

Ideology and Textbook

**A Comparative Study of Language Textbooks
in the Republic of China (Taiwan) and England**

**Thesis Submitted in Accordance with the Requirements of the
University of Liverpool for the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy**

by

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June 1993

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Contents

Prologue.....	1
Chapter 1: Unveiling the Textbook.....	5
I. Textbook in History	
II. Perspectives on Textbooks	
III. The Controversial Nature of Textbook	
IV. Summary	
Chapter 2: The Ideology of Ideology.....	24
I. The Birth of Ideology	
II. The Development of Ideology	
III. Towards Syntheses	
IV. Summary	
Chapter 3: Content Analysis: A Framework.....	55
I. Conceptual Foundation of Content Analysis	
II. Facets of Textbooks	
III. Criteria for Analysis	
IV. Summary	
Chapter 4: The Chinese Context of Textbooks.....	71
I. Before 1840	
II. After 1840	
III. Chinese Textbook Agencies	
IV. The Contemporary Development in Taiwan (1950-1993)	
IV. Summary	
Chapter 5: The English Context of Textbooks.....	106
I. Milestones in the Evolution of English Education	
II. Pluralism in English Education	
III. The National Curriculum	
IV. Summary	
Chapter 6: Content Analysis of Chinese Language Textbooks	133
I. Materials for Analysis	
II. The Findings	
III. Discussion	
IV. Summary	
Chapter 7: Content Analysis of English Language Textbooks	172
I. Materials for Analysis	
II. The Findings	
III. Discussion	
IV. Summary	

Chapter 8: The Meeting of East and West: A Comparison....	191
I. Comparison	
II. Implication	
III. Recommendation	
Appendix A: The titles of the lessons in Chinese textbooks	211
Appendix B: The titles of the lessons deleted from the old edition.....	219
Appendix C: Standard Assessment Task Booklist by SEAC....	220
Bibliography.....	222

Lists of Tables and Figures

Tables:

2-1: The entries of ideology in ERIC CD-ROM from 1966 to 1992	27
4-1: Teaching time per week for different subject matters in the primary schools of ROC.....	96
6-1: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which 'I' or 'we' appear.....	136
6-2: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which book-reading appears.....	137
6-3: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which family appears.....	140
6-4: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which members of family appear.....	140
6-5: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which filial piety appears.....	141
6-6: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which school appears.....	144
6-7: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which society appears.....	145
6-8: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which 'our nation' appears.....	148
6-9: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which the traditional festivals appear.....	149
6-10: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which historical figures appear.....	152
6-11: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which foreign countries appear.....	153
6-12: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which Natural Things appear.....	155
6-13: The frequencies of male and female appear in the textbooks.....	159
6-14: The frequencies of Chinese and foreign ethnics appear in the textbooks.....	160
6-15: The frequencies of minorities appear in the textbooks	161
6-16: The frequencies of disadvantaged groups appear in the textbooks appear.....	162
6-17: The frequencies of different titles of the historical figures appear in the textbooks appear.....	163
6-18: The percentage of different concepts in the lessons of each study year.....	165
7-1: The frequencies of books in which different kinds of major characters appear.....	175
7-2: The frequencies of books of each level in which book- reading appears.....	175
7-3: The frequencies of books of each level in which family or home appears.....	176

7-4:	The frequencies of books of each level in which members of family and relatives appear.....	177
7-5:	The frequencies of books of each level in which school appears.....	178
7-6:	The frequencies of books of each level in which neighbours and friends appear.....	179
7-7:	The frequencies of books of each level in which bad deeds appear.....	180
7-8:	The frequencies of books of each level in which our nation appears.....	182
7-9:	The frequencies of books of each level in which other countries appear.....	183
7-10:	The frequencies of male and female as major characters appear in the books.....	184
7-11:	The frequencies of books of each level in which different concepts appear.....	186
8-1:	The difference of textbook-context between the Republic of China and England.....	192

Figures:

3-1:	The macro-view of textbooks.....	62
3-2:	The micro-view of textbooks.....	64
4-1:	The present school system of ROC.....	88

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Abstract

This thesis compares the ideologies of Chinese and English schoolbooks.

It is based on an examination of the concepts, 'textbook' and 'ideology'. In tracing the history of textbooks and ideology, it suggests that the analysis of textbook content must be interpreted in the wider contexts of curricula, schooling, culture and politics. It establishes a tentative framework for the study of textbooks and defines the criteria for the content analysis of textbook in terms of what knowledge and whose knowledge is of most worth.

These ideas are elaborated and tested by reference to two main sources: thirteen government-edited textbooks used in Chinese primary schools; and a sample of twelve texts used in English primary schools (drawn from the SEAC's Standard Assessment Task Booklist).

The thesis is divided into three sections. The first section clarifies the relevant concepts and the methodology of the investigation. Three chapters are included in this section: (1) Unveiling the Textbook, (2) The Ideology of Ideology, and (3) Content Analysis: A Frame work.

The second section explores the contexts of both Chinese and English textbooks. It also analyses the content of language texts. Four chapters are included in this section: (1) The Chinese Context of Textbooks, (2) The English Context of Textbooks, (3) Content Analysis of Chinese Language Textbooks, and (4) Content Analysis of English Language Textbooks.

The last section compares the differences between the context and content of Chinese texts and those of English texts. Some implications are drawn.

Overall, the thesis proposes first that the Chinese textbook should be shifted from a system of central controlled to that of teacher autonomy. It also calls for the curriculum researchers to pay great attention to the scrutiny of teaching materials. It is hoped that through the improvement of teaching materials, the Berlin-Wall of human minds could be broken, and the bridge of human inter-understanding could lead to a peaceful human future.

Prologue

The only lesson human beings learn from history is that human beings never learn lessons from history (a Chinese old saying).

Scarce had Cadmus planted the dragon's teeth, when the clods began to move, and the points of spears appear above the surface. Next helmets with their nodding plumes came up, and next the shoulders and breasts and limbs of men with weapons, and in time a harvest of armed warriors (Greek myth).

I still remember the day my supervisor, David Hamilton, shared Chinese food with me and two of my friends on 12 December 1990. It was my greatest pleasure to have the opportunity to have lunch with my supervisor, but I was a little bit nervous. That is because I have no experience to treat a foreigner before, especial one whom I care about so much. When I put all the food on the table, and invite my supervisor to begin the meal, my supervisor, finding out the specific ways of Chinese eating, asked me: 'What is the sequence?' To this question, my answer was: 'No sequence, you can start from any dish on the table as you like.' This specific way of eating reminded my supervisor of the curriculum thoughts which we discussed a few days before.

He said: 'The difference of curriculum between the West and the East may be interpreted by the difference of ways of eating. Curriculum is, in some sense, the food of the mind for the next generation, if we use Stenhouse's metaphor.'

Textbooks, as a chief element of curriculum, are fundamental to schooling. They influence not only the nutrition of the children's minds, but also the future of human beings. The food for the mind is as important as that for the body. Stenhouse is right to create a vivid metaphor of curriculum as 'rather like a recipe in cookery' (1975, p.4) and to emphasise the importance of teaching materials.

Looking back at the history of the development of human civilisation, war is a successive nightmare of human beings. Even after the ending of Cold War and the collapse of USSR, fires of war are still spreading throughout the world. The dream of peace seems to be far away. Is it true that the tragedies of war results from improper feeding of human mind? Are human beings wise enough to learn significant lessons from history to escape the nightmare of war? This is a question which has given me much food for thought since I graduated from the National Taiwan Normal University twenty years ago.

In recent years, efforts have been made to avoid the catastrophe of nuclear annihilation. The USA had made a

great step forward in signing an accord of 'the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty' (START) with USSR (and now Russia). In my thinking, however, the guarantee of human peace cannot be achieved only by the reduction of weapons. As UNESCO asserts in its Constitution, 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men we must construct the defence of peace.' This task of the reconstruction of the human mind is widely believed to be the task of schooling. However, schooling is not a value-free tool. It could be used as, on the one hand, a means of enlightenment; and, on the other hand, a tool of slavery. It is said that different kinds of school texts create different kind of people. In other words, we are what we read. The Greek myth quoted above may explain such influence of school texts on human mind. The improper school texts produce hostility, just as the dragon's teeth that Cadmus sowed in the earth produced a harvest of armed warriors. To draw the dragon's teeth out of school texts is as important as the accord of the 'Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty' (START). To make the world a less hostile place in the nuclear age, we need another START to turn the adversarial relationship of human beings into friendship, and to close the Pandora's Box¹ forever. This START could be the 'Scrutiny of Textbook As Repressive Tool'. Without

¹ In ancient Greek myth, Zeus created a beauty named Pandora and sent her to marry Epimetheus with a box full of disasters for revenge of the stolen fire from the Olympia Mountain. When Pandora opened the box, all the disasters escaped from it and left only one thing - the hope - in it. Nowadays, the black box of nuclear weapon operation system carried by the presidents of the nuclear-armed countries is a real Pandora's Box.

this educational innovation, the function of arms reduction cannot be carried out successfully. And this is what I am concerned about so much.

My government, the Republic of China (Taiwan), has recently made significant progress in becoming a modern country. It is undertaking a series of innovations in which the improvement of textbook content is included as a foundation. And I am sent by my government to learn from Western wisdom of how to improve the content of textbooks, just like Tang-san-chang² who was sent to West Heaven to get the Buddhist Scripture one thousand years ago. This is why I am here.

Under the supervision of Professor David Hamilton, my research goes on smoothly. David takes care not only of my study but also my everyday life. He gives me many original points which make me think. He teaches me not only by words but, most importantly, by his deeds which are always a model for me. I am indebted to him so greatly. Without his patient instruction and warm encouragement, I am sure that this study would have not been finished.

² Tang-san-chang was a famous monk in the Tang dynasty. He was sent by Emperor Lee Shih-min to get the Buddhist Scripture from the West Heaven (at that time, it was India) to save the spirits who were suffering in Hell.

Chapter One

Unveiling the Textbook

It is better to have no books if people believed them thoroughly without thinking (Mencius, 371-289 B.C.).

Books should be tried by a judge and jury as though they were crimes (Samuel Butler, 1835-1902 A.D.).

Textbooks stand at the heart of modern educational system. It is hard to imagine schools, especially at the elementary level, without textbooks. Textbooks not only provide sources of intellectual instruction but also transmit culture, reflect values and play an important role in the development of the individual and the nation. As de Castell et al. assert:

Of the many kinds of text available to the modern reader, the school textbook holds a unique and significant social function: to represent to each generation of students an officially sanctioned, authorized version of human knowledge and culture. Within the context of compulsory public

schooling in industrial and post-industrial cultures, textbooks form shared cultural experiences, at times memorable and edifying, while at others eminently forgettable and uneducational (1989, p.vii).

There are practical reasons for the present dependency of schools upon textbooks. First, they serve as a guide to instruction for teachers and students. And secondly, they offer the common curriculum foundation for every student in different geographical regions of a school system. Overall, teachers rely on textbooks to impart basic educational content and to set the parameters for instruction.

Even in the electronic age of the twentieth century, textbooks have not been replaced by other teaching media. Twenty-five per cent of the American book market (total sales \$6 billion) comprises elementary, secondary, and college textbooks (Apple, 1989, p.92). According to Solomon, textbooks 'provide the source of ninety percent of instruction [in the USA], and wield a powerful cognitive and affective influence upon individuals, families, communities, and the nation' (quoted in Mitzel, 1982, p.1933). Similar observations have been made by Warming, who asserts that 'frequently the textbook is the sole source of instructional material exercising control over students' intellectual development' (1982, p.1934). Finally, a vivid description, written for American parents, points to the historical and cultural significance of textbooks:

Few people are aware of the important role some 250 million textbooks play in the education of

50,000,000 elementary and high-school students. For instance, during his career your child will either commit to memory or attempt to absorb at least 32,000 textbook pages, literature, or science. In the first grade he will complete at least four textbooks, and by the time he finishes his last year in high school, he will intensely study another sixty. These books ... [cover] every subject from beginning reading and arithmetic to high-school biology, physics, economics, algebra, French, American history, and literature. During the school day itself, 75 percent of your child's classroom time and at night 90 percent of the time he spends on homework will be centred around textbooks (Black, 1967, p.3).

In the less-developed nations, the impact of textbook availability on achievement in the schools is prominent. Heyneman, Farrell, and Sepulveda-Stuardo, for example, note that in the eighteen studies they reviewed which report relationships between textbooks and achievement, fifteen showed positive relationships. As they write:

Compared to other commonly measured potential correlates of school achievement, such as teacher training, class size, teacher salaries, facilities, grade repetition, etc., the availability of books appears so consistently associated with higher achievement levels that is worthy of more experimentation and close scrutiny as an instrument for affecting learning (1981, p.227).

Textbooks in History

There are records of written materials (e.g. scrolls) being used for educational purposes in ancient Greece and Rome. At that time, however, it was teachers (e.g. Aristotle, Socrates) rather than textbooks that occupied the centre of

instruction (Hamilton, 1990b): Schoolbooks began to play a significant part in western schooling only after the invention of moveable type printing which dramatically reduced the costs of book production. The production of schoolbooks received a further boost after the Enlightenment when nation states began to develop vernacular textbooks in their own languages for their own school system. Such observation is asserted by Westbury in his Textbooks, textbook publishers, and the quality of schooling:

Two periods in the history of the book in the school can be identified. One is associated with Europe's sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the technology of the printed textbook emerged. The second is associated with the nineteenth century when the textbook became a basic instrument for the organization of curricula and teaching in national school systems (1990, p.4).

In the twentieth century, school textbooks also received international attention from the League of Nations and UNESCO. Following the First World War, the League of Nations believed that peaceful human progress depended upon the dissemination and improvement of schooling and schoolbooks. Recognising the importance of textbooks in shaping attitudes toward other nations and in developing international understanding or misunderstanding, the League of Nations tried to eliminate racial stereotypes especially from history and geography textbooks (UNESCO, 1949, passim). At the end of the Second World War, UNESCO asserted in Article 1 of its Constitution that:

The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and

culture (quoted in Ascher, 1951, p.15).

In turn, UNESCO recommenced the unfinished task of the League of Nations and wanted to monitor textbooks of all subjects.

As part of this scrutiny of textbooks, educationists also began to note negative features of textbooks. They recognised that textbooks could carry many prejudices and biases. Westbury, for example, claims that,

The values and attitudes that are taught in schools are of obvious and central interest to the parents of school children, and to those who are concerned with the social futures that the patterns of schooling seem to foreshadow or with the world view that the schools seem to reflect at a given time. When the values that the schools reflect become inconsistent with the values that groups or individuals hold as important or critical to their futures, bias is claimed (1985, p.5225).

And such bias is identified, for example, in Billington's The Historians Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding, as:

(a). bias of inertia -- the perpetuation of legends and half truths and the failure to keep abreast of scholarship; (b). unconscious falsification -- textbook authors fail to divorce themselves from the milieu in which they have been reared and fail to adopt points of view alien to their very nature; (c). bias by omission -- the selection of information that reflects credit only on the writer's nation; (d). bias in use of language -- the use of words with favourable connotations to describe one group and those with unfavourable connotations to describe another; and (e). bias by cumulative implication -- the tendency to give all credit to one nation or group (1966, pp.5-14).

Kuya, after reviewing the books used in four schools in Liverpool, asserts in her article Sowing the dragons teeth

that:

we worried about bias in children's books because our experience of monitoring school books in particular showed two important trends: (1). many books did not reflect the nature and form of the various minority groups in society. (2). many textbooks, with particular reference to racial issues are rooted in traditional White colonial thinking and fail to provide balanced information concerning coloured peoples (Merseyside Community Relations Council, n.d., p.2).

Similarly, Zimet, drawing attention to print and prejudice has contended that:

gross stereotypes, subtle distortions and omissions in references to females, racial, ethnic and social class groups in children's literature and textbooks play a direct part in forming children's attitudes towards themselves and towards others (1976, p.15).

Many studies have been launched to tackle the issues of bias in textbooks. Kane concludes in his studies of the portrayal of minorities in US textbooks that 'the contemporary role of other minority groups in our pluralistic society continues, for the most part, to be ignored' (1970, p.140). Anyon, reviewing the United States history textbook, finds that 'the content of the textbooks reflects an ideology that serves the interests of particular groups in society to the exclusion of others' (1979, p.361). Anyon (1978; 1981) also finds that a major social function of the information in social studies has been to provide formal justification for and legitimation of ongoing institutional practices. Similarly, after analyzing the USA textbooks, Kelly and Nihlen point out that most of the materials neglect the female's role. They

argue:

For the most part, women are ignored in the curricular materials. Women either do not exist or, if they exist, they are confined to domestic life.... Women, however, are background figures and not central to the numerous readings (1982, p.170).

This opinion is supported by MacDonald who, in her Schooling and the reproduction of class and gender relations, reports that the British society described in school textbooks is fundamentally patriarchal. She claims:

From the fantasy world of children's books to the male bias of academic disciplines which purport to be 'value-free', one finds a persistent pattern of representations of women which can only be construed as the ideological wing of patriarchy. This pattern has three basic elements: (1). Women suffer from invisibility.... (2). When women do appear, they are generally in low status or 'second-rate' jobs.... (3). There is an over-riding emphasis on women's domesticity (1980, pp.41-42).

Prejudice and bias are not only embedded in social study textbooks; they also appear in science textbooks which are claimed to be value-free. Walford indicates that 'the image of physics presented in physics textbooks is predominantly a masculine one' (1980, p.225).

In addition, Kwong reports that the mathematics used in the People's Republic of China is not value-free and apolitical. It reflects the dominant culture and reinforces the values of the ruling group. For example, a 1969 textbook included the following example:

The proletarian revolutionary faction in the Red Flag Printing Company was filled with the proletarian love of Chairman Mao. As part of their contribution to day of national celebration, they enthusiastically printed

pictures of Chairman Mao. They printed 4392 copies in the morning and 5608 in the afternoon. How many could they produce in one day? (1988, p.234).

In sum, textbooks are central to schooling. But, while they are treated as indispensable teaching materials in the twentieth century, they are also recognised as being controversial educational artifacts.

Perspectives on Textbooks

To understand the controversies surrounding textbooks, it is necessary to realise the function of textbooks. The function of textbooks could be grasped from different perspectives. As Altbach and Kelly allege, 'textbooks are educational tools' (1988, p.15). Yet these tools also serve a variety of purposes. They have important political and social messages. These messages are 'frequently poorly understood, yet the consequences for the society may be significant' (ibid.). For the sake of this thesis, it is useful to consider textbooks in terms of three messages: educational, ethical-cultural, and political.

Educational messages

From the educational perspective, textbooks are deeply rooted in the purposes of upbringing the next generation into adulthood. After achieving the establishment of early

society, human beings relied less on the biological evolution than upon their educational efforts. Therefore, the rise of education as well as schooling is an attempt to shape human beings so that the new generation will not only become human but also become cultivated men and women. Durkheim, for example, regards education as 'the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life' (1956, p.71). He asserts that:

[The object of education 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 (ibid.).

As educational tools, textbooks, therefore, focus on the processes of socialization. In doing so, textbooks must include all knowledge which is useful to develop a child into a cultivated individual. They usually emphasize intellectual, physical, moral, aesthetic, and spiritual maturity as indicative of a well-developed person.

Ethical-cultural messages

In the process of cultivating a child as an individual, two tasks of textbooks raise up simultaneously: to integrate children into the society as a whole, and to preserve useful human experience for their descendants. Thus textbooks have their important meaning as ethical and cultural messages.

As ethical messages, textbooks promote common values,

norms, and patterns of behaviour to integrate the society as a whole. The maintenance of the society as a unity is, therefore, treated as a main task of textbooks, education and schooling. Only when children internalise social regulation, and become social-beings rather than biological-beings, can society operate smoothly. In other words, textbooks embody a social intention. As Durkheim claims:

the man whom education should realize in us is not the man such as nature has made him, but as the society wishes him to be; and it wishes him such as its internal economy calls for (1956, p.122).

Durkheim sees the social function of education, accordingly, as the transmission of the particular set of shared moral and cognitive beliefs on which the survival of a particular form of social organization depends.

In addition, textbooks strengthen children's identification with the values of their host society. For the one-ethnic nation, there is no doubt that textbooks emphasize national identity. In such textbooks, adults tell the children about the history and geography of the nation, giving the next generation a sense of pride and satisfaction in their nation so that the children will love their country, and even be willing to sacrifice their life to protect their country. The situation of the multi-ethnic nation is different. The message of such textbooks is to forge a new nation, not merely to confirm and strengthen an existing national identity. However, textbooks are important in the

formation of social integrity for both multi-ethnic and one-ethnic nations.

For the preservation of cultural heritage, textbooks must carry the kind of knowledge which is regarded as the most worthwhile of human experience. Not all elements of a cultural heritage are equally worth transmitting. Some elements are obsolete while others are still useful. Even in the useful part of the heritage, we are unable to transmit all of them to the children due to the limitation of learning time. So it is necessary to select from the bulk of existing knowledge to ensure the learning time of the children is not wasted. And the preservation of cultural heritage is also a means of social integrity.

Political messages

From the educational and ethic-cultural perspectives, textbooks tend to be regarded as apolitical. This is far from the truth. As Farrell and Heyneman allege:

Decisions about curriculum content, and therefore textbook content, frequently reflect deep-rooted political conflict within a nation. In relatively open political systems, textbook content often represents delicate compromises among groups with different ideological positions or different religious beliefs and practices or different ethnic and tribal backgrounds.... In one-party states, textbook content is usually carefully shaped to reflect the prevailing ideology. In such case, sudden political shifts or regime changes can render suddenly obsolete a large part of a nation's stock of textbooks, requiring massive and expensive rewriting and production (1988, p.39).

From such political viewpoint, textbook is an arena where differential power is exerted. Powerful groups, for instance, the ruling class, exert their influence over textbook content to consolidate their own interests. As Hamilton asserts:

... schooling rose to prominence [in the seventeenth century] as a political institution. In the process, it was charged with meeting political goals. ... Schooling is as much a political institution as an educational institution. And given its political remit, schooling has acquired a distinctive culture (1990a, p.12).

Similar opinion is asserted by Young:

... those in positions of power will attempt to define what is to be taken as knowledge, how accessible to different groups any knowledge is, and what are the accepted relationships between different knowledge areas and between those who have access to them and make them available (1971, p.32).

Such views of schooling arose from mid-1960s when the critical commentators began to criticise textbooks as a tool of reproduction. The critical commentators attacked, and thus, broke down the grounds for positive views of textbooks. In their views, the textbook is a tool to maintain, for instance, the profit margins of the ruling class by concealing the facts of inequality from subordinate classes. Textbook, therefore, may help to legitimate the status quo or to shape society in ways that are acceptable to powerful groups. Althusser, for example, described schooling as one of the 'Ideological State Apparatuses' which reproduce the inequalities of society. He asserts:

the schools (but also other state institutions like the church, or other apparatuses like the army) teaches 'know-how', but in forms which ensure *subjection to the ruling ideology* or the mastery of its 'practice' (1971, p.128).

In Althusser's view, textbooks are rooted deeply in the interests of the ruling class. As part of the Ideological State Apparatuses, they help to transmit the values of the ruling class and explain the irrational part of the society. The world-view described in the textbooks is that of the dominant class but is presented as absolute truth. The selection and/or exclusion of the content of textbook relates, therefore, to the ideological shaping of each new generation. To this extent, textbooks imply the control of mind by the ruling class. As Sharp claims that:

in the course of the nineteenth century the ruling class gained effective control over a crucial instrument for establishing its dominance: the form and content of schooling. This process facilitated therefore, the increasing management of knowledge in the service of the technical problems generated by the accumulation process and the requirements of maintaining hegemony (1980. p.158).

Similarly, Bowles and Gintis argue that 'the educational system legitimates economic inequality by providing an open, objective, and ostensibly meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions' (1976, p.103). Apple claims that 'our educational institutions may serve less as the engines of democracy and equality than many of us would like' (1982, p.9). He and Christian-Smith also assert:

For some groups of people, schooling is seen as a vast engine of democracy -- opening horizons, ensuring mobility, and so on. For others, the reality of schooling is strikingly different. It

is seen as a form of social control or, perhaps, as the embodiment of cultural dangers, institutions whose curricula and teaching practices threaten the moral universe of the students who attend them (1991, p.1).

The trend of knowledge monopolisation becomes even more obvious while education and schooling are universal and compulsory in the twentieth century, and while knowledge gained through education and schooling is legitimated in a society as the right ones, the proper ones, and the most important ones.

With such a critical view of textbooks, it is, therefore, more important to ask 'whose knowledge' than to ask 'what knowledge' is of most worth. And Bacon's famous maxim -- Knowledge is power -- must be changed into 'Power is knowledge' to suit the situation.

In sum, textbooks have different functions. From the educational and ethical-cultural perspectives, textbooks have positive functions to develop the individuals into social beings; to maintain social stability; and to preserve useful cultural heritage. On the other hand, from the political perspective, textbooks also serve as a tool to consolidate the interests of dominant classes.

The Controversial Nature of Textbook

As described above, textbooks serve different functions for different purposes. They are a two-edged educational tool. This two-edged nature of textbooks is merely a reflection of the nature of education and schooling which has been alleged by Hamilton:

Education and schooling are key agencies of social transmission. And they, too, can be examined for the role they play in intergenerational reproduction and production (1990a, p.6).

With the function of production as well as reproduction, two kinds of controversy about the content of textbooks arise: 'what knowledge' and 'whose knowledge' is most worthwhile?

The question of 'what knowledge' is of most worth has been asked by Herbert Spencer in 1859. However, after one and a half century, there is still no unanimous answer which can satisfy everyone.

Though structural-functionalists all agree with the positive function of textbooks, there are disputes about the selection of textbook content in terms of which could be included or which could be excluded. For example, how could the functions of textbooks in educational, ethical, and cultural perspectives be carried out simultaneously? Can the development of individuals be compatible to the stability of a society? Is the task of schooling to ensure social stability thus reproducing inequalities? Or is the task of schooling to reduce inequalities and disrupt social

stability? Are the 'educational' needs of the individual identical to the 'societal' needs of the collective groups? How can the balance of school knowledge to be ensured? Can all the children be cultivated into full development through the same textbook knowledge? Will it spoil the ideal of equality if we give different textbooks to different children? What kind of cultural heritage is of most value to be transmitted? How can the most important part of existing knowledge be selected out to feed the minds of the children within their limited learning time? Do the textbooks focus merely on the status quo? or can it focus on the future at the same time? Although textbooks draw upon the past, they must be shaped according to the future life of the children. But how can it be done? All these questions relate to the rationality of selecting textbook content in terms of 'what knowledge' is of most worth rather than the legitimacy of the textbooks.

On the other hand, the critical commentators view textbooks as one of the several reproduction machines through which dominant elites seek to achieve the perpetuation of the class structure and maintain their profits. In their eyes, therefore, textbooks are political tool of the dominant class and are essentially pejorative. They pay great attentions to the inequality of textbooks based on race, sex, disability, and social class that continues to exist in the school's curriculum. As Sleeter and Grant claim:

Debates about curriculum content can be understood broadly as struggles for power to

define the symbolic representation of the world and of society, that will be transmitted to the young, for the purpose of either gaining or holding onto power (1991, p.79).

The critical commentators doubt about the legitimacy of the school knowledge in terms of 'whose knowledge' is of most worth, and want to struggle for the objectivity, openness, and fairness of textbooks. They also claim that the legitimacy of textbooks is a matter needed to be considered prior to the rationality of textbook. Unless the legitimacy of school knowledge can be ensured, the disputation of its rationality seems to be a second-order issue.

In sum: the controversy of textbooks exists in two levels: rationality and legitimacy. Since these two kinds of controversy will remain as long as the content of textbook must be decided, could it be concluded here that a textbook is a kind of teaching material which is controversial on both its legitimacy and rationality. Therefore, the study of textbook content is a task to scrutinise the rationality and/or the legitimacy of it.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to find a tentative definition of textbook with which the foundation of the content analysis of textbook could be established. The importance of textbooks is admitted by most educationists

nowadays. As Westbury asserts:

The textbook is, in fact, at the heart of the school and without the ubiquitous text there would be no schools, at least as we know them. This fact is central to all discussions of both textbooks and textbook publishing (1990, p.3).

Textbooks visibly reflect pedagogic considerations. That is, a textbook is not just a book used in schools. Rather, it is a book that has been consciously designed and organised to serve the end of schooling. To this extent, then, textbooks are organically linked to the changing circumstances of schooling (Hamilton, 1990c).

As a main (if not only) tool of schooling, textbooks can exert different functions. However, textbooks are not simply facts for delivery. They are also tools of control.

As Apple and Christian-Smith assert:

[Textbooks] are at once the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power. And what texts mean and how they are used are fought over by communities with distinctly different commitments and by teachers and students as well (1991, pp.1-2).

To this extent, to unveil the textbook is to understand its diversity and complexity of current thinking about textbook. Since Spencer asked 'What knowledge is of most worth?' in 1859, interest in the content of textbooks has stemmed from an intellectual concern about the rationality of knowledge-selection. But before an conclusive answer could be found to this question, the neutrality of textbooks had come under scrutiny by, among others, the

predecessors of 'new sociology of education'. They questioned the legitimation of school knowledge. Their studies focused upon the omissions, distortions and misrepresentations of school knowledge in texts, and explored why educational texts took the form they did and why some messages were transmitted rather than others. Over the past two decades, progress has been made on answering the question 'whose knowledge becomes socially legitimate in schools'. We are now much clearer in understanding the nature of textbooks as a two-edged tool and the relationship between school knowledge and the larger society. Textbooks serve, on the one hand, for the benefits of human improvement. On the other hand, they also serve for the perpetuation of the interests of the dominant class. Thus, the inclusion and/or the exclusion of the content of textbooks is controversial in both its rationality and legitimacy. All these controversies can be scrutinised critically in terms of 'what knowledge' and 'whose knowledge' is of most worth. These questions relate inevitably to the ideology of the person who determines the content of the textbooks. In other words, textbook is saturated with ideology. To understand a textbook is to understand ideology. Hence, to unveil the textbook, it is also necessary to study the meaning of ideology. And this is the task of the next chapter.

Chapter Two

The Ideology of Ideology

Human beings are but prisoners. While they are alive, they are imprisoned by their own ideas. While they are dead, they are imprisoned by coffins (an old Chinese saying).

Man is but the servant and interpreter of nature: what he knows is only what he has observed of nature's order in fact or in thought; beyond this he knows nothing and can do nothing (Francis Bacon, 1561-1626).

Ideology is one of the most complex and yet one of the most widely-used concepts in social science. It asks about the bases and validity of our most fundamental ideas, and it deeply saturates the consciousness of a society, and textbooks. It is widely accepted that an ideology is a system of beliefs which strongly affects the structure of human thought, feeling and behaviour. As Apter asserts:

The ideology helps to perform two main functions: one directly social, binding the community together, and the other individual, organizing the role personalities of the maturing individual (1964, p.18).

Textbooks contain the most fundamental ideas transmitted through schooling. Comparing the two concepts of ideology and textbook, one will find that there are many similarities between them. If we substitute textbook for ideology, it is quite interesting to find that the functions mentioned above are still available even without changing one word. As Macdonald asserts:

Textbooks have, traditionally, helped to define the content and fix the limits of legitimate educational knowledge. They have also helped to chart its ideology. In the texts of the early nineteenth century, for example, there are well-defined political themes. Whatever their ostensible subject, schoolbooks justified the existing social order (1976, p.223).

The content of textbooks is always saturated with and strongly influenced by ideology. Considering the closely-tied relationship of these two concepts, it is difficult to understand the content and organisation of textbooks without understanding the meaning of ideology.

The word 'ideology' is less than 200 years old. It is generally acknowledged that Destutt de Tracy, French philosopher, was the first to use the word 'ideology' around the time of the French Revolution, though it is inconsistent about the exact year it emerged¹. Since then,

¹ Note: McLellan (1986, p.5) and Drucker (1974, p.3) refer 1797 as the year it appeared, while Carlsnase (1981, p.24) and Walford (1979, p.10) refer 1796 as the year it emerged.

it has gradually spread through the language of 'social science', a concept which also emerged in the 1790s (Hamilton, 1991, p.3; 1990a, p.48). However, the reflexive study of this word came later. According to MacCracken:

'ideology' was first admitted to a dictionary in 1932: the English Universal Dictionary defined it as 'a set of ideas practised by a political party or group'.... it was not listed in the 1933 Oxford edition, but was admitted to Webster's International for the first time in 1937 (1938, p.546).

Brown also observes:

In the London Bibliography of the Social Sciences, between 1931 and 1955 there is roughly one entry a year under the heading *ideology*. For the years 1956 to 1962 there are fifteen entries (2.5 a year), and there are seven a year for the period 1962 to 1968 (1973, pp.11-12).

Likewise, in the decade of 1973 to 1982, there is an average of 61.4 ERIC entries per year; and it increases to 104.2 per year in the decade of 1983 to 1992 (see table 1):

Table 1: The entries of ideology in ERIC CD-ROM from 1966 to 1992:

year	total	ideology	%	year	total	ideology	%
1966	4713	3	0.064	1980	32758	58	0.177
1967	6994	5	0.071	1981	28048	61	0.217
1968	8675	10	0.115	1982	31185	88	0.282
1969	10609	16	0.151	1983	31491	102	0.324
1970	22760	26	0.114	1984	31592	87	0.275
1971	31660	35	0.111	1985	30422	94	0.309
1972	32841	51	0.155	1986	30700	90	0.293
1973	32882	44	0.134	1987	31162	132	0.424
1974	30575	53	0.173	1988	31577	130	0.412
1975	12331	18	0.146	1989	30547	116	0.380
1976	36861	78	0.212	1990	29182	132	0.452
1977	36361	69	0.190	1991	26100	111	0.425
1978	37937	83	0.219	1992	10225	48	0.428
1979	35106	89	0.254				

In recent years, the word has penetrated everyday discourse. People tend to attribute all conflicts, whether it is large or small, to ideological differences. As Brown, for example, asserts:

... the concept of ideology sustains and explains differences between East and West (whether in Europe or Asia), North and South (Korea, Vietnam, or America), Black and White (in the United States and in South Africa), Right and Left. Ideologies also 'explain' differences between rich and poor, old and young, and between men and women (1973, p.9).

But the precise meaning and content of any of these differences is not always clear, nor is it clear how they arose. In one sense, human beings are always wearing colourful glasses, not even just one set, to see the things around them. They are even not always aware of the existence of them. Can they, then, get rid of these glasses

to see things as they really are?

Efforts to get rid of these colourful glasses have a long history. Such efforts root deeply in the general philosophical questions about the finding of truth, about the obstacles to real knowledge, and about those irrational elements which crop up in the mind and make it difficult to grasp reality. In ancient China, for example, Confucius (551-479 BC) regarded names of social roles as the most important bearers of meaning. He claimed that:

if names are not correct, language will not be in accordance with the truth of things. And this in time would lead to the end of justice, to anarchy and to war (Four Books, 1988, p.210).

Confucius was concerned about the correcting of names and claimed that it is the first task of government to make the names unconfused. In addition, Chuang Chou (around 400 BC), a contemporary of Mencius who advocated Taoism, asserted that:

a frog in a well cannot understand the sea, because it is confined by a small place; a summer-living worm cannot understand ice, because it is confined by a limited time; a stubborn person cannot understand the truth, because he is confined by his narrow views (quoted in Young, 1988, p.10).

In Western society, such thinking of truth-seeking is also popular. Aristotle, for example, claimed in his Ethics (circa 340 BC) that there 'are five ways in which the soul arrives at truth ... art, science, prudence, wisdom, and intuition' (1976, p.206).

Considering the philosophical tradition of seeking truth or of fighting the prejudice out of our mind, ideology as a barrier to truth is not a new phenomenon in the history of mankind. Yet the interest in analyzing and systematically studying barriers to truth only appeared in modern times following the disintegration of medieval society. Bacon, for example, believed that human perceptions of the world were shaped by various kinds of preconceptions or 'idols'. He, like Descartes and other seventeenth thinkers, sought a new scientific methodology to eliminate these earlier deficiencies.

Ideology, then, emerged to serve as a science which would generate pure, undistorted ideas. In de Tracy's original meaning, ideology is the science of ideas. It is distinguished from the ancients' metaphysics. But ironically, the word ideology as the ground of science soon came to be treated as the antithesis of science. As Larrain observes:

On the one hand, ideology may be conceived in eminently negative terms as a critical concept which means a form of false consciousness or necessary deception which somehow distorts men's understanding of social reality.... On the other hand, the concept of ideology may be conceived in positive terms as the expression of the world-view of a class.... Ideology may be conceived of as the antithesis of science; So when scientific method is correctly applied, ideology is supposed to vanish. [But] it is possible to stress the common features between science and ideology, rather than their differences, so ideology and science would have a common basis in the world-view of the originating class. On this view, ideology cannot be overcome by science, and science itself may become ideological (1979, p.14).

Thinking about the ambiguous, and paradoxical meaning of ideology, we now face a critical question. If ideology is a set of beliefs stemming from false consciousness, since all classes have class-interests, then all belief-systems must be distorted. It appears, therefore, that there are no criteria of truth and falsity (or distortion and non-distortion) that are independent of interest. In such situations, any examination of ideology makes it difficult to avoid the rueful conclusion that all views about ideology are themselves ideological. Can the disputations surrounding ideology come to an end? Or are we unable to find a common truth beyond ideology to finish the disputation?

In order to clarify such an issue, the remainder of this chapter examines the historical evolution of the concept of ideology. Its purposes are thus three-fold. These are to discuss (a) the birth of ideology, (b) the development of ideology, and (c) a view of ideology that can be used in the study of textbooks.

The Birth of Ideology

It is common-place to treat de Tracy as the inventor of the word 'ideology'. However, it is obvious that Tracy's invention did not emerge in a social vacuum. There are some

precursors who give him this inspiration. There are also some heirs to enrich and, inevitably, change the meaning of the word 'ideology'. What is the career of the concept of ideology?

Tracy was directly influenced by his teacher, Condillac (1715-1790), and some other French philosophers such as Helvétius and Holbach. And they were, indirectly, all influenced by the English empiricists (eg. Hobbes, Locke) and the Enlightenment ideal of emancipating human mind. Therefore, tracing the historical evolution of the concept of ideology, we must return back to the birth of Enlightenment.

Before the Renaissance, human affairs were assumed to be entirely under the control of two forces: God and chance. It is the Italian philosopher, Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) who rejected this view and held, instead, that human destiny was also affected by a third force -- the free will of human beings. Moreover, he insisted that if human beings could take advantage of this third option, they could play a part in shaping their own futures (Hamilton, 1990a. p.60). The emphasis on human free will is notable for two essential ideas: first, the human condition can be improved by humanity itself, because human beings were granted reason from the God; and secondly, if the social world could be treated as the law-like physical world, the improvement of human beings will be gradually reached. In

many respects, therefore, the intellectual ferment of 'ideology' was generated by a search for the human reason which underwrites the optimistic future of human beings.

Such confidence in human reason was strongly supported by the great development of science. Escaping from the control of theology, natural science finally opened a new world which relied on human reason rather than on religious faith. Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) was 'the first to apply mathematics as an empirical instrument in seeking the laws of celestial motion in 1596' (quoted in Singer, 1959, p.237). Galileo 'made accessible two instruments, the telescope and microscope, to discover the secret of astronomy in 1609 (ibid., p.242). Together, they and other scientists such as Isaac Newton (1642-1727), rebuilt a mechanical world in which everything is predictable and rejected any established religious formula. René Descartes (1596-1650), in his Discourse on Method, advanced the claim of procedures to build up reliable knowledge. He claimed that:

[He would] never accept anything for true which he did not clearly know to be such, avoiding precipitancy and prejudice, and comprising nothing more in his judgement than was absolutely clear and distinct in his mind (quoted in Singer, 1959, p.260).

Under such scientific climate, Francis Bacon (1561-1626) was concerned with the need for a new methodology which could overcome the shortcomings of the Aristotelian-medieval thought (ie. deductive formal logic). He used inductive approach and emphasized the role of positive

science and its observational character. Bacon also went further to claim that the observational approach to the study of nature cannot succeed unless it is rid of certain irrational factors which beset the human mind. His overwhelming preoccupation with how to safeguard rational knowledge from any interference finally gave birth to the theory of idols which he claimed in his Novum Organum that:

The idols and false notions which are now in possession of the human understanding, and have taken deep root therein, not only so beset men's minds that truth can hardly find entrance, but even after entrance obtained, they will again in the very instauration of the sciences meet and trouble us, unless men being forewarned of the danger fortify themselves as far as may be against their assaults (1883, vol.IV, p.53).

The idols are, according to Bacon, of dual origin. They either enter the mind from the outside, or they are innate. The first can be eliminated, even though laboriously, but the second can in no way be destroyed. All that can be done was to bring them out into the open so that this treacherous power of the mind could be recognized and vanquished.

The two innate idols are the idol of the tribe which has its foundation in human nature itself, and the idol of the cave which is the idiosyncrasy of each individual as determined by his character, education and general predisposition. The two idols come from outside are the idols of the market-place which are formed by the intercourse and association of men with each other, and the idols of the theatre which arise from the authoritative and

dogmatic character of traditional theories. All these four idols or false notions will obstruct human understanding and prevent it from reaching the truth.

Such Baconian theory of idols greatly influences the English empiricist tradition in Hobbes and Locke. Hobbes (1588-1679) claimed that fear and ignorance are the roots of any religious faith. He drew radical conclusions from empiricism that 'science and philosophy are generated out of sense, experience, and memory, by means of reasoning and language' (1958, P.xxiii). Locke (1632-1704), in his An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, questioned the characters of human knowledge, and asserted that there are four sources of error of human knowledge:

- (1). the doubtful propositions taken for principles;
- (2). the received hypotheses;
- (3). the predominant passions or inclinations; and
- (4). the authority (1934, p.366-68).

In Locke's view, the true knowledge can be obtained only by the illuminating of our reason -- a faculty whereby man is supposed to be distinguished from beasts.

Drawing on the Baconian theory of idols and the empiricist tradition of Hobbes and Locke, the French materialists developed a strongly anti-religious and pleasure-seeking view of the world. The battle of reason against the prejudices threatening to flood and drown understanding were, for instance, the subject of the writings of Helvétius (1715-1771), Holbach (1723-1789) and Condillac (1715-1790). Helvétius asserted that our ideas are the

necessary consequences of the societies in which we live.

But, he continued:

education and good government would eventually enlighten men to their real interests, and show them that the paths to virtue and to happiness were identical (1965, p.205).

Helvétius wanted to uncover the prejudices and surmounted them by the truth. In this campaign, Helvétius was joined by Holbach, who in the preface of his The System of Nature expressed a common concern of the period which it presented the struggle for truth as having both intellectual and political importance. He claimed:

The most important of our duties, then, is to seek means by which we may destroy delusions that can never do more than mislead us. The remedies for these evils must be sought for in Nature herself; it is only in the abundance of her resources, that we can rationally expect to find antidotes to the mischiefs brought upon us by an ill directed, by an overpowering enthusiasm. It is time these remedies were sought; it is time to look the evil boldly in the face, to examine its foundations, to scrutinize its superstructure: reason, with its faithful guide experience, must attack in their entrenchments those prejudices, to which the human race has but too long been the victim (1820, p.vii).

However, it is important to note that in the transition passage from Bacon to the French Enlightenment philosophers, the ground has shifted. Helvétius and Holbach lived in an intellectual world in which Bacon's assumptions about man's God-given qualities were no longer taken for granted. Both Helvétius and Holbach were concerned with man's emancipation from the constraints imposed by an absolutist state and especially by a church that controlled the system of education. The Baconian confidence that the idols would be removed by an effort of reason and good will

were not enough because vested interests stood in the way of the needed reform. Only a thoroughgoing reform of the educational system based on a scientific analysis of ideas would be adequate to the task. It is under such background that the French Revolution as well as the ideology (as the science of ideas) was born.

Condillac, who translating Locke's An Essay Concerning Human Understanding into French, rejects the metaphysics as a mere source of fancy and theological prejudice. He tried to remove all doubt concerning the origin of our ideas, and claimed:

At length after laying open the progression of the operations of the soul, as well as that of language, I have attempted to point out the means by which we may avoid falling into error, and to shew the order we ought to follow, either in endeavouring to make discoveries, or instructing others concerning those we have already made (quoted in Derrida, 1973, p.109).

Condillac wanted to investigate the rational foundation of the ideas, free from religious or metaphysical prejudice, as the foundation of a just and happy society. His effort was continued by his immediate pupil, Destutt de Tracy. Tracy used a new term 'idea-logy' to denote the critical examination of man's cognitive capacity. That is the birth of 'ideology'. Consequently, Tracy and his followers were called 'ideologues'. In effect, ideology and the French Revolution are the twins of Enlightenment, their emergence is closely related to the liberation struggles of the bourgeoisie from feudal fetters and to the new critical attitude of modern thought. From the beginning, therefore,

the problematic of ideology emerged in close connection with both political practice and the development of science. And the work of Destutt de Tracy was elaborated into a scientific theory of human mind that was to be made the basis for education reform, free of the vested interests of the state and church.

In the first instance, the teaching of de Tracy and his ideologues met with the approval of Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon even became an honorary member of the 'Institut de France', which was established in 1795 to propagate the ideas of the Enlightenment. However, subsequent to his rise to power, he found the critical ideas of his former philosophical mentors very troublesome. He wanted to prevent all independent scientific research in matters of political and economic spheres in order to stifle any opposition it might occur. Furthermore, he not only denounced the ideologues as enemies of religion and of the Christian state, but also made them scapegoats for the catastrophic mistakes and troubles which happened during the revolutionary war. He began to refer contemptuously to the members of Tracy's school as 'mere ideologists' who had little knowledge of the practical world. Thus a negative concept of ideology as impractical and doctrinaire became current and popular. It is this negative concept that is still widely held today.

The Development of Ideology

After the failure of de Tracy's attempts to establish a 'science of ideas', ideology was little heard of for almost half a century. As Drucker observes:

Between de Tracy and Marx the word 'ideology' is used, without any great attention being paid to it, by a small number of writers. Talleyrand, writing in defence of Roman Catholicism, attacks de Tracy's school. Sir Walter Scott notices Napoleon's brush with *Ideologues*. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson speak of de Tracy's work in their correspondence. And Jeremy Bentham mentions the new school in his correspondence. None of these references seems to point to any great interest: even Jefferson gave up on the *Ideologues* after showing some interest. Indeed, had Marx not used it, ideology would almost certainly have become an anachronism (1974, p.13).

In tracing the development of ideology, Marx and Mannheim are the two great figures one cannot ignore. Walford, for example, claims that:

... there were only two considerable works which used it in anything closely approaching its modern sense. These were, of course, 'The German Ideology' by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, written in 1845/6 but not then published; and 'Ideology and Utopia' by Karl Mannheim, first published (in German) in 1929 (1979, p.10).

Marx was familiar with the favourable view of ideology as a beneficial science of ideas in the works of de Tracy, but he preferred to give it the critical edge popularized by Napoleon. He used the term to characterize the mystified and mystifying abstraction of the thought of his contemporaries from the real processes of history.

In any case, Marx's theory of ideology is much more complex

than de Tracy's. Though his theory is not always consistent in the use of that term, it has some distinct characteristics. In Marx's view, ideology is:

... a distinct form of reasoning about man and society. It was ahistorical and universalistic in form, systematically biased in its orientation, justificatory in its implications, and involved distinct logical fallacies (quoted in Parekh, 1982, introduction).

For Marx, an ideology is a body of ideas systematically biased towards a particular social groups. And this can be explained in three aspects: First, ideology is determined by the material conditions of an epoch, that is what Marx calls 'the materialist conception of history'; Secondly, ideology is made manifest as false consciousness, it conceals the true relationships of men and their world; Finally, the distortion, achieved through false consciousness, serves the interests of the ruling class. An ideology, therefore, defends, justifies, legitimises, speaks for, or is an 'apologia' for a particular social group.

About the materialist conception of history, Marx suggests that consciousness is bound up with social practice. Such thinking derives from the critique of the German idealist philosophers, especially those of Feuerbach and Hegel, who treat consciousness as separated from these practices, and is fetishised as a thing-in-itself.

Marx sees that all forms of thought are nothing but highly refined myths, and finds human alienation in the working

process of a capitalist society. His main purpose is to unmask the dominance of thoughts. As he and Engels claim in the preface of The German Ideology:

Hitherto men have constantly made up for themselves false conceptions about themselves, about what they are and what they ought to be. They have arranged their relationships according to their ideas of God, of normal man, etc. The phantoms of their brains have got out of their hands. They, the creators, have bowed down before their creations. Let us liberate them from the chimeras, the ideas, dogmas, imaginary beings under the yoke of which they are pining away. Let us revolt against the rule of thoughts (1977, p.159).

If ideas are grasped as autonomous entities, then they will be naturalized and dehistoricised. And this for Marx is the secret of all ideology. He and Engels emphasize that ideology is but a product of the basic material structure by claiming in The German Ideology that:

In direct contrast to German philosophy which descends from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to heaven. This is to say, we do not set out from what men say, imagine, conceive, nor from men as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived, in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real, active men, and on the basis of their real life-process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life-process.... Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life (1977, p.164).

Similarly, in A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Marx also claims that:

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social

consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general (1977, p.389).

In Marx's view, 'the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life' (1977, p.164), but the inverted conceptions had their basis in a real social world that was so misconstrued as to generate the compensatory illusions.

In short, Marx does not accept that consciousness can be abstracted or cut off from its external background. Instead, he seeks to clarify that the social, cultural and economic factors of a thinker condition what the thinker concludes. Ideology, therefore, is the false thinking of a man who cannot fully recognise or acknowledge the influence of the external factors on the formation his thinking.

From such materialist thinking, the false sense of ideology is created by emphasizing that ideas are all distorted. Ideology in this sense is a set of beliefs with which people deceive themselves; it is a theory that expresses what they are led to think, as opposed to that which is true; it is a false consciousness just like the inversion image we see in a camera obscura. Marx and Engels wrote in The German Ideology:

Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc. -- real, active men, as they are conditioned by a definite development of their

productive forces and of the intercourse corresponding to these, up to its furthest forms. Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life-process. If in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside-down as in a camera obscura, this phenomenon arises just as much from their historical life-process as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life-process (1977, p.164).

In such view, ideology was seen as deriving from the (real) surface relations of capitalist society which served to conceal the foundational relations of production. As Marx wrote in Capital:

everything appears reversed in competition. The final pattern of economic relations as seen on the surface, in their real existence and consequently in the conceptions by which the bearers and agents of these relations seek to understand them, is very much different from, and indeed quite the reverse of, their inner but concealed essential pattern and the conception corresponding to it. (1972, vol.3, p.209).

The theory of 'false consciousness' is Marx's explanation of the errors of previous thinkers. It also provides him with an explanation of how societies are ruled. In Marx's view, ideas, especially the ruling ideas of an epoch, are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships - the dominant material relationships expressed as ideas. And this will lead to his pejorative view of the function of ideology: a political tool for sustaining vested interests. As Marx and Engels argue in The German Ideology that:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby,

generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. (1977, p.176).

In their view, each ruling class, when grasping power in its hand, is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to represent its interest as the common interest of all the members of society. It expresses its interest in ideal form and gives its ideas the form of universality, and represents them as the only rational, universally valid ones. The ruling class also uses its economic and political supremacy to obtain its supremacy in intellectual life. It formulates, rationalises and universalises its ideology as the dominant ideology of a society. In turn, this ruling ideology legitimates and perpetuates the interests of the ruling class.

Marx's theory of ideology, especially in the political domain, seems to be the most influential one. However, Karl Mannheim, not satisfied with such a narrow sense of a concept, began to play down this 'negative' connotation of Marx's 'false consciousness', and emphasized the 'positive' notion of ideology as expressing the values or world-view of a particular social group or milieu. In doing so, Mannheim opened a new field of ideology study - the sociology of knowledge - in which many social scientists have been attracted to take part.

Mannheim's fundamental thesis on ideology has some similarities to that of Marx. Mannheim, like Marx, views all human knowledge as socially conditioned. He finds out that in every period of human history there exist representative ideas which express the prevailing social climate. Men are all bound to the climate of their times in an unavoidable way. The kinds of beliefs that people hold are determined by the social groups of which they are members; the social group in effect provides an environment in which the beliefs are learnt.

In spite of this similarity, Mannheim's theory of ideology stands mainly on the academical explanation of the beliefs held by individuals and groups. He does not agree with the 'false consciousness', and tries to escape the pejorative, political characteristics of ideology by asking:

Is it possible to determine the global outlook of an epoch in an objective, scientific fashion? Or are all characterizations of such a global outlook necessarily empty, gratuitous speculations? These questions, long neglected, are again attracting the interest of scholars. This is not surprising in view of the strong urge towards synthesis noticeable in the various historical disciplines (Mannheim, 1952, p.34).

In order to answer these questions, Mannheim distinguishes four types of conceptions of ideology: (1). the particular vs. the total conception of ideology; and (2). the special vs. the general formulation of the total conception of ideology. As he asserts in Ideology and Utopia that:

As long as one does not call his own position into question but regards it as absolute, while interpreting his opponents' ideal as a mere function of the social positions they occupy, the

decisive step forward has not yet been taken. It is true, of course, that in such a case the total conception of ideology is being used, since one is interested in analyzing the structure of the mind of one's opponent in its totality, and is not merely singling out a few isolated propositions (1936, p.68).

The particular conception of ideology calls into question only part of an opponent's assertions while the total conception doubts the whole outlook and conceptual apparatus. To claim that an assertion is an example of a particular ideology, is not to deny that there are common standards of validity which would expose it as a deception. But to claim that an assertion is a total ideology, is to suppose that the very criteria of truth are in doubt. The particular conception operates with a vocabulary of interests, while the total conception ignores motivations, and '[confines] itself to an objective description of the structural differences in minds operating in different social setting' (Mannheim, 1936, p.51).

In Mannheim's analysis, in periods of social stability and harmony, men can operate only with the particular conceptions of ideology since they all have a similar conceptual apparatus. In times of social conflict, however, men's social interests diverge and their systems of belief become irreconcilable. In these circumstances, men are pushed into explaining the beliefs of their opponents in terms of social factors like class or race.

But since, in such an instance, one is interested merely in

a sociological analysis of the opponent's ideas, one never gets beyond a highly restricted, or what Mannheim calls a special, formulation of the theory. In contrast to this special formulation, the general form of the total conception of ideology is being used by the analyst when he 'has the courage to subject not just the adversary's point of view but all points of view, including his own, to the ideological analysis' (1936, p.69).

With the emergence of the general formulation of the total conception of ideology, the simple theory of ideology develops into the sociology of knowledge. For Mannheim, the sociology of knowledge is an unmasking enterprise which represents the systematization of the doubt already present in everyday life. That is, to show that a person's thought is socially located, or socially determined, or a function of social position, is in some sense to go behind the face value of the thought itself to the social reality underneath. To do so is also to show that the thought is socially relative, partial, or distorted, in that it may be formed by particular social interests. However, the sociology of knowledge, which aims to reveal the social bases of thought, has to be distinguished from the everyday activity of unmasking particular assertions as more or less conscious deceptions motivated by self-interest.

After Mannheim, the theory of ideology comes even more effectively to identify with the entire cultural sphere. In

spite of its diversity, research into ideology can be divided into two main streams - the Marxist tradition and the non-Marxist tradition.

On the one hand, the Marxist tradition (mainly in the political left) pays its attentions to the distorted social reality and the dominance of the ruling class. Such notion of ideology can be understood only in terms of the connected notions of alienation, mystification, and reification. These notions have been continuously refined by Georg Lukács, Antonio, Louis Althusser, and many others. They have all resorted to the notion of ideology to explain important cultural transformations that have apparently delayed the progress of proletarian revolution. Althusser, for example, reasons that ideology promotes reproduction by establishing the subject as a subject in an imaginary relation to society. Ideology provides the subject with the illusion that it is a centre of meaning, so that the subject lives its relation to society in a way that reproduces the existing class struggle. But ideology is not understood as pure ideas; it makes its appearance only in practice and is institutionalized or materialized in what Althusser calls 'Ideological State Apparatuses' (school, family, politics, law, trade unions and communications media). He claims that:

All Ideological State Apparatuses, whatever they are, contribute to the same result: the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. of capitalist relations of exploitation (1971, p.146).

On the other hand, the non-Marxist tradition, mainly derived from Mannheim's general formulation of the total conception of ideology, uses ideology not only inclusively but also neutrally, i.e. in an un-pejorative sense. Ideology represents the outlook associated with a given historical and social situation and the Weltanschauung and style of thought bound up with it. To study ideology is, therefore, an effort of getting rid of the coloured glasses which human beings wear unknowingly. There are three sets of coloured glasses that become the target of this effort.

The first set of coloured glass is painted by human unconsciousness. The Freudian psychoanalysts focus on the concept of unconsciousness to denote an intra-psychic phenomenon and to explain the irrational behaviours of the neurosis. As Freud himself has explicitly asserted that 'all the categories which we employ to describe conscious mental acts, such as ideas, purposes, resolutions and so forth, can be applied to [unconscious process]' (1950, vol. IV, p.101). In the view of the Freudian psychoanalysts, the ease or difficulty experienced by the child in passing through the early phases has a fundamental influence upon his later attitudes. The understanding of unconsciousness thus opens a path to reach the reality of human ideas.

The second set of coloured glasses is painted by human language. Focusing on the role of language and symbols in shaping the social activities and human thinking, Barthes,

Foucault, Derrida, and de Saussure, etc. try to clarify the connection between language and power. In their views, language as the medium of communication not only reflects the social reality, but also determines the social interests and hegemony. Foucault, for example, sets out an initial hypothesis:

in a society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to number of procedures whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to master the unpredictable event (quoted in Sheridan, 1980, p.121).

These linguists concentrate on the regularities of linguistic form as a means for the explication of the internal structure of systems of meaning. The deconstruction (using Derrida's term) and discourse (using Foucault's term) are the methods to build up true meanings.

The third set of coloured glasses is painted by the technical cognitive interest. Focusing on establishing a rational society, the critical theory, represented mainly by the Frankfurt School, aims to exclude such interests. As Habermas, for example, asserts that:

... the sociology of knowledge has emerged to counter the uncontrolled influence of interests on a deeper level, which derive less from the individual than from the objective situation of social groups (1972, p.311).

In sum, the development of the theory of ideology comes from both Marxist and non-Marxist tradition. Now it has saturated the social sciences, and has informed the exploration of the whole historical, social context of

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human thinking. It concerns not only the analysis of the forms and contents of knowledge, but also the value system and practical activities of social life. The study of ideology aims to establish a society which is rational enough to avoid the influence of coloured glasses. All these efforts lead to the emergence of the reflectivity of modernity. The recent announcement of the 'end of ideology' may be viewed as the extreme goal of the study of ideology.

Towards Syntheses

In exploring the career of the concept of ideology, some key points finally come to my conclusion:

First, the theory of ideology has powerful influence on everyday life. It has also diffused into different areas of social science. As a result, the definition of ideology becomes diverse and ambiguous, As Thompson observes:

Part of the reason why this concept is so ambiguous today, has so many different uses and shades of meaning, is because the concept has travelled a long and circuitous route since it was introduced into European languages two centuries ago (1990, p.5).

Seliger also claims that,

...the problem of definition arose in conjunction with the proliferation of studies of ideology within the humanities and social sciences. These deal with the causes of ideology in, and its effects on, the social and the personality system; its relation with the social sciences and intellectuals in general; its influence on mass publics through its manipulation by mass communication, political parties and various

kinds of activities; and last but not least, the analysis of ideological systems, the great 'isms' and their fate, and so on (1976, p.14).

Great efforts have been made to deal with the tremendous definitions of ideology, Arne Naess, for example, 'distinguished twenty-seven definitions in 1956' (quoted in Walford, 1979, p.14). Similarly, Sumner outlines, in his Reading Ideology, ten of the main definitions of ideology currently on offer for the newcomers to the field (1979, p.5). Eagleton, after mentioning sixteen different definitions, gives his own definitions of ideology in roughly six different ways:

1. the general material process of production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life;
2. ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolize the conditions and life-experiences of specific, socially significant group or class;
3. the *promotion and legitimation* of the interests of such social group in the face of opposing interests.
4. the promotion and legitimation of sectoral interests, but confine it to the activities of a dominant social power.
5. ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation.
6. false or deceptive beliefs but regards such beliefs as arising not from the interests of a dominant class but from the material structure of society as a whole (1991, p. 28-31).

It is, of course, impossible and unnecessary to list all the definitions of ideology here. However, the diversity of the definitions of ideology means the vitality of ideology. It is of no use to try to give an all-inclusive definition for it. The only thing we need to do is to distinguish the different contexts in which the definitions of ideology emerge. We can choose or give our own definition of ideology which is suitable to our own context and purpose.

Secondly, there are many terms related to ideology, such as 'ideas', 'beliefs', 'doctrines', 'theories', 'philosophies', 'Weltanschauungen', 'values', 'opinions', 'myths', 'utopias', and other associated and derivative words. These words, though they are all connected to the term of ideology, are but partly identical. When we use these terms, attentions must be paid to their nuances.

Thirdly, if we give a cursory examination on the diversity of the terms and definitions of ideology, we can find that these terms and definitions can be easily divided into two categories - one is political, restrictive, pejorative, closed-mind, and belongs to the Marxist tradition; the other is scientific, inclusive, neutral, open-ended, and belongs to the non-Marxist tradition. This finding implies that ideology is, like textbook, a two-edged tool. It has two contradictory functions to carry out both reproduction and production of a social system.

Fourthly, in order to suit the purpose of analyzing the content of textbook, ideology may be treated as, using the views of the post-constructivists such as Derrida and Foucault, the meaning behind appearance. We can never gain access to ideology, if we cannot look beyond the text. In this sense, the study of ideology is the deconstruction of texts by discourse analysis.

Finally, using the concept of ideology to analyze the

content of textbooks (the purpose of this thesis), it is necessary to examine both functions of ideology -- the negative and the positive. For the time being, the study of ideology and textbook must make a balance between these two spheres. It is said that, on the one hand, the study of ideology emphasizes too much, using Mannheim's words, the special formulations of the total conception of ideology, and too less on its general formulations. But, on the other hand, the study of textbook content pays too much attention to rationality and too little to legitimacy. The study of ideology and textbook needs to scrutinise both concepts - rationality and legitimacy - so that wider truths can be revealed.

Summary

As described above, ideology saturates the content of textbooks and influences the minds of the young generation. The very diffuseness of the literature points to the diversity of the definition of the notion of ideology. The controversy surrounding ideology is about different forms of meaning production, just as the textbook controversy is about the inclusion and/or exclusion of knowledge for the next generation. The non-Marxist tradition sees ideology as the Enlightened replacement for the idols of human minds and focuses on the process of meaning-making; On the other

hand, the Marxist tradition sees ideology as the idol of human minds and focuses on the process of meaning-distortion. Considering this two-edged function of ideology, it is obvious that the notion of ideology goes hand in hand with the notion of textbook. The similarity between these two notions gives advantage for the analysis of textbook content. In my view, the Marxist tradition of the notion of ideology which concerns more on the pejorative meaning of ideology, could be used as the foundation of questioning the legitimacy of the textbook. The non-Marxist tradition of the notion of ideology which focuses more on the neutral sense of ideology could be used as the foundation to inquire into the rationality of the textbooks. In other words, to ask about the rationality (or what knowledge is of most worth) of the textbooks is to ask about the meaning-making of the ideology. To ask about the legitimacy (or whose knowledge is of most worth) of textbooks is to ask about the meaning-distortion of the ideology. These two questions are all crucial in understanding the formation of minds of the young generation. If we are serious about using the content analysis of textbook to improve the function of education and schooling, these polar notions about ideology and textbook are central to analysis. In so attempting, a framework which includes both negative and positive sense of ideology and textbook must be built. And this will be done in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Content Analysis: A Framework

Without a ruler and a compass, even the greatest artist cannot draw a square or a circle (an old Chinese saying).

Far better an approximate answer to the right question, which is often vague, than an exact answer to the wrong question, which can always be made precise (Tukey, 1962, pp.13-14).

Content analysis is principally a technique for extracting meaning from a set of symbolic materials. Potentially, it is one of the most important research techniques in the social sciences. It seeks to understand data not only as a collection of physical events but also as symbolic phenomena. In this sense, it is different from the methods in the natural sciences, which do not need to be concerned with meaning, contexts, and intentions. Textbooks, as mentioned before, are saturated with ideologies (or, you

may say, intentions) in terms of 'what knowledge' and 'whose knowledge' is of most worth. To extract such intentions from the textbooks, content analysis has been used as a valuable research method. In the recent past, many studies using one or another method of content analysis and one or another focus of analysis have been undertaken to explore gender and ethnic stereotyping with textbooks. For example, Sleeter & Grant use content analysis to examine the inequality based on race, social class, gender, and disability in current textbooks (1991, pp.78-110). The usage of content analysis in studying textbooks becomes more popular than before in recent years. The International Conference on Pedagogic Texts Analysis and Content Analysis was first held in 1991 in Sweden, and will be held again on 9-13, June of 1993, in Finland. This could be an evidence of such tendency. It is expected that content analysis will become a regular method for textbook study in the future.

The purpose of this chapter is to build a framework for the content analysis of textbooks. In so attempting, three tasks are to be achieved: (1) to clarify the conceptual foundation of the content analysis; (2) to define the facets of textbooks which will be concerned in analyzing; and (3) to set up criteria for analysis.

Conceptual Foundation of Content Analysis

Content analysis is a relatively new term in the field of social studies. As Krippendorff asserts:

The term 'content analysis' is about 50 years old. Webster's Dictionary of the English Language has listed it only since 1961. But its intellectual roots go far back in history, to the beginning of man's conscious use of symbols and language (1980, p.9).

The historical growth of the methodology of content analysis starts from the large-scale studies of political propaganda in mass media. Content analysis usually proceeds by positing a universe of concerns and seeking indices which can be used to measure how a concern is treated in a particular set of messages. Its basic assumption is that in a limited space, eg. the volumes of textbooks; or the time of learning, the universe of concern can be defined in terms of the frequency with which a given attitude object appears. The higher the frequency is, the stronger the concern will be. Thus frequency is an important element of content analysis.

This characteristics of content analysis could be found in its definitions. For example, Berelson defines content analysis as:

a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (1952, p.18).

More recently, Krippendorff defines content analysis as:

a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context (1980, p.21).

Despite their diversity, definitions of content analysis have common agreement on the requirements of objective, system, and generality. These requirements are seen as the striking characteristics of content analysis. Holsti describes them as:

Objectivity stipulates that each step in the research process must be carried out on the basis of explicitly formulated rules and procedures.... *Systematic* means that the inclusion and exclusion of content or categories is done according to consistently applied rules.... *Generality* requires that the findings must have theoretical relevance (1969, pp.3-5).

Underlying this characteristics is the assumption that frequency is the only valid index for grasping meaning from texts. Often this may in fact be a valid premise, but there is also ample evidence that measures other than frequency may in some instances prove more useful. Thus, the emphasis of quantitative frequency has caused some controversies. As Holsti asserts:

Despite the advantages of employing quantitative methods, the tendency to equate content analysis with numerical procedures has come under criticism on a number of grounds. The most general of these is the charge that such a restriction leads to bias in the selection of problems to be investigated, undue emphasis being placed on precision at the cost of problem significance (1969, p.10).

Texts do not have a single meaning that needs to be unwrapped. They can always be looked at from numerous perspectives, especially when they are symbolic in nature. To avoid the shortcomings of purely quantitative orientation, the content analyst should use qualitative and quantitative methods to supplement each other. By moving

back and forth between these two different approaches, it is more likely that the meaning of texts is extracted. As Pool (1959, p.192) summarizes this point that:

It should not be assumed that qualitative methods are insightful, and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods for checking hypotheses. The relationship is a circular one; each provides new insights on which the other can feed (1959, p.192).

Methodologically, a trend toward the combination of quantitative and qualitative method necessitate two sets of data: those of the content for analysis and those of relevant contexts outside the contents. This trend has important implication for the study of textbooks.

Facets of Textbooks

In studying the textbooks, it is insufficient to focus just on the contents for analyzing. In addition to the contents, it is also necessary to look at the context in which the contents emerge. These two parts together can explain the meaning of the textbooks.

Context: a macro-view

As the intended content of education, textbooks derive their meaning from the wider world. The changed socio-political context of education is one in which textbooks

are at the heart of the so-called context. A holistic view of textbooks is, then, needed to actively appropriate the awareness of historical tradition as well as the social situation. As Wexler asserts that:

social knowledge is a process of contextually meaningful symbolic action (1987, p.19).

Being aware of this deeply socio-political concrete character, the study of textbooks can be defined in terms of contextual interpretation. Unless knowledge production itself is understood in its specific historical and social form, it is impossible to grasp the meaning of the texts. Kelly also claims that:

It is worth noting first of all that education is essentially a political activity, that the education system is the device by which an advanced society prepares its young for adult life in the society, a formalization of the role played in primitive societies by all or most of the adult population. The political context, then, is a major element in any scheme or system of education, and one without reference to which such a scheme or system cannot be properly understood (1989, p.145).

Similarly, Apple and Christian-Smith echo that:

It is important to realize, then, that the controversies over 'official knowledge' that usually centre around what is included and excluded in textbooks really signify more profound political, economic, and cultural relations and histories. Conflicts over texts are often proxies for wider questions of power relations (1991, p.3).

In sum, in the studies of textbooks, what is needed are ways of comprehending the multi-dimensionality and dynamics of textbooks-context relationships. If we are to discuss textbooks adequately we must firstly scrutinise their organic relations outside the educational field. Cornbleth

claims that it is absurd to decontextualize micro-analyses of textbooks. She asserts:

To examine curriculum or context in isolation from each other is to use an inappropriate lens, with the possibilities of spurious conclusions -- not unlike someone examining an interstate highway with a microscope and concluding that it does not go anywhere. An escape from the irony associated with studying context in isolation suggests contextualized inquiry rather than inquiry into context per se (1990, p.54).

When we examine the contexts of textbook, just as we cast a stone into a lake, numerous ripples are forming around a heart -- the textbooks, and are enlarging gradually from the heart to the concept of curriculum, of education or schooling, of politics, of socio-culture, and of historical tradition. To look at the context of the textbook is a way to understand the content of the textbooks. This idea can be diagrammed as in figure 3-1:

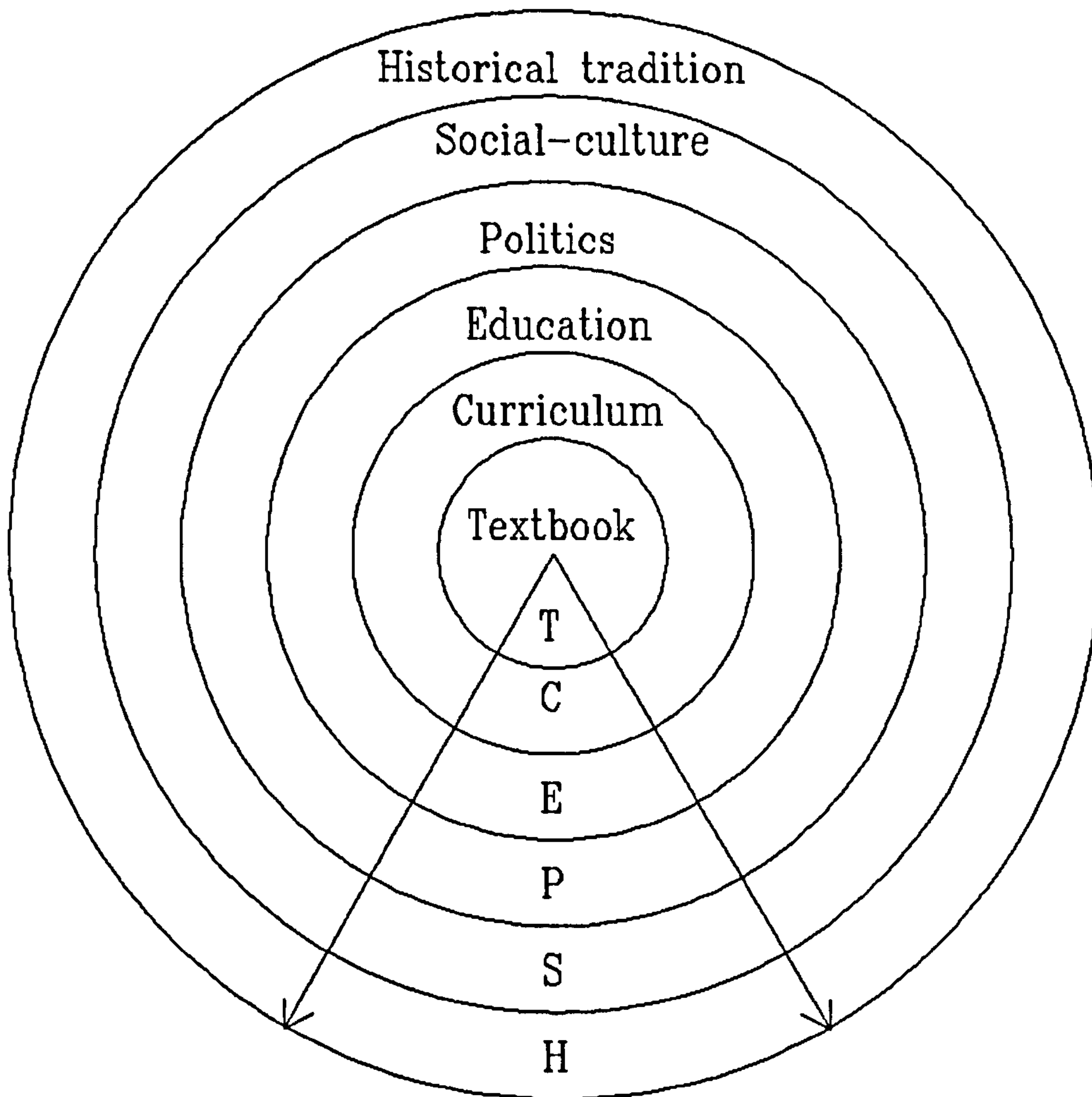


Figure 3-1: The macro-view of textbooks

Content: a micro-view

Yet textbooks are surely important in and of themselves. Besides the context, we also need to focus on the heart of the ripple itself, that is to examine the micro-view of the textbooks. The content of textbooks is a result of knowledge-selecting. Like Williams, Apple & Christian-Smith assert:

[Textbooks] signify -- through their content and form -- particular constructions of reality,

particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge.... They embody what Raymond Williams called the selective tradition -- someone's selection, someone's vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that in the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital disenfranchises another's (1991, pp.3-4).

The inclusion or exclusions of knowledge is not static in nature. It changes when the wider outside world changes.

In such process of selecting, however, the knowledge being included is not always the best. Or, in other words, the knowledge being excluded is not always of less value than that of being included. In the more recent development of textbook studies, great attentions have been paid to the concept of 'null curriculum' which emphasises what is excluded. Macer, a French literary theorist, for example, claims that:

a work is tied to ideology not so much by what it says as by what it does not say. It is in the significant silences of a text, in its gaps and absences, that the presence of ideology can be most positively felt (quoted in Eagleton, 1976, pp.34-5).

The micro-view of textbooks explains the relationship between this inclusion and exclusion of the textbooks. Such relationship is somewhat like the relationship of Yin and Yang in the Chinese Taoism. The Yang and the Yin are both oppositional and complementary to each other. The Yang (its literal meaning is the 'Male') represents the explicit forces of all existing things while the Yin (it means the 'Female' literally) represents the implicit forces. These two forces are equal in strength and always in a situation

of dynamic balance. Moreover, these two forces cannot be separated completely from each other. In the Yang, there are potential Yin. Similarly, in the Yin, there are potential Yang. If we use the Yang to represent for the included contents of textbooks, and the Yin for the excluded parts, then, the study of the content of textbooks is to explore the relationships between these two forces (see figure 3-2).

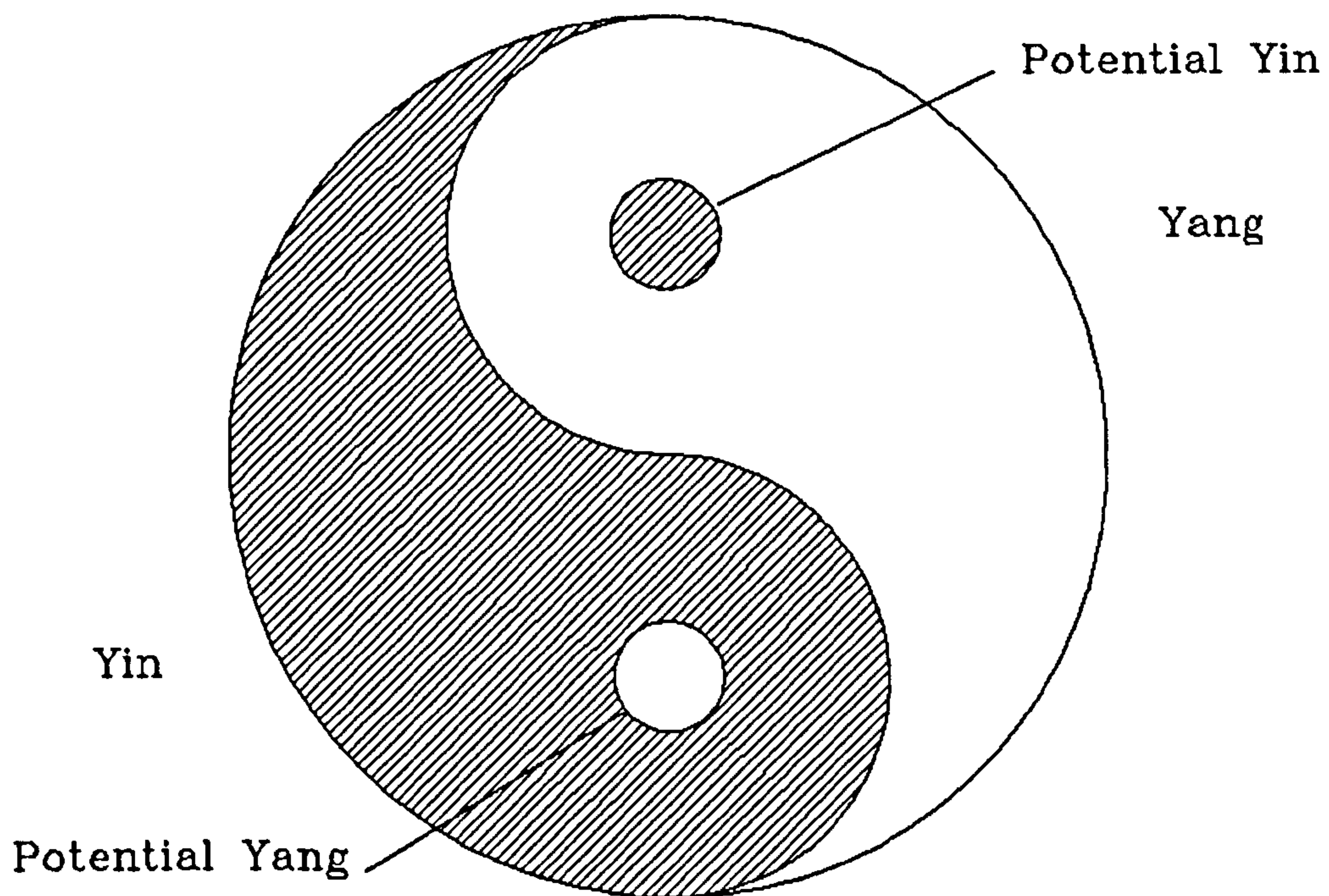


Figure 3-2: The micro-views of textbooks

In sum: the study of textbooks necessitate the macro- and micro-views of textbooks. The former explains the background from which the meaning of textbooks derived. The

latter shows the result of selection of the content of textbooks. All these macro- and micro-views comprise a holistic view of textbooks.

III. Analysis Criteria

To analyze the content of textbooks, some criteria must be determined. Restrained by the study time, it is impossible for me to analyze all the textbooks. The subject of language of the primary school comes to my attention firstly not only because it occupies more learning time than other subjects, but also it is the foundation of all other subjects. However, to extract the meaning out of textbooks, (including language textbooks), is to answer two fundamental questions: 'what knowledge' and 'whose knowledge' is most worthwhile?

Criteria for 'What Knowledge'

Textbooks build up a cosmology in which children can develop their concepts. Children have already gained some concepts about themselves and the world around them before going to school. The function of schooling, in some sense, is to enrich, to modify or to eliminate some of these concepts in light of adult's intention. Therefore the content of textbooks is a conceptual world designed for

children to build up their belief system. Concepts are fundamental because they are the vehicles of thought. As Kagan asserts that:

The theoretical significance of cognitive concepts (or, if you wish, symbolic mediators) in psychological theory parallels the seminal role of valence in chemistry, gene in biology, or energy in physics. Concepts are viewed as the distillate of sensory experience and the vital link between external inputs and overt behaviours. The S-O-R model of a generation ago regarded O as the black box switch that connected behaviour with a stimulus source. The O is viewed today as a set of concepts or mediators. (1966, p.97).

Concepts influence not only the domain of cognition such as problem solving and knowledge learning, they also intrude into the territory of personality. In a belief system, self-concept is of most importance because it shapes personality by defining who I am, what I must do, and what I would like to be. Rogers defines self-concept as:

... composed of such elements as the perceptions of one's characteristics and abilities; the percepts and concepts of the self in relation to others and to the environment; the value qualities which are perceived as associated with experiences and objects; and the goals and ideas which are perceived as having positive or negative valence. It is then the organised picture, existing in awareness either as figure or ground, of the self and the self-in-representation, together with the positive and negative values which are associated with those qualities and relationships as they are perceived as existing in the past, present, or future (1951, p.138).

Similarly, Burns emphasises the importance of self-concept. In his view, self-concept is 'a maintainer of inner consistency, an interpretation of experience, and a set of expectations' (1982, pp.11-17). Though the self-concept is forged out of the influences exerted on the individual from

outside, it becomes an interpretative centre of the outside world from the moment it is born. All other experiences cannot be integrated as a part of our personality without the function of self-concept.

There are some assumptions which have guided the formation of a self-concept. First, it is assumed that self concept is formed through the process of identification, through the communication with the outside world, and through the reflection of others as a 'looking glass' (Cooley's term, see 1912, p.152). Secondly, it is assumed that the formation of a self concept may be easier if it accords with the psychological principles of development, that is, from the simple, near, concrete to complex, farther, and abstract. And thirdly, it is assumed that the frequency of things presented to a child has influence in shaping the self concept.

It may be helpful if we view the purposes of textbooks as a formation of self-concept which is a core surrounded by other concepts. These surroundings are arranged in different size of circles with the self as their common centre. The circles enlarge from the centre (i.e. the self) to the family, to the school, to the society, to the nation, and to foreign countries. Therefore a simple way to analyze the content of textbooks is to identify the self-concept and its surroundings. Several key words and concepts are crucial in understanding the formation of a

belief system. They represent the knowledge which is treated as of most important: (1) the self-concept of the children; (2) the family; (3) the school; (4) the society; (5) the nation; (6) foreign countries and foreigners; and (7) Nature. These are the criteria for understanding 'what knowledge' is treated by the authors of textbooks as most worthwhile.

Criteria for 'Whose Knowledge'

In building up a belief system, the concepts usually appear as if they were neutral truth. In fact, this is not true. Some concepts are described in a way of distortion. In the meantime, some essential concepts are omitted by the selector of the texts on purpose. As Hicks asserts:

All teaching materials that deal in any way with images of the world bring with them a set of attitudes and assumptions, explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious, which are based on broader cultural perspectives. These perspectives tend to be ethnocentric, i.e. they generally measure other cultures and groups against the norms of one's own, or racist in that one's own culture is considered to be superior and thus, by definition, others are inferior (1980, p.3).

Haung also echoes that there are different kinds of pejorative sense of ideologies in the textbooks:

In the textbooks, five major -Isms prevail in the belief system and need to be eliminated. They are sexism, racism, ageism, ethnicism and classism (1985, p.181).

There are increasing evidences that those children who stay within an environment in which their culture is in a majority are able to sustain positive feelings about

themselves. On the other hand, the children of the minor group suffer from a poor self concept. Coopersmith, for example, states that the black children in the USA have lower self-concept than white children. He asserts:

The social forces that have sought to segregate the Blacks have provided an environment in which these Blacks are insulated against direct assaults upon their feelings. In this environment black children are not teased about their racial characteristics, insulted because of their poor academic performance or demeaned because of the illegitimacy or breakup of in families. Insulated by the environment he has the support to reject the low status to which white society assigns his race (1975, pp.161-2).

Such distorted and neglected messages influence the formation of a self-concept. The understanding of a belief system could be insufficient without scrutinizing these distorted and neglected messages which explain the legitimacy of the textbooks. To study the legitimacy of textbooks is to scrutinise how the minor groups of a society is described. These minor groups are usually the female, the foreign ethnics, the minor races, the disadvantaged groups (including the old, the orphan, the sick, the poor, the disable, etc.). They may be used as criteria for the legitimacy of textbooks. In addition, the slogans of dominant political party is also crucial in understanding the legitimacy of textbooks.

To sum up: the task of content analysis of textbooks must pay attention to the rationality and legitimacy of textbooks in the formation of children's belief system. Criteria for determining 'what knowledge is of most worth'

are the cognitive developments of children's cosmology. They start from the self-concept of the child to the concept of family, of school, of society, of nation, of foreign countries and of Nature. In the meantime, criteria for determining 'whose knowledge is of most worth' are the description of minor groups of a society and the political slogans.

IV. Summary

Textbooks are, as described in the previous chapters, complex and dynamic messages which need to be interpreted in the contexts in which they emerge. They are controversial in both rationality and legitimacy. To scrutinise textbooks is to analyze the rationality and legitimacy of their content by some reliable methods and instruments. Content analysis has been used as a useful method to extract meaning from textbooks. My study focuses on both contexts and contents of textbooks. Criteria for analyzing the contents have been determined in this chapter. Before analyzing the contents, knowledge about the contexts of Chinese and English textbooks need to be explored. These are the tasks of Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

Chapter Four

The Chinese Context of Textbooks

To use copper as a mirror, we can correct our hat and dress; To use other people as a mirror, we can find out things of good and bad; To use history as a mirror, we can understand what makes a country rise and fall (Wei Cheng, 580-643, A.D. Advisor of Li Shih-min, Emperor of Tang dynasty).

Every educational practice implies a concept of man and the world (Freire, 1972).

Textbooks 'serve to emphasize and legitimate the existence and activities of some groups at the expense of others' (Whitty, 1985, p.41). Since the contents of textbooks cannot be value-free or neutral, they reflect the relationships within and between societies. The changes of a society often cause changes in the context of textbooks. To understand the educational practices of a society in general and its textbooks in particular, it is necessary to

understand the relationships within the society in which the education and textbooks are generated.

The Republic of China (ROC) was established in mainland China in 1912, follow the overthrow of one of the oldest civilisations in the world. After ruling on the mainland for thirty-eight years, the central government of the ROC moved to Taiwan in 1949 due to the military defeat by the Chinese Communists. What is the significance of the historical change in China? How did these changes influence textbooks? How can we understand the educational system which covers a period longer than five thousand years?

Different divisions of the Chinese educational history have been made by educational scholars. Jen, for example, treats the Opium War in 1840 as the end of the old system (1987, p.10). Lin compares Chinese and English education and claims that the year 1902 is a dividing ridge for the birth of a new system:

The year 1902 is a landmark in the histories of both Chinese and English education. In that year a national system of education was completed in England known as the result of the Balfour Act; and a plan for a national system of education was also drafted by Chang Pai-hsi and approved by Kuang-hsu Emperor in China (1968, p.7).

Agreeing with both Jen and Lin, I envisage the year 1840 as the end of the old Chinese educational system with the year 1902 as the beginning of a new system. And the years between 1840 and 1902 will be treated as a transitional

period.

This chapter provides background. Its purposes are four-fold: (a) to provide a brief history of old Chinese educational system before 1840; (b) to describe the birth and development of a new education system after 1840; (c) to describe the development of new institutions for the productions of textbook; and (d) to describe the ideological contexts in Taiwan.

Before 1840

It is not my business to outline the historical events in detail. Before the unification of China in 221 B.C. by Chin Shih Huang (founder of the Chin dynasty), there were three dynasties: the Hsia (2205-1766 B.C.), the Sang (1766-1123 B.C.), and the Chou (1122-256 B.C.). During this early period lived the greatest Chinese thinkers: Confucius, Lao-tze, Mo-tze, Hsun-tze, Mencius, Han Fei-tze, and a range of philosophers known as the 'Hundred Schools'.

The Chin dynasty brought the age of fragmented and warring states to an end and replaced the old feudal aristocracy by a centrally appointed non-hereditary bureaucracy, thus instituting a form of government that set the pattern for all later dynasties. With the possible exception of the

creation of the Republic of China in 1912, these events surrounding unification marked the greatest single change in China's political history.

In the 2132 years between the Chin dynasty unification and the collapse of the old empire in 1911 A.D., there were eight main Chinese dynasties¹, with two periods of chaos -- the Period of Disunity (221-589 A.D.) and the Period of Interlude (907-959 A.D.).

Though the emperors as well as dynasties changed from time to time, Chinese society was essentially static and conservative in nature. As Tsang claims:

One could say that if a man had fallen asleep in Han dynasty and woken up in the Ching dynasty he would not have found family life, village life, and social life in China strange to him. He could have found them reading the same books, eating the same food, putting on the same attire, taking the same attitude to their emperor, using the same utensils, speaking the same language, and sharing the same ideology (1968, p.11).

In this static society, there was an educational system which echoed the needs of the society. Weber identified three characteristics of this system:

1. An emphasis on propriety and 'bookishness', with a curriculum largely restricted to the learning and memorizing of classical texts.
2. This curriculum was a very narrow selection from the available knowledge

¹ These eight dynasties are: Chin (221-207 B.C.); Han (206 B.C.- 220 A.D.); Sui (590-617 A.D.); Tang (618-906 A.D.); Sung (960-1279 A.D.); Yuen (1280-1367 A.D.); Ming (1368-1643 A.D.); Ching (1644-1911 A.D.).

in a society where mathematicians, astronomers, scientists, and geographers were not uncommon. However, all these fields of knowledge were classified by the literati as 'vulgar', or perhaps in more contemporary terms 'non-academic'.

3. Entry into the administrative elite was controlled by examinations on this narrow curriculum, so that the 'non-bookish' were for the purposes of the Chinese society of the time 'not educated' (quoted in Young, 1971, p.30).

Such observation is pertinent. However, there are still other features for this old educational system: (1) it served the ruling classes; (2) it neglected women's education; (3) its basis was moral training; (4) it revolved around examination system used for the selecting of servants of the state; (5) it gave great social status to teachers; and (6) its textbooks were dominated by Confucian philosophy.

First, it was the sons of the ruling classes who benefitted from public schools. As recorded in Li Chi (one of the thirteen Classics), 'pertaining to education, the crown princes and the students must be taught in time' (Readings on the Thirteen Classics, 1980, p.82). Here, the students are referring to the sons of the aristocratic nobility and the powerful officials only. In the old society, people were divided into different strata. Mencius claimed in his work that, 'There are the people who labour mentally. And there are the people who labour physically. The mentally-

labour people dominate others while the physically-labour people are dominated by others' (The Four Books, 1988, p.356). It is not surprising that the educational resources were monopolised by the dominant classes.

Nevertheless, throughout the history, there were private schools that offered education to the sons of commoners. Confucius was the first person to establish this kind of private school. He claimed that an ideal education is one without categorisation. In practice, he taught all the persons who wanted to learn from him receiving payment in the form of dried meat. And it is said that he educated more than three thousand students among which seventy two achieved great prominence. Most of the greatest politicians came from private schools. This was more true when a civil service examination system was established in the Sui dynasty. For example, Wang An-shih (1021-1086) in the Sung dynasty, and Li Hung-chang (1823-1901) in the Ching dynasty were even promoted to the rank of prime minister.

Secondly, both public and private schools neglected women's education. As an old saying has it: 'Women without intelligence have virtues'. The first girls school did not appear until 1905. With very few exceptions, Chinese women were illiterate in this period. And the textbooks they used were different from those of the males. They are taught to be a good housekeeper completely obedient to their husbands.

Thirdly, the purpose of classical Chinese education was moral training. In the oldest book of China, i.e. the Book of History, it was recorded that the Emperor Shun told to one of his subordinates, Chi, that:

Now the relationship of the people is not intimate; the five grades of the society is not in order. As the minister of education and cultural affairs, you must promote the five cultures to the people with respectful attention, and rule your people with kindness (Readings on the Thirteen Classics, 1980, p.313).

Mencius also commented in his work that, 'The purpose of education was always the same, i.e. to make the human relationship clear' (The Four Books, 1988, p.341). In this respect, Mencius referred to the 'Five Relationships', which were those between sovereign and subject, father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. In the Erh Ya, the oldest dictionary of the Chinese language, reports that 'there are more than one hundred terms for family relationships' (Readings on the Thirteen Classics, 1980, p.394), most of which have no English equivalent. Out of the Five Relationships, three are family relationships. The remaining two, though not family relationships, can be conceived of in terms of the family. And the purpose of education is the rational justification of this kinship system.

Fourthly, an examination system for servants of the state was prominent in classical China. This system was based in the Four Books and the Thirteen Classics. As Tsang observes:

[This was a system] of selecting talented in the country for the service of the State as well as keeping the talented preoccupied with prescribed classical and literary learning, so that their endeavour to win social and political privileges also lessened the chance of their engagement in subversive activities. Concerning the latter point, Li Shih-min, first Emperor of the Tang dynasty, was so delighted with the examination system that he said, 'Now the scholars of the whole world will hereafter fall within my target' (1968, p.10).

This system was established in the Sui dynasty (590-617 A.D.) and was perfected in the Tang dynasty (618-906 A.D.). For a long period of some 1300 years, the 'school' and 'university' education became preparatory stages of examinations for civil service. For most Chinese students, how to pass the civil service examination was their first concern. And the reason why the emperors wanted students to take part in the examination can be easily perceived. Sung Chen-tzung, one of the emperors in Sung dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), for example, wrote in his famous poem titled 'advising for reading', to encourage students to learn the old Classics. It said:

In the books, there are lots of grains; there are houses built with gold; there are beautiful ladies whose faces are as bright as jade; there are many cars clustered together with horses. ... For the person who wants to achieve his ambitions, the best way is to read the old Classics by the window everyday (quoted in Jen, 1987, p.25).

The greatest reinforcement for reading was the rewards given by the examination system. It is not uncommon that students sacrificed their sleeping time to read the

standardised textbooks for the examination, hoping that they might achieve the task and be known by the world someday after years of hard studies by the window without any consolation. Going to the Ching dynasty, the invention of the so-called 'eight-legged' essay (Pa ku wen) became the only accepted style for literary expression in examination. It narrowed the thinking of the learners furthermore and ignored the character and broad abilities of the candidates completely. Its negative influences on the educational system, according to Jen, were as follows:

1. It became a tool used by the ruling class to control the thought of the learners.
2. It encouraged the utilitarian thinking for the purchasing of wealth and high position.
3. It cultivated the students with the impractical and useless knowledge.
4. It caused the depravity of climbing on the coat-tail of the influential people (Jen, 1987, pp.161-162).

Criticism like this kind can be echoed throughout history. The examination system underwrote equal opportunities for all males. It allowed social mobility. And, it was a source of social stability. However, its bad influences mentioned above were not rooted out completely even after it was abolished in 1905.

Fifthly, Chinese teachers had high status. Partly influenced by the greatness of Confucius, and partly because the role of the teacher was played by the powerful

administrators in the ancient time, Chinese people pay their greatest respect to teachers, and, on the other hand, have the greatest expectations for them. As an old Chinese saying has it, 'One should respect his teacher as if he were the father even if the teacher-student relationship has existed for only a single day'. In one of the Thirteen Classics, Li Chi, the importance of teacher was shown explicitly as it said, 'There are only two kinds of people which cannot be treated as subordinate to the Emperor. One is teachers; the other is dead men' (Readings on the Thirteen Classics, 1980, p.85). It also said, 'Only when teachers are qualified, the knowledge transmitted by the teachers will be honoured; Only when the knowledge is honoured, the people will respect the task of education' (ibid.). Hsun-tze (a contemporary of Mencius, and a famous Confucianist), saw teachers as the most important agents for re-directing the wickedness of human nature and bringing harmony into human society. He said, 'The harmony of human being comes from teachers and laws. Without them, the disaster of human being happens' (quoted in Jen, 1987, p.32). Han Yu (768-824 A.D.) in his article 'On Teachers' also emphasized the importance of teachers. He defined teacher as 'a person who transmitting the truth to, giving the vocational skills to, and answering the questions for the learners' (quoted in Jen, 1987, p.178). In his view, a teacher is not a person who teaches, but also a person who gives models. A teacher is a person who not only is excellent in cognitive affairs, but also in moral

behaviours. Such thinking was so prominent that it became a central belief of the Chinese people. Moreover, this belief was not merely existing in the theoretical level. It was a part of the everyday life. Teachers, for example, became one of the five objects who had the privilege to enjoy the sacrifices offered by the people in the ancestor worship festivals. The others are: Heaven, the Earth, the Emperors, and the Ancestors.

One might puzzle about the absence of the teacher-student relationship in the Five Relationships which was the foundation of the Chinese society. The explanation given by Tseng Kuo-fan (1811-1872 A.D.) is an outstanding one. He said:

A teacher is a man who makes the Five Relationships clear. Without teachers, the Five Relationships will collapse. Being the original of the Five Relationships, teachers cannot be included as just one of the Five Relationships (quoted in Jen, 1987, p.183).

Even in these days, the tradition of respecting teachers persists. Confucius had been seen as 'the model of teacher for all generations' throughout the history. And his birthday, 28th of September, is now a national festival celebrated by all people in Taiwan. An investigation about the prestige of teachers in the ROC shows: Among the forty vocations which divided into six levels, professors are levelled at the first one, while the secondary school teachers are levelled at the second one, and the primary school teachers are levelled at the third one (Lin, 1981, p.297).

Finally, the textbooks used in both the public and private schools are dominated by Confucian philosophy. As Fung claims in his A Short History of Chinese Philosophy that:

The place which philosophy has occupied in Chinese civilization has been comparable to that of religion in other civilizations. In China, philosophy has been every educated person's concern. In the old days, if a man were educated at all, the first education he received was in philosophy (1948, p.1).

And the most prominent philosophy used in textbooks was mostly derived from the doctrines of Confucianism which was treated as the main stream of thought since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). The compilation of the most important Chinese classics made by Confucius with extensive explanatory notes, was used, together with other classics, as basic uniform curriculum since Han Wu-ti, one of the Emperor of this dynasty. He made an imperial edict saying that Confucianism was the essential thought of the country on which any interpretation of the system was based. From then on, Confucianism became the most powerful thinking, while other Chinese philosophic schools disappeared as separate schools, though many of their ideas were absorbed into Confucianism.

When the children were just beginning to learn the characters, usually before the formal education, they were given different sorts of textbook to read. These were the Three Characters Classic, the Book of Hundred Family Names, the Thousand Characters Classic, and the Poem of Thousand

Schools, etc. The most popular one was the Three Characters Classic. (It was so called because each sentence in the book consisted of three characters arranged so that when recited they produced a rhythmic effect, and thus helped the children to memorize them more easily.) The very first statement in this book is that 'the nature of man is originally good'. This is one of the fundamental ideas of Mencius' philosophy. This book had its powerful influences on almost every Chinese children.

When children went to school, the Four Books, which consist of the Confucian Analects, the Book of Mencius, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean, were the first ones they were taught to read. Following the Four Books, then came the Five Classics which were parts of the Thirteen Classics. The Five Classics were the Yi or Book of Changes, the Shih or Book of Odes (or Poetry), the Shu or Book of History, the Li or Rituals or Rites, and the Ch'un Ch'iu or Spring and Autumn Annals, a chronicle history of Confucius' state of Lu extending from 722 to 479 B.C., the year of Confucius' death. (Together with the Yueh or Music, which no longer preserved as a separate work since the burning of books ordered by the First Emperor of the Chin dynasty, they were the six liberal arts compiled by Confucius.) This kind of curriculum was distinguished by its political, ethical, and moral thoughts; All of them were concrete 'crystals' of everyday life's observation and experience without any religious colours. But it had its disadvantages

as well. As Needham (1956, p.12) points out, on the one hand, 'Confucianism was basically rationalistic and opposed to any superstitions or even supernatural forms of religion'; but on the other hand, 'its intense concentration of interest upon human social life to the exclusion of non-human phenomena negated all investigation of things, as opposed to affairs.' As a consequence of its influences, the traditional studies were devoid of the observation of natural phenomena and the systematic knowledge of science. Moreover, the method for teaching these books was mainly by reciting the contents without knowing their meaning for many years. Failing to recite the contents ordered by the teacher usually causes corporal punishment.

In sum, the educational system of the old China was an instrument for maintaining the family-based, moral-oriented society by using the standardised textbooks through the operation of the examination system and respecting the role of teachers. The high status of teachers and the outstanding contributions of the private schools were two essential factors for achieving the educational functions.

After 1840

The first missionaries from Persia arrived at China's

capital, Chang On, as early as 500 A.D. Marco Polo reached Peking in 1275 A.D. The Portuguese first arrived in 1516 and settled in Macao in 1557. Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, came to Peking in 1601, and translated the Western books dealing with astronomy and geometry with the help of Hsu Kuang-chi (1562-1633). The first British vessel called at Canton in 1637, and was followed by the establishment of Macartney's embassy to Peking in 1793. China's first treaty with a Western power was made with Russia in 1689. However such events did not have much impact upon the Chinese people. As Tsang says:

[The Chinese] did not care about Western ways of life; they wanted to be left alone and did not want to be bothered. When their doors were knocked, they refused to open. They wanted to close their own doors to dream their own dreams (1968, p.13).

The Opium War brought to the Chinese a shocking experience. It is important not only because it broke the door of China which had been closed for thousand years, but also because it broke the illusory dream of China as a great country. To their great surprise, the Chinese people understood for the first time that there were civilised 'barbarians' beyond the 'Central Kingdom', as they named their own country.

Influenced by the constant failures in war, especially those in 1840, 1860, 1885, and 1890, innovations were launched to meet the emergent needs. The innovations adopted in this period aimed at resisting the foreigners by learning their advantages, i.e. durable ships and sharp

cannon. The only thing that attracted their attention was the technology of making modern weapons. In the Chinese imagination, this was the only thing that was superior to classical Chinese culture. Foreign languages were also important as a tool for assimilating such technologies.

New schools for the purposes of teaching foreign languages were established since 1862. Tung Wen Kuan, for example, was the first language school to be built in that year. And some scholars, such as Szu (1981, p.22), had treated this year as the beginning of the new school system. Factories for manufacturing ships and weapons were established during 1862 and 1882. Unfortunately, a modernised navy equipped with new fleet and cannon was defeated completely by Japan, their small but recently modernised neighbour, in 1895. One of the results of the failure in this war was the cession of Taiwan to Japan. The reformations during this period, concerning mainly with practical courses in foreign languages, technical studies and military training were evidenced as being in vain.

Another wave of innovation had been launched again. A radical process of complete Westernisation (a synonym of modernisation at that time) stepped forward rapidly, resulting in the establishment of a systematic educational system borrowed from the West in 1902, and the abolition of the old civil service examination system in 1905.

Despite the overthrow of the Ching dynasty in 1911, and the internecine warfare after the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, i.e. the civil war between 1912 and 1927, the invasion of Japan since 1931, the eight-year Sino-Japanese War from 1937, the rebellion of communists after the victory of the Sino-Japanese War in 1945, and the withdrawal of Kuomintang government to Taiwan in 1949, the first education system promulgated by the Manchu Emperor Kuang-hsu in 1902 was turned into the present one. The school system can be diagrammed as figure 4-1:

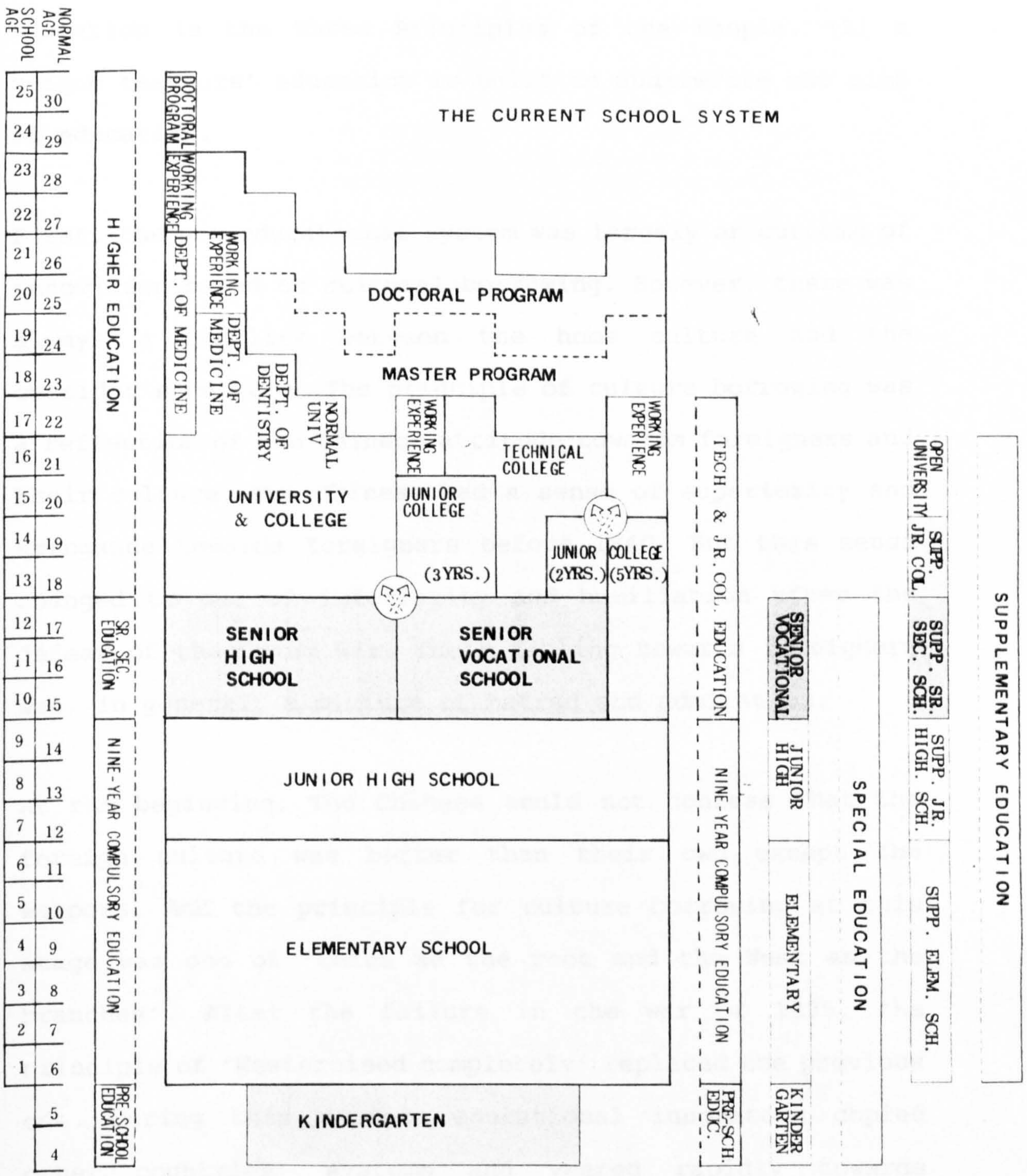


Figure 4-1: The present school system of ROC

Considering the characteristics of this new education system, three striking features are important: (1) it is a result of culture borrowing; (2) the highest guide line for education is the Three Principles of the People. (3) a unique teachers' education is built to underwrite the aims of education.

First, the new educational system was largely an outcome of innovation based on cultural borrowing. However, there was always a conflict between the home culture and the outsider's culture. The principle of culture borrowing was a reflection of the Chinese attitude towards foreigners and their culture. The Chinese had a sense of superiority and arrogance towards foreigners before 1840. But this sense changed to one of inferiority and humiliation after the defeat of the Opium War. Their feeling towards foreigners was, in general, a mixture of hatred and admiration.

At the beginning, The Chinese could not confess that the foreign culture was better than their own except the weapons. And the principle for culture borrowing at this stage was one of 'China as the root and the West as the branches'. After the failure in the war of 1895, the principle of 'Westernised completely' replaced the previous one. During this period, educational innovators copied other countries' systems and veered rapidly towards progressiveness. This is a product of the cataclysmic upheaval based on the 'queer' West, nothing to do with the

traditional ways of thinking and doing. However, both extreme poles of conservatism and radicalism have their disadvantages. As Lin claims:

This rapid change, on the one hand, has benefitted the modernisation of a country after overthrowing the traditional Emperor Kingdom; but on the other hand, it has brought about its concomitant: the difficulties of educational adjustments to the changing social ideology which is always a combination of the old and the new (1968, p.31).

The difficulties of educational adjustments appeared on two levels. On the one hand, how could the old elements, for example, the old Classics, be coordinated in the new system? On the other hand, which country's system could be the best one for Chinese to learn from? However, after many trial-and-error experiments, conclusions had been reached. The reformers began to find out that cultural borrowing is rewarding only when the process of cultural diffusion is guided by an integrated viewpoint. So they did their best to maintain an optimum equilibrium of the domestic and the alien cultural elements. For the sake of cultural borrowing, students had been sent abroad. A group of thirty young students was first sent to the USA in 1872. Since then, numerous of students had been sent to different countries. The biggest group which comprises of 15,000 students flocked to Japan to study in the year 1905 when Japan won the war over Russia. The task of culture borrowing does not stop even after the government moved to Taiwan. For example, 216 students were approved to go abroad to study in 1950. The number of the abroad-learning

students increased steadily. Now about 7,000 students are approved to go every year. More than half of them are bound for the USA, though a new trend for Europe is now forming. After finishing their studies, they became influential figures at home.

Secondly, the aims of Chinese education are guided by the Three Principles of the People. The aims of education change frequently since the establishment of the new system. However, after the Kuomintang government was built in Nanking in 1927, a new Aim of Chinese Education was promulgated in 1929. It reads as:

The purpose of Chinese education is to enrich the individual life, enhance social coherence, improve the people's livelihood, so as to attain the independence of the nation, the spread of citizens' democratic rights, and the promotion of economic life with a view to the realisation of an ideal world where peace, harmony and equality prevail (quoted in Lin, 1968, p.520).

The Aim of Chinese Education echoed the goals of the Three Principles of the People which was an invention of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Dr. Sun Yet-sen founded Hsing Chung Hui (the predecessor of the Kuomintang) at Honolulu in 1894, and overthrew the Ching dynasty in 1911. He hoped to establish a country of freedom, equality and fraternity. Combining the domestic tradition and the Western culture, the Three Principles of the People, namely Nationalism, Democracy and Welfare, is a solution of the three problems faced by human being after industrial revolution: the problem of ethnic struggle, the conflicts between the rulers and the

subordinates, and the problems of wealth-making and wealth-distribution. It was legitimated when the Constitution of the Republic of China was approved by the National Assembly in 1946. In article 1 of the Constitution, it reads: 'Based on the Three Principles of the People, the Republic of China is a democratic republic which is of, by, and for the people'. And now the Three Principles of the People is seen as the highest guideline of Chinese reconstruction.

Thirdly, a unique teachers' education system was built to underwrite the aims of the new education. The normal schools, which were at the same level as senior high schools, had been promoted to the level of junior college in 1962. Again, they were promoted to the level of university in 1987. The normal university and the teachers college have their unique functions to achieve. They not only require one more year than the undergraduate students, but also have a more strict discipline, e.g. the students must live in the dormitory. In fact, the teachers' education in this country is treated as the defense of spirits, and the teachers are treated as the soldiers of spirit-defense and, like the soldiers, their earnings are free of tax.

To sum up, a new educational system has been founded in this period to meet the new challenges of the changing world. The modern-senses of schooling, textbooks, teaching methods, were introduced into China rapidly. Though it was

borrowed from foreign countries, it was adjusted by the traditional elements. When the Aim of the Chinese Education was approved in 1929, a road for Chinese education was clearly paved before them. All the efforts they made were the steps towards this aim. The teachers' education is most important in carrying out this aim of education.

Chinese Textbook Agencies

Parallel to the development of the new educational system, a new textbook system appeared to replace the old one. The first new textbook was edited by the Christian Club in 1877 when a Commission of School Textbooks was founded. The government-edited textbooks appeared firstly in 1901, three years after the establishment of Bureau of Translation. Since then, a textbook institution was formed by consecutive developments. To describe this institution, three essential features are important: (1) the centralisation of textbooks; (2) different textbook institutions are used in different levels of education; and (3) three models of textbook compilation have been developed.

Firstly, the ministry of education has the right to determine the content of textbooks. It usually promulgates different kinds of regulation to control the quality of

textbooks. It also sets up different organisations to bear the responsibilities of editing and examining textbooks.

As for the regulations, the most important ones are the curriculum guide-lines for elementary schools, secondary schools, and vocational schools. Though there is no such regulations for the college and university, there are tables of common subject matters instead.

The curriculum guide-lines are the crystallisation of the Aim of Chinese Education. They are modified from time to time due to special needs of the education. For example, the Curriculum Guide-line for the Primary Schools was promulgated in 1929, and had been revised eight times (i.e. the revisions of 1932, 1936, 1942, 1945, 1952, 1961, 1967 and 1975). A revision for the present one is now in process.

The curriculum guide-lines include two main parts. The first part is the general principles. It is divided into three sections: (1) the aims; (2) subject matter and the distribution of time; and (3) teaching principles. The second part sets the criteria for every subject matter. For example, the aims in the Curriculum Guide-line for the Primary Schools are:

The purpose of the elementary education is to foster vivacious child and dignified person. It focuses on the cultivation of human morality, the training of both physical and mental health, and the improvement of the base skills of everyday life. This purpose must be carried out by

achieving the following goals:

1. to foster the basic characters of thinking carefully and clearly, bearing one's duties and abiding the laws, behaving morally for oneself and others.
2. to develop the spirit of loving family and country, cooperating with others, serving the society.
3. to cultivate a good habit, so the health of both body and spirit can be improved.
4. to obtain the basic knowledge and skills about using language, characters, numbers, measurements and figures.
5. to improve the abilities for self-understanding, environment concerning, and modern life adjusting.
6. to develop the abilities for thinking, creating, and problem solving.
7. to foster the conception and habit of work, and the wise use of the leisure time.
8. to foster the ability for appreciating everyday life, and develop the optimistic, energetic spirits (Ministry of Education, ROC, 1975, p.1).

A broad programme including eight subject matters is designed to achieve the aims of the elementary education. These are: civics and morals, health education, language studies, social studies, natural studies, mathematics, industrial arts, and group activities.

The distribution of time for these subject matters is quoted as table 4-1:

Table 4-1: Teaching time per week for different subject matters in the primary schools (unit: minutes)

		grade 1	grade 2	grade 3	grade 4	grade 5	grade 6
civics and morals & health education		120	120	120	200	200	200
language studies		400	400	400	400	400	400
mathematics		120	120	160	200	240	240
social studies		80	80	120	120	120	120
science		120	120	160	160	160	160
arts	1	160	160	200	200	200	200
	2	80	80	120	120	120	120
group activity		80	80	80	80	80	80
total		1160	1160	1360	1480	1520	1520

Key: arts 1 means singing and playing for grade 1 and grade 2; music and physical education for grade 3 to grade 6.

arts 2 includes painting, handicrafts (for boys), and housekeeping (for girls).

Language studies is considered as the most important subject matter, and thus has been distributed more time than other subject matters. In every grade, it occupied around one third of the total teaching time.

As for the organisations dealing with the compilation of the textbooks, the National Institute for Compilation and Translation, the National Institute of Educational Materials, the Commission for Directing the Teaching of Sciences, and the Commission for Directing the Teaching of Humanistic and Social Studies, are now on their duties.

The National Institute for compilation and Translation was founded in 1932. Among other functions, it compiles and examines textbooks for different schools. The National Institute of Educational Materials was founded in 1956. It examines all the classroom-used media. Both the Commission for Directing the Teaching of Sciences, and the Commission for Directing the Teaching of Humanistic and Social Studies are the organisations for curriculum studies. However, they are all under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. Moreover, though the scholars, specialists, and teachers are invited to participate in the task of curriculum development, and the compilation of textbooks, it is the minister of education who has the right of final decision-making.

Secondly, three institutions for the compilation of textbooks are used for different level of educations. They are the government-edited institution, the government-examined institution, and the freedom institution.

With regard to the government-edited institution, it is used for textbooks, handbooks, and exercise books of all subject matters of the elementary schools and junior high schools, and five subject matters of the senior high schools, i.e. Chinese language, the Three Principles of the People, history, geography, and civics.

As for the government-examined institution, it is used in

the textbooks of the senior high schools except the five subject matters mentioned above, the vocational high schools and the junior colleges.

As for the freedom institution, the textbooks of the colleges and universities are determined by the professors in light of their academic autonomy.

Thirdly, three models for the compilation of textbooks have been developed in this period. They are the Chou-shan model, the Pan-chiao model, and the Nan-hai model.

The Chou-shan model is so called because its builder, the National Institute for Compilation and Translation, is located on Chou-shan road, Taipei. Under this model, seven steps are followed in the process of compilation. They are (1) planning and preparation (2) writing (3) rectifying and examining (4) drawing illustration (5) editing (6) publishing and correcting (7) using on a trial basis and revising.

The shortcoming of this model is the lack of experiment before using the textbooks. Then the Pan-chiao model is developed to overcome it. Pan-chiao is a small town of Taipei county where the Study Centre for the Primary School Teachers (which belongs to the Government of Taiwan Province) is located, and thus derives its name for the model. Under the Pan-chico model, a system-designed

procedure is used for the experiment of textbooks. It is, opposite to the previous model, a bottom-up procedure. The experiments are conducted by teachers themselves. However, it examines only the practical parts of textbooks and is criticised as too low a level to determine the long-term policies.

The Nan-hai model is a new one to examine all aspects of textbooks. It is named after the builder of this model, the Commission for Directing the Teaching of Humanistic and Social Studies which is located on Nan-hai road, Taipei. It gathers curriculum specialists, subject matter specialists, educational specialists, and practitioners, to review the social contexts and gives a long-term outlook for the compilation of textbooks.

To conclude: the textbook institution reflects the features of the new educational system which in turn is but a reflection of the outside world. The centralisation of the textbook compilation and examination echoes the political institution which prescribes that education needed to be standardised for the whole country. Under this principle, the Ministry of Education has its topmost authority. However, through the practical experience, the top-down procedure of the Chou-shan model is now giving its way to the models of Pan-chiao and Nan-hai. Under these models, democratic procedures are emphasised.

The Contemporary Development in Taiwan: 1950-1993

Taiwan, terraced bay, as the Chinese call it, or Formosa, beautiful island, as the Portuguese named it, is an island situated in the Pacific Ocean off the coast of the Asian Continent. It lies at the intersection of the two island arcs, namely Philippine and the Japan archipelago, and is part of a festoon of islands running along the Asiatic coast at the Western rim of the Pacific Ocean. The Island spreads 240 miles from north to south and 98 miles from west to east. Taiwan covers an area of 13,884 square miles, which is a little larger than the Netherlands, a trifle smaller than Switzerland.

Together with the administratively constituent Pescadores Islands, which lie off west coast in the Straits of Taiwan, and the several 'off shore' islands, i.e., Quemoy, Matsu, etc., Taiwan makes up the present-day temporary estate of the Republic of China.

Several events were essential in the history of Taiwan: (1) The expansion of Europe from the fifteen century on, bringing Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch to Taiwan around 1600; (2) The population explosion in the east coast of China during the seventeenth century that forced many Chinese to emigrate to Taiwan; (3) During the last years of Ming dynasty, the famous Koxinga (Cheng Ch'eng-Kung) threw out the Dutch in 1661 and established a regime to resist

the Ching dynasty. He was defeated by Ching dynasty and Taiwan became a regular Chinese prefecture in 1684; (4) It became a province in 1885; (5) In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan due to the Ching dynasty losing their war with Japan over Korea; (6) In 1945, Taiwan returned to be a province of China, by defeating Japan in the eight-year Sino-Japanese War; and (7) In 1949, Taiwan became the refuge island of the Kuomintang government. This is the most fundamental factor influencing the ideology of the current textbooks of the ROC.

Since withdrawing from mainland, the ROC faced series of challenges. However, it not only survived the military threat of the Chinese Communists, but also achieved remarkable success at different aspects. In the process of struggling, attentions were simultaneously paid to keep the two contradictory ideologies, i.e. growth and stability, in balance.

On the one hand, the ROC aims and does its best to be a modern nation based on the Three Principles of the People. For the principle of Nationalism, it aims to be an independent nation and wants to help all the weak nations in the world to be so. It also aims to restore the mainland by overthrowing the Chinese Communist regime. For the principle of Democracy, it aims to established an effective government controlled by the people. For the principle of Welfare, it aims to have an economy of affluence and

equality.

Over the past forty years, movement towards such aims has been maintained, and achievements have been substantial in the economic, political, social and educational spheres. First, Taiwan has experienced remarkable economic success and a spectacular rise in its material standard of living, though its natural endowments are very poor and its population density - 508 persons per square kilometre - is one of the highest in the world. Both the goals of affluence and equality have been reached. The GNP of the ROC in 1950 was around 200 US dollars, while in 1992, it increases to around 10,000 US dollars. And the ratio of highest fifth's income to the lowest fifth's reduced from 5.80 in 1950 to 4.69 in 1987. Secondly, the operation of the government is effective and smooth. It has a National Assembly, delegated by the people to elect President and Vice-president and to create and amend the Constitution which was first approved in 1946; a President, the head of the Republic; and Five Yuans, i.e. executive, legislative, judicial, examination and control Yuan, as the highest organs of the state to serve the people; and the people have four powers to control the government, i.e. suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum. The freedom and rights of the people are protected in the Constitution. Thirdly, an open society in which mobility is based on the individual achievement rather than on status is accomplished. In this society, the main teaching of

Confucius, i.e. benevolence, reciprocity, filial piety, fraternity, justice, fidelity and propriety, still remain to some extent as the moral criteria of the everyday life though not as dominant as they once were. Finally, the development of education is remarkable. There were 1,504 schools in 1950 which were translated into a density of 41.8 schools per 1,000 square kilometres, and it increased to 6,740 schools or a density of 186.3 schools per 1,000 square kilometres in 1990. On the average, every town/township had 18.32 schools which represented an increase of 3.48 fold over 40 years ago. The percentage of school children to the school-aged children increases from 79.98 in 1950 to 99.90% in 1990.

However, the achievement of modernisation has been accompanied by signs of imbalance and dislocation, including traffic congestion, environmental pollution, a rising crime rate, and a lack of cultural and recreational facilities. These are the new challenges faced by the ROC.

On the other hand, stability is treated as superior to growth due to the threat of military attacks of the Chinese Communists. A martial law was promulgated on 18 April 1948 which inevitably sacrifices part of freedom and political rights of the people. However, the principle of filling openings in the central organs through elections in Taiwan was slowly institutionalised beginning in 1969. Moreover, these elections began to exhibit vigorous competition

between KMT and non-KMT candidates since 1977. By the summer of 1987, martial law ended. When the widely revered president, Kiang Ching-kuo, died on 13 January 1988, he left behind a will asking that the nation actively carry forward constitutional democracy without interruption. In 1989, the opposition party, the Democratic Progress Party (DPP) was legalized. And the relationship between Taiwan and mainland improves since a policy of 'go back home to see the relatives' was implemented in 1988. The ideology of anti-communism is replaced by the ideology of reunification.

In short, the ideological development of the ROC has thus combined growth and stability. Four elements are intertwined together to form the ideological basis. These are: (1) the official doctrine of the Three Principles of the People; (2) Confucian humanism; (3) rejection of Communism, and (4) emphasis on modernization, democracy, and Chinese patriotism; They are the key concepts in understanding the ideologies of the ROC textbooks.

Summary

As Cornbleth asserts in her Curriculum in Context that:

If curriculum is viewed critically as a contextualised social process, then curriculum change is a function of contextual change. Curriculum is unlikely to change in the absence

of supportive structural changes, which are unlikely to be initiated in the absence of external pressures or supports (1990, p.35).

The external pressures or supports of Chinese textbooks have been analyzed as above. They change from time to time, and are the products of a unique historical and social milieu. As Metzger and Myers claim that:

Although the monarchy was abolished in 1912, the KMT retained the 'inhibited political centre' of the imperial period, a centre allowing much economic, social, religious and intellectual freedom but not the freedom to form a political group legally able to challenge and replace the ruling group. In Chiang's eyes, these limits on political dissent were needed to ensure stability and fend off Communist subversion. To his critics, however, they merely reflected his lust for power and the selfish interests of the KMT (1989, p.7).

The political development of the ROC has thus combined dictatorial and democratic tendencies. However, when time passes, the new milieu will bring new ideologies to the content of textbooks. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People is still the highest ideological basis. It tried to combine the emphasis with a concern for traditional culture and for modernisation. It is important to point out that the ideology of anti-Communism has changed into the ideology of reunification with mainland China. Keeping these concepts in mind, then we can easily scrutinise the content of Chinese textbooks.

Chapter Five

The English Context of Textbooks

If the textbook does not consist of ideology, the aim of teaching would be impossible to reach. And the function of textbook could not be realized (Jan, 1989, p.37).

If a national curriculum is to be effective it will require the confidence and commitment of the educational community (SCDC, 1987, p.15).

A study of textbooks without paying regard to the contemporary social and economic background of that particular country would be of little value. Textbooks, as a major element of a country's educational system, reflect the existing system in particular. Textbooks can never be completely isolated from the educational history of a nation, of which they form only one aspect. To achieve a clear view of a nation's textbooks against its wider context is not an easy task. However, such attempt will be essential to avoid a narrow and distorted view of textbooks.

This chapter provides the background to English textbooks.

Three topics will be addressed: the milestones in the evolution of English education; pluralism in English educational system (1944-1988); the National Curriculum: a new era (post 1988).

Milestones in the Evolution of English Education

Three distinct statutory systems of public education exist in the United Kingdom - those of England and Wales, Scotland, and of Northern Ireland. The British Government believes that these three systems should offer and maintain proper education to their peoples while preserving their own traditions and culture, at the same time satisfying the different needs of the peoples they serve. A comparison of the three systems is not the task of this chapter, only the education system in England and Wales will be discussed.

Chinese education system is basically a combination of its traditions and elements borrowed from other cultures. The English educational system is more of a result of slow and cumulative evolution. In this long-term evolution process, a trend of nationalisation can be discerned.

The voluntary feature of English education was not changed until the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century when English society was undergoing manifest and

fundamental change both in the socio-economic and political spheres. The Industrial Revolution, the transition from agricultural economy to the manufacturing system, the emergence of the middle classes, and the seeking of power by the working class, all gave momentum to change the educational system. Focusing our eyes on change, we may find out that the Education Acts of 1870, 1902, 1944 and 1988 are four milestones in the creation of a national system in England and Wales.

National systems are a dominant feature of industrial societies in the twentieth century. They represent a watershed in the development of schooling. Their existence signals not only the advent of mass education and the spread of popular literacy but also the origins of state-administrated schooling. With the coming of state schooling, 'education became a universal and national concern, embracing all individuals, and having effects on all classes in society' (Green, 1990, p.1).

In continental Europe, state schooling appeared after the French revolution, initially in Prussia and France. However, the development of a national school system in England and Wales lagged behind its continental counterparts by a half century. Throughout the nineteenth century the mainsprings of popular education were controlled by the voluntary societies, e.g. the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society,

representing, respectively, the Anglican and non-conformist churches (Green, 1990, p.7). It is true that from 1833 onwards government did give some financial support to societies but this remained a small fraction of their finances until 1870. The lack of state involvement in schooling did not prevent the voluntary system from creating something approaching a national network of elementary schools, although there was a clear limit to their potential expansion. However, the central administration in education had considerable weakness in the first seventy years of the nineteenth century. The Central Society of Education declared in 1837 that 'the great deficit of English education ... is the want of a national education' (quote in Murphy, 1972, p.9). In his parliamentary speech in defence of his 1837 education bill, the Whig politician, Henry Brougham, echoed the same theme: 'It cannot be doubted that some legislative effort must at length be made to remove from this country the opprobrium of having done less for the education of the people than any of the more civilised nations on earth' (Green, 1990, p.11). James Kay, returned from Europe in 1850, criticised the deficit of British education as:

[in England] where the aristocracy is richer and more powerful than that of any other country in the world, the poor are more depressed, more pauperised.... and very much worse educated than the poor of any other European country, solely excepting Russia, Turkey, South Italy, Portugal and Spain (quote in Stone, 1969, p.129).

Under such pressures, the foundations of a public system

appeared when Forster's 1870 Act was passed by the Parliament on 17th February. The educational situation at that time was, as Forster indicated:

More or less imperfectly about 1,500,000 children are educated in the schools that we help - that is, they are simply on the registers. But, ... only two-fifths of the children of the working classes between the ages of six and ten years are on the registers of the Government schools, and only one-third of those between the ages of ten and twelve. Consequently, of those between six and ten, we have helped about 700,000 more or less, but we have left unhelped 1,000,000; while of those between ten and twelve, we have helped 250,000, and left unhelped at least 500,000 (quoted in Maclure, 1986, p.99).

And Forster made his greatest efforts to provide an organizational system of 'school districts'; to 'assure that there will be no portion of England or Wales not included in one school district or another'; and to 'ascertain their educational condition' by taking powers to 'test the quality of the schools, and find out what education is given' (quoted in Maclure, 1986, p.100). For the first time government was accepting responsibility for ensuring that universal elementary provision existed. The most important feature of the Act was thus the provision for locally elected School Boards, empowered to levy a rate for the provision of elementary schools.

It is obvious that the main attempt of the 1870 Act was to fill up the gaps between voluntary education, not to destroy the existing system by introducing a new one. The main principles that run through all the clauses were to

secure efficient school provision and to test the quality of the schools by sending inspectors and other officers to the schools. However, the 1870 Act was never more than a compromise with the voluntary system. An integrated national education system was not properly consolidated until Balfour's Act of 1902, which created the local education authorities and brought all sectors of education under a unified administrative structure. Some fundamental changes in the law relating to public education in the Act of 1902 had been summarised by Dent as:

It made available to voluntary schools money from local rates as well as national taxes... it abolished the ad hoc School Boards and made the general purpose County and County Borough Councils the local authorities for education; and it empowered these councils to provide, and grant-aid the provision of, 'education other than elementary', thus making possible in England the long-desired statutory system of secondary education (1982, p.11).

The 1902 Act was followed very soon by two other consolidating Acts of Parliament which were over the years to provide of inestimable benefit to generations of English and Welsh school children: the Education (Provision of Meals) Act 1906, which authorised LEAs to spend public money on meals for under-nourished Elementary school children, and the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act 1907, which made it the duty of the LEAs to provide for the medical inspection of children in Elementary schools, and gave them the power to make arrangements (with the sanction of the Board of Education) for giving medical attention to their health and physical condition. The 1902 Act paved the

way for great advances in the Welfare State, however, it did not create a completely articulated system of public education. Though the local education authorities (LEAs) were given fundamental responsibilities in the sphere of elementary education, they were bound by no statutory duty in respect of 'education other than elementary'. That was not to come until 1944.

The 1944 Act reorganised drastically the statutory system of public education in England and Wales. It replaced the President of the Board of Education by a Minister of Education with a statutory duty to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and to secure the effective execution, by local authorities under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area. The LEAs were made statutorily responsible for securing adequate facilities in their areas for all forms of public education. The statutory system of public education was reorganized in three progressive stages: Primary (age five to eleven-plus), Secondary (eleven-plus to eighteen-plus), and Further Education, comprising all forms of education except full-time secondary, and university education, for persons beyond compulsory school age. Compulsion to receive full-time education began, as previously, at age of five, but the LEAs had particular regard to the need to provide Nursery schools and classes for children under the age of five. The Act raised the upper limit of compulsory school

age from fourteen to fifteen, and made provision for a later raising to sixteen. Most importantly, the tuition fees were abolished in all secondary schools maintained by LEAs.

An attempt to ensure sufficient trained teachers to staff the statutory system of public education also appeared in the 1944 Act. However, the content and methods for teaching were still untouched.

It is not true to assert that in England there is a long tradition of teacher control of the curriculum. Before 1944 there were very strong central influences: elementary schools had been tightly controlled by Codes from 1862 until they were replaced by a Handbook of Suggestions in 1905 which continued to act as a powerful set of curriculum guidelines; county secondary schools were centrally controlled by Regulation from 1904 onwards - immediately following the establishment of county secondary schools by the 1902 Education Act. The 1944 Education Act replaced all these controls and, whether by design or accident, the curriculum as such was not mentioned in the Education Act, and the only subject required by law was religious instruction. The Minister of Education had considerable statutory powers, but responsibility for curriculum planning was delegated to local education authorities (LEAs) who, having major problems of buildings and staffing to contend with, left it to the schools themselves. Thus

began the 'golden age' (Lawton, 1989, p.35) of teacher control of the curriculum, although there were always constraining influences such as examinations, HMI, governors and parents. Teacher control remained throughout the 1950s, partly because the other two partners - LEAs and the Ministry - were preoccupied with organisational issues, and partly because the curriculum did not appear to be in any way contentious. It was taken for granted that education was worthwhile for individuals and for society, and that benefits would flow automatically from the policy of secondary education for all.

The first manifestation of a centralist move to influence curriculum came in 1960. David Eccles, the then Conservative Minister of Education, expressed regret that debates on education were devoted to bricks and mortar and matters of organisation rather than the content of the curriculum. Eccles used the phrase of 'secret garden of the curriculum' to indicate his dislike of an important area being closed to discussion. After that, criticisms of schools intensified, many of them being concerned with progressive methods and curriculum innovation. The question of standards in schools increasingly became a matter of public concern. The establishment of the Assessment of Performance Unit (APU) by DES in 1974 was a response to such criticism by way of providing evidence on standards. Two years later, Prime Minister Callaghan's Ruskin speech initiated the Great debate on education, which had

essential influence on the innovation of curriculum. In 1979, when the Margaret Thatcher's Conservative administration came to power, the pace of curriculum innovation speeded up. A framework for the School Curriculum (DES, 1980) was an openly centralist discussion document, suggesting a subject-based core curriculum with time allocations attached. This curriculum of bureaucratic and technicist style was attacked by teachers and other educationalists. A modified version was published in the following year: The School Curriculum (DES, 1981). At the same time, the HMI produced their views of curriculum which, was based on the 'areas of experience' rather than subjects. Through the argument, curriculum became a party political issue. In 1984, Sir Keith Joseph (now Lord Joseph) at the North of England Conference made three important announcements about future government policies: first, 'to define the objectives of the main parts of the 5 to 16 curriculum so that everyone knows the level of attainment that should be achieved'; second, 'to alter the 16+ examinations so that they measure absolute, rather than relative performance'; third, 'to establish... the aim of bringing 80-90 per cent of all pupils at least the level which is now expected and achieved in the 16+ examinations by pupils of average ability in individual subjects; and to do so over a broad range of skills and competence in a number of subjects' (Lawton, 1989, p.38). His position was a combination of three different powers within the DES: the politicians, the bureaucrats and the professional HMI. In

1987, Mr Baker, the then Secretary of State, made a very important speech at Rotherham for the North of England Conference. He began by mentioning England's 'eccentric' education system - less centralised and standardised than, for example, France or Germany. He argued that existing standards were not high enough, and complained about the lack of agreement on the curriculum for the 14-16 age group, stressing the confusion in schools over the question of balance, and the failure to work out satisfactory objectives. He claimed that those weaknesses did not exist in those West European countries where the schools followed 'more or less standard national syllabuses' (Lawton, 1989, pp.40-41). Later he outlined his proposals of a national curriculum to the Education, Science and Arts Committee of the House of Commons. And this became a major part of the Conservative Manifesto of 1987 in which it claimed:

It is vital to ensure that all pupils between the ages of 5 to 16 [sic] study a basic range of subjects - including maths, English and Science. In each of these basic subjects syllabuses will be published and attainment levels set so that the progress of pupils can be assessed at around 7, 11, and 14, and in preparation for the GCSE at 16. Parents, teachers and pupils will then know how well each child is doing. We will consult widely among those concerned in establishing the curriculum (quoted in Lawton, 1989, p.41).

After the June election, the Consultation Document on 'The National Curriculum 5-16' was published. It soon became the Education Act 1988, and received Royal Assent on 28 July 1988. The national curriculum consisted of four components: Foundation subjects; Attainment targets; Programmes of

study; and Assessment. For carrying out the task of a national curriculum, two new Councils were created: a National Curriculum Council (NCC) and a School Examination and Assessment Council (SEAC). The NCC, replacing the School Curriculum Development Committee (SCDC), would be responsible for advising the Secretary of State on the national curriculum; keeping the national curriculum up to date, including amending attainment targets and programmes of study for foundation subjects. The SEAC, replacing the Secondary Examinations Council (SEC), would be responsible for advice on qualifications offered during compulsory schooling.

Through the invention of a national curriculum, the task of the nationalisation of education in England and Wales finally reached its goal. Thereafter, the broad trends of reform in education were clearer than before: they involved the development of universal forms of provision; the rationalization of administration and institutional structure; the development of forms of public finance and control. And the final purposes of this new system were the searching for a higher standards within a framework of equality in educational opportunity.

In sum, from the Forster Act 1870 bringing 'elementary education within the reach of every English home for the first time' (Green, 1990, p.302) to the introducing of a national curriculum in 1988, it took more than one century

for England and Wales to reach a nationalised education system. The nationalisation process began from the establishment of common schools (first elementary schools, then secondary schools), to the sphere of a common curriculum. When the goal of a National Curriculum was reached, the education in England and Wales came to a new era.

Pluralism in English Education (1944-1988)

Before the establishment of a national curriculum, four characteristics could be found in the English education system: (1) a spirit of partnership/devolution; (2) cultural diversity in education; (3) teachers' autonomy in curriculum and teaching materials; and (4) the influence of public examinations in curriculum;

First, in a democratic society like Britain, the educational system is a compromise between different political interest groups. It evolved as a result of 'internal conflicts' such as 'different social classes demand for secondary education for all' (Musgrave, 1968, p.138). The education system was also an arena of different political ideologies. Lawton, for instance, has suggested that there were four main political ideologies on education after the Second World War, i.e. the Privatisers who were

'suspicious of the state, object to government interference in the private lives of citizens'; the Minimalists or segregators who suggested 'the provision of a state education system'; the Pluralists who regarded 'freedom to choose is more important than social justice or equality of opportunity'; and the Comprehensive planners who attempted to 'devise a common curriculum' (Lawton, 1989, pp.48-51).

As a result, central government has not included within its overall responsibilities direct control of the teaching, curriculum and assessment in schools. The educational policies and the way in which they were implemented must be seen in the context of the relationships between all the parties with responsibilities for school education: central and local government, school governing bodies and teachers. In practice, decisions about curriculum content, teaching methods, timetabling and the selection of text books are usually left to head teachers and staffs.

Whether one is concerned with all aspects of schooling or just with the curriculum, the term habitually used to describe the form of control in the school system of England and Wales was 'a spirit of partnership':

the spirit of partnership which exists between the centre and the localities, and between statutory and voluntary bodies, in the planning, provision, and maintenance of the public system of education. I feel it is only fitting to conclude any survey of that system by attempting to show that in all its parts it is sustained by this spirit (Dent, 1982, p.179).

These partners included central government, local education authorities, governors and school staffs. As Mathews observes:

Each partner has some degree of autonomy and direct control of the curriculum; each has duties and powers and responsibilities, making their own decisions and being accountable for them. None, however, works in isolation; each interacts with others. Moreover, all of them are influenced by many institutions and people on the fringes of the school system: the public examination boards, further and higher education, industry and commerce, parents and the public in general (Mathews, 1989, p.70).

In this sense, the English education system can be best described as central funded but locally controlled. During this period, the responsibility for the curriculum rested mainly with local education authorities. But even LEA control was somewhat tenuous, because the school governors also had a formal responsibility for the curriculum, and so did the staff.

Secondly, cultural diversity became more obvious in England and Wales after 1944. The consequences of colonisation made Britain a multi-ethnic society. A report issued by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) observes that:

The settlement of black people in Britain can be traced back to the 16th century when, as a result of Britain's Colonial expansion, black people entered and settled in Britain as runaway slaves, servants and deck hands.... Irish immigration during the 1840s was a result of poverty and starvation in Ireland and the economic opportunities of an expanding work force. Large-scale Jewish immigration began around 1881 as a direct result of attacks on Jewish communities in Eastern Europe.... Later, after the Second World War, many Polish refugees and servicemen who had

fought in the allied forces settled in Britain. Other groups have also settled here. These include families of Greek and Turkish background - Many from Cyprus - Chinese, Asians from Kenya and Uganda and, most recently, Vietnamese (ILEA, 1983, p.8).

A survey carried out by ILEA in January 1981 identified 131 separate languages spoken in the schools within that Authority (ILEA, 1983, p.8). To cope with the increasingly plural society, the 1973 Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration on 'Education' proposed that HMI and teachers should seek every opportunity of broadening the curriculum. A greater use should be made of the multi-racial Commonwealth in the study of many subjects. In 1974, the Community Relations Commission proposed the development of curricula in view of this multi-racial diversity and expansion. They suggested that Geography, Religious Studies, Literature and History should be re-orientated and Black studies should be encouraged. In 1981, the Home Affairs Committee of the House of Commons in a report on 'Race Disadvantage' also proposed a revision of humanities courses and made recommendation for the incorporation of Asian languages into the languages curriculum. It was claimed that in a pluralist society like Britain, schooling must also be culturally diverse to cope with the demands of the late twentieth century life.

Thirdly, teachers enjoyed their autonomy in both curriculum and teaching materials during this period. The 1944 Act had no requirement for the inclusion of any subject in the

curriculum of maintained school, with the exception of religious education. Since then, teachers in England and Wales enjoyed considerable autonomy in such matters as curricula, syllabus, teaching and disciplinary methods. These matters were left to the professional expertise and judgement of teachers. As White asserts with respect to teacher judgement that:

The teacher must surely have the power to match what she teaches to the particular, often unpredictable, circumstances in which she is working - the varied knowledge which different pupils possess, their different interests and enthusiasms, and so on (1979, p.6).

Such observation was echoed by Lawton. He claimed that:

In England and Wales teachers have, in addition to this control of the manner of transmission, more power to decide on what should be transmitted than almost any other group of teachers.... the extent of teachers' power as curriculum decision-makers is frequently exaggerated, but despite the constraints imposed by examinations, HMIs, LEA Inspectors, governors and head teachers, it remains true to say that teachers have a high degree of professional autonomy, which they fought for in the nineteenth century and gained after 1944 (1980, p.10).

Under such condition, the teachers enjoy sufficient discretion over their classrooms to enable them to select goals and methods congruent with their own values and personal priorities. Even where fairly rigid or structured schemes of work are laid down tradition can allow considerable individuality for teachers.

Finally, the public examination played a vital role in the

control of school curriculum. The importance of testing in supporting the curriculum and achieving the purposes of schooling has been widely acknowledged. Hamilton, for example, asserted in a conference of Liverpool Evaluation and Assessment Unit that:

The twentieth century apparatus of testing - or should I say tasking? - has become an integral part of curriculum studies and curriculum practice. An assumption is made that the procedures of testing, assessment, appraisal, monitoring, (etc, etc.) ensure the efficacy of curriculum delivery and the quality of the final product (LEAU, 1991, p.4).

It is often said that secondary teachers have their rights to devise their own curricula, but in practice an important set of limitations is imposed by the system of public examinations at 16-plus and 18-plus which are so important in England. Of all the constraints on secondary teachers' autonomy - HMI, local advisers, governors, parents and employers - the examination system is the biggest one. As Lawton asserts that:

For many secondary teachers, the examination provides not only a means of assessment but a set of objectives as well. Many teachers asked about their objectives would simply reply 'to get as many pupils as possible successfully through the examination'. Teachers, who are apparently proud of their freedom, have accepted a system which includes syllabuses written by a board external to the school, examinations set and marked by externals, and with little or no account taken of teachers' judgments in the final assessment of pupils (Lawton, 1980, p.83).

There were different public examination bodies throughout the history of English education. An important landmark of

the external examination was 'the establishment of Oxford and Cambridge Locals in 1858' (Lawton, 1980, p.88). The universities exerted their influences on secondary school curricula by the requirements they asked for the candidates. The growth and development of examinations came to the establishment of Secondary Schools Examinations Council (SSEC) in 1917 for the sake of seeking balance between different universities. The SSEC was composed of representatives of the university examining bodies, teachers and local authorities, under a chairman appointed by the Board of Education. Since then, two levels of examination were consolidated: the School Certificate Examination which was to test a good general education at the end of a five year grammar school course and the Higher School Certificate which was to be taken after a further two years in the sixth form.

After the Second World War, these examinations were replaced by the General Certificate of Education Examinations (GCE) at Ordinary and Advanced levels. GCE was considered suitable for the top 20 per cent of the ability range. The Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE), introduced in the mid 1960s, was designed to cater for the next 40 per cent. The Schools Council (as successor to the SSEC) was established by the Secretary of State for Education and Science in 1964 to undertake research and development work on the curriculum, and to advise the Secretary of State on matters of examination policy.

In the 1970s, question of standards in schools increasingly became a matter of public concern. The Assessment of Performance Unit (APU) was set up by the DES in 1974 as a way of providing evidence on standards. And the GCE and CSE were exerting their influence until 1988, when they were replaced by the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE). No matter in what forms they were existed, the public examinations were paramount as a gatekeeper of the standard of schooling and a determinant on shaping the curriculum. It may be paradoxical that in a system where teachers are so proud of their freedom, they tolerate domination of the curriculum by examinations which are externally controlled.

To conclude, the characteristics of English education system during this period can be termed by two concepts - pluralism and professionalism. The term pluralism is to mean the dislike of government interference in education while the term professionalism is to imply the exercise of education by teachers' choice and judgment in the interests of their pupils.

The National Curriculum: A New Era (post 1988)

The National Curriculum lies at the heart of education in the 1990s. It changes dramatically the philosophy of how schooling is to be conducted in the future. According to the National Curriculum Council, it 'represents a turning point in the history of education in England and Wales. For the first time, a clear legal framework for raising standards in schools has been set' (1992, p.4). The starting-point for this curriculum reform was the economic and social policies of the Conservative governments elected after 1979 (see Blyth, 1991). The enactment of this reform has been organised around a series of statutory instruments. Indeed the entire process has been described as 'a bureaucrat's charter' (Hartnett and Naish, 1990, p.12).

Four major changes are associated with the reform: (1) partnership has been replaced by new power allocation; (2) the school curriculum has become more subject- and objective-based; (3) teaching has become more assessment-centred; and (4) teachers have become more like civil-servants.

First, the partnership between local and central governments has been broken. The formulation of curriculum policy has been relocated. Two centres of power have been created: 'one in central government, the other in the

parents and governors of individual schools' (Mathews, 1989, p.82; see also Powell & Solity, 1990, p.23). Under the Education Reform Act 1988, the Secretary of State for Education and Science has assumed increased powers. The determination of core and foundation subjects, the development of attainment targets and of programmes of study, the revision of the statutory curriculum, decisions to suspend parts of it for specific reasons, and approval of qualifications, examinations, and syllabuses to be offered in schools, are all in the hands of the Secretary of State for Education and Science. He/She has a number of statutory and non-statutory groups and committees to advise him/her. The statutory bodies of National Curriculum Council (NCC) and School Examination and Assessment Council (SEAC), for example, oversee the statutory curriculum and modes of assessment in public examinations, respectively.

On the other hand, the Education Reform Act has given schools more control of what they do. Parents have become a key element in the market place of educational resources.

As Powell and Solity observe:

Parents rather than children have become the consumers of the education services, and schools are now funded largely in terms of how many pupils they have on roll, with very little scope for LEAs to apportion additional resources to specific schools should it be necessary (1990, p.24).

Parent-power is also boosted by the Parent's Charter published in October 1991. The Charter indicates that

parents have a right to receive five key documents: an annual report on the child; regular reports from independent inspectors; performance tables for all local schools; a prospectus or brochure about the school; and an annual governor's report on the school (see NCC, 1992). Moreover, parents also have power as a group to opt out of LEA control and to be funded directly by the DES. As a result, parental rights in the 1990s inevitably dampen the spirit of partnership.

Secondly, the school curriculum has become more subject-based and objective-centred.

The aims of National Curriculum, according to the National Curriculum Council, are to provide:

clear and precise objectives for schools, based on best practice; identifiable targets for pupils to work towards; clear, accurate information for parents about what their children can be expected to know, understand and do, and what they actually achieve; guidance for teachers, to help them get the best possible results from each pupil; continuity and progression from one year to the next, and from one school to another (NCC, 1992, p.4).

In so attempting, the National Curriculum is made up of 'core' and other 'foundation' subjects which are defined by law. The core subjects comprise Mathematics, Science and English (or Welsh). Other foundation subjects includes Welsh as a second language, Technology, Modern foreign language, History, Geography, Art, Music, and Physical education. Religious education, as a compulsory element of

the curriculum in England and Wales, and the National Curriculum are together referred to as the Basic Curriculum. The goals of each subject are described in the Attainment Targets which are set out for four key stages (viz: when pupils reach the ages of 7, 11, 14 and 16). At the end of each key stage, statutory assessment for the main subjects is to be carried out. Under such circumstance, it is no doubt that the process model of curriculum has been transformed into a subject- and objective-model of curriculum. Nevertheless, the whole curriculum is also addressed by the NCC in terms of cross-curriculum and extra-curriculum experience. But these aspects of the National Curriculum have not received the same degree of attention as the subjects.

Thirdly, teaching has become more assessment-centred. In order to achieve the educational objectives of the National Curriculum, statutory assessment has been introduced. Besides 'Standard Assessment Tasks' at or near the end of every key stage, there is also 'teacher assessment' which takes place alongside pupils' everyday performance. This change inevitably means a continual process of evaluation and review of pupil learning.

Teacher assessment has become part of everyday teaching and learning. According to the NCC, it is a 'continuous process, not a separate activity which necessarily requires the use of extra tasks or tests' (1992, p.11). In such

everyday assessment, teachers must record the achievements of pupils in light of the framework of a national structure of assessment objectives provided by the National Curriculum. The result of this assessment will be added to the pupils' profiles at the end of each key stage.

The statutory assessment at the end of key stages (KS) 1, 2, and 3 are carried out externally and a comparison between schools will be made. The main form of assessment at the end of KS4 is the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE). New subject criteria and syllabuses are being introduced in accordance with the National Curriculum timetable (see NCC, 1992). All such changes inevitably make the process of teaching assessment-centred.

Finally, teachers have become more like civil-servants. The role of teachers also changes when the nature of curriculum and assessment become more government-controlled. There are many statutory regulations issued by the DES, NCC, SEAC, etc, which teachers must obey. There are also many non-statutory documents which give advice to teachers. Under this situation, teachers become agents of government carrying out the policies laid down by the government. Moreover, teachers' work has probably become more routine than before. For example, the annual report to the parents should include:

comments on the pupil's progress in National Curriculum subjects; the pupil's level of attainment in each subject at the end of each key stage following statutory assessment at ages 7,

11, 14 and 16; results of other examinations or tests taken during the year; comments on the pupil's achievements in other subjects beside those of the National Curriculum and in other activities; comparison between the individual's results in examinations and national tests with those of others in the same group, and the national average; a comment from the head teacher or class teacher on general progress and attendance record; an indication of the person to whom the parent should talk to discuss the report, and details of how to fix an appointment (NCC, 1992, p.8).

In sum, the National Curriculum brings English education system from pluralism and professional autonomy to state interference and professional restriction. This is an unprecedented change in the twentieth century history of schooling in England and Wales. However, teacher autonomy in the selection of textbooks and teaching materials remains unchanged.

Summary

The British people are reluctant to have state-controlled education. A spirit of laissez-faire and dissent, which implied opposition to government interference and a belief in free competition and the unrestricted freedom of the individual, is deeply rooted in the minds of English people. However, a range of political, economic and ideological forces brought a National Curriculum to England and Wales in 1988. The Education Reform Act of 1988 is, as

Aldrich states (1991, p,1), 'the most wide-ranging and revolutionary piece of educational legislation in English history'. The introduction of a subject- and objective-based curriculum, assessment-centred teaching and the delimitation of teacher autonomy has presented a great challenge to the teaching profession in England and Wales. How can it reconcile profession practice with government interference? The selection of textbooks and teaching materials has been brought sharply into focus.

Chapter Six

Content Analysis of Chinese Language

Textbooks

The study of textbooks must shift from the analysis of accuracy to the exploration of their bias, hidden messages, and to the relationship between political socialisation of students and the content of textbooks (Huang, 1985, pp.189-90).

A task ... is to study the nature of the curriculum as a set of multiple realities, and to explain how children gain access to their worlds of meaning. (King, 1978).

The purposes of this chapter are three-fold: (1) to describe the materials used in this analysis of Chinese language textbook; (2) to identify the belief system in the textbooks of primary schools in the Republic of China

(ROC); and (3) to comment on the practical significance of these findings.

Materials for Analyzing

The language textbooks used in the primary schools of the ROC are compiled by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) (see Tseng, 1989). According to the editorial statement, the textbooks are compiled in light of the 'Guide-Line for Primary Schools Language Textbooks' enacted by Ministry of Education, ROC, in 1975. As a part of compulsory education¹, the Primary education of the ROC consists of six years. Children aged from six to twelve must attend such school. There are two semesters (September to January as the first semester, February to June as the second semester) in each study year. One language book is used in each semester, except in the first semester of the first year where an additional book is used for teaching phonetic symbols. Therefore, a total of thirteen language books are used in the primary schools.

The textbooks of the ROC are revised frequently. The latest revision began in August 1989, and is not yet complete. Out of the thirteen books, eight books (i.e. the phonetic

¹ The compulsory education in the Roc is nine years, including six years in primary schools and three years in junior high schools.

symbol book and books one to seven) had been revised by September 1992. So the current usage of language textbooks in the ROC is a mixture of two editions. My analysis focuses on the textbooks of current usage. However, the replaced books will also be used as a reference.

Each textbook comprises several lessons, exercises, and reviews. One of the policies enacted in the latest revision has been to 'reduce the difficulty and amount to lighten the burden of pupils' (Tseng, 1989, p.119). As a result, the new edition has fewer lessons than the old one².

Besides the textbooks, there are also guide books for teachers and exercise books for pupils to improve teaching and learning. However, these will not be analyzed in this study. My analysis focuses on the 269 lessons in the textbooks of current usage (For the titles of these lessons see Appendix A, and for the lessons deleted from the previous edition see Appendix B). My analysis focuses on the belief system of the textbooks in terms of what knowledge is most worthwhile (or the rationality of textbooks) and whose knowledge is most worthwhile (or the legitimacy of textbooks). The criteria for this analysis see Chapter Three.

² The old edition has 24 lessons in each books, with exception of Phonetic Symbol Book, Book One and Book Twelve which contains 16, 12 and 21 lessons respectively. The new edition has 21 lessons for each book, while the Phonetic Symbol book has 14 lessons, Book One has 12 lessons, and Book Twelve has 18 lessons.

The Findings

A. What Knowledge

1. About the self:

Children (or 'I' and 'we') are treated as the major character in 118 lessons (44% of the total lessons; see table 6-1):

Table 6-1: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which 'I' and/or 'we' appear

year 1	year 2	year 3	year 4	year 5	year 6	total
35 (74%)	28 (67%)	21 (50%)	12 (27%)	14 (29%)	8 (18%)	118 (44%)

Children are expected to demonstrate different kind of virtues. The most important virtue for them is to be diligent in everyday life.

There are 64 lessons (24% of the total lessons) which refer to diligence. And for children, diligence relates primarily to book-reading. There are 55 lessons (20% of the total lessons) which encourage children to be diligent in book-reading (see table 6-2):

Table 6-2: frequencies of lessons of each study year in which book-reading appears

year 1	year 2	year 3	year 4	year 5	year 6	total
6 (13%)	6 (14%)	12 (29%)	9 (20%)	14 (29%)	8 (18%)	55 (20%)

Parents always remind their children of the value of book reading. In the New Year's Day, for example, when the family gathered to discuss the new hope for the newly-coming year:

... Mother said: 'I love my family. It is my duty to take care of this family. I hope Father can work without worry about this family, and my two children can concentrate their attention on book reading (Book Five, Lesson Eighteen: A Hope of the New Year).

To be diligent in book-reading is seen as the only way leading to success in the future, no matter whether one is clever or not:

A clever child cannot become an excellent person in the future if he is not diligent. One who wants to have an excellent future must be diligent in book learning since he was young. Therefore, it is not enough to be clever. Be diligent in book learning is the only way leading to success (Book Nine, Lesson Fourteen).

Models of diligence are presented in the textbooks. For example, in a summer evening, Wai-por (grandma) told a story about the firefly to the children when they sat in the yard to cool themselves. She said:

In ancient time, there was a child who wanted to read in the evening, but he was too poor to buy oil to light the lamp. Then he caught many firefly and put them in a bag made of gauze. By the light of firefly, he studied very hard. Now we all have electric lights, therefore, you must

study harder than that boy (Book Three, Lesson Ten: Wai-por tells us a story).

Another example relates to the famous poet of the Tang Dynasty, Lee Pa, who did not study hard when he was young.

[Lee Pa] wandered around in the street like a lazy child. One day, he asked an old woman, who was making a needle from a big piece of iron, how she can do it. The woman told him that everything can be done if you work hard enough. Understanding the importance of being diligent in reading, Lee Pa read and read, and became a great poet (Book Seven, Exercise Three).

Some additional books are mentioned in the textbooks as worthy of reading. They are:

1. The World of the Bottom of Sea (see Book Six, Lesson Eleven).
2. Shui Hu Chuan (All Men Are Brothers, a popular fiction by Shih Nai-an, see Book Seven, Lesson Eighteen).
3. Alice's Adventure in Wonderland (see Book Seven, Lesson Twenty-One).
4. Liliput (the land of Pygmies, see Book Six, Lesson Twenty).
5. Three Hundred Famous Poem in Tang Dynasty (see Book Eight, Lesson Twenty-Two).
6. Selected Poem of Su Tung Po (see Book Twelve, Lesson Nine).
7. Songs of Life (see Book Eleven, Lesson Ten).
8. Hsi You Chi (Pilgrims to the West, one of the most famous novels, telling the adventures of a Buddhist monk and his three disciples on their way to India. see Book Nine, Lesson Twelve).
9. The Romance of the Three Kingdoms (a very popular novel mixing facts with fiction about the Three-Kingdom period written by Lo Kaun-chung. see Book Nine, Lesson Twenty-One).

10. Han Fei Tze (title of a 20-volume work by Han Fei, who was a famous legal theorist (?-234 BC), during the period of Warring States. see Book Twelve, Lesson Four).

To concentrate on the book-reading, children are taught to avoid the negative influence of TV and movies. They are taught to select TV and movies wisely. For example: Xiao-yu was a good student, but became bad due to heavy TV watching. Visiting Xiao-yu's parents to find out the reason, teacher Kao and the parents made a strategy to change the attitude of Xiao-yu towards TV:

A list of TV program was decided [by Xiao-yu's parents and teacher]. Xiao-yu felt uncomfortable at the beginning. However, he soon found out his habit of life became normal with the help of the list, and TV became his useful friend (Book Eleven, Lesson Twenty).

The selection of TV program is not only important for children, it is more important for the managers who decide the programs:

Dear manager general Chiu: I appreciate you for offering a program for children every evening at six to six thirty these years. A short film of 'World of Animals' was presented in that program. It was my favourite.... However, the film of 'World of Animals' was substituted by 'The Black Monster of Space' this week, we are all disappointed... (Book Eight, Lesson Sixteen: A Letter to TV Company).

For the same reason, children are taught to select movies wisely:

The chairman declared: '... I agree that it is better not to enjoy movies too frequently. If we want to enjoy it, we need to select a good one' (Book Eleven, Lesson Twenty-One).

2. About the family:

In the textbooks, family is described as a warm place where children experience love of the parents, of siblings, and of relatives. Love of family is an important belief for the children to learn. There are 82 lessons (30% of the total lessons) which refer to family (see table 6-3).

Table 6-3: Frequencies of lessons of each study year in which family appears

year 1	year 2	year 3	year 4	year 5	year 6	total
22 (47%)	18 (43%)	15 (36%)	10 (22%)	11 (23%)	6 (13%)	82 (30%)

The love of family is based on the harmonious relationship among the members of the family. Members of the family appear in the textbooks frequently. However, parents are the most influential figures in the family (see table 6-4):

Table 6-4: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which members of family appear

	yr1	yr2	yr3	yr4	yr5	yr6	total
father	7	9	13	9	2	5	45 (17%)
mother	13	11	8	7	5	5	49 (18%)
brothers	14	9	1	4	2	2	32 (12%)
sisters	7	1	4	4	2	3	21 (8%)
grand-parents	2	5	2	2	0	0	11 (4%)

To pay filial piety to parents is the most important virtue in a family. There are 27 lessons (10% of the total lessons) relating to this virtue for the children to

demonstrate (see table 6-5):

Table 6-5: Frequencies of lessons of each study year in which filial piety appears

year 1	year 2	year 3	year 4	year 5	year 6	total
5	5	2	6	5	4	27
(11%)	(12%)	(5%)	(13%)	(10%)	(9%)	(10%)

Children are taught to pay filial piety to their parents. For example, the 'little crow' who knows to feed his mother is a model for the children:

The little crow flies far away to get some delicious food for his mother. No matter how tired he is, he serves firstly the worms he catches to his mother (Book Four, Lesson Sixteen).

When the Mother's Day comes, children are expected to show their love by making gifts for their Mother:

... The picture my elder brother draws is a portrait of Mother; I draw a small red flower that is my Mother's favourite; Father saw the pictures and said happily: 'Mother will be very happy for the gifts you make by yourselves' (Book Two, Lesson Thirteen: Gifts Made by Ourselves).

However, the true meaning of filial piety is not just the provision of affluent living material. Respect and love are more important:

Confucius... valued filial piety mostly. Tze-yu, one of his students, asked Confucius how can a behaviour be called filial piety? Confucius said: 'Nowadays, feeding parents is treated as filial piety. However, people also rear dogs and cats. Without respect, what is the difference between parents and animals?' (Book Ten, Lesson Fourteen).

Children are also taught to love their siblings. The elders

must take care of the younger (see, for example, Book Three, Lesson One: Bring Younger Brother to School); the younger is defers to the elders (see, for example, Book Five, Lesson Nine: Cleanse the Living-room). A famous historical model of brotherly love (Kung-jung yielded the bigger pear to his elder brother) is narrated in the textbooks (see Book Five, Lesson Six: Kung-jung Yielded the Pear). This moral story was revisited in the modern family. The parents, wondering whether their children can get along with each other or not, gave their three children ten candies and tried to find out how they shared them. The consequence was unveiled by a guest -- Uncle Kao:

I saw your three children share candies in the yard. They took three candies each, and yielded to each other the last candy. The two elders wanted their younger sister to have it. But the younger sister said she must behave like Kung-jung who yielded pear to the elders.... (Book Seven, Lesson Seventeen: Ten Candies).

The love of the family makes home the warmest place one can find in the world. Such love ties the family together like an invisible thread:

Now I understood why all of us love this melon trellis. The reason is that it establishes our common hope, and ties the hearts of the family together, just like it ties all the melons together (Book Twelve, Lesson Five: Under the Melon Shed).

For the love of family, all members of the family must unite together, at least in the traditional festivals. Chinese New Year's Day is a day for the family to reunite:

... In spite of the cold wind and rain, he

lowered his head, and made his steps forward fast. He wanted to be home immediately, for he knew his parents were looking forward to seeing him (Book Nine, Lesson Twenty-Two: At the End of a Year).

The concept of 'round' is used as a symbol of the unity of the family. Therefore, when the moon becomes round in the Mid-autumn festival, all members of the family must return home to join others, no matter how far he is away.

... the moon is round in the sky, the family is also round on the ground (Book Seven, Lesson Three).

The love of the family should be expanded to the love of relatives. Children are expected to love all members of the relatives as they love their parents and siblings. Relatives appear in the textbooks include: Yeh-yeh (grandpa - father of father), Nai-nai (grandma - mother of father), Wai-kung (grandpa - father of mother), Wai-por (grandma - mother of mother), Po-po (uncle - elder brother of father), Shu-shu (uncle - younger brother of father), Ku-ku (aunt - sisters of father), Chiu-chiu (uncle - brothers of mother), Ah-yi (aunt - sisters of mother), Tang-ko (elder male cousins, sons of Po-po and Chiu-chiu), Tung-chieh (elder female cousins, daughters of Po-po and Chiu-chiu), Piao-ko (male elder cousins, sons of Ku-ku and those on the mother's side), Piao-chieh (elder female cousins, daughters of Ku-ku and those on the mother's side), etc. They all are the significant others in the life of the children.

Furthermore, the love of the family also extends to the animals of the family. This relationship is described vividly, for example, when the family tries to pull out a big radish together:

... Grandpa said: 'Go and get all members here. Let's try together to pull out the radish.' The big dogs and the little dogs all come to the site; the cocks and hens also come together. The dogs bark and the cocks crow while the family is pulling as if they were cheer leaders (Book Three, Lesson Twenty-One).

3. About the school:

In the textbooks, school is described as a place children like to visit. Teachers are described as amiable persons children like to contact. There are 34 lessons (13% of the total lessons) mention about school (see table 6-6):

Table 6-6: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which school appears

year 1	year 2	year 3	year 4	year 5	year 6	total
5 (11%)	5 (12%)	7 (17%)	6 (13%)	5 (10%)	6 (13%)	34 (13%)

The relationship between teacher and students is harmonious. Teachers must take care of their students like parents do to their children. Similarly, children are taught to love their teachers like they do to their parents. For example:

When I was in the first grade, I felt a little bit scared. Though I was in school physically, I was very homesick. My teacher, knowing that I was not used to the school life, talked to me frequently. When I was in the second grade, I

liked to argue with classmates. I did not like to do my homework, just waited for the coming of holiday. My teacher advised me to be friend with classmates, and taught me about the method of learning. Now I am in the third grade, and I am not naughty any more.... My teacher smiles at me whenever she meets me. Thank you, Sir, for your kind concern; Thank you, Sir, for your instruction.... (Book Five, Lesson Five: Thank you, Sir).

4. About the society:

In the textbooks, the world outside the family and the school is described as a place of fairness and justice.

Children are taught that the relationships among the members of the different social groups are full of love and sympathy. There are 21 lessons (8% of the total lessons) mention about the society (see table 6-7):

Table 6-7: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which society appears

year 1	year 2	year 3	year 4	year 5	year 6	total
0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (19%)	5 (11%)	1 (2%)	7 (13%)	21 (8%)

Children are taught to get along with neighbours and friends. There are 11 lessons about the relationships among friends. The relationship among friends are intimate. Friends not only help each other but share money with each other. For example:

Lai Ta-mu and Chao Yeou-chih were good friends.... when Lai cannot go to work for his leg was broken, Chao brought a bag of rice and some money to see him, told him don't worry

about... (Book Six, Lesson Five: Two Good Friends).

There are only 2 lessons about the relationship of neighbours. But the neighbours are kind enough to help each others. Lin Ching-ching and Chiang Ching-mei, for example, lived in the same apartment. Lin lived in the fourth floor, Chiang in the third floor. The Lins wanted to go south for holiday when the summer break came, but they hesitated for nobody would take care of their house. Knowing this problem, Ching-mei's father said to her:

Neighbours have the obligation to help each other. You go and tell Uncle Lin that we can take care of their house while they go for holiday (Book Six, Lesson Four: Good Neighbours).

Besides neighbours and friends, children are taught to be concerned for the strangers. They also must take care of the weak, of the old, and of the sufferers heartily. For example:

[The establisher of the orphanage] told us that the children here all are homeless. Thus the orphanage is their home. The purpose she established this orphanage is to take care of these children without parents.... (Book Seven, Lesson Four: Visiting an orphanage).

The whole society showed in the textbooks is an organic integrity, everyone needs to play his own part for the sake of others:

We cannot survive in the world without other's help. Without the care of our parents, we cannot grow up; without the efforts of farmers and workers, there will be no food and commodities; without the protection of army and policeman, we will be in danger.... Since we get advantages

from others, we must do our duties, and contribute ourselves to the whole society no matter what kind of work we may take.... (Book Ten, Lesson Twenty-Four: Concern about Others).

To integrate different social groups into a harmonious one, children are taught to give love for others:

For the love of nation, the seventy-two Revolutionary Martyrs of Huang-hua-kang were willing to abandon their wives and children, to risk all the dangers, and to throw away their heads and blood. For the love of the poor Africans, Schweitzer was willing to abandon his lovely life in a modern society and lived in an uncivilised place. Without love, the Earth will be no more warm. Without love, the Earth will lose all its glories (Book twelve, Lesson Fourteen: The Real Meaning of Love).

Taiwan is treated as a local place of the Republic of China. It is a beautiful place for the children to live. Twelve famous landscapes in Taiwan are introduced in the textbooks. These landscapes are:

1. Chu-san, or Mountain of Bamboo (see Book Two, Lesson Fifteen).
2. National Museum of Natural Science in Taichung (see Book Four, Lesson Nine).
3. Taipei New Park (see Book Five, Lesson Twelve).
4. Mountain Ali (see Book Seven, Lesson Twelve).
5. Northern Beach (see Book Seven, Lesson Thirteen).
6. Valley of Swallow (see Book Eight, Lesson Five).
7. Bay of Si-tze (see Book Nine, Lesson Two).
8. Mountain Yan-min (see Book Four, Lesson Ten).

9. Chiang-Kai-Shek Memorial in Taipei (see Book Eight, Lesson Four).
10. River Tan-shiu (see Book Four, Lesson Nineteen).
11. Valley Ku-kuan (see Book Four, Lesson Twenty).
12. Doll Valley (see Book Six, Lesson Three).

Children are expected to love Taiwan as their own society:

Taiwan! Taiwan! You are a lovely place.... You are a progressive place.... You are a bright place. Every family is affluent in everyday life. Everyone is willing to make you better. Taiwan, Beautiful Taiwan, you are the lighthouse of the Republic of China. You are the fortress of the free world (Book Twelve, Lesson Sixteen).

5. About the nation:

Children are expected to identify their own country. There are 44 lessons (16% of the total lessons) which refer to 'our nation' (see table 6-8):

Table 6-8: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which 'our nation' appears

year1	year2	year3	year4	year5	year6	total
0 (0%)	8 (19%)	5 (12%)	7 (16%)	7 (15%)	17 (38%)	44 (16%)

To identify with their own country, children are taught to be proud of being Chinese. In so attempting, the glories of Chinese cultural heritage, the beauty of the Chinese landscapes, the Chinese historical heroes are all introduced in the textbooks.

The Chinese cultural heritage appeared in the textbooks includes traditional festivals, essential inventions, excellent constructions, and famous legends.

There are 17 lessons (6% of the total lessons) which refer to traditional festivals (see table 6-9):

Table 6-9: Frequencies of lessons of each study year in which the traditional festivals appear

year1	year2	year3	year4	year5	year6	total
4 (9%)	8 (19%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	0 (0%)	17 (6%)

These traditional festivals are:

1. New Year's Day (especially the lunar one).
2. Arbour Day (on March 12, death anniversary of Dr Sun Yat-sen).
3. Youths Day (on March 29, death anniversary of the 72 Revolutionary Martyrs of Huang-hua-kang in Konton).
4. Children's Day (on April 4).
5. Mother's Day (on the second Sunday of May).
6. Dragon's Boat Festival (on fifth day of the fifth lunar month).
7. Mid-Autumn Festival (on 15th of the eighth lunar month)
8. National Day (on October 10).

Besides, eight important inventions and constructions of Chinese ancestors are also emphasised in the textbooks.

They are:

1. the invention of paper by Tsai-lun in the

East Han dynasty (see Book Five, Lesson Thirteen).

2. the invention of Chao-cho Bridge by Lee-chuen in the Sui Dynasty (see Book Six, Lesson Twelve).
3. the construction of Do-chiang Dam by Lee-bin in the Warring States Period (see Book Seven, Lesson Five).
4. the invention of the movable printing plate by Pi-sheng in the Sung Dynasty (see Book Seven, Lesson Seven).
5. the construction of a railway from Peking to Chang-chia-kou by Chan Tien-yu in Ching Dynasty (see Book Eight, Lesson Three).
6. the Chiang Kai-shek Highway which longitudinally pierced the whole island of Taiwan (see Book Five, Lesson Ten).
7. the Cross-Island Highway in the central part of Taiwan (see Book Twelve, Lesson Seventeen).
8. the Cheng-wun Dam in southern Taiwan (see Book Twelve, Lesson Eighteen).

Famous legends have also appeared in the textbooks, such as:

1. the story of Ma-tsu who guided the fishermen by bringing a lantern in the stormy night and became Goddess of the Sea, worshipped by most fisherman in Fukien and Taiwan Provinces. (see Book Three, Lessons Eighteen-Nineteen).
2. the story of Kua-fu who chased the sun and finally died of exhaustion (see Book Six Lesson Twenty-One: Kua-fu chased the sun).
3. the story of Chang-O, who ascended to the moon after secretly eating her husband's immortality pill (Book Nine, Lesson Five: Chang-O ascending the moon).
4. the story of Sun-wu-kung, a monkey who helped his monk master to get sacred

Buddhist Scripture from India (Book
Nine, Lesson Twelve: Palm-Leaf Fan).

Through the description of the feats and contributions of ancestors, real and fictitious, children are expected to have confidence in being Chinese. For example:

Chao-cho Bridge was established in the Sui Dynasty more than one thousand and three hundred years ago.... It was not easy to build a bridge like that, especially in its arch style. However, it stands there after more than one thousand years shocks of traffic and flood.... The architects from other countries admitted that the existing arch bridge of China is the oldest one in the world. They all praised that Lee-chuen was an excellent architect in ancient time (Book Six, Lesson Twelve: Chao-cho Bridge).

Four landscapes of Mainland China are also visited in the textbooks. They are:

1. the sights in the south area of Yangtze River (see Book Eleven, Lesson One and Two).
2. the sights of Green-Sea Province (see Book Eleven, Lesson Three).
3. the sights of Tzu-leh River (see Book Eleven, Lesson Four).
4. The sights of Great Wall (see Book Eleven, Lesson Fifteen).

The historical figures are treated as models for the children. There are 61 lessons which refer to Chinese historical figures (see table 6-10):

Table 6-10: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which historical figures appear

year1	year2	year3	year4	year5	year6	total
1	6	6	11	19	18	61
(2%)	(14%)	(14%)	(24%)	(40%)	(40%)	(23%)

These historical figures cover the whole range of Chinese history. It ranges from prehistory (3 figures), Shia dynasty (4 figures); Shan dynasty (3 figures); Chou dynasty (22 figures); Chin dynasty (1 figure); Han dynasty (4 figures); Period of Disunity (7 figures); Sui dynasty (1 figure); Tang dynasty (5 figures); Shung dynasty (7 figures); Yuen dynasty (0 figure); Min dynasty (2 figures); Ching dynasty (7 figures); and ROC period (5 figures). Among these figures, Dr Sun Yat-sen (the founder of the Republic of China), and Former President Chiang Kai-shek are the most popular two.

Children are taught that the nation is more important than the individual. Everyone must protect his country:

My father is a soldier. He had taken part in many battles. For protecting our country, he is very brave. He said: 'Being a soldier, one must be brave' (Book Three, Lesson Sixteen: My Father Is A Soldier).

To protect the nation, one must give away his beloved things without hesitation, even his life. For example:

April 24 of 1949 is a day which is unforgettable for every Chinese. On this day, a great event happened at Tai-yan, the biggest city of San-see Province.... It was attacked by China Communist Army. After failing to protect the city, the Deputy Governor Liang and all his subordinates

committed suicide....The martyrs sacrificed for the nation that day were remembered as 'Five Hundred Perfect Men at Tai-yan' (Book Eight, Lesson Nine).

Being Chinese, children are taught to remember their nationality no matter whether they are at home or are abroad:

Leaving my own country, I realise how important a nation is to the individual. My father tells me: 'We are Chinese. We have the blood of Chinese in our body no matter where we live.' So he wants me to come back for studying our own culture (Book Twelve, Lesson Nineteen).

6. About the foreign countries:

Beyond patriotism, children are also taught regard for other cultures. There are 26 lessons (10% of the total lessons) which refer to foreign countries (see table 6-11):

Table 6-11: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which foreign countries appear

year1	year2	year3	year4	year5	year6	total
0	0	6	8	5	7	26
(0%)	(0%)	(14%)	(18%)	(10%)	(16%)	(10%)

Foreign figures who appear in the textbooks include:

1. Thomas Alva Edison (1847-1931), the American inventor who invented more than one thousand things to benefit human beings (see Book Five, Lesson Fourteen; Book Nine, Lesson Fifteen);
2. The Wright Brothers who made human beings' dream of flight come true on 17 December 1903 (see Book Six, Lesson Thirteen);

3. Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922) who invented telephone on 10 March 1876 (see Book Seven, Lesson Six);
4. The British engineer George Stephenson (1781-1848) who invented train (see Book Eight, Lesson Two);
5. The Italian physicist and astronomer Galileo (1564-1642) who unveiled the secret of Heaven (see Book Ten, Lesson Sixteen);
6. The German Doctor Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965) who lived in Africa to take care of the poor (see Book Ten, Lesson Twenty-three);
7. The American astronaut Neil Armstrong and his fellows who are the first human beings landed on moon (see Book Nine, Lesson Six).

Other foreign cultural symbols are also introduced:

Many countries in the world have their national flower. These flowers are symbols of the country.... For example: The United States of American has hawthorn blossom (also called Mayflower) as their National Flower... French people see lily as a symbol of luck and have it as their National Flower; Other flowers such as cherry blossom for Japan, carnation for Turkey, olive blossom for Greece, water-lily for Egypt, and rose for the United Kingdom, all have their meanings to be the National Flower for each country (Book Twelve, Lesson Two).

Children are told to appreciate other countries' culture as well as their own. And the outstanding feature of the foreign countries is described as science and technology. For example, in an address Principal Yu makes to the pupils, he says:

Visiting the other countries such as the United States of America and Japan, I find out that their science and technology are excellent.... (Book Twelve, Lesson Twenty-One).

In addition, this cultural awareness is based on the international understanding. Through this understanding, it is hoped that human being could live in a global village like the Earth peacefully:

We like the fragrance of flowers and the songs of birds. We also like the brightness of stars, moon and sun. We love our parents, siblings, relatives and friends. We also love our country, our race, and all the human beings. We love this lovely world (Book Nine, Lesson Seven: a Praise for the Youth).

7. About Nature:

Nature in the textbooks is a place full of beauty. Children are taught that human being is but a part of Nature. They are taught to love Nature. The Natural Things appear as the major characters in 72 lessons (27% of the total lessons, see table 6-12):

Table 6-12: The frequencies of lessons of each study year in which Natural Things appear

year1	year2	year3	year4	year5	year6	total
21	14	7	7	10	13	72
(45%)	(33%)	(17%)	(16%)	(21%)	(29%)	(27%)

These Natural Things include animals, plants, and non-living things. They are all treated as anthropomorphic models for the children. The sun, for example, is used as an exemplar of diligence:

The Sun rises and makes the earth bright. He works hard everyday without rest through the four seasons of a year (Book Two, Lesson Sixteen: The Sun).

The relationship between human beings and Nature is harmonious. Chinese are especially described as lovers of Nature:

For those who don't know how to appreciate, Nature is too ordinary a thing to be paid attention to.... But, for those who know how to enjoy, everything is beautiful, and worth of appreciation again and again.... The Nature is not only a thing of beauty, but is also our intimate friend. We Chinese are the lover of the Nature (Book Eight, Lesson Six: The Appreciation of Nature).

In appreciating Nature, children are taught to appreciate life as the highest value. Seed, for example, has been highly appreciated because it has life in it (see Book Four, Lesson One). Even the shell, for it had life in it before, is also appreciated:

I mailed these shells to you because you said that they had life in it before. I wanted you to appreciate them (Book Twelve, Lesson Thirteen: The Shells I Mailed to You).

The story of Schweitzer is another good example to teach children of appreciating life:

When Schweitzer was only seven or eight year-old, he went to mountain to shoot birds with his companions.... When he was aiming a bird, the bell of the church rang in the distance. The bird still jumped up and down freely. Schweitzer threw away his sling shot, made the birds fly away, and run home without stopping. After that, when the bell of the church rang through the forest, it seemed to tell us: 'Don't kill life' (Book Ten, Lesson Twenty-Three: The Youth Schweitzer).

Nature have been described as a beautiful place which is worthy of enjoying. Such beauties include a wide range:

1. the beauty of the seasons (see Book Six,

- Lesson One; Book Nine, Lessons One to Three; Book Eight, Lesson Twenty-Four);
2. the beauty of mountains (see Book Two, Lesson Nine; Book Four, Lesson Ten; Book Five, Lesson Three; Book Five, Lesson Three);
 3. the beauty of sea and rivers (see Book Two, Lesson Eight; Book Six, Lesson Ten; Book Seven, Lesson Thirteen and Fourteen; Book Nine, Lesson Two);
 4. the beauty of countryside (see Book Five, Lessons One and Fifteen; Book Six, Lesson Two; Book Nine, Lesson Three);
 5. the beauty of sunrise (see Book Five, Lesson Two; Book Seven, Lesson Twelve);
 6. the beauty of stars (see Book Two, Lesson Eighteen; Book Twelve, Lesson Fifteen);
 7. the beauty of the moon (see Book Seven, Lesson Three; Book Nine, Lesson Four);
 8. the beauty of rainbow, (see Book Two, Lesson Seventeen);
 9. the beauty of the lake (see Book Eleven, Lesson Book One);
 10. the beauty of the valley (see Book Eight, Lesson Five);

All these beauties could be enjoyed only when you have an appreciative understanding of the Nature:

If you know how to appreciate the Nature, you would enjoy the beauty of mountain, of valley, of slope, of cliff. You would love the fast-running rivers, the murmuring of flowing brook, the endless lake, and the turbulent sea. You would like the pine, the bamboo, the plum blossom and the orchid. In your heart, all natural things become beautiful and lovely. Your life would also become more fulfilled, more lucky (Book Eight, Lesson Six: The Appreciation of the Nature).

Nature is not only a thing for enjoying. It is also a great

book from which we can learn many things:

Nature is a book. Prairie, river, valley, forest, path, and field of rice seem to be the illustrations of the book.... Nature is a good book. Let's all read about it (Book Two, Exercise Six).

Let's go out of doors. In the arms of Nature, you can exert you key of wisdom to open the door of the treasure house of knowledge (Book Ten, Lesson Three: The Treasure House of Knowledge).

In enjoying the beauty of Nature, children are taught to protect them from being destroyed:

In the park, the trees are high, the flowers are beautiful. There are also a green lawn. Let's not climb up the trees. Let's not pick the flowers. Let's not step upon the lawn (Book One, Lesson Eleven: In the Park).

The consciousness of ecological crisis is also emphasised in the textbooks. For example:

A stream passed through the village and the field happily with humming of songs.... The stream has no name, but people like to call him 'the beautiful brook'.... Now the brook side was piled up with rubbish. Dirty things flowed upon the surface of the stream. Sewage of the factories joined in the stream.... The stream did not sing happily any more (Book Four, Lesson Eighteen: The Colour of the Stream Had Been Changed).

Children are taught to protect the rare species. Two kinds of rare species are mentioned in the textbooks. The first one is the so-called 'viviparous plant' (mangrove):

... In this green forest, we see many birds flying. It is a wonderful sight. Teacher tells us: 'Mangrove is becoming rarer and rarer in Taiwan. we need to protect them carefully' (Book Four, Lesson Nineteen).

The another one is the shrike:

... It is not easy for the shrike to fly over the high mountain and over the great sea to survive themselves. Their courage and persistence are worthy of our respect. We must protect them carefully because they are our guests from far distance (Book Four, Lesson Twenty-one: The Shrike).

B. Whose Knowledge

1. About gender

Basically, the textbooks are occupied by males. Only 8% of the historical figures, real and fictitious, are female (see table 6-13):

Table 6-13: The frequencies of male and female appear in the textbooks

male	female	total
83 (92%)	7 (8%)	90 (100%)

Moreover, four of these seven female figures are fictitious. And one of the three real figures is blamed for the destruction of the West-Chou dynasty. In addition, the role allocated for the females is mainly housewife. Their chief tasks are child-care and house chores. In this point of view, females are treated unfairly. They suffer from both distortion and being neglected.

However, this discrimination exists mostly in the old edition of textbooks. Efforts of getting rid of chauvinism and gender discrimination have been found in the new

edition. For example, the text 'Father gets up early. He gets up to read his newspaper and books. Mother gets up early. She gets up to clean the environment busily' is criticised as discriminatory and has been modified into: 'Mother gets up to do her calisthenics' (see Book One, Lesson Three: I get up early). Moreover, children are taught about gender equality in vocation selection (see exercise five, Book Three). Many masculine vocations such as doctor, are defined as suitable for females.

2. About the ethnics

Foreign ethnics appeared in the textbooks nearly as much as Chinese (see table 6-14).

Table 6-14: The frequencies of Chinese and foreign ethnics appear in the textbooks

Chinese	foreign ethnics	total
44 (57%)	33 (43%)	77 (100%)

Chinese have been mentioned 44 times, while other ethnics have been mentioned 33 times. Foreign countries appear in the textbooks include: the USA (12 times), the United Kingdom (7 times), Japan (2 times), Africa (2 times), Australia, Holland, India, Italy, Germany, France, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, and Rome. Some foreign countries are described as poor (eg. Africa), loving of wine (eg. France), invaders (eg. Japan and Holland) while Chinese is described as diligent, optimistic, loving of peace, and

appreciating of Nature. However, these stereotypes of foreign ethnics are mainly found in the old edition. Many lessons imply ethnic hatred have been deleted from the old edition. For example: Japanese was described as the invader who kills tens of thousands of Taiwanese (see old edition Book Five, Lesson Seven, and Book Seven, Lesson Nine); American (especially ex-president Carter) was described as unjust to make relationship with The People's Republic of China and abandon the relationship with the ROC (see old edition Book Five, Lesson Eight, and Book Six, Lesson Twenty).

3. About disadvantaged groups

The Chinese people is consists of five ethnic groups: Han, Manchus, the Mongolians, the Mohammedans, and the Tibetans. There are also nine tribes of Taiwan aboriginals which have a total population of 300,000. Han ethnic is the largest majority and is the main group that appears in the textbooks. Other minorities are mentioned in only 5 lessons (see table 6-15):

Table 6-15: The frequencies of minorities appear in the textbooks

Manchus	Mongolian	Mohammedan	Tibetan	Taiwan aboriginal	Total
3	1	0	0	1	5

The Manchus are defamed as monarchy (see Book Seven, Lesson Eleven; and Book Eleven, Lesson Twenty Three and twenty

Four), while the Mongolian is described as brave (see Book Eleven, Lesson Fourteen). The Taiwan aboriginals appear in the textbook was Bu-loon Tribe and is now substituted by the Amei Tribe. Mohammedan, Tibetan and other eight tribes of Taiwan aboriginals have been neglected.

The disadvantaged groups appear in the textbooks are the orphan, the disabled, the sick, and the old (see table 6-16):

Table 6-16: The frequencies of disadvantaged groups appear in the textbooks

orphan	disabled	sick	old	total
1	1	1	2	5

Children are taught that these people need to be taken care of. And the disabled can have a normal life if they do not give up their right of living.

4. About political intervention

Political themes are found in the textbooks. First, more than half of the historical figures (54%) are politicians (see table 6-17). Most of them are described as ethnic heroes.

Table 6-17: The frequencies of different titles of the historical figures appear in the textbooks

politician	poet	scientist	scholars	fictitious	total
49	8	15	10	8	90
(54%)	(9%)	(17%)	(11%)	(9%)	(100%)

Secondly, National Symbols which are linked closely to the political purpose of patriotism are also found in the textbooks. They are:

1. National Day on October 10.
2. Memorial of Chiang Kai-shek in Taipei.
3. National flag.
4. Plum blossom, the National Flower.
5. Map of Mainland China.

Thirdly, a nation-consciousness is hidden in the names of the children. For example, children in the textbooks are usually named as Kao-chung (being strong of our nation); Chein-kao (constructing our nation); Chein-far (constructing the ROC), etc.

Finally, the China Communist Party is treated as the first enemy of the nation. It is described as bandit, as poisonous snake, as source of disaster, and therefore, it needs to be annihilated in the future. However, these exist mainly in the old edition of textbooks.

Discussion

A. What Knowledge

In the textbooks, children (or 'I' and 'we') are expected to be diligent in everyday life, especial in book-reading; to pay filial piety to their parents; to love their relatives; to respect their teachers; to get along with others; to love the society in which they live as well as their nation; to have cosmopolitan views; and to appreciate Nature. This is the most worthwhile knowledge. Such a belief system theoretically copes with the cognitive development of the children. This conceptual cosmology starts from the self-concept, and then expands gradually to the family, to the school, to the society, to the nation, and finally to the foreign countries. The most influential three concepts are the self, the family, and the nature, though there is an overall trend of reduction. And the concept of nation becomes the most influential one in the sixth study year (see table 6-18):

Table 6-18: The percentage of different concepts in the lessons of each study year

	yr1	yr2	yr3	yr4	yr5	yr6	total
self	74	67	50	27	29	18	44
family	47	43	36	22	23	13	30
school	11	12	17	13	10	13	13
society	0	0	19	11	2	13	8
nation	0	19	12	16	15	38	16
foreign country	0	0	14	18	10	16	10
nature	45	33	17	16	21	29	27

The goals of the language textbooks of the elementary schools, as stated in the Curriculum Guide-line for the Elementary Schools, are:

to cultivate children with ethical ideas, democratic manners, and scientific spirit; to stimulate patriotic thinking; and to glorify Chinese traditional culture (Ministry of education, ROC, 1975, p.75).

To achieve these goals, the designation of this belief system is derived mainly from the Chinese tradition. In an ancient book (The Great Learning), there are eight steps to cultivate an ideal man. These steps are:

1. abandon the enjoyment of material world;
2. search into the nature of things and extend the boundaries of knowledge;
3. make one's own purpose sincere;
4. regulate one's own mind;
5. cultivate one's own virtue;
6. make one's own family in order;
7. govern one's own state; and

8. pacify the whole world (Four Books, 1988, p.1).

These eight steps, as former president Chiang Kai-shek asserts:

... call upon a man to develop from within outward, to begin with his inner nature, and not to cease until the world is at peace. Such a deep, all-embracing logic is a nugget of wisdom peculiar to China's moral philosophy and is deemed worthy of preservation (1987, p.2).

The cosmology set in the textbooks is a copy of these steps of cultivating a child. The steps one to five concern the development personal virtues. The steps six to eight concern the family, the nation, and the world respectively. This may explain the basic structure of content of the textbooks.

However, there are two new branches being grafted onto the domestic branch: Western science, and practical issues.

In borrowing foreign cultures to enrich traditional culture, Western science is seen as most important. It is not surprising that most of the Western figures mentioned in the textbooks, such as Edison, are famous scientists or engineers. The attempt of science-borrowing is obvious when Principal Yu makes an address to the pupils:

Visiting other countries such as the United States of America and Japan, I find out that their science is excellent....In ancient time, our ancestors had many inventions, such as compass and movable print plates, that were incomparable by other countries. Why do we lag behind other countries in science now? We must

absorb the advantages of others to overcome our shortcomings. This will make our country strong again (Book Twelve, Lesson Twenty-One).

Nevertheless, the borrowing of science is treated as a complementary of the traditional culture. The foreign branch must not influence the root of the domestic culture.

Besides Western cultures, two practical issues also appear in the belief system. In the process of modernisation, environmental pollution is a serious threat to the quality of living, and it needs to be concerned about. Also importantly, the invention of TV and movies cause negative influence on children's learning, and need to be tackled.

In sum: the belief system of the textbooks derives mainly from the traditional culture with the supplementary of Western science and the solution of practical issues. It has a strong concept structure. However, there are contradictions between different values:

1. Children are taught to be in harmony with the nature. They also learn about the omnipotence of science which could conquer the nature. How could these two thoughts exist simultaneously? For example:

We believe without doubt that scientists could commend the winds and rains to make this world a lovely place to live in (Book Ten, Lesson Eighteen: Changing the Weather).

2. Children are taught to be honest. But they also learn from a story that the behaviour of Sun-wu-kong (a disciple of Tang-san-chang) is good though he steals a fan from Princess of Iron Fan to extinguish the fire on Mountain Fire (see Book Nine, Lesson Twelve).

3. Children are taught to appreciate life, but they are also taught to enjoy the fun of fishing. How could these two thoughts be reconcilable to each other? Furthermore, children learn from a story that it is unnecessary to save a person from drowning if he is not honest (see Book Eleven, Lesson Seven).

4. The emphasis of Chinese traditional culture, seems to equalise Western culture with science. As a result, the borrowing of Western culture is mainly restricted in the domain of science. Thus the more important parts of the Western cultures, such as democracy and ruling by law, have been omitted.

Such contradiction of different values implies that the content of textbooks focuses merely on meaning-accepting rather than meaning-making. Ou, for example, asserts in his The dilemma of value-teaching in the primary schools that:

the designation and content of primary school textbooks are not suitable for the formation of children's values' (1988, p.249).

B. Whose Knowledge

The analysis of the legitimacy of the textbooks shows that the knowledge of the textbooks mainly belongs to the Han ethnic of the Chinese. In the old edition, some bias about the female, the foreign ethnics, the minorities, and the political adversary (the China Communist Party) do exist in the textbooks. There are also some controversial issues:

1. The standpoint of the textbooks is strongly of the structural-functionalism. This belief system seems to escape social conflict and, thus, conceal the truth of the social reality. The problems appear in the textbooks are only those resolvable ones. For the sake of stability, the structural tensions which could breakdown the social status quo have been omitted.

2. The dominance of political slogan. Patriotism is emphasised in the textbooks to serve the need of nation. Sacrifice one's life for the nation is encouraged. And the xenophobia of Chinese Communism still exists. In some sense, such textbooks are still tools for political purposes.

3. The prevalence of consciousness of we-group or in-group. This could cause narrow ethnocentric predicament.

Such criticism of the legitimacy has been made by some educationists. For example, Ou asserts in his The dilemma of value-teaching in the primary schools that there are six

shortcomings of primary school textbooks:

1. Backward orientation: focus too much on traditional events.
2. Anti-Communism and the recovery of Mainland China as the first task.
3. Nation as the supreme value: the purpose of individual existing is but for the Nation.
4. A cult of political leaders: they are treated as idols.
5. Ethnocentric: Han ethnic is at the centre of the textbooks. Other minorities are neglected.
6. Male chauvinism: male is at the centre of the textbooks (1988, pp.245-248).

However, such shortcomings exist mainly in the old edition of textbooks (i.e. Book Eight to Twelve). In the new edition (Book One to Seven), most of these shortcomings have been revised. Shai, for example, concludes in his A Study of Political Socialisation of the Children in ROC: Content Analysis of Primary School Textbooks that:

the political socialisation of the old textbooks was to avoid the two crises of a developing country, i.e. the crisis of national identification and the crisis of legitimacy of authority. However, such purpose has shifted to a new trend of cultivating modernised citizen for the establishing of a modernised country (1992, p.125-6).

It could be expected that when the task of revision is completed, such shortcomings will disappear.

Summary

The Chinese language textbooks of the primary schools have an explicit attempt of cultivating modern citizen for the establishment of a modern country. In so planning, the belief system is derived from the traditional culture.

The advantage of such belief system is children have clear identities about themselves, about family, about society, about nation, and about the whole universe. There are obvious goals for the children to pursue. This helps to stabilise the social status and to construct a unified country. However, the rationality and legitimacy of the textbooks all have some controversial issues. Do such problems also exist in the textbooks of other countries? The content analysis of English textbooks will be presented in next chapter.

Chapter Seven

Content Analysis of English Language

Textbooks

The relationship between knowledge and power is a complex one. How to protect the students' rights of knowing the truth is a problem we must face today. If students are not able to reflect, to criticise the knowledge they obtained by themselves, knowledge will become hegemony (Chen, 1988, p.207).

The textbook is only one of many reading and instruction sources available to the teacher. But it may prove to be the one that provides the best continuity and least restriction for learning (Leake, 1987, p.17).

This chapter is a counterpart to the previous one. Its purpose is to analyze the content of current English language textbooks. The same steps of the previous chapter will be used: (1) description of the materials used in this analysis; (2) identification of the belief system in the English language textbook; and (3) discussion of the meaning of these

findings.

Materials for Analyzing

In England and Wales, unlike in the Republic of China, there are no state-edited textbooks for the primary schools. As the DES asserted in The School Curriculum:

It is the individual school that shape the curriculum for each pupil. Neither the Government nor the local authorities should specify in detail what the schools should teach. This is for the schools themselves to determine (DES, 1981, p.3).

This tradition is maintained even after the introduction of the National Curriculum. A Standard Assessment Task Booklist is provided by the School Examination and Assessment Council to standardise the assessment process, but 'this should not influence the broader range of books [teachers] will need to use in [their] normal teaching' (SEAC, 1992, p.1). Thus the language textbooks used in one school may be different from those used in other schools. Even in the same school, different classes may use different textbooks; and, in the same class, different books may be used by different pupils for their own interests and needs. As a result, the textbooks every student follows vary from each other.

Under such circumstance, it is impossible to analyze all the schoolbooks used in the classroom. Therefore, it was necessary to draw a sample for this analysis. In the SEAC's Standard Assessment Task Booklist, there are fifty-nine titles (see Appendix C) which cover four levels of attainment within Key

Stages 1 and 2. My sample is chosen randomly¹ from this booklist. Three books are sampled for each level respectively, and thus the sample has a total of twelve books. These books are:

Level 1:

1. The Bears who Went to the Seaside (Susanna Gretz, London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1972).
2. Bet You Can't (Penny Dale, London: Walker Books Ltd. 1987).
3. Titch (Pat Hutchins, London, Penguin Books Ltd. 1991).

Level 2:

1. But Martin (June Counsel, London: Picture Corgi Books. 1991).
2. Miss Dose the Doctor's Daughter (Allan Ahlberg & Faith Jaques, London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1988).
3. The Bad-Tempered Ladybird (Eric Carle, Penguin Books Ltd. 1982).

level 3:

1. The Lost Toy (Irina Hale, London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1985).
2. The Mice and the Clockwork Bus (Rodney Peppé, London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1986).
3. Joe Giant's Missing Boot (Toni Goffe, Walker Books Ltd. 1991).

Level 4:

1. Charlotte's Web (E. B. White, London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1952).
2. Matilda (Roald Dahl, London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1989).
3. The Moon's Revenge (Joan Aiken & Alan Lee, Random Century Children's Books. 1991).

¹ The method of this sampling is: 1. Numbering the books of each level respectively. 2. Writing numbers on pieces of paper to represent each book. 3. Put the pieces of paper in an envelope, and then pick out three pieces randomly. 4. The numbers on the paper determine the books for the sample. 5. The procedure for the different levels is the same.

The Findings

A. What Knowledge

1. About the self

Over nine tenths (92%) of the total books use children and anthropomorphic animals as the major characters (see table 7-1):

Table 7-1: The frequency of books in which different kinds of major characters appear

children	animals	adults	total
6 (50%)	5 (42%)	1 (8%)	12 (100%)

For the children, the most important role is the enjoyment of life. For example:

Children are not so serious as grown-ups and they love to laugh (Matilda, p.81).

Through the enjoyment of life, children are expected to learn about different kinds of virtues, such as courage, co-operation, modesty.

Book-reading is not encouraged in English schoolbooks. Only two books (17% of the total books) refer to it (see table 7-2):

Table 7-2: The frequency of books of each level in which 'book-reading' appears

level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
1 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (33%)	2 (17%)

Furthermore, the school texts present two contradictory perspectives on books. On the one hand, books are good for actual life. For example:

If only they would read a little Dickens or Kipling they would soon discover there was more to life than cheating people and watching T.V. (Matilda, p.29).

But, on the other hand, books also make people believe things without thinking. For example:

People believe almost anything they see in print (Charlotte's Web, p.88).

A girl should think about making herself look attractive so she can get a good husband later on. Looks is more important than books (Matilda, p.97). All those words inside me, give me indigestion (The Lost Toy).

This is a fundamental difference between Chinese and English texts. Chinese children are encouraged to be diligent in book-reading, while English children are encouraged to enjoy their life.

2. About the family

Family or home appears in eight books (67% of the total books, see table 7-3):

Table 7-3: The frequency of books of each level in which family or home appears

level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
1 (33%)	1 (33%)	3 (100%)	3 (100%)	8 (67%)

Parents and brothers are the family members that appear most frequently in the books. Half of the books contain parents or brothers (see table 7-4):

Table 7-4: The frequency of books of each level in which members of family and relatives appear

	level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
grand-parents	0	0	1	3	4 (33%)
parents	0	2	1	3	6 (50%)
brothers	1	1	1	3	6 (50%)
sisters	1	0	1	3	5 (42%)
uncle/aunt	0	0	0	3	3 (25%)
cousins	0	0	0	1	1 (8%)

However, family or home is not always a lovely place for everyone to live. It could be an unendurable place where conflict among members of family happens. Parents usually misunderstand their children and have unreasonable expectations for their children. As a paragraph in Matilda asserts:

It's a funny thing about mothers and fathers. Even when their own child is the most disgusting little blister you could ever imagine, they still think that he or she is wonderful (Matilda, p.7).

On the contrary, parents could pay no attention to their children:

The parents [of Matilda] instead of applauding her, called her a noisy chatterbox and told her sharply that small girl should be seen and not heard (Matilda, p.11).

The imagination about family is different between Chinese and English texts. Chinese texts emphasise the ethical relationship between parents and children while English texts treat this parent-children relationship as an equal one.

3. About the school

School appears in four books (one third of the total books;

see table 7-5):

Table 7-5: The frequency of books of each level in which school appears

level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
0 (0%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	2 (66%)	4 (33%)

School, as it was described in the texts, is not always a warm place. It is sometimes an arena in which students are dominated by the teachers. For example:

Being in the school is like being in a cage with a cobra (Matilda, p.118).

Similarly, not all the staff of the school are amiable. For example:

My idea of a perfect school is one that has no children in it at all. One of these days I shall start up a school like that. I think it will be very successful (Matilda, pp.159-160).

In fact, going to school is not always a jolly thing for the children to do. For example:

That first morning back at school, Lee's lips turned down; Lloyd's head hung down; Billy's brows drew down; and Angela's tears fell down (But Martin).

The imagination about school is different between Chinese and English texts. Chinese children are taught to pay great respect to their teachers. They are also encouraged to love their career of schooling. The role of teachers are treated like those of parents. However, the English texts do not emphasise such teacher-student relationship.

4. About the society

Neighbours appear in four books (one third of the total books), while friends appear in two books (one sixth of the total books; see table 7-6):

Table 7-6: The frequency of books of each level in which neighbours and friends appear

	level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
neighbour	0	0	1	1	2 (17%)
friend	0	0	2	2	4 (33%)

The importance of neighbours and friends is emphasised in the books. Children are taught to be friendly to others. In Joe Giant's Missing Boot, for example, when Joe Giant and his wife (Tilda) came to live in Mothergooseville, Tilda talked to Joe that:

I like it here, but a new home needs new friends.
What we must do now is get to know our neighbours.

Friendship is one of the most important theme of Charlotte's Web in which the word 'friend' appears 54 times over 175 pages. As Wilbur the pig whose life was saved by his friend (Charlotte the spider) concludes:
Friendship is one of the most satisfying things in the world (p.112).

However, the society in which we live is not always a harmonious place. There are conflicts in the social life. Bad deeds such as cheating, burglary, robbery, fighting (or argument), murder, kidnap are happening in the books (see table 7-7):

Table 7-7: The frequencies of books of each level in which bad deeds appear

	level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
cheating			1	2	3
burglary			1		1
robbery		1			1
fighting	2	1	1	3	7
murder				2	2
kidnap		1			1

Children are taught to struggle against these injustice. For example, the book of The Mice and the Clockwork Bus is about such a struggle. The mice who are exploited by D. Rat (a big rat) finally decide to get rid of the exploitation they have endured for so many years. The big rat monopolises the means

of transportation with his dangerous car (Rattletrap):

When the Rattletrap reached a hill, everyone had to get off and push. Only D. Rat remained seated, counting his money from the fares. And of course everyone was always late for work, even the judge.

When the mice create a better, and safer car -- the Clockwork

Bus, the unjust exploitation is finally broken down. To

maintain social justice, the mice also accuse the big rat of

stealing the key of the Clockwork Bus:

The prisoner was brought before the judge who was one of the passengers. 'Three years' hard work,' commanded the judge, 'and since you're so fond of keys, you can be clock-winder on the clockwork bus.'

The story ends when justice is regained. This theme of justice

struggling also appears in Charlotte's Web. A little girl

(Fern) considers her father's attempt of killing a runt as the

most unfair thing in the world and tries to rid the world of

injustice. For saving the runt, Fern argues with her father:

'Control myself?' yelled Fern. 'This is a matter of

life and death.... It's unfair,' cried Fern. 'The pig couldn't help being born small, could it? If I had been very small at birth, would you have killed me?'

With the help of a clever spider (Charlotte), the little girl saves the life of the small pig and thereby maintains social justice.

The same theme of fighting against injustice runs through Matilda. The whole book is about the story of a 4 year-old girl (Matilda) who challenges the evil world of adults. She fights against the cruel headmistress of her school (Miss Trunchbull). She also fights against her dishonest father who puts sawdust in the gear-boxes and resets the speedometer to cheat his customers. Matilda stands at the side of righteousness and finally overcomes the unjust adults.

To achieve an equal and democratic society, children are encouraged to express their own opinion and to compromise with different opinions. For example, when the bears came to the beach:

'This is a good spot,' said Charles, but Robert had stepped on some tar. 'It's not a good spot,' he said. 'Let's go this way,' said Andrew. 'No -- that way!' said John. Fred didn't mind which way they went. At last they found a good spot (The Bears who Went to the Seaside).

In addition, the inter-understanding between peoples is important for achieving a peaceful society. For example, the spider defends her bloody ways of living as:

You have your meals brought to you in a pail. Nobody feeds me. I have to get my own living. I live by my wits. I have to be sharp and clever, lest I go hungry.... I am not entirely happy about my diet of flies and bugs, but it's the way I'm made. A spider has to pick up a living somehow or other, and I happen to be a trapper (Charlotte's

Web, p.43).

The society in English textbooks is a place where good deeds and bad deeds all occur. Such society is, unlike that of Chinese texts, a place of real world without polishing. Children are encouraged to struggle against injustice, even including their own parents and teachers.

5. About the nation

'Our nation' appears in three books (a quarter of the total books; see table 7-8):

Table 7-8: The frequency of books of each level in which our nation appears

level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
0	0	0	3	3

The notion of 'our country' appears only in the books of level 4. Moreover, it is treated as a neutral term. Similarly, historical figures appeared in the books (such as King Henry I, King Richard, King Henry VIII, Duke of Wellington) are treated more as a fact than as heroes. Children are not encouraged to be patriotic for 'our country'. They are not taught to be proud of being English. The sense of our-group or in-group is, unlike that of Chinese texts, weak in English texts. In other words, the notion of nation is not an important theme of the texts.

6. About the foreign countries

Other countries appear in the books, including America, Australia, Africa, France, India, and Spain (see table 7-9):

Table 7-9: Frequencies of books of each level in which other countries appear

	level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
America	0	0	0	1	1
Australia	0	0	0	1	1
Africa	0	0	0	1	1
France	0	0	0	1	1
India	0	0	0	2	2
Spain	0	0	0	1	1

Like the notion of 'our country', foreign countries appear only in the books of level 4. They are treated merely as geographical names. There is no description about these foreign countries. The only foreign historical figure to appear in the books is Napoleon. He is recalled for his motto: 'The only sensible thing to do when you are attacked is to counter-attack.'

The notion of foreign countries is not emphasised in the texts. This is a difference between Chinese texts and English texts.

7. About Nature

The beauty of Nature is not emphasised in the books. The relationship between human being and Nature is not mentioned. Unlike Chinese texts, the notion of Nature is not important in English texts.

To sum up: the belief systems of Chinese texts and English texts are polarised in many ways. The belief system of Chinese texts covers all the notions of self, of family, of school, of society, of nation, of foreign countries, and of Nature while

that of English texts focuses mainly on the development of the notion of individuality.

B. Whose Knowledge

1. About gender

The number of male figures who appear in the books as major characters is greater than that of the female figures (see table 7-10):

Table 7-10: The frequency of male and female as major characters appear in the books

male	female	total
22 (55%)	18 (45%)	40 (100%)

There are three male figures appear as the titles of the books (i.e. Titch, Martin, and the Goe Giant). There are also three female figures appeared as the titles of the books (i.e. Miss Dose, Charlotte and Matilda). The roles for male and female are without gender discrimination. Miss Dose, for example, behaves as a doctor successfully, though doctor is traditionally a male vocation. Basically, the conceptual world of the books is based on gender equality.

2. About the ethnics

The characters of the books are not white people only. Coloured ethnic characters appear in three books (a quarter of the total books). Ethnic equality is emphasised throughout the books, especially in the illustrations. For examples, in Bet You Can't, the representation of the two major characters (one boy and one girl) are as coloured people. In Miss Dose the Doctor's Daughter, the patients who come to Doctor Dose's

surgery include peoples of all colours. Colour is also obvious in But Martin where the major characters are of different colours: Lee is yellow in skin; Lloyd is black; Billy is red; Angela is white; and, most surprisingly, Martin, is green. The theme of ethnic equality is emphasised when Martin, the E.T., writes:

I went to Earth for my holiday. It was nice. The Earth People are nice. They are all different colours.

3. About disadvantaged groups

Disadvantaged groups appear in six books (a half of the total books). The equality between the strong and the weak is emphasised in the books. In Titch, for example, the little boy was so small that he has nothing to compete with his big sister and brother. However, when Titch's tiny seed is planted in his sister's fat flowerpot with his brother's big spade, it begins to grow and grow, and becomes so big a tree that everyone becomes surprised.

4. About political intervention

No political intervention is found in the books.

To sum up: the knowledge of the English texts is not dominated by some groups. In other words, the content of the texts is neutral thus has high legitimacy.

Discussion

A. What Knowledge

The belief system of the English texts could be summarised as

table 7-11:

Table 7-11: The frequencies of books of each level in which different concepts appear

	level 1	level 2	level 3	level 4	total
children	2	2	0	2	6
family	1	1	3	3	8
school	0	1	1	2	4
society	0	0	2	2	4
nation	0	0	0	3	3
foreign countries	0	0	0	2	2
nature	0	0	0	0	0

The notion of family appears most frequently in the texts. Other concepts such as school, society, nation, and foreign countries also appear. However, they are but the field (or background) to make the figures becoming manifest.

In the books, children occupy the centre of attention. The intention of this belief system focuses merely on the enlightenment of the child's mind. Children are treated as having the highest value in themselves. They are treated as independent individuals that have their own special needs. DES, for example, claimed in National Curriculum: from Policy

to Practice that:

The National Curriculum framework, and specific provisions within it, will offer very wide scope for teachers to deal with the full range of individual needs. But in some cases it may be necessary to make exceptional arrangements (DES, 1989a).

For the enlightenment of the children's mind, children are encouraged to liberate their thinking. As claimed in A

Framework for the School Curriculum, one of the educational aims is 'to help pupils to develop lively, enquiring minds, the ability to question and argue rationally ...' (DES, 1980). Such an attempt is carried out by the language books. The illustrations, the descriptions and the plots of the books are all original and are apt to make children think. The adventure of the Lost Toy, the designation of the Clockwork Bus, the imaginative house made of Joe Giant's Missing Boot, the tricks Matilda does to the evil adults, the strategies Charlotte the spider plans to save Wilbur the pig, the seven-legs monster and the moon with a dirty marks, etc. all are marvellous invention for children to enrich their imagination. For

example:

The Goe Giant hopped up the hill and peered over. There stood his missing boot! But something was wrong. The boot looked different. Suddenly he realized what it was - there was smoke coming out of the top! Some had built a roof with a chimney, and cut windows and a door in the sides.

Children are also encouraged to criticise social phenomena (including the nature of schooling), and to question the rationality of their everyday life. There are descriptions of the dark facet of the society. Such ironic phenomena are designed to make children's mind glowing. Charlotte the spider, for example, laughs at the silly things done by human beings. She said:

[Human beings] don't catch anything [in the Queensborough Bridge as we spiders do in our web]. They just keep trotting back and forth across the bridge thinking there is something better on the other side. If they'd hang head-down at the top of the thing and wait quietly, maybe something good would come along. But no - with men it's rush,

rush, rush, every minute. I'm glad I'm a sedentary spider (Charlotte's Web, p.63).

Narratives like this are designed to appeal to the child's imagination.

B. Whose Knowledge

The belief system of the English texts is not controlled by dominant groups. Biases of genders, of ethnics, of disadvantaged groups, and of political groups are not found in this belief system. Moreover, the books represent the voice of the weak and help to reduce the dominance of the strong. This belief system is a reflection of the British social situation. A welcome to masses of immigrants from all nations makes Britain a society of multi-ethnics. The multi-ethnic society could be maintained only by supporting consciousness for social justice and equality. As Department of Education and Science and the Welsh Office claimed in English for Ages 5 to 16 that:

English teachers need to be ready to give careful introductions and support when using texts which might otherwise cause offence to some groups, for example if a character with racist attitude is portrayed, even though the author may not be supporting such attitudes. The choice of subjects for imaginative writing may also require care (1989b, chapter 11.6).

To achieve an equal society, one of the aims of the schoolbooks is 'to instil respect for religious and moral values, and tolerance of other races, religions, and ways of life' (quoted in DES, 1981, p.3). Children are taught to appreciate the world which is alien to their own. For example:
In good time [Wilbur the pig] was to discover that he was mistaken about Charlotte [the spider].

Underneath her rather bold and cruel exterior, she had a kind heart, and she was to prove loyal and true to the very end (Charlotte's Web, p.44).

Conflicts are not erased from the books. They are emphasised in many books. For example: the conflicts between Matilda and her family, between books and rotten T.V., between honest and cheating, between Miss Honey (the teacher) and Miss Trunchbull (the Headmistress). However, the victory always goes to the righteous one. Based on the concern for minorities, and the mutual understanding of each group, the content of the books is accepted. Men and women, members of different ethnic groups, and the weak and the strong are treated equally.

To sum up: the belief system of the books is centred on two kind of intentions: to enlighten children's mind and to pursue social justice. However, this belief system has two possible weakness.

1. The overall belief system lacks coherence:

The belief systems of the books are separated by each other due to the fact that they are not written by the same authors. As a result, the cosmology of this belief system is unevenly projected. Some themes are emphasised in most books while other themes of equal importance could be neglected at all.

2. The children are exposed to undesirable aspects of social life:

The presentation of social dark facets is a risk of undermining social coherence. Children learn from the negative messages of the books as well as the positive messages. For

example: Children in Matilda are described in words like twit, stupid, ignorant, asinine, cheat, liar, brat, wart, and clot. These malicious words may to be picked up by the students, possibly forming a negative sub-culture of students.

It is also dangerous that children learn from Miss Dose the Doctor's Daughter who distributes medicine to her brothers. Such aspects of the cosmology need to be interpreted by the teachers very carefully.

Summary

The analysis of English language books reveals some significant findings. The content of the texts is strikingly child-centred. Liberation of children's mind and maintenance of social justice are equally emphasised. The books are also attractive in words and illustrations. However, they lack an integral structure to show a complete cosmology for the children. They also have hidden messages which could cause undesirable side-effects for the children. How to tackle such disadvantage? If teachers (as well as parents) could pay attention to the possible influence of children's sub-culture, and to help children select different kinds of books to balance their reading interests, the content of English texts is good enough for educating next generation.

Chapter Eight

The Meeting of East and West: A Comparison

The educational goals and themes of different countries become more and more similar than before. The difference between each country exists only in the methods for carrying them out (Chung, 1991, p.768).

It is the teacher, not the textbook, that will make the difference in the classroom. The text is merely a tool and, ... quite possibly an inadequate one at best (Kane, 1970, p.10).

The significance of the Chinese and English textbooks needs to be found out by comparison. It is hoped that the differences between East and West could nourish one another and lead to the improvement of human future. Thus the purpose of this chapter is three-fold: (1) to identify the

difference between Chinese textbooks and English textbooks;
 (2) to comment on the significance of this difference; and
 (3) to recommend a possible way of textbook-improvement in
 the Republic of China (and England, if it is possible).

Comparison

A. About the Textbook Context

The content and system of textbook are, as mentioned in chapter three, a result of wider context. The contexts of the Republic of China and England textbooks have some basic differences. At the risk of oversimplification, these differences could be graphed as table 8-1:

Table 8-1: The differences of textbook-context between the Republic of China and England

	ROC	England
historical tradition	exogenous	indigenous
social-culture	mono-culture	multi-culture
political	uncertainty	certainty
economy	developing	developed
schooling	closed-mind	open-mind
curriculum	objective orientation	process orientation
textbook	central control	teacher autonomy

Though a trend of centralisation is the same for both the

Republic of China and England, the Chinese textbook system is basically controlled by the central government while that of England still has a considerable level of teacher-autonomy. This is the most striking difference between these two systems. The evidence of this difference can be interpreted in three perspectives: (1) the division of power between central and local government; (2) the strength of textbooks; and (3) the hypotheses about knowledge and schooling.

Power division

First, the division of powers between central and local governments of the Republic of China is under the principle of equilibrium, that is, the power for the central government, for the province, and for the county is drawn according to the nature of business. Any matter falls within the jurisdiction of the central government if it is national; of the province if it is provincial; and of the county if it is local. Education, as well as other important affairs such as military, has been regarded as a national policy and is defined in the Constitution as a business of the central government. As a result, the content of the textbooks, especially of those for the compulsory education, is determined by the central government.

Nevertheless, the situation of English textbooks is

different. Though the National Curriculum was enacted in 1988, the content of textbooks in England is not controlled by the central government. It is still held in the hands of teachers in light of the need of every independent students. It is teachers who have the rights and duties to choose the materials for teaching. As Leake, for example, asserts in Class Book Selection: The Teacher's Guide that:

... teaching methods are no longer dependent on a single textbook per class, year, or even per term. Teachers are buying to meet the individual requirements of their pupils. And the needs of a mixed ability, multi-cultural, integrated learning approach must be translated into a vast range of books and learning materials (1987, p.9).

The strength of textbooks

Secondly, the textbooks of the central-controlled system are usually edited by the central government. This government-edited textbook has its superiority over other non-government-edited books. Its authority is enforced in the forms of authorship and the detailed regulation for the implementation of it. In the Republic of China, the authorship of the government-edited textbook is expressed in the name of National Institute of Compilation and Translation (NICT) which is a sub-branch of the Ministry of Education. The content of the textbooks is underlined by a textbook committee which comprises of a list of experts in the fields of each subject matter. These steps legitimise the authority of textbooks as the best one. Furthermore, the implementation of the textbooks is also regulated in

detail by the NICT. Teachers must carry out their teaching in the light of the regulation. They have no right to change the regulation with their own judgement for the students. In some senses, the textbook is a kind of Bible which can not be changed by the students as well as teachers.

The dominant power of central-controlled textbook is what Kumar calls 'textbook culture'. This culture has, as Kumar describes, four manifest features:

1. Teaching in all subjects is based on the textbook prescribed by state authorities.
2. The teacher has no freedom to choose what to teach. She must complete the prescribed syllabus with the help of the prescribed textbook.
3. Resources other than the textbook are not available in the majority of schools, and where they are available they are seldom used. Fear of damage to such resources (e.g. play or science equipment), and the poor chances of repair or replacement discouraged the teacher from using them.
4. Assessment during each year and examinations are based on the textbook (1988, p.98).

In addition, Kumar also points out the latent significance of this textbook culture. He asserts:

The textbook culture relates to the distribution of authority in the system of education. The authority prescribed the textbooks and also has the power to appoint, promote, penalize and transfer a teacher to any school. (1988, p.98).

However, the situation of English textbook is different.

The book used in the classroom usually has an author's name on it. It is, therefore, treated as merely someone's opinion and has no necessary bureaucratic authority in it. It is more as a tool for communication than a rigid yardstick for judging the merits of teachers.

Hypothesis about knowledge and schooling

Finally, the central-controlled system treats knowledge as static reality which could be transmitted completely as it is. Therefore, schooling is treated as a process of meaning-receiving. Under such hypotheses, students accept a prescribed meaning from teachers. They are dependent upon teachers and are the consumers of prescribed knowledge. Such hypotheses of knowledge and schooling imply a kind of human interest which, as Habermas calls it the approach of the empirical-analytic sciences, incorporates a technical cognitive interest (Habermas, 1972).

On the other hand, the autonomous system treated knowledge as a reality of uncertainty. Schooling is a process of meaning-making. Students are autonomous learners. They create their own meaning in the process of teacher-student interaction. Such hypotheses imply what Habermas calls the approach of the historical-hermeneutic sciences, which incorporates a self reflective interest; or the approach of critically oriented sciences which incorporates the emancipatory cognitive interest (Habermas, 1972).

In sum, the difference between the textbook system of central control and that of teacher autonomy is what Kumar calls 'two types of educational systems'. For the autonomous system, Kumar asserts:

the teacher has the freedom to decide what materials to use for developing a lesson. She is trained and expected to prepare her own curriculum plan and mode of assessment. She has authority over what happens in the classroom, in what order, what pace, and with the help of what resources, printed or otherwise (1988, p.97).

However, the system of central-control is different. Kumar also asserts:

it ties the teacher to the prescribed textbook. She is given no choice in the organisation of curriculum, pacing, and the mode of final assessment. Textbooks are prescribed for each subject, and the teacher is expected to elucidate it, lesson by lesson in the given order. She must ensure that children are able to write answers to questions based on any lesson in the textbook without seeing it, for this is what they will have to do in the examination when they face one (1988, pp.97-8).

B. About the Textbook Content

The belief system of the Chinese textbooks derives mainly from the Aim of Chinese Education in which the purpose of education is to:

enrich the individual life, enhance social coherence, improve the people's livelihood, so as to attain the independence of the nation, the spread of citizens' democratic rights, and the promotion of economic life with a view to the realisation of an ideal world where peace, harmony and equality prevail (quoted in Lin, 1968, p.520).

Besides, the purpose of elementary education, as stated in the Curriculum Guide-line for the Primary Schools is to:

foster vivacious child and dignified person. It focuses on the cultivation of human morality, the training of both physical and mental health, and the improvement of the base skills of everyday life. This purpose must be carried out by achieving the following goals:

1. to foster the basic characters of thinking carefully and clearly, bearing one's duties and abiding the laws, behaving morally for oneself and others.
2. to develop the spirit of loving family and country, cooperating with others, serving the society.
3. to cultivate a good habit, so the health of both body and spirit can be improved.
4. to obtain the basic knowledge and skills about using language, characters, numbers, measurements and figures.
5. to improve the abilities for self-understanding, environment concerning, and modern life adjusting.
6. to develop the abilities for thinking, creating, and problem solving.
7. to foster the conception and habit of work, and the wise use of the leisure time.
8. to foster the ability for appreciating everyday life, and develop the optimistic, energetic spirits (Ministry of Education, ROC, 1975, p.1).

On the other hand, the belief system of English textbook derives from broader educational aims. In A Framework for the School Curriculum, for example, the aims of education are:

1. to help pupils to develop lively, enquiring minds, the ability to

question and argue rationally and to apply themselves to tasks, and physical skills;

2. to help pupils to acquire knowledge and skills relevant to adult life and employment in a fast-changing world;
3. to help pupils to use language and number effectively;
4. to instil respect for religious and moral values, and tolerance of other races, religions, and ways of life;
5. to help pupils to understand the world in which they live, and the interdependence of individuals, groups and nations;
6. to help pupils to appreciate human achievements and aspirations (DES, 1980, p.3).

Comparing the purposes of English textbooks to that of the Chinese textbooks, there is no obvious difference. However, the difference between the belief system of Chinese textbooks and that of English textbooks is manifest. These differences could be summarised as following:

1. structure vs. non-structure

Chinese textbooks are organised into an integrity. The thirteen volumes of the primary school language textbooks are edited by a textbook committee under the authorization of the Ministry of Education. Though the members of that committee change from time to time, the Guide-lines for the content selection stay there more steadily. As a result, the content of textbooks is integrated into a whole. For example: in Book Seven, three lessons are designed

purposely to introduce the landscapes of Taiwan, i.e. Mountain Ali, Northern Beach, and River Tain-shui (see Lesson Twelve to Fourteen). One year later, when the major character visits the Bay of Si-tze (see Book Nine, Lesson Two), he recalls the beauty of Northern Beach. In some sense, the thirteen volumes of the Chinese textbooks could be seen as different chapters of a same book.

On the other hand, the English textbooks are independent from each other. They are written by different authors without any communication. As a result, the content of these books lacks an integral structure.

2. collectivism vs. individualism

The belief system of Chinese textbooks emphasises a balance between collectivism and individualism. This belief system starts from the concept of self. Then it extends gradually to the concepts of the family, of the school, of the society, of the nation, of the foreign countries, and of Nature. The rationale of this designation lies in an attempt to reconcile the conflict of the individual and society. In so attempting, the enrichment of the individual life and the enhancement of social coherence are perceived as two sides of the one process. The values of social ideals could be carried out only when individual is fully developed. Similarly, the individual could be fully developed only when the society is well-established.

However, it is not easy to keep this balance between individualism and collectivism. As Cheng asserts in A Critical Study of the Ideologies in the Subject of Civic and Moral of the ROC Junior High School that:

The content of the textbooks tends to be collectivism, and to neglect individualism.... It is based on the cultural-determinism which appeals to authority and demands of unified identity. Three authorities are dominant in textbooks: the authority of President, of Father, and of Teacher (1989, chapter 3 and 4).

Lei also asserts in Chinese Culture and Chinese Soldiers that the development of individual is surpassed by the attempt of continuity of ancestors:

Before us, there were numerous generations of ancestors; after us, there will be numerous generations of descendants. We are but a dot in the unlimited generation line. Our task is not to develop ourselves, but to maintain this generation line to be continuous (1984, p.298).

The emphasis of obedience to the authorities and the collective life inevitably sacrifices the freedom of individual. As a result, children are treated more as members of family or nation than as independent beings. They are obligated to duties of being members of different groups.

On the other hand, the belief system of the English textbooks seems to focus on the one side of individualism. Concepts of family, of school, of society, of nation, of foreign countries, and of Nature are not emphasised in this belief system. Children are treated as independent beings.

Their freedom of will is highly valued.

3. diligence vs. enjoyment

Individual virtues are also emphasised in both the belief system of Chinese textbook and English textbooks. However, diligence is crucial only in Chinese belief system while enjoyment of life is a key element of the English belief system.

In Chinese thinking, diligence is seen as a reliable method to make a person successful. For children, book-reading is the most important thing to perform. As asserted in an ancient book of Three Characters Classic, Chinese children are taught that 'Diligence leads to success while playing around gives you nothing'. It is not surprising that diligence is emphasised as the most important virtue in the textbooks.

On the other hand, the belief system of the English textbooks seldom refers to the importance of diligence. Children are encouraged to enjoy their life. Enjoyment is a type of learning for the children.

4. utopia vs. real world

The belief system of the Chinese textbooks emphasises the importance of harmony while that of English textbooks focuses on the true situation of a real society.

In the belief system of the Chinese textbooks, relationships among members of different groups are always harmonious. In family, for example, parents always give their love to children. Children, in turn, pay their filial piety to the parents. Outside the family, everyone is concerned about others, even for those strangers. It is not surprising to find that the conceptual world of the Chinese textbooks echoes to a political utopia called 'the world of Ta-tung' which described in an old book -- the Book of Rites (one of the Thirteen Classics):

When the Great Way is reached, the whole world belongs to everyone. In that world, people elects the able to be their leader, and is gentle and honest to each other. Everyone respects not only his own parents but others' parents; takes care not only his own children, but others' children. The old persons can enjoy their life till the departure time. The strong persons have their duties to contribute their abilities. The young people have opportunities for growing. Those who are without wives, husbands, parents or children, and those who are disabled all could be taken care properly. The males and the females have their chances to be married. One will not abandon the goods on the ground; nor will he keep the goods for himself only; One will not waste his energy in uselessness, nor will he use it to benefit himself only. Under this circumstance, all the evil things will not happen. Even when you go outside, you need not to shut the door. This is a world called 'Ta-tung' (Readings on the Thirteen Classics, 1980, p.401).

In the belief system of Chinese textbooks, the stability of society is highly appreciated. Children are encouraged to maintain the status quo rather than to change it. They are taught to be satisfied with their life.

On the other hand, the cosmology of English textbooks

portrays a real world in which evil things could occur in everyday life. It tends to reveal the cruel reality that the world in which we live is full of conflicts. For example, the school in which Matilda studies is described as 'a cage with cobra in it'. Children are taught to maintain social justice and equality. They are also encouraged to criticise the irrational phenomena of the society.

5. political intervention vs. non-political intervention

In the belief system of Chinese textbooks, political interest is a crucial part. For the political purpose, we-group or in-group consciousness is emphasised. Some groups are defamed as guilty while others are omitted from the textbooks. For example, in the old textbooks, the Chinese Communist Party is described as cause of disaster and must be annihilated. The United Nations is still omitted from the textbooks for its acceptance of Mainland China and rejection of the ROC to be its member in 1972. Patriotism is prevailed everywhere for the purpose of recovery of the Mainland.

On the other hand, the belief system of English textbooks is not obviously steered by political interests. Gender bias, racism, xenophobia, and slogans of patriotism are rare in textbooks.

In sum: the comparison shows that the context of Chinese textbook is disadvantaged in what Kumar calls 'textbook culture'. The English system of teacher-autonomy could be a good reference for the Chinese system to learn about. Besides, the content of Chinese textbooks is good in portraying an all-embracing conceptual world which is designed to cope with the cognitive development of children. However, it is saturated with political slogan, lacks individuality, emphasises too much on diligence, and conceals social truth to favour the status quo. These disadvantages need to be reconsidered by the textbook committee.

Implication

The comparison of both the context and content of textbooks in ROC and England reveals some implications from which recommendation for the improvement of textbooks could be drawn:

1. The content of textbooks could be selected more rationally.

The content of textbooks is not invented in a social vacuum. It is a product of wider context and a reflection of social situation. In other words, it is socially-

determined. For example, the emphasis of the value of diligence reflects a developing economy in Chinese, while the emphasis of relaxing reflects a developed economy in England. However, the function of textbooks concerns not only the past and the present but also the future. So the selection of textbook content cannot be confined on the status quo. It can become more rational through the continuous reflection. Without this premise, the study of textbook content will be meaningless.

2. Meaning can not be transmitted completely by doctrine.

The relationship between meaning and context is not a rigid one. Rather, it is a result of complex interaction in classroom. As Heyman asserts that:

This common stock of knowledge must necessarily be reformulated in context so that all participants share in its reformulation and thus share in its meaning. It is through this social process of reformulation that such shared meaning can emerge as a joint accomplishment of teacher and pupils (1983, p.42).

The creation of a communicative atmosphere between the teachers and the students endorses the making of useful meaning. Any attempt of doctrine inevitably distorts the meaning. Only when teachers are professionalised, the meaning of textbook content could be unpacked suitably. The revision of textbooks needs to be accompanied by the enhancement of teacher's professionalisation. Otherwise, the task of revision becomes in vain.

3. Textbook-teaching derogates the good quality of education.

If textbooks are treated as a Bible, they will fetter the minds of both teachers and students. Kumar, for example, rejects what he calls 'textbook culture'. He asserts that:

A teacher who teaches from textbooks does not impart originality to his pupils. He himself becomes a slave of textbooks and has no opportunity or occasion to be original. It therefore seems that the less textbooks there are, the better it is for the teacher and his pupils (1988, p.97).

Textbook-teaching is usually seen as a symbol of undeveloped country. It implies a situation in which economy is poor, book publication is rare, and teachers training is not professionalised.

Recommendation

A. For Chinese Textbook

Through the comparison, it is now obvious that there are some disadvantages of Chinese textbooks which need to be overcome. However, it is not easy to improve it in a short time. Thus my recommendation is divided into two parts: the short-term improvement which could be achieved immediately and the long-term improvement which needs to search for common understanding before it could be achieved.

short-term improvement

The short term improvement focuses merely on the revision of contents which are somehow irrational and the reduction of the authority of textbook.

1. to revise the contents of current-used textbooks. Some principles could be used for the task of revising:

(1) to delete the lessons which have different kind of biases (such as Book Eight, Lesson Seven).

(2) to delete or rewrite the lessons which are contradictory in values (such as Book Nine, Lesson Twelve).

(3) to add some lessons which are good for children's imagination.

(3) to add some lessons which represent the phenomena of the real world.

(4) add some lessons which encourage children to criticise social phenomena.

2. to reduce the authority of textbooks. Some principles could be used for this purpose:

- (1) to make the content and illustration of textbook more vivacious.
- (2) to give the names of authors of each lesson rather in a name of a committee.
- (3) to allow teachers to select some additional books for teaching.

long-term improvement

The long-term improvement focuses on the changing of the culture of textbook-teaching. Two kinds of things must be achieved gradually:

1. to increase the autonomy of teachers by professionalising them.
2. to augment government-edited textbooks by a diversity of publications.

B. For Future Researchers

I am clearly aware of the shortcomings of my study. The belief system of the textbooks is make up by subject matter as well as by cross-curriculum elements. It is impossible to portray a clear belief system by analyzing only one subject matter like language. However, the task of analyzing all the subject matters of all stages of

schooling can not be done by few researchers. It is hoped that my study can serve as a case study and that more researchers will take part in this task. Only when all the pieces of jigsaw of puzzle are there, the belief system could be pictured clearly in terms of what knowledge and whose knowledge is of most worth. The clearness of this belief system could be a path leading to human inter-understanding. As a statement inscribed on the wall of the Victoria Building of University of Liverpool has it: 'For advancement of learning and ennoblement of life the Victoria Building was raised by men of Liverpool in the year of our Lord 1892'. I hope that the enhancement of human life could be achieved in the near future by the study of textbooks and ideology.

Appendix A: The titles of the lessons in Chinese textbooks¹

Phonetic symbol book:

- Lesson 1. Good morning, Sir.
- Lesson 2. Reading books.
- Lesson 3. Book bag.
- Review 1.
- Lesson 4. Drawing aeroplane.
- Lesson 5. Let's draw pictures.
- Lesson 6. There are three balls.
- Review 2.
- *Lesson 7. Sing a children's song.
- Lesson 8. The big ox.
- #Lesson 9. Breeding goldfish
- Lesson 10. What are those things?
- Review 3.
- *Lesson 11. Playing games.
- Lesson 12. Getting on a swing.
- *Lesson 13. Weather.
- *Lesson 14. Going to school.
- Review 4.
- General review 1.
- General review 2.
- General review 3.
- General review 4.

Book One:

- Lesson 1. I have got up.
- Lesson 2. Good morning, mother.
- *Lesson 3. Who gets up early?
- Exercise 1.
- Lesson 4. My book-bag.
- Lesson 5. One person is missing.
- Lesson 6. The break of classes.
- Exercise 2.
- *Lesson 7. Little birds.
- Lesson 8. Follow me, my little bog.
- Lesson 9. The race-matching of Little Rabbit.
- Exercise 3.
- *Lesson 10. I make a ship.
- *Lesson 11. In the park.
- Lesson 12. Through the tunnel.
- Exercise 4.
- General review.

¹ * means slight difference in word usage between the new and old editions.

means new lessons in the new edition.

Book Two:

*Lesson 1: I am one year older.
Lesson 2: In the yard.
Lesson 3: Grandma comes.
Exercise 1
Lesson 4: Spring is coming.
Lesson 5: Planting trees.
Lesson 6: A red little flower.
Exercise 2
*Lesson 7: I will come again.
*Lesson 8: Go to seashore.
*Lesson 9: Up to the mountain.
Exercise 3
Lesson 10: The Poppy grows up.
Lesson 11: Little ants.
Lesson 12: Naughty monkey.
Exercise 4
*Lesson 13: A gift made by myself.
Lesson 14: Words for Mum.
Lesson 15: A trip to Chu-san.
Exercise 5
*Lesson 16: Sun.
Lesson 17: Beautiful rainbow.
*Lesson 18: Little stars.
Exercise 6
Lesson 19: The crow wants to drink.
Lesson 20: The ball is floating up.
Lesson 21: Passing through a bridge.
Exercise 7
General review

Books Three:

*Lesson 1: Bring younger brother to school
Lesson 2: New semester
*Lesson 3: A letter to Dad
Exercise 1
*Lesson 4: The childhood of Dr Sun Yat-sen
Lesson 5: The childhood of President Chiang Kai-shek
*Lesson 6: The National Day
Lesson 7: The night of Double Ten's Festival
Exercise 2
*Lesson 8: My diary
Lesson 9: Fishing
*Lesson 10: Grandma tells us story
Exercise 3
Lesson 11: The little goat has grown up
Lesson 12: Mother Goose is very beautiful
Lesson 13: Beautiful Lady Butterfly
Lesson 14: The little saved the Lion
Exercise 4
Lesson 15: My father is a farmer
Lesson 16: My father is a soldier

*Lesson 17: My mother is a teacher
Exercise 5
Lesson 18: The story of Ma-Tsu (1)
*Lesson 19: The story of Ma-Tsu (2)
Lesson 20: Pulling out a reddish (1)
Lesson 21: Pulling out a reddish (2)
Exercise 6
General review

Books Four:

Lesson 1: A seed
Lesson 2: The little pine grows up
Lesson 3: The doctor of trees
Lesson 4: Little eagle learns to fly
Exercise 1
Lesson 5: To value time
Lesson 6: Clock
Lesson 7: Be punctual
Exercise 2
Lesson 8: A diary about the spring trip
#Lesson 9: funny dinosaurs
Lesson 10: A little expert of mountain-climbing
Lesson 11: I like fishing
Exercise 3
Lesson 12: Every family makes a thorough clean-up
Lesson 13: Everyone has his glutinous rice dumpling
Lesson 14: Dragon Boat contest takes place every year
Exercise 4
*Lesson 15: Home
Lesson 16: Little crow
Lesson 17: Happy the dog and Gentle the cat
Exercise 5
#Lesson 18: The colour-changed river
#Lesson 19: The strange plant: swei-bi-tze
#Lesson 20: The shrike (1)
#Lesson 21: The shrike (2)
Exercise 6
General review

Books Five:

Lesson 1: I live in the countryside
Lesson 2: Seeing the sunrise on the top of the building
Lesson 3: Seeing the landscape on the mountain
Lesson 4: On a aeroplane
Exercise 1
Lesson 5: Thankyou, Sir.
Lesson 6: Kan-jon gave the best pear to others
Lesson 7: Father went to fishing
Exercise 2
#Lesson 8: A Harvest Celebrating of A-Mei tribe
*Lesson 9: Arrange the living room
Lesson 10: To the highway

*Lesson 11: The importance of cooperation
Exercise 3
#Lesson 12: Liu Min-chung, the man who construed Taiwan
*Lesson 13: Tsai Lun, the man who made paper
Lesson 14: Story of Thomas Alva Edison (1847-1931)
Exercise 4
Lesson 15: A night in the melon field.
Lesson 16: My younger sister's article.
Lesson 17: Three New Year's cards.
Lesson 18: New hopes of the New Year
Exercise 5
Lesson 19: Two clouds.
Lesson 20: Little carp guess the riddle.
Lesson 21: If I were a bird
Exercise 6
General review

Books Six:

Lesson 1: Spring is coming.
Lesson 2: A morning in the farm village.
Lesson 3: A trip to Wa-wa Village.
Exercise 1
Lesson 4: Good Neighbour.
Lesson 5: Two good friends.
#Lesson 6: A Chinese Boy in Australia.
Lesson 7: Tell me.
Exercise 2
*Lesson 8: Breeding a little dog.
Lesson 9: Childhood.
*Lesson 10: The world of the sea.
*Lesson 11: Visiting Professor Chang.
Exercise 3
*Lesson 12: Chao-chou Bridge.
Lesson 13: The Right brothers.
*Lesson 14: An expert of cricket.
Exercise 4
*Lesson 15: Four hundred dollars.
Lesson 16: One who did not sell fraud varnish.
*Lesson 17: Notice about lost watch.
Lesson 18: Honest.
Exercise 5
Lesson 19: Hsien-kao: the patriot merchant.
Lesson 20: A travel to the land of Small People.
Lesson 21: The man (Kua-fu) who chasing the sun.
Exercise 6
General review

Books Seven:

*Lesson 1: My grandpa's cat.
*Lesson 2: Missing elder Sister Mei.
Lesson 3: Enjoying the Mid-Autumn moonlight.
*Lesson 4: Visiting an orphanage.

Exercise 1

*Lesson 5: Lee Bin controlled the flood.

Lesson 6: A story of invention of telephone.

*Lesson 7: Valuable thinking.

Exercise 2

Lesson 8: Two monks.

Lesson 9: Mountain-climbing.

*Lesson 10: Don't be afraid of difficulties.

Lesson 11: Cheng cheng-kung: our national hero.

Exercise 3

Lesson 12: Enjoying the sun-rising at Ali Mountain.

Lesson 13: Sea-watching.

*Lesson 14: Missing Tamsui River.

Exercise 4

#Lesson 15: Grandpa Lin's mood.

Lesson 16: Mr Lee is very gentle.

Lesson 17: Ten candies.

*Lesson 18: Borrowing books.

Exercise 5

Lesson 19: The rat became a tiger.

Lesson 20: Two goldfish.

*Lesson 21: Introducing a good book.

Exercise 6

General review

Books Eight:

Lesson 1: Our two hands and the brain.

Lesson 2: The man who invented train.

Lesson 3: The great engineer.

Exercise 1

Lesson 4: Chiang Kai-shek memorial.

Lesson 5: Swallow cave in Fa-lain.

Lesson 6: I love Nature.

Exercise 2

Lesson 7: The flags are blowing in the wind.

Lesson 8: Lady Mu-lan went to the army.

Lesson 9: Five hundred perfect people in Tai-yuan

Exercise 3

Lesson 10: The Muscleman shot the sun.

Lesson 11: The big banyan tree and the little boy.

Lesson 12: Bronze jar and the earthen jar.

Exercise 4

Lesson 13: Don't be afraid of perspiring.

Lesson 14: A diligent child.

Lesson 15: Diligence and negligence.

Exercise 5

Lesson 16: A letter to the TV company.

Lesson 17: What shall we do?

Lesson 18: Editing a poster.

Exercise 6

Lesson 19: A story of a waiter.

Lesson 20: The old woman in the train.

Lesson 21: Inviting Mum to go excursion.
Exercise 7
Lesson 22: The sounds of wind and rain at night.
Lesson 23: To solve riddles.
Lesson 24: Summer night.
Exercise 8

Books Nine:

Lesson 1: A song of sea.
Lesson 2: A trip to See-tze Bay.
Lesson 3: Beautiful autumn.
Exercise 1
Lesson 4: Under the moon.
Lesson 5: Chang-o ascended the moon.
Lesson 6: The hero of Space.
Exercise 2
Lesson 7: A hymn to the Young.
Lesson 8: From today on.
Lesson 9: A diary.
Exercise 3
Lesson 10: Yen-tze went to the state of Chuu
Lesson 11: The cock lays egg.
Lesson 12: Palm-leaf fan
Exercise 4
Lesson 13: The perfect archer.
Lesson 14: We cannot depend only on our cleverness.
Lesson 15: Inborn talent and hard working.
Exercise 5
Lesson 16: Ex-President Chiang's home-letter.
Lesson 17: To study and to get along with others.
Lesson 18: A warehouse and a factory.
Exercise 6
Lesson 19: The jade was back to the state of Chao (1).
Lesson 20: The jade was back to the state of Chao (2).
Lesson 21: Kung-min borrowed arrows.
Exercise 7
Lesson 22: The end of a year.
Lesson 23: To enjoy the New Year in one's own home town.
Lesson 24: Happy New Year.
Exercise 8

Books Ten:

Lesson 1: A message of Spring.
Lesson 2: Spring returns to Earth.
Lesson 3: The treasure house of knowledge.
Exercise 1
Lesson 4: An unusual seed (1).
Lesson 5: An unusual seed (2).
Lesson 6: The strength of a seed.
Exercise 2
Lesson 7: The King Wu attacked King Chou.
Lesson 8: The revolutionary bride.

Lesson 9: An opera of constructing our nation.
 Exercise 3
 Lesson 10: Our library (1).
 Lesson 11: Our library (2).
 Lesson 12: A letter from younger uncle.
 Exercise 4
 Lesson 13: A hymn to Mothers.
 Lesson 14: Confucius discussed on filial piety.
 Lesson 15: The wise mothers in ancient time.
 Exercise 5
 Lesson 16: Unveiling the secret of the sky.
 Lesson 17: The lunar eclipse.
 Lesson 18: Changing the weather.
 Exercise 6
 Lesson 19: Where are you from?
 Lesson 20: Departing from city Pai-di in the morning.
 Lesson 21: Enjoying the Nature.
 Exercise 7
 Lesson 22: Wu Shun (1838-1896).
 Lesson 23: The childhood of Mr Shih.
 Lesson 24: Concern about others.
 Exercise 8

Books Eleven:

Lesson 1: The scenery of Jiang-nan.
 Lesson 2: A song of picking lotus root.
 Lesson 3: A season of harvest.
 Exercise 1
 Lesson 4: The meaning of 'New'.
 Lesson 5: A fresh bouquet.
 Lesson 6: The improvement of books.
 Exercise 2
 Lesson 7: The stories of good faith in the ancient time.
 Lesson 8: The battle fire on Mountain Lee.
 Lesson 9: One who lose trust cannot survive.
 Exercise 3
 Lesson 10: A reporting paper.
 Lesson 11: The seagull.
 Lesson 12: The mimic cat.
 Exercise 4
 Lesson 13: The green Province Chin-hai.
 Lesson 14: A song of River Chih-ler.
 Lesson 15: The Great Wall.
 Exercise 5
 Lesson 16: A contest of story-telling.
 Lesson 17: The lecture of Teacher Chung.
 Lesson 18: Collective creation.
 Exercise 6
 Lesson 19: Little Yu watches TV (1).
 Lesson 20: Little Yu watches TV (2).
 Lesson 21: A contest of debating.
 Exercise 7

Lesson 22: Chang Chan went to West Land.
Lesson 23: Mr Jon hon.
Lesson 24: Mr Chu Suon Sui.
Exercise 8

Books Twelve:

Lesson 1: The plum flower.
Lesson 2: Our National Flower - the plum flower.
Lesson 3: Three poem about plum flower.
Exercise 1
Lesson 4: To cultivate and to harvest.
Lesson 5: Under a melon shed.
Lesson 6: Peanut.
Exercise 2
Lesson 7: A biography of Mr Thinking.
Lesson 8: The functions of pen.
Lesson 9: Notes of poem reading.
Exercise 3
Lesson 10: To see off by River Yi.
Lesson 11: Knowing shame is akin to courage.
Lesson 12: The recovery of Shao-kan.
Exercise 4
Lesson 13: The shell I mailed to you.
Lesson 14: the true meaning of love.
Lesson 15: The light of star.
Exercise 5
Lesson 16: A hymn to Taiwan.
Lesson 17: The Cross-Land Highway in Taiwan.
Lesson 18: The Tseng-wun Dam.
Exercise 6
Lesson 19: Little George came back from USA for study.
Lesson 20: A letter from abroad.
Lesson 21: A lecture of Principal Yu.
Exercise 7

Appendix B: The titles of the lessons deleted from the old edition

Phonetic symbol book:

Three lessons have been delete from the old edition: Eyes, ears and hands; Bad weather; and Sleeping.

Book One:

No lessons was deleted.

Book Two:

Three lessons are deleted from the old textbook: A varicoloured cat; Children's Day; and A gift for Mum.

Books Three:

Three lessons have been deleted from the old edition: The aeroplane show, The childhood of Mr Chen In-shih, and Who is stronger?

Books Four:

Eight lessons have been moved from the old edition: The snail's home; A trip of the water-drop (1); A trip of water-drop (2); A story of the little White Pigeon (1); A story of the little White Pigeon (2); The money on the tree; A big stone (1); A big stone (2).

Books Five:

Five lessons have been moved from the old edition: A story of Ex-president Chiang Kai-shek, Two children who make a donation, I am a Chinese, The marksman of Bu-non Tribe, and Three happy persons.

Books Six:

Four lessons have been deleted from the old edition: The childhood of Dr Sun Yet-sen, Save our country by ourselves, A place without sun, We all like to bathe.

Books Seven:

Four lessons have been moved from the old edition: Chinese people; Principal's lecture; I can use a dictionary now; Please, thank you, sorry.

Appendix C: Standard Assessment Task Booklist by SEAC

Level 1:

1. Each Peach Pear Plum.
2. Ten, Nine, Eight.
3. Mr Gumpy's Outing.
4. Dear Zoo.
5. The Very Hungry Caterpillar.
6. Bet You Can't.
7. The Bears Who Went to the Seaside.
8. The Baked Bean Queen.
9. Titch.
10. Is Anyone Home?
11. Not Now, Bernard.
12. On Friday Something Funny Happened.
13. How Do I Put it On?

Level 2:

1. Andrew's Bath.
2. All in One Piece.
3. But Martin.
4. The Bad-Tempered Ladybird.
5. Tomorrow (from Frog and Toad).
6. Dogger.
7. The Story (from Frog and Toad Are Friends).
8. A List (from Frog and Toad Together).
9. Miss Dose the Doctor's Daughter.
10. Mr and Mrs Hay the Horse.
11. Mrs Webble the Waitress.
12. New Clothes for Alex.
13. Peepo!
14. Whatever Next.

Level 3:

1. A Dog for Ben.
2. A Pet for Mrs Arbuckle.
3. Greedy Zebra.
4. Joe's Cafe.
5. Joe Giant's Missing Boot.
6. Jam: A True Story.
7. Janine and the New Baby.
8. Katie Morag and the Two Grandmothers.
9. The Lost Toys.
10. The Mice and the Clockwork Bus.
11. The Mice Next Door.
12. No Jumping on the Bed.
13. A Necklace of Raindrops.
14. Old Bear.

15. Osa's Pride.
16. Shaker Lane.
17. The Bunk-Bed Bus.
18. Tall Inside.
19. The Turtle and the Island.
20. What's the Time, Rory Wolf?

Level 4:

1. Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.
2. A Bear Called Paddington.
3. Carbonel.
4. Charlotte's Web.
5. The Downhill Crocodile Whizz and Other Stories.
6. The Dancing Tigers.
7. Matilda.
8. The Moon's Revenge.
9. Stig of the Dump.
10. Seasons of Splendour: Tales, Myths and Legends of India.
11. West India Folk Tales.
12. Winnie-the-Pooh.

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