances, complaints about products purchased, unsatisfactory service in a hotel, advertisements in the newspapers, pressure on business people, an experienced salesperson interacting with customers, and a company diversifying its products for customers. Additionally, an essay question asked students to make comments on TV commercials and advertisements (in the test of 2008). Various professional careers appearing in the tests included doctors, tailors, secretaries, dentists, barbers, bankers, and nurses. Specifically, some questions mentioned farming, such as the specific ways farming is done in Mexico. Furthermore, the questions included shopping experiences, using credit cards, the amount of plastic bags used in the United States, Japanese companies' preoccupation with over-packaging, and poor countries attracting western

tourists by emphasizing their rich cultural heritage, such as how Kenya exploits its wildlife and indigenous people.

Industry and science appeared in the 1950s and the 1960s at about 4 percent, and gradually increased to about 27 percent in the 2000s. The industry and science group included various themes: the procedure for making robots, piloting an airplane, the invention of windshield wipers on cars in the United States, the camera, the telephone, the internet, and the predecessors of all invention, imagination and curiosity. The questions also included the introduction of the International Mathematical Olympiad, GPS, cyberculture, and internet crime. Other scientific results included controlling the outbreak of avian influenza, the study of teenagers' reactions and behaviors in museums, heart disease and obesity in the United States, the comparison of male aggression and female nurturing, the characteristics and importance of fingerprints, the movement of waves and tides, and the development of the modern human from primitive man. Famous scientists were also mentioned in the exams, such as Benjamin Franklin and Albert Einstein. In this group, the exams emphasized how western concepts of science, mainly from the United States, have influenced the modern world.

The percentage of questions on entertainment was about 8 percent of this category in the 1950s and the 1960s and increased to about 13 percent in the 2000s. Questions on entertainment included attending parties, concerts, (Taiwanese) operas, baseball games; watching movies and television; listening to music; playing tennis; going to museums, spas, and beaches; taking photos; collecting stamps; painting; reading; and engaging in outdoor activities such as mountain climbing. This group emphasized how the Taiwanese enjoy life through various entertainments. This may be in line with social

change in Taiwan. Social values in Taiwan have changed from only focusing on work to finding the balance between work and leisure.

Travel represented about 4 percent of the questions in this category from the 1950s to the 2000s. The travel group included visiting Africa, Hong Kong, Washington state, Taipei, Taichung city, Japan, Mexico, Paris, Europe, and China. Items relating to travel included planning vacations, checking in at the airport, checking into a hotel, discussing jet lag, and taking the Taiwanese express train. In this subcategory of economy, it is notable that the proportion of each group in the English tests increased from the first period to the last period, which might reflect a phenomenon: as Taiwan's economy improved, Taiwanese culture and thinking became influenced by the western values of entertainment and travel. Traditionally, citizens of Taiwan were encouraged to save money instead of spending, but as western models of capitalism became more popular, Taiwan adapted to the change in trends.

In the subcategory of personal themes, personal emotions appeared at about 14 percent of the items in this category from the 1950s to the 1990s, but decreased to about 6 percent in the 2000s. The group of emotions included embarrassment, fear, love, sorrow, worry, hope, pressure, and feelings of freedom and happiness. Additionally, personal expression is included in the tests. For example, using time wisely, agreeing or arguing with someone's ideas, realizing someone's loss, displaying true sentiments, asking someone to turn off his or her radio, rejecting advice or a suggestion, satisfying one's desires, making comments on someone's actions or performance, and reflecting on a stage of maturation after recovering from anorexia nervosa. These personal feelings in relation to individualism are reflected in some essay prompts. For example, "Growing

up means making my own decision” appeared in 1995; “My favorite retreat,” in 2001. As Taiwanese culture is increasingly influenced by American culture, personal themes which can be interpreted as related to individualism should have increased proportionally in the later period, but in fact these decreased in percentage, especially in the 2000s.

With respect to love for family/friends, the percentage was about 3 percent in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s. Love included friendship and family love. Friendship included helping a friend find a house, the benefits of friendship as in redoubling joys and reducing grief, and making friends in Norway by presenting them with a simple gift like a cake or a loaf of bread. Lovers exchanging gifts on Valentine’s Day also appeared in the exam. Family love included a son and his parents travelling together and solving their problems, a mother’s love for her sons, such as a McDonald’s franchise owner’s mother who worried about her son’s business, and people missing parents when seeing their photos. Although the percentage of the personal love for friends or family was low, it was still higher than the love for country or nation in the English tests. Compared to the Chinese exams, the English tests are not as patriotism-orientated; instead, they are more individual-directed. This result is, perhaps, due to the differences in agenda between the Chinese and English exams. This finding will be concerned more in-depth in chapter 6.

Main Points of the Summary. There are seven main points in the summary.

1. In the 1950s and the 1960s the subcategories of economy and morality were predominant in the category of culturally relevant themes/values in the English tests. In the 1970s and the 1980s, the subcategories of morality,

economy, and education appeared more frequently than any other subcategories. The subcategory of economy was predominant in the 1990s and the 2000s.

2. In the subcategory of politics, only the group of other political themes appeared in all periods, but at an average percentage of only about 5 percent. Anti-communism never appeared in any of the periods.

3. In the subcategory of morality, only the groups of discipline and filial piety appeared in all periods, but the differences of the percentages between the two were large, with discipline being considerably larger than filial piety.

4. In the subcategory of education, respect for teachers/elders did not appear until the 1990s at less than 2 percent. Learning attitudes and teaching methods appeared in all periods. The average percentage from the 1950s to the 1990s was about 18 percent, but this decreased to 6.3 percent in the 2000s.

5. The subcategory of ecology/environment appeared in each period at less than 9 percent.

6. Under the subcategory of economy, the groups of industry and science increased from less than 4 percent in the 1950s to more than 25 percent in the 2000s. The group of business increased from less than 8 percent in the first period to 12 percent in the fourth period. The group of entertainment also increased from 6.7 percent in the first period to 13.2 percent in the last period. The group of travel had the lowest percentage in this category.

7. In the subcategory of personal themes, the two groups of personal emotion

and love for family and friends appeared in each period.

Coding System Category 5 – (Non)contemporary Events

This category is (non)contemporary events. The category reflects what the contents of the tests focused on in terms of current or older sociopolitical events.

Chinese tests. Table 14 represents an overview of (non)contemporary events in the Chinese tests.

Table 14

Chinese Tests- (Non)contemporary Events, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=83)	(n=227)	(n=168)	(n=169)
Non-contemporary	100.0	98.6	98.0	94.3
Contemporary	0.0	1.4	0.6	5.1
Unknown	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.6
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note. n= the total number of the questions in the Chinese tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

Summary of the results. Table 13 represents 100 percent in the subcategory of non-contemporary events in the first period. The percentage slightly decreased to 94.3 percent in the fourth period. Most of the non-contemporary events were excerpts from textbooks. The questions included asking the meaning of some specific characters, the authors of their literary writing, the meaning of phrases, Chinese idioms and knowledge of the national (traditional Chinese) literature. With respect to the meaning of specific Chinese characters, one of the questions was asking the meaning of *yien yiao* and *chien hsing* in the sentences of *re hsing [yien yiao]*, *shan yu [chien hsing]*, (“the Sun and the Moon were weakening their light, and the hills and mountains were hidden in the

shadow”), which appears in an essay, *Yue Yang Lou Ji* (the note about the building of Yue Yang), written by Oueyang Hsiou in the Song Dynasty. Regarding the meaning of phrases, the questions included *hsue re bai si ze wu, si re bai hsue ze dai* (“a person who studies without thinking frequently will feel confused while a person who only thinks without studying will feel difficult to make decision”). The questions relating to Chinese idioms included *han nu chung dong* (implying that someone has many books, fully occupying his house), *Kuo gung Hsia wu* (many mistakes in the ancient books), and *ching chu nai shu* (a person has committed too many crimes to be forgiven). Regarding the knowledge of national (traditional Chinese) literature, the questions included “what was the popular literary genre in the Tang Dynasty,” and “what was the characteristic of Tong Cheng Pai (one branch of prose in the Ching Dynasty).” Most of the questions in the subcategory of non-contemporary focused on traditional Chinese writing.

Contemporary events did not appear until the second period. The number of the percentage in each period from the second to the fourth period was less than 6 percent. The events included Chiang Ching-kuo being elected as president in 1984, mainlanders’ going back to their hometown in China after the decision of the Chinese Nationalist Party to allow Taiwanese to visit China in the 1980s, a popular Taiwanese *Pi-Li* (thunderbolt) puppet show on TV in 2004, and the world champion of the baseball game in 2006. The low percentage in this subcategory emphasized the importance of the contents of the high school textbooks. The subcategory of “unknown” only appeared in the 1990s and the 2000s at less than 2 percent. The contents in this subcategory were not identified as any (non)contemporary event.

Main points of the summary. There are two main points in the summary.

1. Non-contemporary events dominated the Chinese tests.
2. Contemporary events only appeared from the 1970s through the 2000s, but the percentage was as low as the subcategory of unknown, less than 6 percent.

English tests. Table 15 represents an overview of (non)contemporary Events in the English tests.

Table 15

English Tests- (Non)contemporary Events, in Percentages

Presidents	Chiang Kai-shek	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-huie	Chen Shui-bian
Years Periods	1950&60s 1 st period	1970s&80s 2 nd period	1990s 3 rd period	2000s 4 th period
Total Numbers	(n=494)	(n=333)	(n=344)	(n=365)
Non-contemporary	96.0	87.8	83.7	50.1
Contemporary	0.0	6.1	12.5	29.7
Unknown	4.0	6.1	3.8	20.2
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note. n= the total number of the questions in the English tests in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s.

Summary of the results. In Table 15, non-contemporary events represented more than 95 percent of the first period and decreased to about 50 percent in the fourth period. All questions in this subcategory related to words, spelling, phrases, and single sentences as well as some topics in the essay questions. The contents included *tramp*, *museum*, *insect*, *exposure*, *discipline*, *quitting smoking*, and *no one can put up with him*. Contemporary events did not appear until the second period at about 6 percent but increased to about 30 percent in the fourth period. The events included the drought in the Kaohsiung area in 1984, more and more younger people accepting American fast food

and soft drinks as main meals in the 1990s, Ang Lee's movie "*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*" in 2000, and environmental issues in the 2000s. Compared with the Chinese tests, the English tests contained more contemporary events. In the subcategory of unknown, the number of the percentage from the first period was less than 7 percent, but increased to about 20 percent in the fourth period. The subjects or events in this subcategory were not identified. For instance, the keen competition of an international tennis tournament, one event included a woman won the championship. Although the percentage of contemporary events in the English tests was only about 30 percent, it was still much higher than that in the Chinese tests.

Main points of the summary. There are three main points in this summary.

1. Non-contemporary events were predominant in the English tests, but in the 2000s the number of the percentage dropped to 50 percent.
2. Contemporary events did not appear until the second period, but the percentage gradually increased from the second to the fourth period.
3. The subcategory of "unknown" appeared in each period from the 1950s through the 2000s, and increased from 4 percent in the first period to about 20 percent in the fourth period.

Summary

This chapter describes the results of the data analysis. In total, there are five categories in this coding system. The first three categories, authors whose materials are chosen, reference to individuals from different cultures, and reference to places and cultural artifacts or cultural events, clearly indicate specific cultures. In the fourth category, culturally relevant themes/values, some subcategories also distinctly

represented some particular cultures, such as Confucianism (a Chinese belief system) in the Chinese tests. However, themes/values in some subcategories were more universal, such as the economy, which did not exactly indicate specific cultures. The pattern of these themes/values might partly reflect which themes/values had been changed in Taiwanese society from the 1950s to the 2000s and how these changes have reflected Taiwanese cultural awareness. The final category, (non)contemporary events, supported the concept of the cultural emphasis in Taiwanese society. Based on the results of the data coding, the next chapter discusses and interprets these results as well as answers the research questions.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

In the previous chapter, I cover the results of the coding and data analysis from the Chinese and English tests of the Joint College Entrance Examination. In this chapter, I will show how the results presented in Chapter 5 ultimately provided answers to my research questions. The information here is repeated from what was presented there. However, it is re-organized here in such a way as to show how the results relate to the research questions.

This chapter is divided into three different sections: the first will provide answers to the research questions and further discuss the data coding; the second will provide interpretive comments, and finally the last section will present some concluding remarks.

The basic goal of this research was to examine the cultural and sociopolitical contents of the Joint College Entrance Examination (JCEE) in the Chinese and English tests from 1954 to 2008. Ultimately, I hoped to arrive at an in-depth understanding of the way these exams function in reflecting or influencing Taiwanese cultural issues or values. Next, I will relate the patterns found to the research questions that guided the study.

Answering the Research Questions

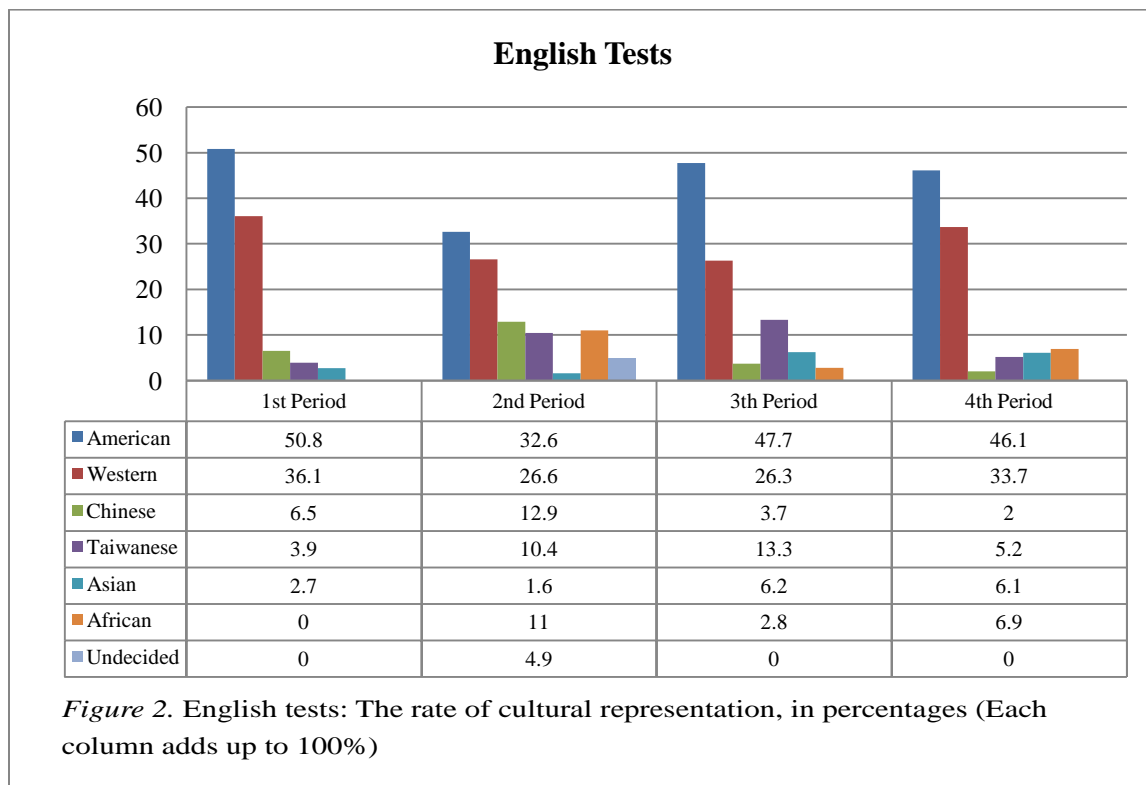
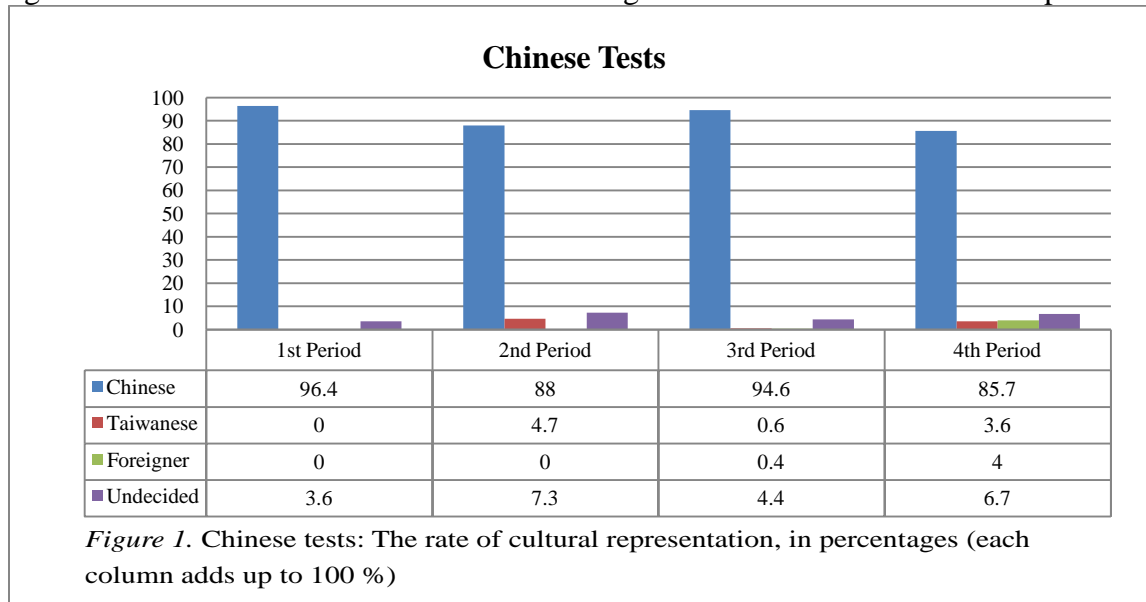
This section answers each research question through discussing the findings of data coding with figures and tables.

Research Question 1

What ethnic culture has been presented the most in terms of authors cited, individuals, places/artifacts/events within the texts over the years? How have

these choices changed, especially since 2000, when the Democratic Progressive Party claimed multicultural/multilingual consciousness in Taiwan?

By way of answering this question, I have arranged the data in figure 1 and figure 2 into a chart which illustrates the favoring of different cultures in various periods.



Based on figure 1, it is notable that Chinese culture was predominant over all

four periods in the Chinese tests, although the proportion decreased slightly by the last period, during which the emphasis upon cultural diversity increased slightly. According to figure 2, the English tests were dominated by American cultural references. American discourse elements outnumbered other western elements, even when other western areas were combined (the United Kingdom, France, Germany, South and Latin America, Canada, and Australia). Just as the dominance of Chinese discourse decreased marginally in the later periods, American discourse decreased slightly in the fourth period, when more diverse cultural components appeared in the English tests. In the last period, the slight increase in diversity in the Chinese tests represented only American and British cultures, plus a reference to one Bengali author, Rabindranath Tagore, who was affected by British culture. In this sense, western culture dominated the very small subcategory of foreign culture. Based on these patterns, one can conclude that multicultural awareness in Taiwan's society still has a long way to go. However, from an optimistic viewpoint, the data shows the beginnings of change in the exams.

Research Question 1: Further Discussion

As explained in Chapter 3, Chinese national identity, which the Chinese Nationalist Party imposed upon the Taiwanese people, was strongly reinforced during Chiang Kai-shek's time, or the first period. Chinese cultural dominance is also reflected in the JCEE for that period. Even though Chiang Ching-kuo began to limit the authoritarian nature of the government, Taiwanese multi-cultural representation in the second period was still very low. Although Lee Teng-hui initiated the New Taiwanese consciousness in the third period, this movement was not greatly reflected in the contents of the JCEE. Chen Shui-bian further encouraged Taiwanese nationalism to replace

Chinese nationalism in the last period; however, the proportion of Taiwanese cultural contents in the JCEE for this period was still extremely low, and Chinese culture continued to represent over 80 percent of the cultural references in the exams.

This overall pattern suggests that it is difficult to redefine cultural identity. As Hall (1996b) claims, “National culture constructs identities by producing meanings about ‘the nation’ with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which connect its present with its past” (p. 595). In other words, connecting the present with the past is what Bhabha (1990) proposes: one way to construct national identity is to use historical national narrative. Hanauer (2008) further interprets this concept: “[N]ational narratives allow the state access to and control of the individual psyche: the narrative defines both collective mission and the individuals’ role within this wider mission” (p. 201).

When individuals are involved in such a collective historical national narrative for so long, to the point that it becomes an ideology, it may be virtually impossible to effect change immediately or even rapidly. In Taiwan’s case, in order to emphasize Chinese ideology as Taiwanese, both the Chinese Nationalist party and the Chinese government are “overwhelmingly viewing identity as a primordial, univocal, and fixed given” (Corcuff, 2002, p. 243). The data from this study show not only a consistent Chinese narrative, but also a narrative that becomes all the more “univocal and fixed” in the way that it emphasizes ancient history. This can be seen as an effective way to link Taiwanese identity to its Chinese roots, rather than emphasizing the distance between current Taiwanese and Chinese cultures.

In fact, identity is dynamic and subject to change. As Corcuff (2002) pointed out, “[I]dentity is increasingly considered pluralistic, constructed, and evolutive” (p. 245).

Historical developments can construct a people's national identity, but also can reconstruct that identity. In Taiwan, for example, national identity is volatile due to the country's unique modern history and political formation. This concept of change as fundamental to history is derived from Foucault's (1972) claim that history itself is discontinuous rather than continuous, and the distance of space and time will create gaps and opportunities for change. The gaps and opportunities for change can result in interpreting old history from different perspectives.

Taiwan's dynamic national identity is rooted in the growing historical gaps between China and Taiwan. In contrast, the authors and individuals appearing in the Chinese texts are cited from ancient times and are connected with ancient ideologies. These citations and connections are typical of the strategies used by many scholars to argue that the Taiwanese are indistinguishable from the Chinese and that Taiwan is essentially a part of China. This approach, as applied to other countries, for example, would imply that Belgium should belong to the Netherlands, Switzerland to Germany, and the USA to the United Kingdom, because they speak the same language, share some cultural elements, and the first member of each pair derives historically from the second. However, Belgium, Switzerland and America have not only maintained their independence but developed their own national identity. Thus, they illustrate that the gaps between old and new histories can lead to successful redefinition of a country's identity and culture. It is possible then for the same to occur with Taiwan, as new Taiwanese culture and identity have already arisen from the gaps between Taiwan's and China's history.

Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) further define identity by observing that

“language maybe is not only markers of identity but also sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity or discrimination” (p.4). Based on this viewpoint, the emerging identity of a people is negotiable, and must include both traditional and new elements. A nation’s identity can be created and recreated throughout history. As each new social or cultural entity emerges, a new negotiation is set into motion. For example, a new national identity could appear in the Southern Sudan in the coming years, as it became independent from the Republic of Sudan via an independence referendum in January 2011 (Addario, 2011).

Of course, the requisite negotiation must respect the historical roots of any culture. In this case, Taiwanese identity and culture must consider Chinese culture as one of its cultural sources; however, Chinese culture can no longer be seen as the virtual equivalent of Taiwanese culture. Corcuff (2002) confirms this concept, saying that “Chinese culture is the main matrix of Taiwanese culture; however, it is not the only one...a new perception of Taiwanese identity does not necessarily mean negating or rejecting its Chinese roots” (p. 245). This viewpoint is comparable to the notion that Americans do not need to reject their roots from England, Italy, Ireland or other countries, when they confirm their identities as Americans. Americans can call themselves Irish-American or Italian- American. Taiwan is an immigrant society, as is the United States. Taiwanese can be proud of their Chinese roots, but do not need to accept the “old” Chinese ideology.

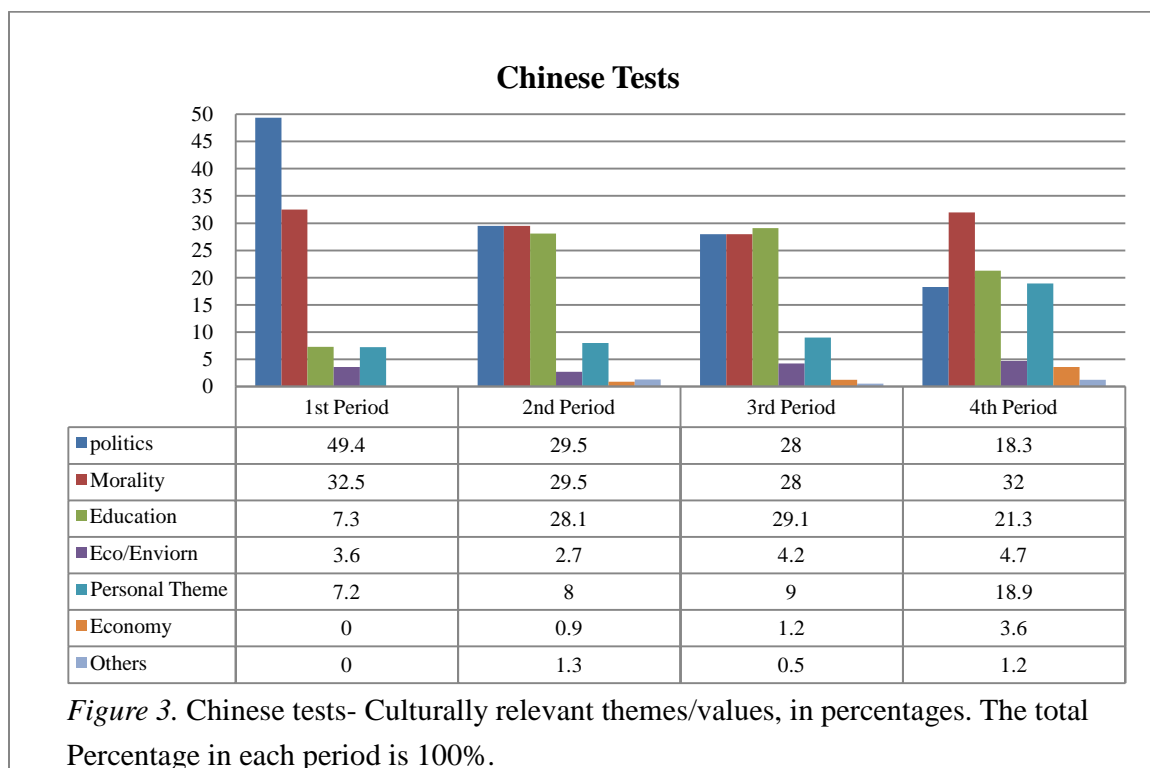
Chinese roots have been the underpinning of Taiwan’s culture, and have been integrated into Taiwan’s society, even as Taiwan has created another and separate discourse. As a democratic and multicultural society, Taiwan has been open to influences

from other cultures than the Chinese, and this openness has led to the carving out of a national identity quite distinct from the Chinese. This multicultural phenomenon should be represented in the national exams, such as the JCEE.

Research Question 2

What themes/values, and (non)contemporary events have appeared the most within the texts, and what changes have taken place over time in these? What themes/values, (non)contemporary events have become more common within the texts? What themes/values, (non)contemporary events have been discontinued or have appeared less frequently within the texts?

Figure 3, 4, and 5 visually depict the answers to these questions. Figure 3 and 4 represent the percentage of culturally relevant themes/values in the Chinese and the English tests. Figure 5 represents the (non) contemporary events in the Chinese and the English tests.



English Tests

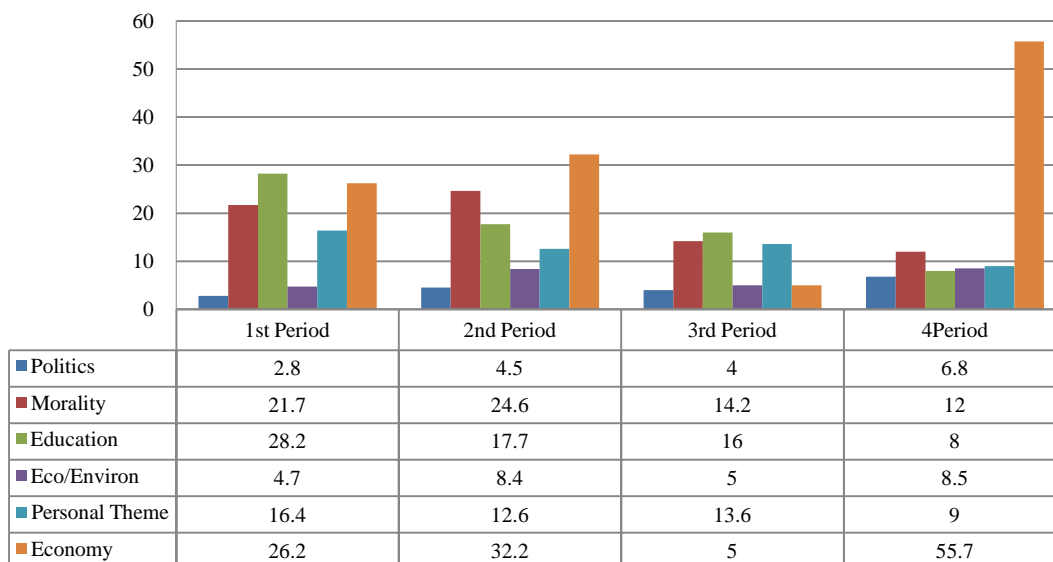


Figure 4. English tests-Culturally relevant themes/values, in percentages. The total percentage in each period is 100%.

Chinese/English Tests

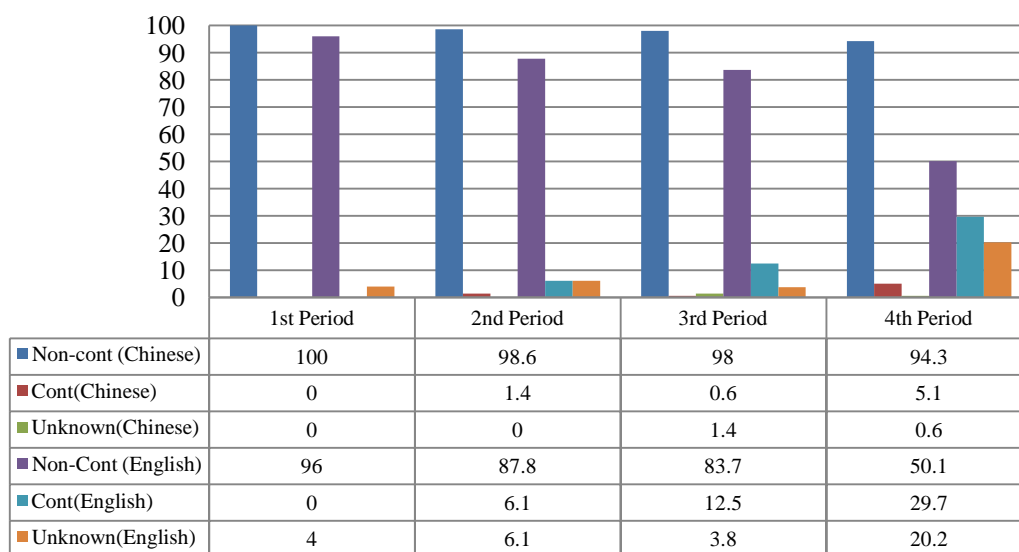


Figure 5. Chinese/English tests- (Non)contemporary events, in percentages. Non-cont= Noncontemporary, Cont=contemporary. Total percentage in each period in the English and the Chinese tests is 100%, respectively.

What emerges clearly in figures 3 and 4 is that the theme of politics gradually lost ground over time, while individualistic themes increased their presence somewhat in the Chinese test. The theme of morality appeared in similar proportions in the Chinese tests, but over time this theme decreased in the English tests. In contrast, economics in the English test played an important role, specifically in the fourth period, although the percentage was very low in the third period. This drastic change might reflect the importance of the economic trials experienced by the world since 2000.

Figure 5 shows a shift towards the coverage of contemporary events in the English exam, a development that does not show up in the Chinese exam. Read in terms of culture, this illustrates that traditional Chinese culture continues to be dominant in the Chinese exam, because the preponderance of non-contemporary events on this exam reflect traditional Chinese writing. In contrast, modern American culture has strongly influenced the makeup of the English exam, leading to relatively more frequent exploration of current events.

Research Question 2: Further Discussion

In the Chinese and the English tests, the subcategory of themes/values appearing in four periods can be seen as reflecting the gradual evolution in Taiwan's socio-political situation and economic needs. Specifically, the increase of attention paid to the economy in the English exams might have a political purpose. In other words, encouraging economic development can serve to maintain political leaders' power. If politicians focus on economic development, it might distract common people's attention from other issues, such as personal freedoms, interests and rights. In his article, "Singapore's Political Economy," Chong (2007) argues that this has occurred in

Singapore. Chong speaks of Singapore's "institutionalized obsession with economic growth as the prime driver of domestic stability and external appeal." Commenting on the link between this economic focus and political control, he continues,

Ideological faith in liberal economics is necessarily filtered through the non-negotiable political baseline of national sustenance...Democratization was not encouraged along the lines of liberal middle class theory. (pp. 953-954)

In Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek also implemented a similar strategy, which could be interpreted as an attempt to control the Taiwanese people. Roy (2003) observes, "The KMT realized economic development would bolster its legitimacy with the Taiwanese...Prosperity in Taiwan would improve the KMT's standing in the eyes of both its Taiwan audience and observers on the mainland" (p. 97). Taiwan's "economic miracle" was built primarily on impressing these two audiences. Under Chiang Ching-kuo's rule, Taiwan's economy became modernized by the late 1980s, with emphasis on knowledge-oriented, as opposed to labor-oriented, capitalism, and the emergence of a newly-formed middle class. Ironically, economic development in Taiwan acted as a double-edged sword. Initially, the KMT intended to distract people from a focus on politics; but as their life-style improved, more and more educated people were dissatisfied with their current political rights. Instead, they desired more political freedom. As Franks, Boestel, and Kim (2002) point out,

The increasing maturity of the economy was producing political effects. The expanding native Taiwanese business class could no longer be ignored in the making of economic policy, and rising levels of income and education within the population led to growing demands for greater popular participation in the

political system. (p. 191)

In addition to strengthening the Chinese Nationalist Party's political power, the KMT, which fled to Taiwan in 1949, wanted to build Taiwan as a political and economic model for mainland China. As their success at this led to greater political freedom, Taiwanese people also began to raise awareness of their own national identity and native cultures. The English tests, in their tendency to pay more attention to economy than other subcategories, basically reflect these developments in Taiwan. However, a similar reflection does not show up in the Chinese exams.

In the Chinese tests, political issues declined 30 percent while personal themes increased 10 percent from Chiang Kai-shek's period to Chen Shui-bian's period. The contents of the Chinese tests, in the area of politics, emphasized strong Chinese national identity and ideology; in contrast, the personal themes emphasized individual choice. This change can be seen as reflecting the idea that the Taiwanese have become more aware over time of their own rights or the exercise of free will. This personal expression was to be found often in the essay prompts. This pattern reflects the increased tendency toward individualism in Taiwan, as it emphasizes personal motives over collective ones in explaining people's behavior. This pattern helps accentuate the concept of multiculturalism in Taiwan, given that multiculturalism devalues unity, credits differences, and appreciates multiplicity (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997).

Smith and Hume (2005) also support this idea in a study of the ethical values of accountants from six countries that represented a range of scores on a well-known measure of individualism versus collectivism. They found that "accountants of individualistic societies are more likely to adhere to personal principles even if the results

are detrimental to the organization. Accountants of collectivistic societies are more likely to subordinate individual values for those that benefit their organization” (p. 217).

The idea of taking action based on personal free will instead of collective values began to sprout in the 2000s in Taiwan, as a result of individualism and the growing capitalistic economy. This has continued with a growing trend toward accepting and tolerating cultural differences. However, with themes like “moral education” and “moral training” still embedded in especially the Chinese national exams, these goals of acceptance and tolerance may be more difficult to attain, particularly if these moral themes are linked to the acceptance of a greater sociopolitical unanimity.

In both the Chinese and the English tests, morality plays the same important role in all four periods. This can be seen as one of the best strategies for the KMT or the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party in Taiwan) to stabilize society and control the country by reinforcing the sense of morality. Dewey (1966) declared that under nationalism, education becomes a tool to control the people. He continued:

All culture begins with private men and spreads outward from them. Simply through the efforts of persons of enlarged inclinations, who are capable of grasping the ideal of a future better condition, is the gradual approximation of human nature to its end possible...Rulers are simply interested in such training as will make their subjects better tools for their own intentions. (p. 95)

Dewey points out that morality is one of first subjects to be focused on in education. He commented: “Discipline, natural development, culture, and societal efficiency, are moral traits-marks of a person who is a worthy member of that society which it is the business of education to further” (p.359). Based on this statement, for Dewey, the most effective

way to reach moral training is through school education. When this “knowledge” of discipline is defined by the textbooks and recited by the students as well as further emphasized on the tests and sometimes accompanied by punishment for the “wrong” answers, this moral training is likely to work. A similar concept is also supported by Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish* (1972). Additionally, the business world often depends upon morality to solidify the foundation of business and economy, thus furthering the control of society through moral training and education.

During Chiang Kai-shek’s period (1950s and 60s) only seven percent of the questions on the Chinese exams referred to education. But, in the last three periods, the number of questions regarding education increased and played an equally important role in the exams. For Chiang Kai-shek, controlling political power meant controlling the educational system. This was also related to political and social control. In Chiang Kai-shek’s period, common people did not have any “right” to be involved in any educational policy, hence the small percentage of educational questions in the first period of the Chinese exam. This absolute control over education is a characteristic of authoritarianism; as Chiu (1997) emphasized in her dissertation, Chiang Kai-shek even had the power to decide the agenda of the JCEE.

Based on global trade, learning foreign languages, specifically English, plays one of the most important roles in business and economics. This is reflected in the English exams, which show a decline in the subcategories of morality, education, and personal themes from the first to the fourth periods, while a consistent rise is apparent in themes related to economy and ecology/environment. Based on this result, one might speculate that, in Chen Shui-bian’s period (2000s), emphasizing the economical

improvement of Taiwan may have served as a weapon to reinforce his political power. However, during his period, the economical situation in Taiwan gradually declined; this could be the reason why the importance of the economical situation grew in the English tests. Improving the economy to compete with mainland China, whose economy was growing swiftly, was Chen's priority; and these can be seen as linked to the desire to reinforce his political power and further Taiwanese nationalism. It is also notable that during this period the Taiwanese began to become more aware of their living environment. Due to the *bentuhua* (indigenization) movement in the 1990s (Makeham, 2005), the Taiwanese paid more attention to their land, instead of thinking about the far-away and imagined "dream land" of mainland China; as a result, they began to support initiatives that would protect the island where they were living. The rising percentage of environmental awareness in the 2000s is closely linked with Taiwanese "native" consciousness which began to rise in the 1980s (Hsiao, 1999).

The relatively small number of references to current or contemporary events in the Chinese exams suggests that the contents of the Chinese exams have been slower to reflect sociopolitical changes than is the case for the English tests. The English tests seem to have reflected the changes in Taiwan's society more directly than the Chinese tests, in that the English tests refer more often to contemporary events. This conservative trend in the Chinese exams may have contributed to the continued strength of Chinese ideology in Taiwan's society. It may even be that the real political power remained in the hands of the Chinese Nationalist Party, even though the Democratic Progressive Party held the presidency temporarily during the 2000s.

It is not surprising to see this pattern in the Chinese exams, when one compares

the exam contents with the readings that appear in textbooks. Some recent research has shown that the percentage of traditional Chinese writing appearing in secondary school Chinese textbooks is still very high (Kuan, 2004; Lee, 2007). Thus, one could claim that the contents of the exams and the textbooks together represent a kind of invisible political power that still heavily controls Taiwan's sociopolitical life in the 2000s.

Research Question 3

How do the patterns found in the answers to questions 1-2 reflect cultural references to ethnic and social groups? What patterns have appeared during the tenure of four different political leaders from 1954 to 2008?

The most important part of this question's answer emerges naturally from the responses to the first two questions. It is interesting to note, however, the patterns of change over time.

Table 16 shows the continuous and discontinuous patterns, as well as noting some cultures which never appeared in each set of exams. Table 17 represents the patterns in both Chinese and English tests.

Table 16

The Continuous, Discontinuous and Absent Patterns in the Chinese and English Tests

	Continuous	discontinuous	never appeared
Authors (Chinese Tests)	Chinese	Foreigner/Aborigine/ Hoklo	Hakka
Individuals (Chinese Tests)	Chinese	Hoklo/Foreigner	Hakka
Individuals (English Tests)	American/European	British/Latin American/Chinese/ African/Taiwanese/ Australia	N/A

Cultural Artifacts/ cultural events (Chinese Tests)	Chinese	Taiwanese/Western/ Asian	African
Cultural Artifacts/ cultural events (English Tests)	American/Europe/ Taiwanese/Chinese/ Asian	Western/African	N/A
Cultural Artifacts/ cultural events (Chinese Tests)	Place/Country/Nature/ Belief System/Book	Food/ Holiday/Festival	Art
Cultural Artifacts/ cultural events (English Tests)	Place/Country/Nature/ Belief System	Book/Food/Art/ Holiday/Festival	N/A
Themes/values (Chinese Tests)	Politics/Morality/ Education/ Ecology/Environment/ Personal theme	Economy/ Others	N/A
Themes/values (English Tests)	Politics/Morality/ Education/ Ecology/Environment/ Personal theme/ Economy	N/A	Others
(Non)contemporary events (Chinese Tests)	Non-contemporary Events	Contemporary Events	N/A
(Non)contemporary events(English Tests)	Non-ontemporary Events	Contemporary events	N/A

As Table 16 shows, in the category of authors and individuals, Chinese culture is continuously represented in the Chinese tests from the 1950s to the 2000s. Discontinuous cultures, sporadically or unevenly referred to include foreigners, aborigines, and Hoklo, while the Hakka never appeared. Chinese discourse has been the dominant trend, reflecting an emphasis on Taiwan's history rather than its current diverse society. In the subcategory of places/cultural artifacts/cultural events, Chinese culture also appeared continuously in the exams. Taiwanese, western, and other Asian cultures appeared again sporadically and infrequently. African culture never appeared in the

Chinese tests.

In these two categories (reference to individuals and to places/cultural artifacts/events), the English tests show a different picture, compared with the Chinese tests. In the subcategory of reference to individuals, American and European (excluding the United Kingdom) cultures were continuously present in the English tests. However, reference to the British, Latin American, Chinese, Taiwanese, Australian, and African cultures were discontinuous. Based on this result, it can be concluded that the English tests emphasized the importance of American and European cultures over that of any other cultures. Interestingly, some countries whose language is English, such as the United Kingdom and Canada, only appeared intermittently in the English tests. Taiwanese culture and even Chinese culture also appeared, though seldom, in the English tests.

In the subcategory of cultural artifacts/events, the English tests represented more diversity than the Chinese tests. The cultures of the United States, Europe, Taiwan, China, and other Asian countries were represented in all periods. Although African culture was discontinuously represented, it was at least present in the English tests.

The subcategories of place/country, nature, and belief systems appeared consistently in both Chinese and English tests. Compared with the English tests, the subcategory of art never appeared in the Chinese tests. Based on this result, place/country, nature, and belief systems were the obvious indicators of cultural representation in the Chinese and English exams. The Chinese tests did not pay any attention to art. The reason for this may be as Chu (2011) states that in Taiwanese society art education and appreciation was not as valued as it was in western cultures.

In the category of themes/values, the subcategories of politics, morality, personal themes, education, and ecology/environment were continuously present in both the English and the Chinese tests. However, economic themes appeared irregularly in the Chinese tests, while it was continuously present in the English ones. This result bolsters the main idea mentioned previously, i.e. that English has been treated as a major tool of communication in global trade. In contrast, Chinese language and culture seem more connected with issues of moral training, and the contents of the Chinese exams subtly worked to equate Taiwanese identity with Chinese identity.

Reference to older traditional (non-contemporary) events appeared in all periods in both the English and Chinese tests. In contrast, contemporary events were not consistently referenced in either exam series. Both the English and Chinese tests began to display current events only in later periods. However, as discussed earlier in this chapter, there was a marked difference, with the English treatment of contemporary events being more numerous and more diverse than the Chinese.

Table 17 represents the patterns of increasing and decreasing trends in the various categories.

Table 17

The Patterns of Increasing and Decreasing Trends in the Chinese and English Tests

	Increased	Decreased
Authors (Chinese Tests)	Aborigine/ Hoklo/Foreigner	Chinese
Individuals (Chinese Tests)	Hoklo	Chinese
Individuals (English Tests)	British/Taiwanese/ Australian	American/European/ Latin American/Chinese/ African/Asian

Cultural Artifacts/ cultural events (Chinese Tests)	Asian	Chinese/Taiwanese/ Western
Cultural Artifacts/ cultural events (English Tests)	British/Taiwanese	American/Western/ Chinese/Asian/ African
Cultural Artifacts/ cultural events (Chinese Tests)	Place/Country/ Book/Food/ Holiday/Festival	Nature/Belief Sytem/
Cultural Artifacts/ cultural events (English Tests)	Book/Art/ Holiday/Festival	Place/Country/Nature/ Food/ Belief System
Themes/values (Chinese Tests)	Ecology/Environment/ Personal theme/Economy	Plitics/Morarity/ Eudcation
Themes/values (English Tests)	Economy/ Ecology/Environemnt/ Politics	Morality/Education/ Personal theme
(Non)contempara -ry events(Chiese Tests)	Contemporary Events	Non-contemporary events
(Non)contempara -ry events (English Tests)	Contemporary Events	Non-contemporary events

It is notable that in the categories of authors and cultural reference to individuals, the categories of aborigine, Hoklo and foreigner increased in the Chinese tests, while works by Chinese decreased in the Chinese exams. While this reflected the socio-political changes in Taiwan over the five decades, it did so only marginally, as the changes in question were so small. In the category of reference to individuals, the presence of British, Taiwanese, and Australian cultures increased in the Chinese tests, while in the English tests, American, European, Latin American, Chinese, African, and Asian cultures decreased. As in other categories, this situation shows more variety in the English than in the Chinese tests. References to ideology in the Chinese tests were more homogeneous, while the English tests represented more fluctuation.

In the category of cultural reference to places, cultural artifacts and events, representation of Asian culture increased in the Chinese tests; additionally, British and Taiwanese cultures also increased in the English tests. This could be interpreted as a reflection of more attention being paid to Asian culture, specifically Southeast Asia, during a time when more and more Taiwanese men intermarried with the Southeast Asian women. However, the English tests focused more on British and Taiwanese culture. This is very interesting because the English tests displayed a balance between American and British cultures in this category, unlike the pattern for some categories discussed earlier. Also, the English tests paid more attention to Taiwanese culture, although these test items were rather general in nature, and did not mention specific ethnic groups such as the Hoklo and the Hakka.

Additionally, both subcategories of publications and holidays/festivals increased in both the Chinese and English tests. This might be interpreted in terms of a growing awareness of the diverse types of reading available to young people in Taiwan. With respect to holidays and festivals, the test makers may have come to realize that there were significant cultural connotations associated with these days. In both cases, these movements represent an incipient acknowledgment of changes in Taiwanese culture. However again, the changes are at this point still quite minimal.

The subcategories of nature and belief systems decreased in both the Chinese and the English tests. In the Chinese test, the percentage of themes concerning landscape and scenery, formerly strongly associated with predominantly Chinese geography, also apparently dropped. A similar reasoning might apply to the subcategory of belief systems in the Chinese tests; that is, the earlier emphasis on belief systems was associated heavily

with traditional Chinese values, and this emphasis decreased slightly over time. As suggested in Chapter 3, Confucianism was employed by the Chinese Nationalist Party to impose Chinese national ideology upon the Taiwanese. The Democratic Progressive Party, in contrast, slowly decreased the emphasis upon Confucianism; this trend does seem to be mildly reflected in the exam contents.

The subcategory of nature in the English tests cannot be read in terms of cultural representation because the percentage of items is comparatively low for this thematic area. In fact, these few references, which mainly described American landscapes, decreased even more in the 1990s and 2000s. It is also not surprising that the subcategory of belief systems in the English tests decreased, because the main belief system appearing in the English exam was Christianity. The population of Christians in Taiwan is not as large as that for other belief systems, such as Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. Thus, one might say that this decrease in the presence of Christianity reflects the fact that there was an overall decrease in reference to American culture on the English tests in the later periods.

In the category of themes/values, the subcategory of economy and ecology/environment increased in the English and the Chinese tests. Possibly reflecting Taiwan's socio-political changes, specifically in the 1990s and the 2000s, awareness of environmental problems also began to increase. Regarding the subcategory of economy, the contents of the English tests had a greater emphasis on economic development than those of the Chinese tests. This result reflects the different approaches to business and economy between the two cultures (Chinese and American) whose presence is dominant in the two exams.

The subcategories of education and morality decreased in both the English and the Chinese tests. As far as content, the subcategory of education in the English tests emphasized the importance of learning English well, while the corresponding Chinese exam references showed no corresponding emphasis on Chinese language. Generally, in the later periods, as the government became more attuned to the individual and to free will, it was to be expected that these subcategories would decrease in both the English and Chinese exams. Once again, these trends are a mild indication of changes in Taiwanese society.

In the category of events, contemporary events increased in both the Chinese and the English tests. In contrast, reference to non-contemporary events decreased. This change perhaps implies that the test-makers recognized the growing importance of current events in modern society, in spite of the fact that many school textbooks predominantly still offer readings on traditional events. This change may also reflect the changing agendas of the government to reform education in the 1990s and the 2000s. Despite the optimistic direction of this change, test-makers still continue to apply traditional Chinese writing and idioms to these current events, consequently perpetuating the attachment of Taiwan to Chinese national identity in a subtle way through the use of language.

Research Question 3: Further Discussion

Based on Table 16, some cultures, such as the African culture, never appeared in the Chinese tests. It is not too surprising that Taiwanese media and institutions did not pay much attention to Africa. For Taiwanese, the so-call foreign cultures only included such “developed” countries as the United States, parts of Europe such as England, France,

and Germany, and parts of Asia, such as Japan. As Chen (2005) mentioned, “Taiwanese international outlook is extremely limited and only focuses on some specific areas” (¶, 3). In this sense, cultural hegemony not only affects Taiwanese ideology but also influences the way Taiwanese evaluate the cultures in the world. Focusing on and paying attention to the knowledge of specific countries and cultures seems to be one of the agendas of the language tests in the JCEE.

An ethnic group in Taiwan, the Hakka, also never appeared in the Chinese tests, although its population is larger than that of the Taiwanese aborigines and the Chinese mainlanders. This situation might represent the unbalanced cultural focus in Taiwan. As Sun (2000) states, “the Hakka, often categorized as one ethnic group of Han-Chinese, had been submerged in an invisible history in Taiwan due to the tension among long-term colonialism, authoritarianism, and ethnic conflicts” (p. 145). Thus, the Hakka and African cultures were suppressed under cultural hegemony. The Hakka were under the Chinese cultural hegemony and struggling within the much larger population of the Hoklo in Taiwan, while African culture was ignored due to the strong Western cultural hegemony. It should become a goal for the Taiwanese to recognize minority cultures or “third world” countries and further understand and distinguish their differences if the Taiwanese really want to become global citizens.

Another issue that should be noted is that only the subcategories of economy, and art did not appear in the four periods in the Chinese tests. However, the subcategory of economy plays a very important role in the English tests while art also received some attention there. Shih (2003) states that Taiwan is a small island without nation-status, with a history of multiple colonialisms, and living in the threatening shadow of a rising super

power. In this sense, how does Taiwan adapt itself to survive in the world of competition and globalization? Improving its economy and changing its traditionally industrial direction to become an innovation-oriented country might be its first priority. Thus, imagination, which is integral to art and innovation, and vital in industrial business, should be encouraged and emphasized by the government. The Chinese tests completely ignored these issues, although the English tests paid more attention to them in the later periods. Again, this situation represented the different goals of the two tests. In the next section on the fourth research question, this issue will be further explored.

Research Question 4

How have the English and Chinese tests in the exam reflected historical/sociopolitical context of Taiwan within the last four decades under the different presidencies? To what extent and in what ways can the language of the exams over time be seen as implying inequality between different cultural groups? Which group or groups seem to be favored, and which disfavored, in this respect?

In order to answer this question, Foucault's (1972) concept of discourse can be used to shed light upon the research results. Foucault states that discourse is a group of statements which use different components to create an ideology. The following elements constructed various discourses, which represent different cultures. Figure 6 and figure 7 generally summarize the pictures of various discourses appearing in the Chinese and the English tests¹⁹.

Figure 6 represents the hierarchy of various discourses that appeared in the Chinese tests.

¹⁹ The detailed information of various discourses is shown in Appendix G.



Figure 6. Various discourses appearing in the Chinese tests.

Figure 6 displays the hierarchy of discourse in the Chinese tests. Chinese discourse was predominant in the Chinese tests. Taiwanese discourse was the second largest group followed closely by western discourse, which combines European and American discourses. Asian discourses, such as from Japan, the Philippines, and Thailand are also included in the Chinese tests. Based on this hierarchy, it is obvious that no other discourses can compete with the Chinese discourse.

Figure 7 represents various discourses in the English tests.



Figure 7. Various discourses appearing in the English tests.

Based on figure 7, American discourse is at the center of the English tests. The second largest group is western discourse, which includes the European, South and Latin American, Australian, and Canadian discourses. The next largest group is the Taiwanese discourse, which is similar to the Chinese discourse. The next smallest one is the African discourse, and finally the smallest group is the Asian discourse.

Research Question 4: Further Discussion

In order to further discuss the answer to question 4, I will interpret how the findings might reflect Taiwan's socio-political context during the four different presidencies and its association with the five stages of the JCEE.

Chiang Kai-shek (1950s& 60s) -- Chinese discourse vs. American discourse.

Based on the results of the data coding, figure 6 represents that the Chinese discourse was at the top of the pyramid of all the discourses appearing in the Chinese tests. Although the percentage of Taiwan's population for Chinese mainlanders is only about 13 % (CIA, 2011), the Chinese discourse was predominant in the tests. The Hoklo representation of Taiwan's population is 70%; the Hakka, 15 %, and indigenous groups, 2% (CIA, 2011), but all these groups combined (the Hoklo, the Hakka, and the 14 indigenous groups) displayed only a very low percentage. Taiwanese discourse was completely marginalized in the Chinese tests, while foreign discourses, such as American, European, and Asian discourse, were also ignored altogether.

During Chiang Kai-shek's period, the government implemented a policy of promoting Mandarin Chinese as Taiwan's national language. As a result, Chinese literature even became a so-called *guo-wen* (National Literature), and the knowledge of Chinese literature became *guo-hsu-chang-shi* (the Knowledge of National Literature). Additionally, in 1966, the Chinese Nationalist Party initiated the Chinese Cultural Renaissance to promote Chinese culture in Taiwan. Therefore, Chinese discourse had a very strong voice in Taiwan during this period. This was an effective method to reinforce the importance of the Chinese language, literature, and culture as a tool to initiate a historical narrative for constructing Taiwanese national identity as Chinese identity. As mentioned by Anderson (2006), "the notion of 'official nationalism,' ... states that compulsory state-controlled primary education and official history are imposed by the government on their nationals" (p. 35). This is also as what Tu (1996) observed in connection with Taiwan, "they [Taiwanese students] may be able to recite the names of

all the major dynasties in Chinese history, but they have little knowledge about the tradition and modern transformation of Taiwan” (p. 1134). Many ancient Chinese authors and figures frequently appeared in the Chinese exams, as shown in the list of Chinese discourse references in Appendix G. Taiwanese students can recite Chinese poetry at an early age and are familiar with Chinese literary genres, but rarely do they know Taiwanese authors and their literary works.

Discourse references appearing in the English tests, based on figure 7, showed more diversity than the Chinese tests; however, American discourse is still dominant. This situation reflects Taiwan’s relations with the United States, because the United States began to aid Taiwan in order to counter Communism in 1959. This could explain why American culture played a more important role in the exams than other English-speaking countries, such as the United Kingdom or New Zealand.

This American centered ideology has also affected Taiwanese students’ choices of the countries where they could study. During this period a phrase was popular with Taiwanese elite students. This phrase is “Lai, lai, lai, lai Taidai, Chi, chi, chi, chi Meguo” (Come, come, come, come to the National Taiwan University, go, go, go, go to the United States). This is what Yang (2008) and Wu (2009) observed, that the primary goal of elite students, who were capable of passing the JCEE and entering the most prestigious universities in Taiwan, was to go to the United States, their “imagined homeland,” after they graduated from their universities. The United States, not Taiwan, was their homeland or dream shelter. This idea resulted from the pro-American cultural content appearing in the English tests. Furthermore, American economic aid also influenced language policy, because it promoted English as the only foreign language for students to learn. This

foreign language policy influenced many Taiwanese to assume that English was the only language spoken outside of Taiwan, and the so-called “standard English” indicated that American English was preferred to other “Englishes,” such as British, Canadian, or Australian English. One effect of this ideology is that all whites in Taiwan were called “American,” and thought only to speak “Americanish.”

The dominant cultural phenomenon, as reflected in the contents of both the Chinese and the English tests, was very consistent in the first stage of the JCEE due to political concerns. During Chiang Kai-shek’s period, the decisions that he made concerning political ideology had a powerful effect upon the contents of the JCEE.

Chiang Ching-kuo (1970s & 80s) -- Chinese tests: the Taiwanese strawberries on the cake; English tests: the American-centered contents. During this period, as discussed in Chapter 3, Taiwan’s political situation evolved into the period of soft authoritarianism. Chiang Ching-kuo began to appoint some Taiwanese-born elites, such as Lee Teng-hui, as higher political officials, and further adopted a policy of “localization of politics” (Roy, 2003). Taiwan’s economy also became knowledge-intensive capitalism. This political and economic change also influenced educational and language policy; as a result, cultural and political consciousness of “Taiwanese language” began to rise. Optimistically, the contents of the JCEE should have reflected these changes as well. However, the reality did not fit into this assumption.

During this period, Chinese discourse was still predominant in the Chinese tests. However, some changes did take place. Taiwanese discourse items began to appear, although the percentage was very low. Even so, it should be noticed that the only Taiwanese author appearing in the Chinese tests still had a very strong connection to

China, because this author, Lian Heng, and the individuals appearing in his literary work, were officials in the Ching Dynasty. Although his ancestors, the Hoklo, immigrated to Taiwan many generations before he was born, he still defined himself as Chinese. The political status of this Taiwanese author, Lian Heng, was controversial, but the Chinese Nationalist Party categorized him as Chinese. It was a strategic and persuasive move to make the Taiwanese believe that they are Chinese by using this author's controversial and ambiguous identity. It is easy to understand this argument. He was born in Taiwan in 1878 during the Ching Dynasty. At that time, Taiwan was politically and technically, a part of China. The Ching Dynasty ruled China and Taiwan; so, the authorities reasoned Lian Heng was Chinese. And by extension, all Taiwanese are Chinese. This might explain why he appeared in the Chinese tests very frequently from the 1950s to the 1990s.

During Chiang Ching-kuo's period, it seems that society opened up for other ethnic groups, while at the same time the Chinese tests remained closed to the influence of other ethnic groups, such as the Hakka and aborigines, which did not appear on the tests. Apparently, it seems that the tests could not keep pace with the socio-political changes in Taiwan's society. Hsie (2004) suggested one possible reason: this result might come from the fact that most professors who designed the exams were all mainlanders and the agenda of the Chinese subjects of study in the schools tended to promote political education. Therefore, the very low percentage of Taiwanese discourse was just like a strawberry placed on a cake for decoration. At that time, the common people's voice was still very weak. Even if the political atmosphere was a little more open, this openness did not really include a great many different voices and cultures. It is not surprising that the subcategories of politics, morality, and education in the Chinese tests still represented the

largest proportion of subjects in this period. Many questions relating to politics aimed at preparing the elite students to govern Taiwan; de facto brainwashing of those elite students who would someday hold higher positions was an effective way to control the country and impose the government's ideology upon the common people.

Compared to the Chinese tests, the contents of the English tests represented more multicultural components. American discourse was still predominant in the second period, as it was in the first period. However, the percentage decreased by 10 percent from the first to the second period. Additionally, Taiwanese discourse held the second highest ranking in this period, while Chinese discourse was the second highest ranking during the first period. It is interesting that Taiwanese awareness began to gain modest momentum in the English tests. Although Taiwan did not have official relations with the United States, the unofficial relations continued. For example, the administrators of the JCEE accepted the suggestion of John S. Helmick, associate administrator of ETS (Educational Testing Service) in the USA, in adopting multiple choice items, and computerizing the JCEE. The adoption of more sophisticated technology in the exam implies that the USA might have represented a "higher technology" country, which the Taiwanese government wanted to follow.

Part of the second and third stages of the JCEE covered Chiang Ching-kuo's period. Although the JCEE began to be computerized and the format of the tests looked more modernized, the contents still focused on Chinese culture in the Chinese tests and American culture in the English tests.

Lee Teng- hui (1990s) -- marginalized still being marginalized. During this period, although it was a milestone for democracy in Taiwan, this should have been reflected in more multicultural components appearing in the exams. However, the contents did not really mirror the sociopolitical changes in Taiwan in the 1990s. Taiwanese discourse was still very weak. The percentage was even lower than during Chiang Ching-kuo's period. How did this happen? The concept of "Taiwanization" may have been just a political slogan, so there may have been little will to have the exams match the pace of sociopolitical changes. This fact might imply that the contents of the exams were out of step with society, politics, and even the educational system.

On this last point, even though the textbooks were modified, the contents of the exams did not receive enough attention from the government or scholars who oversaw the exams. Why were the contents of the tests completely ignored in this political and social evolution? The reasons might be the following: 1) the modifications of educational reform had not extended to the national exams; also, and 2) although Lee Teng-hui was devoted to raising the Taiwanese consciousness, the Chinese Nationalist Party still dominated the political power and Lee Teng-hui alone could not completely change the traditional political system. As a result, overhauling the older educational system to raise Taiwanese awareness was impossible. Therefore, he could only take one step at a time to modify the educational system. Unfortunately, during his presidency, these reforms did not extend to the JCEE.

Compared to the Chinese tests, the English tests reflect more sociopolitical changes. American discourse represented a higher percentage of questions during this period, and Taiwanese discourse also appeared more than that in the previous periods. As

the relationship between the ROC and the USA became more complicated, the contents of the English tests featured more different cultures, specifically in the subcategory of cultural artifacts and cultural events.

During the reform of the JCEE in Lee Teng-hui's period, the concept of the "Home-village" movement seemed to be reflected more in the contents of the English tests than in the Chinese tests. The English test seemed to adapt itself more quickly to change than the Chinese test. Why did this happen? Some possible explanations might be offered for this : 1) the test makers had different agendas or purposes when they made the Chinese and the English tests; 2) The English test-makers had more freedom than the Chinese test-makers; 3) The English test-makers were more culturally tolerant because they were more influenced by the United States, as many professors who made the tests studied in the United States; 4) The Chinese test-makers were more conservative, so they were less willing to change the previous ideology in order to reinforce their authority; 5) Many professors who made up the Chinese tests majored in traditional Chinese literature instead of Taiwanese literature; during that time, no university offered courses about Taiwanese literature or language; 6) The Taiwanese might have been more focused on global trends and economic development than raising Taiwanese national awareness; and 7) Recreating a new Taiwanese national historical narrative would take decades or longer to be reflected within the content of the JCEE. These explanations might reflect Shohamy's (2006) theory: language testing can be supporting a hidden agenda. The contents of the tests may have accurately reflected the fact that invisible political power still strongly dominated educational policy, although the social and political situation seemed to have changed when Lee Teng-hui claimed

his New Taiwanese consciousness. Additionally, perhaps it is these seven reasons which collectively are the cause of the huge gap between the reality of elevated Taiwanese consciousness and the contents of the language tests, which, in fact, should have reflected the socio-political changes, but failed to do so.

The fourth stage of the JCEE covered Lee Teng-hui's period. The most important issue in this stage was that human dignity was a basic idea to be respected. It is no wonder that personal theme in relation to individualism had a higher percentage in this period than the previous periods.

Chen Shui-bian (2000s) -- New order of discourse opens the door for a multicultural society. During this period, as a maturing democracy emerged, the Chinese tests included more different cultural elements, such as western discourse. Chinese discourse decreased its percentage, but not below 90 percent. In contrast, Taiwanese references (including Hoklo and the 14 Aboriginal peoples) increased. The subcategory of personal themes reached its highest rate in this period, compared with that of the other three periods. Although Taiwan is still a collective society, at least the contents of the Chinese exams reflected the importance of expressing personal feelings or desires, instead of just thinking collectively or sacrificing oneself for one's country. This situation might result from the fact that the Taiwanese government and its people have found that creativity and imagination are necessary skills for competition with other countries in the global economy.

In terms of national identity, although Chen Shui-bian initiated a new "Taiwanese nationalism," the rate of change of the contents of the Chinese exams was not as fast as might be expected. One reason might be that most of the committee members

writing the exams were Chinese mainlanders. Even though the Democratic Progressive Party had been in power in Taiwan for eight years, it remained difficult for them to divest themselves of a lingering Chinese cultural identity. This situation is understandable because de-Chineseization and de-Taiwanization are still causes for a very strong debate in Taiwan's academic fields and society. For example, Yu Kuen-chung and Tu Cheng-shen's debate was about what percentage of traditional Chinese literary work should be maintained in the Chinese textbooks (Chiang, 2006). Recently, high school teachers protested in March, 2011, that *the Four Books* (*Analects of Confucius*, *Mencius*, *Great Learning*, and *Doctrine of the Mean* — the authoritative books of Confucianism in China written before 300 BC) would become the main subjects in Taiwanese high school curricula (Lin, 2011). To sum up, although the pace of multicultural agreement is slow, at least the door to a multicultural society has opened in this period.

The English tests represented more multicultural components than the Chinese tests did. The English tests included various cultures, although American culture was still predominant in all categories. For example, African culture appeared in this period in the English tests. However, the contents focused on the ethnic conflicts in Africa. This focus might reflect the fact that Taiwan was experiencing ethnic conflicts and had much social problems that needed to be addressed.

Economy played the most important role in the English exams, compared with other subcategories in the category of themes/values. This situation might in fact be traceable to the very purpose of the English exams. Because of the expansion of the areas of trade in Taiwan, the Taiwanese needed more knowledge about other countries. English was seen as a tool to communicate and a medium to understand other countries' cultures.

Even so, as Shohamy (2006) stated, language and language testing is never natural; there will always be some ideologies imbedded in the content of language testing. Thus, it cannot be denied that American culture was still at the center of English learning in Taiwan. This American culture center is reflected not only through fast-food chains, high technology, and Hollywood movies, but also through the idea that American products and invention are the best because America is the most “powerful” and “greatest” country (Zakaria, 2011). If this ideology is emphasized in the contents of the testing, it cannot be denied that language testing indeed contains a hidden agenda, conveying ideas and beliefs to the Taiwanese people and affecting the way they understand the world. In the next section, I will employ Foucault’s poststructuralism and Said’s postcolonialism to further interpret these findings.

Interpretive Comments

In this section, further discussion will be offered on the results of this study. These will be grouped under three headings: unbalanced voices in the Chinese tests, Edward Said’s postcolonialism as relevant to the English tests; and similarities and differences between the English and Chinese tests. These three types of interpretive comments are offered in the spirit of Foucauldian poststructuralist discourse.

Unbalanced Voices in the Chinese Tests

As mentioned in Chapter 2, discourse contains a group of statements which conveys thoughts and beliefs, emphasizes intentions and might indicate or support certain aspects of identity. Based on the results presented up to this point, the contents of the JCEE tests in Taiwan display an extremely unbalanced cultural picture. Three important Taiwanese ethnic groups (The Hakka, the Hoklo, and the aboriginal cultures)

have appeared very unequally in the Chinese tests. During the four periods, Hakka culture was completely ignored in the tests, although abundant Hakka references would have been available for inclusion in the categories of authors, individuals, and cultural artifacts or events. Thirteen of the fourteen aboriginal groups were also completely absent in the tests. The Hoklo, Taiwan's largest population group, which comprises 70 % of all Taiwanese population (about 23,000,000), represented only a very weak voice in the exams. The population of Taiwan is actually 70 % Hoklo, 15 % Hakka, 13% Chinese Mainlanders, and 2% Taiwanese aborigines (Government Information Office, 2011). The Hakka population is larger than that of Chinese mainlanders in Taiwan, but was completely ignored in the tests.

Thus, even within the unbalance, the neglected groups received different treatment; in particular, the total absence of Hakka reference is striking. The reason for this gap might reflect an overall lack of awareness of the Hakka in Taiwan. As Chuang (2010) observes, "For a long time, the Hakka [were] an invisible ethnic group in Taiwan. Not until in the 21st century [did the Hakka population begin] to explore its Hakka consciousness" (p. 8). This statement may partly explain why the Hakka culture never appeared in the Chinese exams.

In contrast, although all fourteen aboriginal groups represent a lower total population than the Hakka, references to their culture did appear in the Chinese tests. Perhaps this reflects the fact that the Aborigines' consciousness was awakened and they took action to assert their identity earlier than the Hakka. As Liu (2010) stated, "[I]n the late 1980s, right after Chiang Ching-kuo lifted the martial law, one of the aboriginal groups, Kavalan, began to claim their original aborigine name" (pp. 38-39). Due to

Hakka's ambiguous identity (the Hakka were categorized as Han Chinese by the Chinese Nationalist Party), and in comparison with the aborigines, who have more obviously different cultures and ethnic characteristics than the Chinese, it is no wonder that aborigines gained a greater spotlight than the Hakka, although the Hakka also have their own unique culture.

The Hakka have produced a number of prominent male authors: Chung Chao-Cheng, Li Chiao, Chung Li-he, Wu Chuo-liuo, and Hung Heng-chuio. They are also represented by several well-known female writers, such as Hsieng Shung-tien Tu-Pan Fang-ge. These writers have played important roles in the creation of distinctive Hakka literary works. However, none of them ever appeared in the Chinese exams.

Towns or villages where Hakka people live were also absent in the tests, though again ample possibilities could have provided exam material. Such places as Liouduai and Meinung in southern Taiwan, as well as Wu-gu cultural village in Miaoli county, never appeared in the tests. Those places are typical Hakka hometowns. Hakka artifacts are also well known in Taiwan; however these, too, did not appear in the tests. A number of examples come to mind. For instance, the characteristic paper umbrella made in Meinung; Lin Sheng-hsiang's Hakka songs; Hakka temples, such as Shan Shan Guowang Miao (Three Mountain King's Temple); Jien Zi Tien (Respecting Word Pavilion). Hakka festivals, such as the Hakka Tung blossom festival in April (Council for Hakka affairs, Executive Yuan, Republic of China, Taiwan, 2011)—all were absent. These cultural references, which represent Taiwan's multicultural society, were simply ignored in the Chinese tests.

Likewise, the fourteen aboriginal tribes in Taiwan have rich cultures, but they

only appeared at very low percentages in the test entries, and only one tribe, the *Paiwan*, appeared in the tests. Once again, this gap cannot be explained by a dearth of possibilities. Aboriginal authors, such as Shaomain Langboan, (a *Yami* novelist), Walisi Nogaïen (a *Atayal* writer), and Topas Tamapima (a *Bunun* poet and novelist), could have been included in an exam whose makers aimed at representing diversity. Important festivals, such as the tribe Gamalan's *Qutaban* (the festival of harvest), the Bainen's hunting festival, and the Yami's fishing festival, are visible and increasingly influential parts of Taiwan's social life. However, none of these ever appeared in the tests.

Although the contents relating to the Hoklo represented a higher percentage than those of Hakka and aborigines, compared with Chinese discourse, the percentage of Hoklo was still very low, especially given that the Hoklo represent the majority in the Taiwanese population. Many Taiwanese native authors could have been cited in the Chinese tests. These include well known authors such as Lin Chung-yuan, Hsiang Yiang, Huang Chin-liang, and Lee Chin-an, who uses Hoklo language to write Taiwanese literature that reflects contemporary Taiwanese society.

The total number of authors cited from the Hakka, Hoklo, and aborigines combined was even less than the percentage of western writers, such as Darwin. In this sense, this fact reflects claims made by Chang (2007c) and Yang (2009), who say that Taiwan was colonized not only by Chinese and Japanese but also by western cultures.

Another very weak voice involves female authors and individuals. In the Chinese exams, only two Chinese female authors, Chi-chun and Li Ching-chao, were cited in the tests. Of course, there are many female Chinese authors in Taiwan, such as Su Wei-chen, Hsian Yu, Chu Tian-hsing, Chu Tian-wen, and Yan Chung-chung. In addition,

native Taiwanese female authors or individuals, such as Li Ang, and Shi Shu-ching, could have appeared in the Chinese tests, but did not.

These authors and individuals who represented different aspects of Taiwanese culture were completely ignored in the Chinese exams, even though the high school textbooks in the 2000s seem to have moved from a China-centered perspective to include more multicultural material, as Lee (2007) comments in her dissertation. Whatever changes are occurring in the textbook contents, this situation was not reflected in the contents of the JCEE.

The unbalanced voices represented in the Chinese tests can best be understood through the work of social theorists such as Foucault, whose work bears on the nature of discourse. Kumaravadivelu (2008) interprets Foucault's concept of discourse in these terms:

Discourse designates the entire conceptual territory on which knowledge is produced and reproduced. It not only includes what is actually thought and articulated but also determines what can said or heard and what is silenced, what is acceptable and what is tabooed. Discourse in this sense is a whole field or domain within which language is used in particular ways. This field or domain is produced in and through social practices, institutions and actions. (p. 218)

Based on this interpretation, the contents of the Chinese tests in the JCEE act as a text to present a skewed picture that shows certain sociopolitical elements while downplaying or ignoring others. Seen in terms of Foucault's concept of knowledge/power, this means that the "conceptual territory" of discourse in Taiwan is out of balance with the culture's

voices, as it silences too many, while allowing only a limited number to be heard.

Although there exists this unbalance in the discourse appearing in the contents of the exams, there is still hope that conditions will change as institutions and the society in general develop more concern with, and respect for the diversity of Taiwan's multicultural society. Corcuff (2002) addresses this hope:

The New Inhabitants [the Chinese mainlanders who retreated from China to Taiwan in 1949] still hold important positions in Taiwan and their pervasive ideology of Taiwan's Chineseness and fate to reunification [is still present in Taiwan]...Pluralization has meant listening to dissenting voices...and also means listening to and respecting the voices of the New Inhabitants. (pp. 247-248)

As a part of this "listening to dissenting voices," there is still much room for improvement in the contents of the college entrance exams, which should better reflect Taiwan's multicultural society and Taiwan's democratic atmosphere. How to balance the contents is a major issue for the Taiwanese government and people to consider.

Said's Postcolonialism and the English Tests

Influenced by Foucault's concept of discourse, Edward Said's idea of postcolonialism employed the term *Orientalism* to refer to the discourse formulated by some Western scholars. This discourse represents the "Orient" as the "Other," and is full of stereotypes and ideology about "the Orient," linking Eastern people to traits such as "laziness, deceit and irrationality" (Selden, Widdowson, & Brooker, 2005, p.220). Said (1978) proposes that Orientalism is a discourse, which "was able to manage and even produce the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and

imaginatively” (p.3). In this sense, the “Orient” is a concept created by certain Westerners to devalue the oriental cultures. Kumaravadivelu (1999) further interprets Said’s concept of Orientalism: “[The] discourse of Orientalism is built on a binary opposition between the West and the East, us and them, that produces an essentialized and static Other” (1999, p.463). The discourse of Orientalism is obviously associated with cultural hegemony, as the colonized people gradually internalize the forcefully disseminated idea of the superiority of the colonizing culture and therefore seek to imitate the norms of the colonizer. Although Taiwan was not literally colonized by an English-speaking power, global forces have worked to produce some of the effects of colonization through economic, cultural and political pressures. Extending the concept of cultural hegemony to the current issue of globalization, Said’s “Western” culture might be applied to much of what is happening globally English learning and Americanization.

As Pennycook (1994) proposes, this involves aspects of globalization such as “the cultural politics of English as an international language” (p. 66) and raises questions about the relationship between globalization and the learning of English. As English is intertwined with global capitalism, Americanization or “McDonaldization” tends to create uniform standards, and cultural landscapes. This fact is confirmed by some scholars, such as Manfred Steger (2003), who see this kind of globalization as cultural homogenization. This process, unfortunately, is clearly reflected in the contents of the JCEE. From the viewpoint of post-colonialism, Taiwan has been culturally colonized not only by China, but also by the United States, specifically since Chiang Kai-shek’s period and the relationship he worked to build with the United States.

Spurred by Taiwan’s need for economic improvement, the growth of English

has become a mechanism for the dispersal of this cultural hegemony and homogenization. According to the percentage of themes concerning economics appearing in the English tests, even the test makers have been strongly influenced by the cultural hegemony of the United States, which influences English language policy and educational reform in Taiwan. For instance, the elementary school students have been required to start learning English in the third grade since 2006.

Another post-colonialist, Homi Bhabha, further responds to the theory of Said's Orientalism, providing a new term, "hybridity" to convey the colonized people's ability to create their own response to a dominant outside influence. Bhabha (1985) argues that "hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination" (p. 154). Because the colonial authority cannot produce a perfect copy of the original, this hybridity ultimately opens spaces for the colonized people to challenge the colonizers in their own language. Thus, English or Chinese education in Taiwan could become a double-edged sword, in that the colonized (the Taiwanese) might not simply accept the superiority of English or Chinese institutions, but might instead use English or Chinese education to undermine that superiority, foster nationalism, and demand equality and freedom. In this sense, the same language forms that conveyed a dominant ideology or cultural representation could be deconstructed and reconstructed to become a powerful weapon to resist linguistic and cultural hegemony.

In this way, the English tests could become a weapon to deconstruct American cultural imperialism and reconstruct the broader concept of globalization, provided that the contents of the tests are changed in a way that merges more diverse cultures and

emphasizes multicultural contents. Said (1993) describes the original power of the colonial era: “the processes of imperialism occurred beyond the level of economic laws and political decisions by the authorities of recognizable cultural formations and by continuing consolidation within education, literature, and the visual and musical arts” (p. 12). Hybridity holds the potential to counter the effects of American cultural imperialism, which occurs not only because of the economic and political decisions, but also through different forms of cultural representation. In this cultural domain, the categories in the contents of the exams of the JCEE can play an important role in establishing new forms of discourse.

Even though the contents of the English tests in the JCEE diversified somewhat in the later periods, they still fell short of achieving cultural balance. Therefore, it is vital to pay attention to how the contents could be adjusted, to aim for balance between American and other English speaking countries, as well as recognizing marginalized areas such as New Zealand and the Middle East. With such changes, the exams could promote the idea of multiculturalism, and could inspire and encourage students to respect different cultures, both in Taiwan and in the world.

The Differences and Similarities between the English and Chinese Tests

In this section, I will comments on the differences and similarities between the Chinese and English tests, and will offer some hypothetical remarks as to possible reasons for these.

The differences between the two tests. An important difference between the Chinese and English tests involves the factors that influenced the design of each, which led them to have different focuses. The Chinese tests were constructed with the purpose

of enhancing national identity and fostering moral training. In contrast, the English test design is heavily influenced by economic needs and technological factors. This situation is represented by the fact that economics had the highest percentage in the count of themes/values.

The contents of the English tests often focused on American culture. This, too, can be seen in an economic light, since many of Taiwan's products have been exported to the USA; America is seen as having "the world's largest economy, largest military, and the most dynamic technology companies and a highly entrepreneurial climate since World War II" (Zakaria, 2011). In addition to economic reasons, political factors also played an important role. Taiwan has had a close relationship with the United States since Chiang Kai-shek's period. Given these economic and political elements, it is not surprising to see that English has been the only foreign language for Taiwanese students to learn from 7th grade (and now 3rd grade since 2006). It is predictable that the contents of textbooks and exams will focus on American culture and thus ignore other cultures of the world. Normally, a country's economy is closely related to its politics; interestingly, however, overt political themes occurred relatively rarely in the English exam materials. Although a clear reason for this cannot be offered, it might reflect the relative importance of economic concerns, a diminishment of political frictions, and a viewpoint that the goal of foreign language learning is to earn money and participate in trade.

A second difference between two tests is reflected in the category of themes/values. The Chinese tests emphasized politics and morality much more than the English tests, while the English tests focused on educational and economic values. In addition, the political issues in the Chinese tests focused more on patriotism to China and

the Chinese Nationalist Party, while political themes are not prominent in the English exams. In fact, English seems to have been treated mainly as a tool of communication for trading and business and passing exams. Many items in the English tests reflect this view directly, as they address the issue of studying and preparing for exams, from quizzes in schools to college entrance exams.

The similarities between the two tests. The first similarity to be noted is that morality plays an important role in both tests. Although with varying emphasis, this situation implies that morality, especially fiscal responsibility, represents an important factor in the kinds of discourse represented by the exams, which might indicate American influence.

The second similarity is that individualism is reflected not only in the English but also in the Chinese exams. Concepts related to individualism have increased dramatically in Taiwan, at least partly due to economic change. Since Taiwan has become a highly technological island, the need to improve its products and to bring more creativity and dynamic innovation to product development has increased exponentially. In this sense, the contents of the exams seem to reflect Taiwanese society better than in areas, such as overt cultural references.

A third similarity involves the overarching result that has emerged from this study: namely, that cultural hegemony strongly influenced both the Chinese and the English tests over five decades. Ideally, this cultural hegemony should be deconstructed and transformed into a more multicultural and equal social discourse. To what degree this may transpire and how it may be reflected in future tests remains to be seen.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, the contents of the JCEE have only slightly moved in the direction of reflecting the multicultural phenomena of Taiwan. This is true for the Chinese-centered Chinese exams and the American cultural dominance of the English tests over all four periods. Some progress is evident, even though it has been very slow. Issues such as Taiwanese awareness and multicultural consciousness, as well as the gender and minority issues, still have much room for improvement. It should be a goal for the government and language policy makers, as well as the Taiwanese people, to maintain minority languages and cultural rights and to make Taiwan into the genuine multicultural society that it potentially can become. Meeting this goal will mean raising Taiwanese awareness and resisting hegemonic and monocultural ideology. However, whatever moves are made, Chinese culture will remain an important factor, because it is true that Taiwanese identity is rooted in this culture. What I am arguing for here is not the removal of Chinese cultural elements, but their integration with other aspects of Taiwanese society that have been under-represented until now.

If Taiwan can integrate Chinese culture as part of its own uniquely Taiwanese culture, the society will incorporate a more open, rich, genuine, and indigenous identity. Such cultural mixes have often led to strong identities, such as that of the Singaporean Chinese or the Irish American, where a group's history is respected along with its present and evolving cultural identity. Similarly, Japanese has used Kanji (Chinese characters) as one of its writing systems, putting the system to work in a characteristic Japanese way but never denying its origin from China. This kind of acceptance can nurture a society's unique cultural elements as well as bringing it cultural prosperity. As Lupel (2004) states,

adopting different cultures might be appropriate in what many now see as a “post-nation” trend in the world. Open-mindedness is important in constructing New Taiwanese consciousness and multicultural awareness. Of course, the premise is based upon Taiwan becoming a recognized separate entity with intact political power and nation state status.

In order to solidify the concept of multicultural awareness, cultural representation could be constructed in different texts, such as the contents of the language testing in the JCEE. It is important for test-makers to realize that language testing is never neutral, and that it can convey cultural ideology.

Considering the unbalanced results in this study, where does Taiwan need to go next? It is not enough to only promote language and cultural rights, and advocate harmony and respect for the different cultures in Taiwan’s society. Without taking any meaningful action, only lip service will be taking place regarding the issues of support and advocacy. But to affect real change involves complex factors. It involves serious attention to how the contents of exams can match the reforms occurring in textbooks and in educational and language policy. It involves the relationship of all of these as they reflect socio-political changes. In the next chapter, I will provide some suggestion for addressing these issues.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND APPLICATION

This final chapter includes three sections, entitled Conclusion, Implications and Suggestions, and Topics for Future Research. The conclusion further discusses the content presented in the previous six chapters. The section on implications and suggestions returns to the topic of the potential hidden effects of language testing inherent in the college entrance examinations at Taiwanese universities. Finally, the application section discusses ways in which educators could teach in more culturally sensitive ways, and in which people generally could foster awareness in this area. The final section provides ideas for future research on the ways that parents, teachers, students, and test makers interact and negotiate their understanding of Taiwanese college entrance exams.

Conclusion

In this section I discuss the following issues: the gap in perspectives concerning the JCEE's hidden agenda, washback and textbook reform, symbolic violence in Taiwan, the concept of "non-place identity" (Hanauer, 2008) vs. national identity, the cultural transformation of Taiwanese identity, and Taiwan's struggle towards establishing its own multiculturalism.

The JCEE: The Gap between Public Policy and Reality

As discussed in Chapter 2, language policy is strongly related to language capital and cultural hegemony. According to the scholars cited in this study, language testing is also embedded in language policy. Viewed through the lens of such claims, language tests can be seen as discursive fields that heavily affect the construction of national and cultural identity. In the case of the JCEE, individual identity is shaped by

certain thematic patterns. Given these patterns, it is reasonable to suggest that exam-makers wield a subtle yet significant power over socio-political reality in Taiwan.

In fact, in the 2000s, official government policy in Taiwan has favored multiculturalism and acceptance of languages that were previously ignored, for instance in schools. However, the JCEE has not driven, nor has it even reflected this change. In short, there is a considerable gap between public pronouncements during the Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian periods and the content of the JCEE. Though Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian claimed to be advocates of Taiwanese identity and nationalism, still the JCEE's content has changed very little. In short, Taiwanese nationalism seemed not to be reflected in the contents of the exams.

Another example of the gap between government influence and exam content can be seen in Hsie's (2004) assertion that, fifteen years after Martial Law was lifted and political power shifted to the Democratic Progressive Party, de-Taiwanization still prevailed in language education, and in history and geography courses. Although the influence of Chinese culture on Taiwanese education should have decreased dramatically beginning in 1987, there has in fact been little change, at least judging from the contents of the JCEE, or its more recent counterpart, even today.

Such gaps are not unusual in public situations, and are not unique to Taiwan. The findings of this study and of Hsie's research are similar to a study by Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2009), which reported a gap between newspaper discourse and language policy in Arizona. More specifically, Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2009) found a discrepancy between publicly stated language policies in Arizona and the reality of immigration policies. As Schmidt (2002) observed, although officials claimed to prefer

pluralism in language and culture over assimilationism, immigration policies really promoted monolingualism and antipathy for language minorities.

These examples illustrate Shohamy's (2006) notions that exams contain a hidden agenda for manipulating language and creating de facto language policies, and that exams affect educational fields in ways the "public is not aware of" (p. 93).

Presidents Lee and Chen claimed to be promoting a New Taiwanese identity and advocating a multiethnic/multicultural society, yet their assertions were not reflected in the contents of the JCEE. In light of Shohamy's claim that language tests contain hidden agendas that are largely ignored by the public, two further comments can be made upon this discrepancy. First, if the exams contained a hidden agenda, then the efforts of these reformist presidents were mostly unsuccessful, given that only slight changes occurred in JCEE contents during their administrations. Second, the public in Taiwan have apparently not been aware of the power and impact of the JCEE on their own ideologies and beliefs, since few people have questioned the contents of the exam.

Washback, Textbook Reform and the Exams

Lee's (2007) study found that in the 2000s junior high school Chinese textbooks began addressing Native Taiwanese cultures. This phenomenon was not truly reflected in the contents of the JCEE. Based on the theory of washback, discussed in Chapter 2, testing influences the focus of teaching and learning. Thus, test content directs what teachers teach and how students learn. If the contents of a test affect what teachers choose to cover in their classrooms, then textbook reform will not achieve its purpose unless exams change in tandem with textbook development. In practical terms, this means that, if the modern exam descended from the JCEE does not change in relevant

ways, Taiwanese teachers will continue to de-emphasize multicultural material when they teach, favoring more traditional and Chinese-centered material from their textbooks in order to help their students pass the exam. In an ideal world, exams and textbooks might function cooperatively to construct a multicultural society. The Chinese language section of the JCEE has been designed with a range of textbooks in mind. Some of these textbooks have begun adopting multicultural elements. However, the changes were slow to occur even in the textbooks; and the choices made by exam makers neglected the newer materials that were appearing in the textbooks. Textbook reform thus, operating independently, has been hindered by the fact that the JCEE has continued to bolster hegemonic culture by largely ignoring Taiwan's multicultural context.

Symbolic Violence in Taiwan

An essential element of this research is that its findings bear on the issue of social inequality in Taiwan. Although Taiwan is considered to be a multicultural society, it seems to exist with a certain monocultural bias expressed through an unbalanced situation with respect to linguistic and social capital; this is essentially the situation for which Bourdieu (1991) uses the term "symbolic violence."

Indeed, the cultural patterns focused on in this study do show up in accounts of inequality in Taiwan. For example, Jao & McKeever (2006) found that the percentage of mainlanders who received higher education exceeded other ethnic groups, including the Haklo, Hakka, and the Taiwanese aborigines. As Sandel (2003) observes, the overall condition of society in Taiwan "is the product of the whole history of its relations... with succeeding colonial and ruling governments that defined the values of the language market by using strict language policy" (p. 547). Sandel's claim seems to be that Chinese

mainlanders employed their linguistic and cultural capital, wittingly or unwittingly, to maintain their social stature. This pattern of linguistic and cultural capital was reflected in the contents of the JCEE. The Chinese sections of the test represented Chinese and not Taiwanese culture. Historically, Chinese mainlanders had skewed the notions of linguistic and cultural capital in the tests and had blurred Taiwanese national identity by suppressing other native language usages before the 1990s. Even today, Chinese ideology and cultural hegemony seem dominant within Taiwan.

Additionally, in Taiwan's current social language trends, the so-called "bilingual education" in kindergarten in Taiwan focuses on Chinese and English, instead of Chinese and other native Taiwanese languages (Lu & Chen, 2005). Based on their observations, the perceived status of English causes this globally powerful language to override the learning of native Taiwanese languages. Apparently, Taiwanese cultural identity continues to face challenges in its struggle to emerge exhibiting its own distinctive character. The next section addresses the complexities of Taiwanese identity.

Non-Place Identity vs. National Identity

Hanauer (2008) asserts that educated and skillful migrants who find employment in other countries suffer from "non-place" identity. Hanauer argues, "[A]lthough the legal migrants live in a new country, the territories where they are living are often given linguistic indicators, clearly defining the national otherness of the territory, whether through the use of streets signs, shop signs or graffiti" (p. 202). Hanauer (2008) cited the United Kingdom as an example. His research shows that migrants from Bangladesh or Pakistan developed non-place identities and held the status of "otherness." Moreover, Hanauer suggests that the United Kingdom's "Britishness" excludes older

cultures, like the Scots and the Welsh, as well as current migrants such as those from Bangladesh or Pakistan. Hanauer's scholarship implies that national identity is closely related to both historical narrative and cultural representation and its discourse. In this sense, if Taiwan focuses only on Chinese discourse, then native Taiwanese, who are excluded in the historical narrative incur their own version of non-place identity. Therefore, if test makers proceed with sensitivity to this issue of non-place identity, a college entrance exam might represent the discourse of more repressed cultures, like the Hoklo, Hakka, and all Taiwanese aborigines. Such a step could begin to build a sense of national solidarity and establish a sense of cultural independence.

Transformation from Chinese to Taiwanese Nationalism

One step in eliminating non-place identity within Taiwan might be to change the official name of the country from the Republic of China to simply "Taiwan." Such a maneuver could help in stripping Chinese nationalism from Taiwanese doctrine, allowing for the growth of an authentic Taiwanese culture. This transformation from Chinese nationalism to Taiwanese nationalism is central to Taiwan's establishing its own identity. As Yang (2009) states,

Taiwan has practically existed as an independent country, though [it is] not widely recognized as one. The population on this island, consequently, should have the claim to their national identity as Taiwanese, just like the citizens of any other modern nation in the world. National identity is the most substantial and reliable shelter [in which] man can take refuge in this international community. Without it, Taiwanese are just like the miserable wandering Jews before they founded Israel. (p. 55)

Even though such a transformation would assist Taiwan in securing its independence, multiculturalism would still be problematic at first. In other words, once Taiwanese national identity emerges, it would still be necessary to move from Taiwanese nationalism to multiculturalism, a crucial step for the next stage in Taiwan's development. This further development will be addressed in the next section.

Transformation from Nationalism to Multiculturalism

A multicultural society must have highly tolerant and open-minded people willing to accept and respect the differences among various languages, beliefs, life styles, and cultures. As Kumaravadivelu (2008) states, "Multiculturalism emphasizes certain lofty humanistic principles. Going beyond a mere assertion of tolerance and coexistence of different cultures, multiculturalism contends that preservation and protection of ethnic heritage is a fundamental right and responsibility of all members of a pluralistic society" (p. 108).

A case in point is Taiwanese culture. Taiwan is a diverse population capable of establishing a new identity through its multiculturalism. However, in order for this transformation to occur, oppressed voices and cultures must be freed and accepted as full and equal members of the society. Kumaravadivelu (2008) asserts that equality is the main premise in establishing multiculturalism.

[Multiculturalism] believes that discrete ethnic identities can be preserved within a larger national identity that unites disparate ethnic groups.

[Multiculturalism] also stresses, more than anything else, the importance of equality in the public domain: equality of cultures, equality of status, equality of treatments, and equality of opportunities. (p. 104)

Kumaravadivelu implies that raising multicultural awareness and building a multicultural society requires that governmental, political, social, cultural, and educational institutions facilitate meaningful interactions between individuals and communities of different ethnic origins. Such facilitation might assure that all ethnicities are working towards a common goal. Taiwan is in need of such facilitation.

In the ideal multilingual and multicultural country, speakers of different languages will come into daily contact with each other on an equal footing (Stansfield, 2008, p. 321). However, reaching this ideal multicultural state poses a challenge. As Stansfield (2008) further observes,

Multicultural societies will change the national identity of nations. More nations will be multi-ethnic, and this will pose a challenge to national cohesion and the traditional order. Ethnic group members will examine matters of equity across ethnic groups, making complaints and demanding greater access and equal outcomes. When equal outcomes cannot be obtained, then efforts will have to be made to ensure fairness, in order to maintain peace within local and national borders. (pp. 322-323)

Thus, both Kumaravadivelu and Stansfield believe that a critical goal of a multicultural society is to foster equity. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) explain how a multicultural society might successfully foster equity through negotiation:

The negotiation of identities takes place only when certain identities are contested...[or] when certain identity options are imposed or devalued, and others are unavailable or misunderstood. This focus stems from our interest in human agency, and thus in instances where individuals resist, negotiate, change,

and transform themselves and others. (p. 20)

Negotiation of identity is an important issue, and language testing can play a central role in the process. In line with this, Stansfield (2008) strongly urges that language testing policy should be a matter of public discussion: “Language test-makers are responsible for social political contexts...The debates in the language tests should be published in the popular press, not just in the technical journals that are not read by the public or by policy makers” (p. 323). Drawing public awareness to the debate about language testing, as highlighted by Stansfield, could contribute to the formation of a multicultural society. In this way, such discussions on language testing might become a medium for people to negotiate and debate issues of multiculturalism. In the next section, I will address how to apply such multicultural notions to language testing and other fields in order to foster multiculturalism in Taiwan.

Implications and Suggestions

This section applies critical language testing and postmethod pedagogy to the following issues: awareness, awakening, and taking action, democratic assessment, teaching, and language policy.

From Awareness and Awakening to Taking Action

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the Taiwanese have begun to develop an awareness of their own multicultural consciousness. However, this awareness may be insufficient for building a multicultural society, particularly in light of the findings of this project. Kumaravadivelu (2006a) advocates that the transition from awareness to awakening is not enough. Instead, Taiwanese society should look at “how this awakening has actually changed the practice of everyday teaching and teacher preparation.

Admirable intentions need to be translated into attainable goals, which, in turn, need to be supported by actionable plans” (p. 76).

In Taiwan’s case, “actionable plans” might include utilizing Shohamy’s (2001a& 2001b) democratic assessment in language testing design, alongside Kumaravadivelu’s (2001, 2003, 2006b) postmethod model of teaching and learning. The postmethod model of teaching and learning “help[s] practicing teachers develop their own theory of practice, awakened to the multiplicity of learner identities, awakened to the complexity of teacher beliefs, and awakened to the vitality of macrostructures-social, cultural, political, and historical-that shape and reshape the micro-structures of our pedagogic enterprise” (Kumaravadivelu, 2006b, p. 75). An actionable plan, based on Shohamy’s and Kumaravadivelu’s methodologies, is one way to affect change in those education and language policies that are in close relation to teaching and learning.

Democratic Assessment

As Shohamy (2001a &2001b) asserts and has been noted frequently in this dissertation, “tests [are] tools of power” and can manipulate educational systems by imposing certain agendas and ideologies; therefore, democratic test design is crucial in ensuring the successful development of Taiwan as a multicultural and democratic society. Shohamy’s (2001b) *Democratic assessment*, might be a way to ensure that tests like the JCEE “consider the voices of diverse groups in multicultural societies” (p. 376). The results of this project strongly suggest that diverse voices are silenced by a form of hegemonic discourse dominated by countries like the United States and China. Shohamy’s (2001b) democratic assessment model proffers five assessment practices that encourage equality in discourse; the first of these actually encompasses the others, as may

become clear in the following discussion:

- 1) The need to apply critical language testing (CLT) to monitor the use of tests as instruments of power, to challenge their assumptions and to examine their consequences.
- 2) The need to conduct and administer testing in collaboration and in cooperation with those tested.
- 3) The need for those involved in the testing act to assume responsibility for the tests and their uses.
- 4) The need to consider and include the knowledge of different groups in designing tests.
- 5) The need to protect the rights of test-takers. (p. 376)

In the next section, I will describe how each principle could be applied in Taiwan's context.

Applying “critical language testing” (CLT). The first practice in Shohamy's (2001b) democratic assessment suggests implementing CLT in the construction of tests. This framework critically questions the integrity of all possible test-makers, examining their agendas, test content, the beneficiaries of the test design, and the assessment of how decisions are reached regarding test scoring. Most importantly, the CLT method questions the ideologies espoused through the production and format of the test itself. Overall, the CLT acknowledges that test-makers have limited knowledge, and in order to construct the most democratic tests possible, other voices, such as those of stake holders, policy makers, students, parents, and teachers, should be involved in the process of test design.

Collaboration and cooperation. The second recommendation refers to the need for all Taiwanese citizens to participate in test design co-constructed by both the national elite and local bodies. As Giroux (1994) states, “Knowledge needs to be widely shared through education and other technologies of culture” (p. 36). Sharing power is a principle of democracy. Because Taiwan is a democratic society, national tests should reflect the interests of all cultures within the country.

Responsibility for the tests and their uses. The third need focuses on the responsibility of the test-makers. Test-makers are instrumental in influencing a person’s future. They affect the values of a culture by selecting what is and is not included in exams like the JCEE. Therefore, test-makers should bear the responsibility for and the consequences of test construction. If the democratic process is not reflected in the content of test design, and if some groups are disenfranchised in the test results, then the test-makers should be considered at fault. In a mature, democratic society, power and responsibility coincide. The more power one has, the more responsibility one bears. If test-makers were held responsible for biased test content, then they might be inspired to design more inclusive and culturally sensitive tests.

Knowledge of different groups. The fourth practice refers to the principle of considering the voices of diverse groups in multicultural societies. As Shohamy (2001b) emphasizes,

Most nations in the world today consist of groups that define themselves as ‘different’ along a number of dimensions such as ethnics, culture, language, religion, sexuality, gender, ideology, economics and politics. Thus, the knowledge in relation to different groups is perceived as valuable and these

groups are granted credit and awards for the knowledge and are encouraged to maintain and cultivate it. (p. 383)

Implementing this practice might illuminate the diverse content excluded from the JCEE. The findings in this research reflect a homogenization of knowledge caused by an exclusion of diverse groups from test production. Such exclusions establish a relatively monocultural concept of knowledge. In a democratic society like Taiwan, such concepts should be avoided in favor of a more inclusive view of knowledge.

Protection of the rights of test-takers. The last practice refers to the rights of individuals in democratic societies to be protected from powerful institutions. Typically, test-takers do not have the right to argue that tests may be biased. Instead, test-takers must accept the format of the test even if it is culturally biased. Despite the fact that the JCEE is clearly a biased test, only a few people have protested against the exam's content, and with serious negative consequences. In one rare example, Wu Hsing-hui refused to take the JCEE in 1975 because he felt that the exam was culturally unjust. As a result, Wu's strong feelings and convictions regarding the JCEE thwarted his chance to attend a university, as the JCEE was the only route to admission. Regarding situations similar to Wu's, Shohamy (2001b) asserts, "test-takers are the true victims of tests in this unequal power relationship between the test as an organization and the demands put on test-takers...it is rare for a test-taker to protest, complain or claim that the test did not fit their knowledge; the authority of tests has been accepted without question" (p. 385). Shohamy's argument suggests that test-takers should have the freedom to protest the injustice of biased testing.

It might prove difficult to challenge or change an exam system because exam

systems are situated within the macro-socio-political structure. Moreover, exam systems are situated within historical and cultural contexts. However, in order for a democratic society to foster the principles of multiculturalism, it is imperative that a democratic method exist which assesses levels of cultural inclusion in test content. If only one cultural system is taught in the classroom, then students only learn about that culture while the others are excluded. This elevates certain cultures over others. Of course, it will take more than just exam reform to establish a thriving, multicultural society; however, such reform is clearly one element in a complex process that ideally should come about in Taiwan.

Employing Postmethod in Education

Testing is not neutral and must be considered in its socio-political context; in the most obvious case, testing must relate to teaching. Applying critical pedagogy to teaching, learning, and education could be an appropriate approach to considering testing in a broader framework. Specifically, Kumaravadivelu's postmethod pedagogy might be the best choice, because it emphasizes the importance of raising critical consciousness within those fields relating to learning, teaching, and the educational system.

Critical consciousness in postmethod pedagogy. Critical pedagogy and the critical approach are two methods that can be used to raise public awareness of local context and social inequality. Critical pedagogy and the critical approach focus on teachers' local contexts and problems while teaching. These problems include social issues, political involvement, historical background, and cultural conflicts. For instance, Pennycook (2001) reminded language teachers of the need to see "critical approaches as always being in flux and involving a complex cluster of social, cultural, political, and

pedagogical concerns” (p. 329). Without being involved in these social, cultural, and political contexts, any pedagogy will be ineffective. Later, building on Pennycook’s concepts, Kumaravadivelu (2001, 2003, 2006b) proposes a second critical approach: postmethod pedagogy. Kumaravadivelu criticizes the concepts of traditional teaching methods by arguing that traditional teaching pedagogies have created a major gap between teaching methods and local contexts. Postmethod pedagogy claims that language teachers should facilitate a context-sensitive language education based on a true understanding of local linguistic, socio-cultural, and political context. Postmethod pedagogy allows students and teachers to share in the learning experience equally. Kumaravadivelu provides three principles: particularity, practicality, and possibility, in this postmethod pedagogy.

The first principle in postmethod pedagogy: particularity. According to Kumaravadivelu’s model, the parameter of particularity argues that “a particular teacher must be sensitive to a particular group of learners pursuing a particular set of goals with a particular institutional context embedded in a particular sociocultural milieu” (2001, p.538). Based on this statement, postmethod pedagogy should be localized, suggesting that teachers should consider their local context when designing a syllabus or lesson plan. In Taiwan, teaching methodology should reflect a cultural awareness of the differences and similarities among the four main ethnic groups: the Hoklo, Hakka, Chinese mainlanders, and the 14 aboriginal tribes. Furthermore, Kumaravadivelu (2006) proposes that a teacher education program should emphasize local knowledge and local teachers’ needs. This transformative teacher education program ensures the continued re-creation of personal meaning and cultural sensitivities on the part of teachers.

The second principle in postmethod pedagogy: practicality. The second principle in postmethod pedagogy is practicality. Teachers should not only apply theories from other scholars but also generate their own theories based on their teaching experience and research. Thus, if “context-sensitive pedagogic knowledge has to emerge from teachers and their practice of everyday teaching, they ought to be assisted in becoming autonomous individuals” (Kumaravadivelu, 2001, p.541). In this sense, teachers need not only to focus on teaching, but also on the contents of exams and how that content influences their methodologies and their students’ learning. Furthermore, educators adhering to the practice of practicality should consider the balance between the contents they teach and the contents appearing in exams. Finally, educators practicing practicality in the classroom might modify their syllabi to supplement the gap between the material they teach and the time it takes to learn such material.

The third principle in postmethod pedagogy: possibility. The last principle of postmethod is possibility. The experiences participants bring to the pedagogical setting are shaped not just by the learning/teaching episodes they have encountered in the past, but also by the broader social, economic, and political environment in which they have grown up, and the ideas that they may imagine as possibly workable in the future. As Kumaravadivelu (2001) explains, “Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their social and political consequences are defined and contested” (p.543). Language teachers cannot hope to fully satisfy their pedagogic obligations without considering all the options that might be available in their larger social setting. Consequently, educators practicing possibility should be able to introduce students to strategies that afford them opportunities both inside and outside of the

classroom. For example, postmethod teachers might form learning communities where students not only learn but also establish a sense of self-awareness and self-improvement. As a result, postmethod students might become autonomous learners capable of reflection and self-learning.

Essentially, postmethod teachers are autonomous and define the heart of postmethod pedagogy. Wallace (1991) explains that postmethod pedagogy promotes the ability of teachers to know how to develop a reflective approach to their own teaching, how to analyze and evaluate their own teaching acts, how to initiate change in their classroom, and how to monitor the effects of such changes. (p.48)

From this viewpoint, reflection is a crucial step in developing autonomic teaching and researching practices. Thus, reflective practices assist to create “the cultural forms and interested knowledge to the lived experiences of teachers and learners” (Kumaravadivelu, 2006b). Such reflections, as Norton (2000) states, “can create conditions that will facilitate social interaction both in the classroom and in the wider community” (p. 142). Kumaravadivelu (2006b) extends such facilitation to his teaching and learning guidelines in his “macrostrategies.”

Macrostrategies in education. Macrostrategies are made operational in the classroom through microstrategies, in which teachers design their classroom activities. Kumaravadivelu (2006b) suggests that by “exploring and extending macrostrategies to meet the challenges of changing contexts of teaching, by designing appropriate microstrategies to maximize learning potential in the classroom, and by monitoring their teaching acts, teachers will eventually be able to devise for themselves a systematic,

coherent, and relevant theory of practice” (p. 69). Evaluating how micro and macrostrategies affect test creation might challenge the JCEE’s emphasis on the importance of Chinese and American culture in establishing assessment criteria for the exam.

Implementing multiculturalism in education. Kumaravadivelu (2008)

consults the work of a number of scholars—for instance, McLaren and Torres (1999), May (1999) and Kalantzis and Cope (1999)—to articulate three main points in multicultural education:

- 1) [M]ulticultural ethnics are performed through the practice of everyday life rather than through the practice of merely reading texts, 2) students are encouraged and enabled to engage critically with various ethnic and cultural backgrounds 3) Curriculum and teachers stand in an authoritative rather than an authoritarian position in relation to students. (p. 107)

Kumaravadivelu suggests that teaching multiculturalism should not be limited to the classroom, but that it should also extend out into people’s communities and everyday lives. Invariably, through engaging with various ethnicities and different cultures, students might recognize the complicated interconnections, gaps, and dissonances that occur between their own identities and the multiple cultures around them. Teachers in an “authoritative” position might represent expert knowledge about their disciplinary areas without imposing one-sided views or unwittingly promoting cultural prejudice.

Implementing glocalization in education. One effect of globalization on

culture is “glocalization” (global localization), a term coined by Sociologist, Roland Roberson (1992). Glocalization encourages one to “think globally, act locally.” Roberson

posits that cultural transmission is a two-way process by which cultures in contact shape and reshape each other directly or indirectly. Through the forces of globalization and localization, the global conjoins with the local, and the local is modified to accommodate the global. For example, the American fast-food chain McDonald's serves Halal food in Islamic India, where most people do not eat meat (Kumaravadivelu, 2008).

Kumaravadivelu (2008) states that with the merging of global and local cultures, construction of self-identity becomes difficult. This is why it is not enough to focus on multiculturalism only in the classroom. Kumaravadivelu (2008) continues by suggesting that the impact of globalization is that "self-identity has to be created and recreated on a more active basis than before" (p. 47). In other words, when individuals co-exist within certain religious, historical, national, and political milieus, the cultural interactions of people become an issue. More important, as Kumaravadivelu (2008) states, "[Glocalization] highlights the role of individual agency in the formation of cultural identity" (p.168); therefore, dealing with glocalization should be pivotal to teachers' pedagogies. Roberson (2003) bolsters Kumaravadivelu's argument by suggesting that "the search for global and local cultural identities displays dynamic signs of life in the great concert of this globalized planet" (p. 32). In short, educators have the responsibility to pursue those possible alternative pedagogies that will prepare students to face the globalized world.

Language Policy: Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches

Education and language policies are vital to changing people's ideologies and behavior. Moreover, language policies play a very important role in constructing Taiwanese students' concept of multiculturalism. Taiwan's situation illustrates a complex

relationship between language, ethnicity, national identity, economic competitiveness and global participation. Taiwan has transcended its history and become a democratic society, which now grants more tolerance to different cultures and attempts to preserve native Taiwanese languages. However, as Tsao (2008b) states, “[T]his is only the first step; we should not stop here. We should continue to work toward the institutionalization of multilingualism and multiculturalism, so that Taiwan will eventually become a truly multilingual and multicultural society” (p. 298). These processes of institutionalization would assist in transforming Taiwanese nationalism to multiculturalism. As Corcuff (2002) notes, “going beyond ethnicity and ethnic misunderstanding is now an important dimension of Taiwan’s nation-building process, which prompts Taiwan to think about building a model multicultural society in which differences are appreciated and tolerated” (p. 248).

The top-down language and educational policy, which was implemented by the Taiwanese government, is one of the most effective methods of establishing equality between Taiwanese languages and cultures. However, based on Fishman (2001), schools alone cannot revive and maintain language. Therefore, in addition to implementing top-down policy in schools, a bottom-up policy from local communities is needed, in order to establish the importance of local languages in the broader society. For example, one primary school in a Hakka-speaking area near Taitung in the southeast of Taiwan works with nearby shopkeepers. If children speak Hakka while shopping in their community, they receive coupons that can be exchanged for rewards at the school store (Scott & Tiun, 2007). This reward system fits into Kumaravadivelu’s (2008) macrostrategy in that it extends activities in the classroom to the community. Similar

activities are occurring in other parts of Taiwan as well. For example, the Taiwan Native Language Association has initiated a movement: anyone who speaks native languages in stores receives a discount (Hsu, 2011). The Taiwanese people and organizations appear aware of the need to save their native languages. The government should also encourage the Taiwanese people to continue this endeavor by providing funding when possible. Finally, top-down and bottom-up activities might simultaneously encourage the Taiwanese people to speak and conserve their own native languages and not just speak the hegemonic languages of Chinese and English, thus establishing a real multicultural society.

Specific Actions

Based on the inspiration from Shohamy and Kumaravadivelu's critical approach, I will provide some suggestions in this section for specific actions that might be taken in terms of Taiwan's unique socio-political and educational context.

1) I will disseminate the study results in Taiwan via conferences, memo forms to the educational officials, and definitely through publications. With publications, I can start small, since it takes long time to get manuscripts reviewed and published in national or international publications. I will start with local educational newsletters in Taiwan, such as *Taiwan's High School Teachers' Education*, and definitely take advantage of my educator's position in Taiwan to disseminate information from the present study, information that could lead to greater awareness among Taiwanese teachers.

2) I hope to personally facilitate a teacher-friendly workshop to disseminate the information to the teachers in secondary contexts; I will also encourage others to hold such workshops. Teachers will be invited to attend such workshops; however, the

involvement of others will also be important, for instance representatives of the ministry of education, who are ultimately responsible for educating teachers. Such workshops should also invite and include educators directly involved in college entrance exam production as well as student preparation.

3) I hope to design a course that I can teach, which will be related to the results of this study. This course intends to prepare teachers (both pre- and in-service) and exam constructors to be more aware of cultural hegemony embedded in the national college entrance examinations. It is important for Taiwanese to become aware of the fact that for so long – too long – we have been in a culture that has poorly understood the ideological entities that are so deeply engrained in our island's national heritage. The course that I envision creating would help both developing and experienced teachers to realize this point, and to work toward more comprehensive ways of representing the full complexity of Taiwanese culture in their teaching. It should also help exam constructors to be more critical as they look at the cultural content of the items that they include in college entrance exams.

4) In addition to what can take place in Taiwan to raise awareness to take action, it is important to consider what western-based TESOL programs could do to better understand the eastern-based pedagogies that are embedded in the curricula that define the future experience of many of their masters' or doctoral students. As teacher preparation programs stress English as an international language, they might contribute to the awareness of their students, and ultimately of their students' cultures, that English no longer needs to be viewed in the context of the 'inner circle' countries, or in particular of the United States. Courses and activities in these TESOL programs could equip their

graduates to return to their home cultures with ideas that would promote local varieties of English, as well as a developing international standard, rather than a variety that is culturally based in American culture.

Topics for Further Research

Three potential projects might be conducted to trace the influences of the JCEE and how the JCEE affects teaching, learning, and the transformation of identity. First, because this project focused on the contents of the JCEE, future research should interview test-makers, test-takers, parents, teachers, and administrators. Such interviews would highlight the affects of ideology on those involved with the JCEE.

Second, it would be important to examine the relationship between high school Chinese and English textbooks and the JCEE. Comparing the differences and similarities between the contents of textbooks and the JCEE might help to further explore how washback affects Taiwanese student learning and the pedagogies used by Taiwanese teachers.

Finally, it would be interesting to examine the contents of the Chinese and the English tests in the context of the recent “Multiple Ways of Entering Universities” System from 2009 to 2012, given that the political power has switched back to the Chinese Nationalist Party from the Democratic Progressive Party since 2008. After this latest change in political power it would be interesting to ask whether the Chinese Nationalist Party might continue the recent move toward multicultural ideas, or whether the new regime will return to placing emphasis on policies that promote Chinese and American cultural hegemony.

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APPENDIX A

The Comparison of the Phonemic System of Hakka, Hoklo, and Mandarin Chinese²⁰

海陸客家 (Hakka)	河洛語 (Hoklo)	中文(Mandarin Chinese)	English(translation)
詐意	挑 工 tiau kang	故 意 gu i	Deliberately; on purpose
磧	砣 te	壓 著 Ia zhe	Press down
攬	提 kua	提 ti	carry
「搵」麼介	創 啥 Chhong sia	搞 什 麼 gao she mo	What you are you playing at?
覓公仔	師 公 仔 sai Kong a	道 士 tao shi	A Taoist priest
清苦	散 赤 san chhiah	貧 窮 Pin qiong	poor
佢「佇底背」休息	伊 佇 內 底 歇 睏 i di lai de heh khun	他 在 裡 面 休 息 ta zai li mian xiou xi	He rests inside.
「見」食旺梨舌 嫻就會爛。	我 見 若 食 旺 梨， goa ki na chiah ong lai, 喙 舌 攏 會 破。 chhui chih long e phoa	我 如 果 吃 鳳 梨， uo ri gao chi feng li 舌 頭 都 會 破。 she tiou dou hie po	If I eat a pineapple, it always cut my tongue.
有閑正來坐坐仔。	有 閒 正 來 坐 坐 仔。 u eng chhia lai che che e	有 空 請 過 來 走 走。 iuo kong qing guo lai zou zou	If you are free, please do come to visit (us).
看還旨 sout	看 猶 未 了 Khoa iau boe lia	還 沒 看 完 haie mei kai uan	(I) haven't finished reading.
佢講等話	伊 咧 講 話 i dei kong oe	他 正 講 著 話 ta zhe jian zhe hua	He is talking.
地圾佬佢倒忒	ka 垃 圾 丟 掉 ka lap sao tan tiu	把 垃 圾 丟 掉 ba le se diao diao	Discard trash.
佢佬杯仔打爛忒。	伊ka 杯 仔 搥 破 去 i ka poe a kong phoa ki	他 把 杯 子 打 破 了 tia ba pe zi da po le	He broke a cup.

²⁰ The information is based on Chui, 2006.

APPENDIX B

The Methods and Subjects in Each Stage of the JCEE

	Admission committee members	Methods	Subjects
1st stage 1954-1971	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Temporary committee: governors, presidents of universities 2. The political leader decided the exam policy. 	<p>1.Four groups:</p> <p>Group A: technology, physics, chemistry, geography, geology</p> <p>Group B: liberal arts</p> <p>Group C: medical sciences, agriculture, biology, psychology</p> <p>Group D: law and business</p> <p>2. Making a list of universities they wanted to enter before taking the examinations.</p>	<p>General Subjects: Three Principles of People, Chinese, English</p> <p>Group A: physics, chemistry, advanced mathematics</p> <p>Group B: Chinese history and geography, foreign history and geography, basic mathematics</p> <p>Group C: chemistry, biology, advanced mathematics</p> <p>Group D: same as Group B</p>
2nd stage 1972-1983	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.Regular committee members: governors, presidents of university, professional scholars 2. the Executive Yuan (the Executive branch of government in Taiwan) decided the exam policy 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Computerized tests started in 1973. 2. Non-multiple choices items had been added to the tests since 1980. 	<p>The subjects are the same as the first stage, but</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. English composition was added to the English portion of the exams. 2. A written portion was added for the subjects of biology, physics, and chemistry.
3rd stage 1984-1992	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Regular committee members: governors, presidents of university, principals of high schools, professional scholars. 2. The Ministry of Education decided the exam policy. 3. The ROC college Entrance Examination Center was established in 1989. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Four groups: Group one: liberal arts, law, business Group two: technology, physics, chemistry Group three: medical sciences, agriculture, biology 2. The students took the exams first and then made a list of their top universities after they received their scores. 	<p>General Subjects: Three Principles of People, Chinese, English</p> <p>Group one: Chinese history and geography, foreign history and geography, basic mathematics</p> <p>Group two: physics, chemistry, advanced mathematics</p> <p>Group three: physics, chemistry, biology, advanced mathematics</p> <p>Group four:</p>

		3. Test-takers could cross over the other groups and take from 5 to 10 subject exams.	chemistry, biology, advanced mathematics
4th stage 1993-2001	1. The ROC college Entrance Examination Center was renamed as the College Entrance Examination Center (ECCE) in 1993 2. The MOE and universities decided the exam policy.	1. Recommendation and Screening Project (RSP) had been implemented in 1994, but the number of the students applying to university through RSP was very few. 2. The exams of the RSP were designed by ECCE. 3. The RSP evaluation was based on a scale of one to ten, with ten being the highest achievable score, instead of one hundred points as in the traditional JCEE	RSP: Chinese, English, mathematics, natural sciences (combining physics, chemistry, biology, earth science), social science (combining Three principles of People, Chinese history and geography, foreign history and geography) Traditional JCEE: same as 3 rd stage
5th stage 2002-2008	1. The JCEE Committee was renamed as the Joint Board for College Recruitment in 2002. 2. The RSP and TEDS are conducted by ECCE (a range of several members including administrators as well as scholars).	1. Multiple Ways of Entering Universities System (MWEUS) replaced the JCEE in 2002. 2. MWEUS includes RSP and TEDS (Taking Exams and Deployment System) 3. RSP has two stages: stage one-pass the exam in February or April; stage two- pass the exams in July. 4. TEDS is similar to the traditional JCEE.	RSP: stage 1: English, Chinese, mathematics, social science and natural science. Stage 2: English, Chinese, basic mathematics, advanced mathematics, history, geography, physics, chemistry, biology, earth science (departments in universities assign to test-takers.) TEDS: same as 3 rd stage.

Note: The dates for the traditional JCEE and TEDS were in the early July.

APPENDIX C

The Items of the Chinese and English Tests in the JCEE

The Chinese Tests:

Items/ Number of Questions	Multiple Choice	Translation	Filling in blanks	Explanatio- n	Correction Wrong Character	Long Essay	Short Essay	Total Number
1955	0	10	5	0	0	1	0	16
1956	0	4	0	4	0	1	0	9
1959	0	4	0	4	0	1	0	9
1961	0	2	0	5	5	1	0	13
1963	0	2	0	5	5	1	0	13
1968	10	2	0	10	0	1	0	23
1978	45	0	0	0	0	1	0	46
1980	38	0	0	0	0	1	0	39
1982	38	0	0	0	0	1	0	39
1984	38	0	0	0	0	1	0	39
1986	35	0	0	0	0	1	0	36
1987	25	2	0	0	0	1	0	28
1988	30	3	0	0	0	1	1	35
1990	27	0	0	0	0	1	0	28
1992	25	0	0	0	0	1	0	26
1993	25	0	0	0	0	1	0	26
1995	25	0	0	0	0	1	0	26
1997	25	0	0	0	0	0	2	27
2000	25	0	0	0	0	1	1	27
2001	30	0	0	0	0	1	0	31
2002	24	0	0	0	0	1	1	26
2004	29	0	0	0	2	1	0	32
2006	24	0	0	0	0	1	2	27
2008	24	0	0	0	0	1	1	26

Note: Multiple choices include reading comprehension.

The English tests:

The 1st Period

Items/ Number of Questions	Multiple Choices				Non-Multiple Choices		Total Number
	Vocabulary ²¹	Vocabulary in Contexts ²²	Reading Comprehension	Dialogues	Translati on	Filling in Blanks	
1955	30	30	10	0	8	0	78
1956	26	4	12	0	8	15	65
1959	40	40	20	0	0	0	100
1961	0	57	20	0	0	20	97
1963	10	80	10	0	0	0	100
1968	0	11	22	8	4	9	54

The 2nd Period

Items/ Number of Questions	Multiple Choices					Non-Multiple Choices			Total Number
	Vocabula- ry ²³	Vocabula- ry, etc. in Contexts ²⁴	Reading Compreh- ension	Dialogues	Translatio n	Filling in Blanks	Transla- tion	Essay	
1978	5	20	25	0	10	0	0	0	60
1980	15	10	25	0	10	0	0	0	60
1982	10	10	15	0	10	0	0	1	46
1984	0	30	24	0	0	0	10	1	65
1986	0	20	20	5	0	0	5	1	51
1987	0	15	15	5	0	10	5	1	51

²¹ The items in this category include spelling, stress, and pronunciation.

²² The items include vocabulary, grammar, and idioms.

²³ The items include spelling, pronunciation, and stress.

²⁴ The items include vocabulary, grammar, and idioms.

The 3rd Period

Items/ Number of Questions	Multiple Choices					Non-Multiple Choices			Total Number
	Vocabula- ry ²⁵	Vocabula- ry, etc. in Contexts ²⁶	Reading Compreh- ension	Dialogues	Filling in Blanks	Filling in Blanks	Transl- ation	Essay	
1988	5	20	10	5	0	10	5	1	56
1990	0	30	10	10	0	0	5	1	56
1992	0	30	10	10	0	10	2	1	63
1993	0	30	10	10	0	0	5	1	56
1995	0	30	10	10	0	0	5	1	56
1997	0	20	10	10	10	0	5	2	57

The 4th Period

Items/ Number of Questions	Multiple Choices				Non-Multiple Choices		Total Number
	Vocabulary/ grammar/idiom in Contexts	Reading Comprehension	Dialogues	Filling in Blanks	Translation	Essay	
2000	35	15	5	0	5	1	61
2001	35	15	5	0	5	1	61
2002	30	15	0	20	0	1	66
2004	30	11	0	15	2	1	59
2006	30	11	0	15	2	1	59
2008	30	11	0	15	2	1	59

²⁵ The items in this category are pronunciation.

²⁶ The items include vocabulary, grammar, and idioms.

大學入學考試中心
九十一學年度學科能力測驗試題

國文考科

— 作答注意事項 —

考試時間：**120** 分鐘

題型題數：

- 選擇題共 24 題
- 非選擇題共三大題

作答方式：

- 選擇題用 2B 鉛筆在「答案卡」上作答，修正時應以橡皮擦拭，切勿使用修正液
- 非選擇題請用黑色或藍色筆在「答案卷」上作答

選擇題答錯不倒扣

祝考試順利

第一部分：選擇題(佔 54 分)

壹、單一選擇題(佔36分)

說明：第1題至第18題，每題選出一個最適當的選項，標示在答案卡之「選擇題答案區」。每題答對得2分，答錯不倒扣。

1. 下列各組「」內的字，讀音不同的選項是：
甲、自「暴」自棄／自「暴」其短 乙、滿腹經「綸」／羽扇「綸」巾
丙、湯「匙」碗盤／車門鑰「匙」 丁、強力遊「說」／「說」服技巧
戊、蠻「橫」無理／「橫」行霸道 己、頑「強」抵抗／脾氣倔「強」
(A)甲乙丙丁 (B)甲乙丙己 (C)乙丁戊己 (D)丙丁戊己
2. 文字所屬的「部首」，往往與「字義」相關。下列與文字部首相關的敘述，錯誤的選項是：
(A)「相」與「目視」有關，故屬於「目」部
(B)「韌」與「皮革」有關，故屬於「韋」部
(C)「魚」須「火烤」才能吃，故屬於「火」部
(D)「席」是「織物」的一種，故屬於「巾」部
3. 下列文句□內的用字若完全正確，則□中應填入的詞語依序是：
「唉，經濟不景氣，就連多利集團也傳出跳票，聽說他們的財務狀況□
□可危哩。」「你說的是那家□□大名、擁有數十家連鎖店的大企業？」
「沒錯。現在他們的員工、下游廠商和投資者全都憂心□□。」「怎麼會這樣？」「這原因可複雜了，且聽我□□道來。」
(A)急急／頂頂／沖沖／委委 (B)急急／鼎鼎／沖沖／委委
(C)岌岌／頂頂／忪忪／娓娓 (D)岌岌／鼎鼎／忪忪／娓娓
4. 下列文句「」內的「許」字，不屬於動詞的選項是：
(A)以粒如粟米「許」，投水中，俄而滿大盂也
(B)沛令善公，求之不與，何自妄「許」與劉季
(C)夫子當路於齊，管仲、晏子之功，可復「許」乎
(D)明足以察秋毫之末，而不見輿薪，則王「許」之乎
5. 下引是一段現代散文，請依文意選出排列順序最恰當的選項：
「山中一夜， (甲)天光從蛇藤的臂膀之隙流瀉下來， (乙)無夢，
(丙)卻被吹落在臉上的葉子拍醒， (丁)像千萬隻山靈的眼睛，
好奇地打量著我。」 (簡嬪〈布衣老人〉)
(A)甲丁乙丙 (B)乙丙甲丁 (C)丙丁甲乙 (D)丁乙丙甲
6. 一貫以「回憶」為主題，表現親情的溫暖與人性的美好，從而樹立其特殊風格，奠定其散文史地位的女作家是：
(A)琦君 (B)林海音 (C)林文月 (D)張秀亞

7. 下引兩段散文□內的詞語，請依文意仔細推敲，選出最適合填入的選項。
- 甲、「這天下著大雨，而且風勢猛勁，黃浦江上濁浪□□，好像一鍋煮開了的水，正在沸騰。」（白先勇〈等〉）
- 乙、「驚蟄以來，幾場天轟地動的大雷雨當頂□□，沙田一帶，嫩綠稚青養眼的草木，到處都是水汪汪的，真有□□□□的意思。」（余光中〈牛蛙記〉）
- (A)排空／瀉下／霧失樓臺 (B)千尺／灌下／芳草萋萋
(C)滔滔／注下／煙靄茫茫 (D)滾滾／砸下／江湖滿地
8. 每個人說話的口吻通常與他的性格相應，因此作家在塑造人物時，也會藉言談來凸顯其性格。下列引文為《紅樓夢》某位人物所說的話，依據你對《紅樓夢》人物的認識，最可能講這番話的人是：
- 「你尤家的丫頭没人要了？偷著只往賈家送！難道賈家的人都是好的？普天下死絕了男人了！你就願意給，也要三媒六證，大家說明，成個體統才是！你癡迷了心，脂油蒙了竅，國孝家孝兩重在身，就把個人送來了。這會子被人家告我們，我又是個沒腳蟹，連官場中都知道我利害吃醋，如今指名提我，要休我，我來了你家，幹錯了什麼不是，你這等害我？」
- (A)王熙鳳 (B)林黛玉 (C)薛寶釵 (D)劉姥姥
9. 下列四句本為一副對聯，請依文意與對聯的一般原則，選出最適當的排列方式：
- 甲、眾纔一旅 乙、人惟八千
丙、項籍用江東之子弟 丁、孫策以天下為三分
- (A)甲，乙；丙，丁。 (B)乙，丁；甲，丙。
(C)丙，乙；丁，甲。 (D)丁，甲；丙，乙。
10. 下引兩首絕句□內最適合填入的詞語是：
- 甲、「曉覺茅檐片月低，依稀鄉國夢中□。世間何物催人老？半是雞聲半馬啼。」（王九齡〈題旅店〉）
- 乙、「月黑見漁燈，孤光一點□。微微風簇浪，散作滿河□。」（查慎行〈舟夜書所見〉）
- (A)離／青／燈 (B)移／明／鱗 (C)迷／螢／星 (D)期／紅／情
11. 下列一段史書文字，若依文意及史書體例推斷，敘述正確的選項是：
- 「明年八月，熹宗疾□□，召王入，受遺命。丁巳，即皇帝位，○○○○，以明年為△△△△△。九月甲申，追諡生母賢妃曰孝純皇后。丁亥，停刑。庚寅，冊妃周氏為皇后。」（《明史》）
- (A)□□應是國君的身體狀況，或為「已癒」
(B)○○○○應是新君即位後的措施，或為「大赦天下」
(C)△△△△△應是新君即位後的年號，或為「莊烈帝元年」
(D)從記錄的內容來看，這段文字最可能見於史書中的「列傳」

12-15為題組

下列短文有四個空格，請自參考選項中選出最適當的答案。

現代社會講求高EQ，然而和諧的人際關係，必須以「無怨」為基礎。針對如何減低人我之間的怨，《論語》中有許多精闢的見解。例如埋怨、生氣往往來自他人輕忽我們的才能、誤解我們的理想，所以孔子便以____
12____勸勉我們在此情況下要處之泰然。而當別人對我們產生怨尤，我們便該反省自己是不是做錯了什麼？____13____就是提醒我們：凡事貪好處、佔便宜，必定惹人討厭。相反的，如果凡事設身處地為人著想，自然到哪裡都不會得罪人，正是孔子說的

____14____。至於若遭別人欺負，該以什麼態度回應呢？孔子認為應該____15____，才能維持人與人之間公平、合理的相處之道。

- (A)「以直報怨」 (B)「以德報怨」 (C)「貧而無怨」
(D)「放於利而行，多怨」 (E)「人不知而不慍，不亦君子乎」
(F)「願車馬衣裘，與朋友共，敝之而無憾」
(G)「詩可以興，可以觀，可以群，可以怨」
(H)「士志於道，而恥惡衣惡食者，未足與議也」
(I)「己所不欲，勿施於人，在邦無怨，在家無怨」
(J)「事父母幾諫，見志不從，又敬不違，勞而不怨」

16-18為題組

下列短文有三個空格，請自各題參考選項中選出最適當的答案。

古人對於女性的態度，有許多值得商榷的地方。像____16____的說法，就強化了「男尊女卑」的觀念，將女性矮化為被宰制的角色。正因如此，一旦女性涉入原屬男性所掌控的領域，便引起男性的不安，成語____17____即帶有對女性「竊位」的排拒。而在諸多維護男權、貶抑女性的言論中，最偏差者莫過於將男性在政治上的失敗歸咎於女性，例如「商之興也以簡狄，及其亡也以妲己；周之興也以文母，及其亡也以____18____」的歷史解釋，竟要女性擔起傾覆國家的罪名，無疑是替男性昏君卸責的託辭。類似這些既不客觀、也不公平的看法，是我們今天必須揚棄的。

16. (A)「君子之道，造端於夫婦」
(B)「夫不御婦，則威儀廢缺；婦不事夫，則義理墮闕」
(C)「有萬物然後有男女，有男女然後有夫婦，有夫婦然後有父子」
(D)「天子聽外治，后聽內職。教順成俗，內外和順，國家治理，此之謂盛德」
17. (A)「牝雞司晨」 (B)「傾國傾城」 (C)「陰盛陽衰」 (D)「越俎代庖」
18. (A)貂蟬 (B)西施 (C)褒姒 (D)妹喜

貳、多重選擇題：(佔18分)

說明：第19題至第24題，每題的五個選項各自獨立，其中至少有一個選項是正確的，選出正確選項標示在答案卡之「選擇題答案區」。每題皆不倒扣，五個選項全部答對者得3分，只錯一個選項可得1.5分，錯兩個或兩個以上選項不給分。

19. 文字在使用時，常由字面原本的意義，轉變為另外的意義，例如「他幾度上籃，都被對方蓋火鍋」，句中「蓋火鍋」即非字面「蓋上火鍋」之意，而是指「籃球被拍下」。下列文句「」內的詞，亦屬此類的選項是：
- (A)車多擁擠時，十字路口仍應保持「淨空」，以避免交通阻塞
 - (B)選前最後一夜，各政黨輔選明星忙著陪候選人「掃街」拜票
 - (C)面對恐怖份子再度發動攻擊的傳言不斷，白宮忙著「消毒」以安人心
 - (D)他曾飽受流言的困擾，又同時面對失業的打擊，但如今都已安然度過，總算是「雨過天青」
 - (E)部分百貨業以開架銷售的方式刺激化妝品的買氣，一天的營業額竟高達數百萬元，同業無不「跌破眼鏡」
20. 下列是一段有關古典詩歌發展的敘述，其中對_____處敘述正確的選項是：
- 「中國古典詩歌的發展，先秦時期有北方的《詩經》與南方的《楚辭》，前者句型以_____(a)_____為主，自有莊重之音；後者則以帶有_____(b)_____字的語氣詞構句，別成曼妙之調。_____(c)_____，五言詩的寫作已臻於成熟，由一群佚名文人所作的_____ (d) _____，即為此時的代表作。到了_____(e)_____，七言詩也日益流行，並漸漸注重聲韻格律。迄唐代繼承前代句型與聲律的實驗成果，終於確立近體詩的規範。」
- (A)_____(a)_____應填入「四言」
 - (B)_____(b)_____應填入「兮」
 - (C)_____(c)_____應填入「西漢末期」
 - (D)_____(d)_____應填入「古詩十九首」
 - (E)_____(e)_____應填入「東漢初期」
21. 「紅色」在民間傳統中具有吉祥之意，如撮合姻緣稱為「牽紅線」，以「紅包」代稱禮金等。但與「紅色」相關的詞彙，由於形成時各有背景，運用上也各有慣例，因此「紅」的意義也不一定相同。下列與「紅(赤)」相關詞彙的敘述，正確的選項是：
- (A)「紅」可用來指「行情好」，如稱深受歡迎的歌手為「當紅炸子雞」，股價指數止跌回升為「由黑翻紅」
 - (B)用「紅」來形容眼睛，有時是亢奮之意，如「歹徒殺紅了眼」；有時是讚歎之意，如「他的表現令人眼紅」
 - (C)「紅顏」在古文中有時指美女，如「衝冠一怒為紅顏」；有時則指年少，如「紅顏棄軒冕，白首臥松雲」
 - (D)由於前蘇聯使用紅色旗幟，因此「赤化」一詞便成為受共產主義支配的代稱，如「古巴遭赤化」
 - (E)西式簿記用紅色字記錄透支賬目，因此「赤字」一詞即指支出超過收入，如「預算出現赤字」

22. 文學創作使用具體物象設喻，往往可使讀者對被描寫的事物獲致更鮮明的印象。下列詩句，運用這種技巧的選項是：
- (A)香煙攤老李的二胡／把我們家的巷子／拉成一縷長長的濕髮
 - (B)我的妝鏡是一隻弓背的貓／不住地變換它底眼瞳／致令我的形象變異如流水
 - (C)風／像一個太悲涼了的老婦，緊緊地跟隨著／伸出寒冷的指爪／拉扯著行人的衣襟
 - (D)山寺的長檐有好的磬聲／江南的小樓多是鄰水的／水面的浮萍被晚風拂去／藍天從水底躍出
 - (E)黃昏的林子是黑色而柔和的／林子裡的池沼是閃著白光的／而使我沉溺地承受它的撫慰的風呵／一陣陣地帶給我以田野的氣息
23. 詩歌有直接抒發主觀情感者，也有安排人物、事件、對話加以敘述者。下列詩句，屬於後者的選項是：
- (A)對酒當歌，人生幾何？譬如朝露，去日苦多。慨當以慷，憂思難忘
 - (B)下馬飲君酒，問君何所之？君言不得意，歸臥南山陲。但去莫復問，白雲無盡時
 - (C)君不見，黃河之水天上來，奔流到海不復回；君不見，高堂明鏡悲白髮，朝如青絲暮成雪
 - (D)吏呼一何怒！婦啼一何苦！聽婦前致詞，三男鄴城戍，一男附書至，二男新戰死。存者且偷生，死者長已矣
 - (E)問女何所思？問女何所憶？女亦無所思，女亦無所憶。昨夜見軍帖，可汗大點兵。軍書十二卷，卷卷有爺名
24. 下列文字是《三國志·蜀書》有關「劉備託孤於諸葛亮」一事的記載，仔細閱讀後，選出下列敘述正確的選項：
- 「章武三年春，先主於永安病篤，召亮於成都，屬以後事，謂亮曰：『君才十倍曹丕，必能安國，終定大事。若嗣子可輔，輔之；如其不才，君可自取。』亮涕泣曰：『臣敢竭股肱之力，效忠貞之節，繼之以死！』先主又為詔敕後主曰：『汝與丞相從事，事之如父。』」
- (A)本段文字有三個人物，主角是劉備
 - (B)後主在文中完全沒有對話，可說僅是整個事件的一個道具而已
 - (C)劉備告訴諸葛亮：「如其不才，君可自取」，可能是真心話，也可能是一種權謀
 - (D)先主薨後，諸葛亮的作為堪稱符合孔子所說「可以託六尺之孤，可以寄百里之命，臨大節而不可奪也，君子人與？君子人也」
 - (E)讀歷史不僅是看故事而已，還應培養在文字背後尋找真相的能力。上列引文看似單純敘事，實深寓言外之意

第二部分：非選擇題(共三大題，佔 54 分)

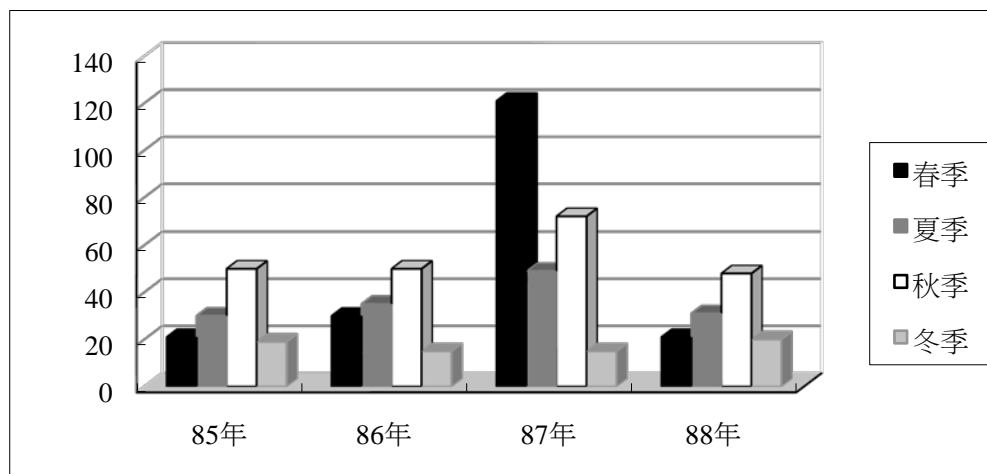
說明：請依各題指示作答，答案務必寫在「答案卷」上，並標明「一」、「二」、「三」。

一、圖表判讀(佔9分)

下圖顯示的是傳染病X從民國85年到88年各年度四季之間的發生率。圖的橫軸是不同年度，縱軸是每十萬人發生的個案數（單位：人數／十萬人）。請判讀本圖，歸納、分析它所傳達的訊息，並以條列方式陳述。

注意：1.請分點列舉，力求簡明扼要。

2.不必詳述具體數字。



二、文章改寫(佔18分)

寫作時，適度而精確的使用口語與成語，可使文章增色，但若濫用、誤用，反不可取。下面是一封情書，除粗陋的口語外，更充斥俗濫與錯誤的成語。請在不違背其本意的前提下，用真切、自然的文字加以改寫。

注意：1.改寫時須保留原信的時間、地點、人物、情節。

2.不可使用粗陋的口語，並避免濫用成語。

「上個禮拜六在校刊編輯會議首度看到你，就被你煞得很慘。你長得稱得上是閉月羞花，聲音也像鶯啼燕轉。從此，你在我心中音容宛在，害我臥薪嚐膽、形容枯槁。我老媽看不下去，斥責我馬齒徒長、尸位素餐，不知奮發圖強，難道要等到名落孫山、墓木已拱才甘心嗎？我也有自知之明，這封信對你而言只是九牛一毛，你一定棄之如敝屣。但我相信愚公移山的偉大教訓，也就是人定勝天，如果你給我機會讓我向你表白我自己，你會恍然大悟我是個很善良的人。期待你的隻字片語，若收到回音，那一定是我一生中最快樂的一天了！」

三、情境寫作(佔27分)

台灣已進入高齡化社會，但一般人對老人世界仍缺乏了解，也欠缺了解的興趣。相對於兒童、青少年，老人似乎愈來愈處於社會的邊緣。下面是一位老人的日誌，平實記錄的背後，頗有心情寄託，例如：30日的日誌中「三十年老屋，不知如何修起？」既說屋況，也正是說自己，讀者細細推敲，自能體會其中調侃與蒼涼的況味。請以

「1月4日星期五的日誌」為對象，並以老人原本所記二事為基礎，鋪寫成首尾完整的文章，文長不限。

注意：1.不必訂題目。

2.先仔細閱讀每一則日誌，體會老人的心情、了解老人的身體與家庭狀況，以便發揮；但不得直接重組、套用各則日誌原文。

3.以老人為第一人稱，用他自己的口吻與觀點加以撰寫，務必表現出老人的心境與感懷。

30 Sun.	31 Mon.	1 Tue. 元旦	2 Wed.	3 Thu. 十一月廿日	4 Fri. 小寒	5 Sat.
隔壁修房，今日動工，云：舊曆年前可畢。 客廳牆壁滲水，三十年老屋，不知如何修起？ 至書店給孫子、女買禮物。	上午回心臟內科吳醫師門診領藥掛49號。 下午看眼科白內障，掛20號 (明天記得帶禮物)	中午12:00祥園小館家聚。(記得帶禮物) 家聚取消，孫子補習，孫女準備考試。兒獨來，坐十五分鐘，留錢一包、撒尿一泡，走人。	午，與妻兩人至麵館小酌慶生。吾言：若得老妻、老友、老狗相伴、身懷「老本」，家旁有老館，老不足懼！妻云：無聊！	昨晚得知，老友逝，心肌梗塞…料吾大去之期亦不遠矣！	至公園小坐，冬寒乍暖。見幼稚園老師帶小朋友遊戲。 幾個外傭推老人出來排排坐，聊天，一景也。	冷鋒至，與妻合力搬出電暖爐。兒來電，問好不好？答以好。問血壓正常否？答以正常。問三餐服藥否？答以服！服！服！

APPENDIX E

大學入學考試中心
九十一學年度學科能力測驗試題

英文考科

— 作答注意事項 —

考試時間：100分鐘

題型題數：

第壹部分

- 單一選擇題共55題

第貳部分

- 非選擇題共2大題

作答方式：

- 選擇題用2B鉛筆在「答案卡」上作答，修正時應以橡皮擦拭，切勿使用修正液
- 非選擇題用黑色或藍色筆在「答案卷」上作答

選擇題答錯不倒扣

祝考試順利

第壹部份：單一選擇題

一、詞彙與慣用語(15%)

說明：第1至15題，每題選出最適當的一個選項，標示在答案卡之「選擇題答案區」。
每題答對得1分，答錯不倒扣。

1. In the keen competition of this international tennis tournament, she _____ won the championship.
(A) privately (B) distantly (C) locally (D) narrowly
2. This company, with its serious financial problems, is no longer _____.
(A) achievable (B) stretchable (C) repeatable (D) manageable
3. Your desk is crowded with too many unnecessary things. You have to _____ some of them.
(A) remain (B) resist (C) remove (D) renew
4. Most businessmen are more interested in the _____ success of their products than their educational values.
(A) cultural (B) commercial (C) classical (D) criminal
5. The postal special _____ service is very efficient. A package sent can be received in a couple of hours.
(A) delivery (B) directory (C) discovery (D) dormitory
6. Children don't learn their native languages _____, but they become fluent in them within a few years.
(A) previously (B) variously (C) consciously (D) enviously
7. _____ to what you think, our TV program has been enjoyed by a large audience.
(A) Intensive (B) Contrary (C) Fortunate (D) Objective
8. There is a _____ to one's capacity; one should not make oneself overtired.
(A) relaxation (B) contribution (C) hesitation (D) limitation
9. It is necessary for you to _____ this point. We simply cannot understand it.
(A) clarify (B) falsify (C) purify (D) notify
10. Our team will certainly win this baseball game, because all the players are highly _____.
(A) illustrated (B) estimated (C) motivated (D) dominated
11. This story, _____, is very fascinating; there are many interesting characters in it.
(A) on the whole (B) under no circumstances (C) in no time (D) out of the question
12. Most of our classmates are _____ taking a trip to Kenting National Park.
(A) in honor of (B) in favor of (C) in search of (D) in place of
13. We haven't seen John for a long time. As a matter of fact, we have _____ him.
(A) made up for (B) run out of (C) come to pass (D) lost track of
14. Recently in Taiwan, the manufacturing industry has _____ the information industry.
(A) found a way of (B) changed the way of (C) given way to (D) had a way of
15. His behavior at the party last night seemed rather _____. Many of us were quite surprised.
(A) out of practice (B) out of place (C) out of politeness (D) out of pity

二、句子配合題(5%)

說明：1. 第16至20題，每題皆為未完成的句子。請逐題依文意與語法，從右欄(A)

到(J)的選項中選出最適當者，合併成一個意思通順、用法正確的句子。

2. 請將每題所選答案之英文字母代號標示在答案卡之「選擇題答案區」。

每題答對得1分，答錯不倒扣。

16. There is no doubt that	A....can you succeed in achieving your goal.
17. What I can never understand	B....moved into a new apartment.
18. Only by working hard	C....more than a copy of the other.
19. The nurse approached the child,	D....don't lose any opportunity.
20. This painting is nothing	E....no place is like home.
	F....after proposing a new plan to the company.
	G...and it is improper to say so.
	H...trying to make him relaxed.
	I....very anxious to carry out the project.
	J....is why John failed in this exam.

三、綜合測驗(10%)

說明：第21至30題，每題一個空格，請依文意選出最適當的一個選項，標示在答案卡之「選擇題答案區」。每

題答對得1分，答錯不倒扣。

It is a usual sunny afternoon in the village of Midwich, England. It seems not (21) any afternoon in the village, but all of a sudden, people and animals lose consciousness. (22) they awake, all of the women of child-bearing age have become pregnant.

This is an episode from a 1960 science fiction story. The women in the story (23) birth to children that have the same appearance. They all have blond hair and "strange eyes." (24) the children grow, they run around the village in a pack, wearing identical clothing and hairstyles, staring at everyone impolitely. (25) one child learns is also known by the others instantly. Villagers begin to (26) their belief that the children all have "one mind." In this story, the children are produced by some unexplained force from outer space. But this story written 40 years ago (27) predicted the arrival of a recent method of genetic engineering—cloning. Cloning is the genetic process of producing copies of an individual. Will the genetic copies of a human really have "one mind" as (28) in this story? This situation is so strange to us that we do not know what will (29) of it. Faced with this new situation, people have (30) to find out how to deal with it.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|-----------|
| 21. | (A) unlike | (B) dislike | (C) like | (D) alike |
| 22. (A) Then | (B) When | (C) Since | (D) And | |
| 23. (A) send | (B) make | (C) take | (D) give | |
| 24. (A) If | (B) For | (C) As | (D) So | |
| 25. (A) Which | (B) While | (C) Where | (D) What | |
| 26. (A) express | (B) wonder | (C) select | (D) ignore | |
| 27. (A) sometimes | (B) anyway | (C) somehow | (D) anyhow | |
| 28. (A) describes | (B) described | (C) describe | (D) describing | |
| 29. (A) happen | (B) occur | (C) appear | (D) become | |
| 30. (A) not | (B) yet | (C) till | (D) though | |

四、文意選填(10%)

說明：第31至40題，每題一個空格，請依文意在文章後所提供的 (A) 到 (J) 選項中分別選出最適當者，並將其英文字母代號標示在答案卡之「選擇題答案區」。每題答對得1分，答錯不倒扣。

Amir tied two sacks of salt to the back of his donkey and headed for the market to sell the salt. On (31), Amir and the donkey passed a stream. The donkey jumped into the stream to cool (32). As a result, much of the salt melted in the water, ruining the salt for Amir but (33) the load for the donkey. Amir tried to get to the market on the following days, but the donkey (34) the same trick and ruined the salt.

Amir was very much (35) by the donkey's trick, but did not know what to do. So he stopped going to the market for three days and tried to think of a way to (36) the donkey a lesson. On the third day, he (37) came up with a good idea. The next day, Amir loaded the sacks (38) with salt but with sand. When the donkey jumped into the stream and got the sacks wet, they became much (39). The donkey was so much weighed down by the wet sand that he could hardly get out of the stream. From then on, the donkey learned the lesson, and (40) carried Amir's salt to the market without ruining it.

- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| (A) dutifully | (B) played | (C) heavier | (D) the way | (E) not |
| (F) lightening | (G) finally | (H) himself | (I) teach | (J) troubled |

五、閱讀測驗(30%)

說明：第41至55題，每題請分別根據各篇文章之文意選出最適當的一個選項，標示在答案卡之「選擇題答案區」。每題答對得2分，答錯不倒扣。

41-43 為題組

Tim Welford, aged 33, and Dom Mee, aged 30, both from England, were keen on rowing boats. They made a plan to row across the Pacific Ocean from Japan to San Francisco. The name of their rowboat was "Crackers." It was about 7 meters long.

They set out from Japan on May 17, 2001. They had rowed nearly 5,500 miles when their boat was hit by a fishing ship on September 17, 2001. Luckily they both escaped unharmed, but their boat was badly damaged and they had to abandon their journey.

In a radio interview, Dom expressed his disappointment and explained how the accident took place.

"A fishing ship came towards us with nobody on the bridge and ran us down. It all happened so quickly. I managed to dive into the water. Tim felt it would be safer to stay on board the boat. He was trapped inside as the boat was driven under the water. Finally some people appeared on the ship and saw me in the water. I shouted at them to stop the ship and to get Tim out. When the ship stopped, I eventually saw Tim, and I was very, very relieved that we were still alive. We were very disappointed that we couldn't reach San Francisco. But we are alive. That above everything is the most important."

41. How long had Tim and Dom been at sea when their boat was hit by a fishing boat?
(A) One month. (B) Two months. (C) Three months. (D) Four months.
42. According to Dom, the main reason for the accident was that _____.
(A) Tim and Dom were too careless (B) nobody on the fishing ship saw them
(C) the speed of the fishing ship was too fast (D) their rowboat was not strong enough
43. Dom said that the most important thing in this accident was _____.
(A) both of them survived (B) they enjoyed this journey
(C) their rowboat was not damaged (D) they failed to reach San Francisco

44-46 為題組

Sometimes the real world can be a confusing place. It is not always fair or kind. And in the real world there are not always happy endings. That is why, every once in a while, we like to escape into the world of fantasy—a place where things always go our way and there is always a happy ending.

We want to believe in fantastic creatures in imaginary lands. We want to believe in magic powers, good friends, and the power of good to overcome evil. We all fantasize about being able to fly and lift buildings off the ground. And how good a magic sword would feel in our hand as we go off to kill a dragon or win the hand of a beautiful princess.

The amazing adventures of Superman, Peter Pan, and Harry Potter have charmed many people, children and adults alike. The main reason is that these stories offer us chances to get away from this real, frustrating world and allow us to find some magical solutions to our problems. For example, Superman always arrives in the nick of time to prevent a disaster from happening, Peter Pan can fly at will to tease the bad guy Captain Hook, and Harry Potter has his magic power to take revenge on his uncle, aunt and cousin, who always ill-treat him.

44. People enter the world of fantasy for the following reasons **EXCEPT** that _____.
(A) the world of fantasy frightens us (B) the real world is often disappointing
(C) we can find happy endings there (D) we can always have our wishes fulfilled
45. Superman, Peter Pan, and Harry Potter have charmed many people, because _____.
(A) the bad guys always have the upper hand
(B) they end up getting married to beautiful princesses
(C) their solutions are anything but magical
(D) they possess powers that ordinary people don't have
46. This article about fantasy literature is intended to _____.
(A) criticize its unrealistic concepts (B) ridicule those people reading it
(C) explain why people like to read it (D) teach people to avoid disasters

47-50 為題組

In the early part of the twentieth century, racism was widespread in the United States. Many African Americans were not given equal opportunities in education or employment. Marian Anderson (1897-1993) was an African American woman who gained fame as a concert singer in this climate of racism. She was born in Philadelphia and sang in church choirs during her childhood. When she applied for admission to a local music school in 1917, she was turned down because she was black. Unable to attend music school, she began her career as a singer for church gatherings. In 1929, she went to Europe to study voice and spent several years performing there. Her voice was widely praised throughout Europe. Then she returned to the U.S. in 1935 and became a top concert singer after performing at Town Hall in New York City.

Racism again affected Anderson in 1939. When it was arranged for her to sing at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., the Daughters of the American Revolution opposed it because of her color. She sang instead at the Lincoln Memorial for over 75,000 people. In 1955, Anderson became the first black soloist to sing with the Metropolitan Opera of New York City. The famous conductor Toscanini praised her voice as “heard only once in a hundred years.” She was a U.S. delegate to the United Nations in 1958 and won the UN peace prize in 1977. Anderson eventually triumphed over racism.

47. According to this passage, what did Marian Anderson do between 1917 and 1929?
- (A) She studied at a music school. (B) She sang for religious activities.
(C) She sang at Town Hall in New York. (D) She studied voice in Europe.
48. Toscanini thought that Marian Anderson _____.
- (A) had a very rare voice (B) sang occasionally in public
(C) sang only once in many years (D) was seldom heard by people
49. Anderson’s beautiful voice was first recognized _____.
- (A) at the Lincoln Memorial (B) in Washington, D.C.
(C) in Europe (D) at the United Nations
50. This passage shows that Anderson finally defeated racism in the U.S. by _____.
- (A) protesting to the government (B) appealing to the United Nations
(C) demonstrating in the streets (D) working hard to perfect her art

51-55 為題組

Five years ago, David Smith wore an expensive suit to work every day. “I was a clothes addict,” he jokes. “I used to carry a fresh suit to work with me so I could change if my clothes got wrinkled.” Today David wears casual clothes—khaki pants and a sports shirt—to the office. He hardly ever wears a necktie. “I’m working harder than ever,” David says, “and I need to feel comfortable.”

More and more companies are allowing their office workers to wear casual clothes to work. In the United States, the change from formal to casual office wear has been gradual. In the early 1990s, many companies allowed their employees to wear casual clothes on Friday (but only on Friday). This became known as “dress-down Friday” or “casual Friday.” “What started out as an extra one-day-a-week benefit for employees has really become an everyday thing,” said business consultant Maisly Jones.

Why have so many companies started allowing their employees to wear casual clothes? One reason is that it's easier for a company to attract new employees if it has a casual dress code. "A lot of young people don't want to dress up for work," says the owner of a software company, "so it's hard to hire people if you have a conservative dress code." Another reason is that people seem happier and more productive when they are wearing comfortable clothes. In a study conducted by Levi Strauss and Company, 85 percent of employers said that they believe that casual dress improves employee morale. Only 4 percent of employers said that casual dress has a negative impact on productivity. Supporters of casual office wear also argue that a casual dress code helps them save money. "Suits are expensive, if you have to wear one every day," one person said. "For the same amount of money, you can buy a lot more casual clothes."

51. David Smith refers to himself as having been "a clothes addict," because _____.
(A) he often wore khaki pants and a sports shirt
(B) he couldn't stand a clean appearance
(C) he wanted his clothes to look neat all the time
(D) he didn't want to spend much money on clothes
52. David Smith wears casual clothes now, because _____.
(A) they make him feel at ease when working
(B) he cannot afford to buy expensive clothes
(C) he looks handsome in casual clothes
(D) he no longer works for any company
53. According to this passage, which of the following statements is **FALSE**?
(A) Many employees don't like a conservative dress code.
(B) Comfortable clothes make employees more productive.
(C) A casual clothes code is welcomed by young employees.
(D) All the employers in the U.S. are for casual office wear.
54. According to this passage, which of the following statements is **TRUE**?
(A) Company workers started to dress down about twenty years ago.
(B) Dress-down has become an everyday phenomenon since the early 90s.
(C) "Dress-down Friday" was first given as a favor from employers.
(D) Many workers want to wear casual clothes to impress people.
55. In this passage, the following advantages of casual office wear are mentioned **EXCEPT** _____.
(A) saving employees' money
(B) making employees more attractive
(C) improving employees' motivation
(D) making employees happier

第貳部份：非選擇題

一、簡答題(10%)

說明：1.閱讀下面這篇文章，然後簡答下列問題。答案必須寫在「答案卷」上。

2. 請依序作答，並標明題號。答案應簡明扼要，只寫重要詞彙(key words)，約二至三個英文單詞(words)。每題2分，共10分。注意：請勿抄下整句或整行，否則不予計分。

South America is a place of striking beauty and wonder. The heart of this continent is the Amazon Rainforest, a vast paradise watered by one of the world's greatest rivers. Because of the tremendous amount of oxygen produced in this area, it has been called the "lungs of the earth."

A team of scientists, teachers, and students, the AmazonQuest team, recently explored some of the wonders of the Amazon Rainforest. They canoed down rivers, hiked along muddy trails, and climbed into the forest to explore and learn. The following is a report by one of the team members:

"I watched a small piece of the Amazon Rainforest disappear today. This morning, two men from the village of Roaibia led us into the forest. For 20 minutes, we walked along a path past tall weeds, banana trees, and low brush. Our destination was a 150-foot tall capirana tree, by far the biggest tree around. It would take 10 people holding hands to surround the base of its trunk.

The men took out an axe and an electric saw and started cutting into the tree's silky smooth skin. As beautiful as they are, people here chop down capirana trees for their wood. With a loud roar, the saw chewed into the 150-year old tree. Then, in about 30 minutes after the cutting began, the giant tree crashed down violently and shook the ground under our feet.

This, of course, is just one of the millions of trees that fall in the Amazon each year. Brazil's Environmental Ministry estimates that in 1970, 99 percent of the original Amazon Rainforest remained, but in 2000, only 85 percent. It is estimated that more than 33 million acres of Amazonian Rainforest disappear every year. That means that 64 acres of the rainforest is lost every minute."

- (1) Which place is called "the lungs of the earth"?
- (2) What kinds of people are on the AmazonQuest team?
- (3) How long did it take the two men to cut down the giant capirana tree?
- (4) Between 1970 and 2000, what percentage of the original Amazon Rainforest was cut down?
- (5) According to this report, about how many acres of the Amazon Rainforest are lost every second?

二、英文作文(20%)

說明：1.依提示在「答案卷」上寫一篇英文作文。

- 2.文長120個單詞(words)左右。

提示：以"The Most Precious Thing in My Room"為題寫一篇英文作文，描述你的房間內一件你最珍愛的物品，同時並說明珍愛的理由。(這一件你最珍愛的物品不一定是貴重的，但對你來說卻是最有意義或是最值得紀念的。)

APPENDIX F

List of Presidents of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in Taiwan, the stages of the JCEE

and the samples of data of the four stages in my research

Year	1949-1975	1975-1978	1978-1988	1988-2000	2000-2008
Period	1		2	3	4
Political Party	KMT	KMT	KMT	KMT	DPP
President	Chiang Kai-shek	Yen Chia-kan	Chiang Chin-kuo	Lee Teng-hui	Chen Shui-bian
Data Sources	1955, 1956 1959, 1963 1965, 1968	N/A	1978, 1980 1982, 1984 1986, 1987	1988, 1990 1992, 1993 1995, 1997	2000, 2001 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008
Stages of JCEE	1	2	3	4	5
Year	1954-1971	1972-1983	1984-1992	1993-2001	2001-2008

APPENDIX G

Various Discourses in the Chinese and English Exams in the JCEE

Chinese Tests:

<p>Chinese discourse:</p> <p>authors/figures: Confucius, Mencius, Chiang Ching-kuo, Sima Chian, Chao-pi and Zhuge-liang, Tu Fu, Li Ching-chao, Yu Kung-chung and Pai Xiang-uong, Hu Shi, and Chi Chun, Chen Xiao-ming, Chu-yeng, Lian Heng, Pao ting, Wu Sung, Sun Yat-sen, Shi Ke-fa, Cheng Chuo-yu, (poet), Lin Ling (poet), Chiang Kai-shek, Chao Yuan-ren, Lin Yu-tong (litterateur), and Tong Chuo-bian, Chen Bao-chung</p> <p>places/artifacts/events: The capital of different dynasty: Jinling, Yienjing, Changan and Liouyang. Other cities and provinces: Jioujing, Hsijing, Danre, Hungjou, Wuchang, Hsishan, Shantung, and Chutong. Jioujing. Famous landscapes: Chi-bi (Red Wall) and Hunghua-gang (Yellow Flower Hill), Other landscapes comprise Chunian-shan, (a mountain in Shanhsi Province), Tai-shan (a mountain in Shantung province), Hsihu (a famous lake in Hungjou, Chejian Province), and Taihu (a popular lake in Hunian Province).</p> <p>China's natural environment: specific fish, swallows, yellow cranes, wild geese, chickens, ancient paths, pines, phoenixes, eagles, lilies, and bitter fleabane. Fuju, the Yangtze River, the Miluo River, Nanshan bamboo, and Chu-lou. Publications: <i>Hou Han Shu</i> (The History of Post-Han Dynasty), written in the fifth century, and <i>Analects of Confucius</i> and <i>Analects of Mencius</i>, and so on. Food, such as <i>huo-shao</i> (a Chinese baked cake) and Chinese rice dumplings. Belief system: Confucianism. Holidays: <i>Hain-shi</i>, the <i>Mid-Autumn Festival</i> or Moon Festival, and Chinese New Year, as well as the Poet Festival or Dragon Boat Festival.</p> <p>Themes/values: Traditional Chinese feudal concept: "Sheng Wang", <i>Confucius' and Mencius' Analacts</i>. Patriotism to the ROC and China, Anti-communism, Filial piety and frugality. Knowledge of national literature (also known as Chinese literature), Teaching attitudes and methods: Confucius' model, Scenery: the snowy scenery in northern China, the lonely scenery of fall.</p>
<p>Taiwanese discourse:</p> <p>Authors/figures: Aborigine: Arong Sakenu Hoklo: Hung Chun-ming, Gu Men-ren, and Chen Li, Lian Heng, Sou Huan-jien</p> <p>Places/Artifacts/Events Cities in Taiwan: Kaohsiung city, Taipei city, Yilan and Hualian county. Jioufen, Cihu, and Kinmen. Taiwanese nature: aboriginal millet and Taiwanese rice.</p> <p>Publications: Hung Chun-ming's <i>My Son's Big Toy</i></p>

American discourse:
Places/Artifacts/Events : The Mississippi River

European discourse:
Authors/figures: Charles Darwin, Thomas Robert Malthus (British), Leo Tolstoy (Russian).
Places/Artifacts/Events: Places: the United Kingdom, Russia, Florence, Italy. Publication: Robert Malthus' <i>An Essay on the Principle of Population</i> and Charles Darwin's <i>On the Origin of Species</i> .

Asian discourse:
Authors/figures: Ranbindranth Tagore(Bengali)
Places/Artifacts/Events: Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, and India.

English Tests:

American Discourse:
Figures: Jerry Siegel and Joseph Shuster, the Native American tribes, the Lakota, Blackfeet, and Shoshone. Horace A. Moses, Mary Anderson, Morris Frank, Dick McDonald, Paul Ning, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Bernard Baruch.
Places/Artifacts/Events: These American places: Washington D. C., Georgia, Springfield, MA, Wisconsin, Michigan, Montana, Los Angeles, and New York City. American prestigious institutions: the Bronx High School of Science in New York City, Harvard University, University of California, Stanford University, and Johns Hopkins University. Other famous places: the Lincoln Memorial Museum and the Guggenheim Museum.

Western discourse: European, South and Latin American, Australian and Canada
European discourse
Figures: Lois Braille, Franz Schubert, St. Valentine, Anton Boll, Ole Kirk Christiansen, unknown Greek and Roman soldiers, Norwegians. Queen Victoria, Francis Bacon, the Earl of Sandwich, and Shakespeare.
Places/Artifacts/Events: These European places/countries consist of Paris, London, the Lake District, Germany, Greece, Rome, Switzerland, Norway, and Denmark.

South and Latin American
Figures: Latin American (farmer).
Australian and Canadian
Figures: Australian (Geoff Brodie' wife), Canadian.
African discourse:
Figures: A young eastern Nigerian, African ethnic groups (Chad, Zaire, Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Ibo, and Burundi). Places/Artifacts/Events: French speaking areas in Nigeria, Lagos, Contonou, and Dahomey, as well as Kenya, the "Send a Cow" program, some ethnic groups in Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Nigeria. Themes/values: Political conflicts in Africa
Asian discourse (excluding Chinese and Taiwanese cultures):
Figures: Jiro Nakayama, Buddha, a young Indian married couple. Places/Artifacts/Events: Hiroshima, and Nagano in Japan, an Indian village, Thailand and Vietnam.
Chinese discourse:
Figures: Confucius Places/Artifacts/Events: The Yangtze River, Chinese acquired the love of foreigners, and Chinese painting.
Taiwanese discourse:
Figures: Ang Lee Places/Artifacts/Events: Taipei, Palace Museum and the Taipei Metro System, Taichung city, Hualien and Ilan counties.