

SCHOOL EDUCATION AND CULTURAL TRANSMISSION: A CASE STUDY OF
ONE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL'S INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN TAIWAN

by

HSUEH-CHUN CHANG

(Under the direction of Judith Preissle)

ABSTRACT

This ethnographic case study of an elementary school in Taiwan focuses on education in a historical and social context by examining the daily life of an indigenous elementary school composed of Atayal and Han Chinese teachers and students and by exploring Atayal and Han Chinese villagers' educational experiences.

The Atayal are one of Taiwan's indigenous groups; Han Chinese migrated from China in the 17th century. Taiwan's educational system used to be a tool of assimilating its people into the Japanese or Han Chinese culture. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, more indigenous and Taiwanese cultures have been allowed to be incorporated into the formal school curricula. Under these circumstances, my sample elementary school offered schoolchildren Atayal language and dance courses; furthermore, after-school courses were provided for these children to improve their mathematics and language arts performances because most children were from low socioeconomic families and received minimal academic assistance from their parents.

Data were mainly collected through observing the instruction of third, fourth, and fifth grade language arts classes and Atayal language and dance courses. Interviews were conducted with third, fourth, and fifth graders about their perceptions of Atayal culture and with Atayal and Han Chinese adult villagers about their school lives. The adult interviewees were diverse in age, occupation, socioeconomic background, and educational achievement.

Several conclusions were drawn from this study. First, most Atayal adult participants' parents valued school education, so they sent their children to town or city schools to receive a better school education. Second, older Han Chinese adult participants recalled more corporal punishment than younger ones. Third, compared to Han Chinese adult interviewees, Atayal adult interviewees reported being mistreated in school because of negative images (e.g., heavy drinking) associated with their ethnicity. Fourth, the sample Atayal children had better understanding of Atayal culture in some areas (language, dance, history, weaving, and hunting) than the sample Han Chinese

children did. Finally, the sample language arts teachers used different skills to help their children improve their verbal performances.

INDEX WORDS: Ethnographic study, Indigenous education, Elementary school, Ethnicity, Atayal, Han Chinese, Taiwan

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This ethnographic case study of an elementary school in Taiwan focuses on indigenous education in its historical and social context. This study examines what interethnic contacts occur across different educational settings and periods by documenting the practices of teachers in the indigenous elementary school and local indigenous and Han Chinese adults' educational experiences. The sections that follow provide general background information, a statement of purpose, and a rationale for the study.

Taiwan, a settler society located off the southeast coast of China, has transformed from an agrarian to an industrial society in less than three decades and become a newly industrialized country (Chan, 1990; Shannon, 1989). The government's concern for education and the people's expectations for education reflect beliefs that the quality of human resources contributes to Taiwan's economic development and educational credentials correspond to occupational opportunities (Yang, 1994).

When the Han Chinese arrived in Taiwan in the 17th century, aborigines¹ were residing in the plains and the mountains (Wee, 1999). In 1885, Taiwan became the Ching Dynasty's 22nd province. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, Taiwan was colonized by Japan from 1895 to 1945; during this period, some insurrections were led by the

¹ The Chinese term for native inhabitants is translated into English interchangeably as "aborigine" or "indigene." I follow that usage in the dissertation, using both terms to label original inhabitants of the island.

people in Taiwan against Japanese rule. The famous one led by the Atayal chief Monen Rudux occurred at my research site--the mountainous area of middle Taiwan. When the Second World War ended, Taiwan was returned to China. In 1949 when the Communists took over mainland China, Chiang Kai-shek and his followers retreated to Taiwan and declared martial law (Ogden, 1999). Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, political liberalization and democratization (e.g., people have the right to form political unions or parties) have led to some educational reforms, such as the implementation of the Educational Priority Areas (EPAs) plan and Aborigine Education Act (Ministry of Education, 2000). Moreover, the political and economic development of Taiwan's society has contributed to a transformation of its assimilation-oriented education mainly centered on Chinese culture to the incorporation of native Taiwanese and indigenous cultures into formal school education.

The ethnic groups of Taiwan are comprised of two categories: aborigines and Han Chinese. The physical differences among these Asian ethnic groups are not obvious. There are ten indigenous groups: Atayal, Saisiyat, Puyuma, Bunun, Paiwan, Ami, Yami, Tsou, Rukai, and Thao. By late November 2000, the indigenous population was 407, 564 that made up 1.8 % of Taiwan's approximate 22, 000, 000 population (Council of Indigenous Peoples/Affairs, 2001a). In Taiwan, the construction of ethnic labels for aborigines has evolved over a long period of time. From the Ching Dynasty to now, the names used for Taiwan's aborigines include *shou fan* (civilized barbarians, the Chinese label for sinicized aborigines), *sheng fan* (uncivilized barbarians, the Chinese label for unsinicized aborigines), *shaang-ti jen* (mountain people, the Chinese label for all aborigines), and *yuan-chun-min* referring to original residents of Taiwan. Mandarin is

the official language used by all people; however, the Han Chinese mainly speak two dialects: Taiwanese [or Fukienese] and Hakka. Aborigines also have their own spoken languages; for example, Atayals speak the Atayal language.

Taiwan's aborigines have been forced to adopt either Japanese or Chinese languages and life styles for almost a century. Like other indigenous peoples around the world, Taiwan's aborigines have started worrying about maintaining their cultures (Leu, 1992). Indigenous people are the people whose ancestors are original inhabitants of their land; their societies are relatively small, less technologically advanced, and occupy the more isolated regions of the world. Because of a historical process of conquest and colonization, indigenous peoples have been incorporated into mainstream societies; meantime, their distinct cultures are gradually being replaced by mainstream cultures (Almeida, 1998; Bailey & Peoples, 1999; Juan, 1997; Wilmer, 1993). Regardless of the preceding commonalities among indigenous peoples, they vary from society to society especially in the way they approach their traditional and contemporary ways of life. This variation is also reflected in their struggles with moving between their traditional ways of socializing their next generation and the academic-oriented formal school education.

Under these circumstances, there are no universally accepted criteria for indigenous education. Murphy (1992) points out that indigenous education for Kayapo living in the Amazonian rainforest is learner-centered and learner-initiated; their education is separate from formal educational settings. Likewise, Cajete (1994) argues that indigenous education for Native Americans is grounded in human nature and develops students' ecological and environmental thinking. However, Lipka and Mohatt (1998) advocate culturally based pedagogy for American Yup'ik Eskimos by integrating

their indigenous customs and values (e.g., stressing subsistence) into the instruction of school subjects, such as mathematics and science. Over time studies such as mine may contribute to an ethnology or a metaanalysis of indigenous education around the world.

Recently, Taiwan's aborigines have begun to voice concerns about how they are perceived in Taiwanese society and about the preservation of their culture. This concern has been expressed in the educational arena; namely, some efforts have been made in formal school education to connect aborigines' traditional practices to contemporary ways of life to preserve their cultures. The Taiwanese educational system is centralized and supervised by the Ministry of Education, so every student is required to receive standardized national curricula into which the indigenous cultural contents have been incorporated. Based on related educational policies (e.g., Aborigine Education Act and EPAs plan), indigenous cultural programs are designed for indigenous schools, such as Atayal language and dance courses. Furthermore, to increase their access to school education, rewards and educational resources are provided for indigenous students; for example, they are given extra score points on their entrance examinations.

Taiwan's indigenous education policy seeks to help aborigines adapt to society and to maintain their cultures (Huang, 2000). This goal reflects one of Banks's (1999b) arguments, that ethnic education should help ethnic minority students to obtain the skills, attitudes, and knowledge to live in their own cultures and in that of the mainstream. Public school education in Taiwan takes responsibility for preserving indigenous cultures and transmitting them as academic knowledge and skills.

Taiwanese elementary schools offer first through sixth graders regular curricula based on national curriculum standards stipulated by the Ministry of Education (MOE).

My research setting--Green Mountain Elementary School, a pseudonym²--is located in the mountainous area of middle Taiwan. Its student population includes the indigenous Atayal and Han Chinese; the ratio of Atayal to Han Chinese students is about 3:2. Most Atayal and Han Chinese children are from lower socioeconomic families, so the school is qualified to receive funds from the EPAs plan to improve teaching facilities and provide schoolchildren with academic assistance in language arts and mathematics after school. This plan aims to equalize the quality of educational opportunity by distributing educational sources to remote and poor areas.

Based on the Aborigine Education Act, this school is classified as an indigenous school because more than half of the student population are aborigines; the school thus has an obligation to offer Atayal children their cultural knowledge (Republic of China, 1999). In addition to the mainstream Chinese curricula offered throughout the island, this school offers third through sixth graders Atayal language and dance courses based on funding from the EPAs. These courses are required for all middle and upper graders. Moreover, several resources in the surrounding environment, such as the Atayal craft workshops and Mounen Rudux's monument, are accessible for schoolchildren to learn about Atayal cultural practices and history.

In addition to school curricula, some studies (Kerwin et al., 1993; Lipka, 1991; Peters, 1987; Quintana & Vera, 1999; Tan, 1998) have shown that student's age and gender, parents, and schoolteachers also influence students' understanding of ethnic groups. Other studies (Chen, 1997; Huang, 2000) have explored Taiwanese indigenous students' understanding of their tribes in several areas: tribal ceremonies, language,

² All proper names referring to people or places at the site I have studied are pseudonyms.

dance, and traditional ways of making a living. In this ethnographic study, I have examined what Atayal and Han Chinese children have learned from their Atayal language and dance courses and how other factors influence their learning of Atayal culture.

I also have interviewed Atayal and Han Chinese adults about what they learned in their schooling because I think that their educational experiences illuminate some of the educational practices in my sample indigenous elementary school. I also speculate that the impact of ethnicity on individuals' school education experience has varied with Taiwan's changing society.

Finally, I have explored how the language arts teachers at Green Mountain Elementary School teach their Atayal and Han Chinese children. In this school, children are offered extra instruction by schoolteachers after school to improve their academic performances on language arts and mathematics. My motivation to observe these teachers' instruction is based on the following rationale. Teachers can play a major role in fostering students' academic performance by changing their teaching methods to accommodate their students' cultural backgrounds. To provide students good educational environments, some researchers (e.g., Villegas, 1991; Wilder, 1999) suggest that teachers can have a positive impact on minority students' performance if they are sensitive to the cultural characteristics of their students and have the skills needed to accommodate these characteristics in class.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine how the Taiwanese historical and cultural context have shaped the educational experiences of indigenous people and Han Chinese by delineating the instruction of language arts and Atayal cultural programs at an

indigenous elementary school and describing Atayal and Han Chinese adults' educational experiences.

My sample school is located in one of the reservation areas of the Atayal. In this village, land cannot be sold to Han Chinese. Both Atayal and Han Chinese children are required to take Atayal language and dance courses. In addition to these courses, children's learning about the Atayal may be influenced by their own personal backgrounds, such as ethnicity, and other sources, like their parents and the mass media.

In the past, Taiwan's educational policy toward aborigines was assimilation oriented; the goal was to teach aborigines to be Chinese or Japanese. However, the current indigenous education policy stresses teaching different tribal children about their cultures. The exploration of what indigenous and Han Chinese adults have learned in their schooling contributes to tracing the transformation of Taiwan society's attitudes toward and treatments of aborigines. Understanding children's learning of Atayal culture and Atayal adults' school education experience requires attention also to how the Atayal or aborigines are perceived in Taiwan society and how aborigines and Han Chinese differentiate themselves.

There are five questions addressed in this study of a village elementary school serving Atayal and Han Chinese: (1) What school education experiences do Atayal adults report in Green Mountain Village? How are the Atayal adults regarded by themselves and by the Han Chinese? (2) What school education experiences do Han Chinese adults report in Green Mountain Village? How are the Han Chinese adults regarded by themselves and by the Atayal? (3) How do Atayal adult villagers' educational experiences compare with those of Han Chinese adult villagers? (4) What have Atayal

and Han Chinese children learned about Atayal culture? What factors influence their understanding of Atayal culture? (5) What regularly occurs in the language arts classrooms comprised of mixed groups of Atayal and Han Chinese children? What especially do the teachers and students in these classrooms do?

Significance of the Study

Little research, especially qualitative and ethnographic, has been done on the Atayals' school education. Schools around the world seek to improve the education they offer for minority groups. Increasingly, public education provided by nation states has been expected to provide quality education for marginalized groups. I think that my study adds to our general understanding of Taiwan's indigenous education and contributes to research on intergroup relations in education and to the theories and concepts used to study this topic.

Furthermore, this study provides educators an opportunity to examine their perceptions and their expectations of students from different family backgrounds. The study also offers insights for teacher educators in preparing prospective teachers to teach minority students by learning about the students' cultures and adapting their classroom practices to meet the needs of these students and their communities. Finally, the study suggests what helps and hinders teachers in producing cultural understanding through examining the sample students' ways of understanding the Atayal and the implementation of the Atayal language and dance courses.

The rest of this dissertation is organized into seven chapters. The following chapter contains the related literature; the third chapter describes the methods and procedure used in the design of the study. The findings are presented from the fourth

chapter to the seventh chapter. The final chapter presents the conclusions and implications for educational practice and future research.

CHAPTER 2

GUIDING LITERATURE

My research purpose aims to examine how the Taiwanese social and historical context have shaped the educational experiences of Atayals and Han Chinese by describing the daily life of an indigenous elementary school and adult villagers' school experiences. Therefore, this section reviews the literature in the following areas: the formal school education for aborigines and Han Chinese in Taiwan during different periods (17th century—present), the difference and similarity among Taiwan indigenous groups' physical and cultural characteristics, the formation of children's understanding of ethnic groups, and explanations of minority students' school performance.

Sociohistorical Context of Taiwanese School Education

This section reviews the educational opportunities Taiwan aborigines and Han Chinese have had over the years. School activities and policies are always influenced by the economic, political, and cultural contexts in which they are embedded. Consequently, my examination of historical and sociocultural influences on Taiwan's school education aims to place in context my sample elementary school's condition and to situate the Atayal and Han Chinese adults' school education experiences in an appropriate background.

There was increasing immigration from China to Taiwan in the 17th century; at that time, Taiwan was claimed by China. Before Han Chinese settlers arrived on Taiwan, some indigenous groups had led agricultural lives in the fertile plains; others resided in the mountainous regions (Wee, 1999). By 1839, Han Chinese were prohibited by statute

from entering tribal areas, a condition that allowed the mountain tribes to maintain their life-styles well into the latter part of the nineteenth century without being overwhelmed by Chinese migrants (Stainton, 1999). From 1874 to 1878, the Ching Dynasty implemented a policy called “pacifying the aborigines” that included the establishment of public schools to tutor the aborigines and the introduction of Chinese-style economic life (Gardella, 1999). Confucian classics were used as a tool for teaching aborigines. To achieve this “pacification” goal, 47 tribal schools were established in indigenous villages. The curricula taught in the tribal schools were similar to those provided in Han Chinese village schools (Shepherd, 1993).

In 1885, the Ching Dynasty made Taiwan its 22nd province. However, Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonseki (Republic of China, 1998, p. 67). During the occupation from 1895 to 1945, the Japanese attempted to assimilate Taiwan’s people into Japanese culture by expectations that they adopt Japanese names, wear Japanese-style clothing, eat Japanese food, and practice Japanese religious rituals. At this time, the major teaching work force was Japanese. The six-year common school—a type of the elementary school—was built for 7 - to 16 - year-old Taiwanese students. They were required to learn classical Chinese, Japanese, arithmetic, and science. In common schools, teachers who taught Chinese were selected from among the Taiwanese. However, the aim of the common school was to teach Taiwanese students to be Japanese. Before 1945, compulsory elementary education resulted in more than 65 percent of Taiwanese students having had some schooling (Tsurumi, 1984). The major channels of upward mobility open to Taiwanese were through the teaching and medical professions. The Japanese discouraged Taiwanese from studying subjects likely

to lead to political dissent, such as history or literature. Furthermore, Taiwanese students were taught about the divine origin of Japan's imperial rulers and the superiority of the Japanese "race"³ (Chang, 1999; Shaw, 1991).

As for the aborigines, the Japanese confiscated their weapons and forced them to give up hunting (Mitchell & Salsbury, 1996). They used school education to subdue aborigines and to train them to be "good, obedient people and defense soldiers" (Tsurumi, 1977, p. 235). Aborigine education centers were built for indigenous school-aged children who were taught Japanese, arithmetic, and painting by teachers mainly selected from the Japanese police force (Chang, 1993; Tsurumi, 1977). In short, Japanese colonial education for Taiwanese inhabitants aimed to integrate them into the Japanese empire and to raise the literacy rate of Taiwan (Tsurumi, 1984).

When the Second World War ended in 1945, Taiwan was returned to China as a result of the defeat of Japan. When the Communists took over Mainland China in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and his followers retreated to Taiwan and established Taipei as the capital of the Republic of China. Concerned with the security of Taiwan against an invasion by the Chinese Communists, the KMT (Kuomintang: Nationalist Party) led by Chiang Kai-shek declared a state of martial law on Taiwan in 1949. "Martial law allowed the government to suspend civil liberties and to limit political activity, such as organizing political parties or mass demonstrations.... Taiwan was run by one-party" (Ogden, 1999, p. 62).

To preserve Chinese culture, Chiang Kai-shek had students master Mandarin, prescribed anti-Communist curricula, and prohibited the use of mother tongues in

³ The label "race" in this period was used to designate people of nations, presumed to share common forebears.

schools, including indigenous languages, Taiwanese (Fukienese), and Hakka. Taiwanese and Hakka are mainly spoken by Han Chinese. During the 1950s, there were a few attempts to teach about Taiwanese indigenous groups' cultures; the policy applied to aborigines was called "*Shandi Pingdihua*" (Sinicization of Mountain People). However, like Han Chinese, aborigines were required to master Mandarin in schools (Mitchell & Salsbury, 1996; Stainton, 1995).

As in other eastern Pacific Rim nations (e.g., Japan and South Korea), cram schools, privately run organizations, supplement Taiwan's formal school education to help students improve their academic performances to perform well on entrance examinations (Chalker & Haynes, 1994). Cram schools usually provide two types of programs. One offers students after-school courses to master different subjects (e.g., mathematics and English); the other is a one-year program mainly for junior high and high school students who have failed their entrance examinations. Cram schools have grown since the 1950s when Taiwan's economy started developing. Over time more parents have been able to afford their children's attendance at these schools. Public school teachers are generally not allowed to teach at cram schools where class sizes may vary from 10 to 500 students. On the impact of attending cram schools on students' academic performances, based on an investigation of 1956 secondary students, 68 % of them said that attending cram schools was conducive to improving their academic outcomes; however, the expensive tuition is not affordable by all students' families (Yang, 1995).

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwan began to function under its constitution. This constitution specifies "that the country shall be a democratic republic

of the people which shall be governed by the people and for the people. The people of Taiwan are guaranteed equal rights and duties regardless of political and/or religious belief” (Mitchell & Salsbury, 1996, p. 317).

In the 1990s, political liberalization and democratization led to some educational reforms including “(a) the establishment of a committee for reforming school education in the Executive Yuan—the institution for making laws, which was accomplished in 1995; (b) the development of national standards for elementary school subjects for supplementing the elementary standards developed in 1975; and (c) the editing and publishing of textbooks by private firms begun in July 1996 with first grade textbooks. This policy will expand grade by grade until grades two through six are completed in the year 2000” (Chen, 1997, p. 2).

To teach all students to know more about their living environments, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in 1997 revised curriculum standards to allow local schools to teach the students’ mother tongues or dialects and the history, geography, and culture of local communities (Republic of China, 1998, p. 46). In the following year, the MOE drafted the Aborigine Education Act, stipulating that the government should provide aborigines with opportunities to learn their native language, history, and culture at preschools and elementary schools in their home towns (Yen, 1998). The act has been officially enforced since 1998. The act is based on an idea mentioned in the Constitution—the maintenance and development of indigenous cultures, and the promotion of their educational rights (Huang, 2000). The importance of this act lies in emphasizing the autonomy of aborigines, ensuring aborigines’ educational opportunities, and stressing the understanding of indigenous history and culture (Yen, 1998).

The Educational Priority Areas (EPAs) plan has been implemented since 1996. This plan aims to achieve the goal of equality of educational opportunity by equally distributing educational resources to all students. The indicators for schools qualifying for EPAs support include (1) a high student dropout rate; (2) a high school-aged student turnover rate; (3) a high rate of juvenile delinquency; (4) a high teacher turnover rate; (5) a high rate of minority students, such as indigenous and low-income students; (6) a high rate of students from single-parent and grandparenting families; (7) a geographically remote area not easily reached. The MOE provides schools qualifying in preceding areas funds for the following: (1) the establishment of kindergartens, (2) the establishment of teachers' dormitories in remote areas, (3) the improvement of children's lunches, (4) subsidies for improving schools' teaching facilities, (5) the enhancement of indigenous and remote school students' instruction, (6) the promotion of aborigines' cultural and educational characteristics, (7) the implementation of parenting education, (8) the offer of school buses (Ministry of Education, 2000). A few indigenous legislators, Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA, this group working on issues, such as preserving indigenous culture and language), and the educational reform committee (composed of Taiwanese scholars) were mainly responsible for the development of the Aborigine Education Act and this EPAs plan (Chen, 1996; Chou, 1997; Rubinstein, 1999a; Shen, 2000).

The school I have studied is qualified for funds from this EPAs plan because it is located in a remote area, indigenous students comprise more than 50 percent of the student population, and most students are from low socioeconomic families. The ratio of Atayal staff members to Han Chinese staff members is about 1:2. The implementation of Atayal dance and language courses is to promote and preserve the Atayal culture;

furthermore, after-school instruction in Mandarin and mathematics is provided for the first through sixth graders to enhance their academic performances. Although two Atayal courses are provided for both Atayal and Han Chinese children in this school, this indigenous education implemented in Taiwan is not equivalent to the multicultural education advocated by western scholars (Banks, 1999a; Manning & Baruth, 2000; Nieto, 2000). Multicultural education is designed for all students and addresses issues of ethnic and cultural diversity. Students are supposed to learn about and accept differences among other ethnic groups. However, in Taiwan the specific indigenous culture is taught only at a school with more than fifty percent of the student population from that group, and its purpose is to preserve their culture, not to introduce Taiwanese students to the range of ethnicity in their country.

The school system in Taiwan is centralized and governed by the MOE, which sets up school curriculum standards, publishes textbooks, makes policies, and oversees departments and bureaus of education at the provincial and local levels (Chalker & Haynes, 1994; Mitchell & Salsbury, 1996; Sue, 1993). Brooded (1997, p. 37) remarks, “In comparison with the United States, the provision of basic education in Taiwan is remarkably equal. It is characterized by a national standardized curriculum and relatively small variation across individual schools in levels of finance, facilities, and teachers’ training and experience.” Ogbu (1992a) also points out that offering a core curriculum has supported remarkable economic and technological advances in Taiwan.

In spite of this, the educational attainment of aborigines is lower than that of Han Chinese; this condition is illustrated by the following tables. The two tables represent overlapping populations; people who report graduating from high school, for example,

may not have entered or finished college. These data indicate that about 0.06% of aborigines complete a postgraduate research institute compared to 0.5 % of Chinese; this is a ratio of 1: 8. About 5% of aborigines complete university compared to 13% of Chinese; this is a ratio of 1: 2. About 25% of aborigines complete high school compared to 29% of Chinese; beginning here the disparity in educational achievement becomes smaller. About 29 % of aborigines complete only junior high school compared to 30 % of Chinese; about 40 % of aborigines complete only primary school compared to 27 % of Chinese.

A higher percentage of aborigines than Han Chinese have ended their schooling at primary school. For all other educational levels from junior high school through postgraduate education, the Han population has higher completion rates. A greater proportion of Han Chinese than aborigines start higher education—whether they finish or not.

Table 2.1

Educational Attainment in School by Ethnicity: Taiwan, 1997

	Aborigines	Han Chinese
Postgraduate research institute	102 (.06%)	49,339 (.54%)
University (college)	9,583 (5.42%)	1,206,558 (13.10%)
High school (senior vocational school)	44,022 (24.93%)	2,716,604 (29.49%)
Junior high school	51,958 (29.43%)	2,796,563 (30.35%)
Primary school	70,901 (40.16%)	2,443,303 (26.52%)
Total	176,566 (100.00%)	9,212,367 (100.00%)

Note. The population over 15 years of age has graduated from various educational levels; this table does not include the people who have not completed primary schools; self-reported data.

Table 2.1, continued

Educational Attainment in School by Ethnicity: Taiwan, 1997

	Aborigines	Han Chinese
Postgraduate research institute	124 (.12%)	21,748 (.53%)
University (college)	7,034 (6.98%)	554,692 (13.49%)
High school (senior vocational school)	29,317 (29.08%)	1,177,353 (28.63%)
Junior high school	25,027 (24.82%)	673,126 (16.37%)
Primary school	17,398 (17.26%)	802,765 (19.52%)
Self education	9,074 (9.00%)	986,78 (2.40%)
Illiterate	12,842 (12.74%)	783,629 (19.06%)
Total	100,816 (100.00%)	4,111,631 (100.00%)

Note. The population over 15 years of age includes those who have not completed different levels of education; they may be still in school, or they may drop out of school, or they may be self-educated or illiterate; self-reported data.

The total population of aborigines is 277382; the total population of Han Chinese is 13324355.

Source: Department of Budget, Accounting & Statistics, 1998, pp. 100-103, pp. 129-131.

Taiwan's Ten Tribes and Traditional Life Styles

In 1954, the Ministry of the Interior declared that there were nine indigenous groups in Taiwan; in 2001, the Thao tribe was declared as the tenth tribe by Executive Yuan (Council of Indigenous Peoples/Affairs, 2001b). So this section introduces the distribution of Taiwan's ten tribes, these indigenous peoples' physical characteristics, languages, economic activities, religion, and social organization. I also provide more information on the Atayal.

Before the Han people migrated to Taiwan from Fukien and Kuangtung located in southeast China, aborigines had arrived in Taiwan from the east coast of China and southeast Asia--mostly from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia about 4000 B. C. (Chai, 1967; Davison & Reed, 1998; Tsai, 1992; see Figure 2.1). These aborigines were

later classified into plains peoples and mountain peoples. The former depended on slash-and-burn agriculture and fishing, while the latter made their living by hunting and gathering (Davison & Reed, 1998; Hsu, 1982).

Except for the Yami, Ami, and Puyuma people who live mostly at elevations below 100 meters above sea level, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan currently live in the mountains at altitudes between 500 and 2000 meters. The Atayal and Saisiyat live in the northern mountains, the Bunun and Tsou live in the central mountains, the Thao live in the vicinity of Sun-moon lake situated in the center of Taiwan, the Paiwan and Rukai live in the southern mountains, the Puyuma live on the Taitung plain, the Ami live on the eastern seaboard, and the Yami live on Orchid Island (Chen et al., 1996; Cheng, 1994; Hsu, 1982) (see Figure 2.2).

Among these indigenous peoples, the Atayal are the most widely distributed from the mountainous areas of Taichung and Nantou to Hualian. They live between 600 to 2000 meters above sea level. The Atayal are classified into two subgroups: Atayal and Sedeq; the Atayal live north of the Sedeq along the Pei-kung River and the He-ping River. The Atayal are comprised of two subtribes: Squliq and Ts 'ole'; the Sedeq include three subtribes: Tkdaya, Toda, and Truku. These groups speak different languages (Wu, 1998a).

The population of these tribes is comprised as follows: Atayal (89, 743), Saisiat (6, 945), Paiwan (6, 7875), Rukai (11, 909), Bunun (40, 349), Tsou (7, 419), Yami (3, 993), Ami (139, 115), and Puyuma (10, 285) (Department of Budget, Accounting & Statistics, 1998). Furthermore, the population of Thao is about 3000. For economic,

educational, and other reasons, about one fourth of the indigenous population have moved to urban areas mainly composed of Han Chinese residents.

To integrate more easily with Han Chinese, most aborigines use Han Chinese names even though they have been allowed to use their indigenous names written in the Romanization system since the 2001 Full Name Registration Law was enacted (Council of Indigenous Peoples/Affairs, 2001a). At present only a few political figures have adopted their indigenous names for public use (Wang, 1997). In the past, most Taiwanese aborigines inherited their older families or relatives' names; the form of indigenous names (e.g., Si Jyatawa and Si Jyanobell, Wang, 1997, p. 28) is different from that of Chinese names. All aborigines were forced to use Chinese names when Chiang Kai-shek's government moved to Taiwan in 1939.

Taiwan's aborigines differ not only in their geographic distribution, but also in their physical and sociocultural characteristics. They share some common physical characteristics: brown skin color, black hair, large eyes with black pupils, and folded eyelids. There are some differences among these tribes. Comparatively, the Ami are tall, slender, and light-colored; the Paiwan and Bunun are short, sturdy, and dark-colored (Chai, 1967; Hsu, 1982).

Taiwan's aborigines' languages all belong to the Austronesian language family; however, the tribal languages are not mutually comprehensible. Before A. D. 1500, the Austronesian language family was widely spread across the Pacific coastline. Now the speakers of this language family include the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, New Zealand, New Guinea, Hawaii, Indonesia, and Madagascar (Bellwood, 1991). Only after the Japanese occupied Taiwan and compelled aborigines to

learn Japanese did they gain a common language (Cheng, 1994). Today Taiwan's indigenous peoples still have no written version of their languages.

In terms of kinship, the Saisiat, Bunun, Atayal, Yami, Tsou, and Thao have patrilineal societies. In the matrilineal societies of Ami and Puyuma, the mother is the head of the family. The Paiwan and Rukai have ambilineal systems; that is, either sons or daughters are able to inherit their family properties (Ruan, 1994; Wei, 1960). The Rukai, Puyuma, and the Paiwan are divided into two social classes: nobles and commoners (Mabuchi, 1974).

Aborigines' traditional subsistence depended on farming, hunting, and fishing. Males were the main hunters and warriors; women were the primary cultivators and weavers (Davison & Reed, 1998; Mabuchi, 1974). Sweet potato, taro, and millet were staple crops. In hunting cultures, people shared their game and gave food to those who were close to them. Dogs were important to hunters in these indigenous societies, and conflict could arise over them (Chang, 2001). During the colonization by Japan, tribal hunters were not allowed to carry firearms. For male aborigines, hunting was not simply a way of getting food; hunters were perceived as models for children. Through hunting in the mountains, the elders passed their experience on to the young men. By killing big animals, the young men received the affirmation of the group. Animal hides, tusks, and bones were used as materials or decorative accessories by hunters. In 1996, the revision of the Wildlife Conservation Law stipulated two weeks every year for aborigines to hunt wild animals to maintain their ceremonies (Chang, 2001). Aborigines neither raised silkworms nor grew cotton. Clothing was mainly made from hemp or ramie. Looms passed from generation-to-generation allowed women to weave (Cheng, 1994). Weaving

was women's work. The Atayal traditional clothing design is typified by rectilinear weave. Dark red rhombus shapes on white ramie cloth represent eyes; they are greatly prized by the Atayal (Lin, 2001). About half of the current indigenous work force are agricultural, fishing, forestry, and non-skilled workers (Department of Budget, Accounting & Statistics, 1998). Regarding their dwelling places, the Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, and Tsou traditionally lived in oblong homes. The Paiwan and Rukai built houses with walls of piled slate and slate roofs; the traditional Yami homes were constructed using stones, wood, and thatch (Lin, 2001).

Among the indigenous tribes of Taiwan, only the Atayal and the Saisiat had the custom of tattooing their faces. The boys had to be able to hunt, and the girls had to be able to weave, before they could be tattooed. The process of facial tattooing among the Atayal served the function of a rite of passage. After this, a new stage of life began for an individual. Males and females were allowed to get married after they were tattooed on the face. Furthermore, facial tattooing had the function of scaring enemies in fighting and of differentiating members from other ethnic groups. The males' tattooed patterns were placed on the middle part of their foreheads and under the lips; the females' tattooed patterns were placed from cheek to mouth. Facial tattooing was not only an important ceremony in an Atayal's life, it was also social requirement. Atayals believed that if they did not do this, their ancestors' spirits would punish them, and people would often get sick or die. If a man married an untattooed woman, she would not be able to bear children, and the whole family would face catastrophe. The Japanese colonizers not only forbade the Atayal people's facial tattooing, but also forced them to remove tattoos. In the 1950s, the introduction of Christianity to the tribal villages broke down the Atayal's

polytheistic faith, and this led to the abandonment of the Atayal's facial tattooing practices (Chen, 1994).

Aborigines worshipped ancestral spirits; the Atayal called them "rutux." The Atayal's behavior was guided by ancestors' unwritten regulations called "gaga" or "gaya." This also refers to three kinds of groups: (1) the group members were from the same ancestors; (2) the group assembled sacrifices, such as pigs, for holding a ceremony; (3) the group members hunted and farmed together and shared food with each other. If Atayals violated their ancestors' unwritten regulations, they would be punished by them (Wu, 1998a). Now the Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Church have moved into tribal villages and mountainous areas. The traditional gaga or ethical regulations have been replaced by precepts from western religions (Hsu, 1982; Wu, 1998a).

About Atayal's feast group called gaya or gaga, Mabuchi (1960, pp. 129-130) has given more explanations:

In the original homeland of the Atayal, the southwestern part of their present habitat, such ritual groups, often called "feast groups," are linked into larger ritual groups, which may extend throughout the area of a subtribe. The feast groups assemble for marriage festivities and for ceremonial pig sacrifices, as well as more informally to distribute the meat of wild game and to drink millet beer and feast on pork in slack periods of the agricultural cycle.

Among these tribes, the Atayal and Bunun were perceived as brave and cruel by the Japanese (Naito, 1937). In 1930, about 2,000 Atayal persons led by their tribal chief—Monen Rudux—revolted against the Japanese rulers in the mountain village of Wushe in Nanto county. This was precipitated by the Japanese mistreatment of

indigenous laborers in the lumber industry. The revolt lasted about 50 days. The Japanese used poison gas to curb the Atayal's rebellion. Finally, Monen Rudux and his followers committed suicide in a cave (Stainton, 1995). These individuals are now considered cultural heroes.

The most important traditional ritual held by the Atayal was a headhunting ceremony to express their revenge, to solve disputes, and to establish accomplishments (Wu, 1998a). The practice of headhunting has been described by a Japanese scholar, Tsurumi, in the following statement:

The northern tribe is a wild and ferocious people, and look upon head-hunting as the highest aim in their life. Moreover, they take advantage of the natural stronghold of their territory, which prevents an invasion of the outsider, and depending on themselves for their fighting force, have always committed the most barbarous crimes. Not frequently, under the influence of wine, after they were treated hospitably by officers in the [police] station, they have killed some of their benefactors and carried back to their tribes the heads of such officers as trophies. Massacres have frequently been perpetuated by these savages in various places from time to time, and it was considered quite a failure to attempt to control them simply by the method of taming (1977, p. 231).

In terms of cultural and physical characteristics, the ten tribes of Taiwan share some similarities; they are also distinguished by some differences. My research interest is to explore children's understanding of the Atayal in their daily lives. However, the transition of Taiwan tribal societies into the Han Chinese society is an ongoing process. I think that the interpretation of aborigines' current lives depends to an extent on the interpretation of their past lives; therefore, I distinguish between these aborigines'

traditional and current life styles (see Table 2.2). This distinction is not clear-cut; for example, hunting is still practiced by some aborigines.

Table 2.2

Taiwan Aborigines' Traditional and Current Tribal Practices

	<u>Traditional tribal practice</u>	<u>Current tribal practice</u>
Economic activity	1. Farming: staple crops include sweet potato, taro, millet 2. Fishing 3. Hunting, gathering, weaving	1. Farming: staple crops include rice, vegetable, fruit 2. Fishing 3. Nonskilled and skilled workers
Religion	Worship of ancestral spirits	Christianity
Language	Austronesian language family	Mandarin
Housing	Houses made of stones, wood	Houses made of concrete

Children's Knowledge and Thinking about Ethnic Groups

This review aims to explore the context in which children develop their understanding of ethnic groups and the form they use to present their understanding. At the beginning of this section, I distinguish between race and ethnicity and then explain why I prefer to use the construct of ethnicity in my study. Subsequently, the presentation of related studies is organized as a discussion of what factors influence children's knowledge of and attitudes toward ethnic groups and what they learn about ethnic groups. This section ends by comparing my research focus with the studies mentioned in this section.

The Definitions of Race and Ethnicity

The meanings of race and ethnicity are diversely conceptualized in educational and other sociocultural institutions. The root of the concept of race refers to common ancestry; that is, people of a racial group are assumed to inherit similar physical characteristics, such as stature, eye color, hair texture, and skin color. The word ethnic is derived from the Greek *ethnos* that refers to people or nation. The term ethnicity means that a group of people share a common cultural tradition and a sense of identity (Barfield, 1997; Gordon-Popatia, 1994; Winthrop, 1991).

Most anthropologists (Armelagos & Goodman, 1998; Rensberger, 1996) have come to question the usefulness of using physical features to classify human beings into racial groups. For example, southern Europeans usually have darker skins than northern Europeans do, but they and all contemporary human beings are currently regarded as a common breeding population. Since the 1920s, the biological view of race has also been challenged because this perspective fosters the notion that some racial groups are genetically more intelligent or better than others. In contrast, ethnicity is used to explain the formation process of a group based on its culture and common experiences (Omi & Winant, 1994). Anthropologist Harris (1997) proposes that the term social race is an alternative term to race and ethnicity. Harris defines this term as follows, “Social races consist of people who are believed to be (both by themselves and by others) physically and psychologically alike, regardless of scientifically established genetic relationships or even in direct contradiction to scientific knowledge about heredity” (1997, p. 318). He also points out that the distinction between social race and ethnic group is very fine.

Taiwan's ethnic groups are differentiated into two main categories: aborigines and Han Chinese. Han Chinese include the descendants of earlier Chinese immigrants and the later immigrants from China after World War II; these settlers were once differentiated by their dialects (Tsai, 1992). Aborigines differ from Han Chinese and from one another in their geographic distribution and in physical and sociocultural characteristics. However, the physical differences among all these groups are no greater than those between northern Europeans and southern Europeans. Finally, most scholars (Ferrell, 1969; Hsu, 1982; Tsai, 1992) who study intergroup relations on Taiwan use ethnicity rather than race to distinguish groups. The terms race and ethnicity are both used in the studies reviewed in this section. Because of my major research interest in exploring Atayal culture, I use the term ethnicity or ethnic group to differentiate the groups on Taiwan.

Factors Influencing Children's Understanding of and Attitude Toward Ethnic Groups

The formation of children's knowledge and thinking about ethnic groups occurs through social learning and interaction; it is affected not only by personal ascriptions to individuals (e.g., age) but also by social agents, such as schools, family, peers, mass media, and so forth. In other words, this is a developmental process by which children not only acquire the behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge of ethnic groups but also learn how to see themselves and others (Phinney & Rotheram, 1986). This process has been illustrated in the following studies (Brophy & Alleman, 2000; Chen, 1997; Goodman, 1964; Haugh, 1998; Huang, 2000; Kerwin et al., 1993; Lipka, 1991; Peters, 1987; Quintana & Vera, 1999; Tan, 1998). In these studies, the component of children's

understanding of ethnic groups includes their knowledge of ethnic groups, their labeling or recognition of ethnic groups, and their feelings or attitudes toward ethnic groups.

The study conducted by Kerwin et al. (1993) within 50 to 70 miles of New York City shows that 9 Black/White biracial children (ages 5 to 16 years) labeled themselves in different ways because of their age. Younger children tended to use their parents' or their own skin colors to describe themselves; for example, one 8-year-old boy claimed that, "Others see him as sometimes brown, sometimes tan, tannish" (p. 226). Older children described themselves as "Black and White" or "mixed." Children's ways of classifying ethnic groups is influenced by the development of their cognitive abilities, and they shift from observable physical differences to more abstract conceptions of ethnicity (Phinney & Rotheram, 1986). In this respect, Goodman (1964) pointed out that four-year-old U. S. children distinguish their own ethnic group from other ethnic groups based on the skin color.

As Rotheram and Phinney (1986, p. 27) suggest, "Physical appearance is not the most critical discriminator of ethnicity. Salient ethnic features vary with populations....Black and white children recognize their own groups in advance of American Indians, Chinese, and French Americans." Physical differences, such as skin color, between Taiwan aborigines and Han Chinese are far less obvious than that of many blacks and whites in America. In my study, the children distinguished their own ethnic group from others in other ways.

Moreover, Borphy and Alleman's study (2000) shows that 216 grade K-3 students had stereotypical views of Native Americans, believing them to be living in teepees and hunting buffalo on horseback with bows and arrows. Furthermore, younger children

were less likely to correctly name Native Americans' two types of houses: pueblo and longhouse.

In addition to children's age, formal school education (e.g., textbooks, teachers' instruction) influences children's understanding of ethnic groups and their interethnic attitudes. The ethnic groups of Belize include Creoles (30%), Mestizos (44%), Garifuna (7%), East Indians (3.5%), Mopan Maya (4%), Kekchi Maya (4%), Yucatecan Maya (1%), and whites (1%). Haugh's (1998) study shows that the ethnic knowledge presented in the Belizean textbooks, on such topics as clothing, foods, dance, music, language, and ritual activities, was not relevant to elementary children's daily lives. Therefore, schoolchildren (ages 7-11) had difficulty giving the right answers on the social studies tests. The self-identification of children from mixed-ethnicity families also did not match their teachers' ethnic labels for them because there were no "mixed" categories in the existing curriculum.

Taiwan's school curricula are supposed to be implemented according to national curriculum standards. Under these circumstances, teachers are not allowed to teach ethnic materials not represented on the textbooks. In my sample school, the implementation of the Atayal language and dance courses has been added to the current school curricula based on the EPAs plan. Unlike Taiwan teachers' limited decision making in selecting their teaching materials, one U. S. Eskimo teacher (Lipka, 1991) demonstrates the extent to which he incorporates ethnic cultures into his classroom teaching; likewise, Jane Elliot—a female white elementary schoolteacher (in Peters, 1987)—develops children's empathetic feelings toward other ethnic groups through direct instruction.

In Lipka's study (1991), a fifth-grade Yup'ik teacher used Eskimo cultural customs and values in subject areas. He taught Yup'ik children the values—subsistence and survival—appreciated by Eskimos and introduced them to the Eskimos' annual beaver round-up festival held in the Bristol Bay region of Alaska. This teacher's first language was Yup'ik; most of the time he used English in his classroom teaching. He started his instruction as follows:

How many of you ever watched....somebody make a beaver pelt? What I want you to do is, I want you to hold this paper about like so in half and kind of pinch it down there. We are finding where the center might be. We're making a *aqsatuyaaq* (young beaver). What do you think you are going to do when you are all done? You are gonna make something about beaver round-up on the inside.
(p. 213)

These Eskimo students' responses to their teacher's instruction are described by Lipka: "The students are animated in this class. This is in contrast to the stereotypical image of the 'silent Indian'" (1991, p. 214).

In Peter's 1987 study, Elliot conducted a "discrimination day" experiment after Martin Luther King, Jr., was killed in 1968. This educational experiment took place in a small farming town in Iowa with 898 white people. Elliot's teaching arrangement aimed to have children experience the feelings associated with discrimination and rejection by others. According to the children's eye color, she divided them into a blue-eyed group and a brown-eyed group. The first teaching day, brown-eyed children were labeled as "superior" and given special privileges, like the use of the drinking fountain, five extra minutes of recess, and being first to lunch. They were also encouraged to mistreat the

blue-eyed children, for example by teasing them. The next day, roles were reversed within the two groups. After experiencing the simulation of unequal treatment in the classroom, most children said that if they were placed on the top, they felt happy, alert, and responsive in class. On the other hand, when they were placed on the bottom, their performance was poor. The result revealed by Peters shows that Elliot's teaching contributed to developing children's ability to empathize with other racial groups and enhanced their self-esteem and academic achievement.

Students are influenced by early family socialization prior to entering formal school education. The experiences that students have in their home cultures are used as screens to interpret the knowledge and experiences that they encounter at school. The study conducted by Quintana and Vera (1999) shows that parental ethnic socialization about ethnic discrimination was associated with Mexican-American second (n=22) and sixth (n=25) graders' development of ethnic knowledge ($r=.35^*$). Parental ethnic socialization refers to these parents' performance on a 5-point Likert-type scale composed of five questions: "(a) How important is it to you to teach your child about Mexican culture? (b) How would you feel if your child rejects the family's Mexican traditions? (c) Have you encouraged your child to learn Spanish? (d) Do you teach your child to be proud of being Mexican American? (e) How often do you discuss discrimination with your child?" (p. 394) To measure children's ethnic knowledge, a list of 10 different activities (such as celebrating with a pinata and eating menudo) was given children, who were asked to circle the activities as Mexican-oriented or Anglo-oriented. The result suggests that these parents played an important role in providing their children information about Mexican culture.

The following studies conducted by Taiwanese researchers (Chen, 1997; Huang, 2000; Tan, 1998) also show how personal and contextual factors influence children's knowledge and perceptions of indigenous groups. Huang (2000) surveyed about 900 third through sixth graders in middle Taiwan for understanding of their own tribal location, tribal ceremonies, traditional farming and hunting, language, dance, clothing, mythology, and taboos. The sample students were mainly selected from the Atayal and the Bunun groups. The results show that 30% of students knew where their ancestors used to live; 17% of students knew how the traditional weddings in their groups were held and the role played by a shaman. About 60% of children were aware of what crops their ancestors once planted and how they hunted; 50% of children understood their own languages. Half of students could sing their traditional songs and perform their dances; about 30% of students knew the meaning of their tribal accessories and clothing styles. Approximately 20% of students knew their tribal mythologies and taboos. On the whole, the Bunun children were more aware of their tribal cultures than the Atayal children were.

Tan's (1998) survey of 1800 fifth and sixth graders' attitudes toward Taiwan's aborigines indicates that television, children's literature, and the exhibitions of indigenous artifacts mainly provided children the information about aborigines in the following areas: indigenous students' learning ability, aborigines' personalities (such as friendliness and diligence), and aborigines' life styles (like hunting and dancing). Female students from high social class families had more understanding of and positive attitudes toward aborigines than others.

Chen (1997) interviewed 47 fourth, fifth, and sixth graders from the Paiwan tribes in southern Taiwan about their feeling about being aborigines, their willingness to learn tribal cultures, their views of aborigines' abilities, and their views of representing personal ethnicity on their own ID cards. The result shows that about 90 percent of students were willing to tell others their ethnicity and expected to learn aspects of their own culture, such as language. Furthermore, they wanted personal ID cards to carry their ethnicity.

I think that the previous studies frame my research in two areas. Regarding the dimension of children's understanding of ethnic groups, some researchers (Brophy & Alleman, 2000; Haugh, 1998; Huang, 2000) explore children's knowledge of ethnic groups. Other researchers (Chen, 1997; Tan, 1998) examine children's feelings or attitudes toward ethnic groups. Goodman (1964) and Kerwin et al. (1993) study how children label or recognize different ethnic groups. In my study, I focused on examining Atayal and Han Chinese children's knowledge of and attitude toward an Atayal historical figure, dance, language, and traditional practices, and how these children labeled and distinguished their own ethnic group from another ethnic group.

Furthermore, children's learning of ethnic groups is mainly influenced by their personal characteristics and contextual (or environmental) factors. This has been illustrated in the preceding studies (Lipka, 1991; Peters, 1987; Quitana & Vera, 1999; Tan, 1998). In my study, sample children were selected from middle and upper grades and they were from both Atayal and Han Chinese ethnic groups. I mainly explored how these children's age and ethnicity influenced their study of Atayal culture; I also took other factors, such as peers and neighbors, into consideration.

Minority Students' Educational Achievement

Gibson (1997) has pointed out that the term “minority” is generally locally constructed in its meaning and usage. In Canada this term is associated with linguistic minorities. In the Netherlands, the term is synonymous with an ethnic group that has occupied a low socioeconomic position over a long period of time. In Israel, the non-Jewish population is labeled as minority. People around the world vary in whom they consider to be minority groups in their own societies. Sometimes a minority group is associated with ethnicity but other times a group is considered as minority because of its social position or its group size. In my study the students are mainly from ethnic minority groups or lower socioeconomic families. Ethnic minority in Taiwan refers to aborigines because of their lower socioeconomic status and of their low proportion of the population.

There are discrepancies in many societies between the school performance of mainstream students and ethnic minority students (Jacob & Jordan, 1987). Compared to middle- and upper-class children, the school may be expected to provide children from lower socioeconomic families a significant environment for their cognitive growth because their families are less likely to provide them academic assistance (Ben-Ari & Kedem-Friedrich, 2000). This section provides a context for discussing my sample school students' academic performance. I also emphasize the role teachers play in promoting their students' cognitive development. The following perspectives provide a framework for understanding academic success and failure among minority youth.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the educational process was viewed by scholars as consisting of cultural transmission. Educational systems were thought to produce social

uniformity through inculcating social values and norms into individuals (Spindler & Spindler, 1997; Wolcott, 1991). In other words, schools were believed to carry out the function of socializing individuals. In this process, teachers take the primary responsibility of transmitting knowledge and attitudes compatible with students' home culture to enhance their students' learning. The school curricula are designed to accommodate these students' cultural attributes in their language and learning styles. Some studies of differential achievement among students (e.g., Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Heath, 1984; Singh, 1999) illustrate that students' school performances have been influenced by the disparity in patterns of interaction, such as participant structure and language code, between home and school.

Singh (1999) interviewed 39 Anglo-Australian teachers and 35 Samoan/Pacific Islander parents in a working-class community of Queensland, Australia. Based on these participants' expectations of their children's school education, Singh suggests that, to improve the educational outcomes of Samoan students, educators should consider the form of communication practices specific to this community in which youth are required to consider the perspectives of elders before expressing their opinions. This is different from the pattern of communication in Queensland schools where all students are required to freely express how much they know and formulate their own ideas.

The study conducted by Erickson and Mohatt (1982) shows that Native American children performed poorly in a classroom where individual and competitive performances were emphasized. One Anglo-Canadian teacher and one Native American teacher adapted their instructional practices to students' preferences for cooperative learning. For example, they allowed their students to join in small groups to answer questions. The

results suggest that the teachers' modification of their instruction was helpful for children's achievement. Heath's study (1984) conducted in Trackton, a low-income community of a southeastern city in the U.S., also shows elementary teachers encouraging their black students' participation in class by using directives similar to those parents used with their children at home, such as "Use the one on the back shelf" instead of the more ambiguous question "Why don't you use the one on the back shelf?" This group of studies suggests that differences between home and school cultures affect student achievement and that achievement can be improved by reducing such home-school differences.

In contrast to the purpose of school education posed by the cultural transmission perspective, reproduction theorists examine how schools maintain the status quo. Bourdieu points out that schools privilege the cultural capital (e.g., language) of dominant classes (Levinson, 1993); social reproduction theorists (Bowles & Gintis, 1976) argue that factory-like schools impose different standards and treatments on students based on their ascribed characteristics, such as social class and ethnicity. In other words, society's economic organization and mode of production are mirrored in educational systems. For example, Anyon (1980) demonstrates in her study that children from working-class families were taught obedience and rote memorization while children from middle- and upper-class families were provided more autonomy and creative activities. These students are being inculcated with skills, knowledge, and attitudes considered appropriate for their future roles in the occupational hierarchy (deMarrais & LeCompte, 1999). In other words, school education leads students to pursue occupations similar to those of their parents' (Wilder, 1995). Furthermore, Oakes's study (1985) reveals that

high school students of color are more likely to be assigned to lower track classrooms characterized by conformity and low-level thinking. Anyon and Oakes's studies question whether schools are able to provide individuals equality of educational opportunity because the content and quality of instruction and expectations of teachers for their students reflect class and ethnic inequalities. Likewise, Grant and Rothenberg's study (1986) examined the stratifying processes of grouping and tracking in the primary grades among high- and low-ability reading groups in three white-collar and five blue-collar classrooms. The result shows that reading groups restricted sample children's chances to achieve educational progress. For example, the students placed in the lowest reading groups in white-collar communities were prepared for downward mobility, while the students placed in the highest reading groups in blue-collar communities were prepared for upward mobility.

In addition to tracking, teachers' differential treatments of their ethnic minority students serve the function of sorting these students into future social positions. This partly corresponds to the occupational structure, as Irvine (1991) and Grant's (1981) research demonstrates. Irvine's (1991) examination of teachers' interactions with their students shows that teachers had more negative attitudes toward and used more negative verbal feedback with black children than white children in regard to their ability, language, and behavior. Grant (1981) explored classroom interaction among three African-American female teachers, three White female teachers, and their first-grade African-American students. The three sample schools were located in suburban, working, and lower-middle class communities in the metropolitan Detroit area. All these teachers praised African-American female students more for their social behavior, such

as taking care of other students, than for their academic skills. The teachers also regarded their African-American male students as mysterious and restless. As a result, black female students used low-key gestures and obeyed their teachers' rules in the classroom. The black male students responded to their teachers' expectations by challenging classroom rules and using "a mask of inattention" to hide their own academic performance. The behavior of these black students suggests the construct of alienated labor used by Bowles and Gintis (1976) to describe the detachment of students from their curriculum content and external rewards because of their lack of control over their own learning.

Moreover, Valenzuela's study (1999) revealed that one all-Mexican, inner-city high school in Houston not only minimized the transmission of students' Mexican culture and language but also produced their academic underachievement. In other words, these Mexican students could speak only English and did not identify with their own culture; their academic performance would not enable them to succeed in American society. Some factors, such as poor teaching quality and an American-centered curriculum, caused the preceding result. This study partly explains that ethnic minority students' social position has been reproduced through educational practices.

In summary, the cultural transmission approach to explaining student achievement is more micro-oriented. It places more emphasis on classroom events and teacher-student communication, such as learning styles, teaching styles, and linguistic codes. It does not consider social class factors or the larger social context. In contrast to such detailed accounts of classroom lives, reproduction scholars have shown that school practices--

tracking, curriculum, and teaching--serve to legitimize and enhance the existing social and economic structure.

In conjunction with the preceding theory of economic reproduction served by schooling, Ogbu and Simons (1998) have developed what they call a cultural-ecological perspective. Ogbu especially centers on examining how the subordinate and exploitative historical experiences of minorities generate their opposition to mainstream society. However, their resistance to school education also replicates a subordinate status (Achor & Morales, 1990). Following this, Ogbu has identified two types of minority groups. One is the immigrant or voluntary minority groups who enter a society in search of opportunity, such as Asian Americans who migrated to the U.S.. The other is castelike or involuntary minority groups who are incorporated into a society through slavery, conquest, or colonization, such as African Americans and Native Americans (Smith, 1995). The former believe that acquiring higher education and working hard make them succeed in U. S. society; the latter do not. Involuntary ethnic minority students' awareness of limited future job opportunities discourages them from pursuing academic achievement (Ogbu, 1994).

The transmission and reproduction perspectives stress how school education shapes and constrains learners' thoughts and actions; they are deterministic models. Both perspectives assume that school knowledge can be passed from one generation to the next one without being transformed, and they ignore students' abilities to construct meaning from the knowledge and attitudes offered by schooling rather than just passively accepting them. In contrast, the major argument made by cultural production theory stresses that individuals are not merely stimulated and constrained by their social

conditions but act on them (Borman, Fox, & Levinson, 2000; Goetz & Grant, 1988; Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996). Willis's (1977) ethnographic study shows that working class lads--teenagers in Britain--produce their own cultural forms expressed in their dress styles, smoking, drinking, fighting, and special language codes to counter the values promoted by the school, such as hard work and respect. Bourgois (2000, p. 328) gives further explanations of this study: "Willis emphasizes the meanings that individuals create in response to these positions....and sees the production of culture as active creation, by individuals, of new forms and styles that allow them to occupy (and often challenge) the structural positions capitalist society forces them into."

Willis's (1977) concern is centered on the question, "how and why working class lads come to accept working class jobs through their own apparent choice" (p. 185). Finally, he raises implications of the study for schoolteachers: "The teacher can play a sceptical, unglamorous real eye over industrial, economic and class cultural processes....teachers can place the counter-school culture in its proper social context...." (p. 190).

The arguments made by cultural production theorists and Vygotsky have been influenced by constructivism that assumes that people actively construct knowledge by themselves. Vygotsky also attends to how the social environment and interactions facilitate individuals' development and acquisition of skills and knowledge (Schunk, 2000). More discussion on constructivism is presented in Chapter 3.

I believe that Vygotsky's perspective serves to integrate the preceding transmission, reproduction, and production theories because Vygotsky simultaneously examines the dynamic relation among individuals and with their external environments.

On a more individual level, Blanck (1996) has pointed out, “ [Vygotsky] acknowledge[s] children as active agents in the educational process....because they internally elaborate pedagogical activity” (p. 50). On a more environmental level, Vygotsky (1978, p. 125) claims that, “the historical conditions which determine to a large extent the opportunities for human experiences are constantly changing....Therefore, a functional learning system of one child may not be identical to that of another, though there may be similarities at certain stages of development.”

Vygotsky also assumes that the individual’s psychological development and instruction are socially embedded (Hedegaard, 1996). The interaction between the individual and the social environment promotes the individual’s cognitive development. In other words, under the guidance of knowledgeable adults or competent peers, children are able to construct their understanding and knowledge or solve problems (Ben-Ari & Kedem-Friedrich, 2000; Borich & Tombari, 1996). The process or technique for guiding learners is called instructional scaffolding (Schunk, 2000).

From the perspective of Vygotsky (1978), teaching and learning take place in the individual’s zone of proximal development (ZPD). He defines ZPD as “the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (1978, p. 86). Teachers take an active role in guiding children’s thinking and helping them solve problems by using tools or instruments, such as technologies and language. Moll (1996) gives a more detailed explanation of ZPD as, “what children can perform collaboratively or with assistance today they can perform independently and competently tomorrow” (p. 3).

Vygotsky does not specifically say anything about differential achievement of minority students. I think that his ideas help me understand what is going on in class, so I infer from Vygotsky that minority students' academic success or failure cannot be attributed to school education alone. The development of people's cognitive ability is enhanced through the reciprocal interplay between individuals and social environments. For learners, outside environments are multiple; the learning process occurs across the different settings in which they are involved (Trueba, 1988). Because Vygotsky does not give definite accounts of scaffolding, I speculate that the instructional assistance provided for students may take diverse forms. Furthermore, Nieto (2000) has commented that teachers have low expectations of the students from poor, working-class, and culturally dominated groups. Therefore, I think that the ZPD concept developed by Vygotsky may encourage school educators to raise their expectations of minority students, to develop these students' potential, and to help them move beyond what they have been able to perform.

Students' assisted performance or guided participation has been illustrated in Ladson-Billings's (1994) study showing teachers who offer African American children instructional scaffolding; for example, one white teacher incorporated her students' interests into the classroom by decorating the walls with posters of their favorite sports and movie stars. Consequently, "students can move from what they know to what they need to know" (p. 124).

I take a stance examining my sample students' academic achievement from Vygotsky's view of education in the following aspects: (1) school education aims to create social contexts for facilitating students' cognitive growth and mastering cultural

tools, such as speech and language (Moll, 1996); (2) teaching and learning are grounded in a social discourse environment that is mutually and actively created by the teacher and students (Shepardson, 1999); (3) instructional assistance or scaffolding takes many forms, such as peer cooperation, demonstration, modeling, and leading questions (Ben-Ari & Kedem-Friedrich, 2000; Glassman, 2001; Zuckerman et al., 1998); (4) when students become more proficient and gradually internalize new learning experiences, teachers gradually offer less support (Rosenshine & Meister, 1992; Thornburg, 1993).

In conclusion, cultural transmission, transformation, and acquisition are all involved in the school education process. Reproduction theory points our attention to the downside of schools, like teachers' differential treatments of students based on their family socioeconomic status, their ethnicity, and gender; addressing this problem requires changes in school organization, teacher preparation, and societal goals.

In facing students' counter-school culture, Willis has suggested that school educators should be sensitive to the social conditions that construct the students' resistance. Cultural transmission theorists who study the failure of ethnic minority students also propose that the integration of these students' home and school cultures promotes their classroom participation. On the other hand, Ogbu is concerned about why some ethnic minority students succeed and others do not. He shows that ethnic minority students' identity formation and their attitudes toward schooling are historically situated and shaped; however, not all ethnic minority groups in the world can fit neatly into Ogbu's classification of involuntary and voluntary minority groups.

From a Vygotskian perspective for studying students' differential educational attainment, learners share some similarities in their psychological development. At the

same time, the impact of outside environments on learning varies from place to place and from time to time. Minority students' motivation for learning and their capabilities can be enhanced through teachers, or competent peers', assistance. Meanwhile, teachers accommodate their instruction to their students' situation by providing different forms of assistance. When these students become more competent, they are required to perform independently.

My research design arises out of the daily lives of an indigenous elementary school and its surrounding villagers. Goetz and Grant (1988) have commented "Researchers are more often incorporating two or more conceptual frames in their investigation [of gender in school education.]" I mainly use Vygotsky's scaffolding concept to examine how the language arts teachers facilitate their students' learning. Furthermore, from a reproduction perspective I explore whether the teachers perceive their students as more active or passive learners. The argument made by Ogbu—that the historical experience of ethnic minorities leads them to reflect upon who they are and when they have the opportunity to participate in the lives of a mainstream society—helps me examine Atayal adults' school education experience. Finally, I describe how my sample school teaches the children both Atayal culture and formal curriculum to fulfill its cultural transmission responsibility.



Figure2.1

Southeast Asia Map

Note. From *The Earth: An Introduction to the Physical and Human Geography* (p. 398), by H. J. de Blij, 1995, New York: John Wiley. Copyright 1994 by H. J. de Blij: Reprinted with permission.

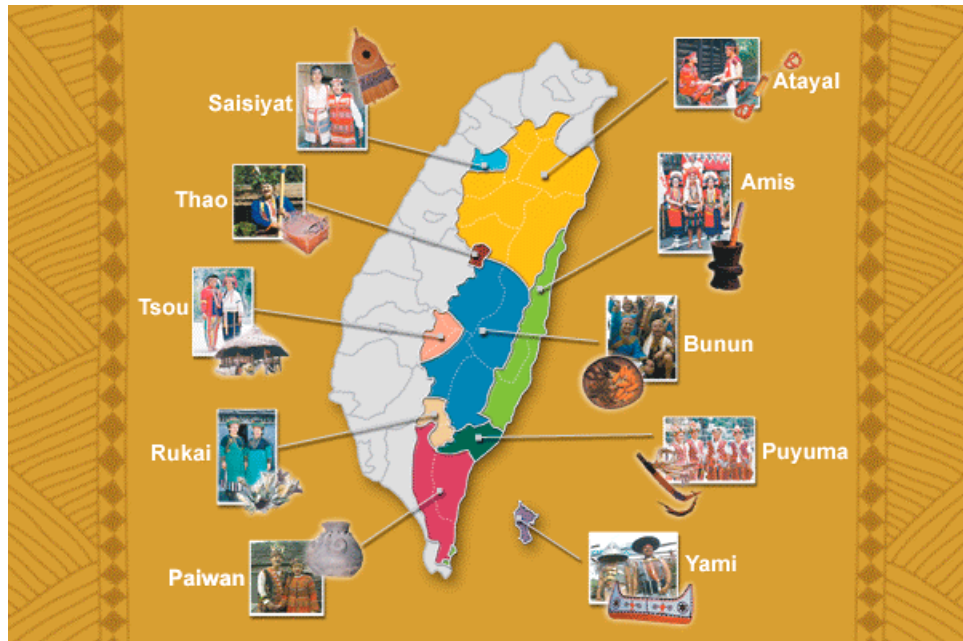


Figure 2.2

Distribution of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples

Note. From http://www.apc.gov.tw/english/ten/ten_index.htm, by Council of Indigenous Affairs, 2001c, Taipei, Taiwan. Copyright 2001 by Council of Indigenous Affairs. Reprinted with permission.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

My study explores the education of Taiwan's indigenous people. I am interested in studying the Atayal tribal persons because they live in the supervising area of the teachers college where I work as a lecturer. In the United States, ethnographic research on minority education has grown substantially since the 1950s (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991). However, in Taiwan, research on aborigines' school education has just begun. I hope my research will contribute to understanding Taiwan's indigenous education.

The ethnographic study I have conducted in Green Mountain Elementary School is framed by the philosophical premises of constructivism. As I note in Chapter 1, there are five questions addressed in this study: (1) What school education experiences do Atayal adults report in Green Mountain Village? How are the Atayal adults regarded by themselves and by the Han Chinese? (2) What school education experiences do Han Chinese adults report in Green Mountain Village? How are the Han Chinese adults regarded by themselves and by the Atayal? (3) How do Atayal adult villagers' educational experiences compare with those of Han Chinese adult villagers? (4) What have Atayal and Han Chinese children learned about Atayal culture? What factors influence their understanding of Atayal culture? (5) What regularly occurs in the language arts classrooms comprised of mixed groups of Atayal and Han Chinese children? What especially do the teachers and students in these classrooms do?

This section begins with a discussion of philosophical premises. Following that, research limitations, strengths, and assumptions are described. Then I introduce how I chose the research site, describe the participants, and discuss the impact of my roles in this study. The section concludes with a presentation of data collection and analysis, validity and reliability.

Philosophical Premises

The philosophical premises of constructivism largely influence the formulation my research questions and the selection of a research strategy—ethnography. Constructivists are concerned about the process by which meanings are actively created, negotiated, sustained, and modified by human beings within a specific context (Schwandt, 1994). As Crotty (1998, p. 56) writes, “Our knowledge of the natural world is as socially constructed as our knowledge of social world.”

An example of this is how the children I am studying express their understanding of the Atayal culture. They tend to use the ethnic categories—*shaang-ti jen* (mountain people, Chinese label for aborigines) and *ping-ti jen* (plains people, Chinese label for Han Chinese)—to attach meaning to Atayal culture. The names used to label both aborigines and Han Chinese have evolved over time and are historically and socially constructed (Barnard & Spencer, 1996; Stanfield, 1994). In the Ching Dynasty in the 17th century, Taiwan’s indigenous people were classified into *shou fan* (civilized barbarians, Chinese label for sinicized aborigines) and *sheng fan* (uncivilized barbarians, Chinese label for unsinicized aborigines) (Wang, 2001). Most aborigines lived in the mountains, so they were also called mountain people; in contrast, Han Chinese were called plains people, because they resided in plains. In fact, the term of *shaang-ti jen* is not accurate because

not all aborigines live on the mountains. By 1991, aborigines demanded that “*shaang-ti jen*” be replaced with “*yuan-chun-min*.” The term *yuan-chun-min* denotes that aborigines are native to Taiwan and are the original inhabitants of Taiwan. In 1994 President Lee Teng-hui announced that the term “*yuan-chun-min*” would be used in official government statements (Rubinstein, 1999b). Now Taiwan aborigines are becoming more conscious of how they are labeled and reflecting on who they are. Part of my interviews with aborigines focuses on their identity.

Furthermore, constructivists assume that individuals are active learners and knowledge creators (Perkins, 1999). When a set of values, knowledge, and attitudes are taught to children by teachers, learners do not merely accept what is taught. Rather, each student formulates his or her own understanding within a zone of proximal development (Brooks & Brooks, 1999; Maria, 2000; Vadeboncoeur, 1998) as I discussed in Chapter 2. Children’s understanding of the Atayal may vary depending on what they bring from outside the classroom, their personal backgrounds (e.g., ethnicity, gender, and social class), and their teachers’ instructional beliefs and practices.

My research interests focus on children’s interpretation of Atayal culture, teachers’ underlying beliefs about their students’ family backgrounds, and adult villagers’ reflections on their educational experiences, so the ethnographic approach has been selected to uncover my participants’ perceptions. The reconstructed understandings of the native point of view or culture are emphasized by both constructivists and ethnographers. Constructivism attempts to understand how people make meaning out of their experiences (Schwandt, 1994). Likewise, Geertz (1973, p. 5) relates, “ Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has

spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.”

An ethnographic inquiry best addresses my research questions for several reasons. The objective of most ethnographic research is to describe and explain the tacit cultural knowledge and beliefs held by individuals in their daily interaction. My study mainly centers on the practices of everyday life in classroom and playground in the form of teacher-student interaction around what is to be taught, how much of it is to be learned, and how teaching and learning are conducted (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Spindler & Spindler, 1997).

A school ethnography aims to make the familiar school lives manifest. It explicitly examines and interprets participants’ taken-for-granted beliefs and actions (Erickson, 1984). I think that ethnographic research allows me to gain a deeper understanding of daily school activities. These inquiry procedures are summarized in Marcus and Fischer’s (1999, p. 18) following statement:

Ethnography is a research process in which a researcher observes, records, and engages in the daily life of another culture—an experience labeled as the fieldwork method—and then writes accounts of this culture, emphasizing descriptive detail. These accounts are the primary form in which fieldwork procedures, the other culture, and the ethnographer’s personal and theoretical reflections are accessible to professionals and other readerships.

Research Limitations

There are limitations to this approach. First, the meaning of culture is multi-layered, but in this study I have narrowed my focus on Atayal culture to a few

dimensions: language, dance, artifacts, and history because sample elementary children have accessible resources to learn these contents. Second, I put more emphasis on studying how my sample minority students' family socioeconomic backgrounds influence teachers' instructional beliefs and practices. These factors, like gender, are important determinants of teachers' treatment of their students. Third, this research is conducted with only one elementary school; this limits the generalization of the findings to other elementary schools serving a mixture of Han Chinese and indigenous peoples. Fourth, I assume that these children's understanding of Atayal culture is developed through comparing it with Han Chinese culture. However, it is hard to find cultural symbols representing the Han Chinese culture on Taiwan to elicit children's understanding of it. Finally, the data were collected through observing and interviewing the daily lives of my participants. I did my interviews in Mandarin and Taiwanese, transcribed the data into Chinese, and then translated them into English. This process may have resulted in some change or loss of original meanings.

Research Strengths

Spindler and Spindler (1997, p. 73) point out that "a significant task of ethnography is to make what is implicit and tacit to informants explicit to readers." In the initial phases of this study, I have attempted to achieve this aim by revealing the children's ways of representing the Atayal culture: cultural communication and maintenance, distinction between the self and the other, and symbolic representation of the past. I also have tried to portray a more holistic picture of my study by interpreting the participants' school education experiences within the larger social and historical contexts of Taiwan.

Research Assumptions

Life is like theater; teaching is like performance. Goffman (1959) says that people perform institutionalized roles on the frontstage and are concerned about what images they present to their audience. Likewise, this concern with self-presentation may be found among my participants; therefore, I assume that what I encounter in the elementary school may not be what happens when I am absent. The school personnel and children may intentionally perform in particular ways in front of me. My study has evolved through continuous interplay between data collection and analysis over a long period of time (Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

The research process also requires me to reflect on the images that I have held for teachers in this mountainous area since I was a student in a teachers college. A common assumption among teachers college faculty is that incompetent teachers tend to serve in remote areas; on the other hand, well-qualified teachers tend to take positions in urban schools. Moreover, most of my indigenous college classmates majored in physical education and music, so I assumed at that time that indigenous children would be good at sports, dancing, and singing. However, in my observations conducted in 1999, I discovered that both aborigines and Han Chinese children play popular singers' songs and dance during their classroom breaks. What surprised me most was that they designed the dances by themselves. One female Han Chinese teacher also told me that the children in this mountain school were energetic and restless. However, the field experiences I have had have dispelled many of my personal stereotypes of indigenous children.

Teachers colleges in Taiwan offer programs for in-service teachers periodically. As an instructor of a teachers college, I expect that these sample teachers may have

anticipated being my students in the future, so they were willing to cooperate with me. Finally, I assume that my participants' lives are influenced by geographical factors, such as local weather, landscapes, and demographic compositions. Therefore, in the following section, I provide more spatial descriptions of my research settings including Taiwan, Green Mountain Village, and Green Mountain Elementary School.

Research Site

Taiwan (see Figure 3.1) is 250 miles long and 90 miles wide and is located off the southeast coast of China; it is bordered by the East China Sea on the north, the Pacific Ocean on the east, the Taiwan Strait on the west, and the South China Sea on the south and southwest. Taiwan's total land area is 13, 900 square miles, about the size of Maryland in the U.S. (10, 577 square miles). The Central Mountain Range is steep and rugged. One third of the land is arable; hills and mountains cover the rest of Taiwan. The climate in the north and mountainous regions is subtropical; the south's is tropical. The southeast monsoon brings rain to the south; the northeast monsoon brings rain to the north. So there are two rainy seasons; one occurs in the north between October and March, and the other in the south between May and September. On the whole, rain is frequent throughout the island (Wee, 1999).

My research setting--Green Mountain Elementary School (see Figure 3.2) built in 1917 during the Japanese occupation--is located in the middle part of the Central Mountain Range. The altitude of this mountainous region with 14 villages is about 3000 feet high. Betel palm trees, tea trees, and vegetables, such as cabbage and beans, are planted on the hills. Green Mountain Village where I conducted my research lies northeast of this region. It is an indigenous reservation--meaning that land cannot be sold

to nonaborigines. This village is frequently surrounded by mist and nestled in steep green mountains; however, on a sunny day, the blue sky contrasts with the green fir trees. In spring and summer, heavy thundershowers lasting one or two hours occasionally occur in the afternoon. After the rain, the temperature drops a little bit, and frogs and toads hop around the gardens. When the sun rises, it gradually becomes hot, forcing most people to wear caps or carry umbrellas. In the winter, the temperature is about 5-10 degrees Centigrade.

In this village, there are 1785 inhabitants; 75 % are Han Chinese and 25 % are Atayal aborigines. The sightseeing attractions--Green Lake and the Monument for Monen Rudux (the Atayal hero I described previously who fought against Japanese tyranny and died in 1930)--adjacent to the elementary school have made this area a commercial, transportation, and administrative center. Candidly I was shocked that some Atayal and Han Chinese people drank so much alcohol with their meals. However, only the Atayal had a bad reputation for drinking; they were considered heavy drinkers or alcoholics by my Han Chinese participants even though this pattern of alcohol use was shared by both groups.

The school is within walking distance of the village's main street (see Figure 3.3). On the main street, most Han Chinese own restaurants, souvenir stores, hotels, tea stores, farms, and orchards; the majority of the personnel of the local government offices--the police station, post office, village office, health center--are Atayals. Other Atayals make their living by picking tea leaves and planting fruits, vegetables, and rice, working for Han Chinese or Atayal employers. Next to the elementary school is a road leading down

to Green Lake. The Green Mountain Senior Vocational School is located on the opposite side of the road.

I began my fieldwork in May of 1999 with the aim of examining whether Taiwanese children's peer relationships were influenced by their ethnic backgrounds. After deciding on this focus, I told my friend--Mr. Fang--that I needed to find an elementary school with both indigenous and Han Chinese children to investigate the question. Mr. Fang, a man in his early 50s, has worked as the elementary school principal for some years in Nantou County. He introduced me to Green Mountain Elementary School because this school is composed of Atayal and Han Chinese children and its principal was his good friend. With Mr. Fang's help, I was permitted access to the school.

The school is built of white-painted concrete. Inside its front archway, there is an open-air playground for holding a weekly flag-raising ceremony. This playground also functions as a physical education classroom and a leisure space for local inhabitants to exercise by riding a bike, dancing, and playing basketball, swings, and slides. Lunch is provided for school personnel and students. The kitchen is situated at the upper-left corner of the playground. A hallway serving as an area for displaying students' work equally divides the school building. On the right side, the staff office, a health center, classrooms for lower graders and a library are on the first floor, while the principal's office, classrooms for middle graders, a teaching materials classroom, and a computer classroom are on the second floor. On the left side, the classroom for kindergarteners is on the first floor; classrooms for higher graders are on the second floor. A garden with plum trees is built behind these buildings. In the natural science class, children are taught

how to raise insects, such as silk worms and beetles. They have to observe and record the insects' development. When the plums ripen in June, younger children like to pick them to feed their beetles, who live in transparent plastic boxes. Teachers also use these plums to reward their students' good performances.

Most students get to school by walking or bus, but some parents drive their children to school. During the morning clean-up period, some students stay in class eating breakfast or doing their unfinished homework, and others start sweeping the surroundings, disposing of garbage, fallen leaves, and dried sticks. All students are required to be present on campus between 7:50 and 8:00.

All staff members have to participate in the morning meeting presided over by the principal. The teachers of lower graders usually arrive at the school before 7: 50 because they have to help their students with cleaning activities. Teachers usually gather in the staff office several times a day, where they have assigned desks, to do their work and to relax. They participate in a 10-minute meeting every morning before the first class, returning to the staff office during the break, and converge there again after lunch. Before the first class starts, the teachers usually make use of 20 minutes [8:15-8:35 Teacher Time] to make sure that their students have finished assigned homework. A monthly calendar jammed with school activities is posted on the blackboard in front of the office along with the daily schedule. Without stepping out of the office, people can clearly hear the sounds of birds and insects from outside.

Daily Schedule

7:30-7:50 Morning Clean-Up	11:50-12:40 Lunch
7:50-8:00 Morning Meeting	12:40-13:10 Recess
8:00-8:15 Morning Assembly	13:20-14:00 Fifth Class
8:15-8:35 Teacher Time	14:05-14:45 Sixth Class
8:40-9:20 First Class	14:50-15:30 Seventh Class
9:30-10:10 Second Class	15:30-15:40 Clean-Up Activity
10:20-11:00 Third Class	15:40-16:00 Homework Time
11:10-11:50 Fourth Class	16:00-16:10 Dismissal

I did the systematic data collection in the third phase of my fieldwork (March through June 2001), so this elementary school's demographic information is from this period. The school housed 131 people: 116 students, 11 teachers, and four staff members (a principal, a nurse, a janitor, and a cook). The student-teacher ratio of this remote school was lower than the average ratio (32:1) of Taiwan elementary schools (Chalker & Haynes, 1994). The students in the school were mainly from Green Mountain village and neighboring villages, and the ratio of Atayal to Han Chinese students was about 3 to 2. Not counting 23 kindergartners, the elementary student body has decreased from 150 to 93 within eight years (1993-2001). This has occurred primarily because some Atayal and Han Chinese parents prefer to send their children to elementary schools located in the nearby town where some teachers now live, which explains why the ethnic profile of the school does not reflect that of the village's 1-to-3 ratio of Atayal to Han Chinese. According to a male teacher, who has been at this school about 10 years, these parents believe that their children are able to receive more cultural stimuli in the town schools than in the village school.

In my third phase of fieldwork, the ratio of Atayal teachers to Han Chinese teachers was about 1: 2 and the ratio of female teachers to male teachers was about 7: 4. The faculty turnover rate of this remote school is about 50% annually. The school is

classified as a remote school, so school personnel receive extra salary. Moreover, the student population is relatively small, so schoolteachers may not have as heavy teaching loads as in other Taiwanese elementary schools. Under these circumstances, some schoolteachers have stayed here more than five years. Most choose to live in a nearby town instead of living in the school dormitories even though it takes them about one hour to drive to school. New schoolteachers tend to leave this school because life in the mountainous area is considered boring, or because they want their own children to receive better school education.

In Taiwan, all elementary schools provide programs for first through sixth grades. This is the same for my sample school (see Appendix A); however, Green Mountain Elementary School has only one class at each grade level. Primary schooling places students of the same age in the same classroom. Remedial courses are designed for students with poor performances in mathematics and Mandarin. Third through sixth graders are required to attend the Atayal language and dance courses included in the formal school curricula. Since 1997, these two programs have been implemented based on the Educational Priority Areas (EPAs) plan that aims to equally distribute educational resources for improving teaching facilities in geographically remote areas and enhancing ethnic and socioeconomic minority students' educational achievements (Ministry of Education, 2000). Time for these two courses was taken from time assigned to physical education and extracurricular activities. Prior to my third visit, only one private kindergarten was available for some village children. Other children stayed at home and were taken care of by their grandparents. In 2000, the principal of my sample elementary school decided to get funds from the EPAs plan to build a kindergarten, so now this

school is able to offer children preschool instruction. A female Han Chinese teacher, in her early thirties, was responsible for teaching these children to dance or draw pictures in the classroom where the floor was covered with a piece of rectangular carpet. The class usually dismissed at 3:00 p.m., and parents would take their kindergarten children home.

Selection of Participants

My research focuses on Green Mountain Elementary School children's understanding of Atayal culture, schoolteachers' language arts instruction, and Atayal and Han Chinese adults' school education experience. I have used criterion-based selection to choose my participants (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) so I looked for those who could satisfy the following criteria.

First, Rotheram and Phinney (1986) suggest that children living in ethnically integrated schools are more likely aware of differences among ethnic groups, so I chose Green Mountain Elementary School for study because it was composed of children and school personnel from both Atayal and Han Chinese groups (see Tables 3.1 & 3.2). Second, I selected children mainly from third, fourth, and fifth graders because they were required to attend Atayal language and dance courses. Third, the teachers I selected for this study were those who were responsible for teaching these children language arts: Ms. Tang (third-grade teacher), Ms. Sun (fourth-grade teacher), and Mr. Wan (fifth-grade teacher). At first I planned to observe social studies teachers' instruction. I am familiar with social studies more than other subjects because I taught third graders social studies about one year when I was a student teacher. However, these social studies teachers declined my request of observing their teaching activities. That is why I focused on language arts in my observations. The Atayal language course was taught by an Atayal

cleric; the Atayal dance course was taught by two indigenous teachers from the Rukai tribe.

During the third and fourth phases of my research, I resided in the hotel near this elementary school. This allowed me to get acquainted with local residents, and my interviews with Atayal and Han Chinese adults took place in the neighborhood. Among these Atayal interviewees, Mr. Tsai, Mr. Lu, Ms. Cheng, and Ms. Liu were currently students at Green Mountain Senior Vocational School (see Table 3.3). Likewise, among the Han Chinese interviewees, Mr. Lee was a student at this vocational school (see Table 3.4). More detailed descriptions of my participants are discussed in the later chapters.

Table 3.1

Demographic Characteristics of Students at Green Mountain Elementary School for 2001

	Atayal		Han Chinese		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Grade 1	5	4	3	0	12
Grade 2	3	5	8	1	17
Grade 3	6	4	4	2	16
Grade 4	3	0	1	2	6
Grade 5	8	5	7	2	22
Grade 6	5	6	5	4	20
Kindergartners	5	5	6	7	23
Total	35	29	34	18	116

Table 3.2

Demographic Characteristics of Personnel at Green Mountain Elementary School for 2001

Name	Position	Ethnicity	Years of Teaching (schooling)	Grade
Ms. Wang	principal	Han Chinese	20	
Ms. Bau	administrator & social studies teacher	Atayal	26	3-6
Ms. Lee	administrator & music teacher	Atayal	15	3-6
Mr. Liu	natural science teacher	Han Chinese	11	3-6
Ms. Su	first-grade substitute teacher	Bunun*	5	1
Ms. Hu	second-grade teacher	Han Chinese	10	2
Ms. Tang	third-grade teacher	Atayal	8	3
Ms. Sun	fourth-grade teacher	Han Chinese	4	4
Mr. Wan	fifth-grade substitute teacher	Han Chinese	5	5
Mr. Cheng	sixth-grade substitute teacher	Han Chinese	4	6
Mr. Shaw	special education teacher	Han Chinese	3	
Ms. Van	kindergarten teacher	Han Chinese	2	
Ms. Hsu	nurse	Atayal	8	
Ms. Chen	janitor	Atayal	23	
Ms. Lin	cook	Han Chinese	5	

* Another one of Taiwan's indigenous groups

Table 3.3

Demographic Characteristics of Atayal Adult Interviewees

Name	Occupation	Educational Level
Ms. Hsu	Green Mountain Elementary School nurse	junior college
Ms. Wu	Green Mountain Village Office staff	high school
Mr. Chen	Green Mountain Village Office staff	junior college
Mr. Lin	Green Mountain Senior Vocational School teacher	university
Mr. Peng	Green Mountain Senior Vocational School teacher	university
Ms. Tu	housewife	high school
Mr. Tsai	Green Mountain Senior Vocational School student	second grade
Mr. Lu	Green Mountain Senior Vocational School student	first grade
Ms. Cheng	Green Mountain Senior Vocational School student	first grade
Ms. Liu	Green Mountain Senior Vocational School student	first grade

Table 3.4

Demographic Characteristics of Han Chinese Adult Interviewees

Name	Occupation	Educational Level
Mr. Ye	a hotel owner *	junior high school
Mr. Wang	a hardware store owner *	vocational high school
Mr. Kung	a medical doctor	university
Ms. Chou	Green Mountain Senior Vocational School janitor	junior high school
Mr. Lai	a van driver	elementary school
Mr. Shen	a grocery store owner *	vocational high school
Mr. Tian	a tea businessman	junior high school
Ms. Chai	a temporary employee of a census office	vocational high school
Ms. Wang	a housewife	junior college
Mr. Lee	Green Mountain Senior Vocational School student	second grade

* They also managed these businesses.

The Researcher Role

This ethnographic study is mainly built upon fieldwork. In this section, I describe how personal characteristics influence my establishing rapport with the participants and then explain how my research roles evolve through this research process.

My Personal Attributes

The conduct of fieldwork relies on recording what has happened in the setting, listening to what people say, and collecting different kinds of documents. This process involves my personal experiences in the understanding of my participants' perspectives and how I have presented myself in the field (Agar, 1996; Tedlock, 2000). In this respect, Peshkin (1988, p. 21) suggests, "Subjectivities mute the emic perspective"; therefore, I have tried to identify aspects of my identity and personal experiences most influential in my reacting to the participants.

At the time of research, I was in my early thirties, a single female Han Chinese from a family where my father served the local government and my mother was a

housewife. My older brother and younger sister have established their own families. When I was a child, my father was the breadwinner, so my mother was in charge of monitoring my siblings' and my school homework and behavior. For example, we were required to finish our homework before watching television; we also had to behave ourselves (e.g., using proper languages).

My family lived in a small city with limited educational and cultural resources. To pursue better school education, my siblings and I left home to study at the high schools and colleges located in metropolitan areas. After high school, I did not perform well on my college entrance examination. Based on the score, I chose to study at a teachers college to become an elementary schoolteacher. At that time, after school I worked as a tutor, usually teaching about two elementary schoolchildren homework at their homes once a week. I helped them make progress in their academic performances. This experience enabled me to discover that I was able to raise my students' grades. I wanted to know more about what motivated and hindered people's passion for learning. So after college, instead of becoming an elementary schoolteacher, I worked on a master's degree and then became a lecturer at a teachers college. While I was working on a doctoral degree in the U.S., I took leave from my teaching job at the teachers college in Taiwan.

During my fieldwork, I seldom used makeup and often carried a backpack; this probably made me look younger because the elementary schoolchildren tended to regard me as a big sister. After class, some children liked to pull my hands and talk to me. Furthermore, I found that the use of a camera aided me in establishing rapport with the children (Collier & Collier, 1986; Fetterman, 1998). Younger children were interested in

my work, especially when I documented school settings and activities by taking photographs. When their curiosity disturbed my observations, I would try to tell them to leave me alone gently. I partly attribute this patience for children to my one year's teaching experience with third graders at the laboratory school at one of Taiwan's teachers colleges and the training I received in elementary education during my master's program. Moreover, I hesitated to yell at these naughty children because they reminded me of my one-year-old niece's cute behavior. For example, she often pretended to put her pacifier into my mouth. However, she was just teasing me because she immediately put it back into her mouth when I approached her. Therefore, I tried to suppress a hasty reaction to these children's attempts to distract me, but sometimes this was a challenge.

Second, it seemed that my ethnic background as a Han Chinese might preclude me from participating in local school personnel's social activities. In 2000, the school auditorium made of concrete was slightly damaged by an earthquake; this resulted in some cracks on the walls. One afternoon, the principal and some upper elementary graders were busy cleaning some blocks of concrete because the ceremony for rewarding children's painting was to be held the next morning. I also joined in their cleaning activity. After the ceremony, I was invited to have lunch with a group of female Atayal school administrators. Most of their conversation was carried out in Atayal although they can speak Chinese. Despite the invitation, it seemed that they were reluctant to let me join fully in their group, and their behavior made me feel uncomfortable. In light of this experience, when I started interviewing Atayal adults in 2001, I tried to contact people through the Atayals I already knew. For example, Ms. Hsu, the school nurse, has earned parents' trust in this area by taking care of the schoolchildren. Owing to her help, I was

able to interview some village office staff members. Mr. Lin, an Atayal teacher at the vocational high school, is concerned about indigenous education so he voluntarily introduced to me his Atayal students and colleagues from the vocational school. Using these approaches, I have found that these Atayal interviewees were more willing to talk to me and accepted my tape recording.

When I conducted the interviews with the Han Chinese adult villagers in 2002, I mainly chose participants from the store owners on the village main street. I was their customer, so they were less likely to reject my request. These people also would introduce their acquaintances to me. Even though I asked fifteen adult Han Chinese about their school education experiences, five people (e.g., the breakfast store's owner in her forties) declined my interviews. Those people who declined had received only an elementary or junior high school education, so I speculate that they did not want to answer my questions because they felt embarrassed about their lower educational attainment.

As some researchers (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Van Maanen, 1988) remind us, fieldworkers who live in an unfamiliar culture and community are more likely to encounter unpredictable episodes. As a female researcher, I especially paid attention to my personal safety. For example, I always carefully locked my door when I returned to the hotel. However, this village's social order was calm, and most residents knew each other. In spite of this, I still had an uncomfortable experience. One day as I ate my breakfast at a food store, three villagers—one female and two males—joined in my table. These persons with rough hands looked like manual laborers. After drinking beer for few minutes, one male, about forty years old, started talking to me, "I have never seen you

before. Where are you from? Do you have a boyfriend?” I did not like this male’s direct questioning because his behavior was a little rude; afterward, I thought that workers were more likely to express their ideas directly. Considering the experience in this way, I tried not to let bad feeling would affect my getting along with other villagers.

Finally, teachers colleges in Taiwan train student teachers, provide teacher certificates, supervise adjacent elementary schools, and offer teachers in-service programs. As a lecturer with two years of teaching experience at a teachers college, I perceived these school personnel as my collaborators. In other words, we participated together in the process of improving educational practices (Koster, Korthagen, & Wubbels, 1998; Wagner, 1997). In fact, it took me time and effort to earn the schoolteachers’ trust and cooperation. For example, in my earlier visits, I showed my interview questions to Ms. Tang and Ms. Sun. Ms. Tang asked what my questions were about. Ms. Sun just put these questions on her desk and told me that she was very busy. After that, my major professor and committee members helped me revise the interview questions in the U. S. When I went back to this school in 2001, I showed the sample schoolteachers my questions (see Appendix D), gave them more detailed explanations about my work, and they agreed to participate in my study.

Four Stages of Fieldwork

My study involved four phases of fieldwork (see Table 3.5). I started by investigating whether ethnicity influenced both Atayal and Han Chinese children’s peer relationships in May, 1999. When I found that these children played and studied together at school, it seemed that their choice of friendships was unaffected by their ethnic backgrounds. I decided to shift my focus to consider how the children perceive Atayal

culture and whether their teachers make changes in their instructional practices in response to students' conditions. My data collection in May, 2000, was interviewing teachers and students to formulate my research design. During the third period (March—June, 2001), I observed teachers' classroom instruction, asked about their understanding of Atayal culture, investigated children's conceptualization of the Atayal, and interviewed Atayal adult villagers about their school education experience. After analyzing and interpreting these data, I returned to the research site in 2002 to interview Han Chinese adult villagers' educational experiences in school in comparison to those of Atayals and to complete other miscellaneous data collection tasks.

The researcher role is multifaceted (Mandell, 1988) and it varies from situation to situation (Marvin & Lyman, 1968). I adopted different roles across the stages of my research. Based on the level of my involvement in the participants' daily lives and the degree of their attention to me, the roles I have been playing in this research may be summarized as follows: a more active and obvious participant, a balance between a participant and an observer, and a more passive and less visible observer.

As Stacey (1991, p. 113) notes, "Ethnographic research depends upon human relationship, engagement, and attachment." At the beginning of the study, I engaged in school activities. For example, I participated in daily events like the flag-raising ceremony, classroom instruction, and dismissal. Teachers and students asked who I was and why I was there, and I told them about my research interests and what I intended to do. Because the principal and teachers knew that I was unfamiliar with the area, they offered details about how to get to this site, the weather, accommodations, and the demographic composition of local residents.

When I returned to the same school the following year, half of teachers were newcomers. School personnel inquired about the purpose of my research by asking, “Is this for your dissertation?”, “Why do you choose our school?” I told them that I was working on my doctoral degree in the U. S. and that, with the assistance of a friend, I was able to reenter this site. Gradually, they became more accustomed to my presence on campus; this is illustrated by their manner in setting me a place for lunch and asking me about absences, like “Where were you?” or “You should have been here yesterday.”

In the final phases of my study, I moved from a role of more active participant to a more peripheral position (Adler & Adler, 1987). For instance, in the second phase of my study, I observed one male third grader making faces at the girl next to him when the teacher turned her back to write on the board. At that moment, I pretended to pull my face to stop his behavior. However, as a more peripheral participant, I tried to limit my involvement in dealing with students’ misbehavior. When classes were in progress, I was present to take fieldnotes but not to participate or interact with students. In these situations, I tried to be more like the passive participant as described by Spradley (1980, p. 59): “The ethnographer engaged in passive participation is present at the scene of action but does not participate or interact with other people to any great extent.” This more limited interaction with teachers also allowed me to gain more trust from the children. Because of my annual visits, some school personnel have become more familiar with me. Sometimes it seemed that they ignored my existence. For example, the ceiling of one staff office would leak on rainy days. One day two female administrators loudly quarreled with each other because they each hesitated to assume responsibility for the ceiling’s repair. I had understood them to be good friends. Each had told me that school

members looked after each other and that this school was like a big family. Watching them fighting over this matter, I felt a little surprised.

Table 3.5

The Time Line of the Study

Date	What was done
May-June 1999	Gaining access Initial data collection
May-June 2000	2 nd round of data collection
March-June 2001	3 rd round of data collection
July-September 2001	Review of literature
October-November 2001	Data analysis and interpretation
December 2001-February 2002	Final data collection
March-April 2002	Final data analysis and interpretation

Data Collection

Ethnographic fieldwork aims to make inferences from participants' daily lives by observing what they do, listening to what they say, and collecting the artifacts they use (Spradley, 1980; Wolcott, 1995). In this study, the data mainly include interviews, observations, and written artifacts.

Most interviews I conducted in Mandarin or Taiwanese were tape-recorded. All conversations were transcribed into Mandarin, and then I translated them into English with my English editors' assistance. As I listened to the participants, I tried to jot down their other reactions, such as silence and laughing. For interviewing about children's understanding of the Atayal, I used pictures (see Appendix B) taken by myself and

photographs shown in the Atayal language textbook as media to elicit their responses, to stimulate their memory, and establish rapport with them (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Prosser & Schwartz, 1998; Walker, 1993; Yow, 1994). Compared to adults, children are less likely to engage in lengthy conversation, so the process was guided by semistructured questions (see Appendix C). Merriam (1998) says, “In this type of interview either all of the questions are more flexibly worded, or the interview is a mix of more and less structured questions” (p. 74). My interviews with the children were done individually; they took about half an hour for each student in the school library.

I was concerned about how the teachers interpret their experiences, so I used open-ended questions to give them more flexibility to express their ideas (Seidman, 1998). Clandinin and Connelly (1996) also point out that teachers’ professional lives include two parts. One occurs behind the classroom door with students, and the other occurs in professional spaces with other adults. The latter is a place where teachers are told by researchers, policy makers, and administrators about what they should do and what is good for students. I think that my interview questions for teachers (see Appendix D) may be appropriate for probing their voices behind the preceding public-oriented remarks. Likewise, I have used these kinds of questions to understand Atayal and Han Chinese adults’ school lives (see Appendix E and Appendix F). These interviews took place either in the school office, in the village office, or in the stores on the main street.

I have described my position as a participant observer in the preceding section on researcher role. Here, I relate how I conducted my observations. My observations of teachers’ instruction in language arts, Atayal language, and dance were recorded by writing fieldnotes. Fieldnotes are written accounts of what the researcher sees, hears, and

experiences in the course of collecting and reflecting on the data; they provide readers visual, auditory, and olfactory images of the scenes, settings, objects, peoples, and actions in the field (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). I participated in most of the school activities that occurred across the day; later, I put greater emphasis on observing the language arts instruction in the third, fourth, and fifth grade classrooms, and the two Atayal programs. Because classroom life is so routinized that it is not easy to maintain close attention for hours on end, I tried to break my observations into units of about an hour in length, interspersed with other activities, like elaborating on the notes I took the previous hour. All classroom instruction was in Mandarin. The language arts courses were taught by regular schoolteachers. The Atayal language course was taught by an Atayal cleric once a week; in this forty-minute per week course, the students were required to pronounce Atayal words, phrases, and sentences using the Roman alphabets. The Atayal dance course was taught by two Rukai dancers; in this weekly 120-minute course, the students learned dancing steps and movements. A detailed portrait of these courses is presented in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

In addition to describing the setting of the classrooms and the behaviors of teachers and students, I made an effort to capture their conversations by using direct quotes. After leaving the setting, I recorded my personal thoughts and reflections in the notes. I also tried to avoid writing down matters that teachers or students would regard as embarrassing, as Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) suggest: the main reason for doing this was to save their face and protect their self-esteem so that they might not reject my observing their classroom activities. Written artifacts or documents collected in the study include an elementary school map, a village map, language arts and Atayal language

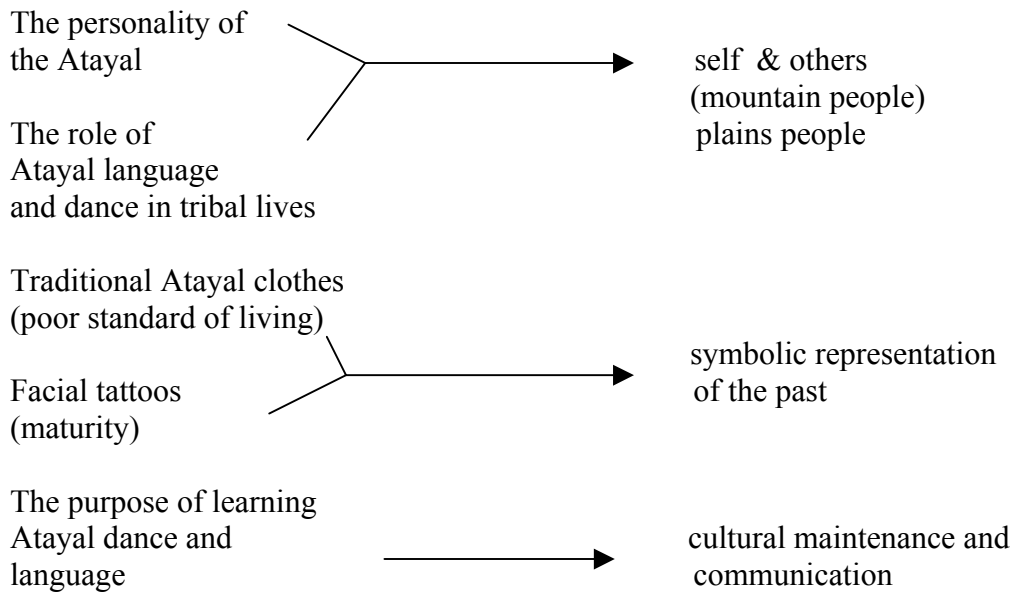
textbooks, curriculum guides, student enrollment records, government documents (about the implementation of Atayal language and dance programs, and students' after-school language arts and mathematics classes based on EPAs plan), students' grades, community demographic records, and student personnel documents on school transfers, health, and attendance.

Data Analysis

As Peacock (1998) suggests, ethnography reveals the general through the particular and the abstract through the concrete. The process of my data analysis includes three steps: (1) reading the verbatim transcriptions of interviews and fieldnotes, (2) classifying these descriptions into categories, (3) connecting the categories and seeking relationships among them (Dey, 1993; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

During this process, I searched for categories from participants' responses through constantly contrasting and comparing these data (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). For example, after interviewing 10 children's understanding of the Atayal culture in 2000 (see Appendix G), I tentatively classified their narratives into three categories: cultural communication and maintenance, distinction between self and other, and symbolic representation of the past. I also visually illustrated the relationship between the categories and the dimensions of the Atayal culture as follows. These children liked to call Atayals *shaang-ti jen* [mountain people] and Han Chinese *ping-ti jen* [plains people]. All sample children thought that the Atayals had stronger personalities than the Han Chinese. They related that the purpose of learning Atayal language and dance was to communicate with the Atayal and to maintain this tribe's culture. They also knew that Atayals' facial tattoos symbolize their adulthood. Furthermore, they said that in the past

Atayals' material lives were poor because their traditional clothes were not as "good" as modern ones. Based on these temporary findings, I revised my interview questions and interviewed 23 children in 2001; the result is presented in Chapter 6.



My rationale for constructing these concepts is mainly based on how Claude Levi-Strauss (McGee & Warms, 2000) and Clifford Geertz (1973) view culture. Levi-Strauss argues that the underlying pattern of human thought takes the form of binary contrasts; culture is composed of psychological structures by means of which individuals guide their behavior. In contrast to Levi-Strauss's viewing culture as mental modes, Geertz points out that culture is manifest and expressed in the symbols shared by the public. He also (1973, p. 89) defines culture as follows: "it denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."

According to Levi-Strauss, children's ways of looking at the world are dualistic by using opposite constructs, like mountain-plains, and self-other; this situation is illustrated

in my interviews conducted in 2000 and 2001. For example, sample children tended to distinguish their ethnic group from others' based on where they once lived by using two terms—*shaang-ti jen* (mountain people), and *ping-ti jen* (plains people). Han Chinese children related that *shaang-ti jen* should learn Atayal language and dance. For example, one male Chinese fourth grader said, "We *ping-ti jen* do not need to learn these courses [Atayal language and dance] because they belong to *shaang-ti jen*." Furthermore, because of the Atayal's revolt against the Japanese, some children thought that *shaang-ti jen* had stronger personalities than *ping-ti jen*. For example, one male Atayal child said, "When Monen Rudux yelled, 'Kill!' immediately, all Atayals rushed to combat with the Japanese soldiers. However, *ping-ti jen* did not. Our personality is stronger."

I attended to consistencies and contradictions in my interviewees' narratives (Perks & Thomas, 1998). For analysis of classroom activities, I used Lofland's focus on acts and actors, activities, settings, ways of participating, relationship, and meanings (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). Furthermore, I organized my data by writing a narrative of the classroom instruction I observed as though I was telling a story. I also analyzed and represented my Atayal and Han Chinese adult villagers' educational experiences in a narrative form.

Validity and Reliability

The fiction-like character of ethnographic narratives has aroused concern about the degree to which the research report represents participants' lived experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Marcus & Fischer, 1999). Some methods are adopted to increase the credibility of my study: keeping research journals, using member checks, and triangulating different data.

Throughout the research process, I kept journals to examine my personal thoughts and feelings in this relatively small and geographically remote site. Using member checks permits fieldworkers “to obtain confirmation that the report has captured the data constructed by the informants, or to correct, amend, or extend it” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 236). After transcribing the interviews or fieldnotes, I gave older children, the teachers, and Atayal and Han Chinese adults copies for review, elaboration, and clarification. For younger children, I tried to clarify my confusion about what they said during the interview process. The respondents’ feedback on my transcriptions helped me collect additional data; for example, Mr. Wan, a fifth-grade teacher, explained why he ignored his students’ questions and their resistance in class. In fact, not all participants had spare time to respond to my descriptions; therefore, I also triangulated different data sources including fieldnotes, interviews, personal field diaries, and other documents to cross-check the accuracy of the data (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). For example, I compared what I had seen and heard in the classrooms with my conversations with other villagers and parents about the schoolteachers’ instruction.

To enhance the possibility of replicating the study (Creswell, 1994), I have tried to give detailed descriptions of the whole research process, including gaining access to the research site, selecting participants, collecting data, constructing categories and themes, and writing this dissertation. Finally, Green Mountain Elementary School children’s perceptions of Atayal culture, the strategies used by the language arts teachers to help their students with schoolwork, and Atayal and Han Chinese adults’ experiences of school lives are discussed in the following chapters of the dissertation. These patterns

are offered for review and critique by other scholars concerned with intergroup relationships across societies.

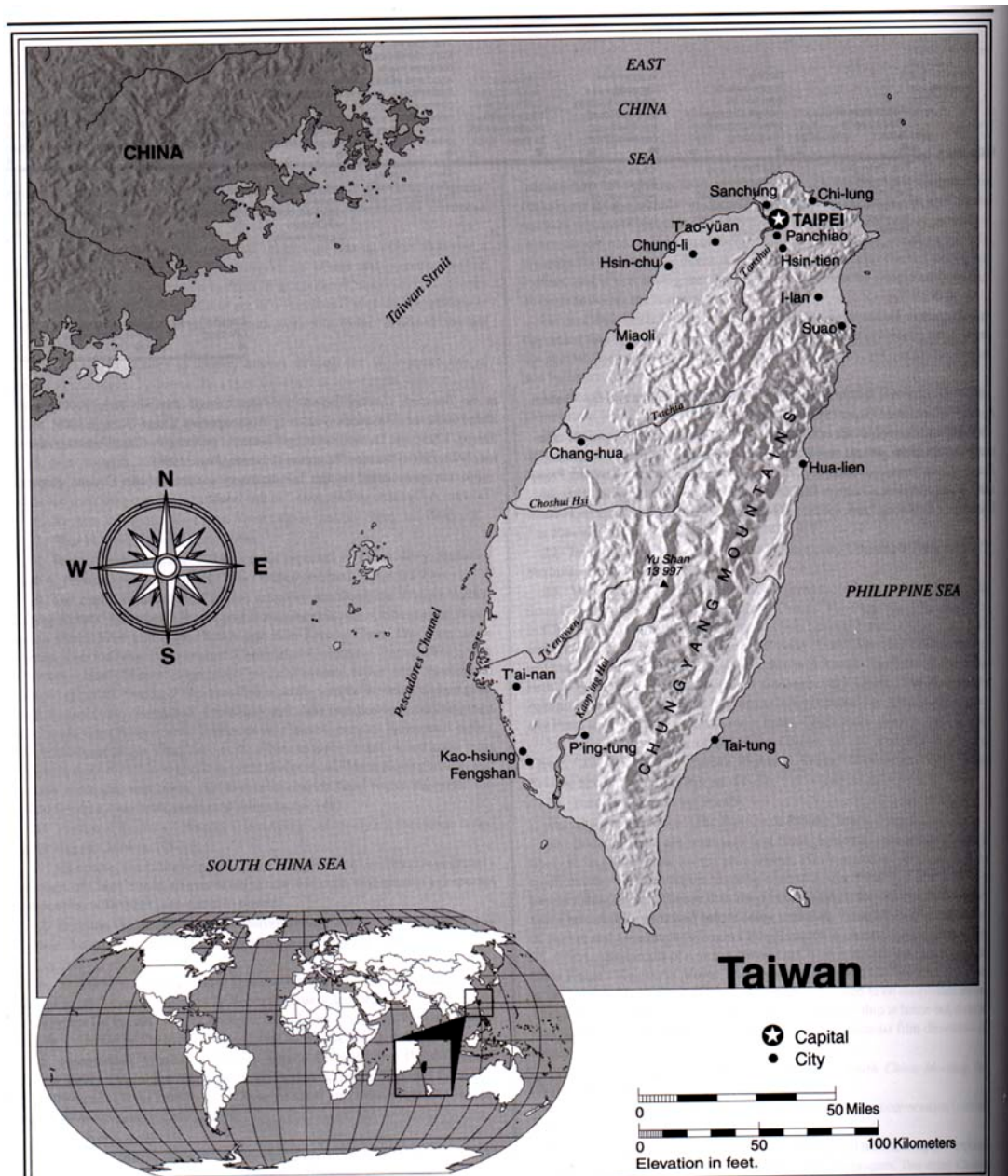


Figure 3.1

Taiwan Map

Note: From Global Studies: China (p. 50), by S. Ogden, 1999, Sluice Dock: Duskin/McGraw-Hill, Copyright 1999 by Dushkin/McGraw-Hill. Reprinted with permission.

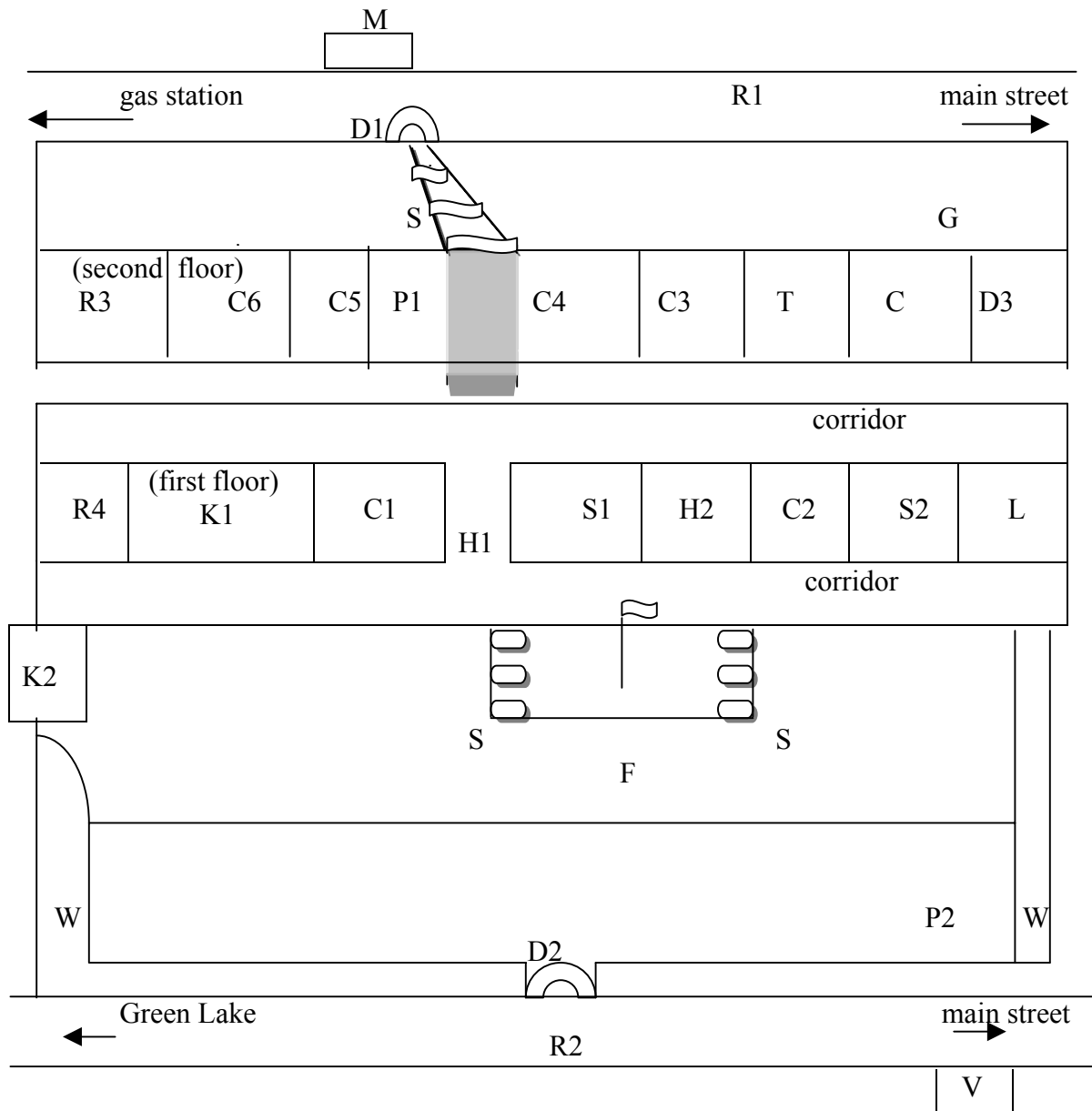

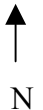


Figure 3.2

Green Mountain Elementary School Map

C: computer classroom	K2: kitchen	 hallway under second story into garden
C1-6: first—sixth grade classrooms	L: library	
D1, D2: front/back school doors (archway into the school)	P1: principal's office	
D3: school teacher dormitory	P2: playground	
F: flag-raising platform	R1, R2: roads	T: teaching materials classroom
G: garden	R3, R4: restrooms	V: vocational high school
H1: hallway	S: stairway	W: wall
H2: health center	S1: staff office	
K1: kindergarten classroom	S2: special education classroom	



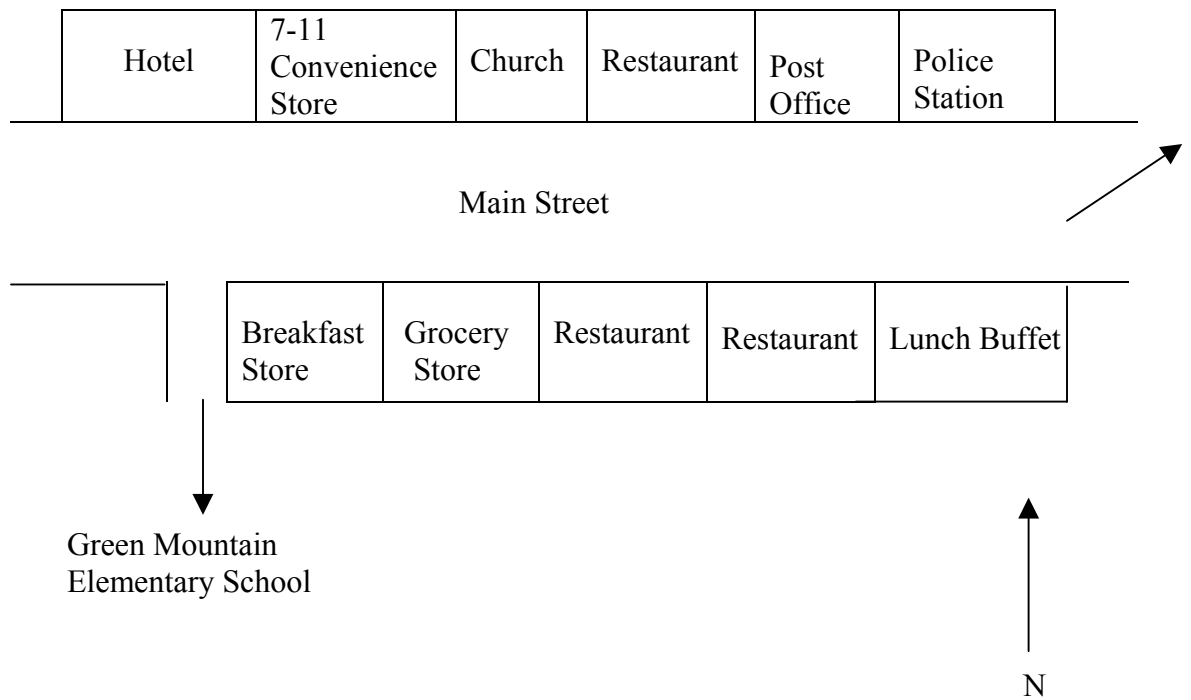


Figure 3.3

A Sketch of Green Mountain Village's Main Street

Note. Residences are further off to the right.

CHAPTER 4

ATAYAL ADULTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN SCHOOL

This chapter aims to examine what school educational experiences my Atayal participants had and how their own ethnicity influenced their study at school. I believe that these Atayal adults' accounts reveal about the evolution of Taiwan's school education and ethnic relationships.

In Taiwan's school education, elementary schools offer first through sixth graders (ages six to twelve) regular curricula; junior high school students' ages are from thirteen to fifteen. After graduating from junior high schools, all students have to pass an entrance examination to attend high schools or senior vocational high schools. The period of study in these schools is three years. Subsequently there are two-year, three-year, and five-year junior colleges that are alternatives to four-year colleges and universities.

Although most Atayal participants' families were not rich, their parents could afford for their children to attend town or city schools to pursue better education. Most Atayal participants native to Green Mountain Village can speak Mandarin and Taiwanese although a few had indigenous accents. They varied in identifying with their Atayal culture and in being acculturated to Han Chinese culture. Some even struggled to remain Atayals, so I speculate that a few Atayals (e.g., schoolteachers and village office staff members) declined my interview request to maintain their self-esteem. They may have been unwilling to let me know how difficult their lives were.

I think that the most appropriate representation of my participants' school lives takes the form of telling a story. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996, p. 79) have mentioned, "Stories are....part of a set of culturally specific mechanisms for the constructing of textual representations." In beginning of the following section, I describe each of the ten Atayal participants' family backgrounds and school experiences, including elementary school, junior high school, and schooling beyond junior high school. Following this, I compare these participants' school experiences in some areas: how their parents perceived school education, these participants' learning conditions in schools, and how they viewed relationships between themselves and Han Chinese.

The Ten Atayals

The following describes each Atayal participant's physical characteristics, family backgrounds, educational experiences, and occupation. Half of these interviewees are females; a few had the big eyes or dark skin color characteristic of aborigines on Taiwan. Some participants' parents had received limited school education and made their living by doing farm or manual work; others' parents were schoolteachers, priests, or village office staff members. These Atayal participants' educational levels range from finishing elementary school to university. Four of them were senior vocational school students; two were schoolteachers; one was a school nurse; one was a housewife; and two were village office staff members.

Mr. Lin

Mr. Lin had dark skin color and deep eye sockets and was in his middle forties. His forehead looked a little bold. He wore a long-sleeved T-shirt with vertical lines and blue jeans. I found that he had a presbyopia because he had to take off his glasses when

he read my interview questions. The interview took place in the conference room at Green Mountain Senior Vocational School where Mr. Lin taught Chinese.

Mr. Lin's family lived in a village next to Green Mountain Village famous for its hot springs. His father was a farmer. When he was a first grader, he liked to lead other Atayal children to set fires on the mountains adjacent to the elementary school. When the teachers found the smoke and fire, Mr. Lin would run away and pretend that he had not done anything. Owing to this kind of mischievous behavior, his father decided to send him to his elder sister's home in a southern city. Mr. Lin's sister and her husband were vendors, selling food like fried noodles and rice on the street.

Mr. Lin's Atayal ethnic background partly influenced his learning at the new elementary school and how he got along with neighbors. Mr. Lin said, "In the new [elementary] school, what bothered me most was that I was a *fan* [savage]. Some classmates would beat me; I was short and had a big belly, a runny nose, dark skin color, and strong *shaang-ti* (mountain) accent." Mr. Lin continued saying, "The children in the neighborhood also bullied me because I looked dark and had a strange accent. Therefore, I frequently used to fight with these children and hit their eyes with my fists. They used to throw mud at me." Under these circumstances, Mr. Lin decided that he wanted to go back to his original school. When his father learned about this situation, he asked Mr. Lin's sister to coax Mr. Lin to stay in the city. Furthermore, Mr. Lin's Han Chinese teacher, who was in her early thirties, was very patient. She knew Mr. Lin's situation, so she would scold the students who fought with Mr. Lin. She also praised Mr. Lin's academic performance in class, telling him, for example, "You made some progress on this test."

Mr. Lin became more aware of his ethnic background when he was called a *fan* [savage] by his Han Chinese peers and neighbors. Mr. Lin used his experience of ability grouping in school as an example to explain that the Han Chinese took it for granted that aborigines are inferior to Han Chinese.

The ability grouping started when I was a third grader. I was placed on an academic track. After the monthly test, the neighbors would punish their children with belts or sticks and yell at their children, “You are nothing. You are inferior to the neighborhood *fan*.” Later, I understood that my neighbors used the word *fan* to humiliate me, and I angrily told my sister, “I am going to call our neighbors’ names.” At that moment, my sister comforted me, “You are short and small. How could you fight with the neighbors?” I continued asking my sister, “Why do they [the neighbors] always compare their children’s grades with mine and called me a *fan*? These children are not placed on an academic track. It is not fair to compare their grades with mine.” I was so angry and agitated, and then my sister pulled me back and said, “You have to learn to tolerate this. This environment is not like our mountain one. How can you do anything to these neighbors? They are strong and tall. You want to tell them not to use us *fan* as an example, but they are teaching their children. Don’t you think that being a *fan* is glorious? A *fan* has higher grades than their children do.”

However, Mr. Lin also had some Han Chinese friends when he was a child, and he indicated that on weekends his Han Chinese friends would invite him to their homes to read comics. Mr. Lin also indicated that his friends’ parents’ attitudes influenced how their children treated him. For example, one Han Chinese friend’s mother said to her

child, “It does not matter. *Shaang-ti jen* is *shaang-ti jen*. You can frequently invite him to our home.”

When Mr. Lin was a sixth grader, his father got sick and died. Owing to his mother’s poor health, after graduation from elementary school Mr. Lin returned to his home village and attended the nearby junior high school. Except for his elder sister, his other siblings were still young. Mr. Lin had to do farm work after school because he was the eldest son in his family. Mr. Lin indicated that he envied his Atayal classmates very much because they were able to concentrate on their studies. After graduation from junior high school, Mr. Lin went to a junior teachers college because the tuition was free. Because he had to provide financial support for his family, Mr. Lin worked as a tutor and a salesman for a grocery store in addition to doing his school homework. Mr. Lin said that he had to race with time because his schedule was so tight. Later, he did his compulsory military service for about three years. Afterward, Mr. Lin took the entrance examination and was accepted to attend a university for training junior high and high school teachers. At that time, Mr. Lin found that, compared to *ping-ti jen* classmates, indigenous students often felt humiliated because they had so much less money.

In speaking of intergroup contact, Mr. Lin said that it was not easy for aborigines to open their minds to making friends with nonaborigines. He used an example to explain this situation: “Some *yuan-chun-min* [indigenous] farmers were cheated by *ping-ti* [Han Chinese] businessmen who placed an order for cabbage planted by aborigines. When the vegetable was ripe, these dealers did not come back.” However, dealing with some tribal persons, Mr. Lin felt a little disappointed: “I have left my tribe for a long time. If you cannot drink with them [tribal persons], they do not regard you as a friend.

Even those who received more education [teachers and policemen], still liked to smoke, drink alcohol, and gamble. These persons were indulged in the mountain way of life.”

Mr. Lin commented that other Atayals were highly sinicized and left other tribal people alone; he further explained to me his use of sinicization, “It refers to imitating *ping-ti jen*’s life styles, such as having well-educated children and a stable job.”

Mr. Lin’s understanding of Atayal culture came mainly from his family. He received his bachelor’s degree in 1987 when martial law was lifted; therefore, he did not take any courses on indigenous cultures in school. Mr. Lin indicated that when he was a child, he sat with his family around a fire to keep warm at night while the elders related local news or tribal traditions. Mr. Lin said,

For Atayals, flying squirrels, taro, millet, pumpkins, corn, and sweet potatoes were staple food. Winter was a hunting season because people had finished their farming work; furthermore, the lower temperature would keep the meat of game from getting rotten. Hunters had to follow *gaya*—ancestors’ oral taboos—that regulated our behavior; that is, not all male adults could become hunters; the following persons were not allowed to go hunting: liars, lazy bones, or adulterers. [If these people went hunting it was believed] these persons could not catch any animal or would be eaten by animals.

Mr. Lin went hunting with his father and other villagers. After hunting, they shared their game together.

In conclusion, when Mr. Lin transferred to an elementary school mainly composed of Han Chinese students, he was looked down on by most of his Han Chinese peers and their parents. However, this unhappy experience motivated Mr. Lin to study

harder. Mr. Lin's family made their living by farming; Mr. Lin learned Atayal practices from his family. As a vocational high schoolteacher, Mr. Lin knew some of his tribe members worked in positions such as schooling and police work. However, he felt disappointed with these people because they were assimilated into Han Chinese life styles and separated themselves from their own group.

Ms. Wu

Ms. Wu was a member of my sample school's parent-and-teacher association. Whenever she met someone, she immediately exhibited a big smile. Although she was only 41 years old, wrinkles had collected around her eyes and on her cheeks, and her hair was gray. In addition to working as a staff member in the Green Mountain Village Office, she worked in a restaurant after office hours, so she had rough hands. Ms. Wu was the major bread winner in her family; her husband was a Han Chinese who had been an alcoholic. At the time of my interview, Ms. Wu supported her spouse at home. Furthermore, Ms. Wu had three children, two high school students and one elementary school student.

Ms. Wu said she felt happy as an elementary and junior high school student in this mountainous area; it took about half an hour to walk to school from her home. During these periods, all her classmates were Atayals from the same village. The school homework was easy. However, when she became a high school student, Ms. Wu said she felt pressured, because it was not easy to compete with *ping-ti* (Han Chinese) students in her county high school. In her third year, the math teacher, a male Han Chinese, was nice to indigenous students. This teacher had made one indigenous friend when he was a college student. They frequently went hunting together in the mountains, so this teacher

became more understanding of aborigines. The teacher encouraged indigenous students to work hard and to help the people from their own tribes.

Ms. Wu indicated that her parents were busy doing farm work and likely to ignore their children's study; furthermore, her parents had received only an elementary school education, so they were unable to give their children academic assistance. Likewise, sometimes Ms. Wu would forget to supervise her own children's homework because of her busy schedule. When her children were younger, Ms. Wu said she spent more time with them. At the time of our interview, her children were able to study by themselves and to take care of their own daily lives. What kept Ms. Wu from divorcing her husband was that she did not want her children to become homeless.

I found that Ms. Wu interchangeably used *shaang-ti jen* and *yuan-chun-min* to name her ethnicity and called Han Chinese *ping-ti jen*. In making money, she perceived that Han Chinese had a more innate business sense than the aborigines. Ms. Wu used two examples to illustrate that Han Chinese were likely to exclude and look down on aborigines. First, Ms. Wu described how she and her Atayal friends were mistreated by the Han Chinese boss's wife when she was a junior high school student. Ms. Wu said calmly,

During the summer vacation, I and three classmates worked in a factory producing bags. The factory was located in a city [located in the middle part of Taiwan], so we lived the dormitory provided by the factory. The boss's wife looked down on us; for example, if the toilet was not flushed, she would assume that we had done it. It seemed that our, *shaang-ti jen*'s, [behavior] was like this. We had to work from 7:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. The work was very hard. I told my

friends, “I cannot stay here. I want to go home.” We stayed at this factory about 10 days; we received only five NT dollars. The money was not even enough for us to go home by bus. As a result, I asked my sister, also working in the same city, to give us money to go home. Ms. Wu continued saying, “When I went home, seeing my parents, I immediately cried and said, ‘I don’t want to go outside.’” Ms. Wu said in a disappointed voice, “I thought that I could make a lot of money, who knew?”

The second example happened when Ms. Wu was a high school student. Ms. Wu said that there were 52 students in her class. Three were aborigines; the others were Han Chinese. At first, Ms. Wu felt scared of falling behind, so she worked very hard. Most of the time, she was ranked between 10th and 15th. What impressed her most was that one schoolteacher looked down on aborigines, as the following account shows.

I got the first place in the English recitation contest. When I was standing in line waiting for receiving the reward, one teacher doubtfully asked, “Are you an aborigine?” This teacher always thinks that we *yuan-chun-min* [aborigines] can do nothing but eat. Should we not receive this reward or should only *ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese] receive it? I feel very honored. My English teacher asked me to recite the English article and corrected my pronunciation at noon.

After graduating from high school, Ms. Wu failed her college entrance exam. Therefore, she returned to her home in the mountainous area and worked as a substitute teacher at a local elementary school. There she met her husband whose family seemed to be very rich and who used to own a restaurant in this village. Ms. Wu’s marriage to her Han Chinese husband was not as smooth as she had expected; she described how

aborigines think about Han Chinese and, in turn, how this thinking partly influenced her choice of a partner.

Ms. Wu related, “Mountain people [aborigines] perceive that *ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese] do not like alcohol, take care of their families, and have an inborn ability to make money that we [aborigines] do not have. We ladies in the mountainous area want to marry to *ping-ti jen* to lead a better life. Farm work is hard and earns little money. In doing business, we *yuan-chun-min* [aborigines] are not able to compare with Han Chinese.” Then, Ms. Wu continued, talking about how she became the daughter-in-law in a Han Chinese family.

My husband is the first boyfriend I had. Then, I fell in love with him. I am persistent in loving the man I love. Now that I have loved this man, I will not love other men. At first, his mom [her mother-in-law] opposed her son’s going out with me; she did not want an indigenous daughter-in-law. After two years, I married her son. In the beginning of the marriage, my husband was normal.

Owing to the family situation [Ms. Wu’s father-in-law had two wives although Taiwan did not permit polygamy], my husband started drinking. In the past ten years, he frequently got sick and had car accidents. For me, life was very dark. After receiving some treatment, my husband has abstained from alcohol. But it has wasted ten years. My friends laugh at me, “We never expected that you would make money for a Han Chinese.”

Ms. Wu took a deep breath, was silent for few seconds, and said, “Now I will not repress it [the preceding family problem]. Once, I suffered from a heart condition. No matter how difficult the problem I am facing, I will overcome it. I think that I will.” Her

face looked very calm as she said this. When asked about Atayal culture, Ms. Wu indicated that her mother asked her to learn weaving when she was a little girl; what Ms. Wu remembered about weaving was washing the weaving material made of ramie and then dying it. She also related that she envied her brothers because they could go fishing at Green Lake, while she had to stay at home weaving.

During the interview, Ms. Wu stopped to speak, in Atayal, with some Atayal villagers who came to the village office. When they were going to leave, I smelled alcohol and noticed that their faces were red. Ms. Wu saw my staring at these persons, and she said to me, “*Yuan-chun-min* [aborigines] are regarded as the people who like to drink alcohol; in fact, so do *ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese].”

The final question for her was “Did you take any course related to Atayal culture when you were in school?” She said, “The students would practice *yuan-chun-min* dance in this village school.” This interview took place the day after I had participated in an Atayal feast. What had impressed me most was the way they cooked chicken. Instead of pulling out the feathers of the chicken, the Atayal cook used fire to burn the chicken’s feathers. I related this to Ms. Wu; she said, “In this way, the outside layer of chicken’s skin tastes good. We [Atayals] used to eat millet. We also caught mice, roasted them, and put salt on them before eating.”

To sum up, after graduating from junior high school, Ms. Wu left this mountain village and went to a county high school, but at this time she started encountering more learning difficulties in school. Ms. Wu was from a farmer’s family. She married a Han Chinese. Nevertheless, she thought that most Han Chinese had a low opinion of Atayals.

Furthermore, she said that Han Chinese had an innate business sense. Ms. Wu had three children; her youngest son was a fifth grader at Green Mountain Elementary School. Ms. Wu also worked as a member of the school's parent-and-teacher association. Regarding Atayal culture, I noticed that Ms. Wu could speak fluent Atayal; she also indicated that she learned Atayal weaving at home when she was a child.

Mr. Chen

Mr. Chen was president of the parent-and-teacher association of Green Mountain Elementary School. He was enthusiastic about school affairs; for example, he helped prepare for the commencement ceremony by hanging colorful paper balls from the ceiling. When I observed Ms. Chou's language arts instruction, Mr. Chen's youngest son made the sentence, "My dad's stick has so much power" [Mr. Chen gave his son corporal punishment].

Mr. Chen's home, a five-story building decorated with white tiles adjacent to my sample school, used to be a tea store. However, this store was closed because of school teachers' protests over some video game gambling machines; these machines attracted the students and distracted them from their school homework. Mr. Chen's beer belly was noticeable, especially when he wore suits. During my fieldwork period, I occasionally watched Mr. Chen with his gray hair messy, wearing slippers, and carrying a bowl of hot noodles from the breakfast store to his home. According to the elementary school principal, Mr. Chen frequently quarreled with his wife, and she would leave home for a few days. Sometimes I would see his wife bringing home bread from a 7-11 convenience store for breakfast. During the interview, Mr. Chen told me that his three children, a 15-

year-old boy, a 13-year-old girl, and a 9-year-old boy, were pretty independent; for example, they could cook fried rice by themselves.

While I was interviewing Ms. Wu at the village office in the afternoon, Mr. Chen and another man walked into the office and asked, “What’s going on here?” As mentioned previously, I discovered that both men had been drinking alcohol so I stopped recording the ongoing conversation; meanwhile, Ms. Wu told them about my interview. Then Mr. Chen indicated that he wanted to be the next interviewee, and I felt obliged to accommodate him even though I knew he had been drinking. So this interview took place after my interview with Ms. Wu.

Asked about his school experiences, Mr. Chen related that his father was a cleric who thought that his son would be able to receive a better education in a city than in their own village; therefore, when Mr. Chen was a second grader, he transferred from Green Mountain Village to a city elementary school located in northern Taiwan. At that time, Mr. Chen lived with his elder sister and brother-in-law who was serving in the air force; however, Mr. Chen indicated that his elder sister and her husband could not get along with each other. Because they did not have a child, Mr. Chen bore the brunt of their anger. Mr. Chen gave me an example of this.

When I was a third grader, one day I picked up ten dollars on my way home. I was very happy and planned to give it to my elder sister, but when I got home, my elder sister used a stick to hit me without saying a word. I never expected that, so I threw my satchel on the sofa and ran out of the home. I went to the train station and pretended to be a child of a middle-aged man, following him to board a train heading for the south. When the train arrived at its destination, it was

midnight. I dozed off on a chair in the train station; then, a policeman woke me up and asked me, “What’s your name? Your dad is looking for you.” At that moment, I was very hungry and sleepy, so this policeman gave me food and helped me find a place to sleep. Later, I understood that my brother-in-law had called each train station. He took me back on the following morning.

Finally, Mr. Chen returned to Green Mountain Elementary School when he was a fifth grader, not because of any learning difficulties but because of his elder sister’s poor relationship with her husband and also because of mistreatment from his Han Chinese peers. Mr. Chen said, “There were about 50 students in class. At first, I had to work hard to catch up with the other classmates; gradually, I made progress and was ranked in the 20th.” Mr. Chen recalled that he was laughed at by other classmates at this city elementary school when they discovered he was an aborigine. I was curious about how his classmates learned he was an aborigine, and Mr. Chen explained,

Sometimes my elder sister would go to the school, and we spoke with each other in *yuan-chun-min*’s [aborigine] language. In this way, they [the classmates] knew that I was a *yuan-chun-min*. I fought with my classmates because they called me *fan* [savage]. However, the teacher and some [Han Chinese] students were nice to me. When I was going to leave this school, they said a farewell to me and sent me some gifts, such as toy tanks. You know, a [female Han Chinese] singer, Ms. Ja, was also my classmate.

Later, Mr. Chen was sent to a private junior high school established by the Catholic church for recruiting indigenous students. Then he went to a three-year junior college. Mr. Chen did not seem to want to tell me about his learning during these

periods; subsequently, he started describing how he perceived aborigines. Similar to Ms. Wu's perception of Han Chinese skills in doing business, Mr. Chen thought that aborigines did not have the concept of saving money; namely, they spent all money that they had. In contrast to Han people's [Han Chinese's] way of management in which business was separate from personal relationships, however, he believed aborigines were more generous with each other. Aborigines were willing to let their friends owe them, if their [aborigines'] friends were short of money. However, when running a business, such as a restaurant, aborigines were expected to act like Han people who would ask the debtors to return the money. He said, "For example, the owners of the restaurants on the main street used to be aborigines. Right now, most of them are *ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese]." Moreover, Mr. Chen said he believed that genetically aborigines had poor mathematics performance and no sense of numbers. Ms. Wu had also commented that her lower math grades were biologically determined.

At the end of this interview, the principal of Green Mountain Elementary School—Ms. Wang—came into the office and wanted to consult with Mr. Chen about the activities to be held on Mothers' Day. At that moment, I had just asked Mr. Chen about Atayal culture. When Mr. Chen saw Ms. Wang, he immediately said that children should learn Atayal language at school. Then Ms. Wang asked Mr. Chen, "Do you speak with your children in Atayal at home?" Mr. Chen answered, "We speak with our parents in *yuan-chun-min*'s language, but we do not speak this with our children."

In conclusion, Mr. Chen's father was a priest and sent Mr. Chen to a city elementary school to receive a better education. At that time, Mr. Chen lived with his elder sister and her husband. Because of his sister's unhappy marriage and his ethnicity

[Mr. Chen was called a savage by some Han Chinese classmates], Mr. Chen transferred back to the mountain school. Regarding Han Chinese, Mr. Chen thought that they were good at running businesses; however, Atayals were not. Mr. Chen's youngest son was a third grader at Green Mountain Elementary School. As a member of this school's parent-and-teacher association, he argued that the school should give children an opportunity to learn the Atayal language.

Ms. Tu

Ms. Tu's skin color was dark, and her eyes with double-folded eyelids were big. When Ms. Tu spoke Chinese, her accent did not sound like that of most aborigines. A housewife, Ms. Tu was in her early thirties and had three young children--a fourth grader, a second grader, and a kindergartner. Before getting married, Ms. Tu had worked as a substitute teacher in her own village elementary school. She said that all the students were Atayals and their motivation for learning was pretty low. Ms. Tu's husband, a policeman, was also an Atayal; however, they were from two different subgroups of the Atayal so they spoke different native languages.

Ms. Tu's father was a Christian cleric; there were seven children at home and Ms. Tu was the youngest one. Ms. Tu, her parents, and her siblings lived in a village located in the middle of a mountainous area. Most villagers were Atayals. Her parents sent the children to the schools in the nearby town because they assumed that their children would receive better education in town schools. At that time, Ms. Tu and her siblings lived together next to her aunt's home. Ms. Tu said that her parents would visit them once or twice a week. During her elementary and junior high school periods, Ms. Tu said she felt ashamed of being an aborigine.

Ms. Tu said, “When I was an elementary school student, some Taiwanese children would look down on us [aborigines]. They [Taiwanese] would say, ‘How would *fans* [savages] do better than us?’” Ms. Tu continued saying, “There were two or three *yuan-chun-min* [indigenous] students in class. During this period [junior high school], *yuan-chun-min* students were more likely to have delinquent behavior, such as drinking alcohol and not going to school.”

Ms. Tu’s elder brothers and sisters made good grades at school; however, they did not have time to help Ms. Tu with her school homework. In the elementary school, almost every student went to the teacher’s home to study after school. It was voluntary but not free; Ms. Tu did not attend this kind of a cram school. Ms. Tu did not do well in her high school entrance exam; therefore, she went to Green Mountain Senior Vocational School after graduating from junior high school. Ms. Tu said that she has felt proud of being an aborigine since then.

Ms. Tu said, “There were more *yuan-chun-min* [students] in this mountain school. Being a *yuan-chun-min* was not bad. We were beautiful and had talents. I started having confidence; we *yuan-chun-min* were very outstanding. I was more likely to identify with *yuan-chun-min*. We were always excluded by others [Han Chinese]. In the past, I was afraid of being recognized as *yuan-chun-min* by others who said ‘That’s a *fan*!’”

Asked about teachers’ attitudes toward indigenous students, Ms. Tu said she believed that in the mountainous area most teachers had adjusted themselves to the environment and were able to accept their students. For example, Ms. Tu still keeps in touch with one of her Han Chinese teachers from her vocational high school.

At the time of the interview, Ms. Tu, her husband, and three children lived in a dormitory belonging to the police station. I found that the space was very cramped; Ms. Tu told me that all the furniture was second-hand. She also showed me the kitchen and the bedroom.

Like her parents, Ms. Tu was concerned about her children's education. This partly led Ms. Tu to move from her parents-in-law's place in a mountain village where most villagers were Atayals. She told me that her mother-in-law was very sociable, and her husband's family and friends frequently drank together, so she wanted to leave this kind of life; furthermore, her mother-in-law spoiled her eldest son, who was mentally retarded, very much in feeding and dressing him. Ms. Tu expected that her son would do these things better if he did not depend on his grandmother so much.

When I asked Ms. Tu about Atayal culture, Ms. Tu said that speaking her mother tongue was prohibited when she was a student. In the past, Atayal females were required to learn weaving to provide clothing for the whole family. The material was ramie. Ms. Tu indicated that she was not interested in this because it was very troublesome; she used to watch her mother and aunts weaving. For her, weaving represents Atayal culture.

In summary, owing to study and work, Ms. Tu had left the mountains for a long period of time. Therefore, when she spoke Mandarin, Ms. Tu had no indigenous accent. Two of her younger children studied at Green Mountain Elementary School. When Ms. Tu was in her elementary and junior high schools, she felt ashamed of being an aborigine. However, she became confident of her Atayal background when she returned to this mountainous village. Regarding Atayal practices, Ms. Tu thought that Atayal

weaving most represents Atayal culture [although she disliked it]; she did not like Atayals' sociable way of drinking alcohol.

Mr. Peng

Mr. Peng taught architecture at Green Mountain Senior Vocational School; this was his second job after receiving his bachelor's degree from a private university. He believed that he was able to become a vocational high school teacher because of his indigenous background. In this school, most students were aborigines. Mr. Peng, born in 1958, had gray hair and wore thick glasses. He was a little hunchbacked. Mr. Peng indicated that studying was painful for him because most of the time he studied by himself and did not have access to a social network that would help him. For example, when he was preparing for the exam to apply to graduate school, at first he did not know that he could buy the sample test questions from a cram school. As a result, he worked very hard but still failed. At the beginning of our interview, he smiled and said that, compared to his first job working in a construction company, teaching here was pretty comfortable. The only shortcoming was that life in this mountainous area was very boring. During the weekdays, Mr. Peng lived in the school dormitory; on weekends, he drove his jeep to his home village located on the other side of this mountain.

When Mr. Peng was a child, he was looked after by his elder brother, who was an elementary schoolteacher. Mr. Peng's parents were busy with farm work; they went to work early in the morning and came home late at night, so they did not have time to attend to their children's homework.

In elementary and junior high school, Mr. Peng was unaware of being an aborigine. In class, the ratio of Atayal students to Han Chinese students was 1: 1. They played with each other, and they went to church together on Sundays. However,

Mr. Peng aimed to be an outstanding aborigine when he was a high school student; at that time, Mr. Peng chose to major in natural sciences because few indigenous students liked fields related to science and mathematics. So Mr. Peng wanted to try to study these subjects. When Mr. Peng went to high school, this was his first time away from home because the high school was located in a city in the middle part of Taiwan. The environment was very different from where he had lived previously. Therefore, I was curious about how he had adjusted to the new living and learning environment. He told me that that the students accepted by this boys' high school were academically outstanding; therefore, everyone was engaged in his own study. Moreover, Mr. Peng spoke Taiwanese fluently with his high school classmates. No one seemed to notice Mr. Peng's indigenous background. He also said that there were only two or three indigenous students in this high school; they were scholarship students, like Mr. Peng, and they all knew each other. Mr. Peng indicated that what had bothered him most in his transition was the tests. In junior high school, test questions had been multiple choice; however, in the high school, most questions were essays.

On the difference between aborigines and Han Chinese, Mr. Peng thought that *ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese] put more emphasis on courtesy and politeness; for example, Han Chinese children invited to others' places would say, "Aunts, uncles, how are you?" Furthermore, Mr. Peng indicated that indigenous students were messy, with dirty faces and sloppy clothes, so the teachers would ask these students to clean themselves. In this respect, one Atayal elementary schoolteacher in Wu's research (1996, p. 26) also pointed out that "In the past, it was difficult to get water in the mountainous area, not to mention about brushing teeth and washing face. We aborigines did not have many polite manners.

When my [Han Chinese] friend said hello to my mom, she [my mom] felt weird. Han Chinese teachers casually regarded aborigines as unsanitary or impolite because [of] their ignorance of indigenous daily customs and habits.” In contrast, Mr. Peng thought that most Han Chinese teachers did not give different treatment to indigenous and Han Chinese children. If they were treated differently, it was not because of their ethnicity but because of their dirty appearance.

What impressed Mr. Peng most in his new school was that the teachers punished children severely for playing a game called “officials catch robbers,” in which the children played the role of officials whose heads were draped with a piece of cloth and topped by a cap, making them look like Japanese soldiers.

Although Mr. Peng believed that being an aborigine was not a disadvantage in his education, the situation was different in his personal life. His girlfriend broke up with him because of his Atayal ethnic background. The girlfriend’s mother, an elementary schoolteacher, did not like aborigines. “She [Mr. Peng’s girlfriend’s mother] did not want to see her grandchildren called as *shaang-ti jen* [aborigines],” Mr. Peng said and laughed. In this vocational high school where he now worked, about half of schoolteachers were Han Chinese. Mr. Peng angrily described the following episode in which aborigines were misunderstood by Han Chinese. Once he quarreled with a female Han Chinese teacher in the office when this female teacher was saying that indigenous females acted like prostitutes; Mr. Peng responded, “Are there no Han Chinese prostitutes?” Mr. Peng told me that he hoped schoolteachers would have a basic understanding of aborigines; for example, of the nine tribes in Taiwan, each has its own culture. Not every tribe speaks the same language.

When I asked Mr. Peng about his own understanding of Atayal culture, Mr. Peng said that when he was a student, the schools did not provide any courses on indigenous cultures; furthermore, he spent most time studying. So his understanding of Atayal culture was very limited. When I asked him, “What comes to your mind when you think about Atayal culture?”, he replied only, “It may be hunting. That’s it.”

To sum up, Mr. Peng’s parents were busy doing farm work, so they seldom paid attention to their children’s schoolwork. When Mr. Peng was a student, he noticed that Han Chinese families stressed polite manners. Mr. Peng worked as a vocational high school teacher. Unlike other Atayal participants, he thought that being an aborigine was not a disadvantage in his pursuit of school education; however, his indigenous background did hurt his personal life.

Ms. Hsu

Ms. Hsu was a nurse at Green Mountain Elementary School, where the children usually called her “Hsu Mom Mom.” She was in charge of the schoolchildren’s health; for example, she would help a child stop a bleeding nose.

Ms. Hsu was the fourth child at home. Her elder sisters and brothers helped her review daily school homework and gave her practice tests. Ms. Hsu’s father was an administrator and teacher at an elementary school composed of about 70% Atayal and about 30% Hakka (Hakka were immigrants from China), situated in the northern mountainous area. When Ms. Hsu was a fourth grader, she transferred to a nearby town elementary school and lived with her elder brother, a junior high school student, and elder sister, a fifth grader, in a rented house. The following comments indicated that what hindered Ms. Hsu’s learning in the new school was that she could not speak Chinese fluently; furthermore, her teacher and classmates had a low opinion of her.

Ms. Chang: Can you talk about your learning in this town elementary school?

Ms. Hsu: I started speaking Chinese when I was a third grader. At that time, students had to speak Chinese at school and were not allowed to speak their mother tongues. I was used to speaking the mother tongue, so I had an accent when I was speaking Chinese.

Ms. Chang: Right now, you still have [an accent].

Ms. Hsu: At that time, my accent was very strong [Ms. Hsu was laughing.]

When I newly transferred [to this town school], I fell behind my classmates so much. My learning in the mountain school was not solid; the local indigenous teachers liked to drink alcohol. In my memory, when one male teacher was drunk, he would hop up and down on the playground with only one foot [Ms. Hsu demonstrated this action for me in the health center; both of us were laughing loudly]. Most children were afraid of running into this teacher especially when he was drunk; he would asked the children to jump like frogs.

Ms. Chang: How did you get along with your classmates?

Ms. Hsu: Some students called me “*Fan Pao! Fan Ma!*” (*female savage*, Hakka pronunciation for a female aborigine). I was not happy about this. Especially, when I was called on by the teacher, I could not answer the question. The boy next to me would call me this way. Later, I felt better because the boy next to me changed. The new student was a fat boy with a white-color skin, who was nice to me and taught me.

Ms. Chang: How did your teachers treat you?

Ms. Hsu: In the class, there were about 40 students. Because I was not good at study, ... most teachers did not pay attention to me. However, I still remember that one male Han Chinese teacher hit me so hard because I did not pass the exam; meanwhile, he said “You *shaang-ti jen* [aborigine] come here to study. Why are you so stupid?” [Ms. Hsu pointed out to me that aborigines used to be called *shaang-ti jen*, but now they are called *yuan-chun-min*.]

Ms. Hsu told me that she was an introvert. Most of the time, she kept silent in school. Ms. Hsu had a best friend, a female aborigine, when she was a junior college student at a school located on the northern tip of Taiwan. At that time there was a social group called “North *Shaang-Ti* (Indigenous) College and University Student Friends.” Although Ms. Hsu and her friend were frequently invited to participate in activities, like going picnicking, both of them preferred to go home and visit their families after school.

Because of her family’s poor economic situation, Ms. Hsu had to go home during summer and winter vacations to work to earn her tuition fees. She said, “People planted bamboo on the mountains. When the bamboo grew up, people would cut it. Then, my work is to bind some bamboo together and pull them to the road for cars to pick up.” She continued, saying, “Furthermore, I had to carry a basket made of bamboo to the mountain to pick up some dried sticks that are used for setting fires for cooking at home. After collecting the dried sticks, I needed to squat to carry them. Sometimes, I put in too many dried sticks to stand up. The road leading to home is downhill, so it is not easy to walk carrying these dried sticks.”

From my interview with her, I inferred that Ms. Hsu believed that Han Chinese stressed their children's school education. She said, "[People] in the place where my family lived had more contact with Hakka, so my parents also wanted the children to study." She also commented that because her parents were not rich, they had to borrow money from others to provide their seven children's school tuition. Ms. Hsu related that her elder brother was a model student and later became the principal of a junior high school. Ms. Hsu recalled that her elder brother studied very hard; he even murmured the names of geographical locations while he was sleeping. His own junior high school principal used him as an example to encourage other students to study. At that time, one female indigenous student was impressed by Ms. Hsu's brother's performance. Later, she became Ms. Hsu's sister-in-law. Compared to her elder brother, Ms. Hsu indicated that she pursued only a passing grade and said,

I am the least smart child at home, so I am not good at learning. After junior high school, I went to a cram school because I failed in the high school entrance exam. Later, I chose a five-year junior college for training nurses instead of entering a high school because I did not want to take another exam for the university. I hated cram school and tests. My dad wanted me to go to a five-year junior teachers' college. I did not accept his suggestion because I knew my limitations [I could not get accepted by this kind of school because of low grades].

After graduating from a nursing junior college in June 1982, Ms. Hsu received a recommendation from her school to work in a navy hospital. However, Ms. Hsu rejected the position because the nursing duties in this hospital were so heavy. Like another

participant, Mr. Peng, Ms. Hsu got her first job in a mountain health office because of her Atayal background. Aborigines are given priority for work in the institutions in their home villages.

I found that Ms. Hsu's attitude toward her own Atayal ethnicity was ambivalent; this was expressed in the following areas: intermarriage between Atayal and Han Chinese and her family's history. In considering the choice of a partner, Ms. Hsu said,

I feel that my mom had a great influence on us [children]. She always prepared everything in advance and told us, "You should study hard, unless you want to work in the mountains like me; the husbands that you marry will be farmers. When you choose your partners, [you may consider] although aborigines like alcohol, this behavior is less bad than *ping-ti jen*'s behavior, like gambling, beating and selling wives." Furthermore, my mom also told me some examples of how [Han Chinese] parents-in-law are more likely to look down on their indigenous daughters-in-law. So when we are going to get married, we feel that aborigines are better. My youngest sister, a 36-year-old elementary school teacher, still remains single. Sometimes, I really feel that though aborigines work very hard and diligently, they are more likely to be cheated."

Ms. Hsu's genealogy was mentioned in the interview when I asked about her understanding of Atayal culture. She described her grandmother on her father's side and told me a family story from the past. She said, "We [My family] are of a Hakka lineage. [In the past], we ran away when Han people invaded our living places. We also cut their [Han people's] heads off. Once there was a [Han] child on a road discovered by my tribe. Some suggested killing this child; however, my ancestors were not willing to do

this and brought him home with them. When he grew up, he got married to a female Atayal.” After listening to this story, I remembered a course in multicultural children’s literature I had taken in my doctoral program. So I told Ms. Hsu that I had read a similar story in the United States and shared the story’s plot with her, “The story describes an American boy who was adopted by Native Americans after they killed this boy’s family. Then, when the boy grew up, he struggled with identifying with his adopting family. Finally, he chose to become a member of his tribe.” Ms. Hsu and I felt a little surprised about such similar stories from different societies.

When I asked Ms. Hsu what she thought most represented her ethnic culture, she said “It may be the elders’ facial tattoos. My grandmother also had a facial tattoo and told me ‘[You] must learn the weaving skills before getting a facial tattoo.’ I am not sure if my grandmother’s words are correct or not; she is a person who likes to tell jokes.”

In conclusion, Ms. Hsu’s father was once an elementary schoolteacher; however, Ms. Hsu’s elder siblings helped her with her schoolwork. Influenced by his Han Chinese neighbors’ emphasis on education, Ms. Hsu’s father sent his children to a town elementary school where Ms. Hsu was looked down on by her Han Chinese teachers and classmates. Ms. Hsu’s family was poor so she had to do farm work on vacations to earn tuition fees. Compared to her other siblings, Ms. Hsu did not like to study, so she chose to study at a vocational nursing school--such schools are not highly valued in Taiwan--and became a school nurse. Regarding Atayal culture, she still remembered her grandmother’s telling her that when Atayals reached their adulthood, they had to tattoo their faces.

Ms. Liu

Ms. Liu was a freshman about 15 or 16 years old at Green Mountain Senior Vocational School. She told me that she was learning the knowledge and technology of managing a farm. During my fieldwork, the owners of the hotel where I lived frequently ordered seasonal vegetables from this high school. Moreover, I watched some high school teachers carry huge packages of vegetables, such as corn and carrots, when they went home. I understood that these vegetables were planted by the students. Ms. Liu's parents made their living by planting vegetables and flowers on a flat area of a nearby mountain. Furthermore, they also made use of a hot spring near their home to set up a booth to cook eggs for tourists.

At this site, a tourist attraction, Ms. Liu's aunt demonstrated weaving, using a machine made of bamboo and colorful threads. I had visited the region where Ms. Liu lived because it was a tourist attraction. It took about half an hour to drive from my hotel in Green Mountain Village to this place. The Atayal tribal chief, Monen Rudux, and his fellows committed suicide here after their failure to defeat Japanese soldiers in 1930. The road leading to this site was very winding; sometimes, the other elementary schoolteachers and I would get lost because we missed the turns that were not easy to find. I asked Ms. Liu if she was interested in Atayal weaving because her aunt gave weaving demonstrations. She responded that she did not like it because she was not able to weave anything. Following this, I shifted my conversation, asking her if there had been any courses on indigenous cultures in her school. Ms. Liu said:

When I was a junior high school student, all indigenous students about 20 were required to join the *shaang-ti* [indigenous] dance club. We had to practice each

tribe's dance on each Friday morning. Before a dance contest, we had to practice the dances during the lunch break and after school. Most female students liked this club; however, some male students skipped the practice and went to play basketball. There were about 10 *yuan-chun-min* [indigenous] students participating in *yuan-chun-min* dance club at this vocational high school.

Ms. Liu's father had been the political representative of Green Mountain Village. At that time her father was wealthy enough to afford to send the elder children to high schools and universities. However, at the time of the interview, Ms. Liu, the youngest child, chose to go to a vocational high school to save tuition because the family's financial situation had worsened.

About her school experiences, Ms. Liu related that she lived with her siblings in a nearby town when she was an elementary and junior high school student. There were about three or four Atayal students in class. Ms. Liu said, "Our [Atayal students'] academic performance was a little poor, so the teachers would pay more attention to us. For example, the social studies teacher frequently chatted with us about our families and life in the mountainous area." Ms. Liu indicated that she was a quiet person and her best friends were the other Atayal. She gave a further description of her student life:

In the elementary school, some *pint-ti* [Han Chinese] students looked down on *yuan-chun-min* [indigenous] students' lower grades; I was ranked in the middle of a class of about 40 students. There were about 30 students in my class when I was in junior high school. Most *yuan-chun-min* students go to vocational high schools, such as nursing and agriculture. Few go to [academic] high schools.

At the time of this interview, I noticed that Ms. Liu spoke softly in a gruff voice, so sometimes I asked her to raise her voice because, otherwise, I could not have heard what she said. She was short and small, and I observed that she frequently pulled her long sleeves. It seemed that her dark-blue uniform was too big for her. In this vocational high school, Ms. Liu said that there are many indigenous students from different tribes. Ms. Liu said she was not good at chemistry and mathematics. Most teachers are Han Chinese who are very serious, so she preferred to ask her classmates if she had a question.

In conclusion, Ms. Liu was a vocational high school student; she was interested in learning how to design and manage a piece of farm land partly because her family made their living by planting seasonal vegetables and flowers. Ms. Liu and two elder siblings were sent to elementary and junior high school in a nearby town. She said that indigenous students' grades were lower than those of Han Chinese students. So after graduating from junior high school, Ms. Liu and other indigenous students went to vocational schools instead of high schools. Regarding Atayal culture, Ms. Liu said that when she was in junior high and vocational high school, indigenous students were offered indigenous dance courses. Although Ms. Liu's aunt demonstrated Atayal weaving at a sightseeing site, Ms. Liu showed little interest in this traditional skill.

Mr. Tsai

Mr. Tsai was a sophomore about 20 years old at Green Mountain Senior Vocational School, and his major was architecture. When he was a second grader at Green Mountain Elementary School, his parents moved to the nearby town to provide their two sons with a better learning environment. They thought that the mountainous

area lacked cultural resources, such as bookstores and museums. Mr. Tsai said that his parents were Atayal, and both of them worked in the Green Mountain Village Office. Mr. Tsai had big eyes and a pretty high nose. I told him that he looked like a Japanese movie star. At the time of the interview, he wore his school uniform--a dark blue long-sleeved jacket--and frequently ran his fingers through his neatly cut hair. As he talked, I could smell cigarettes on his breath.

When asked if his Atayal background influenced his study, Mr. Tsai responded that his teachers and classmates knew his ethnicity, but this did not influence his learning at all. Mr. Tsai indicated that he was an extrovert and had no difficulty getting along with his classmates. When he first transferred to the town elementary school, he played with about seven or eight indigenous classmates. Gradually, he became better acquainted with other students and also joined in their play and study. He continued to stay in this town and entered the junior high school there. During this period, he went to a cram school to improve his Chinese, English, mathematics, chemistry, and physics after school. Mr. Tsai looked more mature than his peers. He told me that before attending this vocational high school, he had studied at a private five-year junior college in the north of Taiwan but he had dropped out of school in his third year. I knew this junior college, established by a Taiwanese entrepreneur, had a good reputation because of students' performances and teachers' instruction. In the following excerpt Mr. Tsai discussed his study at this junior college and at the senior vocational school, where he was presently a student.

This junior college recruited many indigenous students when I was a freshman.

In class everyone was treated equally, despite his or her ethnicity. I did not do

well in my natural science subjects, so I would ask assistance from the classmates with better performances. They were willing to teach me and not afraid that I would be better than them. As soon as I asked them, they would teach me. If I really could not figure it [the text] out, I had to force myself to memorize it [the text]. In this college, each student was required to do a three-month internship each year [in the entrepreneur's building]. The work was not hard, like helping the staff members type documents and cleaning the building. In the third year, I didn't want to study there. I liked to play, so I dropped out. Another reason was that I did not like my major--electronic engineering. Now I regret making this decision. My parents told me that I had to find another school to attend.

Therefore, they helped me find this school [the vocational high school]. Without taking any test, I got admission to the school based on my junior high school diploma. Right now, my parents require me to make an "A" in each subject. In the past, they used to ask me to make a "B" in each subject. After graduation [in the following year], I want to be a military official like my elder brother or to take an examination to return to my previous junior college.

At the end of this interview, I asked Mr. Tsai, "What do you think most represents Atayal culture?" Mr. Tsai answered, "It may be facial tattoos. The females' facial tattoos indicate that these women are good at weaving and they have high status in the tribe. The males' facial tattoos indicate that these men were brave and good at hunting." Because his parents were Atayal, I asked him if he spoke Atayal at home. He responded, "I can listen but cannot speak it [Atayal]. My parents are able to speak it fluently. Especially, when they want to keep secrets from others, they speak with each other in

Atayal [His mom told him this].” I had observed this same phenomenon during my interview with Ms. Tu. When her husband got home, she started speaking with him in Atayal after introducing me to him in Chinese. Mr. Tsai elaborated that he and other indigenous students had been eager to learn their mother tongues in junior college. He said,

The school would invite the teachers to teach the [indigenous] students their mother tongues. The students were grouped based on their own tribe. For example, Atayal students learned Atayal in one class; Rukai students learn Rukai in another class. We liked attending this kind of class, and when the class was dismissed, we still stayed in class to ask the teacher questions. After class we would speak with each other. I thought that we used this way to review what we had learned in class. All indigenous students were required to take the course, but it [indigenous language course] was not provided yearly. It depended on the school’s budget.

To sum up, Mr. Tsai’s parents were hired by the Green Mountain Village office. However, they moved to a nearby town to provide their children with a better educational environment. Mr. Tsai remarked that his extrovert personality was conducive to his getting along with both indigenous and Han Chinese classmates. Before attending this vocational high school, Mr. Tsai had attended a five-year junior college but he dropped out of the school when he was a junior. Regarding Atayal culture, Mr. Tsai said that Atayals’ facial tattoos represented females’ weaving and males’ hunting abilities. These Atayals could make their own living based on these skills, so they were allowed to establish their own families.

Mr. Lu

Mr. Lu had crew cut hair and dark skin. He was a freshman about 15 or 16 years old at Green Mountain Senior Vocational School. Like Ms. Liu, his major was agricultural management. In the early summer of 2001, there was a heavy shower in the afternoon when I conducted this interview in the vocational high school's conference room. About his major, he explained to me, "Agricultural management studies how to decide what plants are suitable for a piece of land." Mr. Lu was from a farming family; his parents grew seasonal plants, like tomatoes and green beans. He had to help his parents with farm work after school. On Sundays they were allowed to take a break to attend church. Mr. Lu chose this high school because he could join its basketball team and his parents wanted him to study farming. But he did not like farm work, so he wanted to combine what interested him with what interested his parents. Sooner or later, he said he might be more interested in farm work. However, what disappointed him about the school was that the basketball courts were taken out because they had been damaged when the area was hit by an earthquake in September 2000. Mr. Lu's interest in school is reminiscent of what Tyack and Hansot (1990) point out about the role of athletes in attracting boys to high school in the U. S.

In retrospect, Mr. Lu's description reminded me of my visit to the village where his family lived in June 1999 when I conducted the first phase of my fieldwork. The traffic was very bad, especially after heavy rains. This village was located in a basin surrounded by huge mountains and frequently covered by a layer of mist. Most villagers lived in one-story houses with fences, with farms were adjacent to their residences. It took about 30 minutes to ride a bike to a dam that irrigated these farms.

About his school experiences, Mr. Lu related that from childhood until now, he has always studied in this mountainous area. He told me that it was not easy to get along with Han Chinese students because these students' behavior was not good. Mr. Lu said,

When I was a junior high school student, half of students were Atayals and others were Han Chinese. I could not get along with *ping-ti* classmates [Han Chinese students] because they did not like my jokes. I wanted to make them laugh. We *shanng-ti jen* [indigenous students] would laugh [when I say a joke], why did they [Han Chinese students] not laugh? Furthermore, in class [vocational high school], Atayal students are very docile. When *ping-ti jen* [students] go to class, the class becomes very noisy. Therefore, our teachers think that we are bad students. I really want to make friends with them [Han Chinese students]. But they just think that I am strong and like to arm wrestle with me. However, I do not like this because they think they would be strong [persons] if they could beat me.

Mr. Lu's parents were busy making their living on the farm. Therefore, they did not spend much time with their children. The eldest brother stayed at home and helped the parents with the farm work, while two other elder brothers worked in a moving company located in a city north of the village. His younger sister was a junior high school student. My interview with Mr. Lu indicated that most of the time Mr. Lu had to fend for himself with his schoolwork and daily life.

Ms. Chang: Tell me about your parents' attitudes toward your school education.

Mr. Lu: They [My parents] hope that I do not make any trouble at school. If I am safe at school, that's fine. When I was a child, I had to boil water and wait for my parents to come home. When I got home, I was very hungry

and could not find anything to eat because my parents were not there.

I remember that once some soldiers saw us [Mr. Lu and his siblings] playing in front of our home and gave us something [food] to eat. I still remember these persons.

Mr. Lu's memories of his schooling centered on nonacademic activities, such as playing baseball and volleyball, and being disciplined. When I asked him the questions, "How did your teachers treat you?" and "What learning experiences impressed you most?" Mr. Lu said,

When I was an upper grader, I joined the baseball and volleyball teams. The baseball coach was a Han Chinese who taught us almost every day. What [learning experiences] impressed me most was that after practicing, he would treat us to something out of his own pocket. When we lost the [baseball] game, the coach felt very sad and so did we. The [Atayal] volleyball coach was from our village so we were more familiar with each other. In this way, this coach sometimes taught us and sometimes let us practice volleyball by ourselves. The elementary schoolteachers would hit us by using the ruler if we did not turn in our homework. In the junior high school, one [Atayal] school administrator was from our village. He would ask the students who had behavioral problems, such as drinking, staying at friends' places overnight, and driving motorcycles, to come into the [teachers and staff members'] office. Then, he would tell these students to lie on the table face down and put their hands on the table. He would use a stick to hit these students as hard as he could.

At the end of this interview, I asked Mr. Lu about Atayal cultures, and he said, “What comes to my mind when I think about Atayal culture is the Atayal language. I can listen [to other people speaking it], but I cannot speak it.”

In summary, Mr. Lu chose to study at this vocational high school to develop his interest and skill to help his family with farm work. Mr. Lu said that his parents were so busy that he and other siblings had to learn how to take care of themselves when they were children. Unlike other Atayal participants, Mr. Lu always had studied at the mountain schools. He liked sports more than academic work, and he chose not to get along with his Han Chinese classmates.

Ms. Cheng

I sat in the Green Mountain Senior Vocational School’s conference room waiting for Ms. Cheng. When she came in, I noticed that she wore a long-sleeved khaki shirt and long, tight, black pants. Except for her high nose, Ms. Cheng did not look like an aborigine. Furthermore, she looked older than her classmates. She had attended another vocational school before this one. I guessed that she was about 20 years old. Ms. Cheng’s skin color was very white, and she had single-folded small eyes. It was noisy outside the conference room because the students were going to their clubs, such as the guitar club and basketball club. Ms. Cheng asked me if she could close the windows, and I nodded my head.

Compared to Mr. Lu’s strong indigenous accent, Ms. Cheng spoke Chinese like any Han Chinese. She told me that only eight or nine students attended class at the elementary school in the mountainous area where she was born. Her parents thought that their children could learn more in city schools. So as a young child, Ms. Cheng moved

with her parents to a city in northern Taiwan, and thereafter she seldom had contact with other aborigines.

Ms. Cheng's father was a truck driver who transported commodities for his employers around Taiwan, so he seldom was at home. Even though her father worked hard, the family's financial situation was not good. She said this, mainly, led her mother to divorce her father when Ms. Cheng was in the first year of junior high school. After the divorce, Ms. Cheng and her elder stepbrother stayed with her father, a common situation in Taiwan. Later, Ms. Cheng's father married another Atayal woman whose husband had passed away, leaving her with three children. In the new family of five children Ms. Cheng was the youngest. Her elder stepsister worked as an English teacher at a cram school. One of her elder stepbrothers was preparing for his university entrance examination, another elder brother the one biologically related to Ms. Cheng was serving in the army, and the other elder stepbrother had disappeared.

In this case, the individual's education seemed to be influenced more by her parents' relationship than by her Atayal ethnic background. Her father played a significant role in helping her overcome difficulties and choose schools. Ms. Cheng said,

My parents did not require us to attend very good [academically] schools. If we could reach an average level, that's enough. When I was an elementary and junior high student, there were only one or two indigenous students in class.

Ping-ti [Han Chinese] students treated us as they treated their *ping-ti* peers, and so did *ping-ti* teachers. When I was in my second year in a junior high school [at that time, her parents had just divorced], I did not do well and behaved rebelliously [owing to reaching puberty]. [In the single-parent family], my father

encouraged me not to give up on myself. So I started studying hard and got second place on my final exam. After graduating from the junior high school, I went to a vocational high school located in a city [in the middle part of Taiwan] to study computer science. In my second year, I was required to transfer to attend night courses [When I asked Ms. Cheng about the reason for transferring to night courses, she told me that she did not know why]. So my dad asked me to transfer to this [Green Mountain] vocational school. At that time, my elder brother was studying tourism management at this school. Now I am studying cooking, sewing, and knitting Chinese knots. I am planning to work for a restaurant after graduation.

At the end of this interview, I asked Ms. Cheng about her understanding of Atayal culture. Ms. Cheng said that she never took any courses in school related to her ethnic culture. Most of the time, her parents spoke in Chinese at home with the children. Ms. Cheng was able to understand the Atayal language, but she seldom spoke it. Finally, Ms. Cheng told me that she had not returned to her home village for a long time so she was not clear about the lifestyle of her Atayal tribe.

To sum up, when Ms. Cheng was an elementary school student, her parents moved to a city to give their children a better learning environment. In appearance, Ms. Cheng did not look like an aborigine, and she spoke Mandarin without an indigenous accent. Ms. Cheng's family life was not harmonious and this mainly influenced her study. Before attending this vocational high school, Ms. Cheng had attended another vocational high school. Therefore, she looked older than other classmates.

Comparisons of Atayal Adults' Educational Experiences in School

In the preceding part of this chapter, I have described ten Atayals' life stages (childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, and adulthood) and their related school educational experiences. Here I explore their experiences for the social contexts that shape them. My discussion of these Atayal participants' educational experience in school is organized into several areas: their parents' attitudes toward school education, the problems these participants encountered in new learning environments, and their awareness of their own ethnicity.

Atayal Participants' Parents' Attitudes toward School Education

Most of these participants came from families whose financial situations were limited, and each had several siblings. Most participants' parents were farmers, but a few of them were schoolteachers and priests, like Ms. Hsu, Mr. Chen, and Ms. Tu. On the whole, the educational level of their parents was low. Contrary to Ogbu's argument that involuntary ethnic minority students' parents' attitude toward schooling is ambivalent (Grant, 1981; Ogbu, 1978), in my study most participants said their parents held high expectations for their children's education. They assumed that their children would get a better education in town schools or city schools, and some families moved to get this resource. This reflects Bray's (1997) perspective; schools in remote areas may be regarded as dumping areas for locating incompetent teachers. For example, Ms. Hsu's learning at the elementary school in the mountainous region was not good because her teacher was an alcoholic.

Atayal Adults' Difficulty in New Learning Environments

Additionally my participants' parents did not know how to help their children with their academic work or how to help them adapt to their new learning environments if they moved, as Cummins (1986) has mentioned. Except for Mr. Lu, these Atayal respondents had attended schools outside of their villages. As a result, these indigenous students encountered problems when they moved into schools composed of mostly Han Chinese students; they were confronted by the need for both academic and emotional adaptations. Academically, Ms. Hsu could not speak Chinese fluently and Mr. Peng had difficulty answering essay questions. Because they left home at early ages, some participants sorely missed their parents' love and concern, like Mr. Lin and Mr. Chen; as a result, their homesickness was serious enough to influence their study as elementary students. Chen (1997) reports a case study on Taiwan's indigenous students' learning at an elementary school in a southern city that documents a male fifth grader who was looking for his parents' love. This student said, "I hope that I can buy a house when I grow up. I admire that other children's parents can live with their own children, and I hope that my dad or my mom can stay at home with me. However, they have to go to work to make money for buying a house" (p. 257). Older indigenous students lacked money for tuition and daily expenses, as Mr. Lin indicated. In contrast to Mr. Lin's view of indigenous students' stress over lacking money, Wu's survey (1994) of indigenous teachers college students (n=87, return rate was 41%) points out that these students' major dissatisfactions came from three areas: (1) they had few indigenous classmates, (2) they had few indigenous instructors in college, and (3) the college was unable to provide them courses on indigenous cultures.

Moreover, most participants' study and daily lives were hindered by their Atayal ethnic background. Many of these participants believed they were looked down on by Han Chinese, their peers, teachers, and neighbors. Especially, the common experience that they all reported was being called *fan*, savage, by the Han Chinese; this situation is similar to how U.S. Native Americans have been described as "savage," "warlike," and "hostile" in American books and media (Musser & Freeman, 1989, p. 5). The formulation of these Atayal participants' identity has been historically and socially shaped because Taiwan's aborigines have been called "*fan*" since the Ching dynasty. Furthermore, during the colonization by Japan, aborigines were portrayed as fierce and audacious. The cultural assimilation of Taiwan's aborigines into Chinese and Japanese cultures has been discussed in Chapter 2. My interpretation of these Atayal's experiences, as Richardson (1990, p. 25) has said, provides a collective story that "gives voice to those who are silenced or marginalized in the cultural narrative."

Atayal Adults' Awareness of Their Own Ethnicity

Most of my participants were willing to talk about the stigma—*fan*, savage—associated with their ethnicity; some participants, like Ms. Tu and Mr. Lin, tried to interpret this label in positive ways. That is, that aborigines were more beautiful or smarter than the Han Chinese. So the Han Chinese parents used *fan* [aborigine] as an example to encourage their children to study hard. These unpleasant experiences challenged my participants to reflect on their ethnicity, and on the ethnic labels and attributes associated with it. I had assumed that people would feel uncomfortable with talking directly about how they perceive Atayal or Han Chinese. However, based on my interviews with these Atayals, I inferred how my participants believed the Han Chinese

perceive the Atayal (see Table 4.1) and summarized the names that Atayal participants used to identify the Han Chinese (see Figure 4.1).

In this study, some participants, like Ms. Hsu, Ms. Wu, Mr. Peng, and Mr. Lu, used the terms *shaang-ti jen* and *yuan-chun-min* interchangeably. It seemed that younger participants (20-30 years old, such as Ms. Tu, Ms. Cheng, Ms. Liu, Mr. Tsai) liked to call themselves *yuan-chun-min*. This phenomenon is likely attributable to the term *shaang-ti jen* that was primarily used in daily conversation being replaced with the term of *yuan-chun-min* since 1994 to show respect for Taiwan's aborigines (Rubinstein, 1999b; Yuan, 1992).

These interviews also indicate how some Atayal interviewees perceived themselves and how some Atayals perceived the Han Chinese (see Table 4.2); meanwhile, I noticed that these Atayal participants were more likely to talk about their own ethnic group by referring to the Han Chinese; in other words, they defined themselves in terms of their differences from the mainstream group--the Han Chinese.

As I noted in my discussion of the definitions of ethnicity and race in Chapter 2, some Atayal participants' perceptions of themselves (or their beliefs about Han Chinese's perceptions of them) and Han Chinese were guided by assumptions that individuals' abilities and behaviors are determined by their genetics. For example, Atayals had inherently poor academic performances, and the Han Chinese had inborn abilities to make money. Furthermore, Atayals feared that they were perceived as culturally inferior to Han Chinese. For example, they suggested that Atayals were not sanitary and that Han Chinese stressed polite manners.

Table 4.1

Atayal participants' naming themselves, Han Chinese, and Han Chinese perceptions ofAtayal

	Labels for Atayal	Attributes associated with Atayal (from the Han Chinese perspective)	Labels for Han Chinese
Ms. Hsu	shaang-ti jen yuan-chun-min	stupid (poor academic performance)	Han people ping-ti jen Hakka (ke-chieh jen)* ping-ti jen
Ms. Wu	shaang-ti jen yuan-chun-min	unsanitary daily habits	
Mr. Lin	shaang-ti jen	poor academic performance	Taiwanese (min-nan jen)* ping-ti jen ping-ti jen
Mr. Peng	shaang-ti jen yuan-chun-min	female aborigines work as prostitutes	
Mr. Chen	yuan-chun min		Han people
Ms. Tu	yuan-chun-min	poor academic performance	Taiwanese
Ms. Liu	yuan-chun min		ping-ti jen
Mr. Lu	shaang-ti jen yuan-chun-min		ping-ti jen

* Chinese pronunciation is given in parentheses.

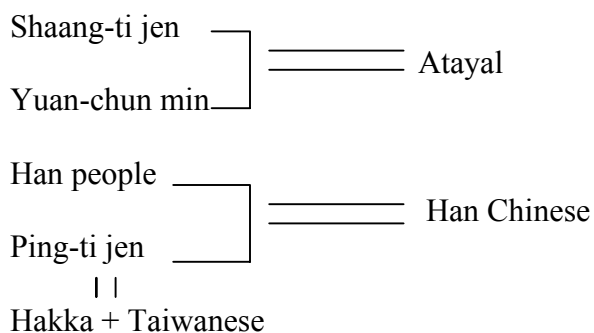


Figure 4.1

Classification of Ethnic Labels for Atayal and Han Chinese

Table 4.2

Atayal Interviewees' Perceptions of Themselves and Han Chinese

Atayal Participants	Images of Atayal	Images of Han Chinese
Ms. Hsu	Work hard Attractive	Value school education Mistreat indigenous wife /daughter-in-law
Ms. Tu	Attractive	Naturally born business persons
Ms. Wu	Poor at mathematics	
Mr. Lin	Sinicization (assimilated into Han Chinese culture)	
Mr. Chen	Poor sense of numbers	Management: business is business
Mr. Peng	Obedient	Stress children's polite manners
Mr. Lu		Break school regulations

Amir (1976) has pointed out those situations that prompt individuals to formulate their relationship with members of other ethnic groups, such as residential contact and occupational contact. This learning process occurs when people come into contact with others from different cultures (Jacob & Jordan, 1993). For the Atayal people in this study, acquiring formal education mainly provided them an opportunity for developing their beliefs about and attitudes toward their own ethnic group and the Han Chinese through intergroup contact in educational settings.

It seems to me that Taiwanese aborigines' minority status does not result in these persons' oppositional or ambivalent attitudes toward school education. Ogbu (1992b, p. 289) has argued "Oppositional or ambivalent cultural frames of reference....arouse after a group has become a minority, such as after Blacks were brought to America as slaves, or after an American Indian tribe was conquered, moved, and placed on a reservation." In other words, ethnic minorities' bicultural ambivalence is the result of historical colonization and subordination to the mainstream society (Cummins, 1986).

This experience may especially result in involuntary ethnic minority students' difficulty of maintaining their own ethnic identity while pursuing their academic performance in schooling (Foley, 1991; Gibson, 1997). On the whole, however, the Atayal participants valued school education. This pattern is similar to what Tan found in his survey (1995) of approximately 1000 indigenous and 700 Han Chinese junior high school students, about their learning behaviors and their attitudes toward both ethnic groups.

Furthermore, Tan's study suggests that indigenous students are able to simultaneously identify with their own culture and Han Chinese culture. These students got high grades on the scale composed of indigenous ceremonies, productive activities, languages, and religions. They also scored high on the scale composed of Han Chinese values, including putting families above individuals, face relationships, harmony, obeying obligations, and perseverance. In contrast, my study reveals that the learning difficulties that Atayal participants encountered may have been caused by cultural differences between the Atayals and the Han Chinese, such as language use and greeting customs. Also, some of the participants struggled to balance their identification with the Atayal and the Han Chinese ways of life. For example, Mr. Lin looked down on Atayals who modeled the Han Chinese way of life and distanced themselves from other Atayals; Ms. Tu started developing confidence in her ethnic group when she returned to her Atayal village and discovered Atayals' advantages. Ms. Hsu hesitated to choose a Han Chinese as a partner.

Having examined the educational experiences of Atayal adults in this village, I will turn to explore those of the Han Chinese villagers in the next chapter. At the end of

the next chapter, I will compare these two groups' school experiences by situating them in appropriate social and historical contexts.

CHAPTER 5

HAN CHINESE ADULTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN SCHOOL

This chapter describes ten Han Chinese villagers' school life in comparison to the ten Atayal villagers' school life represented in the preceding chapter. These participants' narratives represent issues characterizing different periods of Taiwan's school education. Furthermore, I think that the exploration of these adults' school educational experience is conducive to understanding what happens in the teachers' and students' daily life at Green Mountain Elementary School.

I also use a narrative form to represent these Han Chinese participants' family backgrounds and their educational experiences ranging from elementary school to university. Most participants were native to this mountain village, although they had gone to towns or cities to study or work. Most were the second or third generation of their families to be born in the village. These participants included seven males and three females. Most male participants had remained in the village or returned to inherit their family businesses, such as a hotel, a restaurant, or a clinic. Because Taiwan's society is patrilineal, sons inherit a family's property, especially the only son. This suggests why the proportion of male participants to female participants is unequal. However, these men's wives were from other places. These participants' ages range from 20 to 60, but seven participants were born in the 1940s or the 1950s. I speculate that younger Han Chinese left this village for study or work.

Although most Han Chinese participants did not receive much school education, I think that they were willing to participate in my study because they were proud of their achievements and families. In comparison to these participants, the few Han Chinese who declined my request may have been reluctant to talk because they were embarrassed about having completed only elementary or junior high school education or had unhappy family relationships that they did not wish to discuss.

The Ten Han Chinese

The following describes each Han Chinese participant's physical characteristics, occupation, family history, and educational experience. These interviewees include Mr. Ye, Mr. Wang, Mr. Kung, Ms. Chou, Mr. Lai, Mr. Shen, Mr. Tian, Ms. Chai, Ms. Wang, and Mr. Lee.

Mr. Ye

Mr. Ye, about 60 years old, was the owner of a five-story hotel on the main street of Green Mountain Village. He and his wife, both with black hair and plentiful energy, walked together in the early morning and in the evening. During the period of my fieldwork, I lived in this hotel. Most of the time, Mr. Ye and his wife sat behind the counter to answer the telephone. They also kept a dog named "Lu-Lu," who barked loudly when a stranger entered the hotel. While I was typing my reports in an upstairs room, I could hear Mr. Ye playing his piano in the living room on the first floor.

Mr. Ye recalled that his parents moved to Green Mountain Village to run a grocery store and a hotel in the 1940s. At that time many people were illiterate because most parents were unable to afford school education for their children. Mr. Ye's parents

were busy, taking care of their businesses, so they seldom attended to their children's schoolwork. Mr. Ye said,

When I was a child, I went to school without wearing shoes. Without running water at home, I had to carry a bucket of water from the river. There were many wild rabbits here. After elementary school, I did pass the entrance exam, so I was able to go to junior high school. It was not easy to learn something from school because the teaching quality was not good. For example, the English teacher taught [us] English in Chinese phonetics. The language arts teacher did not know how to pronounce Chinese phonetics. Under these circumstances, we could not understand what our teachers taught. This made them feel mad and they gave us corporal punishments.

Moreover, Mr. Ye recalled, "What impressed me most is that one mentally retarded child liked to help me carry a bunch of dried sticks home because I was skinny. At that time, most family used dried sticks for cooking."

He indicated that his own three children did not like to play with indigenous children, so he sent them to study in the nearby town schools. He said, "*Shaang-ti* [Indigenous] children were wild; for example, they would throw stones at other children; they also scratched other children's hands by using pencils." Mr. Ye said that he and his wife encouraged their children to study as much as they could. Two of their children received college diplomas, and one graduated from high school.

In the 1960s, Mr. Ye was hired by the Bureau of Road Construction. After working with indigenous colleagues and inhabitants, Mr. Ye expressed his negative perceptions of aborigines as follows.

In the past, *shaang-ti jen* [aborigines] did not take a shower; they also did not wipe their butts by using paper towels after using the toilets. [During the colonization by Japan] the Japanese gave aborigines cooking utensils made of copper because they knew that aborigines would not wash these utensils; quickly, the utensils would get rusty which was believed to prevent aborigines from bearing children. This is a way that the Japanese tried to get rid of aborigines. Furthermore, aborigines used their fingers to grab food instead of using chopsticks. At present, they will only work after they spend all their money. Meanwhile, they will not return money after borrowing it. No matter how much education they receive, *shaang-ti jen* cannot keep their promises. Even though they work as medical doctors, teachers, and policemen, they cannot get rid of their habit of drinking alcohol when they go back to their own tribes [villages].

In brief, Mr. Ye had inherited the hotel from his father. Before running this business, Mr. Ye worked in the government road construction department. He recalled that when he was in elementary and junior high school, teachers were often not familiar with their teaching subjects. At that time, most families were poor. Mr. Ye had negative images of Atayals, for example, that Atayal children were wild and that Atayals did not have sanitary habits. Mr. Ye did not trust them.

Mr. Wang

Mr. Wang ran a hardware store in Green Mountain Village and his wife took care of a grocery store on the opposite side of the street. During the period of my final fieldwork, when a cold wave moved through Taiwan, the temperature sharply dropped to

between zero and five degrees Centigrade in this mountainous area. There was no heater in hotel. To keep warm, I bought some packaging tape and an electric kettle from Mr. Wang's hardware store. I sealed the windows of my room with tape and drank hot water while I was typing my reports. One day, the element in the kettle burned out because of my carelessness. Therefore, I returned to Mr. Wang's store to buy another one. He was surprised that I was buying another kettle so soon and said, "I remember you just bought it a few days ago." Then he patiently told me how to use it. Meanwhile, I told him about my research and asked if he was willing to tell me about his educational experiences in school. At first, he smiled and asked, "How could my old stuff become your research?" Subsequently I told him that I had interviewed his elder daughter, and then he agreed to tell me about his schooling.

Mr. Wang has gray hair, is in his middle fifties, and has a round body. Whenever I passed by his store, I noticed that he was watching television, drinking tea, and eating snacks at the counter. Even during our interview, Mr. Wang kept on his television, which displayed a basketball game. He related that when his father was hired by the forestry bureau in the area, his family moved from a county located in the middle part of Taiwan to Green Mountain Village. He told me that he was born here and that his wife was from a nearby town. Her family used to run a grocery store, so she was good at this business. In this respect, I was impressed by her politeness toward customers. She usually smiled, nodded her head, and said, "What else do you need? Please pick up what you want." Even though I sometimes did not buy anything, she also said, "Welcome, come again! Thank you very much!"

In contrast to his wife's business background, Mr. Wang's original specialty was horticulture. He said, "After graduating from the agricultural high school, I went to a neighboring farm to grow trees, such as cherry trees. Later I found that I could not make much money from doing this work, so I decided to start my hardware store." After clearing his throat, Mr. Wang confidently said, "I believed that if I could not make it in that calling, I would start another one." This optimism was reflected in his pursuit of school education during his high school years, because he frequently transferred from one school to another. Mr. Wang used an analogy to characterize his education as a stone with green moss produced by staying in a pool of water for a long time. He said, "Although I am not good at study, I still can get my degree and make money after a long period of hard work. My personal achievement is like the moss on a stone." Mr. Wang elaborated as follows:

After passing an entrance examination, I was accepted by a nearby town junior high school. During this period, I had to take a make-up test to pass my school tests because I was attracted by the movies and something interesting in this town. Later, I went to a vocational high school to study how to fix cars. I wanted to attend better schools, but I could not be accepted by these schools because of my low grades. I have one elder brother, one elder sister, and two younger sisters. All of them finished high school education, so I transferred to another high school. However, I did not finish it and then transferred to the agricultural high school close to my home so that my parents could monitor my daily life. They were afraid that I would become a juvenile delinquent. Finally, I graduated and learned gardening skills.

Mr. Wang was proud of his three children. When he contracted a kidney disease a few years before, his eldest daughter quit her job and came home to take care of the family business. He followed the saying, “Spare the rod and spoil the child,” to discipline his children. That is, he beat his children when they made mistakes. After punishing his children, he also felt very sad. His attitude toward disciplining his children was partly influenced by his elementary schoolteachers. He related,

To get high grades in a junior high school entrance examination, the [elementary] schoolteachers gave us corporal punishment when we did not do well in class. I recall that one of my teachers was very tall; he kicked us with his shoes and beat us by using the handle of a broom. This way did promote our academic performances. At that time, most parents accepted schoolteachers’ ways of punishing children. They respected schoolteachers very much; they thought that their children were punished by the teacher because their children did something wrong. So the parents would beat their children again at home when they knew their children’s situations at school. It was a contrast to the present condition when schoolteachers cannot give students corporal punishments.

About his perceptions of indigenous students, Mr. Wang said, “There were about 20 students in class and half of them were *shaang-ti jen* [aborigines]. We went together to Green Lake to swim or pick up tomatoes. [This kind of activity] did not cost any money. The life was very happy.” However, he commented on aborigines from his role as a businessman as follows: “They [Atayals] were not reliable. For example, they owed me money. However, when they had money, they did not return it to me. Because they

felt guilty, they would go to the next hardware store to buy what they needed. Under such circumstances, I not only lost my money but also lost my customers.”

To sum up, Mr. Wang’s father moved to Green Mountain Village to serve with the forestry bureau. Partly influenced by his father’s job, at first Mr. Wang chose to learn gardening and worked on a farm. Later he and his wife made their living by running stores. His learning process was not smooth. He followed his elementary schoolteachers’ way of teaching his children—corporal punishments. Mr. Wang did not trust Atayals.

Mr. Kung

Mr. Kung was a medical doctor, so I call him Dr. Kung here. Dr. Kung was born in 1952. His father had moved to Green Mountain Village to work as a director of the sanitary office in 1946. He commented that his parents chose to continue living here because of the beautiful scenery, fresh air, and the calm social order. Dr. Kung and his five other siblings were born in the village, and all of them have since received college educations.

Dr. Kung and his younger brother worked together in the clinic that had been established by their father. The clinic was located on the main street near the hotel where I was living. I noticed that Dr. Kung sometimes would walk out of his clinic to chat with the villagers. He was slender and often wore a bright-colored jacket and slippers. The hotel owner took me to meet Dr. Kung, and then Dr. Kung invited me to sit on a chair outside of his clinic. Compared to the other Han Chinese interviewees, Dr. Kung reported fewer learning difficulties when he left to attend school, first in a town, and then in a city. He said,

When I studied at Green Mountain Elementary School, there were 15 students in class. Half of them were *yuan-chun-min* [aborigines]. Most teachers were from China [After 1949, they had followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan.]. My parents seldom taught me school work. If I had questions, I would ask my elder siblings. At that time, there was no junior high school in this village. It took me about two hours to go to a nearby town junior high school by bus every day. Then I continued my high school and medical school education. On the whole, the process of pursuing school education was smooth.

Dr. Kung returned to Green Mountain Village in 1980. He said that his three children also attended Green Mountain Elementary School. Asked about his attitude toward his children's school education, like his parents, Dr. Kung did not expect his children to perform especially well in school. His children did not go to cram schools to enhance their academic performances. Nevertheless, all of them graduated from colleges. In spite of this, Dr. Kung commented that the mountain schools should give students academic assistance after school to raise their achievement. He indicated that the [Atayal] principal of Green Mountain Junior High School was his friend and that he had told this principal that students would not stay in this school if they could not get better instruction.

Like my elder Han Chinese interviewees, Dr. Kung has lived in Green Mountain Village for a long time. He told me his understanding of Atayals as follows.

In speaking of [indigenous] parents' attitudes toward their children's school education, the parents living in a few villages close to the nearby town paid more attention to their children's study. In these villages, [indigenous]

children had more opportunity to get along with *ping-ti* [Han Chinese] children. Furthermore, *ping-ti* [Han Chinese] parents would tell them [aborigines] that they must stress their children's education to improve their younger generations' future. So there were more [indigenous] college students in these villages. Regarding their [aborigines'] daily habits, in addition to most [indigenous] parents' ignorance of their children's school education, they [aborigines] would not require their children to lead a prudent life [I speculate that leading a prudent life refers to spending money carefully].

In conclusion, Dr. Kung returned to this village when he inherited his father's clinic. Although his parents did not involve themselves in their children's schoolwork, Dr. Kung and his siblings received college educations. It seemed that study was not a hard task for Dr. Kung. He thought that most Atayal parents did not know the value of their children's school education and they did not have the habit of saving money. Moreover, he noticed that people in the indigenous villages close to a nearby Han Chinese town had more indigenous college students because these Atayals had acquired the Han Chinese value for education.

Ms. Chou

When the janitor of Green Mountain Elementary School learned that I was looking for Han Chinese educated in this village, she told me that her acquaintance, Ms. Chou, might be willing to participate. The following morning, I carried my backpack and walked toward the kitchen located at the far back of Green Mountain Senior Vocational School where Ms. Chou has worked as a cook for 20 years. When I found this kitchen, I asked one of the cooks "Who is Ms. Chou?" A woman squatting on

the floor, cleaning vegetables, raised her head and looked at me; she said, “I am. What’s the matter?” I told her about my research, so I needed her help. At first, she hesitated to agree, waving her hand and saying, “I didn’t receive much school education. You will feel disappointed [with my talking].” I responded, “It does not matter.” Subsequently, she asked me, “How did you find me?” I told Ms. Chou that I found this kitchen by smelling the flavor of delicious cooking; immediately, she laughed and said, “Have you had your breakfast?” She pointed at some plates containing fried eggs, cabbages, and a tank of rice on the table. I said, “Thank you! I have already eaten soybean milk and fried dough sticks at the breakfast store.”

After Ms. Chou handed over her ongoing work to another female cook, she took off her apron, pulled out two chairs from under the table, and cleaned up some leftovers on the table for me to set down my tape recorder and to take notes. Listening to Ms. Chou’s conversation with her colleagues, I noticed that they liked to call her “Chrysanthemum.” Although the elementary school’s janitor had told me that Ms. Chou was in her middle forties, I noticed that her round face still looked very smooth and shining. Despite the distraction of the noise made by other cooks’ conversation and working, such as washing vegetables and slicing meat, Ms. Chou recounted her school education experience well. She indicated that, although her parents urged her and her three siblings to study after school, they had no spare time to help their children with school homework. Therefore, Ms. Chou’s parents attributed their children’s educational achievement to the teachers’ instruction. Furthermore, Ms. Chou said, “The old generation [my parents] were not able to pursue school education, so they hoped that the next generation would receive better education.” Her grandparents moved to Green

Mountain Village to make camphor oil extracted from camphor trees; at that time, the Japanese were in charge of this industry. Later, Ms. Chou's parents farmed on this mountain, planting vegetables and fruits and getting rid of weeds for the [Han Chinese] employer from the nearby town. Ms. Chou was the eldest child at home and was required to pick up dried sticks and *Jin-Zhen*, a kind of edible plant's flower, to earn money to improve the family's economic situation in the winter and during summer vacations.

Ms. Chou stressed that her family's poverty not only caused the rich (e.g., her parents' employers) to look down on her family, but also led the elementary schoolteachers to mistreat her. Ms. Chou related,

Being a kid from a poor family was very miserable. When the rich family lost something, they would say that my siblings and I stole it. My parents could only afford to buy me plastic shoes. Wearing this kind of shoes was better than bare feet; however, the shoes caused my feet to blister. When I took off the shoes, the outside layer of my skin was stuck to my shoe [Meanwhile, she showed me the yellow, plastic shoes that she wore. She explained that the floor in the kitchen was wet and slippery so she has to wear this kind of shoe. I noticed that the shoes were bigger than the size of her feet.] The situation became worse, and finally I could not walk. Therefore, my mom and grandmother took turns carrying me on their backs to school until I was a third grader. At that time an American Sister called Mary cured my feet. At [the elementary] school, my response to the [mathematics] teacher's questions was so slow that she twisted my eyelids; she also asked me to go on errands for her, such as cooking at her home. What still impresses

me is that when I was an upper grader, one male [Han Chinese] teacher liked to go gambling. When he won, he happily sang songs in class; however, when he lost, he would kick the students' butts. Furthermore, this teacher liked to take off his shoes and called on the students to scratch his feet infected with moldy germs.

In spite of this unpleasantness, Ms. Chou described some interesting things. She recalled:

When I was a junior high school student, most students would go together picking up plums in summer. During the ten-minute break, the students and the teachers would go to the school restaurant to watch the television displaying Taiwanese puppets. At that time, the students were very conservative. While dancing together, female students did not dare to hold male students' hands. So we [females] held one end of a stick; male students held the other end of it.

Meanwhile, speaking Chinese was not prevalent on campus; some teachers tended to use Taiwanese in class. I still remember that the history teacher liked to wear red shoes, so his nickname was called "red shoes". One time, he asked us how to say "bucket" in Chinese.

Ms. Chou has lived in this village since she was born. So I asked her how she perceived the Atayals here. She related, "In my memory, *yuan-chun-min* [indigenous] elementary classmates were not persistent. For example, in the cleaning activity, some students were assigned to pick up the trash in the garden. Before finishing this work, the *yuan-chun-min* students had left. However, most of the time, *yuan-chun-min* students were able to get along with Han Chinese students." Furthermore, she said, "My *yuan-*

chun-min [indigenous] colleagues do not strive to make progress in promoting personal abilities [of cooking]. I like to attend cooking class and then they [indigenous cooks] will speak ill of me. I also discovered that aborigines are not thrifty because they spend their money on alcohol. Compared to their way of spending money, we [Han Chinese] accumulate our property coin by coin. Maybe they [aborigines] are more optimistic.” At the end of this interview, I told Ms. Chou “Thanks for your cooperation. Do you have any questions for me?” She said, “I saw you frequently wandering on the main street a few months ago. What were you doing?” I told her that I was trying to find Atayal villagers to interview them about their school education experience. “Do I look like a gangster?” I smilingly asked. Ms. Chou said, “No. You looked like a poor student.” “Exactly!” I nodded my head and said. This conversation concluded with our laughter.

In conclusion, during the period of Japan’s rule of Taiwan, Ms. Chou’s grandparents moved to the mountains to make camphor oil; her parents subsequently worked as laborers. They did not have any spare time to help their children with schoolwork. Ms. Chou was mistreated by her schoolteachers because her family was poor, and she also commented on her teachers’ poor instruction. Ms. Chou had negative images of Atayals and believed they were not prudent and they did not try to improve their own work.

Mr. Lai

Mr. Lai, about 40 years old, was a farmer. He contracted polio when he was a third grader, and as a result, he spent nine years finishing his elementary school education. Because the disease, he was crippled even though he can walk without a crutch.

Mr. Lai indicated that when he was an elementary school student, most teachers were from Mainland China. In 1949, when the Communists occupied China, some people following Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan. These teachers were very authoritative with poker faces and frequently used corporal punishments with their students especially when they were in bad moods. At that time, most families were poor, so the children went to school without wearing shoes, wrapped their textbooks with a piece of cloth, and carried these books to the school.

When children arrived at school, everyone was offered a cup of milk. Mr. Lai elaborated on producing this kind of milk, “In the kitchen, there were piles of white and hard bricks [milk powder]. The cook put them in boiling water in a huge tank; after a while, the milk powder started dissolving and then the milk came out.” All students were required to eat lunch at school, but the food did not taste good. Mr. Lai gave an example, “Sometimes, the rice smelled a little moldy. One time, while I was eating cabbage and found a piece of red pepper, I tried to take it out with chopsticks. As a result, I found that it was a cockroach [not red pepper].” Mr. Lai also related that most schoolteachers raised pigs at home to increase their incomes. After lunch, these teachers asked their students to help them take the leftovers to their homes to feed the pigs. The teachers explained to their students that raising pigs was also an important learning experience, to learn how to make a living.

At that time, the schools offered only morning classes. After class, Mr. Lai played with his friends in the neighborhood. He said, “Because I was born in this *fan de* [Chinese pronunciation for a barbarian area], I was able to get along with *yuan-chun-min* [indigenous] children. They [indigenous classmates] took me and other *ping-ti* [Han

Chinese] classmates to find birds' nests [to get eggs] and to the river to catch fish and shrimp."

Mr. Lai indicated that there were no electric lights in the mountains. Even though his family lived on the main street in Green Mountain Village, he and his brothers had to write their homework by using a candle at night. He recalled that most indigenous students' grades were lower than Han Chinese students because indigenous parents did not pay attention to their children's school homework. He said, "[At present], I have an indigenous friend, a village office staff member about 50 years old, who does not allow his children to make friends with other aborigines [and encourages his children to get along with Han Chinese to promote their academic performances]. His three children have finished their college education."

Mr. Lai has six brothers. He is the fifth child. His father moved from northern Taiwan to this mountainous area because he got a position at a village office. Mr. Lai did not want his own children to stay here and marry aborigines, so his two daughters and one son work in other cities. Mr. Lai explained,

My youngest brother's ex-wife was an aborigine. Although she was beautiful, she was not thrifty, liked to dress up, and wore make-up. So my brother had to work hard to afford daily expenditures. This situation was contrary to the [Han Chinese's] belief that *ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese] wanted to get married to indigenous females because they were able to do laborious work. My brother was a truck driver. No matter how hard he worked, it was still not easy to maintain his family finances. [My brother liked to smoke.]

Sometimes, he was too poor to buy a pack of cigarettes. Finally, they divorced.

Following this, Mr. Lai talked about his youngest brother's three children who used their mother's last name to maintain their status as aborigines. In this way, they were able to get extra score points on their school entrance examinations.

Mr. Lai used to be a construction businessman and hired some indigenous workers. He recalled these indigenous workers' situations, "When they received their wages on Friday or Saturday, they started drinking. Owing to the influence of alcohol, these workers could not work until Tuesday." Except for the preceding attributions, Mr. Lai indicated that aborigines have no bad habits and introduced me to some aspects of Atayal lives as follows:

When I was a child, there were so many rats. At first, *shaang-ti jen* [Atayals] did not know how to get rid of these rats. When they discovered that *ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese] raised cats to catch rats, they [*shaang-ti jen*] asked *ping-ti jen* to give them kittens. In turn, they gave *ping-ti jen* chickens. *Shaang-ti jen* also learned about worshipping their ancestors' tombs from *ping-ti jen*. In the past, they [*shaang-ti jen*] covered the dead with a piece of straw mat and then dug a hole to bury this dead person. Furthermore, *shaang-ti jen* liked to use salt to preserve meat. They used to hunt in winter because most animals would leave the mountain top and go down to find food and to get warm. Once *shaang-ti jen* got their game, they would burn these animals' fur and chop the animals into pieces to carry them home.

Likewise, Ruan (1994), a Taiwan anthropologist, points out that aborigines cook vegetables or fish by putting them into salty water. They tend to burn the furs of meat, chop it into pieces, and cook it with salt.

In conclusion, Mr. Lai and his six brothers were born in the village after his father was hired by the village office. Mr. Lai received only an elementary school education because of illness. He remembered that schoolteachers were stern and the learning environments were poor. Mr. Lai commented that indigenous parents did not attend to their children's study and aborigines did not work hard. Interestingly, he knew more about Atayals' life styles than other Han Chinese participants did. This knowledge was acquired through getting along with indigenous peers when he was a child.

Mr. Shen

Mr. Shen ran a grocery store on the main street of the village. Mr. Shen spoke slowly. During our interview, he would close his eyes, think for a while, and then continue his talking. The substitute teacher of Green Mountain Elementary School, Ms. Lin, was Mr. Shen's children's teacher. She took me to Mr. Shen's store and introduced me to Mr. Shen. As soon as he understood my research interest, he stopped eating his lunch and cleaned the table for me to set down my tape recorder. Although Mr. Shen looked a little old, he still had good eyesight. I noticed that when he read my interview questions, he did not need glasses. The interview was occasionally interrupted by customers. For example, one young male asked, "Boss! I want to buy a female swimsuit." His girl friend stood beside him, and both of them were probably about to go to the nearby hot springs. Then Mr. Shen immediately put on his slippers, stood up,

pulled a pack of swimsuits from a wooden shelf, wiped off the dust with a piece of cloth, and handed it to his customer.

Mr. Shen said that during the period of Japanese colonization, his parents moved to this place because his father had been hired by the village police station. Mr. Shen was born here in 1946. He recalled,

Shaang-ti jen's [aborigines'] ages were older than *ping-ti-jen* [Han Chinese] when I was a first grader in Green Mountain Elementary School. At that time, most aborigines started attending elementary school at about 10. They went to school with bare feet and ate sweet potato as their breakfast. They were good at sports; however, they were not interested in studying. It seemed that they went to school just because their parents asked them to go to school. They lacked passion for study. The nurse from the sanitary office would distribute nutriments to the school children, such as cod-liver oil.

After graduation from elementary school, Mr. Shen and two Han Chinese classmates passed a junior high school entrance examination and went to a nearby town to study because there was no junior high school in the mountains. Meanwhile, three Atayal classmates were also accepted by another junior high school in which the spaces were reserved for indigenous students.

Later, Mr. Shen went to the vocational high school to study how to be an electrical technician. However, after graduation, Mr. Shen returned home to run a gas business with his brothers. A few years ago, this family business closed. Then his eldest brother went to a northern city to sell electric heaters, electric blankets, electric washing machines, and such. A younger brother also went to the same city to sell clothes.

On children's school education, Mr. Shen said, "I hope that education is useful and practical." In other words, he believed that what his children learned from school should be applied to their daily lives. At the time of our interview, Mr. Shen's eldest daughter was a nurse; the second daughter was a pharmacist; the youngest son was studying the skill of making salt at a southern college.

At the end of this interview, one elderly woman with a face full of wrinkles dropped by the store to buy a hat made of thick cloth. I noticed that Mr. Shen spoke with her in a language I did not recognize. When the Atayal women left, Mr. Shen explained to me that most older aborigines could speak Japanese because everyone was forced to learn Japanese during the colonization of Japan (1895-1945). Before 1895, there was no common language shared by different indigenous tribes, so they could not communicate with each other. Moreover, Mr. Shen said that aborigines used to live together and formed a small group. The members of this group liked to share their food. For example, when they killed a pig, they would share the pig with each other. In this respect, I have mentioned Atayal's feast group called gaya or gaga in the section of Chapter 2 on "Taiwan's Nine Tribes and Traditional Life Styles."

In conclusion, Mr. Shen's father worked as a policeman in this village at the end of Japanese rule of Taiwan. As a long-time inhabitant of the village, Mr. Shen was familiar with some Atayal cultural patterns. Mr. Shen thought that Atayal children did not like to study and that Atayal parents were also not concerned about their children's school education. Furthermore, he said that in the past aborigines liked to share food with each other. As for his own children's school education, Mr. Shen hoped that they would learn practical and useful skills at school.

Mr. Tian

Mr. Tian, about 40 years old, had three school-age children; two of them were fifth and sixth graders in Green Mountain Elementary School. The fifth-grade teacher, Mr. Chong, introduced Mr. Tian to me, and the interview took place in the school library. Mr. Tian's skin color is very dark. He and his wife made their living by planting tea trees and making tea leaves.

Mr. Tian indicated that when he was a child, his family was not rich. He explained that in the past most poor Han Chinese went to this mountainous area to make their living. For example, his grandfather took care of the horses for the Japanese in the nearby town and his grandmother was a cook in the elementary school; his father was a fisherman at nearby lakes in the mountains, and his mother worked as a laborer at such jobs as getting rid of weeds in orchards. At that time, only a few Han Chinese ran grocery stores in the village. Mr. Tian is the only son in his family, but he has three elder sisters and two younger sisters. Therefore, he became the favorite child at home and did not do any laborious work, such as picking up dried sticks to sell for fuel.

When asked about his school education experience, Mr. Tian said that his schooling was such a nightmare that he still cannot understand Chinese phonetic symbols. He related,

When I was a fifth grader, I transferred to a nearby town school from Green Mountain Elementary School because of my parents' work [Mr. Tian's parents went to the nearby town to be street peddlers]. My parents did not monitor my study. I liked to play. So I lagged behind my classmates so much. The teacher not only beat me but also laughed at me because of my

poor grades. Especially, when I was a fourth grader, I became more eager to learn [and to save face] but I just could not catch up with others. So I did not dare to go to school and went to the forests. I could not stay in this kind of environment. However, I never expected that the academic competition in the new school was very competitive; there was almost a quiz every day.

Most of the time, I got a zero. At first, my new teacher was very nice to me; however, she gradually lost her patience with me. Nevertheless, I would not hate her [the new teacher] because she had done her best to teach me; she was not as bad as my teachers in the mountainous area.

Subsequently, Mr. Tian stopped talking, sipped a cup of water, and twisted his fingers. It seemed that he tried to calm down. Both of us kept quiet for a few minutes; then, he said that his children were more optimistic than he was, so they might not keep unhappy learning experiences in mind. Mr. Tian, just over 5 feet tall, told me that he injured his vertebrae when he did his compulsory military service. Compared to his life at school, Mr. Tian indicated that he could tolerate the tremendous pain caused by this body injury. He said, “It’s not easy to describe how painful it is. I hurt my body when I crawled on a sandy beach, did a somersault, my back fell down and was hit by a shell. After that, sometimes I could not walk. When the pain got worse, I could not speak because the breath would vibrate my back.”

After reflecting on his past learning experiences, Mr. Tian commented that he was very proud of what he has: a happy family and a well-managed business.

Although I did not perform well in school, I never did anything bad. Before getting married, it was easier to lose my temper but I would not actively find

fault with others. I would fight back if someone really infuriated me. Right now, my achievement is not inferior to others; I have a beautiful wife, three wonderful kids, a nice car, and a big house. My wife and I only received junior high school diplomas; however, her school learning is better than mine, so she is responsible for supervising our children's homework. I think that I have to attribute what I have to tea leaves. I had never seen tea trees until 1980. At that time, a tea company came to this mountainous area to plant tea trees and to make tea. My family had an orchard near this company's tea trees so I had an opportunity to understand what was going on in this company. Gradually, I learned the techniques of making tea. Then I started growing tea trees and became a dealer of tea.

Mr. Tian is a self-made person because his parents did not leave any money to him. He also indicated that his wife helped him a lot. Mr. Tian said, "My wife is a traditional woman. She is very thrifty and takes care of the children. She is my cousin's classmate; I fell in love with her when I saw her at my cousin's wedding. She is really a good person." Mr. Tian also mentioned that his wife is from the northern tip of Taiwan, and then he asked me where I was from and where I lived during my fieldwork period. While I was answering him, Mr. Tian interrupted my talk and said that one of his younger sisters was cleaning for the hotel where I lived. Then he talked about his mother, who just passed away the previous month, and immediately tears appeared in his eyes.

Mr. Tian related,

My mom was a very generous person; she liked to share what she had with others. Sometimes, she told me that she felt a little sorry for me because she

did not leave anything to me. I told her that I was satisfied with my healthy body; what I needed was to work hard to make money.

To my understanding, the place where Mr. Tian's family lives was once the territory of an Atayal tribe. So I wondered how Mr. Tian perceives aborigines. Mr. Tian indicated that there is a contrast between elder Atayals and younger Atayals. He said,

Elder *yuan-chun-min* [aborigines] stress friendships; younger [aborigines] emphasize benefits. I respect elder indigenous neighbors who are my mom's friends. We are concerned about each other; this kind of caring is very warm. When they knew about my mom's death, they were very sad and cried.

Furthermore, Mr. Tian used an example to explain how younger Atayals are deceptive. He said, "I periodically buy tea leaves from a *yuan-chun-min* farmer; however, this person sometimes will sell the same tea leaves to me and others. So a conflict among the seller and buyers will occur." I asked Mr. Tian if they had signed a contract. He explained that transactions just depended on an oral promise. If he gives indigenous sellers deposits in advance, he said that most of the time they will spend the money and apologize to him. Mr. Tian indicated that aborigines do not have the habit of saving money. Mr. Tian also related that he and his wife work from morning until night, and then he commented that "*Yuan-chun-min* [Aborigines] lack our—*ping-ti jen's* [Han Chinese's]—dedication."

After the interview, I accompanied Mr. Tian to the parking lot and said good-by to him. When Mr. Tian opened the door of his shining black car and got into it, I noticed that he wore a jacket with some wrinkles and sports shoes with mud. Then Mr. Tian

handed me his business card and invited me to visit his place of business. I knew that he was very busy so I declined his invitation and thanked him for his cooperation.

To sum up, Mr. Tian's grandparents moved to the village to work as laborers. Mr. Tian did not like his schoolteachers at all; he still remembered his schooling with internal pain. He and his wife established their own family tea business. Mr. Tian said that elderly Atayals could be treated as friends, but he believed that younger Atayals were not reliable.

Ms. Chai

Ms. Chai had fair skin and was in her late twenties. She had worked for about two years as a temporary staff member at a census office located opposite her home—a breakfast store. Ms. Chai's father was a close friend of Mr. Lai, who told me that they used to drink together when they were young. At the time of my interview, they liked to go fishing at Green Lake. So Mr. Lai introduced Ms. Chai to me. Our interview took place in this office during the lunch break. During the interview, Ms. Chai was making tea for both of us.

Asked about when and why her family moved to the village, Ms. Chai said that her father used to be a truck driver until 1984 when she was a third grader. At that time, her parents came here to set up their breakfast store. Therefore, Ms. Chai transferred to Green Mountain Elementary School. She recalled at that time that what impressed her most at this school was lunch, games, and substitute teachers. She said,

In this mountain school, each student was required to eat school lunch.

During the recess between the third and fourth courses, the teacher would ask the students on kitchen duty to carry bowls, plates, and chopsticks to class.

After the fourth class, the teacher would give each student dishes. The teacher also ate together with us. I still remember that one Atayal boy with a big belly [who] liked to eat meat. So sometimes I would exchange meat for vegetables that he didn't like. Another boy liked to take his dog to school, so we would feed the dog our leftovers. After class, one of the interesting games we liked to play was to hang on a branch of a tree and swung our arms like monkeys. [At that time], I didn't like substitute teachers. Each teacher had his or her way of teaching. It was difficult for me to accustom myself to their different instruction. Some substitute teachers just read the textbooks in class because they did not prepare for their instruction. Whenever we had a substitute teacher, we would ask them to let us play tennis or basketball. Furthermore, it was cold inside in winter, so we would ask them to let us go outside of class to enjoy the sunshine.

After graduating from elementary school, Ms. Chai went to a junior high school in a nearby town. She commented that the teachers in this mountainous area let their students do what they wanted; however, the teachers on the plains were very strict about supervising their students' academic work. Ms. Chai also said that two factors mainly influenced her school academic performance: cram school and ability grouping. She explained,

Most classmates [living in a nearby town] would go to cram schools after regular schooling. Because I lived in the mountains, it took me more time to go home by bus. I was not able to attend cram schools, so my schoolwork lagged a little behind other students. I just studied the subjects that interested me; for

example, I liked chemistry and physics because I was allowed to do interesting experiments. In the second year, I was placed on the track of low academic ability. At this time, I noticed that teachers did not care about us. They also looked down on us, and so did the students placed on the track of high academic ability.

Asked about her parents' attitude toward her study, Ms. Chai said, "My parents thought that I should study as much as I could, but they did not expect me to get high grades. They told me, "Studying is conducive to [improving] your future life. If you presently do not study now, you will not be able to complain [in the future] that we [parents] didn't allow you to study."

Based on the score of her junior high school entrance examination and her personal interest, Ms. Chai chose to study architecture and construction in vocational high school. She said that she enjoyed outdoor courses, such as binding a bunch of steel and putting concrete on brick, and then she smiled and said, "These tasks were suitable for me." I noticed at this time that Ms. Chai looked strong. Finally, Ms. Chai said, "After graduation [from the vocational high school], I worked at an architecture office to draw building blueprints and then came back here."

In conclusion, Ms. Chai's family moved to the village to make a living in business. She pointed out that she did not like substitute teachers' instruction. During junior high school, Ms. Chai said that not attending cram schools and being placed in a low ability group mainly decided her academic outcomes. After graduating from elementary school, Ms. Chai left the mountains for a long time, so she said she seldom paid attention to any differences between Atayals and Han Chinese.

Ms. Wang

Ms. Wang was Mr. Wang's elder daughter, who was in her late twenties. I felt disappointed when I discovered that Ms. Wang did not sit at the counter of the grocery store as she did when I first met her. Later her mother told me that she had married and moved to a southern city with her husband. After some days, Ms. Wang returned to the village to visit her parents and help her mother at the grocery store. She still had a big smile, wore a ponytail, and said to the customers, "Please come in and pick up whatever you want." When I asked her to participate in my research, she immediately asked her younger brother, sitting beside her, to take care of the store. Then she led me to the corner of the store where our interview took place.

Ms. Wang said that participating in the family business made her understand that making money was not easy. Therefore, she spent her money very cautiously. She also related that her parents frequently used aborigines' economic life as an example to encourage her to save money. The following excerpt shows that Ms. Wang's perception of Atayals was influenced by her parents.

My parents said that our [Atayal] neighbors came back here because they could not afford the cost of living in the plains [Ms. Wang explained that the cost of living in this mountainous area was low.] The reason was that they [aborigines] enjoyed their life by spending most of their money. This also caused them not to provide their children better school education. As a result, their children also learned this habit from their parents.

Following this, Ms. Wang recalled that most indigenous parents did not stress their children's grades as Han Chinese parents did; however, if they worked as teachers

or such they were more likely to communicate with their children's schoolteachers and would care more about their children's schoolwork. Under these circumstances, some teachers would pay more attention to their indigenous students who lacked parents' assistance, but other teachers just abandoned these students because they thought that their students' parents had given up the opportunity of supervising their own children. Therefore, these teachers were not willing take the responsibility to look after these children.

About her schooling, Ms. Wang told me that she graduated from Green Mountain Elementary School. After that, Ms. Wang left her home to attend a town junior high school and a five-year junior city college. Her responses showed another image of indigenous students and an academic contrast between remote, rural schools, and city schools.

Ms. Chang: How did you get along with your elementary school classmates?

Ms. Wang: The children here [in the mountains] were not selfish and snobbish. For example, we helped each other with finishing clean-up and academic work. In contrast, city students would not get along with the classmates who academically lagged behind them. So it was easier to get along with my classmates here.

Ms. Chang: How many *yuan-chun-min* [indigenous] students in class [at Green Mountain Elementary School]?

Ms. Wang: About half.

Ms. Chang: Can you talk about your perception of them?

Ms. Wang: They were good at sports; however, their grades were lower than

ping-ti [Han Chinese] students’.

Ms. Chang: How did you feel about your new town junior high school when you first attended it?

Ms. Wang: I felt more pressure to learn. They [town school students] started learning English at cram school when they were elementary school students. Students were competitive in academic performances. Furthermore, some female students would look down on me because I was from the mountains. It took some time to get along with my classmates.

Ms. Chang: After graduation from junior high school, which school did you attend?

Ms. Wang: I failed my high school entrance examination, so I attended a cram school for a year. Then I took the entrance examination again and was accepted by a commercial junior college. Later I found that I was not interested in this field and transferred to another field--medical management. After graduation, I worked in a city hospital until my father got a kidney disease [a few years ago]. Then I went home to help my parents with their work.

About Atayal culture, Ms. Wang indicated that she did not attend any courses on indigenous cultures. In this mountainous area, she just saw that some aborigines wore their own woven bags.

In conclusion, Ms. Wang attributed her view of the economic life of Atayals to her parents’ influence. Moreover, Ms. Wang said that most Atayal parents did not supervise their children’s schoolwork and that although her Atayal elementary classmates

were good at sports, their academic outcomes were lower than those of Han Chinese students. Ms. Wang also indicated that there were contrasts between her remote, rural school and her city school in some areas: the interaction among peers (friendly vs. selfish) and the learning environments (noncompetitive vs. competitive).

Mr. Lee

Mr. Lee, about 17 years old, was a sophomore at Green Mountain Senior Vocational School. His grandfather had moved to the main street of this mountainous place to run a restaurant. I noticed that this student had a tattooed dragon on his right arm when he rolled up the sleeves of his blue jacket.

Mr. Lee indicated that he transferred from Green Mountain Elementary School to another elementary school located in the nearby town when he was a third grader. He stressed that he has never liked to study since he was a child although his parents would sit beside him to teach him his schoolwork. For example, if his handwriting was not neat, his parents would ask him to rewrite the words. Then I asked Mr. Lee to talk about his learning in the mountain school and in the town school. I noticed that he seemed to regard himself as a member of this mountainous area, as reflected in the following statements.

What impressed me most is that [in Green Mountain Elementary School] *yuan-chun-min* [indigenous] students were good at running [in the physical education class]. Most of the time, *ping-ti* [Han Chinese] students were slower. There were more students in the town school [about 40 students in class] than those in the mountain school [about 20 students in class]. When I first transferred to a new school, most students were strange to me. I stayed in

this mountainous area for a long time so [I] became a little shy.

At that time, I and my elder brother and sister got up at 5:30 a.m. and then took the bus to the town school. Standing by the bus stop was cold in the winter morning. When it rained hard, the traffic became bad. I was so happy because I did not have to go to school.

During the period of my fieldwork, I used to eat lunch at a cafeteria. When I passed Mr. Lee's home, a two-story restaurant, I noticed that there were lots of customers talking and laughing loudly. So I asked Mr. Lee whether he helped in the management of this restaurant after school. He replied, "On weekends, I have to help my parents wash plates or cook some dishes. Although my academic performance is not good in school, I can learn cooking skills at home." Following this, Mr. Lee also talked about his study in junior high school. He said,

In the third year of junior high school [located in the nearby town], I was placed on the vocational track [not ready for attending high school] and started learning how to cook. Most classmates were *yuan-chun-min* [aborigines]; when we went to class, we started drinking alcohol that was contained in a plastic bottle and looked transparent like mineral water.

Therefore, the teacher did not notice our behavior until some students got drunk in class. He [the teacher] angrily asked, "Who took alcohol to school?" No one wanted to answer, so all the students received punishment. We, *ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese] were drunk; they, *shaang-ti jen* [aborigines], said, "Come on! Don't pretend that you are dead! [Mr. Lee was talking and laughing.]" They, *yuan-chun-min*, are really good at drinking. During this period, we

were friends. I seldom remembered what I learned in class. Sometimes, I would be asked to run errands, such as fertilizing flowers and trees. This also provided me with an opportunity to smoke. In fact, my parents knew [about] my [delinquent] behavior in school. They hoped that I could quit these habits that were harmful for my health.

Then Mr. Lee continued relating his life in the vocational high school reflecting on his rebellious behavior in his teens.

After junior high school, I chose a school close to my home. If I can graduate, that's fine. My parents do not expect me to study at the schools with academic fame. In this vocational high school, at first, I planned to study cooking; however, no boy was recruited in this major, so I decided to study another field--forestry. I have known many kinds of trees and have learned how to make furniture. Right now, I have better behavior because I am tired of my past life. That kind of life was very terrible and I didn't know when I would be killed [by my enemies]. I and other classmates had joined a gang. We liked to race our motorcycles. Once, another group of people rode behind us. They thought that they lost face and then fought with us. Although we finally won, some of us were sent to the hospital. Later I decided to leave this gang.

At the end of this interview, Mr. Lee indicated that he tried to behave to demonstrate that he is different from what he used to be. He also related that others were more likely to attribute personal bad behavior to other reasons; however, he thought that

he used to be a bad person because of his own volition, not because of others' enforcement or influence.

In summary, Mr. Lee was the youngest participant. His grandfather came to the village to run a restaurant, and then his father inherited this business. Mr. Lee did not like academic school work and became a delinquent student for a while. His academic performance at school was poor, but Mr. Lee remarked that he could learn cooking skills from his family business. Finally, he thought that indigenous students were good at sports and drinking alcohol.

Comparisons of Han Chinese Adults' Educational Experiences in School

In the previous parts of this chapter, I have described ten Han Chinese's life stages (childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, and adulthood) and their educational experiences. Each participant's narrative reflects the corresponding sociocultural system within which he or she is embedded. First, I explore why these participants' families moved to the mountains. Then I discuss what educational experiences these participants had. Finally, their perceptions of Atayals are summarized.

Han Chinese Family Backgrounds

These Han Chinese participants' families moved to this village between the 1930s and the 1980s. Han Chinese came to Green Mountain Village to do different jobs. Some came to make their living by running a grocery store, a breakfast store, a restaurant, or doing farm work. Others were hired by a village office, sanitary office, a police station, or a forestry bureau. At that time, the Japanese colonial government was in charge of these organizations. My participants were the second or third generation born in the

village. Their parents' work varied from common laboring to small business owners to civil service.

Han Chinese Schooling

My Han Chinese participants' educational level ranges from finishing elementary school to university. Their educational experiences were different from one another partly because they were born in different periods. In the early period, school education stressed teachers' authority; corporal punishment was prevalent on campus. Elderly participants about 50 or 60 years old, like Mr. Ye, Mr. Wang, and Ms. Chou, still had clear memories of how their schoolteachers punished them. Taiwan's nine-year compulsory education has been in operation since 1968. The first six years are provided for elementary schoolchildren, and the last three years are offered for junior high school students. So most elderly participants had to take a junior high school entrance examination to continue their school education. After the end of World War II (1945), Taiwan's economy started developing, and Taiwan was once called one of "Four Tigers" of East Asia because of its industrial growth (de Blij, 1995). However, especially before 1945, most Taiwanese were very poor. This poverty is reflected in some of my participants' descriptions of walking to school with bare feet and using a candle to study at night.

Younger participants about 20 or 30 years old, like Ms. Chai and Mr. Lee, commented on their understanding of ability grouping and cram schools. In Taiwan, tracking is practiced in junior high schools and senior high schools. Ms. Chai and Mr. Lee indicated that they were placed on a nonacademic track and were ignored by their teachers and by other students. I recognize this from personal experience. When I

was a student, I worked hard to be placed on a high ability track because my parents frequently warned me that there were many bad students on the low ability track. Shaw's (1991) ethnographic study, conducted in Taipei, a northern city of Taiwan, also shows that the students in a junior high school placed on the low academic ability track did not receive much teacher attention and discipline. Ironically, tracking aims to place students with similar academic ability together to help them learn better and to help teachers easily accommodate their students' individual differences in a more homogenous group (Oakes, 1985). However, this intention seemed unrealized in Taiwan.

Most students attend cram schools to get higher scores on the entrance examinations to be accepted by schools with better academic reputations. Cram schools also exist in other eastern Pacific Rim nations, such as Japan (Chalker & Haynes, 1994). When I was in senior high school, I attended this kind of class to improve my mathematics and English. The classroom was very crowded, with about 50 or 60 students. Teachers' instruction stressed how to memorize their lectures and asked students to repeatedly practice test questions. Most participants in my study were familiar with this kind of competitive learning environment and indicated that they experienced more academic pressure when they went to town or city schools.

Han Chinese's Perceptions of Atayals

Among these participants, only Mr. Lai used the term *fan* [savages] for Atayals. The terms--*yuan-chun-min* [native people] and *shaang-ti jen* [mountain people]--were used by most of the Han Chinese to name Atayals. Some of my Han Chinese participants called themselves *ping-ti jen* [plains people] (see Table 5.1).

Although these Han Chinese participants lived in a village where half of the population were Atayals, few of my Han Chinese participants had frequent contact with Atayal villagers. Mr. Tian told me that his mother was more likely to get along with her Atayal neighbors, and Mr. Lai once had an Atayal relative. In spite of this, older Han Chinese had more knowledge and understanding of Atayals' cultural life styles. For example, Mr. Lai knew their hunting habits, and Mr. Shen was able to speak to older Atayals in Japanese and knew about their sharing of food with members from the same group.

I assumed that my Han Chinese interviewees would feel uncomfortable talking about their perceptions of Atayals, so I inferred some of this from what they called Atayals and what they thought about Atayals based on my interviews about their educational experiences, in which they also talked about Atayals (see Table 5.2).

I also noticed that some participants' remarks implicitly suggested a resentment of Atayals. For example, Mr. Ye said that the Japanese tried to get Atayals to drink rusty water to keep the women from getting pregnant; Mr. Lai related that Atayals did not know how to get rid of rats by raising cats. In fact, one female Atayal told me that Atayals liked to eat baked rats and that rats used to be Atayals' daily food.

Furthermore, most Han Chinese participants working in business commented that Atayals were not reliable. In contrast to this comment, Ruan's (1994) study showed that Han Chinese grocery owners provided many Atayals with daily needs (e.g., salt and oil); some stores lent Atayals money but demanded high interest in return. One of my Atayal participants, Mr. Kung, also mentioned a similar situation to me.

Therefore, I speculate that most perceptions of these Han Chinese were stereotypes. Namely, not all Atayals had these attitudes and behaviors because one image of Atayals shared by most Han Chinese interviewees was that they did not stress school education. In fact, most Han Chinese participants' parents also were busy making their living and were unable to spend time on their children's schoolwork. However, a few of the habits listed in Table 5.2 may be common to most aborigines. One study on the life styles of three tribes living on the eastern part of Taiwan—Atayal, Bunun, and Ami—conducted by Taiwanese anthropologist Ruan (1994) also showed that these aborigines lacked the practice of saving money.

A few of my participants, such as Mr. Lai and Mr. Ye, commented that Taiwan's government was generous to aborigines because they were given extra score points on their high school and college entrance examinations. They also said that this was not fair to Han Chinese students. I am a Han Chinese from Taiwan, and I understand how competitive these examinations are. However, I believe that this policy is an appropriate way to give Taiwanese aborigines more opportunity to receive regular school education. Finally, I noticed that a few participants' perceptions of Atayals came from their parents, such as in the cases of Mr. Tian and Ms. Wang.

In summary, some Han Chinese families moved to this mountain village to make a living, but others came here as civil servants assigned to village offices. On schooling, older Han Chinese interviewees talked more about corporal punishment; younger Han Chinese interviewees have more experiences of ability grouping and cram schools. On the whole, these participants' educational levels were not high.

Table 5.1

Han Chinese Participants' Naming Themselves and Atayals

	Labels for Han Chinese	Labels for Atayals
Mr. Ye		shaang-ti jen
Mr. Wang		shaang-ti jen
Mr. Kung	ping-ti jen	yuan-chun-min
Ms. Chou		yuan-chun-min
Mr. Lai	ping-ti jen	fan
Mr. Shen	ping-ti jen	yuan-chun-min
Mr. Tian	ping-ti jen	yuan-chun-min
Ms. Chai		
Ms. Wang		
Mr. Lee	ping-ti jen	shaang-ti jen yuan-chun-min

Table 5.2

Han Chinese Participants' Perceptions of Themselves and Atayals

	Images of Han Chinese	Images of Atayals
Mr. Ye		not sanitary not reliable
Mr. Wang		not reliable
Mr. Kung	stressed school education	did not save money
Ms. Chou	thrifty	not prudent
Mr. Lai		not prudent did not stress school education lazy workers
Mr. Shen		did not like to study did not stress school education
Mr. Tian	worked hard	Older Atayals were friendly; younger Atayals were not reliable
Ms. Chai		
Ms. Wang	thrifty	not prudent good at sports
Mr. Lee	stressed school education	did not stress school education good at sports and like to drink alcohol

Most Han Chinese participants formulated their negative images of Atayals based on their own standards; older Han Chinese participants understood more about Atayal life style than younger Han Chinese participants did. Finally, these participants primarily used the term *ping-ti jen* to name themselves and called Atayals *shaang-ti jen* or *yuan-chun-min*.

Comparisons of Atayal and Han Chinese Adults' Educational Experiences in School

This section is centered on examining one of my research questions--how Atayal adults' school educational experiences compare with those of Han Chinese adults--by discussing the commonalties and differences between Atayal and Han Chinese adults' educational experiences in school. I group my participants according to age to compare their school lives because they were more likely influenced by the similar social and cultural context. Furthermore, I emphasize the impact of their ethnic background on their study at school.

Different Periods of Taiwan's School Education

The chronological development of Taiwan's education is detailed in Chapter Two. To place my participants' educational experiences in an appropriate context, here I divide Taiwan's school education into three periods: Japanese rule of Taiwan (1895-1945), implementation of martial law (1949-1985), and lifting of martial law (1986-present). In the first period, everyone was required to learn to become a Japanese citizen through school education. By 1949, Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan and implemented martial law to protect Taiwan from an invasion of Chinese Communists. At that time, students in Taiwan were required to speak Mandarin; school curricula were organized around China's society, history, geography, and culture. Since 1986, Taiwan's

school education has also stressed local culture, history, geography, and dialects; meanwhile, indigenous knowledge and cultures are integrated into formal school subjects, such as social studies, or exist in the form of add-on programs, such as indigenous languages and dances.

In spite of the preceding changes in Taiwan's educational environment, a school diploma has always been valued by most Han Chinese and aborigines because an individual's level of educational attainment corresponds to opportunities for occupational employment (Rubinstein, 1999a). Likewise, Gibson (1993) has also pointed out that, for ethnic minorities in the U. S., schooling is the primary avenue to higher paying and less physically strenuous jobs.

Like most eastern Asian countries, Taiwan has cram schools that are common for students. This kind of school supplements the content of regular school; in other words, it offers students another opportunity to enhance their academic achievement to assure their performances on entrance examinations. In this way, these students seek to attend better schools, to get better jobs, and to make more money.

To represent Taiwan's changing educational environment, I classify my participants into four groups based on their ages (see Table 5.3). The distribution of these participants' ages range from being born in the 1940s to the 1970s.

Table 5.3

Classification of Decades When Atayal and Han Chinese Participants Were Born

	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s
Atayal		Mr. Lin Mr. Chen Ms. Wu Mr. Peng Ms. Hsu	Ms. Tu	Ms. Liu Ms. Cheng Mr. Lu Mr. Tsai
Han Chinese	Mr. Ye Mr. Kung Mr. Shen	Mr. Lai Ms. Chou Mr. Tian Mr. Wang	Ms. Wang Ms. Chai	Mr. Lee

Common Educational Experiences for Atayal and Han Chinese Participants

These participants shared similar educational experiences because of their mountain residence and Taiwan's standardized curricula. The remoteness of their living places from urban centers motivated most participants to leave their own villages at younger ages to pursue better school education. Furthermore, Taiwan's centralized school education assures that my participants received a certain amount of standardized knowledge and skills.

Leaving Home Earlier to Pursue Better School Education: Remote Residence

Most Atayal and Han Chinese participants had attended schools outside of this mountain village. Under these circumstances, I assume that they faced a similar dilemma: the separation from their tribes or families to pursue a better school education. Their parents believed that education is a path to economic success, so they were willing to tolerate the emotional pain of separation and could afford to provide for their children's higher expenditures in town or city schools. Meanwhile, their children also

had to overcome the pressures of learning in new schools. In this respect, pursuing school education was stressful for both children and parents.

I noticed that most parents did not know how to help their children with schoolwork at home although they knew that education was important for their children. Therefore, they sent their younger children to town, city, or cram schools in pursuit of higher test scores. When they were children, some Atayal participants, such as Mr. Chen, Mr. Lin, Ms. Tu, and Ms. Hsu, had been sent away to rental houses and had been taken care of by their older siblings. When I asked these participants about this period of learning, this aroused their emotions and I could feel how eager they had been to see their parents and how much they wanted to leave their new learning environments. On the other hand, some Han Chinese participants, such as Mr. Lee, Mr. Wang, and Ms. Chai, indicated only that it took some time to take a bus to town schools from their homes, but daily traffic had largely exhausted them.

On the amount of education at and quality of town or city schools, only one Han Chinese participant Mr. Tian, observed that there were lots of examinations in the town elementary schools. Other Han Chinese participants, such as Mr. Lee, Mr. Wang, and Ms. Wang, did not do well at school after graduating from Green Mountain Elementary School. Based on my personal experience, studying in city schools is very competitive. The students not only have to take daily quizzes in class but also have to do a lot of homework after school. Furthermore, teachers' expectations of their students are high. In addition to school textbooks, the students are required to learn supplementary materials. This mainly explains why most Han Chinese participants could not catch up with other students when they went to new schools. Among my Atayal participants,

Mr. Peng commented that his city high school used essay tests to assess students' learning and this approach was difficult for him.

Receiving Basic School Knowledge and Skills: Taiwan's Standardized Curricula

The Taiwanese school system is governed by the Ministry of Education (MOE), so there is relatively small variation in curricula across schools. I think that this system is so influential that most participants have learned similar subject contents because Taiwan's entrance examinations are based on school subjects. As a result, each student has to master all subjects taught in school to get higher scores on entrance examinations to be accepted by better schools.

School subjects are taught in Mandarin, so all my Atayal and Han Chinese participants can speak it. Occasionally, I talked with these interviewees in Taiwanese. Most participants could speak Taiwanese because most Han Chinese participants spoke with their families in Taiwanese at home. Furthermore, more than half of television and radio programs are in Taiwanese. That is why Atayal participants also could speak Taiwanese.

According to the older participants, the postwar period of Taiwan's school education was poor in both teachers' instruction and students' limited access to schools. Schoolteachers used corporal punishment with their students at a whim. After graduating from elementary school, students had to take an entrance examination to attend junior high school. At that time, there was no school following elementary school in this mountain village. For younger participants, in contrast, there were more learning sources to improve their academic performance in addition to the regular school curricula, such as

cram schools. Despite this, only a few Atayal and Han Chinese interviewees had attended this kind of school, such as Mr. Tsai and Ms. Wang.

Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, the national curriculum has included more about Taiwan's society and culture. Before 1987, when I was a student, I remember that the subjects of school history and geography was China's 5000-year long history and China's mountains, weather, natural resources, cities, railroads, and such. Students were allowed to speak only Mandarin at school, and if students spoke their own dialects, they would be punished by schoolteachers. This explains why only younger participants, especially those born in the 1970s, have had the opportunity to attend indigenous courses at school, such as Atayal language and dance.

Different Educational Experiences for Atayal and Han Chinese Participants

The differences between Atayal and Han Chinese participants' educational experiences in school may be attributed to two factors: the stigma of being aborigines and the unequal status of Atayal and Han Chinese cultures. My participants' perceptions of ethnic relationships largely influenced their interpretations of their own school life and their attitude toward school education.

Atayal Participants' Unhappiness in Being Students: Stigma of Being Aborigines

Taiwan's ethnic groups are mainly composed of Han Chinese and aborigines. Most participants used the term *ping-ti jen* (plains people) for the Han Chinese instead of using the term Han Chinese that has been used in Taiwan's official publications, such as The Republic of China 1998 Yearbook. Taiwan's anthropologists, such as Chen et al. (1996) also use the term--the Chinese or the Han people--in their study on Thao, another tribe in Taiwan. So alternatives to traditional usage are available.

The term for aborigines primarily used in daily conversation was *shaang-ti jen* (mountain people) or *yuan-chun-min* (native people). In spite of this, some Atayal participants had been called the more pejorative *fan* (savages) when they were students. In addition, some negative attributes associated with aborigines are shared by some Atayal and Han Chinese participants. Under these circumstances, to overcome such mental barriers, I believe that Atayal participants required more effort to achieve similar educational attainment as Han Chinese participants.

The following table indicates that more of my Atayal participants had finished higher education than my Han Chinese participants did. The finding is not in accordance with the large social context, as I have mentioned in Chapter 2: a greater portion of Han Chinese than aborigines start higher education--whether they finish or not. I think the contrasting pattern may be partly attributed to my sampling selection bias. The Atayal participants (e.g., schoolteachers and village office staff members) having access to me received more school education than the Atayal non-participants made their living as farmers or manual laborers. This research site is a reserved area for Atayals, so the Atayals with higher education may return here to take some positions. For example, Atayals with educational qualifications are able to get reserved places in the village office or the police station.

Furthermore, as I said on page 64, possibly some of the Han Chinese villagers I asked to interview declined to answer my questions, because they felt embarrassed about their lower educational attainment. I believe that Han Chinese with higher educational attainment do not stay in this mountain village because there are a few jobs available for them. However, especially older male Han Chinese tended to stay in this village to

inherit their families' properties, such as restaurants or grocery stores. So Han Chinese participants are generally older than Atayal participants.

Table 5.4

Atayal and Han Chinese Participants' Educational Attainment

	Atayal	Han Chinese
Elementary School only		Mr. Lai
Junior High School only		Mr. Ye, Mr. Tian Ms. Chou
High School only	Ms. Wu, Ms. Tu	
Vocational High School only	Mr. Tsai, Mr. Lin Ms. Cheng, Ms. Liu	Mr. Wang, Mr. Shen Ms. Chai, Mr. Lee
Junior College	Ms. Hsu, Mr. Chen	Ms. Wang
University	Mr. Lin, Mr. Peng	Mr. Kung

A few Han Chinese participants attributed Atayals' educational attainment to their privilege of getting extra points on entrance examinations to enter better schools. In fact, I noticed that these indigenous students were still able to compete with their Han Chinese classmates when I taught elementary social studies to college students some years ago. On the other hand, I noticed that a few Han Chinese participants' families, such as the families of Mr. Wang and Mr. Lee, gave their children much support to help them finish their school education.

Atayal Participants' Passion for Studying at Han Chinese Schools: Unequal Status of Atayal and Han Chinese Cultures

In Taiwan, Han Chinese culture may be viewed as the mainstream culture by both Atayal and Han Chinese. Atayal participants paid attention to how Han Chinese perceived them; however, Han Chinese participants did not notice how Atayals perceived them. In other words, Atayals cared more about how Han Chinese perceived them than

Han Chinese cared about how Atayals perceived them. For example, as indicated in Chapter 4, some Atayal participants related that Han Chinese attached negative attributes to them. Furthermore, some Atayal participants also valued what they viewed as the Han Chinese way of life, such as stressing school education and having good business sense.

Some Han Chinese participants were also proud of their own culture. For example, Mr. Kung said that Atayals living close to a Han Chinese town had higher educational achievements because these Atayals learned how to teach children from Han Chinese. Atayals are viewed as members of a low-prestige group, as Shepherd (1993) has noted. Their access to Han Chinese culture comes from school education, occupation, the media, and such. In these situations, they might feel stressed by having to simultaneously maintain their own tribal life and lead a Han Chinese life. In this respect, Mr. Lin used the term “sinicization” to explain that some Atayals imitated Han Chinese life style, such as having well-educated children and a stable job. However, these Atayals intentionally kept their distance from other Atayals. A similar cost of mobility for blacks and whites from families with low income and occupational status in achieving success in the U. S. has been explored in Harrington and Boardman (1997). Most of their high mobility participants were estranged from their families and communities of origin.

The patterns I have observed in the interactions between Atayals and Han Chinese have been explained by Shepherd (1993, p. 377).

Acculturation is never a linear function of the intensity of contact between cultural groups. Rather, the direction and speed of acculturation depends heavily on the structure of the interaction between the groups and the prestige

orders that emerge as a result. If one group acknowledges another group's claims to be wealthier, more powerful, and the bearer of a "higher" culture, then a clear prestige hierarchy emerges. Members of the low-prestige group will be motivated to adopt the status characteristics of the high-prestige group if they have the means to acquire them and the acquisition of such characteristics can be expected to raise the status of the individual or group.

The unequal ethnic relationship was also reflected in Taiwan's school education. Especially before 1986, indigenous students' needs were more likely to be ignored and school curricula and instruction were rarely related to these students' daily experiences. In a study on the Ami's tribal transition and their members' adaptation Hsu (1987), has pointed out that he had explored Ami children's low academic grades in 1978 partly because of the disparity between their culture and their school textbooks. For example, the order of adjective and object in the Ami language is different from those in Mandarin. So when Ami children went to school, they had difficulty learning Mandarin. In this respect, my Atayal participant, Ms. Hsu, also mentioned that she used to speak Atayal at home, so when she went to school, she could not understand the Mandarin spoken by most teachers and children. However, most Atayal participants in my study seldom mentioned that this cultural difference caused any learning difficulty. I speculate that this is because most of them live in a village composed of both Atayals and Han Chinese. These Atayal participants might be more familiar with the culture of the school curricula derived from Han Chinese culture than other indigenous peoples on Taiwan might be.

Another Taiwanese anthropologist Wu (1998b) has pointed out the disparity between indigenous cultures and school subject contents, which causes indigenous

students' learning difficulties. For example, in the past, aborigines used only the numbers ranging from one to ten, so it was not easy for them to understand the concepts of zero and a hundred. In addition, there may be no indigenous word to represent some geometric ideas, such as square, circle, and oblong. Although my Atayal participants did not mention this to me, a few participants, such as Ms. Wu, used a biological explanation to account for why she had poor math grades when she was a student. She thought that aborigines were naturally born with poor numerical concepts.

Finally, Atayal participants themselves varied in their understanding of Atayal culture. Some Atayals, such as Mr. Lin, Ms. Hsu, and Mr. Tsai, knew more about their hunting and facial tattoo practices. Older Atayals participants born in the 1950s and the 1960s could speak Atayal; however, younger Atayals born in the 1970s could not speak their own language well or at all. I speculate that younger generations do not use their language fluently because Atayal is not much valued in current Taiwanese society. As I have already noted, the languages used on radio and television are mainly Mandarin and Taiwanese.

Conclusion

My participants' interpretations of their own school educational experiences were largely influenced by the social contexts in which they were educated, the remote areas where they lived, and their ethnic backgrounds. Most Atayal and Han Chinese participants left their homes at a young age to pursue better school education. What motivated them to do so was a belief shared by Atayals and Han Chinese in the importance of a school diploma. The diploma symbolizes an individual's ability and

qualification for certain positions, and the more education people receive, the more money they may make in the future.

In the 1940s and the 1950s, there was only an elementary school in this mountain village, so children had to attend junior high schools in a nearby town. These Atayal and Han Chinese participants also said that they received strict discipline and insufficient school supplies. Compared to older participants' memories of poor learning environments, younger participants recounted more opportunities to improve their academic outcomes (e.g., attending cram schools) and to learn about other ethnic groups at school. This partly can be attributed to the transition of Taiwan's society from authoritarian to democratic. However, according to a few participants, the shortcomings of ability grouping seem to still exist in Taiwan. If the students are placed in low ability groups, they are ignored by their teachers and looked down on by other academically competent students.

There were some negative attributes associated with Atayals, so some Atayal participants had been mistreated when they were students. Younger Atayals had less experience of being looked down on by the Han Chinese at school, but these younger Atayals had less understanding of their own culture than older Atayal did.

According to my interviews with these Atayals and Han Chinese about their perceptions of both ethnic groups, I can infer that the Han Chinese culture, with its emphasis on school education and saving money, is valued more in Taiwanese society. This might motivate some Atayal participants to study at Han Chinese schools. Taiwan's standardized curricula and compulsory education assure everyone the basic quantity and quality of school education. Nevertheless, the disparity between aborigines and Han

Chinese educational attainment still exists in Taiwan. However, the educational gap has gradually decreased over time.

I have pointed out that younger Atayal and Han Chinese interviewees have more chances to learn about other ethnic groups at school. Therefore, in the following chapter I will specifically explore what children have learned about Atayal culture from the Atayal and dance classes offered by the sample elementary school and what children have learned about Atayal culture from outside school resources—Monen Rudux's monument and Atayal workshops.

CHAPTER 6

CHILDREN'S KNOWLEDGE AND THINKING ABOUT ATAYAL CULTURE

The goal of Taiwan's indigenous education is to help aborigines adapt to mainstream society and preserve their cultures. To achieve this goal, the Educational Priority Areas (EPAs) plan has been implemented for distributing educational resources to indigenous students or students from lower socioeconomic areas to improve teaching facilities, to maintain indigenous cultures, and to enhance minority students' educational achievement. As I have explained in Chapter 2, my sample school is qualified for funds from the EPAs plan. Therefore, to supplement the regular curricula, the Atayal dance and language courses are offered from this plan. According to information from a female Atayal administrator, Ms. Lee, these two programs were started in 1996. In addition to the preceding formal school curricula, the Atayal craft workshops and Monen Rudux's monument near my sample school have become accessible resources for children to learn more about Atayal culture.

Therefore, in my study, the Atayal or indigenous curriculum and instruction include the Atayal language course, the Atayal dance course, the Atayal craft workshops, and Monen Rudux's monument. Of course, the student population of this sample school includes Atayal and Han Chinese children, and the school itself is located in a community composed of both Atayal and Han Chinese residents. Under these circumstances, in addition to the effects of personal characteristics (e.g., ethnicity and age), the formulation of children's understanding of Atayal is influenced by their significant others and their

living environments, such as parents, neighbors, friends, schoolteachers, media, and so on.

In this chapter, I examine sample children's knowledge of and attitude toward Atayal culture in certain areas: artifacts, customs, historical figures, language, and dance, what sources provide the children with information about Atayal, how these children talk about Atayal in reference to Han Chinese, and the extent to which their perceptions of Atayal and Han Chinese are shared by my adult interviewees.

Table 6.1

The List of Sample Children

	Atayal		Han Chinese		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Grade 3	Bing-bing Ping-ping	Mei-me Li-li	Yai-yai Di-di Ju-ju	Chun-chun	8
Grade 4	Yuan-yuan		Din-din	Fen-fen* Min-min	4
Grade 5	Lai-lai Tung-tung Chin-chin	Yi-yi Tao-tao* Ling-Ling	Lu-lu Hao-hao Yeu-yeu* Kang-kang	Ying-ying	11
Sample	6	5	8	4	23
Total available	17	9	12	6	44

* Fen-fen, Yeu-yeu, and Tao-tao are from Atayal-Han Chinese mixed families. Fen-fen and Yeu-yeu's mothers are Atayals and their fathers are Han Chinese; Tao-tao's mother is a Han Chinese and her father is an Atayal.

* I interviewed 23 children of 44 possible interviewees.

The sampled children were selected from third, fourth, and fifth grades (see Table 6.1). My choice of students was based on rapport and how well they were able to articulate their perceptions. I also tried interviewing some other children in grades 3-5; however, they were not able to respond to my questions.

Before discussing the sample children's view of Atayal culture, I describe the central aspects of it I observed directly myself. In addition, the following cultural symbols were mentioned by most Atayal adult interviewees when I asked them about what most represented their own culture.

Atayal Culture

Because of their accessibility and visibility to the students, the aspects of the Atayal culture I focus on are represented by the Atayal language course, the Atayal dance course, the Atayal craft workshops, and Monen Rudux's monument (and social studies instruction about this event).

Atayal Language Course

This course is designed to motivate and prepare the students to speak Atayal. All third through sixth graders were required to attend this 40-minute class each week. The Atayal language textbook was compiled by the Ministry of Education and adopted the Romanization system of Atayal because Mandarin phonetic symbols do not effectively provide a writing system for aboriginal languages (Republic of China, 1998). For example, wild pig can be written easily in the Roman alphabet as "*bauiyak*" (the Atayal pronunciation). The development of the Atayal language program conforms to the initial level of Banks's formulation of designing multiethnic curricula (1994), "The Additive Approach is often accomplished by the addition of a book, a unit, or a course to the curriculum without changing it substantially" (p. 207).

I frequently visited the Atayal language course taught by a local cleric. Sometimes I just sat in class and did not take notes for concern that note-taking would disrupt his instruction. The teacher, an Atayal in his early forties, was a minister serving

in a local Christian church. Because of his theological training, he was able to use the Roman alphabet to teach the Atayal language. Beginning with the Atayal language textbook, this cleric designed his own teaching materials. He taught children Roman letters, daily conversations, and Atayal mythology, such as how people turn into monkeys. He hoped that the students would be able to speak Atayal. When the students became more proficient in pronouncing the alphabets and short phrases, they were introduced to speaking longer sentences.

The minister's instruction emphasized drill practice and review. For the middle grades, he led students in reading the Roman alphabet together. Then, he called on them to take turns reading the alphabet. For upper grades, he asked students to read short phrases or longer sentences individually or in unison. His common assignments for students were to speak Atayal with their parents or Atayal neighbors and then write down the conversations in Atayal. At the next class meeting, some of the students would be called on to read aloud their assignments in Atayal.

The minister stressed to me that he evaluated the students more on their willingness to participate than on their learning outcomes. Furthermore, he tried to motivate children to learn this language by telling them stories and giving them rewards, such as pencils and erasers. However, this Atayal language teacher's own children did not want to learn Atayal, as the following excerpt shows.

When I visited his home--a two-story house near the church--I found that he had two young children about five or six years old who could not speak Atayal. In our conversation, the minister told me that his son thought that life in the mountains [where the minister's parents lived] was inferior to urban life [where the minister's Han Chinese

wife's parents lived] because there were no hamburgers and fried chicken in the mountains. So the children preferred to speak the Taiwanese used by relatives on their mother's side of the family rather than the Atayal spoken by relatives on their father's side.

In summary, the Atayal language course taught by an Atayal minister offered third through sixth graders an opportunity to speak Atayal. The minister's instruction emphasized drill practice and memorization. He also used some rewards (e.g., telling stories) to motivate his students to learn this language. The Atayal language has no indigenous written form, so the minister taught this course with the Roman alphabet rather than the Chinese characters and phonetics used in regular school subjects. This course focused on indigenous verbal skills. Another Atayal dance course focused on athletic and physical skills.

Atayal Dance Course

The dance course aims to teach children to appreciate Atayal dance and to train them to perform in public to introduce more people to Atayal dance. All third through sixth graders were required to attend the 120-minute dance class each week. The two male teachers were Rukai in their early thirties with dark skin, short hair, and sturdy appearances. They customarily wore caps, shorts, and sports shoes. Both of them had performed well in an indigenous dance contest, so they were invited to teach these children. They lived on the other side of the mountains from this village. They told me that they had learned indigenous dances from the tribal elders. They also indicated that the course is composed of themes related to traditional Atayal customs. The ceremony for worshipping Atayal ancestors' spirits was held before hunting. When hunters came

back with their game, such as wild pigs, they shared the meat together and drank millet wine. When men went hunting, women were busy planting and reaping crops. After daily work, the young males and females flirted with each other by dancing and playing a kind flute made of bamboo—*rubu* (the Atayal pronunciation for this flute).

The open playground was usually used as a classroom, and therefore the dancing instruction was easily affected by the weather, such as heavy rains. Under these circumstances, Green Mountain Elementary School would use the auditorium at Green Mountain Senior Vocational School across the road as a dancing classroom. Because this course was held in a public place, I was allowed to stay many times without disrupting the ongoing class. I constructed the following vignette of Atayal dance instruction based on a series of teaching instances that helped me recognize the regularity of the teachers' instruction.

After lunch, students were required to take a nap. On Thursday afternoons about 1:30 p.m., third, fourth, and fifth grade teachers woke their students up and led them to the playground. Subsequently, the two Rukai teachers with bottles of water walked toward the playground from the front door of the elementary school. After a brief greeting, the three schoolteachers left for the staff office or the dormitory. Sometimes, Mr. Wan would stay on the playground to help keep the students quiet. The Rukai teachers looked around the students and said, "Raise your hands, if you don't feel [physically] comfortable and cannot attend this course." Then, the students were required to run about two rounds around the playground. After the warming-up activity, the students were separated into two groups based on gender because male and female

dancing steps are different. Each Rukai teacher was responsible for teaching half of the students. However, the two teachers' instructional procedures were very similar.

The teacher started the class by loudly asking his students, "Can you hear my voice?" The students answered in unison, "We do." After demonstrating basic dancing steps, the teacher asked his students to find their positions on the playground. On the right side of the playground, male students stood hand in hand in three or four lines, moved forward and counted the beat, "One, two, three,...eight." Then, they interchangeably raised their left and right legs as high as they could; subsequently, they moved backward and did the same actions [This movement represents Atayal males' preparation before hunting]. Meanwhile, the teacher cautioned them, "Don't fall down when you lift your leg." Sometimes, the teacher hit a drum to help his students catch the beat. On the left side of the playground, female students were grouped into two circles. They also stood hand in hand, raised their left legs, stepped on the ground about two times, and then put their right hands on their heads [This movement represents Atayal females' farming and harvesting]. These children repeatedly practiced these actions in unison. After about 50 minutes, they had a break to drink water, to go to the rest rooms, or to eat snacks.

In the following 50 minutes, the teacher asked the upper graders to teach the lower graders and to supervise their performances, but he also stayed on the playground and monitored his students. For example, Chi-chi, a male Han Chinese sixth grader, put his hands on his waist and said to some third graders, "One, left leg! Two, right leg....". These third graders followed Chi-chi's oral direction. After a while, Chi-chi noticed some errors and said to the third graders, "It's time to turn left [in the seventh beat] but

you turn right. No wonder, your movements look so weird.” Then, Chi-chi demonstrated the dancing sequence and said, “One, raise your left leg; two, raise your right leg, . . . , seven, turn left, . . .” [When Chi-chi raised his left leg, he also raised his right arm to balance his body.]

At the end of the class, the teacher usually clapped his hands, and then the students gathered together and sat down. The teacher said, “Any questions about today’s practice? You still cannot remember the correct steps and movements. You have to practice it [the dance] after class.” Then, the class was dismissed.

To sum up, two Rukai dancers taught third through sixth graders this required course to perform in public to introduce Atayal dance to others and to earn fame for the school. The instructors stressed their children’s drill practice of dancing steps and movements more than the cultural meaning of this dance. This dance course and the preceding language course are part of formal school curricula; the following resources—the Atayal craft workshops and Monen Rudux’s monument are outside of school.

Atayal Craft Workshops

There were about 10 Atayal craft workshops near my research site, owned mainly by female Atayals (30-50 years old) to sell and preserve their traditional artifacts. Most owners were good at weaving and supported their families in this way. However, they did not demonstrate their weaving skills in public. In appearance, these workshops look like the stores selling souvenirs at sightseeing attractions. There were parking spaces in front of them. Woven bags and clothes were usually exhibited under a counter made of transparent glass. Weaving machines were placed beside these woven products. At the

back of the store, animals' bones and furs, baskets, and dried corn hung on the walls to demonstrate the Atayal's traditional way of life.

The commercialization of Atayal artifacts not only motivates Atayals to learn their culture but also promotes others' understanding of Atayals' lives. This situation has also been described by Hsieh (1994, p. 200), "Tourism has been the most decisive means of introducing indigenous culture to Han people, and to international visitors in the more recent period." A relative of one Atayal school administrator introduced me to her workshop in the summer of 1999. Her store was about a ten minutes' drive away from Green Mountain Elementary School. This owner, in her early fifties, said that she ran this workshop to make money. I found that the exhibitions in the Atayal workshop conveyed the meanings of the rites of passage associated with some of the cultural practices: weaving, hunting, and facial tattoos. In the past, only when Atayal females were able to weave clothes and Atayal males were able to hunt game were they allowed to get married, and thus facial tattoos also symbolized adulthood. These aspects of Atayal traditional lives have been discussed in Chapter 2.

In brief, the Atayal craft workshops exhibited traditional Atayal artifacts and cultural practices in the form of commodities. These stores have become a way for a few Atayals to make their living, and these stores have also attracted visitors to this mountainous area. Likewise, Monen Rudux's monument has become a site for schoolchildren to take a field trip to learn Atayal history.

Monen Rudux's Monument and Social Studies Instruction

The famous event in which the Atayals fought with Japanese soldiers in 1930 took place in Green Mountain Village as I have described in Chapter 2. During the

Japanese occupation, there were several armed insurrections led by Han Chinese or aborigines. I think that this event in Green Mountain Village is the most famous indigenous insurrection--more than 100 Atayals were killed. Later, the statues and tombs were built to commemorate these Atayals. It took only a few minutes to cross the road from Green Mountain Elementary School to this site. The social studies teacher, Ms. Bau, commented that this historical site is available for her when teaching a unit on the hometown's historical site shown in their third-grade textbook. She believed that taking a field trip to this place contributed to the children's understanding of this event.

The following description of Monen Rudux and his fellows' fight against the Japanese is inscribed on the stone monument beside the black copper statue of Monen Rudux. In addition, I supplement the written descriptions of this site by using some photographs (see Appendix B).

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, Taiwan was ceded to Japan. The Japanese used force to take the natural resources in Wu She [the name of a place]--the mountainous area. Later, the Japanese mistreated Atayals; as a result, these Atayals died or were wounded. Therefore, the Atayals tried to exact their revenge. Monen Rudux was born in 1882 in this mountainous area. Later, he became his tribe's chief. To maintain his tribe's territory, Monen Rudux led his Atayal fellows to kill 134 Japanese on Oct. 27, 1930. The Japanese colonial government felt shocked when they received this news. Immediately, thousands of the Japanese soldiers and policemen attacked the Atayals. Although Atayals fought bravely against the Japanese forces with bows, arrows, and spears, they still failed. Then, the surviving Atayals committed suicide.

To my understanding, a few parents prohibit their children from visiting this place by themselves, especially the young children. Most schoolchildren like to play chase-and-hide games on this historical site after school. This site also attracts some children to pick up the red plums fallen from surrounding trees in summer. In the following section, I construct analytic concepts to organize and explain the preceding concrete descriptions of children's access to Atayal culture. These are my direct experiences with the cultural symbols I then discuss with children. The demographic characteristics of these sample children have been reported in Table 6.1.

Categories Emerging from Children's Interpretations of Atayal Culture

I have synthesized the following concepts emerging from children's descriptions and interpretations of the preceding dimensions of Atayal culture. As Huberman and Miles (1994) have suggested that doing qualitative data analysis should balance descriptions and explanations of the phenomena observed to achieve two levels of understanding. The categories include instrumental value, symbolic representations of Atayals' lives, and distinguishing Atayals and Han Chinese.

Instrumental Value

The Atayal language and dance courses have been incorporated into formal curricula since 1996. I asked children about what they had learned, why they had to take the courses, and how they felt about these courses; furthermore, I asked them how often they used the Atayal language in their daily lives. The children perceived that these courses had an instrumental value. Learning Atayal language allowed them to communicate with Atayals, and learning Atayal dance enabled them to strengthen their bodies and to feel honored by performing in public. Furthermore, some parents thought

that their children were able to learn physical skills in the Atayal dance course. The following excerpts show that only a few Atayal and Han Chinese children, like Yai-yai and Mei-mei, could speak Atayal. This pattern is consistent with Huang's survey (2000) that shows that only 50 % of middle and upper graders (n=890), mainly from the Atayal and Bunun tribes, understood their native languages.

Ms. Chang: Tell me what you have learned in the Atayal language course.

Di-di: In this class, I learn how to read *shaang-ti yua* [Chinese pronunciation for indigenous language] and pronounce it.

Yai-yai: I remember child *laqi*, orange *mudu* [Italics refers to Atayal pronunciation.]

Mei-mei: Moon *idas*, and money....I have forgotten it [Mei-mei could not say "money" in Atayal and then she thought about it for a few seconds].

Fen-fen: Most [learning] is to communicate with people [Atayals], such as, how are you? How old are you? Father, mother, and house. [This child could not speak Atayal.]

Li-li: [The teacher told] about [daily greetings, such as] long time no see, thank you, and good-bye [etc.].

Some Han Chinese students said that learning this language was important only for indigenous children. For example, Yeu-yeu commented that because some *shaang-ti jen* could not speak *shaang-ti* language, they needed to learn their own language. Ju-ju said, "In [Atayal language] course, [we] learn *shaang-ti jen*'s language. This [language] is frequently spoken by *shaang-ti jen*. Only they can understand it [the language].";

Fen-fen said that most people use Chinese so it does not matter if she cannot understand Atayal. Moreover, the Han Chinese children, like Hao-hao and Tao-tao, did not like it when aborigines spoke Atayal because *ping-ti jen* could not understand them. In contrast, some Han Chinese students, like Lu-lu and Chun-chun, said that this course helped them to communicate with Atayals, such as their neighbors. Likewise, some Atayal children, like Lai-lai, Tung-tung, and Ki-ki, indicated that the Atayal language course allowed them to know more about their language and taught *ping-ti jen* how to speak it; in this way, they said, the language will not disappear.

Most Atayal children's parents and elderly family members used Atayal at home. A few Atayal parents wanted their children to learn Atayal, but the children's attitude toward learning their language was ambivalent. For example, Ki-ki said, "My parents want me to ask them about some Atayal words I cannot speak. It is necessary for me to learn Atayal to speak with my grandmother....I am not interested in learning it. Compared to speaking Chinese (or Mandarin), my pronunciation of Atayal is not clear." Ling-ling also commented that her parents said, "Don't let others criticize that *shaang-ti jen* are not able to understand [our own] language. When others speak with you in *shaang-ti hua* [Chinese pronunciation for indigenous language], if you cannot understand it, what should you do?" Ling-ling still had not memorized the pronunciation of Atayal words. Other Atayal children, like Yi-yi and Bing-bing, also indicated that it was difficult for them to learn the tone and pronunciation of Atayal although they thought that it was necessary for them to learn their own language. I suspect that the phonetic symbols used in the Romanization system, that look so much like English letters, are too different from the Chinese (or Mandarin) used in teaching regular school subjects. This

may partly account for why these children did not like the language course. Furthermore, Mandarin and Taiwanese were spoken by most villagers; the two languages are also emphasized in Taiwanese society, so this may account for sample Atayal children's dilemma of maintaining competence in their own language.

According to Ms. Sun, a fourth-grade teacher, some Han Chinese parents argued that their children should learn Taiwanese, another dialect of Taiwan rather than Atayal. Likewise, several Han Chinese children indicated that, as they were not *shaang-ti jen*, they did not want to speak *shaang-ti* language. Min-min especially was afraid that she would forget Mandarin if she continued learning Atayal. Furthermore, the Han Chinese parents questioned why the school offered only the Atayal language program. Ms. Lee, a school administrator, remarked that the fund from the EPAs plan was designated to teach indigenous [Atayal] languages, even though half of the students in the school spoke Taiwanese at home.

The Atayal dance course elicited similar ambivalent responses. A few Atayal and Han Chinese children were able to relate some aspects of Atayal culture represented in this dance.

Kang-kang: In a traditional [Atayal] dance course, [I] learn wedding and festival ceremonies.

Yai-yai: In the middle of this dance, the wild pig will appear. Then, they [dancers] pretend that they pierce the pig. This is like *shaang-ti jen*'s hunting.

Yi-yi: [In this dance] I learn female Atayals' farming actions [in the past].
Then, [Atayal] males and females shout together and then they take

turns shouting. Males do first and then females do [In fact, this theme describes how Atayal males and females flirt with each other by singing or blowing flutes].

Other children indicated that they learned how to coordinate their footsteps with the movements of their hands. They said that practicing Atayal dance was like taking exercises in a physical education class. The younger children complained that this dance course made them feel exhausted because they were required to practice dancing steps and movements repeatedly for such a long period, about 80-100 minutes.

Di-di: Learning the dance is exhausting. We have to keep dancing if our steps are not correct.

Mei-mei: After lunch and a nap, I feel bored and tired. I just feel sleepy. After dancing, I feel energetic and better.

Fen-fen: Dancing under the sun makes me feel hot, but the dance is funny.

Ki-ki: In this class, I learn the [dancing] steps and the gestures of hands.

Dancing is also a kind of exercise.

Both Atayal and Han Chinese children, such as Di-di, Min-min, and Ling-ling, told me that they learned the Atayal dance so that they could perform on some occasions, like Mothers Day and Fathers Day, and to compete in an indigenous dancing contest. In contrast, the Han Chinese children indicated that they did not want to take this course because they were not aborigines. Lu-lu said, “In this [dance] course, the teacher taught some dancing steps to pass them on to next [Atayal] generation, so the course is not important [for me].” Likewise, Tao-tao said, “This [dance course] may be *shaang-ti jen*’s customs so they have to practice it [the dance].”

In addition, some Atayal children did not value this experience because it did not contribute to their academic success. For example, Ping-ping said, “After studying [school subjects], then [I will] learn the dance. Practicing *shaang-ti* dance is to learn its gestures. Studying is to prepare for the university entrance exam.” Bing-bing said, “The [dance] course is not important. There are only *shaang-ti wu* [Chinese pronunciation for indigenous dance] and ceremonies, but there is no knowledge. In social studies, [we learn] our lives; language arts [Mandarin] allows us to learn many words; [we learn] something like temperature in natural science [course]; we learn [to] multiply in mathematics [course]; fine arts [course] allows us to make something beautiful.” Ling-ling also commented that it is more important to have good grades [on regular school subjects]. Likewise, Ki-ki said, “The dance course is not important because there is no test.” These Atayal children’s attitudes contrast with the results of Chen’s study (1997) that indicated that middle and upper grade Paiwan [another Taiwan’s indigenous group] children expected to learn their culture at school, such as language.

On parents’ attitudes toward this dance class, Ms. Tang, a third-grade teacher, related that some of both Atayal and Han Chinese parents encouraged their children to attend this class because the children were able to learn dancing skills. However, other parents thought that it was not important for their children to learn this material.

Symbolic Representations of Atayals’ Lives

Socially constructed semiotic means or tools serve as scaffolds for enhancing the growth of children’s higher mental functions, such as thinking, reasoning, and problem solving (Vygotsky, 1978). Similar claims have been made by Modell (1996). “The cognitive content of what children must learn [should] come appropriately organized

around an integrated system of symbols” (p. 490). Symbols operate in social contexts and communicate certain messages (McGee & Warms, 2000). As Geertz (1973) illustrates, in Bali, the cock symbolizes masculinity. A hierarchy of men’s status is tied to cockfighting. In my study, Atayal artifacts, customs, and practices carry actual meanings and extended or alternative meanings. As Spradley (1979, pp. 95-96) suggests, a symbol can be understood by its denotation and connotation. The signifiers or indicators of Atayal ways of life--principally weaving, hunting, and facial tattooing--were also emphasized by most Atayal adult interviewees.

To explore the use of these symbols, I showed children pictures I had taken in an Atayal workshop of the Atayal artifacts (e.g., woven bags and weaving machines) and asked children what the artifacts were, how to use them, and what they are made of. For such Atayal customs and practices as hunting and facial tattooing, I used the pictures, such as hunting guns, traps, games, and facial tattoos, shown in the Atayal language textbook to ask children to tell me the subject of the picture and what it made them think of.

Weaving and hunting skills represented women’s and men’s status in their own tribes; at present, weaving and hunting have become productive or economic activities for some Atayals to make their living. Similarly, McCall (1997) points out that the Hmong in Thailand produce textile clothing to preserve their culture and to support their economic survival.

On Atayal weaving, both Atayal female and male children indicated that their grandmothers know how to weave. Ling-ling’s grandmother used to weave clothes, head bands, hats, and skirts, to sell; Ling-ling also remarked that these products were pretty,

big bags used as backpacks, small bags used as purses. Yi-yi liked to watch her grandmother's weaving and learned a little bit of this skill. She also told me that she used these weaving products to carry pencils and change. Lai-lai and Ping-ping's grandmother also makes and sells purses, clothes, and bags using a weaving machine at home. However, these brothers did not know where their grandmother sold her weaving products.

During the interview, Yeu-yeu showed me the woven purse that he bought from a local Atayal workshop. Meanwhile, Min-min indicated that she had seen weaving machines made of iron in similar places. A few Han Chinese children said they did not like Atayal weaving. Di-di said, "The Atayal textiles in the pictures make me feel dizzy. Strange colors, what color mixes with what color?" Hao-hao said that Atayal woven bags look very ordinary, and that he and his family do not use these bags at all. On the whole, the Atayal children's families were more likely to use these woven products.

Likewise most Atayal children's families have gone hunting. In this respect, Ms. Bau, an Atayal school administrator and teacher, told me that in this area only Atayals are allowed to own hunting guns. I thus assumed that Atayal children compared to Han Chinese children have more information about hunting. Nevertheless, I also asked Han Chinese children about hunting. The following are some Atayal children's descriptions of this activity.

Ping-ping, a third grader, related that his grandfather works hard to catch flying squirrels, monkeys, wild pigs, or snakes. All of these are eaten except poisonous snakes. Only his grandfather can make traps, and he carries a knife hung on the right side of his waist. His father carries a gun on his back.

Mei-mei, a third grader, said that her father, a policeman, takes a light and a gun to find flying squirrels while he is doing his patrolling work at night. To catch wild pigs, her father and uncles usually dig deep holes and cover them with dried grass on the trails where the wild pigs pass. In the evening, Mei-mei accompanies her father and uncles to examine these traps to check for game in the holes.

Ki-ki, a fifth grader, related that her father raises some wild black pigs at home, and that they look fierce. After the female pigs give birth, her father will sell the young pigs for money. Her father also shoots flying squirrels with a gun, and then he guts them and cleans them with water. Ki-ki indicated that flying squirrels taste delicious. Her mother usually fries the meat with some seasoning, like red pepper, ginger, basil, soybean sauce, and wine. Furthermore, her father makes trophies of flying squirrel skins by drying them and hanging them on the wall.

For Atayals, hunting is not only a hobby but also a food or economic source. For example, Yi-yi said that her grandfather, father, and uncles go hunting to catch wild pigs or flying squirrels when there is no meat at home. Fen-fen said that her father's *shaang-ti* [Atayal] friends catch flying squirrels and bake them to sell at a tourist site famous for hot springs. Lai-lai also commented that, in the past, Atayals hunted for food to eat. At present, the goal of hunting sometimes is to get animals to sell.

Most Atayal children enjoy eating the game, like flying squirrels, mountain goats, and wild pigs. These are traditional foods for these peoples. The contrasting attitude exhibited by the Han Chinese children is illustrated in the following excerpt.

Di-di said that his father's friend shot wild pigs for cooking soup and flying squirrels for baking whole. However, Di-di and his family did not dare to taste the meat.

Di-di said that hunting hurts little animals. “Flying squirrels are so cute; but, they are still eaten by human beings.” Furthermore, Min-min was not happy with her indigenous neighbors because they raised some young animals caught from the hunting activity and these animals smelled bad and made noises.

Flying squirrels and wild boars are not endangered species. Furthermore, wild boars have become a problem for villagers because they trample and eat the crops, causing farmers’ losses. Another Atayal girl, Ling-ling, said that she and her family live on a slope where her grandmother and mother plant tea trees and potatoes. Wild pigs eat the potatoes, so her father and uncle wait for these pigs with guns to shoot them at night.

Other Atayal and Han Chinese children’s descriptions of hunting included recognition of the difficulty of Atayals’ past lives and did not pass judgment on this practice.

Mei-mei: In the past, tribal people, they did not have lighters [grills] to bake meat. Our

tribal people [Atayals] had little money so they had to hunt some things to eat.

Ping-ping : My dad told me that in the past the life in the mountains was very painful

[hard]. For example, there was no car....[we] ate raw foods [meat].

Min-min: They, *shaang-ti jen*, did not have refrigerators. When they shot wild pigs, they

cut them into some pieces with knives. Then, they found a pond with cold

water and put extra meat into it, like putting it in a refrigerator. They carried

the meat they needed home. When they finished the meat, they would go

back to the pond to take meat.

These patterns contrast with the findings from Brophy and Alleman’s survey (2000) conducted in three U.S. communities: an upper-middle class suburb, a middle and

working class suburb, and a working class section of a small city. Their research indicates that most K-3 white children (n=216) tended to devalue the past lives of Native Americans because they lacked what is available today. In this respect, Brophy and Alleman concede, “It is true that pioneer lives were generally more difficult than modern lives and that log cabins were a less developed form of housing than modern homes” (p. 115).

In the past, only when Atayal females were able to weave clothes and Atayal males were able to hunt game were they allowed to have facial tattoos and to get married. So Atayals’ facial tattoos represent maturity and adulthood. Most of the Atayal and Han Chinese children, like Hao-hao, Chin-chin, Yeu-yeu, Yai-yai, and Din-din, identified the meaning inherent in this practice. When I showed a picture--an old Atayal female with facial tattoos--to sample children, Din-din and Yeu-yeu said that they had seen aborigines’ facial tattoos on TV. Furthermore, Bing-bing told me that his grandfather has facial tattoos. However, some of them indicated that this picture made them feel uncomfortable, as the following excerpt shows.

Ki-ki: It’s so disgusting.

Ping-ping: Terrible!

Ling-ling: It’s so weird. I am wondering if it is naturally born [a birthmark].

Ju-ju: This picture [An old woman with facial tattoos] looks so terrible.

In this study, the Atayal cultural practices--weaving, hunting, and facial tattooing --carry the meaning of adulthood. Most sample children were able to learn these customs from the Atayal language textbook, the Atayal craft workshops, and Atayal adults in the neighborhood. Compared to Han Chinese children, Atayal children had more

understanding of their practices, and their attitudes toward these cultural symbols were more positive. For some Atayal children, weaving and hunting activities were still part of their family daily life. A few Han Chinese and Atayal children tended to compare the ways the Atayal used to live with their contemporary lives. The following section shows how older Atayal and Han Chinese children differentiate themselves from other ethnic groups based on their ways of making living.

Distinguishing Atayals and Han Chinese

In Taiwan, the names used to label both aborigines and Han Chinese have evolved over a long period of time; I have described this historical process in Chapter 3. In my study, the children's use of ethnic labels for Atayals and Han Chinese--*shaang-ti jen* (Chinese pronunciation of mountain people) and *ping-ti jen* (Chinese pronunciation of plains people)--are also frequently used by my Atayal and Han Chinese adult interviewees. However, a few children, like Tung-tung and Chun-chun, tend to use the term *yuan-chun-min* for Atayals.

Not all aborigines in Taiwan live in mountains. In the past, most aborigines living in the mountains depended on hunting and gathering. A few aborigines resided on the plains and made their living by fishing and slash-and-burn agriculture. At present, about 80, 000 aborigines have moved to the cities to pursue better economic and educational environments (Aboriginal Administration Bureau, 1996). The total indigenous population is about 360, 000, so one quarter of aborigines have become urban residents.

On the whole, aborigines differ from Han Chinese in their geographical distribution, in some physical traits, and in sociocultural characteristics. How children view the two groups, however, is difficult to probe directly without attributing ideas to

them that they may not have. Consequently, I have inferred their understandings of both ethnic groups from my conversations with the sample children in areas with cultural relevance: the story of the Atayal historical figure Monen Rudux, the daily use of Atayal language, the purpose for learning this language, and the traditional Atayal lifestyles—hunting and weaving.

As Richardson (1990) has said, “Cultural stories provide examples of lives, heroes embedded in larger cultural and social frameworks” (pp. 24-25). I think that Monen Rudux’s story is appropriate for schoolchildren learning Atayal. In the interview, I asked children about who this figure is, what he had done, and what they thought about him. Most children could correctly identify Monen Rudux when I showed his pictures to them. As we talked, they used the plural pronouns--we, they--to refer to Atayal and Han Chinese (see Table 6.2), clearly placing themselves in one group or the other. I have mentioned in the previous section that Ms. Chen had introduced this historical figure in her third-grade social studies course. These children’s understanding of Monen Rudux is illustrated in the following excerpt.

Ping-ping : I know the monuments were built to commemorate the Atayals who attacked the Japanese; that is, we were mistreated by the Japanese [when they invaded our living places]. Monen Rudux could not tolerate this so [he and his Atayal fellows] fought the Japanese. As a result, only he survived so he committed suicide.

Ms. Chang: How do you know this story?

Ping-ping : In last week’s social studies class, administrator teacher Chen [a social studies teacher] took us to the site [in front of the elementary school] to write

down the words engraved on the monuments. There is a unit called hometown's historical site on our social studies textbook, so [we] write about this [on the historical site].

Another Atayal student, Mei-mei, indicated that her mother helped her look up information about Monen Rudux for social studies class. She was able to give detailed descriptions of his experiences. When I showed her the related pictures, she immediately said, "This is Monen Rudux. Our tribal people were frequently oppressed by the Japanese; [we] could not endure [this]. So we had to battle against [the Japanese]. We took their weapons and ships. As a result, some died and others ran away. Then, some [Atayal] kids died, so their moms kept crying. The [Atayals'] hunting dogs would bite people [Japanese]. So the dogs were shot by guns or killed by knives. Then Monen Rudux, a tribal chief, said to his tribal fellows, "Immediately run away!" because they [Atayals] had failed, and they committed suicide in deep mountains." Interestingly, Mei-mei interchangeably used "we" and "they" in referring to Atayals. Another male Han Chinese third grader--Yai-yai--exhibited a similar response; he said "He [Monen Rudux] jumped off the cliff to commit suicide for us—*shaang-ti jen*." This situation shows how children often included themselves in each other's ethnic group. Sometimes, Han Chinese children talked about we mountain people. Other times, indigenous children talked about we plains people. In contrast, most adult villagers rarely self-identified across groups.

Although Atayal children, like Tung-tung, Yi-yi, and Ki-ki, knew Monen Rudux's story, they were uncertain whether he was an Atayal. Likewise, when I asked the Han

Chinese children, “Do you know which tribe Monen Rudux belongs to?”, Hao-hao and Yeu-yeu answered my question in very low voices, “[He] may be from Atayal.”

When I asked children what they thought about this historical figure, most indicated that they thought Monen Rudux was very brave. What surprised me was Min-min’s response; she said, “I am wondering why Monen Rudux committed suicide because this kind of behavior was not good.” Din-din also shared a confusion, “I don’t know why the aborigines [Atayals] killed other aborigines [from different subtribes].” Monen Rudux has been honored because he led other Atayals to oppose Japanese oppression. However, there are three subgroups of Atayal in this area speaking different languages. Monen Rudux is regarded by Atayals from the other subtribes as an enemy. One senior male Atayal even told me that his ancestors were used by the Japanese to attack Monen Rudux and his fellows. The Monen Rudux story assisted sample children in understanding Atayal history and helped Atayal children identify with their own ethnic group. The following paragraph shows another way by which sample children recognize who the Atayal children are.

Because Atayal children were entitled to school tuition waivers, at the beginning of the semester, the teacher would ask the group, “Who is Atayal?” Therefore, most children could correctly recognize who among them were Atayal. My sample children interchangeably used the terms *Atayal* and *shaang-ti jen*; however, they associated different characteristics with these ethnic labels (see Table 6.3). In my study, younger children tended to use physical characteristics to differentiate Atayal from Han Chinese as follows.

Ms. Chang: How often have you used this language [Atayal]?

Di-di: Seldom, *shaang-ti jen* always speak with us in Chinese.

Ms. Chang: Who are the *shaang-ti jen* you refer to?

Di-di: The uncles [older Atayals with dark faces] sell vegetables and other things [in the neighborhood].

Din-din, a fourth grader, also observed that aborigines' skin color is very dark.

When I asked Din-din, "How do you know that your dad's friend's mom [who is good at weaving] is a *shaang-ti jen* [aborigine]?" He answered, "Because of her dark skin color." Likewise, Goodman (1964) has pointed out that four-year-old U. S. children's distinction of a "we" group from a "they" group was based on the skin color.

Compared to younger children, older children tend to use more abstract concepts to characterize ethnic groups rather than using observable physical characteristics; growth in cognitive ability is believed to influence children's classification of ethnic groups (Phinney & Rotheram, 1986). Likewise, in my study, older children associated some attributes, such as the geographic living environment of the mountain and the cultural practice of hunting, with the ethnic label—*shaang-ti jen*. This pattern showed up in my interviews with the Han Chinese children about why they have to learn both Atayal language and dance. Hao-hao, a fifth grader, said, "This is a mountain school, so [we] need to learn these *shaang-ti jen*'s courses." Fen-fen, a fourth grader, also said "There are some *shaang-ti* children in this mountain school, so [we] need to learn these courses." Fen-fen's mother who is an Atayal told Fen-fen, "In the past, Atayals were mistreated by Han Chinese, so Atayals moved to the mountains." In this respect, Quintana and Vera (1999) also point out that Mexican-American parents' discussions with their children

about discrimination was related to these children's development of knowledge about Mexico and their Mexican heritage. In fact, a Han Chinese anthropologist Chen Chi-lu suggested the following alternative explanations to why Taiwanese aborigines live in mountains (in Cheng, 1994, p. 49).

The first is that before coming to Taiwan the aborigines were already mountain dwellers in their homes in Southeast Asia. Arriving in this new world, they naturally sought out similar altitudes so that they could continue their traditional farming methods. The second possible reason, inferred from the distribution pattern of their villages, is that they settled in the mountains to avoid malaria.

During the period of my fieldwork, Ling-ling, a female fifth grade Atayal, told me about her mistreatment by a Han Chinese teacher and classmates in a town elementary school, after which she transferred back to this school. She said, "My [Han Chinese] teacher and [Han Chinese] classmates said, 'You're a bad kid. You're not welcome here.'" Initially, Ling-ling's parents expected that Ling-ling could receive a better education at the town school, so they sent her there when Ling-ling was a fourth grader; however, Ling-ling remained at the new school only one semester because of these experiences.

Children's construction of their learning is active and transcends what happens in classroom instruction. Brophy and Alleman's study (2000, p. 107) shows that "students' responses reflected the stereotyped views of Indians that they bring to school: living in teepees, hunting buffalo on horseback with bows and arrows, and fighting with soldiers, cowboys, or other Indians." Likewise, the following excerpts from my study show that

the children from both ethnic groups shared stereotypical beliefs about Atayals and Han Chinese similar to those of my adult interviewees (see Chapters 4 & 5) and that of Mr. Wong--a fifth-grade teacher.

Tung-tung, a male Atayal fifth grader, claimed that aborigines were physically stronger because they liked hunting. Han Chinese liked to study. Likewise, Mr. Wan, a fifth-grade teacher, thought that indigenous parents were less likely to provide an adequate learning environment for their children at home, so he paid more attention to these children's homework. Din-din, a male Han Chinese fourth grader, thought that aborigines were very creative because their woven products were beautiful and their hunting games were diverse. Furthermore, some children said that Atayals liked to hunt so they were able to eat more meat; Han Chinese planted more rice and vegetables.

On the other hand, a few Han Chinese children thought that they themselves were more sanitary or kinder than aborigines. This is reflected in their comments on Atayal hunting. For example, Tao-tao, a fifth grader, said, "*Shaang-ti jen* [neighbors] eat disgusting things, like wild pigs' hearts." Ju-ju, a third grader, also said, "It's terrible to see my [Atayal] neighbors deal with squirrels [by cutting them into pieces]." In the previous section, symbolic representations of Atayals' lives, I have mentioned Di-di's confusion about why aborigines eat little squirrels. Likewise, other Han Chinese children indicated their perceptions of Atayals as follows.

Min-min's aunt ran a grocery store on the main street. After school, Min-min would go to the store to finish her homework and afterward go outside to play. She had watched some Atayals beat people on the main street when they got drunk. Yai-yai also said, "There are many *shaang-ti jen* in Cherry tribe [village], many alcoholics. Ping-ping

[an Atayal classmate] told me about this.” Likewise, Tao-tao, who was going to Cherry Village next to Green Mountain Village to visit his Atayal classmate, Lai-lai, thought that aborigines were fierce when they talked. Furthermore, Tao-tao indicated that his Atayal neighbors’ quarrels were loud enough to wake him up because “The husband was found by his wife drinking instead of going hunting,” he said.

Like Mr. Lin, an Atayal adult interviewee, a few older Atayal children were concerned about their cultural preservation. For example, Tung-tung said that aborigines did not go hunting--one of Atayals’ traditions. Yi-yi related that her elder sister, a junior high school student, liked only Han Chinese culture, such as language and dance, and was not willing to learn things related to Atayal. In contrast, some sample Atayal children had ambivalent attitudes toward learning their own language and dance. They knew that it was important for them to learn their culture, but their learning motivation was low. I speculate that these children seemed to struggle to calculate what they could gain from learning their culture because Atayal language and dance are not valued in Taiwan’s society.

In summary, children viewed the aborigines as differing from Han Chinese in their geographical distributions, physical traits, and sociohistorical characteristics. Sample children tended to call Atayals *shaang-ti jen* (mountain people) and Han Chinese *ping-ti jen* (plains people). Younger children observed that Atayals’ skin color was darker than that of Han Chinese. Older children thought that Atayals used to live mountains, liked hunting, and ate meat; they thought that Han Chinese once lived in plains, liked to study, and ate rice and vegetables.

Table 6.2

Sample Children's Ways of Distinguishing Atayals from Han Chinese

two approaches	dimensions of Atayal cultures	the excerpts from my interviews with sample children
1. Ethnic labels (* shaang-ti jen) ping-ti jen	Atayal language	“...shaang-ti jen always speak with us in Chinese.” (Di-di, male, Han Chinese, third grader) “[The Atayal language course] allows us to get more acquainted with [our] mother tongue; [it] also allows ping-ti jen to know how to speak it.” (Lai-lai, male, Atayal, fifth grader)
	Atayal dance	“This [dance course] may be shaang-ti jen's customs so they have to practice it [the dance].” (Lu-lu, female, Han Chinese, fifth grader)
2. Pronouns (we versus they)	Monen Rudux	“We were mistreated by the Japanese.... Monen Rudux could not tolerate this....” (Ping-ping, male, Atayal, third grader) “I think that Monen Rudux is brave because he saves their [Atayal] companions.” (Fen-fen, female, Han Chinese, fourth grader)

* Shaang-ti jen: Chinese pronunciation for aborigines; ping-ti jen: Chinese pronunciation for Han Chinese.

Table 6.3

Sample Children's Images of Atayal (shaang-ti jen) and Han Chinese (ping-ti jen)

	Images of Atayal	Images of Han Chinese
younger children (e.g., third graders)	dark skin color	lighter skin color
older children (e.g., fifth graders)	hunting (a cruel, creative activity) strong bodies living in mountains heavy drinkers	farming (products: rice, vegetables) passion for learning living in plains or cities

Conclusion

The 23 sample children were selected from the group composed of 44 third, fourth, and fifth graders; the findings drawn from my sample may not be generalized to a non-sample group. Sample children's knowledge and thinking about Atayal culture is revealed to an extent through beliefs about and attitudes toward the Atayal historical figure Monen Rudux, Atayal language and dance programs, and Atayal practices--facial tattooing, weaving, and hunting.

Most children were able to relate that Monen Rudux led his Atayal fellows to fight with the Japanese to stop their invasion; these children praised Monen Rudux's courage. Many Han Chinese children did not think that they should have to attend the Atayal dance and language courses because they said that they were not aborigines. Compared to these Han Chinese children, some Atayal children thought that learning these courses was important for them. However, their motivation to learn was low because they questioned whether these courses would contribute to their academic success. Most Atayal and Han Chinese did not understand the cultural meanings of the Atayal dances; they merely practiced movements and steps. Likewise, most Atayal and Han Chinese were unable to speak the Atayal language, although most Atayal children's families speak it at home. Some sample children did remark that learning the Atayal language would enable them to communicate with Atayals and that learning Atayal dance would make their bodies strong. Several parents also thought that learning the dancing skills would be helpful for their children's future development.

The Atayals' traditional practices of facial tattooing, hunting, and weaving are cultural symbols that do convey some meanings. A few children did identify the

meaning of adulthood associated with Atayals' facial tattoos; however, some children did not feel comfortable with seeing this cultural symbol. In traditional Atayal society, hunting and weaving were both ways of making a living and demonstrating social status. At present, hunting remains a source of Atayals' economic support and food so most Atayal children accepted it as part of life, but some Han Chinese children found it distasteful. Another practice—weaving--also has remained a part of Atayals' lives in the form of commodities. On the whole, older Atayal children were more concerned than younger ones about maintaining some of their cultural practices. A few Atayal and Han Chinese children recognized the difficulty of Atayals' past lives because they lacked what is available today, such as grills and refrigerators used for dealing with hunting game.

Sample children tended to use the terms *shaang-ti jen* and *ping-ti jen* to name Atayals and Han Chinese. What group membership was thought to mean varied across age. Younger children were more likely to differentiate a “we group” from a “they group” based on skin color, while older children were more likely to use other characteristics--living places (mountains and plains) and productive activities (hunting and farming)--to distinguish Atayals from Han Chinese. Furthermore, some children shared stereotypes of Atayals, such as being heavy drinkers, with adult Atayal and Han Chinese interviewees. Likewise, Atayals were described as people with strong bodies, while Han Chinese were described as people with a passion for study.

In addition to the effects of ethnicity and age, the children's understanding of Atayal culture was influenced by their parents, grandparents, and neighbors; namely, their learning of Atayal culture transcended what happened in classroom instruction. A few Atayal parents encouraged their children to speak Atayal at home because the ability

to speak Atayal was regarded as a marker of being an Atayal. Some Atayal children's understanding of weaving was learned from their grandmothers; Han Chinese children's perceptions of hunting came mainly from observing their Atayal neighbors' lives. A few Atayal children knew about facial tattoos from their grandparents who had them.

I have examined the sample children's learning of Atayal culture at school; in the next chapter, I will explore how the sample schoolteachers help their students improve their verbal skills in language arts (Mandarin) classes. Mandarin is an official language used by all people in Taiwan. My sample elementary school composed of both Atayal and Han Chinese children is classified as an indigenous school. Therefore, its educational practices are guided by the goal of helping indigenous students not only to maintain their culture but also to adapt to Taiwanese society.

CHAPTER 7

STORIES OF THREE ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' LANGUAGE ARTS
(MANDARIN) INSTRUCTION

This chapter describes the language arts (Mandarin) instruction of three teachers—Ms. Tang (third-grade teacher), Ms. Sun (fourth-grade teacher), Mr. Wan (fifth-grade teacher)—in a narrative form. It aims to provide readers a portrait of what frequently occurs in the language arts classrooms composed of mixed groups of Atayal and Han Chinese children, and what the teachers and sample students (see Table 7.1) do in the classroom. The sample teachers use different classroom arrangements and methods to assist their students' learning; as Frank (1999, p. 7) relates, "Classrooms are particular social settings, mini-cultures in themselves, that are not universal." In spite of this, the regular sequences of teaching activities were repeated across these teachers' language arts classes, such as making sentences, writing Chinese characters, and summarizing the text. Moreover, sample teachers' instruction was influenced by their perceptions of the students' characteristics and parents' involvement.

I construct a composite day for each teacher's classroom instruction by selecting the instances that help me recognize the regularity and characteristics of teachers' instruction. Each story begins with an introduction of each classroom setting, followed by each teacher's instructional practices, and ends with relating these teachers' teaching strategies to a Vygotskian view of teaching. I selected this format to represent my classroom observations because the story functions as a means of interpreting personal life experience in relation to others and social environments (McGinley et al., 1994). It

also contributes to our understanding of the practices that teachers use to improve their classroom instruction (Behar-Horenstein & Morgan, 1995). Likewise, Erickson (1986) has suggested that an analytic narrative is composed of a concrete portrait of the scene to give readers a sense of being there and the general concepts for the researcher to organize the report.

Table 7.1

The List of Student Characters Named in Composite Stories

	Atayal		Han Chinese		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Grade 3	Bing-bing Ping-ping	Mei-mei Li-li	Yai-yai Di-di Lin-in	Chai-chai Chun-chun	9
Grade 4	Chio-chio Yuan-yuan Ren-ren		Din-din	Fen-fen Min-min	6
Grade 5	Lai-lai Tung-tung Chin-chin Kang-kang Ting-ting Wei-wei	Yi-yi Li-li Ling-ling	Tao-tao Hao-hao Yang-yang Fu-fu	Lu-lu Chiao-chiao	15
Sample	11	5	8	6	30
Total available	17	9	12	6	44

Ms. Tang: Third-Grade Language Arts Teacher

First, I describe Ms. Tang's personal background and how she gets along with 16 third graders. Then I present her teaching activities for a unit—the creative idea; her instruction follows a clear-cut sequence including handwriting new words, making phrases and sentences, reading the text aloud. Following this, I analyze her classroom

instruction in terms of the skills used to help students master the text and the unequal treatments of her students based on their academic performance.

Ms. Tang and Her Classroom Interactions

Ms. Tang, an Atayal, indicated that her parents made their living by planting vegetables (e.g., cabbages and sweet potatoes) and raising animals (e.g., pigs and chicken). They hoped that Ms. Tang and her elder brother would receive a better education than their own, so they sent their children to study at town or city schools far from the deep mountains where they live.

Ms. Tang has a bachelor's degree in language arts education and was in her sixth year of teaching at this sample school. Ms. Tang lived with her Atayal husband (a policeman), three young children, and mother-in-law in a nearby town. She liked this school because it was not from her home and the class size was small; however, she indicated that she had been forced to lower her expectations of her students' learning because most parents did not care about their children's study

Ms. Tang, in her early thirties, liked outdoor sports (e.g., basketball and baseball) so she had freckles on her cheeks; she also liked to wear her hair in a ponytail. There were 16 students in Ms. Tang's third grade class, six girls and 10 boys. Ten children were Atayal and six Han Chinese. Students had individual desks with separate dark-colored wooden chairs. The desks were arranged into four rows; the rows of students' desks all faced Ms. Tang's desk. This meant the students faced the chalkboard. The classroom walls were painted white and the floor was covered with white stone tiles. The windows on two sides of the walls were open, and a breeze moved through the room. The view outside the classroom was of forest-covered mountains. Facing the door from

the hallway, a green-colored chalkboard covered almost the entire front wall (see Figure 7.1).

As a mother with three preschool children, Ms. Tang treated her students as she treated her offspring. During the summer season, she frequently reminded her students to put a hat on before going in the sun. She would take the students who fell behind the class schedule to the staff office and give them individual assistance. On rainy days, the students still liked to play outside, and then they would ask Ms. Tang to help them dry their hair and clothes, as the following excerpt shows.

Mei-mei (a female Atayal), Di-di (a male Han Chinese), and Yai-yai (a male Han Chinese) were standing around Ms. Tang's desk. The water was dripping from their hair and white short-sleeved uniforms, and they were shivering. Ms. Tang stared at these students and told Ms. Hsu, the school nurse, "I need a hair dryer and some towels." Immediately, Ms. Hsu ran to the health center next to the staff office. Then, she came back giving these to Ms. Tang. Ms. Tang gave her students towels to wrap their bodies and then started using a hair dryer to dry Mei-mei's hair complaining, "Why do you play outside? It's easy to get cold, right?" Suddenly, Mei-mei yelled, "It's so hot." Then, Ms. Tang raised the hair dryer a little higher above Mei-mei's head.

Ms. Tang paid attention to all of her students' behavior. For example, she made use of the following opportunity to teach the students to value food. In this school, each class would be given a cake with a layer of frosting and some red-color eggs to celebrate the students' birthdays. However, I observed that most students seemed more interested in playing with the food than in eating it; Ms. Tang was annoyed at this kind of behavior. This is illustrated by the following excerpt.

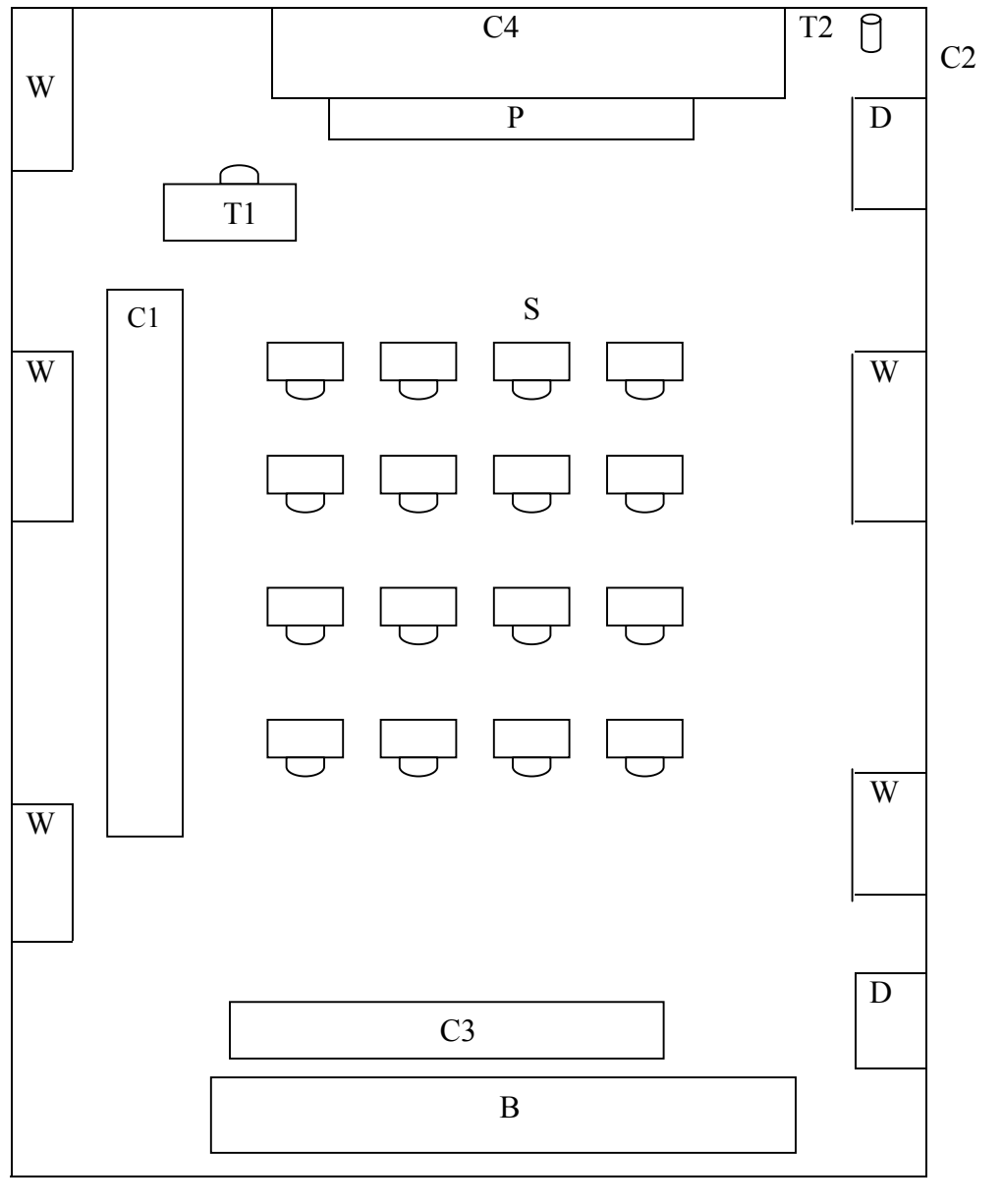


Figure 7.1

Third-Grade Classroom Map

B: bulletin board
 C1: students' cabinets
 C2: corridor
 C3: carpet
 C4: chalkboard
 D: doors
 P: platform

S: students' seats
 T1: teacher's desk
 T2: trash can
 W: windows



Before the first class started, the janitor sent the cake and eggs to each classroom. Then, the students sat and waited for the teacher to put a piece of cake and an egg on their plastic plates. After a while, the students started throwing their unfinished cake at each other. Some lower graders would pull my arms and ask me to take them to the sink outside the classroom to clean the butter left on their hair, faces, and clothes. When I was helping these students, I heard Ms. Tang chiding her students, “How many times have I told you? Can you waste the food? Is it easy to get it [food]?” At this moment, I noticed that Di-di, a small, slight boy, was trying to remove the cake from Bing-bing’s ear with a paper towel; Bing-bing also tried to lower his body. Ms. Tang pointed at the trash can and told Ping-ping, “You can either take back the half of the egg you have thrown away [in a trash can] or you can take the mop to clean the floor.” Ping-ping ran quickly to the back of the classroom to get a mop.

Ms. Tang also made an effort to satisfy her students’ curiosity about her own behavior. One day I was attracted by the students’ laughter and found that Ms. Tang sat in her seat and opened her eyes as wide as she could. Meanwhile, all third graders approached her and excitedly discussed what they had found (she was wearing contact lenses). Later, Ms. Tang explained to me that she had told the students about the differences among telescopes, microscopes, and magnifying glasses. Ping-ping also mentioned contact lenses, but most students had no idea about this. That was why Ms. Tang showed her contact lenses to the students.

Teaching Activities in Ms. Tang's Class: A Sample Unit "The Creative Idea"

This unit from the textbook was intended to relate that necessity and difficulty are the mother of invention. The moral being taught is that in facing difficulties, we have to think about how to transform these obstacles into opportunities. In the textbook, the example provided for children is that a young painter invents a pencil with an eraser because she frequently cannot find her eraser when she is sketching. Likewise, chopsticks, brushes, hats, and shoes have been developed to solve our problems and make our lives more convenient. These inventions are so wonderful and useful that we have to appreciate these inventors' efforts, develop our creative ability, and make contributions to human beings.

When the bell rang to begin class, one male student customarily moved toward the front of the room to maintain order and said, "Keep quiet" to other classmates before Ms. Tang entered the classroom. Then, he wrote the names of the students who were still talking or not in their seats. At the beginning of each class, Ms. Tang usually used some activities to get her students' attention; not all activities were relevant to the lesson. For example, Ms. Tang asked her students a question: "What is the first thing that persons do when they get up?" Bing-bing replied, "Make a bed." Ms. Tang said, "Oh! Not everyone will do it." Immediately, Chai-chai said, "Get up!" Ms. Tang said, "It's a little close to the answer." Ping-ping excitedly answered, "I know the answer. Open the eyes." Ms. Tang applauded and said, "Right!" Subsequently, she started talking about what this text is.

Before teaching the new words listed in the textbook, Ms. Tang had asked her students to look up the definitions of these words in the dictionary; this is a common

assignment. In class, Ms. Tang demonstrated how to write these Chinese characters and the strokes and radicals of these words. The strokes are the essential parts of Chinese characters; they include a dot ‘ , a slanting stroke (to the right) \ , a slanting stroke (to the left) / , a horizontal stroke — , a turning-upside-down stroke ㄣ , a vertical stroke | , and a hook stroke ㇏ . I found that Ms. Tang showed her students the writing of Chinese characters in detail, as the following excerpt illustrates.

Ms. Tang smiled and said, “Today we will talk about lesson seven—The Creative Idea, and then open your books.” After every student had put his or her book on the desk, she asked two tall Atayal boys, Bing-bing and Ping-ping, to display the word cards on the chalkboard. Then, Ms. Tang pointed at the first two words *life* 生活 and said, “In terms of the word 生, we start with a slanting stroke (to the left) / , then we do the first horizontal stroke, and do another two horizontal strokes which parallel to the first one, but underneath it 三 . Last, don’t forget write the vertical stroke | .” Accompanying the oral explanations, Ms. Tang wrote this word on the board, asked her students to raise their hands to follow her writing, and to vocalize the name of the stroke they were practicing.

Next, the strokes of the word 活 were shown to be a little different from those of the first word. Ms. Tang was writing them on the board stroke by stroke and reading from the book, “Starting with the left side: two dots, one slanting stroke (to the left). Then, the right side also begins with a stroke (to the left), a horizontal one, and a vertical one. Attention here! It ends with a radical—*mouth* 口; it looks like a person’s open mouth. It starts with a vertical stroke, a turning-upside-down stroke, and a horizontal one.”

Ms. Tang usually spent about forty-minute teaching her students how to write new Chinese characters. Then, she would ask her students to read the text aloud; this is illustrated by the following excerpt.

Ms. Tang said “Read it [lesson seven] aloud.” While students were reading this lesson in unison, Ms. Tang walked up and down the aisles holding the book and with her left hand in the pocket of her blue jean skirt. She walked toward Chai-chai and put her hand on Chai-chai’s back. She wanted Chai-chai to sit straight. Most students pointed to the words as they read their textbooks. “Stop!” she said in a soft tone, looked around her students, and corrected their reading. The reading took about 5 minutes. Returning to the front of the room, Ms. Tang nodded her head and said, “You kids have made a little more progress.”

When Ms. Tang asked, “Who can give an example of ‘creative idea’?”, some students rushed to the left side of their seats to take out their worksheets from wooden cabinets on the left side of students’ desks. These students regularly anticipated the classroom routine. Subsequently, Di-di raised his hand, stood up, and said, “Bulb light.” “Right!” Ms. Tang waved her hand, and then Di-di sat down. Li-li sat behind Di-di; her hand had been raised for a while. Ms. Tang looked at Li-li, and then Li-li said, “Chopstick.” Ms. Tang explained this more fully, “In the past, people used their hands to eat food instead of using chopsticks.” After this, Ms. Tang moved to other words. “How can you make a sentence by using the phrase ‘be appropriate for’?” Ms. Tang said and turned toward Yai-yai, “Be ready for the next phrase—[turn....into].” Looking at Ms. Tang’s face, Di-di answered, “Your glasses are appropriate for me.” Ms. Tang frowned, “It doesn’t seem right!” Di-di shrugged. Subsequently, Ms. Tang made a

sentence by saying, “The TV program is appropriate for children.” Immediately, Ping-ping said, “The toy my mom bought is appropriate for my younger sister.”

“Yai-yai, make a sentence with ‘turn....into’”, Ms. Tang said firmly. Yai-yai looked around the class and replied, “Mom turned her concern for me into delicious dishes.” Ms. Tang asked the other students, “How about this sentence?” “OK!” said the students excitedly and applauded Yai-yai.

“Let’s look at the third sentence on the poster [a white rectangular self-stick cardboard] displayed on the chalkboard.” “Chun-chun can lead the other students to read this sentence,” Ms. Tang said. Chun-chun walked to the chalkboard, pointed to the sentence with her fingers and read, “I work so hard that my parents are proud of me.” Meanwhile, Chun-chun was watching her classmates to make sure that she was not going too fast for them to keep up.

The students were looking at their own worksheets when Ms. Tang said, “Well, how about the next phrase—‘make....more’?” Ms. Tang turned back to the chalkboard and read the poster, “These inventions make our lives more comfortable and save our time and money.” “Oh! Who can make a sentence like this?”, Ms. Tang pointed at the board. Mei-mei, an Atayal girl wearing eye glasses and short hair, said, “In this mountainous area, the 7-11 convenience store makes peoples’ lives more convenient.” Ms. Tang added, “People can pay their water bills and electricity bills at this store.” Some students were becoming a little restless by now and starting to make noises; Ms. Tang cleared her throat and said, “What should you do before talking in class?” Students responded loudly, “Raise your hands.” In class, when individuals are called on or they actively answer a question, they have to stand up. So Di-di turned left to Mei-mei

and raised his hand, “Teacher! Can you let Mei-mei sit down?” Ms. Tang waved her hand and then Mei-mei sat down. At this moment, the bell rang. Ms. Tang raised her voice, “The lesson is not done yet! Keep going or take a break?” Most students spoke out, “Let’s finish it.” After about five minutes, “Ok! This part is done. Dismissed! ” Ms. Tang said, and then she went directly to her desk located at the corner in front of the class and corrected her students’ homework. Most students put their chairs under their desks and left the classroom.

The Relationship between Ms. Chou’s Instructional Methods and the Vygotskian View of Teaching

In the session of language arts instruction described previously, Ms. Tang primarily modeled processes, practices, and skills for her students and gradually demanded that the students do the work by themselves instead of copying her demonstration. Borich and Tombari (1996, p. 193) point out that “Scaffolding occurs when a teacher recognizes that a learner is in need of assistance and offers prompts, suggestions, hints, feedback, guidance, modeling, and explanation.” In the instruction on making sentences, Ms. Tang would make a sentence for her students, ask them to repeat the sentence after her, and then call on a student to make another sentence. Sometimes even though Ms. Tang had modeled a sentence for her students, students still could not compose a similar sentence. At these times, I found that Ms. Tang would help the student work out any unfinished sentence and ask him or her to repeat this sentence.

Ms. Tang also put the students’ incorrect answers in context, used further and follow-up questions to obtain other students’ responses, and supplied her students with the correct answer. If the students could not reply, Ms. Tang gave them clues to aid them in getting the right answer. For example, Lin-in said, “I feel ashamed when I am telling a

story in front of the whole class." Ms. Tang said to Lin-in, "It's not a shame; it's shyness." Subsequently, Ms. Tang told her students that she felt ashamed when people corrected her misbehavior. Then, she asked, "Who can tell us when he or she feels shy?" Ms. Tang used this way to relate her instruction to the students' daily experiences.

Ms. Tang would accept her student's partially correct answers, elicit another student's response, and ask other students to compare both students' answers and decide which one was better. In this way, Ms. Tang created a format of example—non-example, a scaffold, through which the students were called to detect errors. For example, Ping-ping made a sentence, "Grandpa got up early to take exercise in order not to die earlier." Ms. Tang shook her head and said, "This [sentence structure] seems not right! Any better one?" Chun-chun stood up and read her worksheet, "I work hard to pass the exam."

Ms. Tang emphasized her students' classroom participation. If a student just sat quietly and seldom answered her questions, she would call on this student. If the answer was not right, she would make the student stand by his or her seat about five minutes. If the students did well in class, Ms. Tang would play popular songs during the break to reward her students' participation. Furthermore, she arranged the class so that her students could relax during the break. For example, at the back of the classroom, the floor was covered by a piece of green carpet that provided the students a place for playing games, such as chess and monopoly, but they had to take off their shoes to keep the carpet clean.

In her reading instruction, Ms. Tang not only required her students to read aloud in unison but also expected them to take turns individually. Sometimes, Ms. Tang would shift her teaching responsibility to the more competent students. For example, she asked

Chun-chun to lead other students in reading a text, thus offering opportunities for learning in the zone of proximal development when a student works with a more capable peer. However, I noticed that Ms. Tang was likely to call on the high achievers, such as Chun-chun, Mei-mei, Di-di, and Ping-ping, to answer questions in class. As a result, these students were likely to dominate the classroom conversation; meanwhile, this led Ms. Tang to ignore other students' questions or reactions. According to Ms. Chou, these high achievers were from families in which parents worked as village office staff members, policemen, nurses, or farmers; they were concerned about their children's study and helped them with schoolwork at home.

Conclusion

Ms. Tang, an Atayal, was brought up in this mountainous area. However, she left her home at a young age to pursue better school education. Ms. Tang's major is language arts. Her teaching activities included handwriting new Mandarin characters, reading aloud, making sentences, and summarizing a text. She modeled the practice and skills of these activities for her students; sometimes, she would ask competent students to help other students in a similar way, such as leading them to read a text. Furthermore, Ms. Tang gave her students clues and follow-up questions to answer initial questions. However, Ms. Tang attended to high achievers' performances more than to others. Some rewards were used by Ms. Tang to promote her students' expected performances, such as playing music during the break. To correct her students' inappropriate behavior in class (e.g., chatting with each other), Ms. Tang used gestures or body language, such as putting a finger on her lips. In addition to emphasizing her students' academic work, Ms. Tang was concerned about developing her students' characters, such as not wasting food. In

the following parts, Ms. Sun and Mr. Wan's language arts instruction are represented in a similar format.

Ms. Sun: Fourth-Grade Language Arts Teacher

I start with describing Ms. Sun and her classroom arrangements. Ms. Sun's class size was relatively small, which allowed her and her students to take turns taking the teaching responsibility. This is illustrated in her teaching on the unit of "Forever Mackay".

Ms. Sun and Her Classroom Interactions

After graduating from a teachers college, Ms. Sun has been an elementary schoolteacher for about 10 years in this mountainous area. To be close to her family living in a nearby town, Ms. Sun chose to teach at this sample school. Because she has stayed in the village for a long period of time, Ms. Sun regards herself as a member of this village. For example, she said to her students, "*Ping-ti jen* [Han Chinese] from other places are likely to describe our place as a paradise." Ms. Sun was single, so she had more spare time after school; this allowed her to learn new things, such as computer skills and cooking. In college, Ms. Sun's major had been counseling; she was a Buddhist and vegetarian in her early forties. She had neatly-cut, short, straight hair and usually wore sports shoes, black long pants, and a light-colored blouse.

Ms. Sun was assigned to teach the fourth graders, two girls and four boys. This group was much smaller than the other grades because half of the original students in this cohort transferred to nearby town school after the earthquake occurring in 2000. One Atayal boy, Chio-chio, was mentally retarded. He was taller and bigger than other students. Most of the time, he was sent to the special education classroom on the first

floor. Six students were seated in two rows; everyone had his or her own wooden chair and desk (see Figure 7.2).

Ms. Sun's classroom, which was next to the principal's office, was located on the second floor. After entering the front door, on the right side of the classroom, some blank pink-colored posters were displayed on the wall for the students to write notes for others. For example, Fen-fen left a note to Din-din as follows: "Your performance in yesterday's math class was wonderful. Keep up the good work." Ms. Sun used this design to encourage her students to share personal thoughts with others.

The windows along the wall facing the mountains were sparkling when the sun rose. In a corner of the class, there was a fish tank. The students had responsibility for taking care of these fish--feeding them, changing the water, and cleaning the tank. At the back of the classroom, the bulletin board had been divided into four subject areas: language arts, mathematics, natural science, and social studies. On this board Ms. Sun displayed teaching materials including cards of Chinese characters, pictures showing the formulation of clouds, rules for classifying geometric figures, such as acute, right, and obtuse triangles, and photos of children carrying lanterns in the Lantern Festival on January 15. The darkwooden bookcases beneath the bulletin board were used for storing dictionaries and extra textbooks. The students were required to look up the definitions of new words by using these Chinese dictionaries. The classroom rules devised by the students themselves were posted above the bookcases. A pencil sharpener for the students was located on the teacher's desk. During the daily break, Ms. Sun usually kept the students in who were not doing well in class and gave them individual assistance.

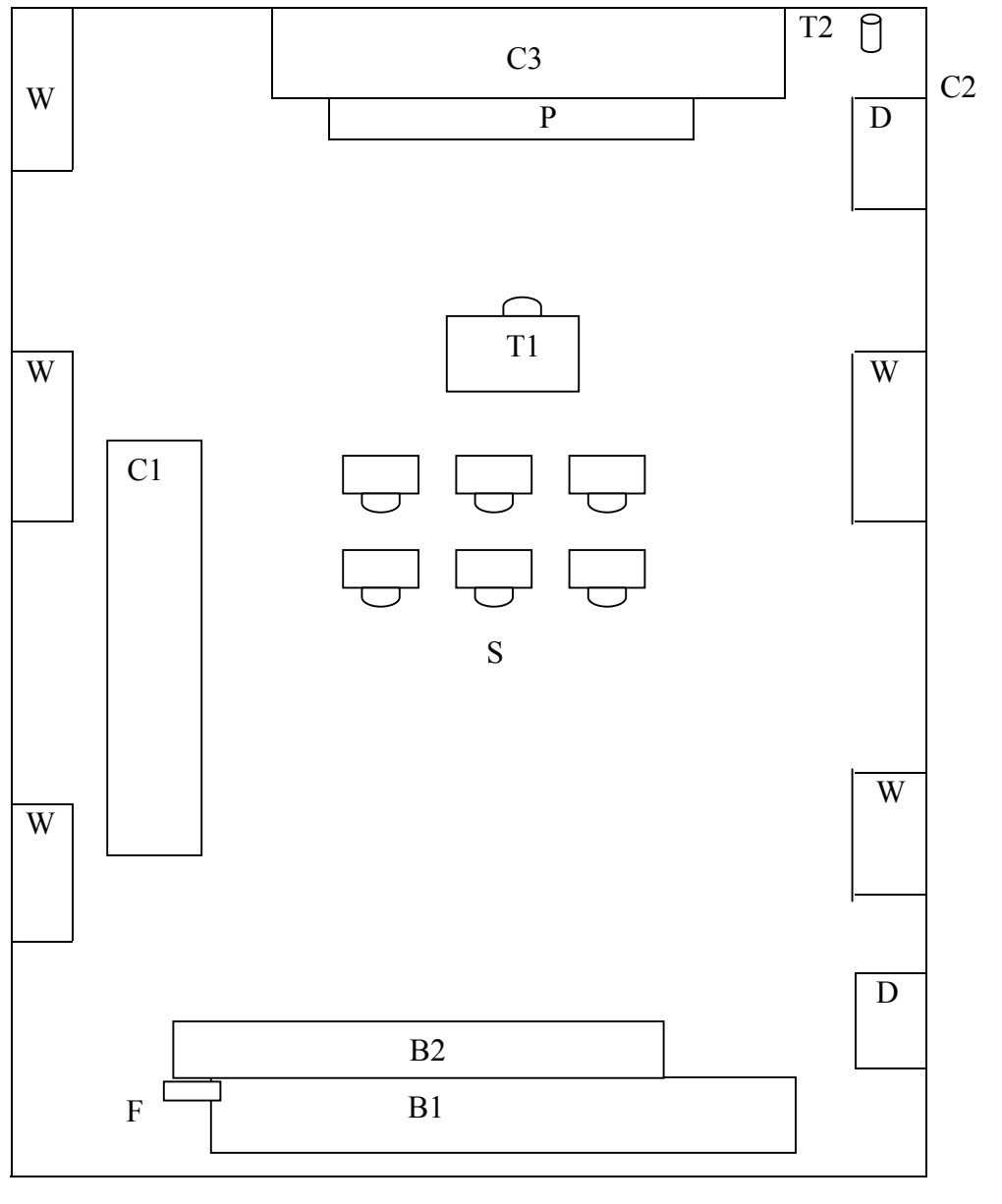
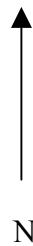


Figure 7.2

Fourth-Grade Classroom Map

B1: bulletin board
 B2: bookcases
 C1: students' cabinets
 C2: corridor
 C3: chalkboard
 D: doors
 F: fish tank

P: platform
 S: students' seats
 T1: teacher's desk
 T2: trash can
 W: windows



Ms. Sun displayed a note written in calligraphy on her desk: “Say good words, and do good deeds.” I found that when Ms. Sun entered the staff office, she immediately used the public address system to tell her fourth graders to start their cleaning work. One morning, Ms. Sun was supervising her students who were sweeping the classroom. She admonished them, “If I find a piece of trash, I will put it into your mouth.”

Sometimes, Ms. Sun allowed her students to make decisions by themselves and put them into practice. This is illustrated by the following example. During the regularly scheduled class meeting, Din-din proposed that Ms. Sun take all her students to nearby Green Lake; subsequently, they decided to vote on this idea by raising their hands. Chio-chio, a mentally retarded boy, seemed to be unaware of what was going on. Min-min, sitting next to Chio-chio, tried to raise his hand for him; Ms. Sun attempted to stop Min-min’s behavior and said in a soft tone, “How could you make a decision for him?” Then, Ms. Sun turned toward Din-din, looked around at other students, and said, “The monthly examination will be held next week! After the exam, we might take a field trip to Green Lake.” Thereafter, one sunny afternoon I ran into these fourth graders with flushed faces. Wiping the sweat from their brows with their sleeves, they excitedly told me that they had just come from Green Lake.

Ms. Sun also took on some noninstructional duties and administrative tasks, such as sitting with her students during the lunch hour and preparing all students’ grade reports. During recess, Ms. Sun tended to go to the staff office where she exchanged ideas with her colleagues about subject preparation and the students’ performances. This is contrary to the situation described by Lortie (1975) in U. S. schools. That is, U. S.

teachers work largely alone in their classrooms because they believe that their major responsibility is coordinating, stimulating, and taking care of their own students.

Teaching Activities in Ms. Sun's Class: A Sample Unit "Forever Mackay"

This unit from a textbook relates the history of a Canadian Presbyterian missionary, George Mackay, in late 19th century Taiwan. Beginning in 1872, he worked for about 30 years in the northern part of Taiwan. In addition to converting Taiwanese to Christianity and teaching them the Bible, Mackay provided local residents medical services. He helped some people by pulling teeth decayed from chewing betel nuts; he also offered malaria sufferers free quinine. Because quinine tastes bitter, some patients suspected that the liquid was poison and threw it away while keeping the glass bottle as a treasure. Others pretended illness simply to get a bottle. To serve more patients, Mackay raised funds for building a hospital. Education was another of Mackay's concerns. He established a school—Oxford College—for preparing Taiwanese male students to become preachers. Because of his dedication to Taiwan, his story has become part of Taiwanese heritage.

Before teaching a new unit, Ms. Sun required her students to look up definitions of new words from their dictionaries. Ms. Sun's instructional practices included the introduction of an article's content, the explanation of sentence structures, and the writing of Chinese characters.

At the beginning of daily lessons, Ms. Sun checked whether her students had finished their assigned homework by asking them, "Did you finish your homework? If not, bring it to me tomorrow." Then the students were told to clean off their desks and to take out the language arts textbook. Ms. Sun said, "OK, let's read this text. Sit straight

and read it aloud.” Ms. Sun led all students in reading the whole text together; subsequently, she used questions to help her students get a general understanding of an article including who the major character was, when and where the story happened, and what the story was about.

Ms. Sun: Now, close your books. Who is Mackay?

Din-din: Canadian.

Min-min: Priest.

Following this brief conversation, Fen-fen said, “Mackay was born in Canada. In 1872, he went to Taiwan to cure people and taught them how to read the Bible.” Ms. Sun nodded her head and said, “Pretty good.” At this moment, other students vocalized in a low tone, “Fen---fen.” “What are you doing?” Ms. Sun said and tried to keep her students focused on the text.

Ms. Sun: You interrupted my thinking. Who can help me?

Ren-ren: You had asked us about who Mackay is.

Ms. Sun: Thank you, Ren-ren. Do you know why Mackay came to Taiwan? [Ms. Sun stared at Yuan-yuan, who was yawning.]

Yuan-yuan, an Atayal boy with dark skin color and an athletic body, stopped yawning and speculated that Taiwan’s pretty scenery and delicious food attracted Mackay to this island. Ms. Sun raised another question, “When did this story happen?” Din-din raised his hand and said, “Long long ago, at that moment, most persons wore long pig tails.” Fen-fen gave more explanations, “It was in the Ching Dynasty about two or three hundred years ago.” Ms. Sun said, “Open your book. Tell me, what year?” Min-min answered, “1872.”

Ms. Sun walked toward the chalkboard and showed a poster listing the contributions made by Mackay to the Taiwanese. Ms. Sun told her students that this article began with the introduction of Mackay's personal background and ended with what he had done for the Taiwanese. Meanwhile, the students were writing these points on their own worksheets. "So far, any questions?", Ms. Sun said and looked around at her students. "All right! Let's underline some sentences. Are you ready?" "Ready!" the students said. "I don't hear what you are saying," Ms. Sun said. "Ready!" the students said loudly and took out their pens.

Ms. Sun: Who can find the sentence used to express the purpose?

Fen-fen: On page 73, "To provide educational opportunities for Taiwanese students, Mackay raised funds for establishing schools."

Ms. Sun: Where were the parallel sentences?

Min-min: On page 72, "Mackay worked both as a doctor to cure people's diseases and as a priest to introduce people to Christianity."

Ren-ren: On page 72, "Mackay not only extracted patients' teeth but also provided medicine for malaria sufferers."

After this conversation, Ms. Sun wrote the definitions of these sentence structures on the chalkboard as follows, "The sentence used to express the purpose is composed of means and ends. The methods (e.g., raising money and establishing schools) are used to achieve the goal (e.g., the increasing of Taiwanese literacy)." "The parallel sentence is used to express coordinate ideas. The key words, like both....and, not only....but also, are frequently used in this kind of sentence." Ms. Sun explained these by using a piece of chalk; occasionally, she stopped her lecture to let the students take notes.

When the students stopped writing, Ms. Sun helped them circle some phrases. She looked at her own teacher guide and started reading, “Extract teeth, raise funds...” After five minutes, Ms. Sun asked, “Can you follow me? How many phrases have you circled?” The students responded together, “Ten [phrases].”

Ms. Sun said, “Well, it’s time to learn new words. Who is on duty?” The students answered, “Din-din and Min-min.” Immediately both of them walked toward the bookcase near Ms. Sun’s desk, took the cards of Chinese characters from the bookcase, and displayed these cards on the chalkboard. Ms. Sun said, “Let me show you how to write a word. Attention! After my demonstration, it’s your turn.” She turned to the chalkboard and slowly wrote a big word; meanwhile, she asked her students to raise their hands following her writing sequences. “My work is done. Who will go first?” Ms. Sun asked. The students looked at each other, but no one answered. Ms. Sun pointed at Fen-fen and said to the other students, “When Fen-fen is writing a word, you have to pay attention to her writing and give her feedback.” Then, Ms. Sun walked toward the back of classroom.

Fen-fen, a Han Chinese girl with long braids over her shoulders, slowly walked toward the platform. While she was writing, Din-din complained that her head was blocking what she was writing. Then, Fen-fen moved her body a little bit. As soon as Fen-fen finished her writing, Ms. Sun asked her to stand beside the word and asked other students, “Were you satisfied with Fen-fen’s writing? Was her writing correct?” Other students responded, “Correct! Her writing was great.” Ms. Sun marked a

check on Fen-fen's writing [on the chalkboard] and then called on the next student—Ren-ren.

Ren-ren, an Atayal boy seated in the front of the classroom, was a little shy when Ms. Sun called on him; he hesitated to stand up. Then Ms. Sun said, "Come on!" Ren-ren looked at his textbook again and again before he walked toward the chalkboard. Before he started writing the word on the chalkboard, he continued to look back to Ms. Sun and his other classmates. Ms. Sun said to the other students, "While Ren-ren is writing the word *offer*, you have to speak out the radicals and strokes of this word, ok!" Most students nodded their heads and read, "The left side of the word starts with a slanting stroke (to the left) and then a vertical stroke. [The right side of the word 𠂇] a horizontal stroke, a vertical stroke, a vertical stroke, a horizontal stroke, a slanting stroke (to the left), a slanting stroke (to the right). The radical is *people* 人." After writing this word, Ren-ren put his hands behind his back, stood on the platform, and waited for Ms. Sun's direction. Ms. Sun said, "What do you think about Ren-ren's writing?" Min-min, seated in the back of the classroom, raised her hand and said, "The two sides of the word are too separate." Immediately, Ren-ren wiped out the word with an eraser and rewrote it with a piece of white chalk. Ms. Sun commented, "The right side is good." Yuan-yuan was picking his nose with his right index finger, then biting the finger, and using this finger to point at the left side of the word; he said, "This side is too small." Subsequently, Ren-ren enlarged his original writing on the left side. Ms. Sun nodded her head, and then Ren-ren returned to his seat. After practicing new words in lessons such as this, Ms. Sun would ask the students to write these words on the worksheets as homework.

The Relationship between Ms. Sun's Instructional Methods and Vygotskian View of Teaching

Vygotsky has argued that “human cognition and learning can only be understood by placing them in the multiple contexts—interpersonal, social, cultural, and historical—in which they occur” (Barton, 1994, pp. 7-8). Likewise, classroom teaching is a context-embedded activity that reflects assumptions specific to the context in which it occurs. Ms. Sun's belief about teaching children language arts is simultaneously affected by her students' learning abilities, the student number, parents' attitudes, and Taiwan's social environment.

Ms. Sun believes that an individual's education is much valued in Taiwan's society. If students do well at school, they will be able to find rewarding jobs in the future. Under these circumstances, most parents expect their children to be able to perform well in mathematics, language arts, social studies, and science. Children's talents in music, sports, and fine arts are less appreciated by their parents. However, not all parents are able to give their children academic assistance; therefore, Ms. Sun says she has to frequently keep her students in class during their breaks to work on assignments.

Ms. Sun has tried to design assignments for her students, but she says her efforts do not work well because she lacks parents' cooperation. For example, sometimes she asks the students to write a book report as homework. However, some parents complain that they do not have time to assist their children's report writing. So now she closely follows the school textbooks and worksheets. Ms. Sun also believes that the current teaching materials are too difficult for the students here, so her instruction emphasizes the

development of the students' basic abilities, such as writing complete sentences and reading children's books.

To enhance the students' ability to use Chinese, Ms. Sun asked her students to repeatedly practice writing Chinese characters, reading the text aloud, and memorizing it. When the students became more proficient in these reading and writing skills, Ms. Sun would not individually assist her students' study and let them do their seatwork by themselves. I noticed that Ms. Sun's scaffolding takes the form of drill practicing.

Compared to other grades where class sizes limited whole class instruction, the number of students of Ms. Sun's class was relatively small. This allowed her to gradually shift her teaching responsibilities to the students; Ms. Sun and her students took turns being the teacher. At first, Ms. Sun modeled a writing process, and then she let her students take turns demonstrating how to write a Chinese character on the chalkboard. Ms. Sun commented that peer modeling takes more time than teacher demonstrating of writing, but the students become more engaged in classroom participation; it is a way to get the students' attention because they are restless and energetic.

Conclusion

Ms. Sun, a Han Chinese, has been an elementary schoolteacher in this mountainous area for about 10 years. Ms. Sun's teaching procedure in language arts was similar to that of Ms. Tang. However, she paid more attention to her students' skills in making sentences and writing compositions than Ms. Tang. From a Vygotskian view of teaching, Ms. Sun's scaffolding for improving her students' writing and reading skills took the form of drill practices. When her students became proficient in what had been taught, Ms. Sun would shift the teaching responsibility to them. For example, each

student was required to demonstrate how to write new Chinese characters on the chalkboard. Because of her major in counseling, Ms. Sun encouraged her students to express their thoughts and feelings. However, Ms. Sun seemed to manage her own emotions less well; she was likely to orally reprimand her students severely when they made mistakes.

Mr. Wan: Fifth-Grade Language Arts Teacher

This section begins with describing Mr. Wan and his classroom. His instruction on the unit of saving black slaves is composed of some activities by which Mr. Wan tried to help his students learn from each other through working together within a group. However, Mr. Wan's plan did not work because his students lacked group discussion skills and confidence in Mr. Wan's abilities as a substitute teacher.

Mr. Wan and His Classroom Interactions

Mr. Wan, in his early forties, wore a pair of glasses; his hair color was a little gray. In contrast to what most male teachers' wore—T-shirts, sports pants, and sports shoes—Mr. Wan customarily wore a long-sleeved shirt, ironed-straight pants, and black-color shoes. He had received a master's degree in biochemistry in the U.S. Before teaching in my sample school, he had taught children English for four years at a town school in Taiwan. Mr. Wan lived with his wife, a housewife, and three young children in a nearby town. As a substitute teacher, he was assigned to teach fifth graders. Because this elementary school was close to Mr. Wan's home, he chose to teach here to take care of his family after school. Furthermore, the number of school personnel was small, so it would not take much time to know other colleagues. This was conducive to Mr. Wan's understanding of this new environment.

In Mr. Wan's fifth-grade classroom, there were 15 boys and seven girls, 13 Atayal and nine Chinese. The students' desks were arranged in four groups composed of five or six members (see Figure 7.3); this arrangement was intended to encourage the students' cooperation. These groups had mixed gender and ethnicity, and students worked in assigned groups, turning to face each other. In each group, the competent students were expected to assist the students who had difficulty finishing their seatwork. Most of the time, they were allowed to talk with each other in low voices, so the classroom was usually buzzing with student voices. This spatial arrangement gave Mr. Wan plenty of room to move freely while monitoring his students' work.

At the beginning of this semester, Mr. Wan assigned group partners. On entering the classroom, I immediately noticed a clock on the wall above Mr. Wan's desk. Next to the clock was a poster displaying a proverb—Time is money. Mr. Wan kept his students' worksheets neatly organized on the bookcases to his right. The wall next to the door held news cut from newspapers relevant to effective learning skills. The wall opposite the door was made of big oblong windows. Outside the windows was a playground. Below the windows were light-colored wood closets with students' names for them to store classroom supplies, like glues, scissors, and crayons.

At the back of classroom, children's paintings, report cards, and a poster showing all students' hobbies and birthdays were displayed on a large bulletin board. Equipment used for cleanup was put in the corner, such as garbage cans, mops, and brooms. The students were expected to obey the following rules displayed on the bulletin board: "I will keep the class clean," "I will turn in my homework on time," "I will concentrate on

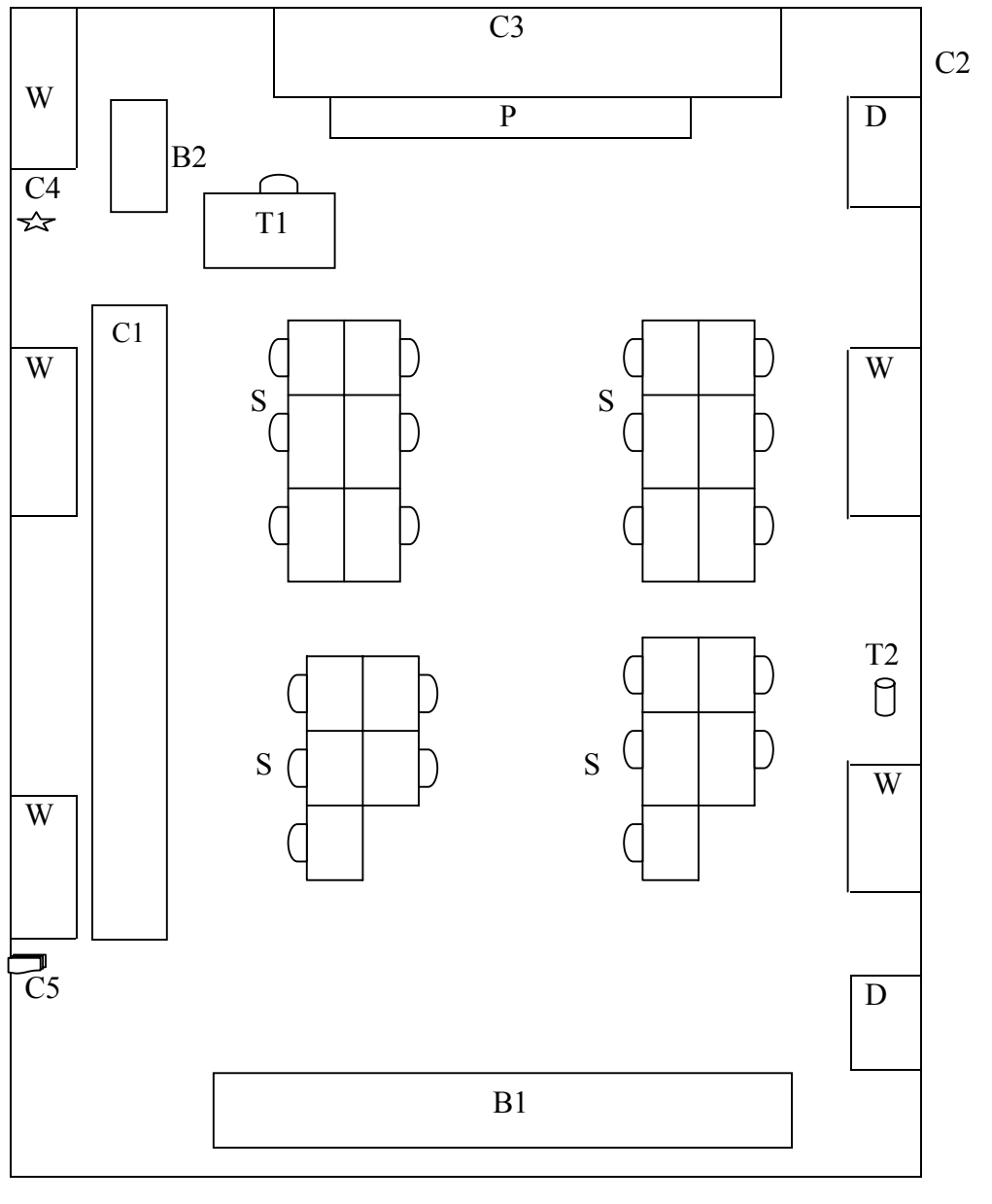


Figure 7.3

Fifth-Grade Classroom Map

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| B1: bulletin board | D: doors |
| B2: bookcase | P: platform |
| C1: students' cabinets | S: students' seats |
| C2: corridor | T1: teacher's seat |
| C3: chalkboard | T2: trash can |
| C4: clock | W: windows |
| C5: calendar | |



my study in class,” “I will not chase other students in class or in the hallway,” “I will raise my hand before talking,” “After leaving the seat, I will put it back [under the desk].”

The year of my observations was Mr. Wan’s first semester at this school. Because he lived in the nearby town, Mr. Wan took a bus to school. When he entered the staff office, he usually immediately opened his black-leather suitcase, took out his students’ assignments, and started correcting these worksheets. Unlike the other teachers and staff members who sat chatting with each other, Mr. Wan always quietly did his paperwork in his seat; occasionally, he would raise his head and smile to others. Furthermore, he paid more attention to the principal’s and other administrators’ announcements in the morning meeting than did other staff members, who did not raise their heads.

Mr. Wan attended carefully to his students’ behaviors. One day, he brought some mischievous students to the staff office. He loudly asked these fifth graders, “What rule have you violated?” One female answered in a weak voice, “Do not run in the hallway.” Mr. Wan said, “Kids, do you know what you are supposed to do? Write the rule 50 times on a piece of paper.” What prompted this was that five male and female students had been chasing each other. Suddenly, one person kicked a china vase in front of the principal’s office and, consequently, it broke into pieces. Another example of Mr. Wan’s discipline occurred in the flag-raising ceremony held every Monday morning. All students marched in line to the playground. Before a band composed of sixth graders played the national anthem, each teacher was responsible for maintaining his or her class order. Some female teachers signaled with the index finger on their lips to stop the students’ talking; Mr. Wan would twist the noisy students’ ears with his hand.

Teaching Activities in Mr. Wan's Class: A Sample Unit "Save Black Slaves"

This unit from a textbook relates that in 1831 the future U. S. President Abraham Lincoln and his cousin traveled to New Orleans. This was their first visit to the South, so everything interested them. Suddenly, Lincoln noticed that a poster displayed on the door of a store announced "buy and sell black slaves." Subsequently, he found that a group of persons were bargaining over the price of a black slave in a New Orleans's plaza. He felt surprised and angry at what was in front of him. This event caused him to devote his later life to abolishing slavery. In 1861, Lincoln was selected as the president of the U.S. and assisted blacks in gaining their freedom.

To summarize his instructional practices, Mr. Wan asked his students to read the text individually, and he used some questions listed on posters to help his students grasp the main idea of the text. Then he demonstrated how to write Chinese characters. Subsequently, he required his students to call out the radicals and strokes of the characters. Following this, there was a discussion of phrases and sentence patterns.

The students usually played basketball or baseball during their 10-minute recess. I noticed that this day Mr. Wan had to raise his voice to get his students' attention, "Keep quiet! The class has started. Be in your seat." He looked around at his students and asked them to take a couple of minutes to read the text silently—Save Black Slaves. As the students worked, he moved between the groups and glanced over his students' shoulders. He pointed at Yi-yi's book, said, "Have you opened page 74?", and showed her the correct page. "Thank you, teacher." Yi-yi said.

Subsequently, Mr. Wan called on his students to read aloud the text. "Tao-tao" Mr. Wan said. Tao-tao stood up, held his book, read "Lesson 13 Save Black Slaves. In 1831, Lincoln and his cousin rowed the boat along the Mississippi River. Then, they

visited the city—New Orleans....” After Tao-tao finished one paragraph, Mr. Wan said, “Hao-hao, next.” Hao-hao read, “Lincoln and his cousin excitedly taked [sic] with each other about what they had seen in this city.” “Stop!” Mr. Wan said; meanwhile, other students voiced, “Oh” because Hao-hao read “taked” for “talked,” Mr. Wan corrected his reading by saying “talked.” The students’ reading aloud took about 10 minutes, and then Mr. Wan explained to his students that reading this text was like telling a story, so the tone should be natural and fluent. “However, when we read the sentences expressing the inner world of Lincoln, the tone should be raised to stress his feelings; for example, ‘How can people be treated like animals?’” Mr. Wan raised his voice and waved his hands.

Afterward, Mr. Wan demonstrated how to write Chinese characters. Before teaching this part of his lessons, Mr. Wan regularly required the students to look up the radicals of new words in their dictionaries as their homework.

Mr. Wan said, “Let’s look at the word *carry* 提.” [He was writing it on the board.] “What is the radical of this word?” Mr. Wan pointed at the word and asked his students. “The radical is *hand* 手,” most students answered. “Pay attention to the size of both sides [of this word]. The size of the left side and that of the right side [提] are equal,” Mr. Wan said and used a piece of red-colored chalk to circle the two sides.

When teaching the main idea of a text, Mr. Wan was most likely to use group discussion and facilitate his students’ seatwork by asking them questions. This is illustrated by the following fieldnotes.

Mr. Wan walked toward the chalkboard and displayed some rectangular blue-colored posters he had made that listed the questions, “When did Lincoln go to New Orleans?” “What happened in the plaza?” “What did Lincoln do for blacks as the

president of the U.S.?” Each student group representative was designated by Mr. Wan to lead the discussion at each table, to maintain group order, and to assist other group members’ seatwork: group one (Tao-tao), group two (Lu-lu), group three (Tung-tung), and group four (Yang-yang). “After 10 minutes of discussion, each group representative has to orally report the gist of this text.” Mr. Wan said.

During group discussion times, Mr. Wan would ask his students to keep their voices down. In this way, the discussion of one group would not be disturbed by another group’s loud voices. However, Mr. Wan seldom worked with his students in their groups to teach them to work together. The group representative took out his or her worksheet and wrote down other group members’ ideas or responses. Nevertheless, I found that this assignment became the group representative’s job because other group members were not engaged in the work. For example, Tao-tao, a tall Han Chinese boy, asked his group members—Tung-tung, Chin-chin, Ling-ling, and Li-li—to give him oral answers. Tung-tung, sitting next to Tao-tao, told Tao-tao that the answer to question one was 1831, but Ling-ling and Li-li were examining the split ends of their long hair, and Chin-chin was working on his mathematics worksheet. When the time was up, each group representative stood up and read his or her summary. After the students’ reporting, Mr. Wan gave further information that after the U. S. Civil War the owning of slaves was abolished, but later Lincoln was assassinated.

I observed sometimes that it was not easy for Mr. Wan to keep his students focused on their study. Some students resisted Mr. Wan’s instruction of phrases and sentences. I noticed that Mr. Wan usually ignored such resistance.

Mr. Wan said, "I will call on some students to explain the meaning of a phrase. Number four [Fu-fu], *black slave*." Fu-fu stood up and lowered his head. Mr. Wan mumbled to him, "You should have prepared this. Black slave refers to the black servants." Mr. Wan looked at his teacher guide and called on the next student, "*look at, Kang-kang*." Kang-kang sat still in his seat; meanwhile, other students answered, "*turn your eyes toward something or someone*." Mr. Wan raised his voice, "So many Kang-kang? Kang-kang, you should stand up." Then Kang-kang slowly stood up and stamped on the floor with his right foot. Lai-lai, sitting next to Kang-kang, said, "Teacher, Kang-kang said, 'That's none of your business.'" Mr. Wan continued explaining other phrases by himself.

After about 10 minutes, Mr. Wan turned his back to his students and started writing on the chalkboard. Li-li asked, "Teacher, what are you doing?" Ting-ting sitting in front of her answered, "He [Mr. Wan] is writing sentences." At this moment, Wei-wei was rocking back and forth in his chair; Chiao-chiao was using the correction pen to draw on her desk; some students were chattering with each other. Their voices became louder.

Suddenly, Mr. Wan turned his face from the chalkboard to the students and yelled at Chiao-chiao, "Do not destroy your desk. Stand up!" Then Mr. Wan sat on his desk and explained the sentences on the chalkboard, "Look at the first sentence: How can people be treated this way? This expresses a counter-questioning tone. Come on, make a similar sentence." Ting-ting raised his hand and said, "How can you kick the dog?" Following this, Mr. Wan said that there were some homeless dogs on campus. Ting-ting asked, "Have you [Mr. Wan] kicked these dogs?" Mr. Wan shook his head, sipped from a bottle of orange juice, and put it back on his desk.

Trying to keep his students' attention, Mr. Wan said, "Lai-lai, [read] the next sentence." Lai-lai read, "Some people were walking; other people were discussing the price of the black slave." Once Lai-lai finished his reading, Mr. Wan explained that the connection between two sentences is made by using key words: some...other. Immediately, Ting-ting asked, "Can I replace people with ghosts? Some ghosts...; other ghosts..." Mr. Wan did not look at Ting-ting and made a sentence: "Some students worked hard in class..." He did not finish, and Tung-tung interrupted, "other students dozed off in class." At this moment, Mr. Wan pretended that he was angry by putting his hands on his waist and saying, "Chiao-chiao, make a sentence." "Some persons were so fat like pigs; others were so skinny like monkeys," Chiao-chiao said. Mr. Wan sighed deeply, then read some phrases, asked his students to circle them, and to write each five times on their worksheets as a take-home assignment.

The Relationship between Mr. Wan's Instructional Methods and Vygotskian View of Teaching

Vygotsky emphasized "the collaborative and interactional contexts in which children learn" (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001, p. 19). Mr. Wan's own learning experiences in the U.S., such as group discussion and seminar, led him to organize his students into groups. "This kind of arrangement motivates students to engage in learning activities and to learn from each other," Mr. Wan said. He expected that the students in a group would be able to serve alternatively as a leader, a note-taker, a listener, a critic, or a presenter; thus, they would not only help with each other's seatwork but also learn how to get along with each other and take responsibility for their own learning. Furthermore, these students would take turns with different roles, learning different skills and developing different abilities. However, based on my observations, it did not work as

Mr. Wan had planned. Subsequently, I discussed this with Mr. Wan, who explained that some Atayal and Han Chinese parents did not trust his instruction because he was a substitute teacher, so this partly led to these children's unwillingness to participate in group work. Mr. Wan also explained, "This was my first time to teach Chinese. I did not understand my students well, so my teaching plans might not be suitable for these kids. They might be not used to this kind of teaching [group work]."

At the time of my classroom observations, Mr. Wan had taught these fifth graders only a few months. I found that he still had not memorized his students' names because sometimes he called on them by their numbers instead of their names. In Mr. Wan's language arts teaching, he tried to maintain classroom order by ignoring some students' questions. For example, Ting-ting, an Atayal boy, had been perceived as a troublemaker in this class. When he asked Mr. Wan the question, "Lincoln was killed in the South or the North?", Mr. Wan did not look at him and continued his explanations and lectures. Regarding this, Mr. Wan explained that he just tried to show this child that his instruction would not be disturbed by his intentional behavior. In fact, other children also showed their resistance in class. Reflecting on my interview with the Han Chinese adult Ms. Chai about her educational experiences, I speculate that these children may not like to adjust themselves frequently to a new substitute teacher's instruction. In addition to teaching fifth graders, Mr. Wan had to do administrative work—preparing the staff payroll. This may partly account for why he was unable carry out his original plan to teach his students group work skills and to help them facilitate each other's learning in the classroom.

Conclusion

Mr. Wan, a Han Chinese, had just started his teaching at this mountain school, so he had limited understanding of his students and was preoccupied with maintaining class order. According to Mr. Wan, some parents did not trust the substitute teacher's instruction; these parents' attitude also hindered their children's classroom participation. Under these circumstances, although Mr. Wan had done his best to prepare for his language arts course, the students' performance did not meet his original expectations. Mr. Wan expected that his students would learn more through peer cooperation; this teaching approach was different from Ms. Tang's and Ms. Sun's. In this respect, Mr. Wan indicated that his teaching was largely influenced by his past learning experiences. He liked to encourage his students to work together and asked competent students to help other students, as Vygotsky has suggested that children's cognitive development is enhanced through cooperating with adults or competent peers to solve problems (Dixon-Krauss, 1996; Rogoff, 1998).

Comparisons of Ms. Tang, Ms. Sun, and Mr. Wan's Classroom Instruction

This section is organized into three parts. In this section, I follow the analysis of the structure of human interaction advocated by Lofland—this structure is composed of acts, actors, relations, settings, and time (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). First, I suggest that these vignettes show us how lives in these classrooms are structured, routinized, and hierarchical, but they are also supportive spaces. Second, I discuss sample teachers' perceptions of their students' abilities and their families because these teachers' instruction is influenced by their interpretations of the surrounding environment. Finally,

I use Vygotsky's ideas to interpret how these teachers use different teaching strategies to assist their students in learning Mandarin.

Classroom Settings: Structured, Routinized, Hierarchical, but Supportive Spaces

The teachers' instruction and classroom settings were characterized by a set of rules, routines, and hierarchical relationships; the detailed descriptions of the sample teachers' supportive instruction is discussed in the part on "Teaching Activities Designed to Enhance Students' Academic Outcomes".

On the elementary school's classroom organization in five countries (England, France, India, Russia, and United States), Alexander (2001) has pointed out that schoolteachers develop routines and rules to regulate their teaching activities. Likewise, classroom rules helped the sample teachers maintain order and get activities done; these rules emphasized appropriate classroom conduct. For example, the students were expected to stand when called on and were required to raise their hands to get permission from the teacher before they spoke in class. Compared to Ms. Tang and Ms. Sun, Mr. Wan had less experience with his fifth graders. I think that it takes time to let students know why and what they should do in class; otherwise, disagreement over classroom rules and regulations may lead to students' behavioral confrontation illustrated in Mr. Wan's classroom. In this respect, Kennedy (1997, p. 6) also relates that "...Rules and routines give teachers a way to respond to student bargaining, a set of criteria for grading student work, a way to increase predictability." The teachers used different rewards and punishments to enforce the classroom rules and to discipline their students. For example, Mr. Wan sent his mischievous students to the staff office; Ms. Sun sealed

her students' well-done worksheets with beautiful animal symbols; Ms. Tang rewarded her students' performance by playing popular songs.

LeCompte (1978) has argued that U. S. schools are analogous to workplaces in which the members are expected to follow several norms, such as conforming to authority, avoiding wasting time, keeping busy, and maintaining order. The sample teachers' instruction also reflected their beliefs in managing classroom time to maximize students' academic outcomes; this is exhibited in the following. The instruction took place in organized classroom settings; the school bell regulated the daily classroom activities; the pace of teachers' instruction was determined by national curricula standards. Under these circumstances, the classrooms were organized mainly around activities in which the teacher assigned tasks to his or her students and then judged their work by teacher-made tests and criteria, as Dreeben (1968) has mentioned—the assignment-performance-evaluation sequence.

Based on my observations, the sample teachers were authoritative figures, as Spencer (2001, p. 818) has said, "Within the walls of their classrooms, teachers have felt a great deal of control over such matters as instructional practices, classroom organizations, and their relationships with students." For example, the students were expected to stand when they were called on in class; furthermore, these teachers liked to let their students to run errands, such as wiping the chalkboard or bringing Chinese worksheets to their desks in the staff office. Namely, the teachers tended to be directive with their students. Even though the three teachers seldom dominated the classroom conversation, they tried to facilitate their students' talk and guide their thinking and learning.

Teachers' Perceptions of Students' Personal Backgrounds

Most Atayal and Han Chinese schoolchildren were from low socioeconomic families; these parents were busy doing their farm or labor work and themselves had completed only elementary or junior high school education, so they were unable to give their children academic assistance at home. A few parents did send their children to the cram school in the nearby town after school to improve their academic performance. According to the sample teachers, most parents judged teachers' instruction based on their children's grades; meanwhile, these parents tended to shift the responsibility of supervising their children to schoolteachers.

Commenting on students' learning abilities, Ms. Sun pointed out that the children had trouble seeking answers if the questions were a little different from those in the textbook. Moreover, the children sometimes imitated their competent peers' performances and were not willing to generate other answers. Likewise, Ms. Tang related that the students just modeled the sentences she made in class, and it was difficult for them to make sentences by themselves.

Under the circumstances, the teachers said that they had to meet these parents' requirements and to consider their students' limitations. To raise the students' grades, these teachers repeatedly taught their students similar content. Meanwhile, they used different skills to develop their students' learning potential. Schon (1983) in his book, The Reflective Practitioner advocates that professionals solve problems through a process of reflecting on the particular context of the setting and their ongoing action. A more detailed description of how sample teachers modify their teaching practices is illustrated in the following excerpts.

Ms. Chang: What is your impression of the students' parents here?

Ms. Tang: At the beginning of a semester, I am used to inviting parents to go to school to let them know my teaching materials and methods and ask if they have any suggestions or ideas. However, a few parents come to school; these [Atayal and Han Chinese] parents are concerned about their children, so these children also perform well at school. On the other hand, some parents tend to let their children watch television while writing their homework; consequently, these children will not finish their homework until eleven or twelve p.m. When they arrive at school, they are sleepy and cannot concentrate on their study. So I remind my students to go to bed by ten p.m. I also call these parents that children should not be allowed to watch television before they finish their homework.

Ms. Sun: Most students cannot finish their schoolwork at home because of lacking parents' assistance.

Mr. Wan: Most parents emphasize their children's grades more than their other performances or behaviors. For example, these parents seldom ask me about why their children fight with other peers, why their children have a cold, or why their children are punished.

These teachers thought that most parents could not share the responsibility of supervising and teaching their children at home, so they had to keep their students in class during the break to write their unfinished homework. Furthermore, it seemed that the sample teachers did not expect much of their students.

Ms. Chang: What is your impression of the students?

Ms. Tang: I notice that my third graders' knowledge and skills are not enough to

learn the teaching materials, so I have to teach them the same content again and again; this makes me feel frustrated [Ms. Tang explained that these children did not learn well when they were lower graders.]...The children in the mountainous area are obedient. For example, you ask them to learn Atayal language and dance courses; they just follow and do not ask why. [In fact, this is different from my understanding of these children's attitudes toward the two courses.]

Ms. Sun: The children are restless, so I have to keep them focused on their study. It is hard for the children here to compete with the children in town or city elementary schools [in terms of academic performance]. So I try to improve my students' ability of making sentences and writing compositions; these skills are useful for them in the future.

Mr. Wan: At present, I just teach my students the textbook. When I just arrived here, I wanted to teach my students more; however, they got low grades on their monthly tests. As a result, some parents called the principal and commented on my instruction. It was a painful experience.

In addition to the students' learning ability and parents' involvement, I speculate that the sample teachers' instruction might be influenced by other factors, such as students' ethnicity. I had explored whether these teachers treated their Atayal and Han Chinese students differently. However, what I found was different from what I had expected. These teachers told me that there were no differences between Atayal and Han Chinese children. My classroom observations and the teachers' written comments on their students' performances showed no differential treatment of these Atayal and Han Chinese students. I think that this situation may be explained by the following reasons.

First, this village is composed of Atayals and Han Chinese, so people may have learned how to get along with others from another ethnic group. One of my Atayal adult interviewees, Ms. Tu, also said, “The teachers have been ready for accepting their students when they decide to teach the schools in this mountainous area.” Another possibility is that the influence of students’ ethnicity on their teachers’ instruction may have been mediated by these students’ socioeconomic backgrounds. Most children came from poor families and lacked academic assistance from their parents. This may shift the teachers’ attention to supplement what their students lacked at home. Finally, schoolteachers are regarded as moral agents and respected in Taiwanese society, so they may intentionally hide their real attitudes toward diversely ethnic students to keep their social images. Likewise, Phinney and Rotheram (1986, p. 283) have said, “Teachers are likely to deny having ethnically based expectations, because the tendency to respond differently to children in terms of their ethnicity is generally unconscious, or if conscious, is considered socially unacceptable.”

Because my sample elementary school is classified as an indigenous school, it is obligated to offer Atayal children their cultural knowledge based on the Aboriginal Education Act. So the implementation of Atayal language and dance course takes the form of formal curricula in this school; as Dolye (1992, p. 487) has mentioned, “The institutional curriculum becomes a convenient instrument for school systems to convey responsiveness to external communities.” These courses were not taught by the regular schoolteachers. However, these teachers’ attitudes toward them influenced their students’ classroom participation. According to my observations, the Atayal dance course took about 120 minutes weekly. In this long classroom period, these sample

teachers had to help two Rukai dance teachers maintain class order and assist their instruction, such as setting up a drum. However, most teachers stayed in the staff office to do their own work. I believe that the teachers' ignorance of this course also influenced the students' interest in participating in the course. Some sample children regarded this course as a physical education class to strengthen their body or provide relaxation.

Furthermore, I think that these schoolteachers should have had a basic understanding of their Atayal children's culture, as Banks (1999, p. 56) has suggested that "teachers need a sound knowledge base about the history and culture of ethnic groups in order to successfully integrate ethnic content into the school curriculum." So I asked Ms. Tang, Ms. Sun, and Mr. Wan about Atayal culture in some areas: Monen Rudux's story, the meaning of Atayal facial tattoos, weaving, and hunting; unsurprisingly, Ms. Tang and Ms. Sun knew more than Mr. Wan. Taiwanese teachers have to follow a standardized national curriculum, so there is little room for them to use teaching materials that reflect indigenous or local Taiwanese culture. Likewise, my sample teachers' use of textbooks, teaching practices, and evaluation of their students' performance was highly determined by the prescribed curricula. They also told me that the teaching units used in language arts textbooks were seldom related to Atayal or other indigenous groups. However, these sample teachers could integrate the concepts (e.g., ethnicity, culture) related to Atayal into their instruction rather than directly teach their students Atayal culture and knowledge. Nevertheless, when I observed sample teachers' instruction on Westerners' culture, such as the units "Forever Mackay" and "Save Black Slaves", I noticed that they did not take advantage of the contents to make connections to their students' lives.

Teaching Activities Designed to Enhance Students' Academic Outcomes

Although three sample teachers' academic backgrounds are different, their teaching sequences in language arts were very similar; this may be attributed to instruction regulated by standardized national curricula and teachers' guides. Their instruction was organized into three parts: teachers' initiation, students' reply, and evaluation, which is the typical pattern of classroom communication, as Croll (1986) and Mehan (1993) have mentioned. The classroom instruction was usually initiated by teacher's lecturing, or giving students directions about what they should do. Then the teachers paused for a while to solicit and wait for their students' replies and ideas. After this, the teachers were responsible for clarifying, developing, or accepting their students' responses.

Similar to the procedures of language arts teaching illustrated in Manke's research (1997), the three teachers' instruction of Chinese in my study also followed specific patterns: reading aloud, summarizing a text, handwriting new characters, making phrases and sentences, and composition. However, these teachers stressed developing their students' different verbal skills. For example, Ms. Tang stressed her third graders' learning of the strokes and radicals because these are essential elements of Chinese characters. The Chinese radical (e.g., 口--mouth, 吃 *eat*) is like an English prefix (e.g., pre—before, *previous*). Ms. Sun spent more time on sentence pattern instruction because her students needed this skill to write their compositions.

These teachers I observed and interviewed were in charge of keeping the instructional process going. At the beginning of teaching a unit, these teachers tended to give their students an overview of the lesson. To keep the students focused on their

learning, these teachers wrote key points on the chalkboard and required the students to take notes. This practice was to help students retain what they had learned in class. Furthermore, rows of the students' desks all facing their teachers' desks allowed two sample teachers to monitor their students' learning and behavior. The teachers also provided a visual representation of the text along with their verbal explanations for the students. Within this overall approach, they modeled learning strategies and provided temporary scaffolding to promote their students' study, as Rogoff (1998) has described.

The metaphor of scaffolding, though never used by Vygotsky himself, has become a common label for the interactional support for maximizing the learners' cognitive abilities advocated by Vygotsky (Clay & Cazden, 1996). Although Vygotsky did not specify the forms this assistance may take, he did discuss the guiding and collaborative process "through demonstration, leading questions, and by introducing the initial elements of the task's solution" (1978, p. 209).

Vygotsky also has argued that "the only good kind of instruction is that which marches ahead of development and leads it; it must be aimed not so much at the ripe as at the ripening function" (1962, p. 104). Namely, teachers' instruction creates the learning situation that leads to their students' growth in the zone of proximal development (ZPD), referring to the distance between the real level of development and the potential level of development (Blanck, 1996). Vygotsky (1987, p. 211) also has further accounts of the ZPD, "what lies in the zone of proximal development at one stage is realized and moves to the level of actual development at a second. In other words, what the child is able to do in collaboration today he will be able to do independently tomorrow" (quoted in Moll, 1996, p. 12).

From a Vygotskian point of view, three sample teachers used different methods to help their children improve their reading and writing skills. Ms. Tang modeled the process of making sentences for her students and gave her students hints to answer the questions. In her instruction on Chinese characters, Ms. Sun gradually shifted her teaching responsibility to the students as they became more proficient and complemented them on their performances. When the children had gained the skills of writing Chinese characters, Ms. Sun encouraged them to take greater responsibility. Ms. Sun indicated that allowing the students to demonstrate this writing process by themselves motivated their classroom participation. This process illustrates the transition from other-assistance/directed to self-assistance/directed (Gallimore & Tharp, 1996; Kragler, 1996). Furthermore, I found that these teachers did not constantly correct their students' reading of the text. When a student paused at a word, the teachers would let other students read it to help this student. Peer collaboration in classroom learning was especially valued by Mr. Wan, although his students' group study did not work as he expected.

Conclusion

The regular teaching sequences of language arts was repeated across the three teachers' classes; these classroom lives were also structured and regulated by a set of rules and hierarchical relationships. Most schoolchildren were from families in which parents received limited school education and made their living by doing farm work or manual labor. These parents could not supervise and teach their children at home. The parents judged the schoolteachers' instruction based on their children's grades. Under the circumstances, the teachers repeatedly taught their students the same content to raise

their grades, while trying to develop their children's reading, writing, and speaking potential.

The number of students of these classrooms was relatively small; this allowed sample teachers to give their students more attention and assistance. However, Ms. Tang tended to attend to high achievers' performance in class; Ms. Sun and Mr. Wan were likely to give their students severe punishment. As a substitute teacher, Mr. Wan's instruction was not trusted by a few Atayal and Han Chinese parents, so they sent their children to a cram school to improve their academic performance. Although this sample school was obligated to offer Atayal children instruction about their own culture, these schoolteachers did not try to integrate related concepts into their instruction.

I think that the written representation of these sample teachers' teaching stories has provided us detailed descriptions of how Taiwanese schoolteachers accommodate their instruction to their students' lived experiences and external environments' needs. In spite of this, the construction of an ethnographic report aims to produce a holistic account of fieldwork experiences that are the result of an empathetic understanding of my participants' point of view (Van Maanen, 1995). In accordance with this, the concluding chapter will give us a clear picture of my report.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this ethnographic study has been to examine the daily life of an indigenous elementary school, composed of Atayal and Han Chinese teachers and students, and the Atayal and Han Chinese villagers' educational experiences. The Atayal are one of Taiwan's indigenous groups; the Han Chinese migrated from China in the 17th century. Taiwan's centralized school education was used as a tool of assimilating aborigines and Taiwanese into Japanese and Han Chinese cultures. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwan's formal education has gradually incorporated indigenous and local Taiwanese cultures into the school curricula. The transition of Taiwan's society from authoritative and exclusive to democratic and inclusive is reflected in the evolution of its school education; this is also illustrated in my Atayal and Han Chinese participants' accounts of their educational experiences.

At present, school education plays a role in creating an environment in which indigenous languages and indigenous people's ways of life can be valued and the disparity between indigenous and Han Chinese students' academic outcomes can be decreased. My research site, a mountainous area, is preserved for Atayals. The land cannot be sold to Han Chinese. Furthermore, this place has some Atayal cultural sites, such as the Atayal craft workshops and Monen Rudux's monument. Based on the Aborigine Education Act, Taiwan's schools are charged with obligations to provide Atayal students with a curriculum related to their own language and cultural knowledge.

In Green Mountain Elementary School, in addition to the regular school curriculum, the Atayal language and dance programs were offered for all third through sixth graders. Because most of the schoolchildren came from low socioeconomic families and received minimal academic assistance from their parents, after-school courses were provided for them to improve their mathematics and language arts performances. These were basic reading and writing of Mandarin (Chinese) and arithmetic skills. However, my research focus became some sample children's learning of Atayal culture and language arts and their teachers' instruction.

Conclusions

This section is organized around my research questions and related findings; several conclusions can be drawn from these findings. Following this, recommendations and implications for further research that needs to be done and educational practices that should be changed in Taiwan to understand its indigenous education are examined.

Atayal Adults' Educational Experiences in School

The first research question is what educational experiences Atayal adult villagers report and how they perceive themselves and Han Chinese. These participants' narratives include their parents' attitudes toward school education, their difficulties in new learning environments, and their awareness of being Atayal.

The selected Atayal participants were diverse in age, socioeconomic backgrounds, and educational achievement. Most of them were native to Green Mountain Village, and their families were not rich. Their parents valued school education, so they sent their children to town or city schools or moved out of this village to provide their children with a better educational environment. However, most Atayal participants had difficulty

adapting themselves to school. For example, a few Atayal participants could not understand Mandarin or answer essay questions in class. Furthermore, because of leaving home at young ages, some Atayal participants suffered from homesickness. Some Atayal participants were also looked down on by Han Chinese and were called savages by Han Chinese because of the negative images associated with aborigines; this constrained these participants' study at school. A few Atayal participants also used these stereotypes to explain their poor academic performances.

Most Atayal participants interchangeably called themselves *shaang-ti jen* [mountain people] and *yuan-chun-min* [native people] and called Han Chinese *ping-ti jen* [plains people]. Older Atayals understood more than younger Atayals of their traditional cultural practices and could speak their language. Most of them could also speak Mandarin and the Taiwanese used mainly in Taiwanese society; a few Atayal participants still had indigenous accents. My Atayal participants became more aware of their own ethnicity after they went to schools composed of mostly Han Chinese; this is because they reexamined their own ways of life in the light of their observation of Han Chinese life.

These Atayal participants varied in identifying with their traditional culture, so I classify them into four types: (1) they are more immersed in or proud of their indigenous culture (e.g., Ms. Tu); (2) they are more acculturated to Han Chinese culture (e.g., Ms. Wu and Mr. Chen); (3) they experience a dilemma between practicing the Atayal way of life and modeling the Han Chinese way of life (e.g., Mr. Lin); (4) they are able to identify with both Atayal and Han Chinese cultures (e.g., Ms. Hsu). This finding among

adults contrasts with Tan's survey (1995) that shows indigenous students are able simultaneously to identify with their own culture and Han Chinese culture.

Han Chinese Adults' Educational Experiences in School

The second research question is what educational experiences Han Chinese adult villagers report and how they regard themselves and Atayals. These participants' accounts include why their families moved to this Atayal reserved area, what characterized their schooling, and how they perceive Atayals.

Most Han Chinese participants were the second or third generation of their family to reside in this mountain village. Their families had moved here to make their living by doing farm work, running stores, or working as staff members in the village office and the police station. A few participants, such as Mr. Tian, said that their families liked to get along with Atayals. The selected participants working in business were likely to comment that Atayals were unreliable. Other participants commented that aborigines did not care about their children's school education and did not have the habit of saving money. In this respect, Taiwanese anthropologist Ruan (1994), who is a Han Chinese, also pointed out Atayals lacked the concept of saving money. The implication of these comments is that Atayals are first all alike in these patterns and that second they are deficient compared to Han people in these ways. Few people ask such questions as how long Atayals have been participating in a money economy or speculate on alternative explanations for patterns observed. I also noticed that most Han Chinese participants were more likely to comment on Atayals by comparing Atayal patterns to their own situations. Furthermore, most Han Chinese participants tended to call themselves *ping-ti*

jen [plains people] and called Atayals *shaang-ti jen* [mountain people] or *yuan-chun-min* [native people].

Han Chinese participants attended town or city schools to pursue better school education. Some of them had difficulty catching up with other students in these new schools because of their academic abilities and learning habits. Older Han Chinese participants indicated that teaching quality and school supplies were poor when they were students. After the Second World War, Taiwan's economic situation was bad. Furthermore, compulsory education for elementary and junior high school students started only in 1968, and at that time schoolteachers tended to use severe discipline to try to raise their students' grades on entrance examinations for entering junior high school. A few younger Han Chinese participants attributed their poor school performances to having been placed on a low ability track and to having been unable to attend cram schools.

*Comparison between Atayal and Han Chinese Adult Villagers' Educational Experiences
in School*

My third research question compares Atayal adult villagers' educational experiences with those of Han Chinese adult villagers, mainly based on their ages. I found that my participants' interpretations of their educational experiences and perceptions of ethnic groups are largely influenced by the social contexts in which their experiences occurred.

The belief that a school diploma determines an individual's future social position motivated most participants to leave their mountain living places when they were children to attend better schools. This also reflects the pattern that Bray (1997) has

postulated. Teaching quality in schools in remote areas tends to be poor. Because Taiwan's standardized curricula, as stipulated by the Ministry of Education, are used throughout the island, this helped Atayal and Han Chinese adult participants when they were students adapt to new learning environments when they left their mountain schools.

According to older Han Chinese participants, their schoolteachers were very authoritarian and tended to use corporal punishment to try to raise their scores to pass the junior high school entrance examination. Furthermore, at that time following World War II, school education was used as a tool to assimilate students into Chinese culture; for example, each student was required to speak Mandarin in school. The indigenous and local Taiwanese cultures were excluded from formal school education.

After the lifting of martial law in 1987 students were allowed and encouraged to learn more about indigenous and Taiwanese knowledge and culture in school. However, by this time most younger Atayals could not speak their own language; this situation was also reflected in my sample elementary Atayal children. Also, as in most East Asian countries, cram schools supplement the content of regular school curricula (Chalker & Haynes, 1994). As a result, younger participants had had more opportunity than older ones to improve their academic performance after regular school. However, according to a few Han Chinese participants, being unable to attend a cram school partly led them to be placed in a low ability group that kept them from receiving more teachers' instruction and attention.

Furthermore, my adult participants received differential treatment in school because of their ethnic backgrounds. Compared to Han Chinese, some Atayals were looked down on in school because their ethnicity was associated with some negative

attributes (e.g., heavy drinking). In contrast, the Han Chinese were viewed as people with more positive qualities, such as valuing school education. Therefore, the stigma of being an aborigine led some Atayal participants to struggle to maintain their own identity and to stay in the schools mainly composed of Han Chinese. Finally, some Atayal adult participants cared more about how Han Chinese perceived them than Han cared about Atayal views; this partly reflects that Han Chinese culture, as the mainstream norm, is valued more than indigenous culture in Taiwanese society.

Sample Atayal and Han Chinese Children's Understanding of Atayal Culture

The fourth question is what Atayal and Han Chinese children have learned about Atayal culture and what factors influence their learning. The sample children had access to several formal resources to learn Atayal culture: the Atayal language course, the Atayal dance course, the Atayal craft workshops, and Monen Rudux's monument. The Atayal language and dance courses had become a part of regular school curricula and were taught by an indigenous priest and dancers. The Atayal craft workshops and Monen Rudux's monument were located in the neighborhood. Most sample Han Chinese children thought that they should not have to take Atayal language and dance courses because they were not Atayals; though, in fact, all middle and upper graders were required to take these courses. Some Han children thought that learning Atayal language contributed to their communication with Atayals, but other children thought that learning Atayal dance enabled them to strengthen their bodies. However, a few Atayal and Han Chinese children could speak Atayal and understand the cultural meaning of Atayal dance. A few Atayal and Han Chinese children understood the meanings of Atayal traditional practices—facial tattoos, hunting, and weaving; the latter two activities were

still economic sources for a few Atayal children's families. Most Atayal and Han Chinese children understood that Monen Rudux and his Atayal compatriots had fought against the Japanese invasion.

In contrast to the findings from Brophy and Alleman's study (2000) in which the white elementary children associated Native Americans with the way they used to live and devalued their traditional practices, my study shows that a few Atayal and Han Chinese children were able to distinguish past practices from present circumstances and to appreciate the challenge of living without current technologies. Furthermore, one difference between the Brophy and Alleman children and those I have studied is that the U. S. children were not attending school with a substantial number of Native Americans.

Atayal and Han Chinese children studied together and played with each other on campus. Some of them were neighbors, so they continued to play with each other after school. A few older Atayal children were concerned about the loss of their cultural traditions, such as the use of their language and changes in hunting. Likewise, some Atayal children had ambivalent attitudes toward their language and dance because these skills were not valued in Taiwanese society. However, their parents regarded the ability to speak Atayal as a marker of being a member of this ethnic group. Therefore, it was a dilemma for these children to maintain competence in their cultural practices. This finding contrasts with the results of Chen's study (1997) of middle and upper grade Paiwan children, who expected to learn their language.

Aborigines differ from Han Chinese in their geographical distribution, physical traits, and sociocultural characteristics. Like the Atayal and Han Chinese adult participants, the sample children tended to call Atayals *shaang-ti jen* [mountain people]

and Han Chinese *ping-ti jen* [plains people]. Some children also associated negative attributes with Atayals, such as heavy drinking; a few children perceived Han Chinese positively as persons with a passion for learning. Furthermore, how the sample children differentiated ethnic groups varied with their ages. Phinney and Rotheram (1986) have argued that the development of children's cognitive abilities influences how they classify ethnic groups. Likewise in my study younger children tended to distinguish Atayals from Han Chinese based on skin color; older children tended to differentiate themselves from the other ethnic group based on such characteristics as place of residence and ways of making a living. The schoolteachers would identify those who were Atayals in class because they were allowed to waive their tuition; this practice reinforced most sample children's classification of themselves as members of their ethnic groups.

In addition to such personal characteristics as age, children's learning of Atayal culture was influenced by school curricula, such as social studies and the Atayal language and dance programs. Their construction of Atayal knowledge also transcended what happened in school. For example, a few Atayal children learned about weaving and facial tattoos from their grandparents; some Han Chinese children also knew about hunting and weaving by observing their Atayal neighbors' lives and visiting nearby Atayal craft workshops.

The Regular Teaching Activities and Characteristics of Sample Language Arts Teachers'

Classrooms

The final question is what regular teaching activities happen in language arts classrooms and what characterizes these sample teachers' instruction. The observed instruction took place in Ms. Tang's (an Atayal) third-grade, Ms. Sun's (a Han Chinese)

fourth-grade, and Mr. Wan's (a Han Chinese) fifth-grade classrooms. On examining these language arts teachers' instruction, I started by exploring whether they treated their Atayal and Han Chinese students differently; however, the findings neither fit into my initial assumption nor matched other research findings on treatment of minority students. For example, Grant's (1981) study in the U. S. shows that schoolteachers treated their black and white students differently. I noticed that most Atayal and Han Chinese schoolchildren were from low socioeconomic families and received little academic assistance from their parents. Furthermore, after school courses were provided for these schoolchildren because most of them had difficulty finishing their homework at home. Therefore, I shifted my focus to study how these teachers helped all their students improve their performance in language arts courses.

These teachers' classroom settings were characterized by a set of rules and routines. The regular sequence of teaching activities was repeated across these teachers' language arts classes; these activities included handwriting new Mandarin characters, reading aloud, making sentences, and summarizing a text. This is similar to procedures used in language arts instruction in U. S. classrooms as illustrated in Manke's research (1997). Furthermore, these three teachers' instruction was organized into three parts: teachers' initiation, students' reply, and evaluation, which is the typical pattern of classroom communication elsewhere, as Croll (1986) and Mehan (1993) have mentioned. Sample teachers' teaching pace and content were regulated by Taiwan's national curricular standards, so they must work to have their students master a textbook within a semester. To get this classroom work done, the teachers and their students worked together to set classroom rules that described what they should or should not do.

Like other classroom structures documented by Dreeben (1968) and LeCompte (1978), the task structure of these sample teachers' classroom work was characterized by its achievement criteria; namely, teachers evaluate their students' assignments and performance based on their standards. According to the sample schoolteachers, most parents stressed their children's grades and judged the teachers' instruction based on this criterion. In this respect, Ms. Sun explained that school diplomas were valued in Taiwan's society, so most parents believed that their children's higher grades assured their future success. Mr. Wan, a substitute teacher, also said that a few Atayal and Han Chinese parents trusted the instruction in cram schools—located in a nearby town and available after regular school hours—more than his classroom instruction. To raise their students' scores on tests, the sample teachers taught their students similar content repeatedly and gave them quizzes frequently.

Unlike most Taiwanese elementary schools, Green Mountain Elementary School had numbers of students in these three classrooms that were relatively small. This allowed the teachers to give their children more attention and assistance. I noticed that sample teachers adopted different approaches to help their students improve their reading and writing abilities. Ms. Tang modeled the processes and practices of sentence making and handwriting for her third graders; however, she gave the higher achieving students more attention in class. I noticed these Atayal and Han Chinese high achievers had parents who worked as policemen, nurses, or farmers and who were willing to assist their children's school work at home. Ms. Sun and her five fourth graders took turns taking responsibility for teaching; however, she tended to give her students severe oral reprimands. Compared to Ms. Tang and Ms. Sun, Mr. Wan had less teaching experience.

He tried to help his fifth graders learn from each other in small groups. However, these students lacked the skills for working together, so Mr. Wan's initial plan did not work well with them.

Recommendations and Implications

The findings of this study lead to several conclusions with recommendations and implications for future research and educational practices.

Recommendations for Future Research

I have the following recommendations for future research related to several aspects of my study: my theoretical framework, my research design, its strengths and weaknesses, and the substantive areas of minority students' educational achievement and children's conceptions of ethnic groups.

Theoretical Framework

This study may raise awareness of developing theoretical frameworks for interpreting daily experiences in culturally diverse school environments. For me, it is hard to apply the theories constructed in U. S. society directly to my research site, so my attempt to resolve the problem of lacking concepts and theories has been frustrating and laborious. I am inspired by an argument made by Portes (1996, p. 344): "[Vygotsky's] Cultural-historical theory provides a general framework for incorporating culture and ethnicity into psychology; on the one hand, and for understanding group-based inequality on the other." Based on Vygotsky's framework (Portes, 1996), I have tried to integrate cultural difference theory, social and cultural reproduction theory, Ogbu's ecological model, and cultural production theory to interpret my research findings.

Cultural difference theory helps us understand why the disparity between older Atayals' home culture and their school culture caused their learning difficulty; for example, when they went to school, they could not understand the Mandarin used in class. Furthermore, the concept of cultural capital mentioned by Bourdieu (1986) in his cultural reproduction theory gives us an explanation for why school education does not enable Atayal participants to identify with their own culture, such as language, because their language is not regarded as valued cultural capital that can contribute to their success in Taiwanese society.

In contrast to social reproduction theorists' argument that schools reproduce the status quo, recently Taiwanese schools have made an effort to assist students from low socioeconomic families by means of implementing some policies, such as the EPAs plan. Likewise, Taiwanese aborigines have come to value school education that enables them to get high paying jobs; this is contrary to Ogbu's claim (1987) of involuntary or nonimmigrant ethnic minorities' (e.g., Native Americans and Blacks) ambivalent attitudes toward schools.

In my study, the sample children did not act as passively or obediently as their teachers claimed; instead, they actively constructed and expressed their thoughts. For example, some Han Chinese children told me that they were not willing to participate in Atayal language or dance courses because they were not Atayals; some fifth graders distrusted Mr. Wan's instruction because he was a substitute teacher, so these students exhibited their resistance in language arts class. In other words, these children acted on the social environment instead of silently accepting it. As Willis (1977) stresses in his

cultural production theory, individuals are autonomous in making sense of their lives rather than merely being determined by others.

Regarding sample teachers' language arts instruction, I use Vygotsky's concept of scaffolding to interpret these teachers' skills to improve their students' academic performance. Vygotsky emphasizes the collaborative and interactional contexts in which children learn (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001); using Vygotsky's concepts once kept me from seeing the teachers' other teaching practices that did not fit into Vygotsky's ideas. In this respect, Maxwell (1996) has reminded researchers of the danger of using an existing theory. Therefore, additional research is needed to elaborate and refine the preceding theoretical frameworks.

Research Design

Some recommendations are provided for researchers in doing data analysis and sampling and in studying the substantive areas of minority students' educational achievement and children's perceptions of ethnic groups.

Data Analysis.

This study is descriptive and exploratory in nature, as Gilmore and Smith (1982, p. 5) relate, "What ethnography should bring to education is not answers, but a listening, learning, posture, that—based on respect for informants—leads to the explication of the important, unaddressed questions." Because I wanted to make implicit classroom culture and villagers' latent assumptions about ethnic groups explicit and obvious, I have mainly used a narrative form to analyze and represent these participants' experiences. In this respect, Gudmundsdottir (2001, p. 231) has argued that "Thus, for children and adults alike, storytelling is a natural way to recount experience and a practical solution to a

fundamental problem in life—creating a reasonable order out of experience.” However, the construction of a story is culturally contextualized. For example, my descriptions of Han Chinese adults’ recollections of their teachers’ poor instruction may confuse Western readers because the development of school education in Taiwan has been different from that of schooling in the West. I think that alternative means to interpreting cross-cultural data should be addressed in studying indigenous peoples on Taiwan.

Sampling.

My study emphasizes the process of interethnic contact. The adult participants selected for this study had received their school education outside of this indigenous village, so the results of the study may reflect the unique experiences of this particular group. To develop this topic, more research should be conducted with different groups of people—for example, with participants who received their school education only in this village and have little contact with Han Chinese. Furthermore, I started with a question about whether sample schoolchildren were treated differently because of their ethnic backgrounds; however, what I found did not meet my original expectations. The student population of my sample school was composed of both Atayals and Han Chinese; this school was also located in a village composed of both Atayals and Han Chinese. I assume that people in this area have modified their attitudes toward different ethnic groups so they can get along with each other; this may be also reflected in my sample elementary school. For example, a few Atayal and Han Chinese children included themselves in each other’s ethnic groups. Sometimes, Han Chinese children talked about “we mountain people”; other times, Atayal children talked about “we plains people.” However, this may not mean that the differences Taiwanese people use in distinguishing

their ethnic group from others is decreasing or that ethnic lines are becoming vague. So more research needs to be conducted in all-Atayal schools and communities or in other indigenous groups to explore interethnic contact elsewhere on Taiwan.

Another related area in need of further study is a systematic examination of historical contexts and educational experiences of respondents such as those I studied, and this may contribute to the formulation of educational policies. In this study, my adult participants were diverse in age, gender, ethnicity, educational achievement, and socioeconomic background. However, the sample size was not big enough for me to analyze how personal characteristics influenced these participants' interpretation of their school experiences and what Taiwanese social and cultural contexts collectively shape their access to school education. In this respect, Emerson et al. (1995, p. 134) have suggested that "Ethnographers certainly prefer to see the direct influence of social structures [race, gender, and social class], rather than to assume their relevance and effects at the outset." Paying more attention to an individual's personal characteristics may restrict a researcher's seeing and listening; however, these factors largely influence individuals' making sense of their lives and experiences. Therefore, more research is needed to examine in detail the role of the sociohistorical context in creating or constraining individuals' educational opportunities and to explore what powerful forces external to schools influence what is going on in classroom instruction.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Design

Spindler (1982, pp. iii-iv) has said, "Ethnography should concentrate on the study of patterns—repetitive patterns of behavior and patterns in cultural knowledge. These patterns should be elicited from informants from the vantage point of long-term intimacy

with the field site and the people being studied.” Likewise, I have constructed some patterns in this study. For example, only a few Atayal children could speak their own language. Most Atayal and Han Chinese adult villagers had had to leave home for advanced schooling. These patterns help readers understand the major points of my study and may encourage them to read detailed descriptions of this report. Another strength of this study is use of photographs to elicit my sample children’s articulation of their understanding of Atayal culture. During my first and second field trips, I took pictures of my research sites. I know that it is hard for children to tell me directly what they think about Atayal culture, so I organized the pictures based on themes familiar to them, such as Atayal dance, Atayal craft workshops, and Monen Rudux’s monument, to interview the sample children. These pictures interested these children and enabled them to articulate their ideas in ways that may have been impossible without the visual stimuli.

To my understanding, the cultural diversity of humanity is emphasized by anthropological studies that take a relativistic view in examining other peoples’ customs and beliefs (Bailey & Peoples, 1999). However, compared to the indigenous groups reported in some studies (e.g., Murphy, 1992; Sullivan, 1996), the indigenous people—Atayal—in this study are not exotic enough for me to represent their unique characteristics; in other words, the difference between them and the Han Chinese is minimal. Because of the difficulty of travel and accommodation in the deep mountain valleys where most Taiwanese aborigines may still maintain their cultural practices, I decided to explore what would happen when indigenous groups lived alongside of Han Chinese. This influenced my site selection and explains why my research site is relatively dominated by Han Chinese culture.

Substantive Areas

Several recommendations are provided for researchers to explore the following substantive areas: minority students' educational achievement and children's perceptions of ethnic groups.

Minority Students' Educational Achievement.

I think that families play a significant role in influencing students' interethnic relationships and achievement. In my study, for example, a few Atayal parents encouraged their children to speak Atayal and regarded the ability to speak their language as a marker of identifying with their ethnic group. Moreover, regardless of these participants' parents' ethnicity and socioeconomic backgrounds, they are all concerned about their children's schooling, although most of them rarely have time to help their children with their homework. However, the sample schoolteachers told me that children from the families in which parents worked as policemen, nurses, and village staff members performed well at school because these parents were able to supervise and teach their children at home. In view of this, families' socioeconomic situations may be the key determinant of sample children's educational attainment.

Furthermore, I noticed that the contact between schoolteachers and parents is minimal; this may be attributed to the following factors. In this mountain area, the difficulty of travel and children's family relationships hinder communication between parents and schoolteachers. Taiwanese elementary schoolteachers have to visit each family at least once a semester. According to one female teacher, "We [female teachers] do this together because traffic is not good and sometimes parents are drunk." She also gave more explanations of her students' family lives, "In social studies class, I show my

[fifth-grade] students two pictures. In one, parents are arguing with each other and children are crying. In the other, families happily go picnicking. As a result, most students tell me that their parents are usually in dispute.”

I can understand this female teacher’s experience because I experienced a few Atayal and Han Chinese parents’ sarcastic attitudes toward my inquiry. I attributed this to their unhappy marriages or unsuccessful occupations and also to my personal interaction skills, so I did not blame these people. Wolcott (1995, p. 87) also has suggested, “The human relations aspect of fieldwork is enhanced for those to whom such qualities as empathy, sympathy, or at least everyday courtesy and patience come naturally.” In conjunction with this, Salzman (1994, p. 31) related that “....the people we must engage, wherever we are doing research, are busy trying to lead their lives against odds, and our project rarely if ever speaks to their needs. Almost always, we are doing our research to satisfy ourselves, emotionally and intellectually, and to build our careers, to make our own lives better. If people put up with us and cooperate in our research, it is because their curiosity and generosity work to our benefit.” I know how hard it is for most participants’ parents to make their living; how to earn villagers’ trust and cooperation needs to be considered in future research.

Children’s Perceptions of Ethnic Groups.

People in Taiwan have developed a society that reflects their reaction to their historical experience and to the infusion of diverse cultures within this society. Likewise, Gold (1994) has said that Taiwan people’s identity is multiple; Taiwan’s history is not merely a microcosm of China’s history. For example, Taiwan was colonized by Japan for about 50 years, but China was not. In addition, travel between Taiwan (an island) and

China (a continent) used to be difficult and dangerous because of the Taiwan Strait (Wachman, 1994). Under these circumstances, some of the people on Taiwan call themselves Taiwanese (Hsu, 1982). In other words, these people's mental isolation may be caused by the experience of being ruled by foreign outsiders and a geographical boundary. Therefore, it is hard to discern what symbols represent Han Chinese culture in contemporary Taiwanese society. In spite of this, Lee's study (1997) shows that her Han Chinese participants from Taiwan in the U. S. used several cultural orientations to interpret their life experiences: respecting authority, maintaining harmony, valuing study and educational qualifications, putting men above women, acknowledging fate, and admiring nature. In my study, most Han Chinese adult villagers stressed the value of thrift in their families. Zhou (1997) also discovered that this value was emphasized in immigrant Chinese families living in New York City. Furthermore, my Atayal adult participants were also aware of what Han Chinese valued, especially education. However, my sample children were unable to articulate their perceptions of Han Chinese culture; this may be because I was unable to find appropriate artifacts to elicit their responses. More follow-up studies are needed to explore this area.

Implications for Educational Practices

This study has several implications for educational policy makers, teacher educators, educational administrators, and schoolteachers.

Implication for Educational Policy Makers

The indigenous education implemented by Taiwanese government is not what U. S. scholars (Banks, 1999a; Manning & Baruth, 2000; Nieto, 2000) consider to be multicultural education provided for all students to understand and respect cultural

diversity. In spite of this, according to the Council of Indigenous Peoples/Affairs (2001a), a major institution in charge of formulating indigenous policies, has developed indigenous laws and plans for the three period (2001-2004) in the areas: employment, education, and residence. I noticed that the preceding laws have been applied in Green Mountain Village, such as the Aborigine Education Act, the Aborigine Reservation Land Development Management Procedure, and the Aborigine Employment Rights Protection Act. In my sample elementary school, children were offered Atayal dance and language courses; more educational resources (e.g., a kindergarten) were also provided for preschool children. Moreover, Atayal adults were given permission to hunt in this mountainous area and offered reserved positions at the local institutions, such as the police station and the village office. These patterns reflect the effort made by the Taiwanese government to protect aborigines' rights, to maintain their cultural practices, and to provide them more educational opportunities instead of just assimilating them into Taiwanese society and eradicating their culture. These policies indicate that aborigines are not put in as subordinate a position as they once were.

To ensure the effectiveness of a policy, however, I think that any policy needs to be monitored and evaluated. Based on what I have learned from my research site, these are my recommendations for making the indigenous education policy—the Aborigine Education Act—practiced in Green Mountain Elementary School more effective. This policy takes the form of formal school curricula to teach sample children Atayal language and dance. However, the implementation of the two courses has not achieved this policy's goal—maintaining aborigines' culture. First, most sample students' learning motivation was low, especially Han Chinese children. Second, school personnel did not

attend to what their students learned from these Atayal programs partly because they were unable to get extra payment for supervising their students' participation in these courses. Third, most parents doubted the usefulness of taking these courses. Under the circumstances, I think that the Atayal cultural courses could be more selective; not all students should be required to attend these courses. However, this does not mean that preserving and promoting indigenous cultures is not the concern of formal school education. So my further suggestion is that research institutions (e.g., teachers colleges) should take an active role in exploring Atayal language and dance teachers' instruction by observing and interviewing teachers and students to help administrative institutions (e.g., the Council of Indigenous Peoples/Affairs) design more practicable indigenous programs and policies.

Implication for Teacher Educators

One implication of this study is to draw teacher educators' attention to providing preservice and inservice teachers with preparation on how culture shapes their classroom instruction. Hollins (1996, p. 153) has commented that teachers need to attend to certain aspects of their professional growth: "(a) self-knowledge related to one's own experiences and cultural perspective, (b) knowledge of students' culture and experiences within and outside of school...." I think teacher educators must work with preservice and inservice teachers to attend to the importance and potential impact of their implicit assumptions about their students' characteristics and cultural backgrounds. Teachers should be wary of generalizing the characteristics of an ethnic group to every student; namely, not all students from the same ethnic group behave in identical ways. Pai and Adler (1997, p. 184) also suggest that "As educators, we should not categorize

individuals into certain ethnic or cultural groups on the basis of one or two characteristics they possess.” Moreover, teachers should reflect on their own assumptions about students from different ethnic groups or other socioeconomic backgrounds and form expectations for their students’ performance appropriately.

Implication for Educational Administrators

An implication for educational administrators is to establish an environment for schoolteachers and parents to communicate with each other about appropriate expectations of teachers’ instruction and possible resources for helping students with their schoolwork. Instead of ascribing blame to students for their poor school performance, parents and school personnel should work together to create appropriate learning environments for the children. Teachers also should take a more active role in participating in this mountainous and remote community and making connections with local residents. In this respect, Dewey (1938, p. 40) has said that “...the teacher should become intimately acquainted with the conditions of the local community, physical, historical, economic, occupational, etc., in order to utilize them as educational resources.”

In my study, some Atayal and Han Chinese adult villagers had internalized ethnic stereotypes; this not only created an ethnic divide but also led them to rationalizations that helped them to make sense of their lives. For example, Ms. Wu explained that her performance in mathematics was poor because aborigines lack a sense of numbers. Some sample children also shared these ethnic images with the sample adults. I noticed that children were likely to be influenced by surrounding adults. In this respect, Durkheim (1956, p. 71) has related that “Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the

child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specially destined.” Therefore, the other implication for school personnel is that they should be aware of the impact of the social environment on students and help ethnic minority students recognize the negative stereotypes associated with their own ethnic groups because these stereotypes may constrain these students’ development.

Implication for Schoolteachers

Shimahara and Sakai (1995) point out that textbooks are the main teaching resource used by Japanese schoolteachers in their classes. Likewise, Taiwanese teachers’ instruction largely depends on textbooks and teacher guides; they rarely supplement their instruction with relevant materials they seek out themselves. As an international student in the U.S., reading and discussing two novels—Bruchac’s (1992) Eagle Song and Jean’s (1983) The Talking Earth—helped me understand the issue of the extent to which Native Americans should preserve or transform their cultural heritage. Drawing on this personal experience, I suggest that schoolteachers incorporate activities into their classroom instruction to develop their children’s understanding of ethnic groups. For example, they can read related children’s books to their students.

Finally, what I hope both practitioners and researchers will learn from this study is understanding and accepting the limitations of human beings. I tried to know my weaknesses and strengths through doing this work. Especially when I conducted my fieldwork, I had to not only attend to my participants’ situations but also to my data analysis and writing. Sometimes, the amount of work was beyond my physical and mental capacities, but with the support of my friends and family, I found the strength I

needed to carry through this work to its end. Likewise, the villagers and their children often work in difficult circumstances, challenged by a society undergoing rapid change, but supported in their efforts by their families and others in the community. Improving the formal education of children on Taiwan will require better use of both community and school resources.

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APPENDIX A

SUBJECTS CURRENTLY TAUGHT IN GREEN MOUNTAIN ELEMENTARY
SCHOOL: THE GRADES AND HOURS FOR EACH SUBJECT (PER WEEK)

Subject	Grade					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hours per Week						
Mathematics	2	2	2-3	2-3	3-4	4
Mandarin (Language Arts)	6-7	6-7	6	6	6	6
Music	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2
Social Studies	0-1	1-2	2	2	2	2
Physical Education	1-2	1-2	2	2	2	2
Science	2	2	2-3	2-3	2-3	2-3
Fine Arts	1-2	1-2	2	2	2	1-2
Morals and Health Lives and Ethics	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	0-1	0-1
Health Education					0-1	0-1
Music	0-1	1-2	1-2	1-2	0-1	0-1
Extracurricular			0-1	0-1	1-2	1-2
Mother Tongue (Atayal Language)			0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1
Atayal Dance			2	2	2	2

APPENDIX B

PICTURES USED IN THE STUDY

Set 1 Monen Rudux statue and monument:

Monen Rudux is a historical figure honored by most Atayals. When the Japanese took over Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, they imposed tight controls over Han Chinese and aborigines. In 1930 the revolt led by Monen Rudux in Wu She (the name of a place) was a response to Japanese oppression; Monen Rudux and other aborigines were killed in this revolt (Rubinstein, 1999a). His statue and monument were built opposite Green Mountain Elementary School; this site has become a sightseeing attraction and contributes to tourism and locally commercial developments.

Set 2 Atayal craft workshop:

The workshop for displaying and selling these artifacts (e.g., woven bags, weaving machine) is about ten minutes' drive away from this school; it is owned by an Atayal woman about fifty years old. She is a relative of an Atayal school administrator, who introduced me to her in the summer of 1999.

Set 3 Green Mountain Elementary School students' performance of Atayal dance:

Third through sixth graders are required to perform Atayal dance. Two Rukai males about thirty years old hired from local community are responsible for teaching these children the dance once a week about 120 minutes.



Monen Rudux's Statue and Monument



Atayal Craft Workshop



Green Mountain Elementary Schoolchildren's Performance of Atayal Dance, 1999

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR GREEN MOUNTAIN

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

1. What can you tell me about this picture? What is happening?
2. Tell me how the picture makes you feel.
3. How do you feel about our school's Atayal dance performance? What does it make you think of? What does it mean? Is it important to learn this dance?
4. How do you feel about our school's Atayal language program? What have you learned? Why do you learn it?
5. What more would you like to say about this picture?
6. Would you like to ask me anything?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS

1. Tell me how you organize the course. Why? What other ways might you think about organizing it?
2. What do you expect your students to know about this course?
3. Tell me about assignments and activities that you use in this course.
4. What criteria do you use to evaluate your students' performance?
5. What is your impression of the students here?
6. How much have you learned about Atayal culture?
7. What do you think about Atayal language instruction?
8. What do you think about Atayal dance instruction?

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE ATAYAL ADULTS

1. Tell me what you learned at school when you were a student.
2. Tell me about your parents' attitudes toward your school education.
3. How did you get along with your classmates?
4. How did your teachers treat you?
5. What learning experiences impressed you most?
6. What learning difficulties did you encounter?
7. What comes to your mind when you talk about the Atayal culture?

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE HAN CHINESE ADULTS

1. Tell me what you learned at school when you were a student.
2. Tell me about your parents' attitudes toward your school education.
3. How did you get along with your classmates?
4. How did your teachers treat you?
5. What learning experiences impressed you most?
6. What learning difficulties did you encounter?
7. How much have you learned about Atayal culture?
8. Why did your family move here? How long has your family lived here?

APPENDIX G
INTERVIEW WITH CHILDREN

Interviewee			Date (Place)
Gender	Grade	Ethnicity	
Female			
Chun	5	Han Chinese/Atayal	5/24/2000, 10:30-11:00 a.m.(conference room)
Susan	5	Atayal	5/25/2000, 9:30-10:00 a.m. (conference room)
Jean	5	Atayal	5/26/2000, 2:05-2:45 p.m. (classroom)
Tina	5	Han Chinese	5/29/2000, 10:20-11:00 a.m. (classroom)
Male			
Allen	6	Atayal	5/29/2000, 2:15-2:45 p.m. (conference room)
Chad	5	Atayal	5/24/2000, 11:30-11:50 a.m. (conference room)
Ford	5	Han Chinese/Atayal	5/24/2000, 8:45-9:15 a.m. (classroom)
Roger	5	Atayal	5/26/2000, 9:30-10:10 a.m. (conference room)
Tim	4	Atayal	6/1/2000, 10:20-11:00 a.m. (conference room)
Chris	4	Han Chinese/Atayal	6/1/2000, 11:10-11:50 a.m. (classroom)