EXPLORATION OF TEACHER LIFE STORIES: TAIWANESE HISTORY TEACHERS' CURRICULUAR GATEKEEPING OF CONTROVERSIAL PUBLIC ISSUES

By

Yu-Han Hung

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Curriculum, Instruction, and Teacher Education—Doctor of Philosophy

2017

ABSTRACT

EXPLORATION OF TEACHER LIFE STORIES: TAIWANESE HISTORY TEACHERS' CURRICULUAR GATEKEEPING OF CONTROVERSIAL PUBLIC ISSUES

By

Yu-Han Hung

This study investigated Taiwanese secondary school teachers' personal practical knowledge of their gatekeeping practices as it relates to the teaching of controversial public issues. The study examined how a teacher's life history enters into the curriculum they teach. In particular, it asks how this life history impacts their controversial public issues gatekeeping. The study is grounded in an instrumental case study of six Taiwanese secondary history teachers in senior high schools in Taiwan. Semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation and an analysis of the formal and informal Taiwanese curriculum (such as the National Curriculum Guidelines and Social Studies lesson plans and textbooks) form the basis for my inquiry.

A central finding of this study illustrates how these teachers' personal practical knowledge influences teachers' decision making and gatekeeping of controversial public issues in Taiwan. Key findings include that these teachers explain their teaching choices by making references to their personal practical knowledge. Personal practical knowledge is an approach to understanding teacher professional knowledge: professional beliefs, professional identity, and professional commitment. Finally, the last findings show how these teachers reflected the concept of teacher as stranger in their own teaching of controversial public issues which has, in accordance to the work of Maxine Greene (1973), created possibilities for releasing the imagination of students.

To conclude, this study identified and explored the implications of Asian contexts for social studies teaching. Its implications are for teachers around the globe who make

commitments to teach controversial public issues. This study also fills in a gap in the theoretical and empirical literature with regard to social studies education in Taiwan, and other Asian countries, and adds to a growing body of work exploring teachers' teaching of controversial public issues in exam-centric and curriculum-centric classroom spaces.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been finished without the support and advice provided by many people during these six years in the U.S and Taiwan.

I would like to start with my sincere appreciation to my advisors from the Department of Curriculum & Instruction and Teacher Education: Professors Kyle Greenwalt, Margaret Crocco, Anne-Lise Halvorsen, and Lynn Fendler. Thank you so much for your time, patience, academic feedback, and encouragement. Each committee member provided me not only academic advice to my research and career development but also provided warm support to my life. I especially would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my advisor, Kyle Greenwalt. His kindness, care, and trust in my ability to succeed have truly supported me to be a teacher educator, researcher, and also a better human being.

In addition, I would like to express my deep appreciation to the teachers participating in my research. I am extremely thankful for these six teachers in Taichung City, Taiwan. They shared their life stories, professional practice, and beliefs that led me to realize the insight and incredible values of being a history teacher in Taiwan. Indeed, they showed me that the role of teachers could be powerful, valued, and meaningful.

I am also thankful for the incredible support I received at MSU these years. I am extremely grateful to my colleagues, Yunjeong Choi, Elise Dixon, Jon Wargo, Sihua Hu, Iwan Syahril and many others. They assisted me in professional growth, but also filled my days with laughter and treats during my dissertating.

To my mom, grandmother and sisters, I am deeply grateful for your constant love and support, as well as your unwavering belief in me all these years. I could not have studied abroad and finished this doctoral degree without these amazing women in my life. In addition, I would also like to convey my gratitude to my parents-in-law for their encouragement and

support. Their reinforced my determination to finish the degree and search for faculty positions in the U.S. Two families helped me to be a dream keeper and to believe my dream would come true someday.

In addition, I would like to thank my little one, Aries Bo-Ying Huang, thanks for choosing us to be your parents in these past two years. You have brought us incredible happiness and enjoyment; you enrich our lives in many aspects. Indeed, you definitely made me stronger and inspired me to believe in myself to reach my goals. Love you, son!

Last, but most definitely not least, I am especially thankful for the unfailing love and warmest support provided to me by my husband, Yi-Le Huang. I could not have completed this academic journey without him. I am truly grateful for his devotion, love, care, and trust. I cannot ask for a better life partner! Thank you for everything!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Taiwan, also known as the Republic of China (ROC), has been ambiguously recognized as a sovereign nation in the world since 1949. When we Taiwanese think about ourselves as Taiwanese, we think about Taiwan as an independent country, one that has been challenged by a dynamic relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC). Outside of Taiwan, there is controversy about the way the nation is viewed within the context of historical development, international relations, and national identity. Further, inside of Taiwan, sovereignty, the sensitive relationship between the PRC and Taiwan, and the isolated sense of our international relations have been dynamic factors impacting Taiwan in terms of education, culture, history, society, and people. In particular, the education system, teachers, and students have been influenced seriously by the controversies inside and outside of Taiwan. This dissertation study broadly seeks to understand the impact of such controversy on those living lives within Taiwanese classrooms.

In Taiwan, teachers, with certain responsibilities in society, should "teach knowledge, develop values, and solve problems"(傳道，授業，和解惑)(Han, 802). No matter the changes of the learning environment and the social context, in Taiwan, teachers have been recognized as the ones who guide students to acquire knowledge, develop moral values, and cultivate self-identity. That means teachers play important roles in society in helping students face controversial issues inside and outside of Taiwanese schools, where concepts of sovereignty, territory, and national identity have been changing.

However, teachers in Taiwan are not completely unique in the situation they find themselves in. There are similarities, for example, to teachers in the U.S., where research has

shown that teachers feel hesitant to teach polemical issues and have serious concerns about teaching such subjects. Diana Hess (2009), for example, pointed out that teachers are hesitant to teach **controversial public issues** (such as abortion or same-sex marriage) because they worry about causing conflict in the classroom. Yet research claims there is a necessity for having public discussion about issues in classrooms in order to develop students' democratic values. In line with much of the research on this topic, Evan, Avery, and Pederson (1999), for example, have shown that American teachers often avoid topics that are too controversial because they worry about students' comprehension, the administration's response, and parents' attitudes. Whatever the country, choosing not to talk about controversial public issues in schools means teachers are making choices about what to let into their classrooms; they choose "safe knowledge" to present to their students.

In addition, no matter the national contexts, Thornton (1993) pointed out that teachers are important actors in school contexts, given that teachers have their own reactions and responses to controversial public issues. When they are facing controversy, they are not merely deliverers of the curriculum; instead, they bring their own ideas and interpretations to their teaching; they are **gatekeepers** (Thornton, 1991). Teachers play a particularly pivotal role in the teaching of controversial issues, since they design and steer conversations that can never be fully scripted (Hess, 2009). Therefore, it becomes imperative for research to understand teachers' **personal practical knowledge** (their implicitly held values and beliefs about teaching and learning) for teaching controversial public issues. In this way, the constructs of "personal practical knowledge" and "gatekeeping" are key foundational concepts for this study.

My study aims to investigate Taiwanese secondary school teachers' personal practical knowledge of their gatekeeping practices as it relates to teaching of controversial public

issues. Because so much of the prior research in this area has been done in the North American context, the study is—to some degree—comparative in nature. No data has been collected in North American classrooms, yet the data I do collect from Taiwanese teachers is read through the lens of North American research and my own experiences of teaching in both Taiwanese and North American classrooms.

My research is grounded in an instrumental case study of six Taiwanese secondary history teachers in senior high schools in Taiwan. Semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation and an analysis of the formal and informal artifacts (such as the National Curriculum Guidelines and Social Studies lesson plans and textbooks) form the basis for my inquiry.

The principal research question guiding this study is: How does a teacher's life history enter into the curriculum of controversial issues they teach? Two subsidiary questions frame my inquiry. They are: (1) What types of personal practical knowledge are embodied by Taiwanese teachers that affect the curriculum of controversial issues? (2) How do Taiwanese teachers' personal practical knowledge impact their curriculum gatekeeping? In particular, how does it impact their controversial public issues gatekeeping?

This first chapter provides background and context of the study. I briefly present a view of Taiwanese history and some current issues in Taiwan, such as sovereignty, national identity, ethnic issues, and sexuality. Then, the second chapter outlines, in greater detail, the theoretical framework for this study. In this chapter, I conceptualize controversial public issues in general, and I explore the role of teachers' personal practical knowledge and curricular-instructional gatekeeping for teaching controversial public issues. In addition, I explore the possibility of understanding teachers as strangers, a helpful theoretical framework that I borrow from Maxine Greene (Greene, 1973) in order to better theorize the difficulties

and rewards of teaching controversial public issues in the classroom. The third chapter explains the research methodology and provides a detailed description of the research sites and participants.

The fourth chapter illustrates findings of how teachers' personal practical knowledge influences teachers' decision making and gatekeeping of controversial public issues in Taiwan. The fifth chapter, elaborates the concept of teacher as stranger, discusses teachers' teaching of controversial public issues which has created possibilities and released imagination for students' learning. In the end, the conclusion chapter summarizes the significance of the two findings chapters, and explores the meanings of teaching controversial public issues in Asian contexts.

Taiwanese Social and Historical Context

Taiwan, as an island in southeastern Asia, has not been recognized as an independent country because of its sensitive and complex relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC)—a relationship that has dramatically influenced Taiwanese history, culture, and path of development. The year 1949 is pivotal for understanding the relationship between the PRC and Taiwan. Before 1949, the Chinese state was called the Republic of China (ROC); it was an era of Chinese history that began in 1912. It was preceded by the Qing Dynasty and followed by the People's Republic of China.

At the end of the Chinese Civil War, 1949, the communists gained control of the mainland, while the Koumintang (Nationalists) fled to Taiwan. Meanwhile, in Taiwan, between 1895 and 1945, Taiwan was a dependency of the Empire of Japan[1]. The expansion

[1]From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was as a dependency of Empire of Japan. Japanese constituted less than one percent of Japanese living in Taiwan, but they took the control and leadership, and power was highly centralized with the Governor-General wielding supreme executive, legislative, and judicial power. Taiwanese (native to Taiwan) and aboriginal people had several events of resistance during the era of Japanese colonial domination.

into Taiwan was a part of Imperial Japan's general policy of southward expansion during the late nineteenth century. During the era of Japanese colonial domination, Taiwan went through a period of modernization that included, for example, representative democracy, election systems, medical developments, and compulsory education.

After 1949, Kuomintang (Nationalists) leaders and supporters fled to Taiwan, took over leadership of the island, and claimed to represent the Republic of China (ROC). That is, they claimed the right to be the "true" Chinese government. On the other hand, in mainland China, the Communist Party of China (CPC), under the leadership of Mao Zedong, after emerging victorious during the Chinese Civil War (1927-1950) proclaimed that the CPC represented the "true" Chinese government. From Tiananmen Square, Mao declared the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. While the international community did not immediately recognize the PRC as the "true" Chinese government, the PRC has been synonymous with China for the past several decades.

The government of Taiwan/the Republic of China has seen several critical developments, for example: democratic reform, the 228 movement, the White Terror, massive economic growth, and the development of an "international" policy that included developing "cross-straits relations" with mainland China. Some of these events may be unfamiliar to certain readers of the text—those that are most critical for the teaching and learning of controversial public issues in Taiwan will be explained and analyzed later. In sum, Taiwan has developed, to a certain degree, a unique culture, politic, and education in the post-1949 period—one that has created essential differences with mainland China and the PRC state.

Current Issues in Taiwan

There is a list of global issues reflected in the nature of controversy that surround us in the North American classroom, for example: racism, sexuality, war/militarism, economic inequalities, state sovereignty, and so on. But, regarding these concerns, what is the role of schooling in dealing with them? How does the understanding of these issues and their classroom presentation differ by national context? With what kinds of issues should teachers engage? What are teachers' rationales for their gatekeeping decisions? How do the students' respond? Similarly, what kinds of public issues are socially and politically significant in the Taiwanese public eye, and how do those issues impact the Taiwanese classroom?

Like other countries, in Taiwan, current public issues are implicated in the social studies curriculum and in classroom teaching—in how we do or do not address such issues and why. In Taiwan, since 1996, different curriculum guidelines reforms have been advocated by the two main leading political parties with different emphases that have implications for the teaching of controversial public issues (Ministry of Education, 1996). For example, students' national identity development, their critical thinking ability, and the purposes of history education were mentioned in all of the differing curriculum guidelines (Senior High School History Curriculum Guidelines, 1996, 2006, 2009, 2013)—but for different purposes, and with different emphases. Sovereignty and national identity have been the main issues written and discussed throughout the curricula of these time periods. More recently, race/ethnicity and sexuality have also been seriously discussed in the curriculum and in the classroom. In the coming sections, in order to help the reader understand the social context in which Taiwanese teachers work, I will explore each of these issues in some detail.

Sovereignty and National Identity

The relationship between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan has been characterized as an intensive conflict because of unstable interaction on the state level, since 1949. Questions about the legal and political status of Taiwan have focused on the prospects of formal reunification with the mainland, or on full Taiwanese independence. In 2008, the "cross-straits relations" between the PRC and Taiwan were negotiated as there was some attempt to begin to restore "the three links" (transportation, commerce, and communications) between the two sides.

Primary among the questions here is the following: Who and what can be legitimately said to represent China? After the Chinese Civil War of 1949, Kuomintang-KMT leader Chiang Kai-Shek and his supporters fled to Taiwan and declared that, with the state name of the "Republic of China," *they* were in fact the true China. The Communist Party of China, which took over the mainland of China in 1949, disagreed and stated that *their own state*, the "People's Republic of China," was the true China. After a period of time, most states in the world came to recognize the PRC as the "real China," leaving the island of Taiwan with an uncertain political status. After 1949, the PRC asserted itself as the sole legal representation of China, and it has threatened the use of military force as a response to any formal declaration of Taiwanese independence. In fact, the relationship between the PRC and Taiwan, as well as issues of Taiwanese national identity, continue to haunt Taiwanese society and politics, and they are a cause of political divisions among all of the major political parties in Taiwan.

Since 1949 in Taiwan, Taiwanese sovereignty, Chinese cultural inheritance, and territorial disputation have been the main topics which have caused serious debates, both in the national government and among the general public (Chen, 2008; Grossman & Lo, 2008).

By virtue of supporting a particular perspective on the right of sovereignty, national identity issues have become the main controversial public issues in Taiwan—ones that reflect the ambiguous and complex relationship between the PRC and Taiwan. Because this is a multidimensional issue inflected with powerful political commitments, this is a complicated issue for any social studies curriculum.

In terms of national identity, there is no agreement about who or what is "Taiwanese" (just as there is no agreement about who or what is "Chinese"). Therefore, national identity has long been a controversial issue in Taiwan, and this is for several reasons. First, Taiwan's own sovereignty has not been recognized in the outside world; international associations do not think of Taiwan as an independent country. This government has avoided clear statements about the definition and status of the island of Taiwan and its people. For example, prior to 1996, a "Chinese" national identity was identified as a desirable outcome for Taiwan people by curricular documents; after 1996, the Taiwanese government specifically rejected the development of a Chinese national identity as an educational aim. Instead, the government chose to avoid the issue altogether and focus on developing "individual self-identity" as a curricular emphasis (Ministry of Education, 1996). Taiwan is therefore nothing more than the geographic name of an island, and the state's name—"the Republic of China"— is not recognized in the world.

Racial and Ethnic Issues

There are two main ethnic groups in Taiwan: aboriginal people and Han people. Aboriginal people are 2% of the population and the other 98% of the population are Han people. Regarding the Han people, 87% of them are considered to be "Taiwanese" (people native to the island) and the other 13% are considered to be "Chinese" (people not native to the island) (Hsu & Chen, 2004). Regarding the aboriginal people, there have been fourteen

different groups officially recognized by the government, based on spoken language and life styles. Taiwanese aborigines are recognized as Austronesian people, with linguistic and genetic ties to other Austronesian ethnic groups, which includes those of the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar and Oceania.

In terms of Han people, major Han immigration began in the 17th century, but there are no perceptible racial differences among the Han people in Taiwan; instead, Han people are divided by differences in their ancestry: ancestors who were from different provinces of China, and who came to Taiwan at different time periods. For example, people from the southeastern part of China who came to Taiwan before 1949 are seen as Taiwanese ("people native to the island"), compared to people from other parts of China who came to Taiwan after 1949 and who are seen as Chinese ("people not native to the island"). These two different "ethnic groups" have represented two different political choices, languages, speaking tones, living districts, and food. Both have their own distinctive characteristics and practices in everyday life.

The conflict between these two Han people, the Taiwanese people "native to the island" and the Chinese who are "not native," has constantly been debated in Taiwan. For example, these two groups are represented by two different political parties. Most people who identify as Taiwanese ("people native to the island") believe Taiwan is an independent country; in contrast, people who identify as Chinese ("people not native to the island") believe that Taiwan is inherently, culturally, and ethnically from and connected to China. In sum, conflicts among ethnic groups have resulted in distinct political ideologies and perspectives. Different political parties, media, and the government have incorporated these political ideologies into their discourses; for example, during election years, KMT advocates the importance of Chinese identity in order win votes from the Chinese (people not native to island). Due to

their pervasive nature, the dissemination of these ideologies constantly impacts life inside and outside of schools in Taiwan.

In addition to ethical issues based on Taiwanese and Chinese ideologies, since 1997, two different way of advocating for aboriginal people have emerged and impact society in and out of schools. For instance, in 1997 the National Translation and Compilation Center published the textbook *Knowing Taiwan*, which introduced Taiwan through three subjects: History, Geography, and Civics in the middle school curriculum, writing aboriginal issues into the curriculum for the first time. The text addressed the Name-Correcting Movement of the Indigenous People[2] and the history of indigenous people in Taiwan. Based on several movements of indigenous people around this time, all other people living on the island have had to seriously acknowledge the history and subjectivity of indigenous people.

Gender Issues

Gender issues have been intensively discussed in Taiwan since the 1990s. The first national legislation concerning gender equality was passed in 1988. At about this same time, the Awakening Foundation published a handbook which examined the official edition of textbooks of elementary and secondary school and concluded that the content of textbooks was full of gender stereotypes (Su, 2001). Later, in 1996, Awakening Foundation presented the Education Reform Council of Executive Yuan with five policy demands relating to gender education, including improving textbooks, training faculty, establishing gender equality committees, increasing women's participation in decision making, and setting up wome's studies curricula (Su, 2001). These first four demands later became the main content of the Gender Equity Education Act in 2004. The main purpose of the Gender Equality

[2] Name-Correcting Movement of the Indigenous People has started in 1989, being inspirited by the Taiwanese Localization Movement 1970s, that indigenous people have argued the inequality and unfair treatment in order to gain the equal civic right and develop indigenous people self-identity. For example, instead of naming them as "uncivilized nation, savage tribe, they named themselves as "aboriginal people" in Taiwan.

Education Act was to “promote substantive gender equality, eliminate gender discrimination, uphold human dignity, and improve and establish education resources and environment of gender equality" (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Since 1998, the Ministry of Education in Taiwan has advocated the importance of gender education. Therefore, in 1998, it announced the “Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines,” which consisted of seven main issues relating to gender equality education. In terms of the high school curriculum, history curriculum committees have taken up many gender issues, for example, the 1970s Women’s Movement and the transformation of woman’s roles in Taiwan.

Later in my interviews, these issues of sovereignty and national identity, race and ethnicity, and gender are mentioned multiple times by instructors, suggesting that these topics represent some of the controversial public issues teachers face and must make decisions about whether and how to teach them in their classrooms. It is inevitable that any study on the teaching of controversial public issues in Taiwan will have to deal with such issues as sovereignty and national identity. Yet these issues do not exclusively define the controversies that are a part of Taiwanese classrooms. While other issues could be focused on, I have chosen here to also explore gender in the Taiwanese context because of the important k-12 curricular work that has been done in that area.

The Conceptualization of Issues in Taiwan

The debates around national identity, Taiwanese sovereignty, and ethnicity that have been raised as controversies in Taiwan formulate the Taiwanese’s image of the relationship between Taiwan and the PRC. This image and value have significantly impacted history teaching and the history curriculum within its cultural and historical contexts since 1949

(more about this later). Hence, in this section, I move to the essence of the concept of an issue—what makes an issue controversial in the Taiwanese school curriculum context? What makes an issue controversial in any context? Controversy is not something that just happens; instead, it can be viewed as a social production. The work of French thinker Michel Foucault can help us in this context.

There are different approaches to thinking about controversy in Taiwan. According to Foucault's forms of problematization, it is always helpful for us to consider a longer historical frame, tracing the persistence of themes, anxieties, and exigencies that mark a particular society (for example, the Christian ethic and the morality of modern European nations; see Foucault, 1985). In addition, in considering the problematization process (that is, how something becomes defined as a "problem"), Foucault also theorized, using Greek and Greco-Roman thought about sexuality as an example, the following processes: 1) the expression of a fear; in relation to: 2) an established model of conduct; one that resulted in: 3) a stigmatization, often in the form of an image that disturbs and magnifies fear; such that the stigma suggested: 4) an example of a "new norm" for practice, one that is policed and regulated (Foucault, 1985, p.15). Driven by fear and stigma, it is possible to witness the creation of a set of competing practices. These competing practices become the material ground on which "social problems" are founded. What is important to see is that a "problem" is not a natural part of a social situation, but a particular rendering of it, one first rooted in fear.

In Foucault's view, the expression of a fear is the first step toward marking something into "a social problem." When competing social practices are related to each other in the form of a problem, we have laid the groundwork for controversy. This is to say, then, that controversy is not just about "view" or "ideas"—it involves whole competing sets of social

practices that allow one to be identified by others (and indeed, to identify one's self). Think only about the different "ethnic groups" in Taiwan and the ways that their beliefs have permeated into their everyday social practices to see how controversy relies on complex social practices.

Fear, therefore, is related to the other effect: a model of conduct. Fear towards a model of conduct usually leads to the negative intensity of a stereotype and for the negative integration of such attitudes the stereotype promotes. As a result, Foucault claimed that problems usually have been raised in the adjustment between two different competing social practices. In other words, objects and the social practices associated with them become defined as a "problem" in particular epistemic conditions and sets of power relations. Foucault called this process "problematization."

Viewed through Foucault's framework of problematization— fear, image, and the models of conduct and counter-conduct—the Taiwanese context can be clarified. First, after the Chinese Civil War of 1949, KMT leader Chiang Kai-Shek and his supporters fled to Taiwan and declared that the state's name was the "Republic of China." Taiwan at this time was just at the end of Japan's fifty years of colonization. Those people who were fleeing the mainland and those who were coming off years of Japanese colonization had had very different life experiences, historical backgrounds, and political attitudes. Therefore, in 1949, the KMT government realized that they would immediately need to gain the trust of the people already living on the island. This was a realization based in mutual and reciprocal fear, and therefore it lends itself well to the dynamics of problematization as defined by Foucault.

In order to gain state control, the KMT government had to build their authority and sovereignty by imposing martial law, implementing a nationally centralized curriculum, and

heavily regulating the freedom of media and speech, e.g., White Terror[3]. Given the rigorous regulation and controls, the KMT successfully controlled people's daily life and rebuilt their values, including the prohibition of speaking either Taiwanese[4] or Japanese in schools, citizens' required commitment to military service, and advocating loyalty to the KMT on the media and in the national curriculum.

Since the KMT government started their leadership in Taiwan in 1949, the image of the PRC has been shaped as that of international oppressor. This image of the PRC has been intentionally spread by different ideological factions, based in different political parties in Taiwan, in the past decades. For example, around 1949, the image of the PRC as "a developing state needing civilization" was spread by the KMT through school curriculum and public media; later, the image of the PRC shifted to reflect the view of "a state's lack of democratic right," as was spread by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). These differing views represent different political ideologies and purposes.

By extension, in the past decades, media controls, education demands, and policy making are ways that the political parties in power have faced their fears and constructed stereotypes in society. As Foucault (1985) indicated, the model of conduct and of counter-conduct defines a space in society that then becomes problematized (and by extension, controversial). In fact, media, political parties, and education are used as tools to manipulate the Taiwanese, their democratic values, their historical understandings, and their social consciousness.

[3] The term "White Terror" in its broadest meaning refers to the entire period from 1949 to 1987. Around 140,000 Taiwanese were imprisoned during this period, most of them were perceived opposition to KMT. Most of those prosecuted were labeled by the Kuomintang as "bandit spies," meaning spies for Chinese communists, and punished as such.

[4] After 228, in 1949, the KMT imprisoned mostly Taiwan's intellectual and social elite out of fear that they might resist KMT rule or sympathize with communism; therefore, they implemented the rule that prohibited Taiwanese from speaking Taiwanese and Japanese in the public places, including schools.

Ultimately, the objects of concern by the ruling government of Taiwan have forced the Taiwanese to view their past and present as one saturated with controversy. Most Taiwanese see their values, their historical understandings, and their social consciousness as controversial—as problematized, indeed, as ongoing and debated issues. In addition, social order has been a primary value in society. Taiwanese people were ruled under martial law from 19 May 1949 to 15 July 1987—38 years that have indirectly promoted social order as the "truth" of Taiwanese society. Anti-martial law behavior and thinking were seen therefore as problems: free speech, democratic values and so on. These ideological, transitional, and societal complexities present a very difficult task for history teachers, who are the agents charged with teaching children about this past that is so saturated with controversy.

Teachers' Teaching of Current Issues

With the conflicts inside and outside of Taiwan, deep tensions and divisions in society make it almost inevitable that students will at some point in their lives engage with different controversies. Controversial public issues, therefore, should have a place in the school curriculum, not only because of the substantive importance of the issues which may be raised, but also because they provide an introduction to peaceful processes by which such issues can be fully aired and conflicts resolved. In other words, there is a strong case to be made that Taiwanese educational and curricular policy should encourage teaching young people to engage in high-quality public talk about these controversial public issues (Hess, 2009).

In Taiwan, the importance of controversial public issues reflects ongoing changes in Taiwanese society; not surprisingly, these changes have already impacted schools. In terms of ongoing controversy in schools, teachers and national curriculum decision makers have been aware of the necessity of talking about controversial public issues in schools.

The following section addresses how current controversial public issues have been taught in classes up until the present moment, focusing especially on changes in the national curriculum that have impacted teachers' space for teaching controversial public issues in class, and how teachers responded to the idea of controversial public issues' teaching within the changing social contexts.

National Curriculum Content

Since 2006, national curriculum guidelines makers have yielded some space in the curriculum for controversial public issues. In 2006, there were several optional thematic curricula in high schools, including some current issues, conflicts, and integrated content, such as the explorations of "Austronesia Groups and Cultures," " Contemporary Changes in Asian-Pacific Area," and "Modern Humanism," and so on (Ministry of Education, 2006). The optional thematic curriculum "Contemporary Changes in Asian-Pacific Area," indeed, provides students and teachers relatively more space to discuss issues saturated with the current situation between Taiwan and the PRC, as well as the political interaction among Asian countries in terms of economic cooperation and territory distribution. By focusing on optional thematic issues in class, students are expected to develop critical thinking, logical thinking, and historical thinking. On the other hand, teachers can create alternative materials and perspectives by having discussions with students in their own classrooms that lead students and teachers to have more space and opportunities to talk about controversial issues in the classroom.

In addition, in 2012, the state's history curriculum guidelines changed: optional thematic curricula covering current conflicts was replaced by topics with an emphasis on world cultural and multicultural developments; for example Chinese, Asian, European, Islamic, African, and Central and South American cultures. These not only introduced some

different cultures of the world but also were meant to emphasize the importance of marginalized cultures and subjectivities (Ministry of Education, 2012).

However, different from the optional topics in 2006, the changes in the curriculum guidelines in 2012 emphasized the history of different cultures—an approach similar to the content that was previously taught in "Chinese History" and "World History" classes in the ninth grades and the ten grades. In addition, different from the optional topics in 2006, the curriculum guidelines in 2012 no longer focus on "topics" and "issues." The committee of the curriculum guidelines decided to write the content within what they called the "cultural circle." Therefore, students were now expected to develop a sense of understanding of different cultures in the world, an acknowledgement of events in different cultures, the development of local identities, and respect for other cultures (Ministry of Education, 2012). The skills and knowledge of these different cultures was addressed through factual understanding instead of values-based discussion and critical thinking. That means discussing "issues" and "topics" has been replaced with understanding the content of different cultures. While these are important learning outcomes, they essentially mean that students will have relatively less chances to talk about "issues" and "topics" in class, and that students and teachers will have less time and space to have discussion in the classroom.

Teaching

In 2000, the DPP won the presidential election in Taiwan, replacing the KMT, which had governed Taiwan since 1949. The DPP had traditionally been associated with strong advocacy of human rights and a distinct Taiwanese identity, including the open promotion of full Taiwan independence. Therefore, regarding education policy, since 2006, several education reforms moved toward advocating "Taiwanese identity" within curriculum and school policy. For example, in 2006, the official history curriculum, which had previously

emphasized “national identity” and “Chinese cultural inherence,” now asked students to explore their “self-identity” and their “local community commitment.” The DPP therefore, it could be argued, implemented indirectly “Taiwanese independence” into the middle school and high school curriculum.

However, in 2008, the KMT regained power by winning the presidential election. The party promptly returned history curriculum policy to the notions of “Chinese identity” and “cultural inherence.” In particular, they increased the proportion of Chinese History that was taught.

In 2006, the Committee on History Curriculum Reform added one more social studies hour for students each week, which was labeled as a “Social Science” option (Ministry of Education, 2006). Senior students in the Social Science option have one more hour in history class each week, which extends their history learning time in school. In the high school curriculum, with history as an “optional” subject, students have been given one more history hour that has perhaps had positive influences on students’ historical learning and thinking. In addition, all students are also required to have three social science subjects for their university entry exam, which includes history, geography, and civics. This Social Science would therefore go beyond what is the minimum requirement for the entrance exam. With regard to the additional hours for the Social Science option, one can of course imagine that teachers teaching in these additional social studies classes might have more time and space to facilitate discussion of controversial public issues in class.

In 2012, Committee on History Curriculum Reform retained the additional hour of social studies for students each week, which was now labeled as a “Social Science” option (Ministry of Education, 2012). Students now had three hours of history each week, one semester of “Chinese Culture History,” and one semester of “World Culture History.” But

while students have more hours a week for social studies, these hours are not well placed for discussing current controversial topics.

However, based on the changes in the curriculum 2012, there have been more and more teachers starting to advocate for “Flipped Teaching” (or, what North American teachers usually call the “flipped classroom”) and “Flexible Curriculum Guidelines” in Taiwanese high schools. With regard to the “Flipped Teaching,” teachers borrowed the idea from the U.S educators and some teachers started to implement a “student as center” pedagogy in order to develop students’ learning motivation, critical thinking, and solving problems abilities. In addition, “Flexible Curriculum Guidelines” is the idea that when teachers are facing the national curriculum standards (with structured content and detail- oriented descriptions), they should be given the possibility for more space and time to discuss current topics and controversial public issues in the classroom. By advocating for “Flexible Curriculum Guidelines,” teachers have been trying to confront the power and authority of the national curriculum guidelines makers. For example, in 2015, some high schools teachers and professors in the history department at National Taiwan University started to have workshops focusing on creating “Flexible Curriculum Guidelines,” an idea they borrowed from the Swiss Confederation. Instead of creating national curriculum guidelines, the government of Switzerland chose to release the power to states to create its curriculum standards that develop multiple perspectives of historical understanding and encourage people to “know themselves better” (Hua, 2015).

Given these changes in the national curriculum and secondary history teaching, it is clear that teachers and students now have relatively less time and space for discussing the current topics and controversial issues in class than they did in the time period between the 2006 reforms and the introduction of the 2012 standards.

Regarding the curriculum from 2006 to 2012, the committee of the curriculum guidelines do not sufficiently open space and time for discussing current issues, especially controversial public issues. Even though many teachers working in classrooms across Taiwan have started to advocate for the possibilities of teaching such issues and topics, for "Flipped Teaching" and "Flexible Curriculum Guidelines," the 2012 curriculum guidelines are clearly too rigid and thereby inevitably affects students' learning and teachers' teaching about controversial public issues.

This first chapter has laid out the Taiwanese context—both in its broader social dimensions and in terms of their impact on teaching and learning about controversial public issues in the classroom. In the following chapter, I explore in greater depth what the research has to say about the teaching and learning of controversial public issues.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began by identifying the rationale for the research study, focusing on the need to clarify the nature of the main controversial public issues in Taiwan. I provided a background for the study, focusing on the historical context in Taiwan, and the degree to which this background has influenced the history curriculum and history teaching in Taiwanese classrooms. In addition, I provided a theorization of how society's generate "problems" and "controversies" in order to bring the historical background of the Taiwanese context into greater view. Finally, I have analyzed recent Taiwanese curricular national curricular reforms, the responses they have drawn from teachers, and the reform's likely impact on teaching and learning. The next chapter sets out, in greater detail, the theoretical framework for the study, and provides an in-depth analysis of the relevant literature on controversial public and teachers teaching of controversial public in general.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Given the attention accorded to the relationship between controversial issues and the important curricular agent at the secondary level—the high school history teacher—this literature review is organized into three different sections.

The first section surveys the research literature that explores the definition of and rationale for teaching controversial public issue in classroom contexts. In the second section, the study is further framed by the literature related to personal knowledge, focusing on teachers' personal theories and their decision-making, both of which serve as the basis for classroom practice and curriculum. In the third section, I will bring all the various aspects of the first two chapters of the dissertation together as I use Maxine Greene's (1973) ideas of *Teacher as Stranger* to show how we might see teaching controversial public issues as an existential project, creating a new perspective on what we have habitually considered real, so that controversial public issues teaching may make of us people vitally open to students and our world.

Conceptualization of Controversial Public Issues

Definitions of Controversial Public Issues

For over half a century, different definitions of what constitutes an "issue" have advanced. In the 1950s, some educators started with talking about "taboo" topics, or something "too controversial" (for example, racism and sexuality in the curriculum), which were often "useful" prohibitions, as seen through their own everyday expectations and the fog of customs and assumptions (R. Ayers & W. Ayers, 2014). Then, in the 1980s, some

issues were defined as “controversial” or as “moral dilemmas;” for example, Kohlberg’s (1958) approach of having one person think through their response to a difficult and moral situation.

Since that time, more dimensions of what makes an issue “controversial” have been included. Controversial issues have been conceptualized and defined to include time, place, and scope—ranging from broad perennial issues to more narrowly focused case issues (Hess, 2008. p. 124). More recently, multiple definitions of controversial issues have been advanced, and these have been closely related to the rationale for including controversial issues in the curriculum. In the past few decades, more and more North American researchers have started to advocate for the necessity of including controversial public issues in the curriculum, so that students will have chances to learn to deliberate controversial public issues and to participate effectively in a democratic society.

The leading scholar on this topic is perhaps Diana Hess, whose body of work has clarified the definition of a controversial public issue, which she contrasts with social problems, cases, and privacy issues; these distinctions help teachers to understand the importance of teaching controversial public issues in their classroom. First, Hess (2009) defined controversial public issues as questions of public policy that spark significant disagreement, in this way becoming a *public* problem. In other words, controversial public issues are open questions, meaning there are multiple and often strikingly different answers that are seen as legitimate across the spectrum of a society (Hess, 2009. p. 38).

There is a distinct difference between *controversial public* issues and other types of issues (Hess, 2008). For instance, Hess (2008) articulates the concept of “issues,” mentioning that an “issue” is different from a “topic” and a “problem.” In broader society, conflicts and disagreement make issues controversial, and therefore open for discussion. On the side of the

classroom, issues are different from a well defined and specified body of content, in that controversial public issues should have more space for students' deliberating than either topics or problems.

In addition, "issues" are different from "current events," in that controversial public issues are both conflicted and important, but "current events" are instances that do not take up much time in class and are often not even controversial (Hess, 2008). Hess also distinguished specific "case issues" from "perennial issues"; a "case issue" is not perennial because it emanates from a specific controversy in a particular time and place; perennial issues not only need students to deliberate, but expand their moral and historical imagination as they do so.

Finally, public issues are different from private issues; too often, classroom discussions reflect only on private issues that ask students to be morally responsive in a morally complex situation (Hess, 2008). By contrast, controversial public issues focus on problems that impact a broad swath of society and that require a wider range of public input, actual discussion, and the development of a mechanism for broad citizen input. In this way, Hess also contrasted "constitutional issues" and "public policy issues," mentioning that the difference between the two helps to illustrate the critical difference between the kind of work that is done in legislatures compared to courts (Hess, 2009. p.44).

The point of distinguishing the concept of a controversial public issue in such detail is not only specifically to define the multiple layers of controversial public issues for teachers and for students, but also to show that, depending on how a topic is framed, it might require different types of pedagogical framings and supports from teachers.

The "critical attributes" of controversial public issues, therefore, are that they be

authentic, contemporary, and open. There is, indeed, a clear value in adopting controversial public issues into classroom curricula and practices, in order to help students develop their critical thinking and public discussion abilities.

The Necessity of Teaching Controversial Public Issues

As aforementioned, teachers face challenges when they teach controversial public issues and have their own local and national concerns, whether in the U.S or in Taiwan. Therefore, in the following section, I explored the necessity of teaching controversial public issues in classrooms and the possible outcomes for discussing controversies with students.

Values. In terms of controversial public issues as contemporary, conflicting, open, and authentic issues, they are different from topics, current events, private issues, and case issues. Controversial issues need space for students' deliberation and discussion. Therefore, including controversial public issues in the curriculum not only creates space for students to develop their discussion skills, but is also healthy for democracy. In many educators' views, democratic societies are built on citizens who are able to engage in reasoned discussion (Hess, 2008, 2009; Lockwood & Harris, 1985; Parker, 2003).

On the other hand, there has been a strong current of research that has demonstrated that talking about controversial public issues creates discussions in class that correlates with students who are more politically tolerant and informed; indeed, focusing on controversial issues yields more freedom of expression and a higher level of tolerance in students (Hess, 2009; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schultz, 2001).

Knowledge. Curricula that include controversial public issues have been shown to not only impact student values but also to enhance content understanding and feelings of political efficacy (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schultz, 2001). By engaging in discussion of

controversial public issues, students likely will have more chances for understanding the content of public issues and for developing a more sophisticated language in response to public issues.

The knowledge students learn in public school is not only to prepare them to pursue their individual careers (or for passing tests), but is meant to prepare them to be citizens in society. This is true for probably any sort of society, but is especially the case in those societies which are committed to democratic forms of living. Indeed, deep tensions and divisions in society encourage students to engage in different controversial issues naturally. In this regard, Hess (1996) has persuasively argued that the effort students might put forward to produce coherent language in response to a question of public policy puts knowledge in a meaningful context, making it more likely to be understood and remembered.

Skills. Controversial public issues have a place in the school curriculum, not only because of the substantive importance of the issues which may be raised, but also because they provide an introduction to peaceful processes through which such issues can be fully aired and resolved. By discussing controversial issues in class, students not only are able to learn content knowledge and democratic values, they may also learn the processes of democratic problem-solving in terms of a process of conjoint inquiry, open discussion, and individual and collective reflection (and action). Indeed, as Stradling (1985) has mentioned, the issues around which many societies are divided and on which significant groups within these societies advocate conflicting explanations are based on alternative values. Students therefore have the chance to know and develop alternative values by having discussions of controversial issues with others in class, which can, indirectly or directly, stimulate students' critical thinking and problem solving abilities.

Therefore, conflicts should be planned for in the classroom because, when they are

managed constructively, they have many positive outcomes: increasing the motivation and energy to solve problems; increasing achievement and productivity; clarifying one's identity and values; and increasing one's understanding of other perspectives (Avery, Johnson, Johnson, & Mitchell, 1999, p.261). Creating conflict is not the purpose of teaching controversial issues in class; instead, working through conflicts with public talk is the purpose. In so doing, teachers may help students to learn more about these issues; to develop the skills of public talk, problem solving and civic reasoning; and to grow as they come to understand others' perspectives and develop their own identities.

In sum, controversial public issues are taught because they deal with matters which promote outcomes critical to both personal growth and to the success of democratic societies; that is, these issues are taught for their own sake and as ends in themselves (Stradling, Noctor, & Baines, 1984). Critical thinking, developing perspectives, and solving problems are important skills students learn by and from having discussions of controversial issues in public school classrooms.

The Challenges of Teaching Controversial Public Issues

As the above section mentioned, regarding the necessity of teaching controversial public issues, such teaching can develop students' democratic values, problem solving abilities, and knowledge of society. However, there are still many teachers who choose not to teach controversial issues in their classes. The question, then, is: Why? At the elementary class level, elementary teachers often avoid topics they perceive as "taboo" (McBee, 1996) or "too controversial" (Evan, Avery, & Pederson, 1999), because they are worried about students' comprehension, the administration's response, parents' attitudes, and their own content knowledge and perspectives. In addition, at the secondary level, while Hess (2009) has persuasively argued that school is a good site for public talk and the creation, maintenance,

and transformation of democracy, there remain many teachers who are hesitant about teaching controversial public issues because they worry about causing conflicts in their classroom.

It is therefore clear that there are barriers to teaching about controversial issues, no matter what the national context. First, there is a lack of professional development programs that address the teaching of controversial public issues (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Zembylas & Kambani, 2012). Many teachers have reported that they do not have sufficient readiness for teaching controversial issues in terms of content understanding. Perhaps even more importantly, though, is the difficulty many teachers have in acknowledging that emotion rather than technical pedagogy is a key to "unlocking" learning about controversial public issues in social studies instruction. As Hess (2002) mentioned, discussing controversial public issues is difficult because of their potential to inflame emotional reactions (p.14). So while teachers often refer to their professional knowledge as the reason for their apprehension, it is perhaps also the case that they are not reflecting on their own readiness, desire, and personal knowledge as it relates to the teaching of controversial public issues.

King (2012) has argued that teachers, administrators, and parents often express ambivalence or even active resistance to efforts to introduce controversial issues into the curriculum. Different research has shown that the reason many elementary and secondary teachers have chosen not to teach controversial issues is that most of the time they worry about resistance from others—other teachers, parents, students, administrators, and the public (Evan, Avery, & Pederson, 1999; Hess, 2008, 2009; McBee, 1996). This resistance and anxiety often lead teachers to choose to teach "safe knowledge" in class, which obviously impacts students' learning.

Another challenge in teaching controversial public issues is related to the structures and the norms of the nation-state (King, 2012). In particular, framing the problem within the nation-state (and its demands for fixed ethnic identities and collective memories) limits the vision for solutions. When teachers teach in ways that contradict the framework inherited from the nation-state, they can in turn become anxious and experience feelings of isolation (as if raising such issues were making a public problem worse rather than contributing to its peaceful solution). Often, these same teachers feel they have no support or readiness, for either their students or themselves, and so teachers continue to frame issues in ways that limit the possibilities for creative problem-solving.

It is clear that the task of conducting discussions of controversial issues is not easy for teachers and students (Rossi, 2006, p.113). Teachers' professional judgments regarding the needs and abilities of their students may lead them to minimize opportunities for students to engage in controversial public issues discussions (King, 2012). In short, public resistance to such issues, as well as outmoded frameworks for analyzing public topics, can lead teachers to feel that their pedagogical efforts are best placed in other directions.

Teachers' Personal Experiences and Belief and Gatekeeping

In the previous sections, I analyzed literature that explored the definition of a "controversial public issue" as well as the rationales for and challenges of teaching controversial public issues in the classroom today. In this section, I explore the critically important role of teachers in teaching controversial public issues. In particular, I explore the impact of teachers' personal experiences, beliefs and gatekeeping in order to better understand to the challenges in teaching controversial public issues.

Teacher Personal Experiences and Belief

Much research in the past decades, from many different approaches, has focused on teacher knowledge. Some studies have illuminated the depth of teacher subject matter content knowledge (Ball, Thames, & Phelps, 2008; Wilson, Ball, Grossman, & Roth, 1989). Others, following Shulman's lead, have focused on pedagogical content knowledge, articulating the importance of the way in which the content knowledge of the teacher interacts with the learning processes of students (Elbaz, 1983; Shulman, 1986, 1987). Shulman (1987) argued that teaching is an act of reason that culminates in the performance of impacting, eliciting, involving, or enticing students. Teachers must learn to use their knowledge base to provide grounds for instructional choices and actions. While this has been, perhaps, the dominant way to think about teacher knowledge, there is in addition another approach used to understand teaching through the lens of a teacher's own biography—that is, teaching as a form of personal knowledge, a "practical knowledge" rooted in personal experience, beliefs, and values (Brookfield, 1995; Clandinin & Connelly, 1987, 1996; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993).

My analysis of teaching begins with the explicit recognition that teachers' personal beliefs and past life experiences significantly influence the curriculum that they teach and that these past experiences are therefore important to understand. In this sense, teachers are guided by personal and practical theories that structure their activities and guide them in decision-making (Ross, Cornett, & McCutcheon, 1992).

In this way of viewing things, teacher decision-making emerges out of the relationship among people, places, and objects in their temporal dimensions of past, present and future. Different relationships among people, places, and objects—in terms of their pasts, presents, and futures—make for different decisions among teachers. Indeed, Clandinin and Connelly (1987) attempted to clarify this when they examined the origins, uses, and meanings of

personal knowledge in their studies of teacher's beliefs. As they reviewed the wider literature, they discovered a "bewildering array of terms" (p. 487)—including teachers' teaching criteria, principles of practice, personal constructs/theories/epistemologies, beliefs, perspectives, teachers' conceptions, personal knowledge, practical knowledge.

In their own work, they proposed an additional term, *personal practical knowledge*, which they defined as experiential knowledge "embodied and reconstructed out of the narrative of a teacher's life" (p. 490). Personal practical knowledge exists implicitly and is tacitly held—it can best be seen perhaps, in a teacher's everyday practice. In this way, they suggested teachers' teaching and decision-making emerge out of teachers' life experiences (past, present and desired future), personal beliefs, and their personal practical knowledge.

In addition, my analysis of teaching also recognizes that teachers engage in the practice of self-study to reflect on their work (Heichel & Miller, 1993; Hamilton, 1998; Dinkelman, 2003). In this sense, teachers are guided by personal knowledge that they have learned from self-study and critically reflective practice. Critical reflection—as a consideration of the moral and ethical dimensions of teaching and deliberation on the broader social conditions of schooling—is therefore a necessary attribute of those social studies teachers who would enact democratic citizenship education (Dinkelman, 1997, 1999). Based on self-study and critical reflection, teachers might come to possess rich and varied ideas and knowledge, interacting with their own beliefs about teaching within social contexts, then deliberately and consciously constructing or reconstructing a more sophisticated personal knowledge of teaching (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996; Dinkelman, 1997).

In this way of viewing things, self-study produces knowledge for promoting reflective teaching. It is the knowledge produced by practitioners that helps them understand how better to approach problems in their own immediate contexts and teaching situation (Dinkelman,

2003, p.11). That means, enacting self-study allows teachers to reflect on their professional practices as they interact with personal experiences, personal beliefs and public dialogue; indeed, looking critically at one's practice potentially leads teachers to dramatic transformations in their own lives and teaching practices.

In order to study teaching and learning within a controversial context, we need to be aware of these debates within the field of research on teacher knowledge. They help us understand what it is that needs to be attended to in the research process—things such as prior personal and professional experiences, personal and professional beliefs, and formal bases of professional knowledge. Therefore, this section has explored teachers' "personal practical knowledge"—a term that I adopt throughout this dissertation—in order to understand teachers and their approach to teaching controversial public issues.

The Teacher as a "Curricular-Instructional" Gatekeeper

Most teachers believe that curriculum decisions are made by outside authorities. That is, many teachers believe that curriculum development is a formal task imposed upon them from the outside (Cornett, 1987). However, Stephen Thornton (1991) has theorized that, despite the many external limits on teachers, the teacher is still an agent, one who makes decisions about the curriculum. In other words, no two teachers can or will ever teach the same curriculum in the same exact manner. Similarly, Walter Parker (1987) has contended that the idea of "teachers making a difference" is situated in teachers as curriculum agents. According to these scholars, teachers can perhaps do more with a prescribed curriculum than they thought.

Beginning in the 1990s, Thornton started to advocate for a view of teachers as curricular-instructional gatekeepers. The components of gatekeeping are considered to be:

1) beliefs concerning the meaning of subject matter;

2) decisions concerning planning; and

3) decisions concerning instructional strategies (Thornton, 1991, p. 237).

A curricular-instructional gatekeeper has to make considerations of purposes—how teachers think about the purposes of the curriculum heavily influences teachers' teaching and their curriculum enactment. On the other hand, a curricular-instructional gatekeeper also has to have an understanding of students' development and how it might interact with subject matter and instructional strategies.

Curricular-instructional gatekeeping is therefore a way of seeing that is possible to impact both the intellect and moral growth of students (Thornton, 2005). This means that no matter whether teachers make their decisions consciously or unconsciously, they unavoidably make decisions in the classroom that shape and formulate meanings for their students. In sum, curricular-instructional gatekeeping is moral-intellectual work involving knowledge and beliefs about the who, what, how, and why of teaching.

As Thornton (2005) asserted, teachers—viewed as curricular-instructional gatekeepers—have significant effects on the curriculum that is enacted in their classrooms. Teachers' beliefs concerning the subject matter they teach, the students that they teach, and the context in which they teach it, all influence teaching and learning processes. When teachers consciously embrace their roles as curricular-instructional gatekeepers, they make sure that instructional decisions are responsive to their beliefs about content as well as to contextual factors, such as consideration of student backgrounds and the availability of learning resources (Thornton, 2005).

Given the attention in past research to teachers' personal knowledge, the overall literature can be categorized into three primary research areas:

1) teachers' planning (pre-active and post-active thoughts);

2) teachers' interactive thoughts and decisions ("in the moment" reaction); and

3) teachers' guiding theories and beliefs (Clark & Peterson, 1986).

Here is an acknowledgement, therefore, that teachers' personal theories and beliefs serve as the basis for curriculum decision-making and teaching. However, in past research, the relationship between teachers' personal theories and beliefs about teaching, their prior life experiences that shape their larger commitments, and their pre-, during-, and post-teaching decision-making has not been well understood (Ross, Cornett, & McCutcheon, 1992).

Despite the fact that researchers have not been able to fully describe how beliefs and experiences impact instructional processes and learning outcomes, it is nonetheless clear that both curriculum and instruction can be strengthened by teachers having a significant stake in either creating or modifying a curriculum (Walker, 2003, pp. 294-295). Therefore, recently, more and more research has switched to an "interpretive" research model, exploring the interaction between the past, present, and future of persons and their environment. This research model, which treats teaching as an interactive process, considers unquantifiable processes as important data because it can interpreted (Ross, Cornett, & McCutcheon, 1992). Labeled as the investigation of teacher decision-making, more studies have explored teachers' life experiences as revealed in the their present mind and body and future plans and actions (Clandinin & Connelly, 1988, 1999; Clark, 2001; Ross, Cornett, & McCutcheon, 1992).

When teaching controversial public issues, teachers inevitably come to problematize and

become more aware of the context in which they are working. Knowledge of social contexts is never natural; rather, it is always personally and socially constructed (Apple, 1979). Eventually, when teachers approach controversial public issues, they do so within the framework of decision-making and personal knowledge.

In this section, I have attempted to show the link between Thornton's work on gatekeeping with research and theory on the nature of knowledge for teaching; that is, how teachers' life experiences might impact their beliefs and practices about the purposes of schooling, curriculum, and instruction as well as contexts. I have attempted to how the ways in which, despite the push toward an ever-more formalized curriculum, teachers can be considered as curricular agents in their own right. Clearly, this work helps us understand the role of teachers as they approach the teaching of controversial issues. In the next section, I want to explore more deeply just what that role is.

Teacher as Stranger

The tree may represent the order, pattern, or perspective the individual creates when he learns. To grasp its meaning with one's will may signify the personal choice to integrate what has been disclosed, to put it to use in interpreting and ordering one's own life-world. The teacher, too, must raise his shadowy trees and let them ripen. Stranger and homecomer, questioner and goad to others, he can become visible to himself by doing philosophy. There are countless live to be changed, worlds, to be remade.

Maxine Greene, 1973. pp. 298

The Origin of Teacher as Stranger

This chapter began with a review of the literature on the teaching of controversial public issues. It then turned to the role of the teacher—as an agent whose beliefs about the purpose of schooling, curriculum, and instructions as well as the meaning of learners and contexts all shape what happens in classrooms. In this section, I want to bring those two strands together by examining the work of Maxine Greene.

Alfred Schutz has written that, ordinarily, one "accepts the ready-made standardized scheme of cultural pattern handed down to him by ancestors, teachers, and authorities as an unquestioned and unquestionable guide in all the situations which normally occur within the social world" (Greene, 1973, p. 268). No matter which role we are playing, most of the time, we fill ourselves with the rules and standards of our daily life and take everything for granted, without too much thinking and questions.

Based on her 1973 book of the same title, Greene wrote of the "teacher as stranger" as a way of taking a stranger's vantage point on everyday reality, in order to look inquiringly and wonderingly at the world in which one lives (Greene, 1973). The stranger's vantage point has different ways of seeing the world, both inside and outside of a classroom; in particular, Greene asserts, the teacher as stranger should know about both critical thinking and authentic choosing, about both helping one's self and others see the world afresh.

Critical thinking and authentic choosing. If the teacher is a stranger, he or she cannot accept any "ready-made standardized scheme" at face value, which means that teachers must have their own thinking about social values and about collective memories in society. That also means, essentially, that teachers need to present themselves, to their students and their communities, as actively engaged in critical thinking and authentic choosing. Part of their power resides in the example they provide in their role as stranger Garrison (1997), calls the "prophetic" aspects of teaching.

For the "teacher as stranger," critical thinking is the ability of teachers to reflect on their own knowledge and values, as a way to deconstruct the "ready-made standardized schemes" in society. As Greene (1973) mentioned, the "teacher as stranger" is willing to take the view of the home-comer and to create a new perspective on what he or she has habitually considered real.

In addition, authentic choosing for the "teacher as stranger" means the individual must move from the aesthetic to the ethical stage[5], where the social consequences of personal choices are investigated and one's personality is thereby further consolidated (Greene, 1973, 284). Ultimately, authentic choosing leads the decision up to the ethical stage, from the surface level of any debate; it leads from surface-level concerns about content (as important as those factual aspects are) into the values that give knowledge its worth. In summary, the "teacher as stranger" creates space for teachers and students to make their thinking different, opening new perspectives that connect thinking to action.

Viewed in this light, authentic choosing is at the heart of what the teacher is after when controversial public issues are explored in the classroom setting.

Helping others see afresh. As we have just seen, the "teacher as a stranger" is a teacher willing to engage in an individual and collective project of critical thinking and authentic choosing, a project that seeks to see the world inquiringly, and to wonder what is happening in the world. Most importantly, the "teacher as stranger" is not only asking himself or herself to view the world with a stranger's point of view, but also asking himself or herself that, through their teaching, he or she may become vitally open to his or her students and their worlds. The "teacher as stranger," that is, embraces his or her role as a curricular-instructional gatekeeper—he or she embraces a moral role.

As Greene (1973) asserted, the teacher can find an analogy here: since his or her very project involves making a demand upon his or her self, he or she is also engaged in transmuting and illuminating material to the end of helping others see afresh. On the other hand, by helping others see afresh, the "teacher as stranger" is kept fresh and open to

[5] Kierkegaard's early works - and *Either/Or, Fear and Trembling* and *Stages on Life's Way* were all written under pseudonyms. Kierkegaard distinguishes between three primary modes of life: the aesthetic, the ethical and the religious. Broadly speaking, he seems to think that people should progress through these different modes of life in order to arrive at the religious mode of life which is the best of the three.

encounter, which Maxine Greene termed “the immediacy of the felt encounter,” and becomes concerned with *whose* immediacy is felt and *whose* possibilities are encountered (Britzman, 2003).

What this ultimately means, then, is that to value such a process is to render learning to teach doubly problematic. One must learn and refine the technical aspects of teaching while at the same time placing himself or herself open to personal transformation and change. It is an emotionally tenuous process. The complexity of relationships—both given and possible—that work through pedagogy must be understood as intimately shaping the subjective world and the discursive practices of the teacher and his or her students (Britzman, 2003, p. 26). In this way, learning to teach controversial public issues involves the leap into an unknown world of perspectives, relationships, and, ultimately, risks.

Learning to learn, learning to teach. The “teacher as stranger” needs a stranger’s view in order to see standardized rules and values as problematic events—as givens to be questioned, inquiringly wondering what is happening in one’s life, and also helping others to see afresh. By using the stranger’s vantage point, the “teacher as stranger” views the teacher’s job as promoting the learning process for himself or herself as well as the student—as learning to learn through learning to teach.

To learn and to teach, one must have an awareness of leaving something behind, while reaching toward something new, and this kind of awareness must be linked to imagination (Greene, 1995). “Learning to learn” happens when people can stand by their own choices in the high wind of thought (Greene, 1973); people use imagination to move beyond the safe places to those outside of their comfort zones, where teachers intellectually, mentally, and physically become aware of the anxiety and desirability of learning.

In addition, “learning to teach” is a social process of negotiation rather than an individual problem of behavior. For the “teacher as stranger,” the dynamic of learning to teach is essential to any humanizing explanation of the work of teachers. Teaching is about coming to terms with one’s limitations, intentions and values, as well as one’s views of knowing, being, and acting in a setting characterized by contradictory realities, negotiation, dependency and struggle (Britzman, 2003, p. 31). In other words, learning to teach is the process by which teachers view their work of knowing, exploring, negotiating, and interacting.

Normative discourses of learning to teach presents itself as an individual dilemma that sometimes precludes the recognition of the contradictory realities of school life. Dan Lortie’s seminal work mapped the life of a school teacher, examining within the constructs of recruitment and retention, the limits of professional socialization (Lortie, 1975). He notes, for example, that school teachers have not seriously challenged the standard conception of school governance and claimed it as the proper province of their work. In general, teaching as a career has been facilitated by such mechanism as highly accessible training and non-elitist admission standards. Yet in some ways, this way of structuring the profession has blocked higher aspirations that teachers might have for their work. The “teacher as stranger” is a vantage point from which to see the contradictory realities of school life. That is, the “teacher as a stranger” vantage point challenges the culture of schools, the identity of teachers, and the value of teaching as a career, and therefore might inspire teachers themselves to explore, interact, and develop.

The Teacher as Stranger for Teaching Controversial Public Issues

As the aforementioned section argued, the “teacher as stranger” is a vantage point that allows teachers to explore themselves and develop their teaching. Therefore, in this section, I

borrow the “teacher as stranger” point to see what it might mean to teach controversial public issues. I particularly address how teachers interact with controversial public issues and what rationale teachers develop for their teaching.

Teachers as citizens, involved in the public world. For the “teacher as stranger,” the teacher, as a citizen, will want to take positions on issues that impact his or her life and community; that is, the teacher also will be a more vital teacher if he or she becomes involved in the public world (Greene, 1973). By the same token, for the “teacher as stranger” engaged in the teaching of controversial public issues, as teachers involved in the public world, their teaching cannot escape public issues and public discussion, and the role of being a teacher cannot move away from being a citizen acting in their social contexts either. As Greene mentioned (1973), the “teacher as stranger” may even want to play a part in supporting what he or she conceives to be as needed reforms. Involved in the public world, the teacher as a stranger inevitably engages in public issues, and takes the position of these issues to the classrooms to yield space for talk about the controversial public issues that have been discussed inside and outside of the classroom. (It goes without saying, however, that the teacher allows students to do their own authentic choosing.)

Teachers take responsibility for decision-making and choosing issues. Therefore, the “teacher as stranger” cannot avoid the great social structures beyond the classroom doors; there is always a sense in which teachers must mediate between those structures and the young people that teachers try to liberate for reflection and choice (Greene, 1973). In other words, the “teacher as stranger” initiates critical thinking and authentic choosing. As Greene argued (1973), the teacher, no matter how committed to self-determination and free choice, must hold himself or herself accountable to his or her pupils, to their parents, and to the community. This means that the teacher must take personal responsibility for their choices

made in the classroom, for their accommodations, and for their refusals.

Along the same line, the "teacher as stranger" is confronted by the choice of teaching or not teaching controversial public issues, which includes their rationale for teaching or not teaching them, the materials for representing them, and the pedagogy for exploring them. The "teacher as stranger" not only makes the decisions of "what" but also "why," "how," and "when."

Teaching that releases the imagination. The "teacher as stranger" is engaged in the public world and therefore must choose a rationale for teaching or not teaching controversial public issues. However, beyond decision-making and issue choosing, the "teacher as stranger" represents an option that is different from that represented by the traditional teachers—by reviewing the issues differently, by helping students see afresh, and by keeping themselves and their students wonder what issues are happening in their lives.

Therefore, for the "teacher as stranger," teaching controversial public issues is not just a way of representing current issues or public events; instead, such teaching is way of releasing the imagination. In particular, the imagination is the one thing that permits us to give credence to alternative realities. It allows us to break with the taken for granted, and to set aside familiar distinctions and definitions (Greene, 1995, p. 3). Indeed, for teaching controversial public issues, being imaginative is the key for deliberating. As Hess (2009) pointed out, teaching controversial public issues needs creative and novel forms of political talk and deliberation, among a diverse public, in order to produce learning. Such public talk, when approached authentically, can lead to spontaneity and yield space for people to create alternatives; to break up certainties in order to bring more possibilities and interests.

As Greene (1995) pointed out, the imaginative capacity is the ability to look at things

as if they could be otherwise. To tap into imagination is to become able to break with what is supposedly fixed and finished, and what is supposedly objectively and independently real. As John Dewey saw it, imagination is the gateway through which meanings, derived from past experiences, find their way into the present; it is the conscious adjustment of the new and the old (1934, p. 272). Along the same lines, teaching controversial public issues is the realization of imagination, of formulating the stranger's vantage point, of not looking for objective answers or independent truths, but instead creating something new in and through the imagination, in dialogue with others.

In other words, teaching controversial public issues is not just about delivering content or information, but is also a way to push teachers and students to keep fresh eyes on viewing what is happening in society, building on controversial public issues, and creating multiple ways of solving problems.

Indeed, the point of teaching controversial public issues, through the workings of imagination, is not primarily to resolve, nor to point the way, nor to improve. It is, instead, to awaken, to disclose the ordinarily unseen, the unheard, and the unexpected. As Greene (1995) mentioned, when teaching and responding to the grasping consciousness of a young student in her or his distinctiveness, we can only continually combat life's anesthetics, moving individuals to reach out toward the horizon line of the new (p. 30).

In sum, teaching, as releasing the imagination, is teaching while being open to something unexpected, unseen, and unheard before. In order to do this work, we teachers must make an intensified effort to break through the frames of custom and to toughen the consciousness of those we teach (Greene, 1995). Indeed, we teachers ourselves must maintain an open and interpretive approach, not merely to subject matter, but also to the text of children's and young people's lives and to the meanings the young achieve as they find out

how others across the sea or down the corridor organize their world (Greene, 1995).

This also means that teaching is a way to discover the stories and the meanings of our lives. As Freire said, we must find ways of being in dialogical relation to the texts we read, reflecting and opening to one another upon the texts of our lives (Freire, 1987). By the same token, by teaching controversial public issues, we create space for our students and ourselves to reflect, to read the meanings of each other's lives, and to discover alternatives. Controversial public issues, seen in this light, are not "current events" or "case issues;" instead, they are the fundamental problems and tensions of social living. Teaching, as discovering and opening to others, fits the characteristic of controversial public issues, which requires that we adopt the stranger's vantage point and actively explore the meanings of issues.

Authentic teaching cannot take place unless the teacher's interests are engaged, unless a self-in-the-making is fully present to others— present not only in body but also in mind, not only emotionally but also cognitively, not only imaginatively but also analytically (Greene, 2001, p.85). In this way, teaching controversial public issues is not just another pedagogical option—it is a path that reveals, to children and adults alike, the very essence of social living and learning.

Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed research conducted in teaching controversial issues in the U.S. In addition, I expanded on the key concepts of controversial issues and the challenges of teaching controversial issues in class as outlined in Chapter I. Then, I explored teacher personal knowledge and decision making as a curricular-instructional gatekeeper. Lastly, I discussed the possibility of "teacher as stranger"—to show how teachers might see teaching

controversial issues as a new project, creating a new perspective on what they have habitually considered real, so that controversial issues teaching may become the project of a person vitally open to students and the world. In the next chapter, I explain and outline the research methods used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a qualitative instrumental case study design. I start this chapter by providing a rationale for the use of this qualitative research paradigm and the case study research tradition. Subsequently, I outline the research design by focusing on the researcher's role. In this section, I describe the setting, the contexts, the participants, and the processes. Later, I describe the methods used for data analysis. Lastly, I outline the limitations of the study.

Research Questions and Rationale

Research Questions

The principal research question guiding this study is: How does a teacher's life history enter into the curriculum of controversial public issues they teach? Two subsidiary questions frame my inquiry. They are: (1) What types of personal practical knowledge about controversial public issues are embodied by Taiwanese teachers? (2) How do Taiwanese secondary history teachers' personal practical knowledge impact their curricular gatekeeping? In particular, how does it impact their controversial public issues gatekeeping?

Rationale

I chose a qualitative approach because of the nature of the objectives in the study. The goal of my research was to explore how teachers' personal practical knowledge influences their curricular gatekeeping around teaching controversial public issues in the classroom. Throughout my analysis, I take into consideration Taiwanese historical and cultural contexts and teachers' personal backgrounds; for example life experience, teacher preparation

programs, years of teaching experience, and family history. Thus, this study necessitated the use of a method of inquiry that allowed for the use of multiple methods and incorporated the complexity of daily life.

As Yin (1984) asserted, there are three purposes for doing case study—exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. While a particular study will tend toward one of these, all three elements are always, to a certain degree, present. A case study explores the "how" and "why" questions and investigates contemporary phenomena within real-life contexts. Along the same line, Stake (1995) asserted the function of study is not necessarily to map and conquer the world but to sophisticate the beholding of it: "thick description," "experiential understanding," and "multiple realities" are expected in any such case study (p. 43).

In addition, I was interested in teachers in terms of their uniqueness and everyday lives, seeking to hear their stories. I began this study with an interest in learning how teachers function in their ordinary pursuits and milieus and with a willingness to put aside as many presumptions as possible (Stake, 1995). Also, this study focused on teachers themselves, drawing attention to their subjective and lived lives. Every teacher in this study is a case unlikely to bear a strong resemblance to others. As Stake (1995) mentioned, case study research is not sampling research: it does not study a case primarily to understand other cases.

My study focused on history teachers in two public senior high schools and sought out to gain their personal practical knowledge, curricular gatekeeping, and controversial public issues' teaching. By conducting a case study, I seek to emphasize the uniqueness and complexity of school contexts, focusing on social interaction within social contexts.

Contexts in case studies are unique and dynamic. Hence, case studies investigate and report the complex dynamic and unfolding interaction of events, human relationships and other factors, all in a unique instance (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000).

Finally, the case study framework also allows for the examination of contemporary events in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence including documents, artifacts, and interviews (Yin, 1989). In the study, documents—for example, teachers' lesson plans, textbooks, curriculum guidelines, professional development records— are to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources, providing specific details to support information from interviews. Artifacts such as Facebook posts, teachers' columns, and editorials are the main resources in this study. By examining the artifacts, I was able to develop a broader perspective concerning all of the participants and their life worlds, beyond that which could be directly captured in a short period of time (Yin, 1989).

Procedures: Research Design

In this section, I describe the research procedures of the study. I start with a description of my position and how this might affect the research process. Next, I describe the setting and the participants, and I set up the protocol for recording data. This is followed by a description of the data analysis process and finally, an examination of the Institutional Review Board.

The Researcher's Role

As aforementioned, since qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive in nature, it is imperative to acknowledge the researcher's position and personal interests as well as reflect on personal ideologies and research focus. For this study, I, as a researcher describe my own role and position in order to have a better understanding of this study.

My perceptions have been shaped by my experiences growing up in Taiwan and as a graduate student in education in the U.S over the past five years. I graduated from the Soochow University in Taipei, where I majored in history, and I have a master's degree from the education department at the National Taiwan Normal University. While I was studying at NTNU, I was involved in researching the reforms of the history curriculum and curriculum guidelines in Taiwan. Meanwhile, I also participated in several research projects, for example, "Social Studies in Asia," "History Teachers' Preparation Course Design," and two study group projects funded by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan. After I graduated from the graduate school, I taught in two different public schools in Taipei for several years. During my three years teaching, I continued to focus on the reforms of history curriculum and history textbooks. I also explored history education reforms in the U.S and in the U.K in order to have a better understanding of the history curriculum in different national contexts.

While conducting this study, my roles as both insider and outsider placed me in a unique position. On the one hand, I was perceived as an outsider because of my current status as a researcher and a doctoral student from the U.S. Participants treated me as an outsider, not as a peer or colleague, and regarded me as a researcher not as a fellow history teacher. What further worked to make me an outsider from my research participants was that I had a masters' degree in the education department, focusing on history education and curriculum reforms, and that I am currently studying education in the U.S. Difference in education background was also a factor that made the participants see me as an outsider. These two outsider perspectives, however, provided me with a different outlook toward history curricula and controversial public issues' teaching. The experiences have allowed me to distance myself from the immediacy of the demands of classroom teaching.

On the other hand, I was also perceived as an insider because of my background. Before studying in the U.S., I was a Taiwanese public school history teacher for many years and I had heavily engaged in history curriculum reforms and several research projects. These teaching and research experiences allowed me to have better understanding of the structure of history education in Taiwan, especially in terms of history curriculum reforms, teacher preparation, public school culture, and the challenges faced by teachers teaching in Taiwanese public schools today. In addition, growing up and attending public schools in Taipei, Taiwan also positions me as an insider. My entire life experience and education in Taiwan has given me embodied knowledge of the social and historical contexts of Taiwanese society. Such embodied knowledge was made critical though distance—giving me the knowledge necessary to understand the school and teacher culture found in the Taiwanese public school.

My status as both an insider and outsider placed me in a unique position. Transferring between an outsider and an insider enhanced my understanding of the decisions made by the teachers and my ability to relate to social contexts. Furthermore, my exposure to alternative theoretical perspectives in graduate school, as well as my teaching experiences in the U.S, has also brought about a different understanding of history curriculum reforms and controversial public issues' teaching in Taiwan. Finally, as a Taiwanese researcher who has experienced history curricula and controversial public issues' teaching in the U.S, I have been able to deepen my awareness of Taiwanese teachers' performative identities and lived subjectivities; for example, I am able to comprehend the rationales and challenges of controversial public issues' teaching and the different layers of meaning of various public controversies in Taiwan.

Setting and Case Selection

This study was conducted with six high school teachers at two public senior high schools in Taichung, Taiwan. The Middleton Senior High School and the Middleton Girls High School are top ranked schools in Taiwan. The first criterion of selection for this study was to select public school history teachers. The selected teachers were qualified teachers who held masters' degrees in social science fields. In Taiwan, all public senior high school teachers are required to take educational foundation courses, educational methodology courses, and a one-year internship in teacher education (Teacher Education Act, 2001). In addition, teachers teaching at these two schools had extremely diverse backgrounds, for example: different family backgrounds, teacher preparation, majors and interests. The selected teachers were heavily involved in different professional development and social activities, for example: history curriculum reform workshops, local teacher community groups, as well as social justice activist organizations. Diversity within the pool of "experienced history teachers" was therefore sought to maximize the possibilities for insight based on divergent case examples.

The second criterion of selection for this case study was school type. The two selected schools were top senior high schools in Taiwan. The students in these schools have, in general, extremely good academic records; they are ranked in the 97th percentile for the Senior High Entrance examination. This is a consequence of teachers at these schools having access to more resources and support from the Ministry of Education, parents, and the community. Further, these two schools are more liberal compared to other senior high schools in Taiwan (especially the Middleton Senior High School, which has a reputation for being a progressive educational institution, for example: developing individualism within their students and helping students protest the National Curriculum Reform in 2015). In

addition, these two schools also have long histories. These two schools were built by Taiwanese leaders in 1940s during Japanese colonial domination. These leaders, in support of the Taiwanese democratic movement, created senior high schools in order for ordinary people achieve higher education. Since 1945, these two schools have continued to produce students who are outstanding academic performers.

Participants

As noted above, the participants in this study consisted of six senior high school history teachers in two different public schools in Taichung, Taiwan. Three males and three females, the participants in this study have taught in the public schools from six to 23 years. Four participants are from the Middleton Senior High School and two are from the Middleton First Girls' Senior High School.

As noted above, there were several criteria used in the selection process for this study. The resulting pool of participants included teachers who varied in gender, age, education and family background, teacher education preparation programs, years of teaching experience, political beliefs and so on. The teachers in this study were extremely diverse so that while there were only six participants, the data collected was rich. A list of interviewed participants and their characteristics is provided below (Table 1).

In regards to their education backgrounds, two teachers were from the National Taiwan Normal University—traditional teacher preparation program—and the other four were from alternative programs. Four teachers had master's degrees in history, two had double master's degrees: one had a master's degree in physics and law and the other had a master's degree in multicultural education and law. Currently, two of them are studying for their PhD in history and psychology. In short, the participants have a high degree of formal university education.

My personal connection to four of the teachers was through an English teacher named Mr. Lin, who was a retired teacher from the Middleton Girls' Senior High School. In Taiwanese culture, there is a rigid hierarchy between and among teachers; therefore, it seemed likely that these four teachers would be willing to have me in their class and to let me interview them because of the recommendation from Mr. Lin. My connection to the other two teachers was made through a participant, Mr. Chen, who I interviewed two years ago. These two teachers were willing to have interviews because of Mr. Chen's recommendation.

Table 1 Summary of the Participants and Their Backgrounds.

	Mr. Wu	**Mrs. Chang**	**Mr. Chen**	**Ms. Chen**	**Mrs. Fan**	**Mr. Hsu**
Teaching experience	22 years.	25 years,	8 years.	8 years.	24 years.	15 years.
Education	Masters degree in history department. Bachelor degree at a normal university.	Masters degree and bachelor degree in history department at a normal university.	Studying PhD in psychology . Have double mater degree. Alternative teacher education program.	Studying PhD in history. Have masters and bachelor degree in history department. Alternative teacher education program.	Master's degree and bachelor degree in history department. Alternative teacher education program.	Double maters degree in physics and laws in science. Bachelor degree in natural science. Alternative education program.
Professional development	Working for history subject summer camps in Taichung.	Worked for national curriculum design project.	Working for national history subject PD Team leader in Taichung.	Working for history subject teacher professional developing workshop.	Worked for a national university entry exam committee.	Working for social justice movement association, and worked for local community.
Family background	From a Chinese- not native to the island family.	From a Taiwanese- native to the island family.	From a Taiwanese –native to the island family. Single.	From a Taiwanese – native to the island family.	From a Chinese- not native to the island family.	From a Taiwanese –native to the island family.

The Research Process: Data Collection Procedures

Conducting a case study with multiple resources created a broad base and maintained a strong chain of evidence (Yin, 1984). Here, this study utilized four different strategies of data collection: non-participant observation, interviews, artifacts, and document analysis. The data collection was conducted over two summers, one from May 2013 to July 2013 and the other one from May 2015 to July 2015.

Interview

The most important data collection used in this study was interviews. As Yin (1984) mentioned, case study interviews are of an open-ended nature, in which an investigator can ask key respondents for the facts of a matter as well as for the respondents' opinions about events. This study research purposes not only to understand the specific answers from teachers, but also to explore their personal practical knowledge and to try to understand how their personal practical knowledge influences their curriculum gatekeeping around the teaching of controversial public issues in the classroom.

Therefore, this study conducted "focused" interviews in which respondents are interviewed, for a period of time, with pre-outlined questions, but interviews still entailed open-ended exchanges and assumed a conversational manner (Yin, 1984). During the interviews, I used the interview questions (Appendix A) and interview protocol (Appendix B).

I conducted the interviews in Mandarin Chinese, as this is the primary language of instruction in Taiwan and is my native language. Each interview lasted one and half hour to two hours. Interviews were conducted once a week for two months. This study therefore consisted of ten interviews for each participant. With the permission of the six participants, the interviews were audio recorded. The use of the audio recorder allowed me to focus my attention on the nuances of verbal and non-verbal interaction during the interviews.

During the interviews, the teachers answered a series of questions focusing on their personal practical knowledge, curricular gatekeeping, and the conceptions of controversial public issues' teaching. First, teachers were interviewed with a series of questions about their education backgrounds, for example: their teacher preparation, first year teaching, current

teaching, and struggles in teaching. This series of questions was to help the researcher understand the participant's background in order to facilitate the interview questions. The study then transitioned to interview questions about the teachers' life and family stories, then to exploring the connection between those stories and their rationales for teaching controversial public issues. During these two types of questions, despite using the interview protocol, there were occasions when the conversation moved in an unexpected direction. For example, when teachers talked about their family stories, these stories made them talk about different pivotal Taiwanese historical events and the connection of these events to their families' lives. These situations allowed me to have more insight into the teachers' personal experiences and thus the context for the personal practical knowledge that informs their gatekeeping practices in controversial public issues' teaching.

Next, the teachers were interviewed with a series of questions about current issues in Taiwan, for example: conflicts within the history curriculum reform of 2014 and 2015. They also watched a video recording of a discussion-based lesson around a controversial public issue, which was taught in a U.S.11th grade classroom. By talking about current political controversies in Taiwan first, and then having a conversation about the controversial public issues teaching video in the U.S. classroom, later study interviews came to consist of different layers. They were not so much unidirectional interviews but started to consist of more debate and dialogue. The dialogue between teachers and researcher, in this study, significantly formulated in-depth interviews.

The use of interviews allowed me to obtain critical in-depth descriptions and interpretations from the participants in this case study (Stake, 1995). This method allowed for the in-depth information about participants' perspectives, personal practical knowledge, gatekeeping, and the conception of controversial public issues' teaching.

Disadvantages of this method happening during the interviews include the self-consciousness of participants, thus affecting their willingness to share or discuss issues, the power dynamics between the researcher and participants, and the surrounding environment of the school as a factor affecting their willingness to have in-depth conversation.

Observation

The observation conducted in this study was non-participant observation, providing greater understanding of the context in which participants worked and lived—such observations helped reveal the unique complexity of classrooms and contexts. The observations reports used in this study were therefore "description of contexts," meant to give me, the researcher, a sense of "being there," which meant getting at the balance between the uniqueness and the ordinariness of the place (Stake, 1995). Contexts in this study were important, and included not only physical contexts, but also persons, professional cultures, and school cultures.

My role in the classroom was confined as non-participatory observer. From the beginning, students were informed that I was conducting research in the classroom, and my objectives were the teachers' teaching not the students' performance. During the observations, I observed the six participants' classes over a period of six weeks; each participant was observed at least twice, each for fifty minutes. I observed Mr. Wu four times; Mr. Chen, four times; Mrs. Chang, three times; and Mrs. Fan two times. A sample of my observational field notes is shown in Appendix C.

As mentioned in previous paragraphs, the observations were aimed at developing a "description of contexts," including the teachers themselves, the professional culture, and the

school culture. Therefore, the observations in this study helped me build relationships with the teachers, relationships which provided me a greater understanding of the contexts. Further, the time spent in their classrooms debriefing after each observation also helped me have a better understanding about participants' teaching practices and their social contexts. However, limited by the relatively small number of observations made, primary claims for the study are not rooted in the observational data themselves. Instead, they assist in triangulation of the data, relationship-building, and descriptions of context.

Artifacts and Documents

A with observations, documents and artifacts were used to collaborate and augment evidence from interviews (Yin, 1984). Documents and artifacts in this study provided further insight for my developing understanding of each participant. Documents used in the study, such as the official syllabi, textbooks, the national history curriculum guidelines created by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan, and the other classroom artifacts, were analyzed to provide context and confirmation for the interview data of the study. In addition, regarding to artifacts, not all the artifacts collected demonstrated relevance to the key findings of the study, but some became quite helpful and important in developing the overall case, for example, teachers' Facebook posts, teachers' columns, and teachers' teaching websites. Most of the artifacts directly created by teachers provided rich evidence to support other the interview methods.

Methods of Data Analysis and Reporting of Findings

There are three forms of data analysis in this research, including categorical aggregation, direct interpretation, and description of the case (Stake, 1995). In viewing data through categorical aggregation, I broke data into several categories. First, I began by organizing the

data from the interviews into two different categories based on the central study concepts: teacher personal practical knowledge and teachers' curricular gatekeeping. I further divided the interview data into teacher personal practical knowledge, consisting of teacher backgrounds, teacher life stories, teacher family stories, and teacher experiences from practice. This way of organizing the data highlighted teachers' curricular gatekeeping and the various factors that influenced how they view their decision making for the teaching of controversial public issues.

Further, I gathered background information about the participants as I began the study. I used thick description to describe the data, including the stories of each participant, each participant's background, and its social and cultural contexts. Providing thick description helped me to understand the teachers' personal practical knowledge and to make connections to their rationale for controversial public issues' teaching and to their curriculum gatekeeping.

Then, I moved the data into interpretation, comparing the data from multiple sources, including interviews, non-participant observation, artifacts and documents analysis, to rich the description through different perspectives.

What This Study Can and Cannot Say

A hallmark of the qualitative research paradigm is its subjective nature—that is, it takes the experiences of participants seriously. Experiential understanding, interpretation as method, and recognition of the inherently positioned nature of all knowledge claims are important to any qualitative inquiry. Put another way, we can say that misunderstanding is as important as understanding in any qualitative study (Stake, 1995).

A concern for any interview study is the way in which factors in the environment that might influence teachers' willingness to honestly and openly discuss, their experiences. In

addition, it could be claimed that two and half months per year, five months total is a relatively short timeframe for a qualitative research. However, the evidences obtained from the observations, artifacts and documents were used to enrich the findings. In addition, my own insider knowledge of Taiwanese society and teaching cultures can be viewed as an important bulwark against faulty interpretation.

Finally, as should almost go without saying, based on the relatively small number of participants in the research, this case study is not trying to generalize about the experiences of all Taiwanese teachers. The data from various resources, including observation, documentary analysis, and dialogue, are meant to draw a rich and descriptive picture through which the reader can reflect on his or her own beliefs, contexts and purposes.

Chapter Summary

In conclusion, because of the nature of the qualitative research paradigm, this study chose the instrumental case study design. Six history high school teachers at two public senior high schools in Taichung, Taiwan were selected for the study. This study obtained data from multiple sources, including non-participant observations, interviews, documents and artifact analysis. This study hopes to understand teachers better, especially when they are facing issues within dynamic and controversial contexts. Eventually, this study hopes to create a better understanding about historical events, current conflicts, people, places, and all of the interactions among them. My hope is that I will contribute not only to meaningful teaching in the classroom but also to delightful interaction among human beings in Taiwan.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter provides an analysis of the research findings and begins with descriptions of teachers' personal practical knowledge. I start by outlining the key characteristics of the teachers' personal practical knowledge and link this to their decisions about creating and teaching a history curriculum. As a construct, personal practical knowledge helps us to see how teachers' own biographies are made manifest in their professional experiences, beliefs, and values. The interaction between personal biography and professional decisions is the main focus of this chapter, though we will also start to see how this impacts curricular decision-making as well.

In Chapter 4, I explore in particular how teachers' personal practical knowledge has been formulated with in the specific social, historical, and cultural contexts of Taiwan. In Chapter 5, I will then explore how teachers make curricular gatekeeping decisions and the role of curricular imagination in their teaching.

Teachers' Personal Practical Knowledge: The Intersection of Self, Family, and Society

Clandinin and Connelly (1987) asserted that personal practical knowledge is defined as experiential knowledge "embodied and reconstructed out of the narrative of a teacher's life" (p. 490) that has created the base knowledge for teachers' professional identity and decision-making. In this study, I utilize narrative interview to understand their personal practical knowledge guided by their life stories, but this study does not directly use narrative inquiry research. In this chapter, I will show how teachers' personal practical knowledge grows out of teachers' family stories, stories of teacher preparation, stories of childhood and student years, as well as their stories of their teaching experiences. I do this in the hope of considering

the ways teacher's experiential knowledge based not just on teaching but on personal life can inform a teacher's personal practical knowledge.

Family Stories

"Family stories" is an umbrella term I use to make sense of one major aspect of teachers' personal practical knowledge. In this study, family stories are embodied with multiple meanings. In particular, in this study, family stories include attention to the way stories grow out of the meaning that is attributed to a family's geographical location, a family's ancestors, and a family's social and economic status. In this study, teachers' family stories intersect with the history of Taiwan in ways that have developed teachers' perspectives of historical events and controversial public issues.

Taiwan is a small island, but there are perceived differences between the southern and northern parts of the island (such as Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung),, as well as between rural areas and urban areas. In this study, the data has shown that these perceived differences greatly impacted how teachers imagined their own identities and purposes as professionals. For example, Mr. Hsu mentioned, where he grew up and his family's occupation as factors which remind him of the "injustice" in Taiwanese society. Mr. Hsu said,

> I grew up in Yunlin, which was a rural area but with a lot of space, during my childhood. Therefore, when I moved to Taipei and Taichung, I felt I never adjusted well to the city life. I never got used to the standardized rules and social order within a big city. But, when I came back to Yunlin, it has been urbanized and industrialized, and it has been changing a lot, with a lot of buildings and modern systems. My father and mom are farmers that have indirectly influenced me to pay attention to the land policy, farm, and food issues. When I visualize the image of

> Taiwan, I always think about a farm, [an image] which has represented Taiwan for a long time. The image of Taiwan is different now because of urbanization and industrialization. Unfortunately, we only focus on the advantages of these developments. In my class, I always mention these changes to my students.

Here, in Mr. Hsu's response, Mr. Hsu attributes his views of certain issues in Taiwan to the influences of geography and parents. When I asked the same question to Mr. Chen, he also shared the connection between family stories and perspectives of current social issues. For example, he stated that:

> I grew up in Zhongxing New Village located in Nantou City. It is a planned town with people ["non-native" Chinese people] working for the government, especially those with high titles. With all the buildings owned by the government, development is strictly controlled and carefully planned. My dad [who is Taiwanese, and "native" to the island] was a grocery dealer in the village. I and other kids, whose parents worked for the government, went to the same public schools. Therefore, I witnessed many inequalities during my schooling years. That is the big reason why I really care about fairness and social justice. It helps me to think about my teaching too. Compared to my own family background, my students are from upper-middle class families, with a lot of social and cultural resources, and it is clear that they share the values of their families. They do not understand other people's voices and perspectives, especially people different from their family. For example, aboriginal issues and gender issues. I always talk about gender, social status class, and aboriginal issues in my class.

Mr. Hsu and Mr. Chen both attribute their understanding of controversial public issues to the geography and social economic status of their family backgrounds. These family stories are

present in their professional experiences and curricular perspectives. They speak to how they understand their professional purposes, to act as agents for social justice, highlighting the experiences of the marginalized and questioning narratives that link urbanization and progress.

Family ancestry is another frame for understanding teachers' lived professional identities. Ancestry has significant meaning in Taiwan because it divides people, especially Han people, into two ethnic groups. As I already said in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, people from the southeastern part of China who came to Taiwan before 1949 are seen as Taiwanese ("people native to the island"), compared to people from other parts of China who came to Taiwan after 1949 and who are seen as Chinese ("people not native to the island"). These are the two main "ethnic groups" in Taiwan. These ethnic markers appear to be factors that influence how the participants understood several of the historical events about which they would be asked to teach. For example, Mr. Wu described,

> [Consider the events of] 228. My dad is Chinese [because he] came to Taiwan before 1949. During [the time of 228], one would have expected him to be persecuted, but his Taiwanese friends prevented him from being arrested and killed. My family is part of this history. So, because this event is so close to us, I always ask students to re-tell these past historical episodes and events. I will share articles about this case, but with different perspectives, and not from a political perspective but from a "humanities" perspective. That means I usually ask my students to think about themselves from a human perspective, not as a person who has already been labeled as Taiwanese or Chinese.

According to Mr. Wu, his family ancestry—where his family came from and when his family came to Taiwan—seems to impact how he describes and teaches about historical events.

Family ancestry, as a factor that shapes identity and practices in everyday life, influences how both curricular decision-making and teaching in the classroom. Historical events where the differences between "Chinese" and "Taiwanese" are established are read in ways that attempt to undo these very differences—because of Mr. Wu's own family stories. Family social and economic status also appear to shape the ways teachers think about their professional identities and the purposes of their work. Here we can take the examples of Mrs. Chang and Mrs. Feng, who both immediately shared their family social and economic status with me. Mrs. Chang mentioned that she grew up in a poor family, without much cultural or social resources, a fact which has focused her attention on the importance of local community life. She remembered that,

> I did not grow up in a highly educated family. I remember that my mom just told me to read anything with "words," for example, newspapers and posters. My home was located around a local farmer's market, which was crowded and busy, and we did not have any classical culture or art around us. But I guess that is the reason I have always been attracted to things and people in the local community and of daily life.

Mrs. Chang's family stories of her social and cultural status likely became one of the stimuli for her awareness of current issues. Her experiences, embodied in family, social, and cultural contexts, are part of her personal practical knowledge. Her comments may indicate that they shape her representation of Taiwanese religious and cultural monuments in her class. Like Mr. Hsu, it is rural Taiwan that she seeks to highlight through her teaching.

On the other hand, Mrs. Feng, whose family background substantially differs from Mrs. Cheng's. For example, when I talked to Mrs. Feng, she also mentioned her family social and cultural status, saying:

> My dad was a doctor serving in the military. When he came to Taiwan, he thought Taiwan was a temporary place to live. My dad passed away [when I was young,] which has changed my life. My mom raised four kids on her own and was a nurse. When my dad was still alive, our life was really wealthy, people came to my house all the time. My dad came back once a week during military service and he always gave me one hundred dollars every visit. My mom was from a wealthy family as well. I think my own family has influenced me a lot, especially my mom. For example, when I talk about 2/28, I prefer to highlight "right wing politics" as it relates to this historical event.

In this way, Mrs. Feng's connection to the military and military service—at a time when the military was used to prop up the KMT government)—shapes her sense of who she is as a teacher. When I asked questions related to stories in their life, both Mrs. Chang and Mrs. Feng shared their family stories, then discussed the connection between their family stories and their perspectives of viewing controversial public issues and historical issues in Taiwan. For example, Mrs. Chang shared how she views the controversial public issues- national identity and Japanese colonization, and her representations of these issues, especially Japanese built modern system in Taiwan in order to develop Japanese agriculture and economic growth. Her family stories- family background and family location attribute her views of these issues.

These experiences, embodied as their personal practical knowledge, made them view current and historical issues in Taiwan differently, but also their teaching. For example, they provided me with two different examples of representing historical content in class. Mrs. Chang thought that she paid attention to local culture and historical buildings in local communities because of experiences from her family social and economic status. Mrs. Feng

thought she paid more attention to national documentaries and political history because her childhood experiences within a high status family allowed her chances to interact with people working for the government and military. Both of them not only shared their views of controversial public issues from their family stories but also admitted their teaching of controversial public issues has been influenced their own family stories. For example, Mrs. Chang selected intentionally reading materials and artifacts focusing on local and Taiwanese (native to island) perspectives. In addition, Mrs. Feng chose to follow the previous curriculum guidelines which have emphasis on Chinese identity as a national identity.

Family stories, which intersect with geographic location, ancestry, and social and economic status, shape personal practical knowledge. It leads them to analyze historical events and controversial public issues in Taiwan in very different ways and it shapes how they think about their professional purposes. I will address how these influences inform their teaching and decision-making in greater detail in the next chapter.

Stories of Teacher Preparation

In 1987, the government in Taiwan declared the end of martial law after 38 years in the face of social pressures for freedom and reforms in many aspects of Taiwanese life. In 1994, several educational groups started to create educational reforms to laws, which had not been changed since 1949, that governed textbooks, teacher preparation, curriculum guidelines, and educational policies.

During this time, several groups staged educational protests, advocating for educational changes in national textbooks, the opening of alternative teacher preparation programs, and in the Fundamental Educational Law. Out of these movements, Taiwan endorsed new laws for teacher preparation and the Ministry of Education started to pen alternative teacher preparation

programs in universities. Teachers who graduated after 1994 have had diverse opportunities for professional formation.[6]

Since 1994, teacher preparation, including traditional teacher preparation at normal universities and alternative teacher preparation at non-normal universities, has emerged. This study will not make claims about the impact of either of these forms of professional preparation on practice. Instead, it will focus on the way the year 1994 and the changes it symbolizes are taken up in participant stories about their professional identity and commitments.

In this study, there are six participants, four from alternative teacher preparation programs and two from normal universities. One of my participants, Mrs. Chang, mentioned that teachers of her generation had traditional preparations as history teachers. For example, they all took the same courses in normal universities and they all had a one-year internship in a public school. Their preparation as history teachers included courses on political history, Confucianism, and history teaching methodologies. Teachers such as Mrs. Chang felt that they did not have adequate knowledge to teach controversial issues and so felt some reserve about teaching such topics. Both Mrs. Chang and Mr. Wu saw themselves as "content deliverers" when they graduated from normal universities. However, teachers who had their professional formation after 1994 and graduated from alternative teacher preparation programs, told different stories. As Mr. Chen shared from his personal life experience,

> I have a different background and knowledge because I did not graduate from a traditional teacher preparation program. I have knowledge from my graduate school, which is not a normal university, and I took courses across programs over

[6] The Teacher Cultivation Act (師資培育法) of 1994 was announced and teacher training was liberalized and participation in teacher education by privately-established schools began. Under the new law, teacher training was reformed from planned education to reserve education, from centralized to pluralized, and the structure of teacher education was expanded from normal schools to any university which had passed through ratification and could therefore establish teacher training courses and post-bachelor teaching degree separately, and participate in the training of teachers for schools of senior middle schools and below, as well as kindergartens.

> there. Most importantly, I also met a professor from a multicultural education program. She brought me different knowledge. As I came to graduate school, the professor helped me to learn to analyze social structures. These experiences also pushed me to rethink and adjust myself all the time, even though I have taught in school for several years.

Mr. Chen's experience perceived himself to be different from teachers who graduated from normal universities because he values multiple perspectives within the history curriculum. In this way, teachers such as Mr. Chen construct their professional identity in opposition to the normal universities and traditional teacher preparation. These stories are his justification for the way he analyzes and reconstructs the history curriculum.

As another example, Mr. Wu has been through two different teacher preparation systems: his bachelor's degree was from a traditional teacher preparation program, National Taiwan Normal University, but he expressed that he became more open-minded to the multiple perspectives and knowledge when he began attending a graduate school outside of the normal university. When I asked questions related to his teacher preparations, Mr. Wu mentioned,

> I graduated from National Taiwan Normal University. There was no alternative teacher preparation program during that time so everyone was prepared to be a teacher in normal universities. Peers all had similar interests, knowledge, and career plans . . . We did not have awareness for a lot of things, for example, our content knowledge was relatively weak compared to other university students. I realized this when I attended the graduate school at the other university.

Mr. Wu portrays a picture of disconnection from the outside world related to traditional teacher preparation. In this story, it is only after he attended a graduate program that he felt he had more

time, space, and chances to interact with various people, culture, and contexts.

On the other hand, the three teachers from alternative preparation programs had stronger identification with their own abilities and training. Their stories were more enthusiastic about the possibilities for change. For example, her teaching based on the experiences from her alternative teacher preparation program. Mrs. Chen shared,

> I never expect my students to be like everybody else. I think that might be because I am not from a normal university, I did not expect myself to be a traditional teacher and expect my students to be "good students." I think that is why I get so much positive feedback from my students and why I have believed I was doing the right things since the first day of teaching.

Mrs. Chen clearly differentiated herself from teachers who graduate from traditional teacher preparation programs in normal schools. Part of her personal practical knowledge is the notion that she is a "non-traditional" teacher. This was especially true when she reflected on her teaching of current controversial public issues and her interaction with students. In her interview, Mrs. Chen shared that when she was facing debates about several controversial public issues discussed in the textbooks, she chose to talk about the purposes of learning history in K-12. Instead of discussing on the controversial public issues, she invited students to think about the ideology of the national curriculum and have higher order thinking of these issues. Indeed, Mrs. Chen, Mr. Chen, and Mr. Hsu all graduated from alternative teacher preparation programs and they all identified themselves as teachers who are not traditional. Stories about the significance of such alternative programs are part of their explanation for why they teach the way they do.

Stories of Childhood and Student Years

While family stories and stories of childhood certainly overlap, this section of the chapter highlights the stories of childhood and student years teachers shared. It focuses in particular on generational memory and cultural influence- Confucianism as factors to professional identity and practice.

Six teachers shared their general memories as embodied in their generation and historical events in Taiwan from 1960 to 2000—events that have been, in particular ways, informing teachers' life experiences and self-identities. These six teachers grew up during in different generations in Taiwan: Mrs. Chang and Mrs. Feng grew up in 1960-1970, while Mr. Wu and Mr. Hsu grew up in 1970-1980, and have been through the Abolishment of Martial Law in 1987[7] which created a special atmosphere. Finally, Mr. Chen and Mrs. Chen grew up in 1980-1990. When I asked about their life stories, they provided stories related to historical events in Taiwan that have become a part of their childhood memories. For example, Mr. Wu gave talked about Taiwanese society during white terror, from 1949 to 1987 (the period of martial law that lasted for 38 years). He shared,

> I grew up in Kaohsiung. The Kaohsiung Incident, also known as the Formosa Incident, and the Meilidao Incident, or the Formosa Magazine Incident, were the result of pro-democracy demonstrations that occurred in Kaohsiung, Taiwan on December 10, 1979. This happened when I was a middle school student. I remember, the principal in the middle school seriously warned us not to get involved in the incident. And, during that time, everything we read was examined

[7] In 1949, the Governor of Taiwan, Chen Cheng, promulgated the "Order of Martial Law" to announce the imposition of Taiwan martial law, which lasted until July 15, 1987. Taiwan was under martial law for more than 38 years, during which time a series of regulations were promulgated by the ROC government, including the *Regulations to prevent unlawful assembly, association, procession, petition, strike under martial law*, the *Measures to regulate newspapers, magazines and book publication under the martial law* and the *Regulations for the punishment of rebellions*.

> and checked by teachers. I remember I read the book, *The True Story of Ah Q,*[8] and I was warned and forbidden from reading this.

Mr. Wu's discussion of his childhood memory suggests that this memory influenced his understanding of historical events, which he was later able to revise as he developed as a teacher.

Regard to stories shared by participants in the study, childhood memories occurring during certain events rooted a general memory for teachers who grew up in the same generation. For example, Mr. Wu and Mr. Hsu both grew up in the period of the end of Martial Law, 1980-1990, and they shared the same general memory of historical events in Taiwan that has potentially influenced the way of their representation of certain historical events, for example, *White Terror* in Taiwan.

As might be expected, it is not only during k-12 schooling that teachers form their memories—that is, the way in which personal and social narratives interact, overlap, and connect. This also happened during university. These narratives compel awareness of historical events and social issues and they have led teachers to put awareness into action—civic engagement inside and outside of the classroom. For example, when I asked the questions related to participants' life experiences, Mr. Hsu shared,

> When I was a college student, I took some graduate school courses, for example, "Taiwanese Modern History." We read the book, *New China*. One of my classmates, Mr. Liau, went to Japan and talked about some of these new ideas of China from

[8] The story traces the "adventures" of Ah Q, a man from the rural peasant class with little education and no definite occupation. Ah Q is famous for "spiritual victories." Ah Q is a bully to the less fortunate but fearful of those who are above him in rank, strength, or power. He persuades himself mentally that he is spiritually "superior" to his oppressors even as he succumbs to their tyranny and suppression. Lu Xun exposes Ah Q's extreme faults as symptomatic of the Chinese national character of his time. The ending of the piece – when Ah Q is carted off to execution for a minor crime – is equally poignant and satirical.

> that time. But when he went back, he was arrested by our government. This gave me a shock. One of the professors, Dr. Da-Wei Fu, started to protest and asked for Mr. Liau's release. That ended in Mr. Liau being released after Dr. Fu's protest. Another example is the 1990 Wild Lily Student Movement(野百合學運)..Maybe [because] I witnessed some successful examples, I believe that if we do something, we can make some changes.

Mr. Hsu's life experiences, especially related to changes of social and cultural context, became a cornerstone for his critical awareness of controversial public issues.

More importantly, though, Mr. Hsu's life experiences have influenced his daily life, and further, his professional identity and practice. For example, Mr. Hsu's Facebook posts illustrate that his life experiences have deeply developed his critical awareness of social issues and his level of civic engagement. Mr. Hsu's students, with his encouragement, have participated in many different civic and student movements over the years. In addition, his Facebook photos show that his students have made commitments to civic engagement and civic movements with Mr. Hsu himself. For example, some of his students participated in the 2015 *History Curriculum Guidelines Reform*[9] and the 2014 *Sunflower Student Movement*[10] in Taiwan.

In addition, Mrs. Chang and Mr. Chen shared similar experiences growing up, in that they both were from laboring families, without social and cultural capital yet grew up among highly educated and wealthy families during their schooling. In addition, their growing up contexts also provided the Confucianism culture that students have been taught to be modest children

[9] The 2015 *History Curriculum Guidelines Reform* movement involved the Ministry of Education being stormed by Anti Black Box Movement protesters. Essentially, it was a series of protests arguing against adjustments in the 2015 History Curriculum Guidelines, which adjusted the proportion of Chinese History, the importance of Chinese History after 1949 in Taiwan, and Chinesealization.

[10] The *Sunflower Student Movement* is associated with a protest movement driven by a coalition of students and civic groups that came to a head on March 18 and April 10, 2014, in the Legislative Yuan. The activists protested the passing of the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) by the ruling party Kuomintan (KMT) at the legislature without clause-by-clause review.

who respect and be loyal to teachers, seniors, government in the society. Mr. Chen and Mrs. Chang's narratives both highlighted their sense that they have received unfair treatment in schools and have been oppressed under the hierarchy of teacher power during their schooling years. These lived injustices and unfair experiences seem to be the reasons that make them feel isolated for a long time, and then, subsequently, they wanted to become teachers who seek justice and fairness for all students, inside and outside of classrooms. For example, Mrs. Chang reflected,

> My teacher asked me to yield the top title for another kid (the teacher' kid). Can you believe that I remember the thing after almost 40 years? That has influenced me a lot. I think this is the main reason that I try to treat my students equally. I always reflect on my own teaching and myself, how to be a teacher, and treat everyone equally. In addition, equity means that I do different things for different kids. For example, I have a kid with autism in class and I acted differently for him. But other kids cannot accept what I did for the kid. For example, I gave him extra time and credit for assignments, especially when they are under the pressure of tests. Equality and equity are things I have really addressed during my thirty years of teaching.

For Mrs. Chang, childhood memories are deeply rooted into her expectation for herself and her attitude towards students. In addition, Confucianism is another influence displayed through out Mrs. Chang's teaching. Across stories of family background, generation stories, and stories of teacher preparation, it is especially experiences related to learning and treatment during their childhood, stories and Confucianism culture that have been developed as part of the body of their life.

Further, beyond the classroom level, formative life experiences of unfair treatment and

unjust events seem to be factors that encourage teachers to move forward to the national level of Taiwanese society. Mr. Chen is another example of a teacher who has experienced unfair treatment from teachers when he was a middle school student. Mr. Chen acknowledged that this storied experience has pushed him to value the exploration of more people's stories and the hearing of more people's voices when he became a teacher. For example, when I ask Mr. Chen about this, he not only shared his life experiences but also pointed out how he valued them. Mr. Chen shared,

> My home located in Chu Chin new village is a place filled with higher governors, they are all [non-native Chinese]. Schools divided students into "high" and "low" achievement categories but also consider students' family backgrounds. It was obvious that teachers treated us differently, my teacher always told us that your friend is so-and-so's son, with the highest title. You have to be nice kids, and not disturb your friends' studying. When I rethink my life, that is the big reason why I really care about fairness and social justice. It helps me to think about my teaching too.

According Mr. Chen's experience, he made connections between his life experiences and his mode of interaction with students.

In addition, during the observation of Mr. Chen's class, I saw him sharing his life experiences with his students. After the observation, Mr. Chen reflected that he did that because he knew that this difference led him to explore the other side of stories as well as unheard voices with his students. He felt that students needed to understand this, instead of only learning the knowledge in textbooks.

In this section, I have shown the connection between family stories, stories of teacher

preparation, and stories of schooling and teachers' professional commitments—curriculum decision making and representation of certain issues in Taiwan. I have described teachers' personal practical knowledge base and gotten glimpses into how the family and schooling stories are used by teachers as examples of their understanding of the issues they teach, potentially providing grounds for their instructional choices and decisions.

Personal practical knowledge—narrative restricted and embodied in the daily life is an approach to understanding teacher curricular-instructional making. It does not deny that there is a common knowledge base for teaching. Rather, it supplements that picture by looking at the factors that are idiosyncratic to each individual. Professional beliefs are rooted in personal experiences, personal beliefs, and personal values (Brookfield, 1995; Clandinin & Connelly, 1987, 1996; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993). Teacher professional beliefs can perhaps best be seen in everyday practice. When I asked participants questions related to their professional beliefs, they did not provide me with much of substance. But, when I asked a series of questions related to their life experiences, participants gave me examples that are illuminating—the stories that we have seen in this chapter.

Mr. Hsu, we have seen, mentioned the importance of "civic engagement" when he shared his memories and experiences. Mr. Chen focused on social justice as he gave stories related his life. Mr. Wu explored the "humanities" in light of his life stories. Given the attention to each participant's professional beliefs, this chapter has highlighted how teachers expressed their perspectives of current issues in Taiwan through the lens of their personal stories and experiences. This, of course, carries over into stories of their practice. For example, Mr. Chen shared,

> [As I grew into the profession], I started to do different things in my class, for example, I displayed films about social justice issues, for example, gay marriage,

> the death penalty (蘇建和命案), and labor strike. Parents think these are controversial issues and they don't want me to teach this to their kids. Parents don't want their kids talking about these issues, they did not see the value of talking about these. I have been talking about these, however, because I think our kids need to learn "social care," being aware of social justice issues and caring about people around them.

Social justice narratives emerge out of Mr. Chen's life experiences. He not only analyzed current issues in Taiwan through the lens of his personal beliefs, but he also

drew upon his personal beliefs in his teaching and curriculum. His story is reflective of the other participants in this study.

Stories of Learning from Practice

The previous section focused on the personal foundations for professional beliefs. These are clearly important and a major focus of this chapter. However, it would be wrong to limit teacher professional identity and practice to purely personal and individual sources. In this section, I take up the way participants storied their learning in and through professional practice. These experiences are different from those described in the previous section because they are based on teachers' reflection on their years of teaching and everyday teaching practice.

Experience with frequent reform. When teachers have been teaching more years, they also have more experience with the many history curriculum reforms of the past 25 years. Mr. Wu and Mrs. Chang shared that they both grew professionally by teaching different versions of the history curriculum—versions based on changing guidelines that impacted curricular goals, required content knowledge, the proportion of Taiwanese History, Chinese History, and

World History, and the overall framework of the history curriculum. Based on their experiences of teaching under different curriculum guidelines, they started to explore new areas of knowledge—ones which they had not learned from teacher education programs.

For example, the curriculum reform in 2006,[11] which replaced the traditional chronological framework with a topical framework, caused confusion among many teachers. However, some teachers viewed these changes positively. For example, as Mr. Wu mentioned,

> Frequent history curriculum reforms have impacted our teaching a lot. For example, the reforms in 1999 and 2005 that came along with the changes in the political parties. The goals and the content of curriculum were different, not only with more new content that many teachers did not know, but also with some different ideological influences. For example, there is no mention of national identity in the new curriculum and there is a lesser proportion of Chinese History. I did teach differently based on these changes, but, overall, I see the changes as positive to my teaching, I have more space to adjust my own teaching and to learn different knowledge.

From Mr. Wu's perspective, his years of teaching provided him with opportunities to interact with many different versions of the history curriculum—but also helped him to grow. For Mr. Wu, his years teaching have prepared him to have a better attitude towards the new changes but also have developed him as a teacher who is willing to reflect on his knowledge and teaching, and further, to take on the challenges from new changes.

---

[11] The 1996 History Curriculum Guidelines Reform, added a larger proportion of Taiwanese History, used a "topic" focus in the 12th grade, added new topics for 12th grade history, including Tea Culture, Chinese Medicine, Taoist Religion, and so on. Most importantly, the mission of this history curriculum was recognized as the act of "Taiwaneseliation".

Experience with new sources of knowledge. In my previous research about teachers' knowledge for teaching controversial public issues in Taiwan, I found that teachers across generations seem to rely heavily on "official knowledge"—knowledge learned from higher authority associations, such as teacher preparation programs and state-sponsored professional development. The knowledge provided by such professional development has become an important stimulation for teachers' knowledge development.

For example, when I asked the question about current teachers' teaching about controversial public issues, one participant, Mr. Chen, said,

> History teachers in Taiwan still rely on the subject matter knowledge that they learned from their teacher preparation and professional development programs. I have participated in a PD program for high school history teachers for a couple years. Teachers in the PD program are from many generations, from 22-year-old teachers, who have just graduated from universities, to 50-year-old teachers, who have more than 25 years of experience. The interesting part is that teachers across age groups significantly . . . look for "historical facts" and "truths." In addition, they also look for more resources and official materials related to controversial issues.

Mr. Chen has been in charge of several professional development programs, and based on his experiences, he believes teachers reach out for more subject matter knowledge about controversial issues, and this content knowledge has been constructed by "official" sources. However, in this study, I want to stress the agency with which teachers, as curricular-instructional gatekeepers, approach such "official knowledge" —various professional development programs have created a stimulus that develops teachers' professional identification and personal values. Though this teacher's work was guided by

official sources, other teacher's stressed their individual decisions to teach controversial issues. For example, Mrs. Chen shared,

> Teachers should explore their knowledge as much as possible. I think it's ideal, for example, I host a history teacher professional development club every Saturday, but few people came to join. I will keep trying it and let more teachers know about the PD and study clubs. I and my professor, Dr. Chou, have been trying to do more for teachers, but in reality, it is really hard. I think as a teacher, we should explore knowledge and the world as we can. But I know most teachers aren't ready or motivated to learn new content.

According to Mrs. Chen, she recognized her lack of knowledge when she started to teach at Taichung Senior High School, so she chose to continue her studies in a history Ph.D. program and has been joining different PD programs. And further, she has voluntarily hosted a PD program that focuses on history education with newer perspectives, rethinking history content and pedagogy. In a class since the summer of 2015, she identified herself not only as a history teacher but also as a life-long learner, always open-minded and willing to learn. For Mrs. Chen, the experiences of joining and hosting professional development programs not only developed her own professional knowledge but further, helped her craft an identify in opposition to her colleagues—she saw herself as a "stranger" in classrooms, one who is critically aware, learning to learn, learning to teach, and helping herself and others to see afresh inside and outside of the classroom.

Regard the professional learning experiences from Mr. Chen and Mrs. Chen, these learning experiences provided them the opportunities to explore their epistemology of knowledge and teaching of controversial public issues. For example, controversial public issues—national identity and sovereignty have been argued in the curriculum guidelines

reform since 2015, Mr. Chen and Mrs. Chen both shared their own understandings and their action in terms of reconstructing curriculum guidelines with their students and colleagues and joining the protests with their students.

Experience with inspirational colleagues. For Mrs. Chen, collegial influences appear to be important factors that shape teachers' personal practical knowledge. In terms of collegial influence, teachers' dialogue, shared resources, teaching atmosphere, and subject matter meetings have constructed teachers' personal practical knowledge and professional identity. For example, when I asked questions about teaching controversial public issues, Mrs. Chen expressed how she is influenced by her colleagues, Mr. Hsu and Mr. Chen. Mrs. Chen shared,

> This is a very good school. My colleagues, for example, Mr. Hsu and Mr. Chen, influence me a lot and I push myself to explore more issues. I think my colleagues make me think more and have more dialogue with students. For example, some of my students interviewed many other senior students, who graduated from this high school and are studying in universities now. During the interviews, these senior students kept mentioning Mr. Hsu and Mr. Chen, and kept describing what these two teachers have brought to them and how they taught things beyond content knowledge. For example, one student mentioned that Mr. Hsu told them about educational reforms in the UK, what the rationale for the educational reform is, and did a comparison of Taiwanese and UK educational reforms. These students have been influenced by these two teachers. They made a commitment to democratic engagement in the later years. I would like to be this kind of teacher in the future.

Mrs. Chen's story shows that she regards collegial influence as an important factor in shaping

how she sees herself as a history teacher and in pushing her to rethink her responsibilities. For example, she says that she now likes to explore issues beyond what is written in the textbooks and national curriculum guidelines; she says she also likes to stimulate students' critical thinking and discussion ability.

In addition, Mrs. Chen made a comparison between traditional teachers and teachers who make a commitment to civic engagement and controversial public issues teaching—for example, her colleagues Mr. Chen and Mr. Hsu. The contrast caused her to realize what kind of teacher she wanted to be and what kind of knowledge and values she wanted to bring to her students. The conception of the role being teachers has been constructed in the society—as Confucius addressed, teachers ask themselves to be modest, modeling their students to be modest, respectful, and following the social order in the society. However, in this study, Mrs. Chen shared her reconstruction of being a teacher, indeed, collegial influences have become a dynamic power, pushing her to see herself as a teacher who can impact students positively and promote civic engagement inside and outside of schools.

Experience as readers and thinkers. Teachers' continued reading and thinking shapes how they see themselves. In this study, there are two participants who are studying in Ph.D. programs—Mrs. Chen, who is studying History, and Mr. Chen, who is studying Psychology— that have brought them different ways to identify themselves, and further value their own professional knowledge. For example, when I asked the questions about teaching controversial public issues, Mrs. Chen reflected on her learning in her Ph.D. program. Mrs. Chen mentioned,

> I like to address what they are learning, for example: "whose knowledge?" "Whose histories have been written on our textbooks?" I did that because I have been influenced by Dr. Chou a lot (Mrs. Chen's advisor), he taught me how to

> teach history, how to explain perspectives and how to be aware of the ideological side of history. Before, I just talked about historical description and facts, but now, I like to explore perspectives. I have been rethinking my teaching and knowledge since I started the Ph.D. program and I am glad that I am working with Dr. Chou.

Mrs. Chen has explored her knowledge base for teaching by dialoguing with others outside of the K-12 teaching field, for example, her advisor, Dr. Chou, and her friends in universities. Indeed, Mr. Chen and Mrs. Chen regard these continued learning experiences as factors that made them to think about the connection between themselves and their teaching.

For instance, similar to Mrs. Chen's reflection, Mr. Chen made the choice of coming back to a Ph.D. program. He took temporary leave for two years to do field research. Through viewing his Facebook posts, I saw the way he shares reflections on the "two sides of himself": one is representing a teacher in a social studies classroom and one is representing a researcher in the field, observing what is happening in the world.

For example, in one of Mr. Chen's Facebook posts, he wrote;

> Having left the position for half a year, I feel like I am missing something because I am not teaching, but I also have learned a lot outside of school. People always make things complex, like me, debating on both sides. One part of me is trying to be free and to get away from teaching; another part is missing the everyday practice in a real classroom. I know I am feeling isolated because there are no chances to practice the thoughts and theories. But, the only thing for sure now is that I need to read Derrida and Foucault for this week's paper. (Doctoral course assignment)

Based on Mr. Chen's reflection, being free and getting away from teaching means he has

been trying to bring more “unwritten” stories and perspectives to his class—stories and perspectives which are not fully suggested in the centralized curriculum standards, the conservative school culture, and the structured schooling system in Taiwan. In addition, the chance to study in a Ph.D. program allows him the chance to think about the gap between practice and theory. Further, the opportunity also allows him to think about the different roles he plays as a doctoral student in a Ph.D. program and as a teacher at a senior high school. For Mr. Chen, the knowledge learned in the Ph.D. program is conceptual work—theory-based knowledge which is different from what he has been learning and doing as a teacher. For Mr. Chen, he shared that this gap between theory and practice has provided him a chance to rethink the different roles he plays in these two fields and confronts him with the need to craft a professional identity that is responsive to both.

After his Facebook post, Mr. Chen gave a speech at a PD meeting at Taichung Senior High School. The topic of the speech was “Creating History: Seeing the Action, Structure, and Changes via Social Science Theories” (創造歷史-社會理論中的行動、結構與變遷). His speech demonstrated how he brings what he has learned in his Ph.D. program back to his colleagues, creating more possibilities and perspectives for his colleagues and a new role for himself as a teacher leader and knowledge constructor.

In his interviews, Mr. Chen shared his interpretation of controversial public issues, he explored the contexts to understand causes and consequences of issues. For example, after he started the Ph.D. program, he thinks about the relationship between the PRC and Taiwan 1960 from a broader perspective—global view. The means, he explored the 1960 Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1968 French Students Movement, and 1960 Taiwanese Land Rearrangement at the same time. Then, he outlined the world view contexts for students to understand the controversial public issue—the relationship between Taiwan and the PRC

within a broader context, beyond national boundaries.

The Connection Between the Layers of Meaning of Teacher Personal Practical Knowledge and Teacher Professional Identity

In this chapter, we have seen the constitutions of teacher personal practical knowledge. That includes stories from family, life experiences, teacher preparation, and experiences from practice, for example, experiences from frequent curriculum reforms, new resources and knowledge, inspirational colleagues, and as readers and thinkers. Teacher personal practical knowledge is a broad concept based on the findings in this chapter which influences teachers' teaching and representation of controversial public issues in classrooms. According to the findings in this chapter, it is clear that teacher personal practical knowledge is the intersection of self, family, and society (Clandinin & Connelly, 1987, 1996), and further, is a reflection of the experiences from teachers' practices and daily life. The intersection emerges from teachers' life experiences, local culture- Confucianism, and global view influences. And, in this study, self-reflection seems to shape teachers' teaching, professional commitment, and further, possibly, their curricular-instructional decision making.

In this chapter, the data has characterized each teacher individually and shown that each teacher has his/her own personal practical knowledge and it appears to influence their professional identity and commitment. That means, there is a connection between the personal level and professional level in this study. Teachers' personal practical knowledge is not only about teachers' personal stories and personal belief, but in this study, the data shows that teachers attributed their views about controversial issues to their personal life experiences. In addition, the data in this study also shows that the intersection of teachers themselves, family, and society has been confirmed: teachers' personal practical knowledge has emerged of place, people, and objectives in the past, present, and future, and that have

influenced their curricular-instructional decisions. In other words, teachers' personal practical knowledge is not only related to teachers themselves, but rather that every teacher's stories ensue within multiple contexts and time periods.

This study was conducted in narrative interviews, observation, and documentary and artifacts analysis. In particular, data collected by narrative interviews has presented teachers' personal knowledge represented in teachers' professional practice; in the context of this study, I refer to professional practice specifically as their teaching and rationale for deciding curricular-instructional decisions. As a recent research approach, many scholars started to value teacher's own biography—specifically, teaching as a form of personal knowledge, a personal knowledge rooted in personal experience, beliefs, and values (Brookfield, 1995; Clandinin & Connelly, 1987, 1996; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993).

In past research, the research tends to focus has been on teachers' planning, teacher interactive thoughts and decisions, and teachers guiding theories and beliefs (Clark & Peterson, 1986). Based on findings of this study, teacher personal practical knowledge attribute teachers' curricular decision making to their personal life experiences, especially for teaching controversial public issues. In order to explore teachers' life experiences as revealed in their present mind and body and future plan and actions (Clandinin & Connelly, 1988, 1999; Clark, 2001; Ross, Cornett, & McCutcheon, 1992), this study utilized the "interpretive" approach, exploring teachers' stories in the past, present, and future.

In addition, how teachers explore their own personal practical knowledge and how they define the personal practical knowledge are debated and provide contested approaches from the past research. Some researchers explore teacher personal practical knowledge by narrative and ethnographic study (Clandinin & Connelly, 1988); but some researchers have chosen to focus on subject matter and pedagogical knowledge so that teachers will be able to

apply the findings into their practice (Walker, 2003). However, this study found that teachers attributed their self-reflection to their personal practical knowledge, including family stories, life stories, and teacher preparation. As Clandinin & Connelly (1996) and Dinkelman (1997) pointed out, based on self-study and critical reflection, teachers might come to possess rich and varied ideas, interacting with their own beliefs about teaching within social contexts, then deliberately and consciously constructing or reconstructing a more sophisticated personal knowledge of teaching. For example, in Mr. Chen and Mr. Hsu's Facebook posts, they reflect on their own thinking and teaching, and further, they reconstruct their knowledge inside and outside of classrooms; they have been working on civic engagement and social changes. Facebook posts like their own self-study— critically reflecting the knowledge and practice, and implementing their own beliefs about teaching within social contexts. In this study, the main way I explored teacher's personal practical knowledge and experiences was through listening to and recording their self-told stories, which connected to teachers' past experiences, reflected their present practice, and further, encouraged their future civic engagement.

Chapter Summary

In sum, we have seen how stories from family histories, teacher preparation, and schooling appear to construct teachers' professional commitments, and in a different layer, we have seen how teachers' stories of learning from practice have been connected to their professional practice. Given the teachers' data, we have seen teachers explain their teaching choices by making references to their personal practical knowledge. Personal practical knowledge is an approach to understanding teacher professional knowledge: professional beliefs, professional identity, and professional commitment. In the next chapter, this study explores the connection between teachers' personal practical knowledge with many layers and

teacher' curricular-instructional decision making. Further, the study approaches curricular-instructional gatekeeping in social studies classrooms, especially for teaching controversial public issues. Lastly, in the next chapter, the study investigates the possibilities and imagination of teachers' practice of controversial public issues.

In the next chapter, I will explore how teachers make curricular decisions and represent the curriculum in their classroom. Further, I will discuss the possibility of teaching based on their personal practical knowledge—family stories, stories of teacher preparation, and stories of childhood.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this chapter, I provide examples of teachers' curricular-instructional gatekeeping—as well as possibility of cultivating imagination through their controversial public issues teaching.

As we saw in an earlier chapter, Maxine Greene's 1973 book, *Teacher as Stranger*, developed the concept of the teacher as a stranger to help teachers think about taking a stranger's vantage point on everyday reality in order to look inquiringly and wonderingly at the world in which they and their students live (Greene, 1973). In this chapter, I explore strategies of teachers' *releasing* the possibility of *imagination* (two concepts Greene discusses at length) while teaching controversial public issues in Taiwanese social studies classrooms.

This way of viewing "Asian social studies" is at direct odds with the way in which the research literature has tended to portray the topic (Ho, 2010; Misco, 2011, 2013, 2016). My wish is to challenge the portrayal of "Asian social studies" teaching as test-driven and authoritarian—a point I will return to in the conclusion of this dissertation. While I recognize that my participants are unique in their positions (experienced teachers at top Taiwanese high schools), my goal is to release our collective imagination about what is possible for social studies teachers not just in Taiwan, but across the globe.

Greene asserts the importance of looking inquiringly and wonderingly at the world and I argue that requires both critical and authentic choosing. The teachers in this study demonstrate ways of critical thinking and authentic choosing, about both helping one's self and others see the world afresh. In particular, when teaching controversial issues *as strangers*, these teachers' curricular-instructional decisions create certain possibilities inside and outside of the classroom. These possibilities include:

1) teachers as citizens who are involved in the public world,

2) teachers who take responsibility for decision-making by choosing important curricular topics,

3) teachers who are seeking practices that releases the imagination—for the imagination is the one thing that permits us to give credence to alternative realities (Greene, 1995). I shall discuss each of these three possibilities in this chapter.

In this chapter, then, I describe how participant teachers choose curriculum resources and develop instructional strategies that release a sense of collective imagination. I will do this by putting my three themes of imaginative teaching into dialogue with two concrete strategies employed by the participants in this study: 1) Teaching Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan and 2) Decentering the exam-centric and curriculum-centric classroom space.

Curriculum Resources: Wanting to Teach Taiwan without Teaching about Taiwan

Given the reality of the strained and divisive social, cultural, and historical contexts of Taiwan, teaching history is a difficult—but imperative—task. Based on the interview data and observation notes, this study found that teachers sought *to teach Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan* as they teach history in their classrooms. *Wanting to teach Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan* is a conception I see the teachers embodying in their classroom curriculum gatekeeping: they want to teach about Taiwan's history without teaching from rigid and unimaginative ideological perspectives. To do this, they often bring in other historical times and places, in this way, "suggesting" to students the Taiwanese comparison. This approach to dealing with controversial public issues is not new to the field of social studies research. For example, Barton & McCully (2012) mentioned that Northern Ireland is widely recognized as an area in which competing historical perspectives have significant

contemporary relevance. Marches, demonstrations, memorials, public artwork, political rhetoric, and even graffiti make frequent use of past events to justify contemporary positions or to bolster a sense of identity (usually defined in sectarian terms) and symbols of these competing histories are prominently displayed in the classroom (Buckley & Kenney, 1995; Jarman, 1998; McBride, 1997; Walker, 1996).

One of the goals of the curriculum was to provide an alternative to the presumably partisan and sectarian histories that students encountered outside school. The desire to provide narratives alternative to centralized curricular content about controversial issues is similarly present in Taiwanese teachers. This section, then, explores a number of ways in which teachers attempt to talk about Taiwan without directly using Taiwanese historical events: for example, by using Western literature, other historical events as comparisons, and by using other people's eyes to read others' stories.

Using Western Literature

As we saw in Chapter Four, the six teachers in this study embodied diverse and contrasting collective memories of historical events in Taiwan from 1960 – 2000, events that have, in particular ways, formulated their life experiences and professional identity. This, in turn, has shaped their rationale for *wanting to teach Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan.*

As previously discussed in Chapter Four, Mr. Wu grew up in the period at the end of Martial Law, between 1980 and 1990. Mr. Wu's life experiences influenced his understanding of historical events, which he was later able to revise as he developed as a teacher. When I asked him the question, "can you describe your current teaching and what you have changed from your first years of teaching," Mr. Wu shared,

> I grew up in the period of the end of Martial Law, when we were instilled with a

particular political ideology. In addition, my wife is from a traditional Taiwanese family, so my father-in-law is the one reading a lot of *Tangwai*[12] books. We talked about a lot of different issues. I felt that we have conflicts between the Taiwanese and the Chinese in our society because we did not touch issues and try to understand each other. (Maybe we went through the *White Terror* in my family, but we did not talk about that a lot). In my class, I use the French story, *The Last Class* (*La Dernière Classe*)[13] to address the concept of a nation. I know talking about how to create a country and an ideology of nationalism could be used by teachers, as people with high authority, to manipulate students. But I tell my students identity is about personal life experiences. So, I would like to talk about how immigration and post-colonialism is connected to Taiwanese historical development.

Based on Mr. Wu's experiences—his family's story was part of *2/28*, he witnessed the White Terror in the 1970s and 1980s, and he has been through the period of the end of Martial Law—he has come to understand the ideological perspectives embedded in the historical content of the curriculum.

Therefore, when he faces controversies in Taiwan—national identity, sovereignty, and the conflict between the PRC and Taiwan—he made the decision to develop students' self identity (instead of national identity), to focus on *understanding* the conflict between the Taiwanese

[12] The Tangwai Movement (Chinese: 黨外; dǎngwài; literally, "outside the party") was a political movement in the Republic of China in the mid-1970's and early 1980's. Although the Kuomintang had allowed contested elections for a small number of seats in Legislative Yuan, opposition parties were still forbidden. As a result, many opponents of the Kuomintang, officially classified as independents, ran and were elected as members "outside the party."

[13] *The Last Class* is a book about national identity. It was published as part of Daudet's *Lettres de Mon Moulin* ("Letters From My Mill"). The story is set in Alsace. It describes a French teacher telling his class that, given the German occupation of the province, he was being replaced and that this will be the last day that their class will be taught in the French language. An indifferent schoolboy comes to class on the last day that instruction will be given in French. The schoolmaster's praise of the French language and literature awaken a belated patriotism and love of French in this errant but goodhearted pupil.

and Chinese instead of *emphasizing* the conflict between Taiwanese and Chinese. In addition, he claimed to use the narrative *The Last Class (La Dernière Classe)* to explain the complications of identification instead of talking about the necessity of building a country or building boundaries between countries (though it certainly can be said the French story takes a decidedly pro-French, patriotic view of the Prussian occupation).

Mr. Wu's statement indicates that he aimed to teach current issues and historical events in Taiwan without directly addressing controversial content about Taiwan. For instance, he claimed to develop students' self identity instead of national identity, and in other classes, he made the decision to teach about other national contexts instead of talking about the Taiwanese context directly (his success in carrying out this strategy is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study). In a later interview, he admitted that he would prefer to avoid being labeled by students as a teacher with a particular ideology and political preference.

Mr. Hsu is another example of a teacher who used various curriculum resources to *teach Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan*. Mr. Hsu shared,

> I and my students read Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night,* which talks about an American family. I use this book to talk about our family stories, relationships, communication with parents, and our reflection on these topics. For example, my students often advocate for Taiwanese independence, but their fathers and grandfathers are Chinese ["not native to the island"], and have totally different opinions about this topic. After reading this book, I ask them to have conversations with their fathers and grandfathers.

Mr. Hsu aimed to create a unique possibility for students' learning. For example, by reading this book, he hoped students would not only learn about having communication across

generations, but also might have more understanding about their own family history. In addition, this interview found that Mr. Hsu was aware of how ethnic and national issues color family relationships.

In sum, Mr. Wu and Mr. Hsu show us two possibilities—in this case, through the use of western literature—to explore current issues and historical events in Taiwan without directly addressing controversial content about Taiwan. While these two teachers' choice of texts have distinct affordances when it comes to thinking through the status of Taiwan, it is nonetheless the case that they allow teachers to go on teaching political content in a way that does not directly raise questions about the future of Taiwan. The image of neutrality is, it would appear, maintained.

Using Other Historical Events as Comparison

Because of wanting to teach Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan, some participants have chosen to use other historical events as a comparison for teaching controversial public issues. For example, Mr. Wu talked about civic engagement and student movements, but used the history of the 1960s student movement in the U.S. to elaborate upon the meaning of civic engagement and student movements. He later made the connection between student movements in the U.S. and civic action on the streets in Taiwan, which safely brought up possibilities for students' learning about their own national context.

For example, when I asked questions related to his practice of teaching about controversial public issues, he responded,

> [When I teach the 1960s], I let my students watch the documentary film *The Sixties*. By talking about this, I connected to the 2014 *Sunflower Student*

> *Movement*[14] in Taiwan. During the economic agreement with the PRC last year, I was a teacher, but also an administrator. I used a film about the 1960's to talk about the responsibility of protest leaders. I asked students what their arguments and statements were for protesting the economic agreement. I asked them to think about what their responsibility is. In the film, there are some student movements and protests, and leaders have reflected on their own actions and responsibilities.

In Mr. Wu's examples, he indicated the connection between the content in the curriculum, for example, the 1960s in America, and a current issue, for example, the Sunflower Student Movement in Taiwan.

These two historical events happened in different time periods and in different social and national contexts, but were both led by students (at least in part) and spread out through the whole country. During the interviews, Mr. Wu shared how he made this comparison intentionally because he liked to remind students of the consequences and responsibilities for advocating a movement. By using other historical events as a comparison, he crystallized opportunities for students' learning by bringing together current issues and past historical events in two different contexts—which he felt allowed students to be less emotionally involved regarding their own personal backgrounds or emotions. This also allowed him to claim to be teaching one topic—the 1960's—while in reality teaching another: a current Taiwanese social movement.

Later in the interview, Mr. Wu also shared with me his plans for the future, and said he would like to spend more time on *228*—focusing on a humanities perspective on this event

---

14 The Sunflower Student Movement is a protest movement driven by a coalition of students and civic groups that came to a head on March 18 and April 10, 2014, in the Legislative Yuan. The activists protested the passing of the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) by the ruling party Kuomintang (KMT) at the legislature without clause-by-clause review.

by not just repeating the sadness in the past. Ironically, his examples for avoiding the "sadness in the past" was to examine the Armenian and Rwandan genocides. This might seem like an absurd choice, but it is clear that these events will most likely have a very different emotional resonance for his students—despite the obvious human suffering involved in these events.

Another example is Mr. Chen, who has chosen other historical events as a comparison point in his class. Mr. Chen shared,

> The rationale for me to talk about or not talk about the relationship between Taiwan and the PRC is that I don't want to talk about a single perspective. If I teach this lesson in my class, there are no debates and dialogues from different perspectives. I would rather not talk about the lesson, even though it is written in the curriculum guidelines. In addition, I also choose specific moments to talk about particular issues, and these lessons I choose might be edited differently from curriculum guidelines and textbooks. For example, I talk about the student movement in Paris, France, in 1968, as I teach about the 1960's Cultural Revolution in China. By talking about these two specific events in the 1960's, I ask students to think about the land rearrangement policy in Taiwan. The 1968 student movement, the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and the 1960's Taiwanese Land Rearrangement policy were organized in three different semesters and also in three different history courses (World history, Chinese history and Taiwanese history). But, by using the broader view of talking about historical events connecting Taiwan and the PRC, I make opportunities for students to see the Cultural Revolution and Taiwanese land rearrangement from different perspectives.

In this way, Mr. Chen makes his curricular-instructional decisions by also using other historical events as a comparison.

Of all the examples thus described, Mr. Chen's example may be the most sophisticated. He does not just "build out" to the contemporary Taiwanese context by making a historical text or event relevant. Instead, he takes three separate events, which are normally taught in three separate courses, and brings them together, thereby hoping to infuse questions into students' minds. This pedagogy aimed to direct students' viewing historical events in a broader perspective—not just from a specific time period and a national context—which might help students to understand specific historical events way beyond a certain meaning. His example shows us the limitations in some of the other approaches and the importance of course labels—"world" history, "Chinese" history and "Taiwanese" history—for the learning opportunities afforded to students.

Understanding the trends and movements in the world during 1960s, Mr. Chen aims to help students go beyond narrowly focusing on the consequence of the Cultural Revolution in China in order to, develop a broader view of history.

Using Other People's Eyes to Read Other Peoples' Stories

We have already seen about how participants use Western literature to raise discussion points with their students—to ask questions about the responsibilities of student protest leaders or to raise the question of intergenerational political conflict. In this section, we see how teachers use literature to invoke emotional and aesthetic responses that might lead students to become more sympathetic to competing perspectives on topics that the Taiwanese curriculum has ignored or omitted.

In the Taiwanese history curriculum guidelines and textbooks, there is a general lack of

reference to fictional or imaginative literature for students to understand people's stories in order to develop their historical understanding and empathy. Mr. Wu and Mr. Hsu both revealed, in the course of our interviews, how they share literature with their students, especially when they are discussing controversial public issues with them.

For example, when I asked Mr. Wu the question related to his family stories and his curricular-instructional decisions, he shared,

> I focus on "small history"—from a humanities perspective—to talk about the event *2/28*. For example, I use the text *A Letter Never Sent Out*[15]. I share this article with my students. We did not have any articles related to *2/28* in our textbooks and curriculum guidelines. Narrative is a good way to let students imagine what happened through other people's eyes. In addition, I try to mention both sides—Chinese or Taiwanese—not particularly focusing on one side but more on a humanities perspective.

Especially when he talked about the history between Taiwan and the PRC since 1949, Mr. Wu avoided addressing conflicts between the Taiwanese and the Chinese. He feels that this version of history—as rigidly competing or conflicting perspectives—are overly focused on in the curriculum. Instead, he collaborates with literature. By utilizing literature, Mr. Wu liked to explore opportunities for students so that they would be able to understand "the humanities" by reading others' stories from others' eyes. The purpose of using alternative literature is, first of all, to address a topic that is omitted from the national curriculum. But it is also designed to help students develop their empathy and imagination through narrative. Indeed, literature creates a space for students to foster their thinking and understanding which

[15] *A Letter Never Sent Out* is a letter written by a victim killed during *228*, in 1937. This artifact has been stored by the national government for fifty years and displayed in a public museum recently.

are essential for learning history but have been ignored in the curriculum in favor of merely addressing conflicts between Taiwanese and Chinese.

Mr. Hsu is another example of a teacher who used literature in his teaching. In the interview, he argued that he has long felt the need to bring more literature to his students. Mr. Hsu said that reading fiction is an important way to lead both himself and his students to know other people's stories, and further, to teach that everything is complex and that simplistic perspectives—such as "Taiwanese" or "Chinese"—are unhelpful for understanding the past. For example, when I asked him the question, "do you think it is necessary to talk about controversial public issues," Mr. Hsu responded and gave me examples of how he collaborated with literature in his teaching. He said,

> I recommended a lot of books to my students, for example, I like the book *Paris, Understanding the Present*[16]—[because] understanding the present is to rethink our past. If we do not care about what is happening now, you won't do a good job of studying history. Our textbooks include too much content knowledge that is abstract and structured, with no life and vitality.

Mr. Hsu agreed that it is necessary to talk about controversial public issues in the social studies classroom. However, he liked to explore issues beyond the content-based knowledge of the curriculum, which means he tended to ask students to read at home before coming to class. Instead of letting students spend time learning academic content in class, Mr. Hsu insisted upon also developing students' reading comprehension, critical thinking, empathy, and imagination by assigning literature assignments outside of class. In this way, he hoped that students came to class already equipped with the content knowledge, able to further their

[16] This is a book translated from French, describing the ideas of learning the past and what has formulated by learning the past. This book conceptualized the specific parts of Paris and explored the connection between the past and the present in Paris now.

understanding through discussion. For Mr. Hsu, students should prepare themselves to be independent learners and Mr. Hsu expects his class to be constructed upon discussion and meaningful dialogue related to current issues and historical events. The purpose of reading this book, for Mr. Hsu, is to explore the essential meaning of leaning history—the value of the past and the attitude to facing the future.

Regarding Mr. Hsu and Mr. Wu's examples, first, they both argued that textbooks and the national curriculum framework lack reference to literature and fiction, tools which might help students think in ways that go beyond the binaries of good/bad and Taiwanese/Chinese. A curriculum without literature, they suggested, dismisses opportunities for students to understand people's stories and to release their imagination of the past. For Mr. Hsu and Mr. Wu, reading other people's stories is not only about deepening students' historical understanding but also about creating a new imagination of the past in Taiwan—one that addresses the concerns of the present without, at the same time, allowing the history classroom to become overly ideological.

As John Dewey (1934) said, imagination is the gateway through which meanings, derived from past experiences, find their way into the present. The participants' choices indicate that at least some Taiwanese teachers wish to release imagination by providing stories that encourages students to understand the past from nuanced perspectives. But, Mr. Hsu and Mr. Wu also are facing challenges in which they cannot find representative artifacts for each historical event which they either must teach or would like to teach.

For example, in Chinese History, there are time and distance limitations for choosing artifacts and literature. Artifacts are often so ancient they do not seem relevant to student lives. Chinese history sometimes also seems unconnected to Taiwanese students. Sharing literature with students, it is hoped, improves their learning and imagination, but when sources seem

irrelevant, students have a difficult time finding the connection between their life experiences and the stories from the literature. The balance between relevance, nuance, and historical fidelity is a tricky one for any social studies teacher, but especially so in a context so saturated with ideological conflict.

This section explores the possibilities participants found for teaching Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan. The study found that teachers in this study used alternative methods to teach Taiwan without Teaching about Taiwan, for example, using Western literature, using other historical events as comparison, and using literature to help students see peoples' stories from others' eyes. Collaborating with other national content and literature has become unexpectedly common in these teachers' classrooms. For the participants in this study, these strategies helped them not only be consistent with their rationale—to be relevant without being ideological—but also help them to create possibilities for the release of imagination as students learn about the past.

Decentering the Exam-Centric and Curriculum-Centric Classroom Space

As noted repeatedly throughout this dissertation, given its social context, Taiwan is a place in which political debates, unclear sovereignty, and ambiguous national identity impacts the entire social fabric. Many of these issues are under the purview of social studies as a school subject. Thus, because social studies often at least describes historical events, and because those events can sometimes be controversial, then social studies, at least in the context of Taiwanese education system, exists within a cultural context that makes it difficult to escape from engaging difficult knowledge.

As we saw in the last section, the teachers in this study exemplify and embody the implicit presence of controversial public issues in the classroom, and then make a specific effort at also

exemplifying the implicit dynamism of social studies by attempting to cover controversial public issues beyond what often exists in textbooks.

They do this, I have argued, by "teaching Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan." But there is another way in which the teachers do this, for as aforementioned in both Chapters 1 and 4, the centralized curriculum guidelines in Taiwan have created both a highly structured curriculum and strictly-planned class time periods. These guidelines, as Foucault (1995) asserted, have condemned students' thought and bodies. Therefore, teachers in this study have been working on breaking up the hegemonic classroom model through employing both visible strategies of resistance—extending the discussion outside of the classroom by creating learning spaces not limited to the classroom and by the strictly-planned time period—and by developing some invisible strategies—for example, by creating a safe and liberal space for students to share their thoughts and stimulating students to think about the future outside of classroom and beyond textbooks.

In this section, then, I take my three themes of imagination teaching—teachers as citizens who are involved in the public world, who take responsibility for decision-making by choosing important curricular topics, and who are seeking practices that releases the imagination—into dialogue with classroom practices that seek to de-center the traditional classroom model.

Encouraging Students to Engage in Civic Action Outside of Classroom

In this study, participants understood the complexities of teaching social studies, and some of them made an effort to engage in difficult knowledge through explicit encouragement of civic engagement beyond the bounds of the classroom space—on the students' own time. For instance, in the interview data, Mr. Hsu mentioned the importance of civic engagement,

which had become a primary factor both in this own life and as he formulated his own representation of the curriculum content to his students.

When I asked the question, "do you think it is necessary to teach and talk about controversial public issues," Mr. Hsu mentioned,

> I think it is necessary to talk about controversial public issues; history is something happening right now . . . In the past, textbooks were always related to patriotism. I always tell students that historians think about the past, see things happening now, and solve problems. Developing historical consciousness is important. I encourage students to rethink, develop awareness, and do reflection, I think we are not only making choices. Sometimes, we can even make some changes and put ideas into action. For example, this year, my students start to engage in protest around the *2015 History Curriculum Guidelines Reform*. Before I and students joined the protest, I talked about the history curriculum reform in Taiwan in the past decades and the history curriculum reform in the U.K. in this decade. I asked students to think about the meaning and purposes of reforms in these two different national contexts. Then, we talked about what are the main concerns of history curriculum reform in 2015 in Taiwan……. What I have down is what I believe, I agree with Bacon, knowledge is power. I ask my students to think, apply knowledge into some action, including caring about others and influencing them.

Mr. Hsu mentioned the importance of civic engagement and later, in the interview, Mr. Hsu implied that historical consciousness is important, and this learning cannot happen inside of classrooms only; it needs students' to feel empowered by knowledge and to put ideas into action. Reflecting on the nature of complex historical and social contexts in Taiwan, Mr. Hsu

made curricular-instructional choices for encountering current issues and having discussions of difficult knowledge. Therefore, when he teaches controversial public issues in his classroom, he asks both himself and his students to implement thought into action, to make a commitment to civic engagement.

Similar to Mr. Hsu, Mrs. Chen and Mr. Chen's interview data suggests they both made curricular-instructional decisions to teach controversial public issues and to have discussions about difficult knowledge in their classrooms. And further, they all made decisions to encourage students to implement their thoughts into action. For example, Mrs. Chen did not encourage students to protest in the streets, but she helped students write down their arguments and deliver them to the chair of the *2015 History Curriculum Guidelines Reform* committee. Mrs. Chen supported students to put their thoughts into action and speak out for themselves.

Furthermore, Mr. Chen is a teacher who tries to see and act from students' perspectives. For example, Mr. Chen had been staying with his students during the protest of *2015 History Curriculum Guidelines Reform*— he joined the protest on the street with students, and proposed students' arguments to the leader of Ministry of Education in Taiwan—in order to empower his students to advocate for their own suggestions. Mr. Chen shared with me that the results of this protest are important but he believes students to learn more from the protest process than they would able to learn inside of classrooms. In these ways, these teachers are focused on putting thoughts into action to promote learning.

All of these teachers are people who commit to talking about difficult knowledge with their students. In particular, they have reconstructed the ideology of the curriculum guidelines, created more spaces and possibilities for the curriculum— social justice, multiple cultures, postmodernism, and feminism—and have had discussions with students beyond the

curriculum guidelines that have led them to shape difficult knowledge inside and outside of classrooms. For example, Mr. Hsu and Mr. Chen both had discussions with students about the ideology and injustice of the 2016 history curriculum guidelines reform before they joined protests with students. They specifically discussed the issues—the consequences of Japanese colonization, and the ambiguous definitions of Taiwanese and Chinese identities in the history curriculum—they engaged with difficult knowledge inside of classrooms and then acted on it through protests outside of classrooms.

Breaking Classroom Norms through After-School Study Groups, Author Talks, and Flipped Classrooms

A major struggle for these participants was the fact that they have less time but more structured content to be taught in the curriculum—a common concern of social studies teachers in many countries across the globe. Some of my participants shared their reactions to the new curriculum guidelines in Chapter 4. In this chapter, I would like to share their strategy for combatting such a situation, as Mr. Chen, Mr. Hsu, and Mrs. Chen all started to advocate another format of teaching—after-school study groups.

In later interviews, they rationalized their purposes. First, they wanted to have extra time interacting with students through discussing current topics. In addition, they were aware that the content in the current curriculum was not designed for students' critical thinking, problem solving, or human exploration, so they tried to solve the problem by creating more possibilities for students' learning and discussion. Third, they reflected on their teaching and recognized the necessity of challenging the traditional setting with the teacher as center. Therefore, in their study groups, students took active roles in selecting the books and facilitating the discussions. Mr. Chen, Mrs. Chen, and Mr. Hsu, by constructing the study groups, hoped to create more space for students' learning. Mrs. Chen is example of a teacher

who led study group with her students. When I asked her rationale for teaching controversial public issues, she responded by pointing out the importance of having a study group with students,

> I think study group is a good way for discussing controversial public issues. We have so much content that needs to be taught in the history curriculum. I think teachers should read and have deep knowledge about the issues; otherwise it's hard to facilitate students' discussion. Next semester, we will have an after-school study group and we plan to invite students from other schools to join. It is hard for us to do that in class, because there is a standardized-test-oriented culture in Taiwan, but I still like to do it. About our study group, we already have chosen books. The central topic is pop culture and history, and we plan to invite book authors to come to school for speeches. I have been trying to do this for my students for a while, because our society has been changing. Our students have more awareness and need more time to think and act critically.

According to Mrs. Chen, she has been running a study group with her students for years and, for the first time, she has invited students to choose the topic for study group this year.

Having students select the topic was new for Mrs. Chen. This year, she chose the topic of the study group, pop culture and history, with her students, and then they selected one book about baseball development in Taiwan during Japanese colonization (1985-1945), which not only explored the history of baseball in Taiwan but also discussed the consequences (negative and positive) of Japanese colonization. This topic seems like a pop culture focus, but indeed, it includes the discussion of a current controversial topic—unclear national identity and weak cultural identity in Taiwan after fifty years of Japanese colonization. Mrs. Chen uses an alternative topic – baseball—to address a controversial issue,

breaking traditional modes of instruction that directly addresses a particular topic.

Aside from after-school study groups, another strategy for creating possibilities is to flip the classroom. In the U.S., where the practice is somewhat unclear and more than a little contentious, "flipping the classroom" generally means that students first gain exposure to new material outside of class, usually via reading or pre-recorded lectures, and then use class time to do the harder work of assimilating that knowledge, perhaps through problem-solving, discussion, or debates (Brame, 2013). On the other hand, flipping classroom, in Taiwan, means something slightly different—it is a format which aims to put the students at the center of the classroom, in discussion, with students acting as facilitators during discussion and students preparing the base content before class discussion.

In Taiwan, flipping the class has been advocated by senior high school teachers for years, and especially in the past decade, more and more teachers across school districts have built flipped classrooms. Most flipped classes occur in Math and Chinese Literature classes. But in the last two years, some social studies teachers have implemented flipped classes—and indeed, Mr. Wu and Mr. Chen have continued working on flipping their classrooms. When I asked the question "how do you teach controversial public issues," Mr. Wu shared,

> I saw many teachers using flipped classrooms and discussing national identity in their class. But, how to make the lesson along with good pedagogy, the created content and concrete ideas? Elaboration is the main concern for me. I used the flipped classroom when we talked about globalization a few years ago, [and I felt that] students discussed that and learned from their discussion. So, now, when we are facing the curriculum guidelines with relatively less space, we might need to find our own way to talk about controversial public issues.

Based on Mr. Wu's experiences, the purpose of flipping the classroom is to create more space and chances for students to learn when teachers and students are both facing the centralized curriculum guidelines that have limited time to highly structured content knowledge.

However, Mr. Wu indicated that he chose the topics for flipping the classroom based on issues which students have to learn in order to overcome challenges outside of school, for example, globalization, but not the issues which people are expected to discuss in social studies classrooms, for example, national identity and sovereignty. In a sense, Mr. Wu thought, the rationale for flipping the classroom was that it should help students develop their critical thinking, problem solving, and interacting skills, but not develop their national identity.

The key here is that in Taiwan, nationalist ideologies have been written into the textbooks, and the curriculum therefore usually embodies nationalist political ideologies. As we saw in earlier chapters, before 1996, the curriculum encouraged students to embrace a Chinese identity, but after 1996, it was replaced with an encouragement of student self-identity, which means that national identity can be represented differently by teachers in their own classrooms. Given the prior discussion of Mr. Wu's definition of national identity as personal and related to students' life experiences, Mr. Wu expected to explore students' life experiences but not formulate their national identity based on a certain political ideology. In other words, by virtue of Mr. Wu's flipping the classroom, he encouraged students to value their own family stories and life experiences. As discussed in Chapter 4, for Mr. Wu, "identity" is personal, with many layers, not limited to national identity; instead, it should be developed from students' individual life experiences and family history. In sum, he expected to explore students' learning beyond the required curricular content knowledge, which has shaped the possibilities for students' learning experiences regarding identity.

Mr. Chen is another participant who has tried to de-center the typical classroom space. Mr. Chen has tried different formats during his teaching years, for example, field-based learning, study groups, civic engagement activities, guest speeches, student workshops, and field trips. Mr. Chen has been working to develop different learning experiences for students, and flipping the classroom is one of them.

Therefore, when I asked him to provide a further description of alternative learning opportunities he has tried, he reflected and shared,

> Curriculum guidelines lack a lot of things, for example, developing students' critical thinking and humanity. Therefore, I think flipping the classroom is important and I do see the value for doing so. But I think it is hard for teachers, not for students. If we would like to flip our class, how to teach beyond the subject fields (boundary of discipline) is the key point. Unfortunately, teachers do not have habits to collaborate with others and share ideas together.

In my observation of Mr. Chen's classroom and through Mr. Chen's reflections, I note how he valued flipping the classroom, and how he has created space for unique learning experiences for students.

For instance, when he talked about Taiwanese economic development during the 1970's, he asked students to do research about the 1970s in Taiwan first as he showed them various artifacts and resources about the economic development. Next, when students came to class, equipped with this broad background knowledge, they started to discuss the laborer's deprivation and urbanization issues caused by the economic development during the '70's. In these discussions, Mr. Chen acted as a facilitator rather than a lecturer, and students' background knowledge helped to inform their understanding of the more specific issues of

laborer's deprivation and urbanization. He hoped students would encounter the past, develop their perspectives of knowing the past, and further, reconstruct their knowledge of the past by interacting with various artifacts and resources. Further, he hoped students would learn to build dialogue and respect others' perspectives by having discussions in class with their peers. By virtue of creating alternative learning experiences, Mr. Chen has generated possibilities: students may develop their own imagination of historical events, current issues, and future developments in Taiwan. Additionally, teachers might instead become facilitators and learners by flipping their classrooms.

Using after-school study groups, author talks, and the flipped classroom model has formed possibilities for students' learning—creating space beyond the centralized curriculum, reworking the classroom for teachers' and students' autonomy, and creating the possibility for the release of imagination and creativities for students' learning about the past in Taiwan. In this study, the findings show that teachers have awareness of the lack of imagination and possibilities for students' learning under the centralized curriculum and schooling, so they made their own curricular-instructional decisions for generating chances for themselves and for their students in social studies classrooms.

But, even though the participants' rationale and work indicate an interest in and willingness to teach controversial public issues, they are still facing various challenges when they utilize different strategies for decentering the exam-centric and curriculum-centric classroom space, especially as they were breaking classroom norms. For example, after-school study groups always challenge students and teachers' time allowance; in addition, lack of knowledge and readiness to collaborate with teachers from different subjects, and students and teachers' limited ability to participate in open discussions, can negatively impact the potential for successful flipped social studies classrooms.

Using Oral History to Create Alternative Assessments and Assignments for Student Learning

Developing independent projects or alternative assignments is another way teachers approach developing students' learning about controversial public issues. For example, when I asked questions connected to teachers' practice of controversial public issues teaching, Mr. Hsu gave me an example:

> Based on my own experience—my memory of my hometown and life experience—I asked my students [in an all-boys school)] to do an oral interview with their grandmothers. I have a few reasons for this project: I want them to use their mother tongue, Taiwanese, to understand gender issues, to have more communication across generations, and to hear family stories connected to Taiwanese history.

According to Mr. Hsu's example, he has tried to create alternative learning experiences for students through oral history. For Mr. Hsu, in conducting this assignment, students might learn to have a conversation across gender and generations, and learn their grandmothers' stories—stories not included in the curriculum, stories from ignored voices which are usually invisible and defined as non-important resources in Taiwanese society.

An assignment such as this gives students the opportunity to see that Taiwanese history is complex and mixed—most senior generations have been through Japanese colonization, KMT governance, the White Terror and the period of Martial Law, all as they have witnessed modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and democratization in Taiwan across the decades. For Mr. Hsu, what female elders have experienced is valuable, significant, and meaningful for students' understanding of the past. Therefore, Mr. Hsu created alternative

learning opportunities for students by virtue of an independent study project—whereby students construct their imagination of the past by hearing stories from their grandmothers.

In another example, Mrs. Chen started an independent oral history project with her students. She shared with me this assignment when I brought up the questions related to controversial public issues teaching. She said,

> I am advising my students for independent research. They explored many topics. One of them is the *Democracy at Taichung Senior High School* project, [which explores] the connection between democracy and the school. My students interviewed many alumni, who are in universities now. During the interviews, these alumni kept mentioning Mr. Hsu, and Mr. Chen, and students kept talking about what these two teachers have brought to them and that they taught knowledge beyond the curriculum . . . These students have been influenced by these teachers and made commitments to democratic engagement in the later years. Recently, one of my students planned to have a conversation with the leader of the Ministry of Education this week because of the *2015 History Curriculum Guidelines Reform*. My student is one of the leaders of the student representatives, and he wrote a letter and advocated his arguments. By hearing the interviews from students and witnessing my colleagues, I pushed myself that way—exploring the deeper and broader content and issues.

In this project, Mrs. Chen's students have chances to opportunities for democratic political engagement as they investigate the truths beyond the textbooks.

Another participant, Mr. Chen, has started an alternative assignment for freshman students, *Students' Life Stories*, since his first year teaching. Mr. Chen designed this

assignment to develop his students' own self reflection and sense of self. For example, Mr. Chen shared with me in a later interview that his former students have mentioned to him the importance of this assignment for them when they were in university because it gave them a chance to practice rethinking their self-identity.

In addition, in 2014, the 100-year anniversary of the founding of Taichung Senior High School, Mr. Chen worked with students on an oral history project about Taiwan Taichung Senior High School.[17] Mr. Chen (2014) published an article about this project. In it, he explained the project's purpose: to explore students' humanity by conducting a historical interpretation of the school. Further, Mr. Chen expected students to explore the stories "of people, with people, and by people" related to Taichung Senior High School. For Mr. Chen, stories of the people around us and in daily life are the most significant parts of the past for students to explore.

Mr. Hsu's, Mrs. Chen's, and Mr. Chen's ideas of alternative assignments all start with the same purpose—they wanted to create possibilities for students' learning, especially learning values and knowledge not written in the textbooks and curriculum. However, each one conducted these alternative assignments for their own reasons. For example, Mr. Hsu strove to develop students' historical understanding and historical empathy by interviewing grandmothers; Mrs. Chen expects students to develop democratic values and civic engagement by conducting research about the political activities of recent alumni of the school; and Mr. Chen expects students to develop self-identity and social caring by reflecting on themselves in relationship to others.

[17] This independent project is designed through students conducting oral interviewing with any person related to Taichung Senior High School, including teachers, the people living in the community, administrators, historians, and alumni. The project is described in greater detail here: https://www.youtube.com/user/m9043002/videos.

In sum, with alternative assignments, Mr. Hsu, Mrs. Chen, and Mr. Chen have shaped the potentials for their students to learn knowledge and values beyond the textbooks and curriculum by conducting oral history project, research projects, and self-reflection projects that not only generated alternative learning opportunities for students, but also created the possibilities for students to believe the alternative truths and stories. These strategies have the potential to create a new perspective on what students have habitually considered real, so that controversial public issues teaching may make of them people vitally open their world (Greene, 1973).

Creating the Possibility for Imagination through Creative Curricular and Instructional Gatekeeping Practices

When Maxine Greene (1973) argued for the teacher to become a stranger, she argued for, at least in one sense, the teacher to consider him or herself to be a citizen; that is, she argued that teachers should become spirited models for their students. In this chapter, I have explored the boundaries that teachers face as they attempt to become this more "spirited model."

Above, we saw how Mr. Hsu has been challenged by parents, other teachers, and the larger public because he has advocated for students to take to the streets and join several protests. However, Mr. Hsu believed that if we (as teachers) did not encourage students to put their knowledge to action, students would never learn how to apply their knowledge and solve problems in society. Further, he argued that if we never create possibilities for students to interact with people outside of schools, to empower people who have been oppressed, students would not learn how to reflect on themselves, to care for others, to solve social issues, and then to become a citizen in a democratic society. All of these possibilities, he asserted, have been ignored in our schooling for a long time. Mr. Hsu has created possibilities

for students that may impact their lives inside and outside of schools.

In this chapter, we saw how participants have worked through different formats in order to develop students' learning about controversial public issues: by using other historical events as a comparison, incorporating literature, using after-school study groups, author talks, a flipped classroom, and alternative assignments and assessments in order to create extra space for students' learning and civic engagement so that knowledge might be put into action.

Each of these strategies reflects a reality where teachers cannot but encounter controversial public issues. They are confronted with a moment of choice: first, simply whether to teach controversial public issues, and then, to develop curricular and instructional strategies that navigate institutional realities such as curricular mandates and exam-centric teaching cultures and that create spaces for conflict to be explored rather than perpetuated.

Some view the work these teachers are doing as an intentional disruption to the educational norms of the Taiwanese system. These teachers may be trying to disrupt the norms, but I argue they do this not simply to challenge an inadequate system, but rather, to try new things in the interest of creating new possibilities for their students' learning. This desire to try new things is what must embody Greene's concept of the teacher as a stranger, because the act of trying new things figuratively shifts the teachers' identity from an expected disseminator of curricular knowledge, to an inquisitive educator who can see things afresh. And this, after all, is what powerful social studies education must be about.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, given the teachers' data, the findings show how participant teachers chose curriculum resources and developed instructional strategies that release a sense of collective imagination. Later in this chapter, I brought three themes of imaginative teaching into

dialogue with two concrete strategies employed by the participants in this study: 1) Teaching Taiwan without teaching about Taiwan and 2) Decentering the exam-centric and curriculum-centric classroom space. Lastly, I theorized Maxine Greene's concept of teacher as stranger in order to explore the difficulties and rewards of participants' instructional practice, particularly as they relate to the possibility for releasing imagination through controversial public issues teaching.

In the next and final chapter, this study concludes by exploring curricular-instructional gatekeeping in Asian social studies classrooms, especially for teaching controversial public issues. Further, I address the unique significance of each participant and discuss each participant's contribution to this study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In the last two chapters, using data from classroom observations, interview responses, and artifacts analysis, I addressed the two research questions of the study, focusing on teacher personal practical knowledge and teachers' gatekeeping of controversial public issues. In addressing those questions, I demonstrated how the ambiguous and contradictory nature of historical and sociocultural contexts as well as racial and national identity issues in Taiwan shape the curricular possibilities of Taiwanese social studies classrooms.

In this concluding chapter, I will discuss the relationship between the themes of Chapter 4—teacher personal practical knowledge—and the themes of Chapter 5—the teacher as an active, civic-minded, and imaginative curricular-instructional gatekeeper of controversial public issues within the Taiwanese classroom context. In addition, as a way to return us to the stories of each participant, the conclusion will describe each participant and his/her own unique contribution to the conversation on teaching controversial public issues. Lastly, the conclusion explores the implication of this study to social studies in Asian contexts and to teachers around the globe who make commitments to teach controversial public issues.

In the first chapter, this study provided the two main research questions and contextual background of this study. The main research question asked: how does a teacher's life history enter into the curriculum they teach? Two subsidiary questions framed my inquiry: 1) What types of personal practical knowledge are embodied by Taiwanese teachers? 2) How do Taiwanese teachers' personal practical knowledge impact their curricular-instructional gatekeeping? The introduction also explained the Taiwanese social and historical context and described current issues in Taiwan, all as a way to provide enough contextual background to

understand the participants' personal practical knowledge and their curricular-instructional gatekeeping of controversial public issues.

The second chapter began with a literature-based discussion of the meaning of controversial public issues in general and provided the rationale, necessities and difficulties of teaching controversial public issues, as revealed by research, in classrooms in two national contexts—Taiwan, because it is the site for the study's research, and the U.S., because it is the location from which I write and is the basis for much of the research.

In Chapter 2, the study defined personal practical knowledge and demonstrated the possible links between professional knowledge and curricular decision-making, both of which serve as the basis for any actual classroom practices and curricula. In the last section of Chapter 2, the study employed Maxine Greene's ideas of the (1973) *Teacher as Stranger* to show how we might see teaching controversial public issues as an existential project, creating a new perspective on what we have habitually considered real, so that controversial public issues teaching may make of us people vitally open to students and our world. The concepts of teacher personal practical knowledge, teacher as a curricular-instructional gatekeeper, and teacher as stranger shape the theoretical framework that has created the basic scope to analyze the data and develop the discussion in the following chapters.

The three concepts—theorized separately in the research literature—are for the first time brought together in my study. They may be thought of as a possible experiential arc, whereby teachers develop their professional knowledge within the context of their own biographies, employ such knowledge as their pursue their roles as curricular agents, and revisit such knowledge as their professional experiences lead them to re-visit who they are, how they teach, and what possibilities for change are present in their lives.

Chapter 3 explained the methodology of case study and described the three methods employed throughout this study: narrative interviews, non-participant observation, and artifact and documentary analysis. In addition, this chapter specifically provided a reflection on my own role as a researcher—being both an insider and an outsider in the Taiwanese social and cultural context that indirectly shaped my goals and rationale for this study.

Chapter 4, the first findings chapter, focused on teacher personal practical knowledge and the relationship between teacher personal practical knowledge and teachers' teaching. The findings in chapter 4 showed how a teacher's biography might shape their professional knowledge as it relates to analyzing and representing historical issues. In this way, personal practical knowledge can be seen as serving a foundational role for teachers' curricular gatekeeping, especially for controversial public issues teaching.

Chapter 5, in contrast to Chapter 4, described participants' strategies for teaching controversial public issues in social studies classrooms. The findings here indicated that the participants in this study worked around the institutional contexts in which they were embedded—of entrenched ideological division and a history of centralized and exam-centric curriculum practices—by placing the history of Taiwan in a comparative context—with Western literature, with remote historical events usually covered in other courses, and by drawing upon current school trends to create space for student discussion—through alternative assignments, study groups, and the encouragement for extracurricular civic engagement.

The Implication for Social Studies in Asian Contexts and to Teachers Who Make Commitments to Teach Controversial Public Issues

Regarding the research related to teaching controversial public issues in the U.S context, most teachers agree that democratic societies are built on citizens who are able to engage in reasoned discussion (Hess, 2008, 2009; Lockwood & Harris, 1985; Parker, 2003). Chapter 2 suggested that talking about controversial public issues helps to develop democratic values and political tolerance within and for a democratic society. However, most research in the U.S. has indicated that teachers at the elementary level often avoid topics they perceive as too controversial (Evan, Avery, & Pederson, 1999; McBee, 1996). At the secondary level, teachers lack readiness and worry about conflicts, which direct schools away from a place which furthers the creation, maintenance, and transformation of democracy (Hess, 2009).

These are broad trends; no doubt, there are teachers in the U.S. who regularly bring powerful and authentic social studies content to their students through exploration of controversial public issues. However, in Asia, different national contexts have directed various approaches of teaching controversial public issues in social studies classrooms.

Ho (2010) contended that K-12 teachers in Singapore consciously avoided addressing controversial issues and no one contested the central narrative of racial harmony, meritocracy, and progress, largely due to the combination of a climate of censorship and a regime of high-stakes tests that stifle democratic discourse within the classroom.

In South Korea, classrooms often have a dualistic approach to problems, where controversial issues are treated as factual problems with two clearly delineated sides (Misco, 2016). That means, teachers who teach controversial public issues constructed debates and discussion to develop students' critical thinking and cultural tolerance, yet, those discussions

and debates ended with “the right answer.” Debating should cause unknown outcomes, but that is not the case – the outcome is already established (Misco, 2016). In addition, South Korea's entrance exam, textbooks, administrative oversight, and school cultures have a pervasive, and often pernicious impact on teachers’ teaching, and content knowledge of controversial public issues is easily measured through high-stakes tests.

Another Asian country, China, is quite similar to the United States, South Korea, and Japan, as students encounter numerous challenges to reflective thinking about controversial issues (Misco, 2013). In China, reflective thinking is slowly becoming a reality within some Beijing classrooms and this evolutionary curriculum change has the potential to transform Chinese society; teachers suggested a paucity of controversial issues confronted in classrooms and an uncritical stance toward government policy and action (Misco, 2013). In sum, in Asian contexts, exploring controversial public issues in social studies classrooms usually accompanies inherited school culture, social pressure, national and centralized curriculum, and teachers’ restricted freedom and space.

This study seeks to challenge uniform pictures of Asian classrooms, as places where memorization, lecture and exam dominate the secondary social studies scene. It does not claim that such practices are widespread or especially common. They do, however, show what is possible with experienced teachers working on the front lines of one of Taiwan’s most elite schools. For through this study, we see that Taiwanese secondary social studies teachers have not only encountered controversial public issues in their own lives, but they have also developed their professional knowledge within the context of those lived engagements, and then find ways to go on and represent them for their students—by using other historical events as a comparison, through literature to stimulate students’ understanding, by creating alternative assignments, and so on.

In short, the findings of this study suggest to teachers in a multitude of national contexts that teaching controversial public issues is possible even in the most conflicted of societies. It is not acting dangerously and creating conflicts; instead, teaching controversial public issues creates possibilities for change and growth toward democratic values, political tolerance, critical thinking, problem solving, building dialogue, and civic engagement.

As noted, it is common in many Asian contexts to have centralized and standardized curriculum guidelines. Taiwan is a case in point. Not surprisingly, frequent history curriculum guidelines reforms have created many conflicts and debates inside and outside of the history classrooms. These conflicts and debates are about defining curriculum guidelines goals, settling on specific language, and the proportion of Taiwanese history and Chinese history.

Such reforms obviously create difficulties and challenges for history teachers' teaching, especially teaching controversial public issues. However, the findings of this study have shown that there is more going on here that might first meet the eye of the causal observer who may perceive that teachers usually teach the content written in the textbooks and talk about controversial public issues without directly discussing the conflicts (for example, national identity and the relationship between the PRC and Taiwan). Similar to other Asian social studies research, casual observers usually perceive the broader picture—teachers are restricted by the policy rulers, textbooks, curriculum guidelines, and pressure of entry tests (Ho, 2010; Misco, 2013). In sum, the implication of this study to social studies teachers' teaching in other Asian contexts is that teachers need to believe that they themselves have some authority and autonomy when it comes to curricular-instructional gatekeeping, especially when they can ground their decision-making in professional knowledge that is grounded in their life's experiences.

Lastly, the findings of this study have revealed the varied ways that teachers can teach controversial public issues—ways which can presumably impact students' intellectual and moral growth. In fact, most participants in this study have built close relationships with their students, and the interview data has given us some indirect evidence that many students' critical thinking, consciousness of controversial public issues, and civic engagement may have been influenced by the participants in this study.

The implication of this study to social studies teachers in other Asian contexts is that even though teaching of controversial public issues can be limited by time, public pressure, official and centralized curriculum standards, and university entry tests, the role of the teacher as gatekeeper nonetheless applies: participants in this study made decisions to talk about controversial public issues—both directly and indirectly—to their students, and those decisions have the possibility to direct differences for their students' learning, growing, and self-identity. These findings reflect Cornett's (1987) argument that teachers should not believe curriculum is a formal task imposed upon them from the outside—for such a belief is the biggest hurdle teachers might face in exercising their own curricular agency.

Reflection of Each Participant and His/Her Own Specialty and Exclusivity

The participants in this study are not representative and their experiences are not relevant to all the teachers in Taiwan. Each participant had individual specialties and exclusivities. Even though this study investigated how history teachers' personal practical knowledge influenced their curricular-instructional gatekeeping as it related to teaching controversial public issues in Taiwan, not every teacher in this study taught controversial public issues, and each teacher had his or her own unique rationale for representing the issues they did. In the following statements, I explicitly provide descriptions of each participant and make comments on their rationale and strategies of teaching controversial public issues. The

following descriptions of each teacher are designed to honor the fullness of each participant's life and work, and provide a composite picture of each teacher.

Mr. Wu is a teacher whose family went through different important historical events in Taiwan—for example, *228* and the *White Terror*—therefore, Mr. Wu decided to talk about controversial public issues but not directly address the conflicts and sadness of the past. In the study, Mr. Wu's primary contribution was to alert us to the importance of a *humanities* perspective for his work (a phrase he often used). He did this through utilizing other historical events as comparison and literature as alternative materials. In this way, Mr. Wu taught controversial public issues without directly addressing conflicts in Taiwan.

Mr. Hsu is an active teacher and citizen in Taiwan. He chose to directly encounter controversial public issues in his class. In the interview data, he said he believed "knowledge is power*"* and "action makes changes,*"* and he learned these values from his past life experiences and family stories. Therefore, in this study, when he faced controversial public issues inside and outside of classrooms, he not only directly addressed the issues, but also took action in order to contribute to social change. For example, in his class, Mr. Hsu created the study groups and alternative assignments to increase imagination and understandings of historical conflicts in Taiwan. In addition, Mr. Hsu encourages himself and his students to participant as activists during certain movements surrounding controversial public issues in Taiwan, and he and his students made commitments to various civic engagements.

Mr. Chen is a teacher who is a re-thinker and reflective participant inside and outside of classrooms. He is currently studying in a Ph. D. program and is taking a year of temporary leave in order to continue his academic research and reflect on his teaching. Because of his reflection on his teaching, Mr. Chen has chosen to represent controversial public issues in a direct manner in his classroom. When he encounters controversial public issues, his rationale

has been to choose the issues most relevant to his own experiences. For example, he always brings up aboriginal issues for students in class because he had experiences working with aboriginal students at the graduated school and teacher preparation program. In addition, he has created an oral history project in order to help students gain a better understanding of other people's past and their surrounded community.

Mrs. Chang is a participant who hesitated to talk about controversial public issues in her class because of her own personal background and life experiences. According to her interviews, she argued that she does not like to spend time on issues defined as current, unsolved and problematic—for example, national identity issues and sovereignty issues. The beliefs she inherited from her generation and traditional teacher preparation program have taught her that national identity and sovereignty are topics belonging to national decisions makers, while teachers are supposed to be mission deliverers and applicators.

Mrs. Fen had a different rationale for teaching controversial public issues from other participants in this study. Mrs. Fen was willing to talk about controversial public issues, but she liked to represent issues from a national-governmental perspective that circulated knowledge with high authority and reflective of the politically-dominant ideology. For example, when Mrs. Fen spoke about *228* in her class, she selected official artifacts from the government to support her representation. In addition, when faced with controversial public issues written in various textbooks and curricula, she chose textbooks published before 1995 that were published by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan. Mrs. Fen tended to believe the knowledge and content were written in the official curriculum and from official institutions.

Mrs. Chen has the least amount of teaching experience of any participant in this study. She was studying in a Ph.D. program at the time of the study, focusing on history education and economic development in Taiwan. Mrs. Chen intentionally spoke about controversial

public issues in her classroom. Her academic studies have shaped her rationale for teaching controversial public issues. She shared that teaching controversial public issues influenced students' learning, which in turn impacted their self-identity and ability to problem-solve in the future. Therefore, Mrs. Chen stressed the outcome of such study: the skills and values needed in order to be competitive, responsible, and globalized citizens of the future.

These six teachers represent various rationales for teaching controversial public issues in Taiwan, and they also show the decisions and imagination made possible in a constricted and conflicted society. In sum, these six teachers are not representatives of Taiwanese society; these teachers have been selected because of each one's exceptional significance and impact in the classroom.

The Relationship between Personal Practical Knowledge, Gatekeeping, and Creating Possibilities for Imagination

Thornton (1991) argued that the concept of gatekeeping suggests that the teacher is always an agent, one who makes decisions about the curriculum. Parker (1987) contended that when teachers see themselves as agents, they begin to believe they are *making a difference.* In Chapter 4, we saw the range of life experiences that grounded teacher professional knowledge—their personal practice knowledge. When we think about teachers as curricular-instructional gatekeepers, we see that teachers, as agents, make decisions related to their curriculum and its aims. Because these are questions of value—and because in Taiwan such questions of value are very much shaped by the overwhelming ideological conflicts of the island—we might say that teachers cannot avoid using their own personal practical knowledge, because that knowledge is so deeply embedded within them.

In addition, teacher personal practical knowledge may be a factor directing teachers' gatekeeping around the aims of student development. As Thornton (2005) argued, it is possible for gatekeeping to impact both the intellectual and moral growth of students. In this study, teachers' personal practical knowledge, especially those grounded in family and coming-of-age stories, are an important base teachers use as they think about students' moral and intellectual growth. For example, in Mr. Chen and Mrs. Chang's stories of studying years, both have been through unequal treatment from teachers. Therefore, during their years teaching, they both emphasized social justice and unjust issues inside and outside of classrooms. Through their focus, students are expected to learn from unheard voices and develop as citizens who care about social justice and humanity.

To conclude, this study has given us a view of the broader social factors that shape teacher professional knowledge and decision-making. Throughout the study, we saw how teachers developed individual rationales for teaching controversial public issues. Their curricular-instructional gatekeeping was strongly grounded in their personal practical knowledge. Teachers' personal practical knowledge appeared to have served as a base for their decision-making. In this way, teacher lives entered into the curriculum that they taught.

These outstanding teachers each demonstrated a high level of consciousness with regard to the concept of gatekeeping and awareness of controversial public issues. In fact, most participants appeared willing to encounter controversial public issues presented in their practice. By examining the perspectives of teachers from multiple sites, with various data, the study has not only given greater insights into Taiwanese social studies classrooms, it has also helped to shed light on the complex ways in which teachers, each with complicated and significant backgrounds, approached the meaning of their life's work. For such life's work, we must remain grateful.

Chapter Summary

This conclusion chapter discussed social studies teachers' teaching in Asian contexts by illustrating how Taiwanese teachers' teaching has created a different picture of teaching social studies in an Asian context--in terms of choosing curriculum resources and creating alternative teaching practice. Later in this chapter, I summarized each teacher's unique contribution to this study. In particular, I stressed how the participants in this study do not represent all teachers in Taiwan. Instead, their teaching has created possibilities not only for students' learning but also for other teachers who are facing difficulties and struggles while teaching controversial public issues in the exceptionally conflicted society--Taiwan. Further, in the end of this chapter, I argued that participants have established possibilities for teaching controversial public issues for teachers not only in Asian contexts, but also other countries in the world where teachers, as agents outside of classrooms, have no choice but to encounter controversial public issues in their daily life.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Interviews/ Interview Questions

1) Gather experiences describing growth as a teacher.

a. What teacher education program did you go to? What were the strengths and weaknesses of that program? How well did it prepare you for the work of teaching?

b. When did you start your first year teaching? What did you enjoy about teaching during those first years? What did you find hard?

c. Describe for me your current teaching practices.

d. How have you grown as a teacher over the years?

e. What have you been struggled with?

f. What has been difficult for you?

2) Gather life stories related to teaching and teaching controversial politic issues in class.

a. Do you think it is important for the history teachers to talk about things currently happening in Taiwan? Why or why not?

b. Have you ever talked about controversial issues in class? Did you plan to talk about them or did they just come up? If you planned to talk about them, why did you choose to talk about these issues?

c. Do you share your perspectives of these issues with your students? Could you give me an example?

d. How do you think your own life experiences shape the way you teach in general? How about the way you teach about controversial issues? Could you give me some examples?

e. If you could pick any three controversial issues that all Taiwanese students should study, what would they be? Why?

3) Gather family stories related to teaching controversial historical events and controversial issues in class.

a. Could you describe your family background?

b. What does family mean to you?

c. Did your family support you in your decision to become a teacher?

d. Do any of your family stories involve teachers or teaching? Could you give me an example?

e. Do you see the connection between your teaching and your family? If yes, why and how?

f. Have you ever shared your family stories to your students? Could you give me an example?

g. Do you think that your family background is a factor influencing your teaching, especially teaching certain issues? Could you give me an example?

4) Reflect on curriculum reform and the place of controversial issues in the official curriculum.

a. How long have you taught at high school?

b. Talk to me about your perspectives on curriculum reform in this country. Have the reforms of 1995 and 2006 changed the way you teach? Can you give me some examples of how curriculum reform has impacted the way you work as a teacher?

c. How do you feel about increasing the proportion of Chinese History and decreasing the proportion of Taiwanese History?

d. How do you feel about the conflict over the Commercial Agreement with the PRC in 2014? Is this something you would teach to your students? Why or why not?

e. Have you created any lesson plan or unit plan related to these issues? If yes, could you give me an example? If no, would you be open to teaching about it? Why or why not? How might you teach about this topic?

5) Reflect on video showing a controversial issues discussion in the United States.

a. How do you think about this lesson?

b. What have you noticed about this lesson?

c. Which part is different from your teaching?

d. Do you like this lesson? Why or why not?

e. Could you teach this lesson or use this pedagogy in your class? If yes, could you tell me how? If no, could you tell me the reason?

f. Do you think this is a successful lesson? Why?

g. What would you do differently if you taught this lesson? Why?

h. Is there anything you would like to borrow from this lesson?

APPENDIX 2

Triangulation Protocols

Table 2 Triangulation Protocols

Data Source	Purpose	Data-Gathering Method	Frequency	Consent Strategy
1. Phase One				
2. Broad Participation	Gather experience on teacher education programs, first year teaching, teaching year before 1996.	Individual interview; audiotaped; transcribed.	Once or twice in a week	Each phase 1 participant will sign a consent form on entering this phase of the study. We will verbally review consent procedures in any subsequent interviews.
3. Broad Participation	Gather life stories related to teaching, teaching historical events (controversial politic issues) in class.	Life history interviews; audiotaped; transcribed.	Once or twice in a week	Each phase 1 participant will sign a consent form on entering this phase of the study. We will verbally review consent procedures in any subsequent interviews.
4. Phase Two				
5. Primary Participants	Gather family stories related to teaching historical events (controversial politic issues) in class.	Individual interview; audiotaped; transcribed.	Once or twice in a week	Each phase 2, primary participant will sign the consent form on entering this phase of the study. We will verbally review consent procedures before each new interview.
6. Primary Participants	Reflect on teaching controversial issues in class	Individual interviews; audiotaped; transcribed.	Once or twice in a week	Each phase 2, primary participant will sign the consent form on

Table 2 (cont'd)

	before.			entering this phase of the study. We will verbally review consent procedures before each new interview.
7. Primary Participants	Share knowledge about controversial issues in Taiwan, talk about political, cultural, and social conflicts in Taiwan.	Individual interviews; audiotaped transcribed.	Once or twice in a week	Each phase 2, primary participant will sign the consent form on entering this phase of the study. We will verbally review consent procedures before each new interview.
8. Primary Participant	Debrief the controversial issue lesson video.	Guided question discussion; audiotaped; transcribed.	Once in a month	Each phase 2, primary participant will sign the consent form on entering this phase of the study. We will verbally review consent procedures before each new interview.

APPENDIX 3

Observation Notes Sample

June 10, 2013

Topic: 1960s in the U.S. 11th grade class, Taichung Frist Girls' Senior High School.

Context: Female class, 45 students in the classroom. 6th time period, after lunch.
Introduction: Mr. Wu described some details as they watching the movie "*1960s*" .
Yu-han: 6th class, they are tired but they love watching movie).

Lesson: Watching movie, lecture, and explain the details.
Yu-Han's questions: history teaching in Taiwan, the differences depend on where, when, and what)
Mr. Wu point out, 1969 New york and Chicago. What they are interested in? Mr. Wu talked about the slogan "I should come back, but just can't find my way."

Yu-han: Coming back to really class again in Taiwan, something are the same something are different, do I use the same way to look at our teaching and our class? Students are different? Standards, class, test, pressure, social value.

Mr. Wu explained the content on the textbook as the "foundation" materials,
Then ask question first, connect to the " film" using the following question,
Mr. Wu asked them to think about their own perspective, as "what if" question.
Mr. Wu explained why we need to discuss question. Ask the question, help them to think about the own position, and concern. Making connection to their own world, making the relevance,

Lastly, Mr. Wu tried to make the film meaningful, asked students about the director's purpose,
Mr. Wu talked about movement, say more the " connection" and "content" beyond the knowledge. (another content in the textbook)
Knowledge, (affirmation, emotional, 1960s, 1970s- 1980s New conservatism.
Still make connection to the text in the textbook, (the language the instructor use is "academic". Making connection to "Taiwan" situation, society.
Asking question as they could. But Mr. Wu rarely shared his own perspective, his opinion.
Textbook, (using the teaching order,) (Taiwan, 1980 1990) Making the brief conclusion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apple, M. W. (1979). *Ideology and curriculum*. New York: Routledge.

Avery, P. G., Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Mitchell, J. M. (1999). Teaching and understanding the war and peace through structured academic controversies. In A. Raviv, L. Oppenheimer, & D. Bar-Tal (Eds.), *How children understand war and peace: A call for international peace education* (pp. 260-280). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ayers, R. & Ayers, W. (2014). *Teaching the taboo*. New York: Columbia University, Teachers College Press.

Bush, K. D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a peacebuilding education for children*. Florence, Italy: UNICEF.

Ball, D. L., & Cohen, D. K. (1996). Reform by the book: What is: Or might be: The role of curriculum materials in teacher learning and instructional reform? *Educational Researcher*, *25* (9), 6-14.

Ball, D. L., Thames, M. H., & Phelps, G. (2008). Content knowledge for teaching what makes it special? *Journal of Teacher Education*, *59* (5), 389-407.

Barton, K., & McCully, A. C (2012) Trying to "See Things Differently": Northern Ireland Students' Struggle to Understand Alternative Historical Perspectives. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 40:4, 371-408

Barton, K. C., & McCully, A. W. (2005). History, identity, and the school curriculum in Northern Ireland: An empirical study of secondary students' ideas and perspectives. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *37*, 85–116.

Brame, C., (2013). Flipping the classroom. Vanderbilt University Center for Teaching. Retrieved [todaysdate] from http://cft.vanderbilt.edu/guides-sub-pages/flipping-the-classroom/.

Britzman, D. P. (2003). *Practice makes practice*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Brookfield, S. (1995). *Becoming a critically reflective teacher*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (1987). Teacher's personal knowledge: What accounts as personal in the study of personal. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *19,* pp. 487-500.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (1996). Teachers' professional knowledge landscapes: Teacher stories of teachers. School stories, Stories of schools. *Educational Researcher, 25* (3), 24-30.

Clark, C. M., & Peterson, P. L. (1986). Teachers' thought processes. In M. C. Wittrock (Ed.),

Handbook of Research on Teaching (3rd ed., pp. 255-296). New York: Macmillan.Cornett,

Chen, B C. (1997). The backgrounds of the national curriculum guidelines. *Educational Research*. *7* (1), 1-13.

Chen, N. P. (2004). The discussion of teachers' curricular decisions at the classroom Level. *The Journal of National Education*, *52*(2), 1-17.

Chen, H. L. (2008). A critical reflection on the reform of the high school history curriculum in Taiwan. *Social education in Asia: Critical issues and multiple perspectives*. Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Institution of Education.

Chou, S. C. (2001). The myth of curricular decision. *The Journal of Education*, *7*(47). 91-106.

Cochran-Smith, M. & Lytle, S. L. (1990). Research on Teaching and teacher research: The issues that divide. *Education Research*, *19* (2), pp2-11.

Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2000). *Research Methods in Education*. London and New York: Routledge.

Cornett, J. W. (1987). *Teacher personal practical theories and their influence upon teacher curricular and instructional actions: A case study of secondary social studies teacher.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University.

Dewey, J. (1934). *Arts as experience*. New York: Perigee Books.

Garrison, J. (1997). *Dewey and Eros. Wisdom and desire in the art of teaching*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Dinkelman (1997). *Critically reflective teacher education in secondary social studies: A preservice case study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Wisconsin, Madison. WI.

Dinkelman (2003). Self-study in teacher education. A means and ends tool for promoting reflective teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education*. *54* (1), pp. 6-18.

Elbaz, F. (1983). *Teacher thinking: A study of practical knowledge*. New York: Nichols.

Evan, R. W., P. G. Avery, & P. Pedersen (1999). Taboo topics: Cultural restraint on teaching social issues. *The Social Studies*, *90* (5), 218-224.

Freire, P. (1978). *Pedagogy in process*. New York: Seabury

Foucault, M. (1985). *The use of pleasure*. New York: Random House, Inc.

Greene, M. (1973). *Teacher as stranger*. CA Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.

Greene, M. *(1995)*. *Releasing the imagination*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publisher.

Greene, M. (2001). *Variations on a blue guitar: The Lincoln Center Institute lectures on aesthetic education*. New York: teachers College Press.

Grossman. D. L., & J. Lo (2008). Introduction. *Social education in Asia: Critical issues and multiple perspectives*. Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Institution of Education.

Hamilton (Ed.,) (1998). *Reconceptualizing teaching practice: Self-study in teacher education*. London: Falmer.

Heichel & Miller (1993). The importance of reflection in decision-making In I., Patterson, C. Minnick Santa, K. G. Short, & K. Smith (Eds.), *Teacher are researchers: Reflections and action* (pp. 173-182). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Hess, D. (2008). Controversial issues and democratic discourse. In L. S. Levstik & C. A. Tyson (Eds.), *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Education* (pp. 124-136). New York, NY: Routledge.

Hess. D. E. (2009). *Controversy in the classroom: The democratic power of discussion*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ho, L. C. (2010), Don't worry, I'm not going to report you": Education for citizenship in Singapore. *Theory & Research in Social Education*. 38:2, 217-247

Hsu & Chen (2004). *The analysis of racial issues in Taiwan*. Paper presented in "The development of Taiwanese population, family, and national healthy policy" conference. Taipei, Taiwan.

Hua (2015). *Creating a flexible curriculum guidelines saturated in Taiwanese contexts.* Retrieved July 13, 2015, fromhttp://kam-a-tiam.typepad.com/blog/2015/07/別把世界史扭曲簡化為外國史-以柔性課綱打造適合台灣的教育.html

Jarman, N. (1998). *Material conflicts: Parades and visual displays in Northern Ireland*. New York, NY: Berg.

King. J. T. (2012). Teaching and learning about controversial issues: Lessons from Northern Ireland. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *37*(2), 215-246.

Kohlberg, L. (1958). The Development of Modes of Thinking and Choices in Years 10 to 16. *Ph. D. Dissertation*, University of Chicago.

Lortie, D. (1975). *Schoolteacher*. Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Lockwood, A. L., & Harris, D. E. (1985). *Reasoning with democratic values: Ethical problems in United States history*. 1 New York: Teachers College Press.

McBee, R. H. (1996). Can controversial topics by taught in the early grades? *Social Education*, *60*(1), 38-41.

McBride, I. (1997). *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant mythology*. Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts.

Ministry of Education (1996). *New curriculum standards for the junior high school education*. Taipei: Author.

Ministry of Education (2001). *Teacher Education Act*. Taipei: Author.

Ministry of Education. (2002). *Special report on the draft guidelines for senior high school history curriculum*. Retrieved September 14, 2006, from http://140.111.1.192/minister/case/921015.htm#psl.

Ministry of Education. (2004). *Gender Equality Education Act*. Taipei: Author. Ministry of Education (2006). *Temporal curriculum guidelines for senior high school education*. Taipei: Author.

Ministry of Education (2011). *Temporal curriculum guidelines for senior high school education*. Taipei: Author.

Ministry of Education (2012). *Curriculum guidelines for senior high school education*. Taipei: Author.

Ministry of Education (2015). *Curriculum guidelines for senior high school education*. Taipei: Author.

Misco, T. (2010) Moving beyond fidelity expectations: Rethinking curriculum reform for controversial topics in post-communist settings, *Theory & Research in Social Education,* 38:2, 182-216

Misco, T. (2011) Deontological reconceptualization: A study of moral education in Beijing, *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 39:4, 464-493

Misco, T. (2013) 'We do not talk about these things': the promises and challenges of reflective thinking and controversial issue discussions in a Chinese high school. *Intercultural Education*, 24:5, 401-416.

Misco, T. (2016) "We are only looking for the right answers": the challenges of controversial issue instruction in South Korea. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 36:3, 332-349

Noddings, N. (1992). *The challenge to care in schools: An alternative approach to education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Ross, E. W., Cornett, J. W., & McCutcheon, G. (1992). *Teacher personal theorizing: Connecting curriculum practice, theory, and research.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Shulman, L. (1986). Understand knowledge growth in teaching. *Educational Researcher*, 15(2), 4-14.

Shulman, L. (1987). Knowledge and teaching foundation of the new reform. *Harvard Educational Review*, *51*, 1-22.

Stake (1995). *The art of case study research*. London, England: International Educational and

Professional Publisher.

Stradling, R., Noctor, M., & Baines, B. (Eds.). (1984). *Teaching controversial issues*. London, England: Edward Arnold.

Stradling, B. (1985). Controversial issues in the curriculum. *Bulletin of Environmental Education*, *170*, 9-13.

Su (2001). The history of gender equality education in Taiwan. *The Journal of Sexual Equality*. 14. P. 13-18.

Parker, W. C. (1987). Teacher's mediation in social studies. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *15*,1-22.

Parker, W. C. (2003). *Teaching democracy: Unity and diversity in public life.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Parker W. C. (2006). Public discourses in schools: Purposes, problems, possibilities. *Educational Researcher*, *35*, 8-18.

Perry, J. W. G. (1999). *Forms of intellectual and ethical development in the college years*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Tawil, S., & Harley, A. (2004). Education and identity-based conflict: Assessing curriculum policy for social and civic reconstruction. In S. Tawil & A. Harley (Eds.), *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* (pp. 1-36). Ceneva, Switzerland: International Bureau of Eductaion.

Thornton. S. J. (1988). Curriculum Consonance in United States history classroom. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, *3*, 308-320.

Thornton, S J. (1991). Teacher as curricular-instructional gatekeeper in social studies. In J. P. Shaver (Ed.), *Handbook of research on social studies teaching and learning* (pp. 237-248). New York: Macmillan.

Thornton, S. J. (2005). *Teaching social studies that matters*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schultz. (1991). *Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries: Civic knowledge and engagement at age of fourteen. Amsterdam*. The Netherlands: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

Walker, B. M. (1996). *Dancing to history's tune: History, myth, and politics in Ireland*. Belfast, Northern Ireland: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast.

Walker, D. F. (2003). *Fundamentals of curriculum* (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Wilson. S. W., D. L. Ball, P. L Grossman, & K. Roth (1989). *Subject matter knowledge for teaching: Cross-disciplinary perspective.* Symposium conducted at the American

Educational Research Association Annual Meeting. San Francisco.

Yin, R. (1984). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Zembylas, M., & Kambani, F. (2012). The teaching of controversial issues during elementary-level history instruction: Greek-Cypriot Teachers' perceptions and emotions. *Theory & Research in Social Education, 40*, 107-133.