

**A comparative perspective on educational policies for  
children of immigrants in Taiwan**

Submitted by Hsin-Jui Ho, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree  
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## **Abstract**

The education of immigrant children is a persistent concern in many western countries. Taiwan has begun to face this challenge in the last decade. The immigrants in this context are mostly females from Southeast Asia and mainland China, on the basis of marriage to a Taiwanese resident. Since Taiwanese society holds a prejudice against them, the children born to foreign mothers are believed to have a negative impact on the quality of the Taiwanese population and to create particular educational problems.

The study employs an interpretive approach combining components of international comparison and policy research. Within this qualitative methodology, mixed methods were used to collect data and gain multiple understandings of the phenomenon in Taiwan. These methods of document analysis, semi-structured interviews and participant observation of foreign mothers' communities, along with a documentary review of the UK experience of educational policy for immigrant children from the 1960s onwards, provide a comparative perspective that has considerable reference value for Taiwan.

It was found that the children of immigrant mothers in Taiwan do not appear to underachieve or fall behind, in contrast to the prejudice held by Taiwanese society. The study also explores the characteristics of disadvantage of children born to immigrant mothers. Through the comparative historical review of the UK and Taiwan, the study also found that when people are faced with different cultures, their attitudes appear to move through in a similar process of adjustment which interacts with and responds to policy formulation. In addition, some recommendations for educational policy for children of immigrant mothers in Taiwan are discussed. The study

proposes that learning plural mother tongues is a means to improve these children's self-identity, allowing them to develop bilingual advantages and contribute to the country's competitiveness.

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# 1. Introduction

Joel Spring (1998) indicated the reason of his engagement in historical research: 'the key thing was personal interest'.

This study topic was of personal interest because it related to my life experience. In 2005, as a foreign student going to Britain to study, I went from being a majority group member to a minority group member, unfamiliar with the language and environment. In the UK, I began to make contact with people of different skin colours and heard different languages spoken which allowed me to participate for the first time in a multilingual plural society, something I had never experienced when I was in Taiwan. On July 7<sup>th</sup> 2005 I was in the centre of London. Suicide bombers targeted the underground and bus routes. The bombs exploded and killed 52 innocent people, while hundreds more people were injured. The chaos paralyzed the transport system and I could not even make a telephone call to my family in Taiwan because all the telephone lines were busy. The terrible pictures were replayed on the television news and the police officers appeared at every street corner. In the following weeks, months and even years, due to the bombers' ethnic backgrounds, immigration issues were much discussed.

Meanwhile, Taiwan was experiencing increasing discussion on children born to immigrant mothers. All of a sudden I felt that I was in a perfect time and place to research this topic and, that to begin to do so, I should investigate the history of immigrants to the UK and their educational experience. The research topic could provide information and insights into Taiwan's concerns and seemed a meaningful research topic. I was, therefore, sure about the direction for my research.

## 1.1 The research problem

Like some western countries, Taiwan has rapidly grown in the number of its immigrants, particularly in the past decade. These immigrants are mostly females on the basis of marriage to a Taiwanese resident. Most of them come from mainland China or the countries of Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, Vietnam and Thailand. In 2005, the rate of “foreign brides” was 20.14% of newly married couples, and that of new-born babies whose mothers are a foreign bride accounted for 13% of total births (MOI, statistics report 2005).

There has thus been a huge change in the recent demographic situation of Taiwan. Previous researchers have paid attention to the general themes concerning migrant women or international marriage and have focused on gender inequalities or feminist issues, yet this phenomenon is particularly noteworthy in education. Many of the men who marry foreign brides are from a low SES (Social Economic Status) background, and some of them are much older or disabled. Foreign brides from Southeast Asia cannot speak Mandarin and generally are not well educated. Thus, there is disquiet in Taiwanese society and an urge to set relevant policies to address these problems through education. Many western countries have dealt with multi-ethnic and minority group questions for several decades. Hence, this research aims to reveal the educational challenges that Taiwan is facing, to discuss the experiences of educational policies for minorities in the UK and to analyse those cases where the implementation of policy in the UK and its outcomes may be pertinent to the Taiwanese situation. In this way, comparing conditions between the UK and Taiwan may serve to generate insights into the perceived successes and failures of the UK experience and how this might be related to the Taiwanese context.

## 1.2 The Knowledge Gap

Issues with regard to female immigrants and their children have come to the fore in Taiwanese society and have raised the interest of academic communities in different research fields. There are a considerable number of studies, including many journal papers, Masters dissertations and some PhD theses on the topic in Taiwan. Although this issue is discussed generally and keenly, the existing literature lacks a holistic picture and overall understanding of the challenges that these children, their mothers, their teachers and the society are facing. Also, potential solutions to the policy problem are not yet well developed.

The existing literature places its focus mainly on the following four themes.

First, differences are emphasized and investigated in many studies. Since the children born to foreign mothers have a different background to their native peers, they have become a popular object in educational research. Their performance in every dimension has been compared and observed in these studies. For instance, some of the studies research the health of the new born baby and his or her intellectual development (Lin, 2003; Chou, 2001). Similarly, their subsequent academic achievement in every subject has been compared with native students, including language, mathematics, science, art, music and PE, as has their situation in terms of social relations, leisure activity and family atmosphere. Everything to do with performance is of interest and inspected under a magnifying glass (Wang & Tsai, 2008; Wang & Wen et al, 2006; Chang, 2009).

Second, worries and warnings are discussed not only in mass media but also in academic studies. Many of the studies have declared deficiencies in the children born to foreign mothers. Since these foreign spouses come from relatively less

developmental countries, generally with low education levels, cannot speak Mandarin, and married men that are also at the bottom of the Taiwanese society, Taiwanese people think the children coming from this kind of background into our society will seriously affect the population quality of Taiwan. Many studies show these children to have difficulties in language and their mothers not having the ability to teach them (Hsu, 2004). In addition, reports regarding domestic violence, foreign bride abuse, or children with slow development always get wide public attention and discussion (Tssay, 2005).

Third, many voices urge education to address and remedy these deficiencies. Because of the warnings and discussion about children born to foreign mothers, many education scholars have attempted to provide suggestions and education programmes for the purpose of helping them. Thus, current studies to assist them looking at curriculum, pedagogy and student counselling have become popular topics and pervade academic research in Taiwan. The children and foreign brides are seen as a social problem and the dominant group tries hard to deal with this.

Fourth, current studies in Taiwan put the focus on the domestic context and attempt to find answers and provide assistance for foreign brides and their children only within the personal, family and school spheres, seldom taking a wider perspective, such as a social, national or global view. Therefore, the delicate interaction of specific social change and mainstream reactions to it are rarely probed. Although a few studies refer to educational policies from other countries, those references tend to focus on single policy borrowing only (for instance authoritative language education provision and multicultural festival activity) and do not go deeply in to the history or provide contextual analysis.

### **International comparative perspective study**

While current studies make an effort to tackle the challenges concerning foreign mothers and their children, this study wanted to understand the important factors of education policy towards immigrants, and their impact. To fill this knowledge gap, this study adopts an international comparative perspective study. The experience from another country may provide lessons on which to think and reflect. Thus the study included numerous sources that reviewed the development of immigrant education policy in the UK. The reviewed literature offers an overarching comprehensive framework within which to understand and analyse the educational challenge that Taiwan is now facing.

### **Contextual study**

When facing an unprecedented policy problem, there is often a need for longer-term, more fundamental policy-focused research that improves the basic understanding of the problem (Morgan, 1992). Accordingly, we have to make it clear what is known and what is not known about the policy problem of education for immigrant pupils. The existing literature in Taiwan has a notable lack of studies on the integrated understanding of education policy for immigrant children and this study aims at a comprehensive policy overview of this issue. By exploring the contextual factors of the policy process, we can clarify the political, economic and socio-cultural factors influencing the policy.

### **Not only focussing on minorities**

This study accounts for the context of education policy for immigrant students both in the UK and Taiwan. Through an international comparative perspective and systematic analysis, the study aims to generate a better insight and understanding of the policy problem. Unlike other studies that concentrate on a single educational

policy or programme borrowing, this study makes an effort to analyse historical experience and progress on a broader cultural canvas. Moreover, the study not only focuses on minorities, but also examines the reaction of the majority. This allows the study to probe and explain a social dynamic rather than a specific policy intervention.

### **1.3 Research questions**

The following research questions were investigated in this study:

1. What are the educational challenges facing children/school students born to female immigrants in Taiwan?
2. What are the important factors that have influenced the educational policies for immigrant children in the UK during 1960-90 and are influencing Taiwan at present?
3. What was the content and outcome of educational policies for minorities and immigrant children in the UK over the period 1960-90?
4. In the light of (1)-(3), what educational policies for minorities can be recommended for present-day Taiwan and how can they be implemented effectively?

### **1.4 Structure**

Initially, the study comprises a documentary review of immigrant education in the UK and the issue of foreign brides in Taiwan. In so doing it provides an historical overview of ethnic minority education and the evolution of educational policies for immigrants in the UK. Meanwhile, the documentary review illustrates the phenomenon of the foreign spouse and portrays the education challenges that are

thought to confront their children in Taiwan. The approach to documentary analysis includes government reports, policy documents, research papers, journal articles, newspapers, web pages and books.

In addition to work on documentary sources of different types, the researcher conducted fieldwork in Taiwan over three years, including participant observation within families, classrooms and grassroots groups of foreign mothers. Twelve semi-structured interviews were also conducted to collect primary data from foreign mothers, teachers who had students born to foreign mothers in their class, a head teacher, a social worker, a member of a grassroots group and an administrator of education authority in Taiwan. The fieldwork supplied useful information and reflection as a supplement to the documentary analysis.

The study attempts to answer the research questions by means of policy analysis in an international comparative perspective. Through the mixed methods that were used to collect data and gain multiple understandings, the study aims to identify the policy problem of immigrant children and analyse the factors that have affected the children of immigrants and policy formulation about them historically in the UK and in present-day Taiwan.

Following a presentation of the research findings, key concepts arising from the study are discussed and the study concludes by recommending education policies for empowerment of foreign spouses and their children in Taiwan and the implications for these children, and highlights areas for further research.

## **1.5 Terminology**

### **Foreign Spouse**

The term ‘foreign spouse’ used in this thesis refers to a woman from mainland China or Southeast Asia who has come to Taiwan by marriage to a Taiwanese man. There are debates on the term of addressing the Chinese and Southeast Asia women who marry Taiwanese man. Ten years ago, they were called the ‘foreign brides’. As time has passed, many are no longer brides, and Taiwanese society has been aware of the discrimination in using this term. Nowadays, ‘foreign spouse’ is widely accepted and used in formal literature. However, “foreign spouse” not only refers to women of other nationalities who came to Taiwan and marry, but also includes males with other nationalities who marry Taiwanese women. Therefore, in the situation where the government needs to specify the group they are referring to, some government literature will use the term ‘new female immigrant’, ‘new immigrant’, ‘new inhabitant’ or ‘neo-immigrant’ to describe these women from China or Southeast Asia who come to Taiwan to be married.

There are two reasons for this study to use the term ‘foreign spouse’. First, it is a neutral term that refers to fact without any specific delimitation. Many of the foreign spouses said that they do not like any kind of name that particularly refers to them, even if it is used with good intention. The second reason is that ‘new inhabitants’ and ‘neo-immigrants’ are not widely recognised terms internationally.

### **Children of Immigrant Mothers**

Children born to immigrant mothers are not framed with a particular term in the study. “The new children of Taiwan” is a term Taiwan society has given them, but this term seems not entirely neutral and so fact-descriptive terms like “children born

to foreign mothers”, “children of immigrant mothers” and a “student whose mother is an immigrant” will appear in the thesis interchangeably.

## **The UK**

The UK is formally referred to as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Great Britain consists of England, Scotland, and Wales. The literature reviews, studies, journal articles and books reviewed in the following chapters cover variously England, Britain and the UK and are often imprecise as to which of the UK countries are covered. Most commonly “the UK” refers in this literature to education policies and programmes in England and (prior to 1999) Wales.

## **2. Methodology: policy research in comparative perspective**

### **2.1 Goals of the study**

The chief goals of this study are to reveal the educational challenges which Taiwan faces in relation to multiculturalism; to provide relevant information on education policy-making for the ‘children of immigrant mothers’; and to discuss what the British experience in education policy for minorities suggests may be worthy of consideration in Taiwan. In order to deal with these research aims, this study involves two methodological conceptual frameworks: policy analysis and international comparison.

Different ways of viewing the world shape different ways of researching the world. The theoretical perspective considered in this study is interpretivism and its epistemology is that meaning is not discovered, but constructed (Crotty, 1998). In this context, the research attempts to understand and explain the process of education policy-making for multi-cultural integration in two countries through the published words of writers and the data generated by interviews. Thus the research methods of collecting and analysing data in this study are qualitative.

The time span of the literature reviewed and documents analysed in this study is 1960-90 for the UK and around 1995 to present day for Taiwan. In the UK, the period of moving from ‘minimisation’ to ‘adaptation’ – 1960-90 (see section 3.4.1) – is an important one for understanding the social environment, political reaction and people’s response to multi-ethnicity in the educational sphere. Meanwhile, the period 1995 to the present in Taiwan takes into account a time when similar issues to those

already faced in the UK were just emerging.

## 2.2 Policy Research

Policy research is defined as the process of conducting research on, or analysis of, a fundamental social problem in order to provide policymakers with pragmatic, action-oriented recommendations to alleviate a problem. Stated differently, policy research begins with a social problem, such as malnutrition, poverty, or inflation, evolves through a research process whereby alternative policy actions to alleviate the problem are developed, and communicates these alternatives to policymakers (Majchrzak, 1984).

There are several types of research processes that may affect efforts to alleviate social problems. Figure 2.2.1 presents a typology of the different research processes. Policy research focuses on action-oriented recommendations to fundamental social problems.

		Focus	
		Technical	Fundamental
Action-orientation	Low	Policy Analysis	Basic Research Policy Analysis
	High	Technical Research	Policy Research

Figure 2.2.1 Research Process Affecting Social Problems

(Majchrzak, 1984)

## 2.1.2 Methodology for Policy Research

Policy research stresses multiple methodologies. Various research methodologies, methods and techniques are used in different areas of policy research, for example, historiographical, genealogical, archaeological approaches as well as social science research techniques. The main problem is the absence of 'a particular strategic edge' to policy sociology, not just its lack of a 'clearly distinctive approach' (Troyna 1994, p.82)

In past decades, many discussion over policy research methodology were published, but the clearly methodology of policy research seldom showed. In 1990, for example, Ball noted that 'the field of policy analysis is dominated by commentary and critique rather than by research' (Ball, 1990: 9). The reviews of policy sociology and methodology by Trevor Gale criticise that 'little attention has been given to research methodology' (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997:23) and particularly that 'most policy analysts leave the interpretational relationships between data and analysis heavily implicit' (Ball, 1994b: 107). In an edited collection by David Halpin and Barry Troyna, written to address these shortcomings, Ball (1994b) identifies Gewirtz and Ozga's confession concerning the 'heavily implicit' methodological assumptions in their writings, drawing attention to the importance of explicating policy research issues (Trevor, 2001, p.381).

Seeing the advantages, Shulman (1997, p.14) describes the diverse array of techniques adopted to study education policy that form a 'methodological mosaic'.

### **Multiplism**

The methodology of policy analysis is a system of standards, rules, and procedures for creating, critically assessing, and communicating policy-relevant knowledge (Dunn, 1994:28). However, although it is a systematic programme used to

solve problems, it does not have a standard recipe. The definition of 'Policy-Analytic Method' by Dunn has 'relatively general procedures for producing and transforming policy-relevant information in a variety of contexts. Cost-benefit analysis, time-series analysis, and research synthesis (meta-analysis) are among such methods. (Dunn 1994, p.29)

Many policy researchers have discussed mutiplism:

Policy research is a mixture of science, craftlore, and art. The science is the body of theory, concepts, and methodological principles; the craftlore, the set of workable techniques, rules of thumb, and standard operating procedures; and art, the pace, style, and manner in which one works. (Rossi, Wright, & Wright, 1978, p.173)

Policy sociology appears to differ little 'from other social and political science analyses of policy' that 'takes policy analysis to be a multi-disciplinary field. (Troyna, 1994, p.71)

There is no recipe approach for doing policy analysis (Taylor et al., 1997, p.36). In reflecting on critical policy analysis, Stephen Ball (1994a) advocates an open and creative approach which emphasizes finding the appropriate theory and concept for the task at hand, rather than narrowly applying a particular theory which may close off possibilities for interpretation. (Taylor et al., 1997, p.38)

It is my belief that the explanation of political behaviour, rather than the validation of a given theoretical approach, should be the main purpose of political inquiry and analysis. (Anderson, 1975, p.25)

The methodology of Policy Analysis draws from and integrates elements of multiple disciplines: political science, sociology, psychology, economics, philosophy. (Dunn, 1994, p.2)

The complexity for policy analysis is high, so there is no best way. (Jenkins, 1997, p.34)

A key feature of research and analysis on social problems over the past 40 and more years is the growing recognition of complexity. This historical development has

been accompanied by the use of multiple perspectives, theories, and methods, along with the inclusion of multiple policy stakeholders, in the process of creating, critically assessing, and communicating policy-relevant knowledge. The methodological core of policy analysis today can be broadly characterized as a form of critical multiplism. The basic methodological injunction of critical multiplism is triangulation: if analysts seek to improve policy-relevant knowledge, they should employ multiple perspectives, methods, measures, data source, and communications media (Dunn, 1994: 6).

Multiplism has an important methodological advantage over its rivals: ‘Approximating the ultimately unknowable truth through the use of processes that critically triangulate from a variety of perspectives on what is worth knowing and what is known. Critical multiplism is a response to the inadequacies of logical positivism as a theory of knowledge. Multiplism is not so much a new methodology as it is a creative synthesis of a broad range of research and analytic practices advocated and used by a cross section of the policy science community. For critical multiplism, inductive plausibility, not certainty, is the defining characteristic of knowledge and a major standard of success in policy inquiry (Dunn, 1994).

The methodological rules of critical multiplism represent general guidelines for policy inquiry rather than specific prescriptions for the conduct of policy research and analysis. These guidelines for creating, critically assessing, and communicating policy-relevant knowledge span several important areas of policy analysis: (Dunn, 1994)

1. Multiple Operationism. The use of multiple measures of policy constructs and variables enhances the plausibility of knowledge claims by triangulating on the same object with two or more metrics.

2. **Multimethod Research.** The use of multiple methods to observe policy processes and outcomes - for example, the concurrent use of organizational records, mailed questionnaires and ethnographic interviews - promotes the plausibility of knowledge claims by triangulating on the same object with data obtained from two or more instruments.
3. **Multiple Analysis Synthesis.** The synthesis and critical assessment of available analyses of similar policies and programmes enhances the plausibility of knowledge claims by examining the stock of knowledge about the effects of policies on different populations in different contexts. The multiple analytic synthesis challenges the notion of a single, authoritative analysis by accentuating the collective nature of policy-relevant knowledge.
4. **Multivariable Analysis.** The recognition and development of variables in policy models.
5. **Multiple Stakeholder Analysis.** Multiple stakeholder analysis draws attention to individuals and groups who participate in formulating and implementing policies as a source of policy-relevant knowledge, and directs attention to the public interest by requiring that analysts not only serve 'officials,' but also the 'public,' including politically marginal and disadvantaged groups.
6. **Multiple Perspective Analysis.** The incorporation into policy analysis of multiple perspectives – ethical, political, organizational, economic, social, cultural, psychological, technological – promotes plausibility by triangulating competing representations of problems and solutions.
7. **Multimedia Communication.** The use by policy analysts of multiple communications media is essential for ensuring that knowledge is policy relevant,

that is, used by policymakers and other intended beneficiaries.

As a way of understanding and analysing both social and policy problems, Dunn's critical multiplism is consistent with the triangulation approach of qualitative study. Through multiple viewpoints, the study collected data from varied sources and looked at policy problem from multiple angles. The concept of 'no single and standard recipe' demonstrates a comprehensive analysis in this international comparative study.

### **Flexibility**

Public policies typically attempt to resolve complex social problems that are composed of a number of dimensions, factors, effects, and causes. Therefore, Policy research must be multidimensional. A policy researcher does not approach a social problem with a predetermined theory of its causes and effects. Instead, the researcher engages in an iterative process whereby information and model building are constantly interchanged (Majchrzak, 1984). This type of research approach has been termed by some as the 'grounded theory' approach to research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967)

Because policy research operates on the boundaries of various perspectives on research methodology, there is no single, comprehensive methodology for conducting the technical analysis (Coleman, 1975). Without the constraints imposed by a singular methodological approach, policy researchers have been free to pursue a variety of methodological directions in technically analyzing social problems (Majchrzak, 1984).

At its best, policy research is a matter of trade-off and compromises. Because they address the sometimes ambitious questions of decisionmakers rather than of academicians, policy researchers

frequently find themselves at the fringes of existing social science methodology- adapting, combining, and improving as they go. (Smith & Robbins, 1982, p.45)

This is to say that policy research is flexible, and contains many valuable judgment descriptions, and cannot be limited to a specific scientific research process. The analysis of information and research of knowledge foundation are just a small part of the drafting policy; experience and judgment ability are more important (Halpin, and Troyna, 1994).

Policy research is an empirico-inductive process, interacting with the social problem to strive for a solution. Therefore, rather than posing a 'frontal attack on the problem,' the methodology should allow for 'its routine adaptation to the problem-solving interaction' (Lindblom & Cohen, 1979, p.61) This implies, then, that policy research methodologies need not be precisely planned in advance; room for adaptation should be allowed. The methodology should be based on the research question, rather than the research question reformulated to fit a preferred methodology (Majchrzak, 1984).

### **The process of policy inquiry**

Policy Analysis was designed as an intellectual and practical activity aimed at creating, critically assessing, and communicating knowledge of and in the policy-making process (Dunn, 1984, p.29). From this, Dunn proposes that this process of policy analysis has five interdependent phases that together form complex, nonlinear cycles or rounds of intellectual activities. These activities are ordered in time and embedded in a policy-making process that is complex, nonlinear, and essentially political: problem structuring (agenda setting), forecasting (policy formulation), recommendation (policy adoption), monitoring (policy implementation), and

evaluation (policy assessment) (*ibid.*). Although there is not any fixed indicator for policy research, a PhD student conducting policy analysis is able to take models such as that advanced by Dunn as well as other models set out in the methodology literature. For example, Majchrzak (1984) distinguishes between five major activities of policy research: preparation, conceptualization, technical analysis, recommendations analysis and communication. Alongside this, Hough (1984) defines four main phases to the policy process: (1) issue emergence and problem identification; (2) policy formulation and authorization; (3) policy implementation; and (4) termination or change of policy. Meanwhile, Thomas R. Dye (1992) outlines five phases of the policy process: (1) identifying problems; (2) formulating policy proposals; (3) legitimating policies; (4) implementing policies; and (5) evaluating policies.

In response to these similar conceptions of the policy research processes, four stages of research will be used as the basic structure for theorising the policy process in the remainder of this section, in analysing the specific policy area under review in chapter four and in determining possible desirable policy solutions in chapter five.

### 1. Problem identification/ structuring

An initial question to be addressd is whether the phenomenon to be studied is or is not a policy problem (Lindblon & Cohen, 1979, p.49). The researcher quickly established that the number of children with foreign mothers in Taiwan is increasing in school and selected this social phenomenon as the subject of study. First, we have to understand whether this phenomenon is really a social problem that needs the intervention of education policy. With this in mind, the researcher started to collect information and data on the education problems of these children with a foreign mother, and brought these questions into the field and began

contacting the stakeholders. In my pilot study (see section 2.4), I interviewed stakeholders in order to identify perspectives on the nature of the problem of educating such children at the same time as I was assessing the related documentary reviews that describe in detail the possible learning problems of these children born to foreign mothers (reported in Chapter four). The purpose of the research at this early stage was to understand how problems are defined.

## 2. Agenda setting

In the past, policy research focused on policy adoption. Now more attention is given to how issues get placed high on the policy agenda (Lester & Stewart, 2000). How can one issue come to policy attention faster than another? This is the concern of agenda-setting. With respect to how issues get to be issues, this work attempts to help answer the questions: How do subjects come to the attention of officials, and how are the alternatives formed?

## 3. Policy formulation

After the pilot study, the urgent problems that Taiwan is currently thought to be facing are identified in detail. An analysis of education policy proposals follows the development of immigrant education policy formulation in the UK from 1960 to 1990 and this is used to relate these proposals to a standard international model (see section 3.4).

## 4. Policy communicating

After conducting a Taiwan / UK comparative analysis (section 5.1) the study discusses the application direction of the context in Taiwan, and targets a series of policy proposals at interview stakeholders such as: teachers, parents, social benefit groups of neo-immigrants, education administrative and officers, in order to

summarize a feasible education policy for the children of these new immigrants.

### **2.2.2 Problem definition**

Asking the ‘right’ question in any inquiry is important. The first step of policy analysis is problem structuring, whether retrospective or prospective analysis is used. Successful problem solving requires finding the right solution to the right problem. Policy-makers are accused of failure mainly because they solve the ‘wrong’ problem rather than because they get the wrong solution to the right problem (Ackoff, 1974 as cited in Dunn, 1994). Furthermore, many of the most important policy problems are ill-structured. Dunn (1994) stated that one of the lessons of political science, public administration, and other disciplines is that well-structured and moderately structured problems are rarely present in complex governmental settings. Therefore, the pilot study for this research was designed to understand recent demographic changes to Taiwan. It included three questions in substance: What is the circumstance in Taiwan of children/school students born to female immigrants? Why and who concerns? And what is the policy problem arising from this change in population in Taiwan?

#### **Characteristics of policy problem**

The definition of a problem is part of the problem (Parsons, 1995, p.88). Policy problems are not objective conditions. The same ‘facts’ – for example crime, pollution, and poverty – are often interpreted in markedly different ways by different policy stakeholders. A policy problem starts from a fact, as when we are all agreed there is an issue, but are not necessarily agreed on the problem. As a policy issue cannot express itself, people have to interpret it, thus generating different opinions relating to the same fact. Therefore different people may make different claims about the nature of a policy problem and its associated policy action based on their chosen

political and social perspective.

Moreover, policy problems are complicated and interdependent, so what may look like an education problem may involve many different areas of a state's actions, such as economics and public security. At the same time, policy problems are also dynamic and may change or appear differently when time and external conditions change, or they may even disappear (Dunn, 1994).

### **The role of experts**

Policy problems are socially constructed, and do not exist apart from individuals and groups. Who defines the problem initially has an important role. In the construction of problems, those who 'know' or have claims to know about a certain issue have a highly influential input into the definitional process (Parsons, 1995, p.154). They hold the power to define needs and problems, power in the allocation of resources, and power over people. As such, what counts as a problem and how a problem is defined depends upon the way in which policy-makers seek to address an issue or an event. James A. Jones expresses this in the context of social problems: 'whosoever initially identifies a social problem shapes the initial terms in which it will be debated' (Jones, 1971, p.561 as cited in Parsons, 1995, p.87). Therefore, we need to look at the formulation of policy problems with a cautious attitude. Any interested group, experts, or policy-makers can define and interpret social problems in order to achieve their own goals.

### **Precision in policy definition**

The definitions and values of social problems are very important. If there is little agreement on what the problem is, and these definitions are riddled with inflexible values and assumptions, conducting a policy research study that will make a

significant contribution alleviating the social problem may be difficult. For instance, we may all agree what an issue is but disagree as to what exactly the problem is, and therefore what policy should be pursued (Parsons, 1995).

The interpretation and understanding of a problem may change according to different time periods. Different definitions of problems need different solutions. Therefore, we must first clarify the problem as policy structuring always is at the centre of policy research. Our problem is not to do the right thing, but to understand what it is right to do. So we must obtain related information regarding the policy in order to understand the following questions: what is (facts), what is right (values), and what to do (action)?

The methodology of policy analysis has several important characteristics, including: a concern with formulating as well as solving problems (Dunn, 1994, p.28). Providing related information regarding a policy problem might be the most critical job in the whole policy analysis process, not least because the way to identify a problem might directly relate to whether we can find or identify a proper solution to it.

The procedure followed in defining the policy problem at the heart of this study involved identifying and describing the problem via a number of steps:

Step1 Initial awareness. The researcher noticed the increasing number of foreign spouses, and the ratio of new births where a parent is a foreign spouse has also increased. It was also observed that many voices from society complained of the population quality of these new Taiwanese children as poor, genetically inferior, and receiving insufficient nurturing after their birth. This was the first step in noticing the problem and the ways in which it was being framed

within Taiwanese society.

Step2 Observing the facts related to the problem or phenomenon. The researcher took this step by reviewing all the literature relating to this policy phenomenon and began to establish a network of contacts regarding this issue. The researcher then contacted persons, researchers and foreign spouse organizations related to this issue and, as a result, became a volunteer teacher at a Chinese class for foreign spouses.

Step3 Carefully examine the phenomenon and conditions associated with the problem in order to identify it with precision. At this stage, the researcher entered the field and conducted the pilot study for the first research question: What are the educational challenges facing children / school students born to female immigrants in Taiwan? After interviewing a few foreign mothers and teachers, first hand information to the question was obtained. In the mean time, the researcher participated in various kinds of foreign spouse group activities in order to get close to their daily lives and their problems.

Step4 Assess the factors that cause the problem in order to simplify the problems and make them solvable. Though we cannot solve all public policy problems immediately, we can still carefully and precisely distinguish their dependent variables:

1. possible causes: any possible reasons.
2. plausible causes: reasonable causes which were experimentally observed and analysed.
3. actionable causes: the causes that can be tackled. (Lin and Chang, 2006).

Step5 List every possible fact related to the policy problem, highlight especially those that appear most closely related to the problem, and those which assist in supporting the structure, functions and interrelationship of the problem into different categories. In the case at hand, this involved identifying the important dimensions, variables and conditions of the education problem of the children of immigrants.

Policy research focuses on malleable variables. In order for policy research to yield action-oriented, implementable recommendations, the research must focus on those aspects of the social problem open to influence and intervention (i.e., malleable variables). Rossi and Shlay recommend shifting research attention to those malleable variables that may have a much greater likelihood of producing useful, implementable recommendations (Rossi & Shlay 1982).

The last question regarding defining the policy problem that needs further clarification at this preliminary stage is ‘whether the phenomenon is a problem?’ If the current policy remains unchanged, what affects will this have on society? It may be the case that, without a new policy or intervention, the social problem will become less problematic on its own accord, making the implementation of a recommendation less necessary. On the other hand, there may be ample evidence to indicate that without a new policy, the social problem may have serious negative consequences in the foreseeable future. Such an ominous prediction can provide a powerful impetus to implement a proposed recommendation (Majchrzak, 1984).

### **2.2.3 Agenda setting**

In the past, policy researchers placed their focus on policy adoption but more recently they have begun to focus more on how to prioritise the issue in the arena

where agendas are set (Lester & Stewart, 2000). Agenda setting is a critical part of the analysis of the policing process. The questions we ask say something about the problems we think are important. This concerns how issues come to be issues; how they come to the attention of public officials and policy-makers; how agendas are set and why ideas 'have their time' (Parsons, 1995). 'Why some issues enter the policy agenda faster than the others?' is a central question when analysing agenda setting. This study aims to apply the UK experience to Taiwan. Thus, understanding what the important factors were in the agenda setting process in the UK may suggest, for example, what circumstances would comprise the right time for instigating policy change, so speeding up the integration progress in Taiwan.

Agenda setting is very important, since if the issue cannot enter the public agenda or the government agenda, then it cannot be considered for the next step of action. This is to say that before policy selection, the issue must be recognized first. Generally speaking, if an issue matches the following conditions, it will receive special attention and enter the policy agenda (Lester & Stewart, 2000).

1. The issue is urgent, and thus cannot be ignored;
2. The issue is dramatical and, possibly, unique, such as ozone depletion and global warming issues.
3. The issue is emotional and involves benefitting a group of people that can draw the attention of media.
4. The issue is influential.
5. The issue is related to social rights and legality.
6. The issue is endemic.

Neuman defined the 'threshold' as where there is a 'sudden steep ascent of attention and transition from nonproblem to problem' (Neuman, 1990, p.164.) However, certain issues, such as basic problems of racism, poverty, and alienation

have long existed but remain for long periods below the threshold of mainstream public attention. For instance, the Vietnam War, urban unrest, and the energy crisis qualified as crises, because they had distinct beginnings, middles, and ends. On the other hand, drugs, pollution, and poverty are seen as symbolic crises, because although news coverage can elevate them to crisis level in the minds of the public at specific moments, the issues are not likely to be resolved anytime soon (Witherspoon, 2003).

The concept of threshold and the policy window proposed by Kingdon begins with the assumption that what defines the policy agenda is ‘the list of subjects to which government officials and those around them are paying serious attention’ (p.vii). He finds that three independent policy-making streams ‘flow’ through the system all at once, each with a life of its own. He argues that policy making does not proceed neatly in stages, steps, or phases, as do other scholars, especially system theorists (Kingdon, 1995).

Under the policy streams approach, Kingdon (1984, as cited in Parsons, 1995) argues that the agenda process is composed of three streams: problems, policies and politics – and that when streams merge a launch window for policy change is likely. For example, a crisis prompts policy-maker to take immediate response action.

Beyond such specific trigger points, Lester and Stewart identify three spheres where agendas can be set. (Lester & Stewart, 2000)

1. The elite perspective: a person or group who has social and political advantage, and who assume different roles at different times. For example, they might be politicians, or soldiers, or a rich organization in a capitalist society.

2. The pluralist perspective: interest groups dominate the agenda setting process. The

agenda setting process will primarily reflect the actions of the beneficiary group, so this group will identify the problems and apply the pressure to make sure the issue enters the public agenda, or disappears.

3. The sub-governmental perspective: shaped by three groups of actors, the council members of the committee, the agency bureaucrats that are responsible for the success of the action; and the clientele groups related to this issue.

Another important group in the agenda setting is the policy entrepreneurs – people who actively put in resources to promote legislation or to try to solve problems. They not only try to attract the attention of key personnel, but also propose solutions to solve a problem, and try to incorporate the problem and solution into the flow of the political process. Besides this, policy entrepreneurs promote their specific issues to important politicians, and they also attempt to link related political problems to solutions. Successful policy entrepreneurs know how to pull together these three streams, but it is difficult to accomplish this as a matter of course. Furthermore, it is rare that public questions are enlisted onto a formal agenda by one person's effort alone; this usually needs the collaboration of people interacting with the issue (Lester & Stewart, 2000).

Turning specifically to the education policy agenda setting, a common sequence appears to involve identifying the education problem, deciding which education problems should be included in the policy agenda, and prioritising the education problems. Within this, various other factors may be influential:

1. those receiving public education and who are most affected by a range of education problems
2. controversial issues which draw media attention and public discussion

3. issues which are a priority in an overall national development plan

4. issues that may cause physical or mental danger (Chang, 2001)

When an issue has entered the education policy agenda, its status as a problem and the level of attention it gets is likely to increase and become more specific. A procedural question which may arise is which government bureau should the emphasis and focus be transferred to? What, where and how should this be done? And after an education problem has entered this stage, what specific proposals and plans relating to it can provide a feasible policy solution?

#### **2.2.4 Policy formulation and suggestion**

Another aspect of policy research is that ‘policy is not made, it accumulates’ (Majchrzak, 1984). Policy-makers typically deal with social problems that are complex, elusive, and not easily resolved. As a result, social problems can only be alleviated through a series of successive approximations in which policies are continually suggested, implemented, evaluated, and revised (Majchrzak, 1984). Accordingly, policy researchers and policy makers may need to realise that the social sciences do not offer a panacea for social problems; rather, what they can provide is valuable information that may one day help to prevent the occurrence or recurrence of certain social problems (Campbell, 1969 as cited in Majchrzak, 1984).

Of course, the quality of the policy analysis is tightly related to whether the policy itself and its outcome are enhanced. But good policy analysis may or may not be used by the intended beneficiaries. Sometimes, even when the policy analysis has been actively taken up by those responsible for solutions, this may not guarantee the outcome of a better policy (Dunn, 1994). In the present study, the foreign spouses and teachers contacted all mentioned that the schools will arrange some additional

programmes after school for the children of a foreign spouse, as well as parent-child development classes for foreign mothers. Although seemingly a good idea, the participants were not enthusiastic about such programmes. The reasons behind this were complex. Consequently, during the policy formulation stage of the analysis, discussions with these stakeholders were held in order to relate their perspectives and concerns to the suggestions that had begun to arise from analysis of the UK experience.

## **2.3 International Comparison**

In order to understand what the British experience in education policy for minorities suggests could be considered for Taiwan, this study adopts an international comparative research perspective. The purposes of comparative education studies are to understand our own education system; to understand other cultures and their education systems; to identify similarities and differences between different systems; to improve international understanding; and, the most practical aim, to be used as a tool for policy-making (Noah, 1984; Broadfoot, 2000). Perhaps comparative historical experience of what has been tried elsewhere and with what success or failure may help us to improve our own policies.

It might be argued that comparative education studies always impose an educational concept from developed to less developed countries; yet this sort of centre-periphery concept reinforces inequality and the dependence of developing countries upon western countries. Many previous studies have warned of this, such concerns being generally based on insights derived, for example, from dependency theory, world-system theory, and postmodernism (Arnove, 1980; Irizarry, 1980; Rust, 1991). Notwithstanding these worries, comparative study is still one of the most

valuable contributions of educational researches. If we discreetly apply it, it not only sets forth a range of alternative ideas and practices but also help distinguish what can reasonably be imported and what cannot (Phillips, 2000).

In terms of research methodology, comparative education is not a field that has had a concordant and theoretical methodology. No specific process or framework of comparative studies had been put in place. Keeves & Adams (1994) indicated that concern for a single scientific method of comparative education is a fallacy. On the other hand, comparative education has provided many research strategies and methods across the social sciences, such as literature review, interviews, historical analysis, experimentation, content-analysis and field research. For that reason, there is no dominant methodology found and followed step-by-step in the field of comparative studies.

Owing to the lack of fixed methods and with numerous different espousals of fundamental theories, it is easy to find a great deal of critical discussion, clashes of opinion, discussion of dilemmas and reflective reviews within comparative and international research in education (Crossley & Watson, 2003; Keeves & Adams, 1994; Little, 2000). Though there is no one definitive path to follow for comparison, this study follows the principles below to avoid the pitfalls which are often encountered in carrying out comparative and international research.

### **Context matters**

Concern with context is perhaps the most enduring characteristic of disciplined comparative and international research in education (Crossley & Watson, 2003). Michael Sadler's work at the end of the nineteenth century provided insights and principles which comparativists still quote a century later.

In studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside...(Sadler, 1900, as cited in Alexander, 2000)

Indeed, the parts of any educational system are interdependent, and need to be examined in relation to the whole. To understand an education system requires examination of many different dimensions, for instance history, culture and customs. Thus, this study looked first at presenting the history of the education policies of minorities in the UK but did so by paying attention to the specific cultural context of the UK (section 3.4) before any tentative comparisons were made with the situation faced by children born to female immigrants in Taiwan.

### **Focus for Research**

At the outset of any comparative or international study researchers need to be especially clear as to what they are looking for, and why (Crossley & Watson, 2003). Since comparative study is a complex and multidisciplinary field it is sometimes too difficult to compare the research object in every dimension. Thus, the purpose or a clear focus for comparative study is crucial. As such, Isaac Kandel, in his classic work, *Comparative Education*, explained that 'the methodology of comparative education is determined by the purpose that the study is to fulfil' (Rust, Soumare, Pescador, & Shibuya, 1999). In assessing the potential problems confronting children of mixed marriage in Taiwan, the comparative aspect of this research examines specifically the experience of educational policies regarding minority students in the UK during the period of moving from 'minimisation' to 'adaptation': 1965-90 (Bennett, 1993). In other words, this study focuses on the problem that Taiwan is facing with reference to similar issues addressed in the UK.

Of the methodologies in comparative education the ‘problem approach’ has been chosen as the one best suited to provide the framework to analyze the data. Bereday (1964, p.23) says: ‘problem analysis is an apprenticeship for the total analysis and at same time a crowning of the research steps referred to previously’. He explains that the problem approach is a way of focussing comparative research; researchers can commence their research from a problem that their own country is experiencing and refer to the experience of other countries. Holmes (1981) also asserts that the starting point of comparative enquiry should be a problem.

Educational policy is affected by many factors, such as politics, society, economy, culture, religion; and given the complexity of the interactions, it is difficult to compare two countries in all aspects. Therefore, in contrast to a total analysis, the problem approach enables the researcher to survey comparative evidence in a small segment. In other words, comparative research can be related closely to specific concerns in research – in this case the educational challenge of assimilating immigrant groups in the UK during 1960-90, and in Taiwan since 1995 – in relation to effective strategies to foster cultural integration through education. This may not be a comprehensive view of the two countries but it is an effective way for research to be focussed upon the key concern of a study such as this.

### **Diminishing Bias**

One of the most frequently acknowledged problems that needs to be recognized by those carrying out comparative and international research is that of bias (Crossley and Watson, 2003). Bias in research may stem from researchers’ personal prejudice, the relatively narrow range of their experience and from restricted selection among the data that has been generated in the past. There is no single solution to dealing with

the potential of bias; what the researcher can do is to be aware that bias exists and attempt to avoid it. Referring to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestions for naturalistic inquiry, this study addresses internal and external validity in three ways: (1) by reading broadly, as collecting data from varied sources will diminish bias, i.e. it forms a means of triangulation of sources; (2) the researcher was able to reflect in a deep and prolonged way about policy dilemmas in Taiwan while immersed in UK culture and its education literature; (3) the study provided a clear, detailed and in-depth description of data generation and analysis.

### **Opportunities in comparative research**

Despite the limitations and pitfalls set out above, the comparative context for analysing educational policy can be illuminating in a number of ways. It can demonstrate possible alternatives to policy 'at home'; provide insights into the processes of policy formation; clarify means of successful implementation used elsewhere; and serve to warn against adopting certain measures (Phillips, 2000).

Comparative education is also well situated to contribute to the further development of education policy studies. On the one hand, comparative education can make a contribution to many of the current difficulties faced by policy-makers, particularly in helping to contextualize cross-national policy activities; assisting studies to move from a practice-oriented field to one relying more heavily on social science theory; allowing policy studies specialists to overcome their ideological and theoretical divisions; and illuminating how policy studies models are being used in the field in contrasting national settings. Meanwhile, comparative education can work closely with education policy studies because both address the challenges presented by globalizing and localizing developments. However, to accomplish these challenges,

comparative educators must further develop their own transnational competence (Rust, 2000).

## **2.4 Research design**

To answer the research questions, this study combines several methods of data collection and analysis. This section provides a description of the research methods and the process of data collection and analysis.

### **2.4.1 Data Collection Procedure and Sampling**

‘There can no more be only one approved mode of policy research than there can be only one way of learning’ (Wildavsky, 1979, p.281).

There is more than one method for collecting data in comparative policy research. As policy research activities change with different problems, we may need different ways for collecting sample data at different stages of a study. This study involved different methods for data gathering across two countries, including document analysis, semi-structured interviews, participant observation and conference participation.

The preliminary data for Taiwan were collected from document analysis with some of the primary data being collected from fieldwork via individual interviews, participant observation and conference participation. Documentary data continued to be collected as questions emerged and documentary analysis comprised the sole method of data collection for the UK dimension of the study.

#### **Documentary study**

Documentary analysis was a major component of the study and pervaded all of

the research, from the preliminary reading to the final analysis. Sources included government reports, policy documents, research papers, journal articles, web pages and books in the UK and Taiwan. As Scott and Morrison (2005) indicate, there are many ways in which 'documents' are used in educational research. The document analysis for this research firstly provided a starting point in the early stages of research, including the formulation of researchable problems and research design. Secondly, it contributed to the development of key concepts and the construction of research instruments. Thirdly, it provided a major source of data in its own right. And finally, it was used in conjunction with the collection of fieldwork data and often in terms of providing the wider picture or context.

McCulloch and Richardson (2000) took the content analysis of 51 editions of education research method textbooks published in America and Britain since 1932, and noted that some books treat educational research exclusively as an experimental science and therefore see documentary historical research as a non-experimental method. McCulloch (2004) also pointed out that over the past twenty years, social scientists have largely neglected and ignored the use of documents in favour of methods in which they are actively involved in producing data for their own purpose, such as interviews, questionnaires and observation. In such circumstances, document-based studies appear to have become marginalised and to attract an unenviable reputation for being almost too simple and straightforward a basis for significant research studies (McCulloch, 2004).

Notwithstanding this unpopularity, the study adopted documentary research as a key component of the research method since the methodological consideration is related to the research questions. The study conducted educational policy research in an international comparative perspective and particularly focused on the development

of educational policies for immigrants to the UK in the period of 1950s-1990s. Reviewing historical documents was a crucial part of the data analysis and there are copious records and materials that already exist and are available to the researcher. Therefore, it seemed sensible to use documentary sources as a starting point and framework of analysis for the research. Thus Sidney and Beatrice Webb commented in their *Methods of Social Study* (1932) on:

‘Rich deposits of records about past and contemporary events which would be unobtainable by the methods of personal observation and statistical measurement. (1932, p. 98)

There are some basic, well-established, rules that apply in appraising and analyzing documents

First, authenticity: Is the evidence genuine and of unquestionable origin?

Second, credibility: Is the evidence free from bias and distortion?

Third, representativeness: Is the evidence typical of its kind, and if not, is the extent of it being untypical known?

Fourth, meaning: Is the evidence clear and comprehensible? (Scott, 1990: 6)

Based on Scott’s four guidelines, the study surveyed the documentary sources in a systematic way. In relation to authenticity, since the study employed documents most of which were published and public rather than private primary data, these could be regarded as formal statements of policy or commentaries about it. For credibility, representativeness and meaning, the study approached the data sources through triangulation and a plural methodology, which comprised a wide-ranging research material:

Several writers have suggested that, in order to overcome the potential problems of reliability and bias, it is necessary to make use of a wide range of different kinds of documents which will represent alternative viewpoints and interests. At times this process appears to be conceived as a form of triangulation, through which the truth will emerge from testing different kinds of documents against each other (McCulloch, 2004: 44).

The historian John Tosh (2002) also indicated that historical researchers should not be dependent on a single source, for it is likely to be in some way inaccurate, incomplete or otherwise tainted. Moreover, he stated,

The procedure is rather to amass as many pieces of evidence as possible from a wide range of sources- preferably from all the sources that have a bearing on the problem in hand. In this way the inaccuracies and distortions of particular sources are more likely to be revealed, and the inferences drawn by the historian can be corroborated. Each type of source possesses certain strengths and weaknesses; considered together, and compared one against the other, there is at least a chance that they will reveal the true facts – or something very close to them. (Tosh 2002, p.98)

The study tried to obtain documentary sources of different types, including official texts, books, published commentary and reporting, and scholars' articles. For instance, in terms of the educational policy for immigrants in the UK, the Swann Report (1985) is a significant official text. It is useful in providing information on this topic, but it has also been criticized by many different interest groups and educators. In using published reports for research data, McCulloch warns:

It cannot be assumed that the information provided in such reports is always accurate, and it should be checked against other sources. ...It is also useful to relate such reports to other policy representations of the same period. (McCulloch, 2004, p.81)

In this case, the study did not access information drawing only from the Swann Report, but also employed different perspectives on the report, for example, *Education for Equality: the National Union of Teachers' response to the Swann Report* (NUT, 1986), Verma's article, *The Swann Report and Ethnic Achievement: What Next?* and Chiver's (1987) book, *Race and Culture in Education- Issues arising from the Swann Committee Report*, as well as the key historical study undertaken by Grosvenor (1997).

In addition to the formal published documentary materials, newspaper records are also important for social research. Tosh (2002) indicated that the press constitutes a most important type of public source material. In particular, it records the political and social views that are most influential at any particular time. In this study, information drawn from newspapers published in the UK and Taiwan were used to present contemporary issues.

Although documentary research is beneficial for social and educational research, it still has its limitations and challenges. Analysing the overwhelming volume of documentary data is time-consuming work, and documentary analysis is also hard work. One specific limitation is the nature of documents designed to illuminate official and public outlooks of the social and political elite rather than the range of views present at any one time in mass society (McCulloch, 2004). To obtain information from the populace and ordinary people in Taiwan, the researcher involved foreign mothers, conducted interviews with different individuals, and observed their daily life and group activities, while Grosvenor's historical study of the UK also attempts to place such evidence alongside official accounts.

Combining mixed methods or sources of data in a study of my kind is valuable. As Taylor and Bogdan remark,

Triangulation may be useful as a means of checking insights drawn from different sources of data, and in order to gain deeper and clearer understanding of the situation and the people involved (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998, p.80)

Firstly, the researcher read widely among general books, journal articles and research papers related to the education of ethnic minority and immigrant pupils from around the 1950s to present in the UK. After I had a clear framework for the whole background and process of UK minority education, I examined in detail some key documents which seemed most important and useful in providing evidence, notably the 'Swann Report' (see section 3.4). In the meantime, I collected more recent documents from Taiwan and also kept up to date with the latest information about children born to foreign mothers from Taiwanese news papers, TV reports, and research papers.

The documents from two countries were analyzed individually and separately in the initial stages. When doing the initial reading of the documents, I took notes of key points and meaningful parts. Later, intertextual analysis of the context and content data from the two countries was conducted.

The documents concerning UK education are written in English while the documents related to Taiwan are mostly in Mandarin, with only a few research papers written in English. I collected, read and analyzed the documents in their original language. Only the paragraphs and sentences which were selected and cited in this dissertation were translated from Mandarin.

Document analysis was adopted in the early stages, and was used as supplementary data during the field stage and for further refinement at the writing up stage. After first stage interviews were conducted, the Taiwanese data was characterised as similar and optimistic responses by interviewees. To triangulate, I

then gathered more documentary data from quantitative and qualitative research papers to complement my field data and to assist in the construction of arguments. This helped the study to identify the policy problem and make analytical progress.

A broad notion of triangulation and methodological pluralism is thus also possible through a combination of documentary and non-documentary sources (McCulloch, 2004). The study therefore conducted documentary research, supplemented with interviews and the observation of respondents from the fieldwork.

### **Into the field**

While the researcher remained in the UK (during 2006-2008), the central task was to undertake document analysis, reflecting on previous work and refining the field-based research which then took place in Taiwan from 2008 to 2010.

In terms of the fieldwork, the first step was to consider target and accessible groups. The researcher started in the field as a volunteer assistant in extension classes for the 'students whose mother is an immigrant' and Mandarin classes for foreign brides in Taiwan. In order to maintain close contact with the research subject, the researcher contacted a charity in 2007 that specifically assists children of foreign spouses, and became a volunteer teacher, participating in many activities in this organization, and maintaining contacts with foreign spouses and their children.

### **Semi-structured Interview**

To gather different views from different stakeholders related to this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Qualitative interviewing is based on conversation, with the emphasis on researchers asking questions and listening, and

respondents answering. It is similar to standardized survey interviewing in this respect, but unlike the survey interview, the epistemology of the qualitative interview tends to be more constructionist than positivist. Interview participants are more likely to be viewed as meaning makers, not passive conduits for retrieving information from an existing vessel of answers. The purpose of most qualitative interviewing is to derive interpretations, not facts or law, from respondents (Warren, 2001).

In order to gain information that is both systematic and flexible, the interviews were conducted by means of open-ended questions and with the interview outline determined in advance. The interviews covered a wide range of individuals and groups who affect and are affected by the policy problem:

foreign mothers.

the teachers who have the “students whose mother are immigrant” in their class.

the social workers engaged with “children of immigrants”

administrators in the education authority of Taiwan

other interest groups

As Parsons states: the policy subsystem is composed of all those who play a part in the generation, dissemination and evaluation of policy ideas (1995, p.196). This research attempted to contact different groups connected to the research problem so as to construct an understanding from different perspectives and to generate as comprehensive a view as possible.

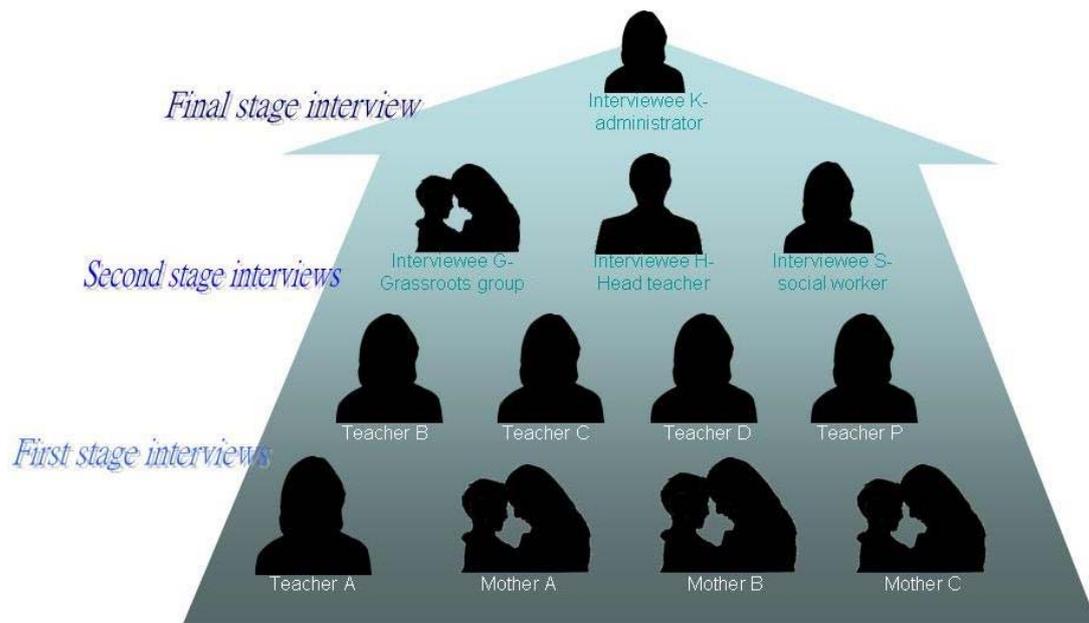


Figure 2.4.1 Interview Sampling Procedure

There are two approaches of sampling (Flick, 2006). One is an *a priori* determination of the sample structure. The structure of the sample may be defined in advance and filled in through collecting data and is commonly used in quantitative research. The other approach to sampling is a gradual definition of the sample structure in the research process. It may be developed and further differentiated step-by-step during selection, collection, and interpretation of material. This is more feasible and more informative in qualitative research. Gradual strategies of sampling are mostly based on ‘theoretical sampling’ developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Glaser and Strauss were primarily concerned with the generation of theory from research which is, in their sense, ‘grounded’. This notion, though somewhat difficult to interpret, implies that theory is somehow generated and emerges from the research itself. The emerging theory then, in turn, dictates the process of data collection and sampling (Wellington, 2000, p.59). Glaser and Strauss explain theoretical sampling as follows:

Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by emerging theory, whether substantive or formal. (1967, p.45).

The interview samples were developed gradually and, in attempting to answer the research questions, the research process itself was iterative and evolving. Using this procedure, the researcher picks an initial sample, analyzes the data, and then selects a further sample in order to refine the emerging theory. The structure of the fieldwork may be decided in advance but the detail of collecting data may be developed and further differentiated step-by-step during selection, collection, and interpretation of material. As part of this, the researcher explores the research questions by continuously looking at the various resources rather than to a set number of sample respondents. This process is continued until the researcher reaches 'data saturation', or a point when no new insights can be obtained from expanding the sample further.

As far as research methods are concerned, the study proceeded with a gradual focus method. Although only twelve people who participated in the interviews, they covered a wide range of the stakeholders including policy-makers, practitioners and 'ordinary' citizens with different perspectives. Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003) explained the considerations for arriving at a sample size in qualitative, interview-based research. First, there is a point of diminishing returns, where increasing the sample size no longer contributes new evidence. If the data are properly analysed, there will come a point where very little new evidence is obtained from each additional fieldwork unit. This is because phenomena need only to appear once to be

part of the analytical map. Second, statements about incidence or prevalence are not the concern of qualitative research. There is therefore no requirement to ensure that the sample is of sufficient scale to provide estimates, or to determine statistically significant discriminatory variables.

### **First stage interviews**

The first stage interviews were taken to gain a comprehensive understanding of the educational circumstances of children born to foreign mothers, the needs of the foreign mother in raising children and the teacher's response in facing the new challenge brought about by the different backgrounds of students. The first stage interviews used availability (or convenience) sampling since this type of sampling is useful at the outset of qualitative fieldwork. Respondents in the sample were selected, firstly, by considering whether their group background was representative of an important group in the policy sub-system (in this case, of foreign mothers). With this established, volunteers were sought from the group who had been identified from the researcher's own social network.

The reason for choosing a Taipei County school in which to conduct much of the first stage sampling was because this primary school is in a satellite city which has a high number of children born to foreign mothers, and it was a school at which I had worked at before, so the social network was already set up and assistance for the research was likely to be forthcoming.

The first stage interviews included three foreign mothers and five primary school teachers. The interview procedure is described in section 2.5, and the interview outline is attached (**Appendix B**).

For the convenience of the foreign mothers versions of the invitation in four

languages were provided to the Mandarin class for foreign spouses (Appendix A). However, not many foreign mothers showed their willingness to attend the interview. I realised why they did not want to be interviewed. Generally, most foreign spouses tend to be quiet and keep low profile among people and surrounding that are unfamiliar. Further foreign spouses who study Mandarin at a supplementary school are relative new comers, so their children are younger. By contrast, the mothers who have children at primary school age have been in Taiwan for many years. Some of the foreign mothers in the mandarin class, however, told me that they would like to help but their children are under 6 years old, so they did not have much experience to talk about children's school education.

The more comfortable and relaxing the interview, the more information one may get. So the interviews were conducted in the supplementary school where the environment was familiar and convenient for these foreign mothers. In one case, foreign mother C, from Cambodia, was accompanied by her friend who was also from Cambodia and has no child. I found that the interviewee was more open when her friend was beside her, and this interview contained more information than others. Further, the foreign mothers talked more when we were in casual conversation. Once they were shown the informed consent papers and started with the tape recording, their answers become reserved and brief. I tried to make the interview more like a conversation rather than formal interview, and not to ask the questions fixed in the order of the interview outline. I understood the foreign mothers' life and their thoughts from chatting as much as from formal interviews. In contrast, the interviewed teachers were aware of research process and purpose, so they felt much more easy and open-minded when interviewed.

The three foreign mother interviewees spoke Chinese as a second language.

Their speaking and listening comprehension was quite good. They had almost no problem in daily communication, but their literacy ability such as reading comprehension and writing was not as good as their listening and speaking. That is the concern from society and themselves, that they have difficulties in helping their children's study.

I did not only require information from the foreign mothers, but also tried to repay them. For instance, I provided some needed and useful information when they talked about relevant topics, such as assistant organisations or after school English classes for children. In one case, a foreign mother from Vietnam, who did not wish to be interviewed, but want to my friendship. She helped me to check the Vietnamese version of the invitation and consent form, and I went to her house to set up an internet phone on a computer for her, so that she can call her families from Taiwan. She was very happy for that. The NT. 200 gift voucher was set as an incentive for interview, but it did not play its role. It did not attract many interview enrolments, but it showed my appreciation for the interviewees' time and help. The concern of the incentive was considered and explained in section 2.5, Ethical Considerations.

Table 2.4.1 Basic data of first stage interviews- I

Samples	Interview date	Location	Age	Nationality
Mother A	08 May 2008	Zhonghe City, Taipei county	26	Vietnam
Mother B	08 May 2008	Zhonghe City, Taipei county	30	Vietnam
Mother C	08 May 2008	Zhonghe City, Taipei county	34	Cambodia

Table 2.4.2 Basic data of first stage interviews- II

Samples	Interview date	Location	sinority
Teacher A	06 May 2008	Sindian City, Taipei county	2 years
Teacher B	12 May 2008	Zhonghe City, Taipei county	9 years
Teacher C	12 May 2008	Zhonghe City, Taipei county	18 years
Teacher D	25 May 2008	Wanli Township, Taipei county	2 years
Teacher P	30 May 2009	Penghu county	15 years

The main decision following the first stage interviews was how to decide when to stop integrating further cases. Glaser and Strauss suggest the criterion of ‘theoretical saturation’ (of a category, etc.): ‘The criterion for judging when to stop sampling the different groups pertinent to a category is the category’s theoretical saturation. Saturation means that no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category’. That is, when nothing new emerges (Flick, 2006, p.127). Therefore, the sampling process will not cease until the researcher can get a satisfactory answer to the research question; and the sampling process will cease when the data resources cannot provide further information.

After undertaking interviews with five teachers and three foreign mothers, the researcher suspended more interviews because the researcher was receiving common responses to the main questions posed: ‘What are the educational challenges facing children/school students born to female immigrants in Taiwan?’ The teachers gave almost the same answer that children born to female immigrants are not underachieving in their experience. Also, the three foreign mothers claimed that their children were performing well at school. Such views were quite different to the

common impression reflected in the media and in public discourse and associated writings.

Thus I tried next to collect evidence from other documentary sources and from academic literature, especially quantitative surveys with representative sampling, to see whether children in these studies were facing difficulties or underachieving in learning. It was also important to bear in mind that four of the teacher interviews and three foreign mother interviews were undertaken in an urban area of Taipei County. Could there have been a difference between urban and rural settings regarding educational challenges to children born of foreign mothers? To answer this, the researcher sought research data from rural areas which could be used as a comparator.

A conference regarding the education of children born to foreign mothers was held at the National Taichung University on 29th October, 2008. Taichung is a city in the middle of Taiwan within a rural area. I participated at the conference and discussed the situation of children born to foreign mothers in rural areas with two presenters who are rural area elementary school teachers.

In order to gain more information with regard to rural areas, purposive sampling was adopted. The researcher contacted an in-service primary school teacher with over 15 years of teaching experience who was currently the director of studies at the school. At the time she was also studying for her master degree in the institution where the researcher worked, writing her Masters dissertation on the educational challenge of foreign spouses in Penghu (an offshore island). This interview enabled further understanding of the education challenges in a rural area compared to that of urban Taipei. Thus, the researcher went to the Penghu Islands in the summer of 2009 to interview the local primary school teacher (see Table 2.4.2)

Papers illustrative of how the first-stage interviews were set up and conducted are in Appendices A, B and C.

### **Second stage interviews**

The second stage of sampling was judgmental sampling (purposive sampling) to obtain relevant information from significant stakeholders. The sample respondents were selected step-by-step in order to supplement the data and clarify uncertainties that arose in the early stages of the fieldwork.

Based on the historic analysis of the UK education policies for minorities in the first half of the research and the analysis of Taiwan's foreign spouses and their children, the researcher brought to these second-stage interviews some ideas for future directions in education policy. The researcher used these, and insights generated from the first-stage respondents, as the guidelines for the interviews at this stage and as a way of assessing the extent to which policy proposals might be feasible and acceptable, these interviewees comprising policy stakeholders, subject matter experts and individuals with previous relevant experience of conduct policy communication.

The fieldwork in the second stage adopted purposive sampling, and took the form of interviews with three individuals able to provide relevant information and critique. The interview method at this stage was different from the first stage. The method at this stage was to align questioning with an emergent policy narrative derived from the documentary analysis and, at times, this involved looking at the interviewee as an informant guided by the agenda of the researcher (Bruner, 1986 as cited in Altork, 1998 , p.114). In these cases interviewees were informed beforehand about the questions that were to be asked before the actual interview. Since these respondents were also the people most familiar with policy context of the research

topic, having them suggest refinements to my provisional policy conclusions appeared both reasonable and necessary (see **Appendix D-** Questions of Second Stage Interview)

Table 2.4.3 Basic data of second stage interviews

Samples	Interview date	Location	Nationality
Interviewee G	20 April 2010	Taipei county	Thailand
Interviewee S	18 March 2010	Taipei city	Taiwan
Interviewee H	15 March 2010	Taipei county	Taiwan

#### **Interviewee G– member of foreign spouses’ grassroots group**

On conclusion of the first-stage interviews, the researcher concluded that the random sample foreign spouse respondents had generated data that now suggested the need for further interviews that could stimulate deeper discussion of the policy dimensions of the research problem. At the first stage it was confirmed that the typical foreign spouse is a housewife with low education and unfamiliar with education in Taiwan. They are mostly passive when it comes to their children’s education and follow their families’ decision. Their Chinese is adequate for communication but they often used simple answers to respond the researcher’s questions, and were not able to explain their deeper thoughts. It is possible they were unfamiliar or suspicious of the research process and had problems with language expression. They tend to put up with any injustices and not to speak out.

Therefore, at this second stage, the study identified and interviewed a foreign mother who had been in Taiwan for over 10 years and spoke very good Chinese.

The researcher met her for the first time in 2006 at a self-help group contact as a Chinese class teacher. As well as being in Taiwan for a long time and speaking good Chinese, she was also employed by a foreign spouse grass roots organization and so had regular contact with a number of foreign spouses and foreign mothers. This had given her a great understanding of foreign spouse issues and she was also interviewed by the media to speak on behalf of foreign spouses.

### **Interviewee S– social worker**

By interviewing social workers, we can further understand the needs of the disadvantaged. The researcher interviewed a CEO of a charity organization. This organization is a reputable charity of some size in Taiwan and specifically helps the children of foreign spouses. At the same time, this organization also hosts a multi-language telephone consulting centre sponsored by the government that helps foreign spouses. The researcher volunteered to be an In-House Volunteer tutor promoted by this organization from 2007, helping and providing instruction to the disadvantaged children of foreign spouses. The researcher considered that the point of view of a professional social worker would offer insights to further policy suggestions.

### **Interviewee H- head teacher**

To better understand the actual situation of a school implementing policies, the head teacher of an Elementary School was interviewed. This veteran head teacher serves in the Sanchong district of Taipei County which has a relatively high number of foreign spouses. He is one of the advisory members of the education policy for new immigrants in Taipei County, and is also the head teacher in the leading school that implements many new education policies for immigrants devised by the Education

Board of Taipei County. The researcher attempted to review the actual situation and feasibility of policy implementation by interviewing this head teacher.

**Final-stage interview: Interviewee K– administrator of education authority**

The purpose of the final stage interview was to gain a perspective from a different role-holder on this public policy issue. The previous interviewees may be regarded as policy end-users. The final interviewee, by contrast, was a policy-maker and implementer. This interviewee, K, was the administrator of the department that is in charge of promoting education policy for new immigrants in the Taiwanese county which contains the largest number of new immigrants. After having the study plan and interview outline sent to her office, she agreed to be interviewed, with the interview being conducted in her office.

The researcher considered this interviewee to be an authority in the policy sphere with whom the analysis of the UK experience could be discussed and the feasibility of the policy suggestions proposed by the researcher debated. The researcher also discussed policy proposals and recommendations with interviewee K with a view to identifying refinements to this part of the analysis. The interview outline is attached in Appendix E

Table 2.4.4 Basic data of final stage interview

Samples	Interview date	location	Nationality
Interviewee K	3 June 2010	Taipei county	Taiwan

Except for the interviewee-mother B, all the interviews were tape-recorded with agreement from the interviewee, and then transcribed for analysis.

## **Participant observation**

In order to get closer to the research field; the researcher joined a foreign spouses' grassroots group; volunteered as a teacher of Chinese, tutored the primary school student of a single foreign mother; was a volunteer assistant at a foreign mother's parent-child seminar held by charities for children born to foreign mothers and talked with teachers who had experience with students born to a foreign mother.

Semi-structured interviews could obtain some of the information and answers that were needed, but longer-term field observation could let the researcher come across unpredicted questions and understand these in more in depth (Jorgensen, 1989). During many informal meetings and activities held by these communities and organizations, the researcher had many conversations with foreign mothers, their children, their husbands, school teachers and social workers. The meetings with these people were helpful to get closer to their real life and to hear their life stories. The researcher made friends with them and even visited their homes. To avoid discomfort, the researcher did not make these visits formal observations in their homes. Besides field notes were taken after the end of the meet, no formal records were taken during the conversations, unlike the interviews.

The field notes were written as soon as possible after every meeting and special events while things were fresh in the mind. They recorded the factual data from observations, brief dialogues and the researcher's own thoughts and reflections. The field notes provide an important source for post-fieldwork analysis and reflection.

## **Conference participation**

There were several conferences and symposiums regarding the education of children born to foreign mothers held by different institutions around Taiwan at the time of the field-work. The researcher attended conferences regarding foreign spouses and their children, and at these events met with the teachers and researchers in this field. This allowed the researcher the chance to discuss with others, think further on the research problem and obtain further valuable information, whether through papers published during the conferences, or through informal communication at them. During these conferences, the researcher had informal conversations with many speakers, primary school teachers and researchers. The meetings with these people continuously facilitated the refinement of my thoughts and were recorded among the field-notes.

Table 2.4.5 Basic data of conference participate

date	Theme of Conference	location
18-20, Sep 2006	International Conference on Intermediated Cross-border Marriages in Asia and Europe 亞洲與歐洲跨國婚姻國際研討會 Organizer: National Science Council and Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica	Taipei City
3, Nov 2007	New immigrants and their children's education Policy Conference 新移民及其子女教育與輔導政策學術研討會 Organizer: National Taipei University of Education	Taipei City
29, Oct 2008	Taichung City children of new residents education workshop 臺中市 97 年度新住民子女教育研討會 Organizer: National Taichung University of Education	Taichung
5-6, Dec 2008	International Conference on Educational Policies of Underprivileged Groups 「弱勢族群教育政策」國際學術研討會 Organizer: Teachers College, National Chiayi University	Chiayi
18, Dec 2009	International Cultural and Educational Exhibition and Conference 臺北縣 98 年國際文教月成果展及學術研討會 Organizer: Education Bureau, Taipei County Government	Taipei County

## 2.4.2 Data analysis

Data collection and data analysis are not two distinctly separate phases. Once researchers begin fieldwork, further issues begin to emerge from their initial observations and thoughts. Miles and Huberman (1994) strongly recommend early analysis: early analysis helps the field-worker cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new and better data. In

this study, data collection and analysis did not take place once: there was a repeated sequence in the study:

Collection of documentary and preparation of raw data files led to close reading of texts which, in turn, led to: analysis; hypothesis for fieldwork; first stage interviews data collection; data analysis; supplementary data collection; second stage interviews data collection; data analysis; final stage interview data collection; and synthetic analysis.

The process of data analysis basically conformed the advice suggested in Miles and Huberman's (1994) guide to Qualitative Data Analysis.

**Undertaking analysis of the Raw data** --- Hours of tape recordings were transcribed by the researcher herself in Mandarin since all the interviews were in Mandarin. The researcher first read the full transcripts and thought around the data to gain an overview and become thoroughly familiar with the transcripts and field-notes.

**Data reduction** --- from field notes; interview transcripts and documentary evidence. At the beginning of the analytic process, the researcher faced a mass of raw data and needed to make a careful selection from the range of data. In doing this the researcher kept reviewing the research questions on which the research was based, so as to identify the relationship between data and research questions. Then I drew out the initial themes or concepts and classified and organized the data according to themes and concepts. After managing the data into a thematic framework, the researcher synthesized the data by not only reducing the amount of material but also by considering its relevance to the subject. The data were thus made more manageable by sorting and reducing. Ritchie and Lewis have pointed to this crucial procedure:

A common procedure in the analysis of qualitative data is the identification of key themes, concepts or categories. (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p.202)

**Data display** --- At the data reduction stage, the task is to understand just ‘what’ things may matter. At the data display phase, the task is to try to answer the ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions. The researcher began with a single-case analysis and moved on to cross-case analysis. The single-case analysis started by reading over the interview transcripts and field-notes, case by case, categorizing data to the thematic framework. Besides the transcripts, the analysis also incorporated the work of different sources of data gathered from participant observation and the information from the conferences. Next, the researcher conducted cross-case analysis, looking at all eight transcripts of first stage interviews. Aiming to answer the research questions, the researcher connected and compared the various findings and looked for links between the cases.

**Conclusion drawing** --- The final step of the analysis was to draw conclusions from the displayed data. Explicit data display helps conclusion drawing. For instance, the study displayed the historical education and policy issues and events of immigrant education in the UK both in a narrative way and through categorising by themes.

In terms of how the researcher abstracts meaning from texts, Sol Cohen argues that there is no single correct approach to reading a historical text, only different ways of reading it (Cohen 1999: 81). The researcher captures and interprets relationships and the meanings to be found in documentary and primary data gradually, just like doing a jigsaw puzzle. In this case, the researcher read the research data with the research questions in mind, and tried to find answers to the research questions in order, first, to explore the education challenge which Taiwan is facing; second, to identify

the important factors influencing education policies for immigrant children in the two countries; and, finally, to be able to recommend what and how education policies for immigrant children might be implemented in Taiwan.

While working on finding answers to these research questions, it became clear that the educational issue of immigrant children is complicated and one affected by various causes. Generally, there are three approaches of epistemology in a study: positivist, interpretive and critical (Chua, 1986; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). In order to explain the complicated and various factors, the researcher collect the research data from different sources and receive illustrative information of a range of different points of view. Thus, a more interpretive approach employed for the fieldwork and constructing meaning (Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Silverman, 2000). In addition, the researcher noticed the power and domination of the majority on defining the knowledge of the minority and realised the enormous influence of social prejudice. A critical approach (Carr & Kemmis, 1986), which focuses on the oppositions, conflicts and seeks for emancipation, therefore provided a deeper analysis for research at this stage. Following this evolution of the analytical process, it became necessary that the study should discuss and critique issues and content related to social equity and justice. This influenced the content and structure of chapter five and was unplanned and unexpected at the beginning of the research.

The findings were generated from the classification, management and explanation of the research data. However, the various analysis methods applied to both the fieldwork and documentary data led to the entire analytical process is flexible and creative.

## **A Note on Language Use**

Like many international studies, this study used one language for field research and reported it in another. In this study, Mandarin Chinese was employed in the field. Taiwanese was also used for help with fieldwork, and then the results reported in English. The researcher paid close attention to language issues throughout the data-analysis process. Since the aim was to retain as much as possible the participant's own language, the researcher mainly used Mandarin and tried to keep interpretation to a minimum until the last stage, so that there was always an opportunity to revisit the original 'expression' as more refined levels of data analysis followed. Also, the researcher always tried to keep the English versions of the data as closely coupled to the meaning of the original Chinese as was possible.

## **2.5 Ethical considerations**

Social research, and other forms of research which study people and their relationships to each other and to the world, need to be particularly sensitive about issues of ethical behaviour and researchers must be aware of the necessary ethical standards which should be observed to avoid any harm which might be caused by their research project (Walliman, 2005).

The principle underpinning the study was to conduct research within the ethic of respect for any persons involved directly or indirectly in the research. Further, the study complied with all guidelines for educational research published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004). The considerations for ensuring ethical integrity in this study included the following:

## **Voluntary participation**

Invitations to take part in interviews were distributed to the foreign mothers and teachers in advance. The invitation was translated into four languages for the foreign mothers: English, Chinese, Indonesian and Vietnamese (Appendix A). The invitation contained basic information about the researcher, the title and aim of the research, and the process of interview. All respondents participated of their own will without duress. Meantime, the study was represented to respondents clearly and exclusively of any deception or subterfuge in relation to the research design.

## **Informed consent**

All participants gave their informed consent before undertaking the interview. The researcher provided information about informed consent in the interviewee's familiar language to each participant individually and explained the purpose and procedures of the interview, how ways of protecting and respecting the subject's right of self-determination would be honoured, including the right to withdraw from the research for any reason at anytime; assertion of the fully anonymous, non-identifiable nature of data reporting; and including a type recording agreement (Appendices C and F).

## **Privacy**

The confidential and anonymous treatment of the participant's data is the essential norm in conducting research of this kind. Participants' privacy was guaranteed in this study. The researcher ensured all data, including tape recordings and transcripts of interview, were treated confidentially and anonymously, and stored by the researcher safely.

## **Incentives**

The incentive used in the first stage interview was a NT\$200 gift voucher for a local supermarket. On one hand, this encouraged participation and on the other it expressed appreciation for the time taken in participating in the interview. The incentive itself seemed commensurate with good sense and to have no undesirable effect on the nature of the data generated.

Incentives were not used in later interviews of judgmental/ purposive sampling.

### **Permission**

In doing sound educational research, it is important to get permission from different gatekeepers. First of all, the researcher received a *certificate of ethical research approval* from Ethical Committee of the School of Education and Lifelong Learning at the University of Exeter (Appendix G). Secondly, the researcher sought permission to access foreign spouses at a Mandarin class since the foreign spouses were sometimes considered to be vulnerable in dominated society. Thirdly, the researcher considered the interview questions carefully and discussed these fully with the supervisor before implementation.

In addition to taking care of responsibilities towards participants, the researcher also conformed to the responsibilities of the community of educational research, such as being honest in reporting research findings and considerate as an educational researcher.

The details below illustrate the process that was followed in the conduct of the interviews.

## **The procedure for interviewing foreign mothers**

1. The researcher visited the director of Mandarin classes for foreign spouses in an elementary school (*30th April 2008*). After stating my purpose of research and interview, the director allowed me to contact the students in class. (There were three weekly classes on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings)
2. The researcher went to the classes, introduced herself and distributed the invitation leaflets which had been translated into four languages to students who have children aged over 5 (Appendix A). (*30th April and 1st May 2008*)
3. The researcher went to the classes again and asked the foreign spouses who were willing to be interviewed (*8th May 2008*).
4. There were three foreign mothers who were willing to be interview. One was from Cambodia and the other two were from Vietnam. These three interviews were undertaken individually.

The interviews were conducted using the following procedure.

- (1) Thanking participants for their time.
- (2) The applicable language version of informed consent was administered to the foreign mother (Appendix C)
- (3) Offer was made of the gift voucher, as mentioned in the invitation leaflet.
- (4) Consent for the use of a tape recorder was sought.
- (5) The interview proceeded by following the interview outline and taking notes during the interview.
- (6) Once all the questions were finished, the participant was thanked again.

## **The procedure for interviewing teachers**

Teachers who had experience with students born to a foreign mother were invited to an interview, starting from the researcher's social network. First, the researcher sent invitations by email to elementary school teacher friends, asking about experience with the students born to foreign mothers and willingness to be interviewed. Two teachers responded.

The researcher also visited the former director of the elementary school where the researcher had previously worked and asked him to help in introducing the researcher to teachers who had experience of students born to a foreign mother. Two teachers replied.

The interviews with teachers were conducted by the procedure below.

1. Interviewees were thanked for their time.
2. Information related to the interview procedure was given and it was ensured that the interviewees understood these and were willing to join the study (Informed consent – see Appendix C).
3. A gift voucher, as mentioned in the invitation leaflet, was offered in appreciation of the interviewees' help.
4. Consent for use of a tape recorder was sought.
5. The interview proceeded by following the interview outline and taking notes during the interview.
6. Interview concluded and participants were thanked again.

## **3. The Policy Problem**

### **3.1 Education policy for minorities**

Education is a citizen's right and obligation. In the nineteenth century, social reformers argued that a society that did not provide educational opportunities for all its citizens could not claim to be fair and just (Taylor et al., 1997). In countries with developed economies, twentieth century debates about social justice moved on from the provision of opportunity – public education was now widely accessible – to calls for greater equality of educational opportunity. More specifically, after 1945 societies with a colonial past and those in the 'new world' such as the United States moved increasingly toward a multicultural or multiethnic state and their education systems came under pressure to respond to cultural and ethnic diversity. For this purpose, education policies for minority and multicultural education came to be seen to play a crucial role in helping minorities to obtain equal opportunities and all citizens to develop skills and positive attitudes towards people from different cultural backgrounds.

### **3.2 Why compare the UK with Taiwan?**

By the 2000s there was some recognition that, while compared to other European countries, Britain was relatively successful in accommodating to racial, cultural and religious diversity, the education system had lacked political support and policies which would have enabled all young people to accommodate better to their plural multicultural society (Sen, 2006, as cited in Tomlinson, 2008, p.1).

In contemporary debate, the problems faced by immigrant young people and their families is a current concern in Taiwan and a persistent concern in the UK. In the

UK, after striving for decades for multi-ethnic integration, great progress has been made but significant problems remain. For example, the gap in achievement between pupils from different ethnic backgrounds has been the cause of concern (Gillborn & Gipps, 1996). Moreover, the 2005 London bombings led to a set back in multi-cultural relations and it shocked many people that among the London suicide bombers were at least three British-born terrorists (Williams, 2005, July 13). Meanwhile, in Taiwan, people have become alert to the demographic changes that have arisen from the phenomenon of foreign spouses, especially the educational challenges of the 'new children of Taiwan'.

Although there are different cultural backgrounds in Taiwan and the UK, the attitude of the majority towards the challenge of a multicultural society appears to have been similar. Referring to Bennett's (Bennett, 1986, 1993) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS: see figure 3.2.1, below), Taiwan seems to be at the stage of ethnocentrism and moving from 'defense against difference' to 'minimization of difference'. The UK has moved further towards 'integration' than Taiwan, having apparently proceeded through the stage in which Taiwan currently finds itself. Many policies that were implemented in the UK at that time (late 1960s to late 1970s) have now been fully evaluated and succeeded by policies and programmes aimed at acceptance, adaptation and integration. Thus, in the Taiwanese context, it is useful to explore the experiences of educational policies for immigrant children in the UK of a previous generation and highlight what may be learnt from the successes and failures that have resulted.

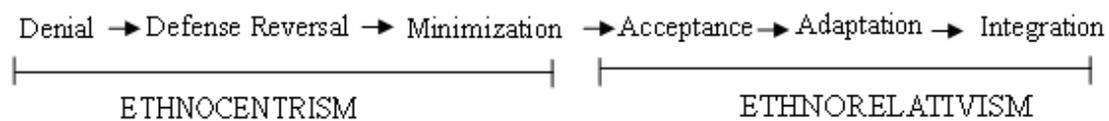


Figure 3.2.1 Developmental model of intercultural sensitivity

(Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003)

## 3.3 Taiwan

### 3.3.1 Phenomenon of foreign spouses in Taiwan

Due to political and economic factors, in the last decade, Taiwan has seen increasing numbers of new female immigrants from the Southeast Asia and China through marriage. According to statistics, at its peak in year 2003, 31.86% of couples were married to foreign spouse. Accumulated to 2008, there are over 400,000 foreigners who are married to a Taiwanese. The ratio of new born babies also reached its peak in 2003 when the mother of 1 out of 7 babies was a foreigner. Please see table 3.3.1, table 3.3.2, and table 3.3.3. Though the numbers declined a little after 2003, they still maintain a constant ratio.

Table 3.3.1 The Number of Foreign Spouses

year	Foreign and China Spouses		According to Nationality (Area)				According to Gender		Total Marriage Number
	Total	Ratio (%) in Total Marriage	China	Foreign			Male	Female	
			Main Land China	HK and Macau	South East Asia	Other Areas			
2001	46,202	27.10	26,516	281	17,512	1,893	3,400	42,802	170,515
2002	49,013	28.39	28,603	303	18,037	2,070	4,366	44,647	172,655
2003	54,634	31.86	34,685	306	17,351	2,292	6,001	48,633	171,483
2004	31,310	23.82	10,642	330	18,103	2,235	3,176	28,134	131,453
2005	28,427	20.14	14,258	361	11,454	2,354	3,139	25,288	141,140
2006	23,930	16.77	13,964	442	6,950	2,574	3,214	20,716	142,669
2007	24,700	18.29	14,721	425	6,952	2,602	3,141	21,559	135,041
2008	21,729	14.03	12,274	498	6,009	2,948	3,516	18,213	154,866

(Source: <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/>---Ministry of Interior of Taiwan)

Table 3.3.2 The Number of Newly Married Couples

	Total newly married couples (pair)	Foreign spouse (not including China)	Chinese spouse (including HongKong & Macao)	Proportion of foreign spouses (Foreign & China)
2001	170,515	19,405	26,797	27.10%
2002	172,655	20,107	28,906	28.39%
2003	171,483	19,643	34,991	31.86%
2004	131,453	20,338	10,972	23.82%
2005	141,140	13,808	14,619	20.14%
2006	142,669	9,524	14,406	16.77%
2007	135,041	9,554	15,146	18.29%
2008	154,866	8,957	12,772	14.03%

Source: <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/index.asp>---Ministry of Interior of Taiwan

Table 3.3.3 The number of births by mother's nationality of origin in Taiwan

Year	Total	Taiwanese	China, HK, Macau	Others	Ratio (%) of Non Taiwanese
1998	271,450	257,546		13,904	5.12
1999	283,661	266,505		17,156	6.05
2000	305,312	282,073		23,239	7.61
2001	260,354	232,608		27,746	10.66
2002	247,530	216,697		30,833	12.46
2003	227,070	196,722		30,348	13.37
2004	216,419	187,753	11,206	17,460	13.25
2005	205,854	179,345	10,022	16,487	12.88
2006	204,459	180,556	10,423	13,480	11.69
2007	204,414	183,509	10,117	10,788	10.23
2008	198,733	179,647	9,834	9,252	9.60
2009	191,310	174,698	8,871	7,741	8.68

Source: <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/>---Ministry of Interior of Taiwan

### Veterans

This unique population structure is caused by a string of interrelated factors, and it needs to be traced back 60 years. When Chiang Kai-Shek's administration lost the war to China and retreated to Taiwan, he brought an army of 600,000 with him. Those once young boys in their early 20s all thought they would only stay in Taiwan for a short period of time and then wage another war with China, claim back their homeland and return home. They did not envisage that the short stay would be 40 years long. These soldiers were not wealthy, and many of them did not have proper marriage partners. As many demobilized old soldiers were faced with marriage difficulties, some overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia started to introduce women from Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia to Taiwan to be married to these soldiers and form families. In the 1980s, a small number of foreign brides

began to settle in the rural areas of Taiwan. This was the origin of foreign brides.

### **Married up**

As Taiwan's economic and education level increased, Taiwanese women became more economically independent, and their requirements for choosing partners became higher. Goodman (1993) used this marriage gradient to explain this imbalance phenomenon of imbalance in the marriage market. The marriage gradient is the tendency for men to marry younger women of lower socio-economic status and for women to marry older men of higher socio-economic status. This means women tend to choose males with higher socio-economic status, which includes higher salary, education, age and even height. At the same time, males would tend to find females with lower employment status, salary, age, or height compared to them. In other words, males tend to search for partners 'downwards', and females tend to search 'upwards'; this creates an imbalance situation. Therefore, males with poorer status and females with better status struggle to find partners. In relation to Taiwan's marriage situation, the result is the so called three-high (high education, high salary and older or taller) women find it harder to find their partners. On the other hand, those males with lower socio-economic status in Taiwan may change their focus to females in China or Southeast Asia whose economical status is lower than theirs.

Most foreign brides who married Taiwanese men were scattered in farming or fishing villages, industrial towns or suburban areas around metropolitan cities in the 1990s. Most of the males were at the bottom of Taiwan's social status, a large proportion were farmers or fisherman with little wealth. Some of these men were physically disabled or had mental disabilities (Hsia, 2000; MOI, 2003; Wu & Liu, 2004). Wang's (2001) research into Taiwanese males who married Vietnamese brides found that the average male age was close to 40 (38.8 years old), and had low

educational achievement (most are with only junior high or high school degrees). As for their jobs, most of these men worked as labourers, drivers, farmers or were self-employed. A very high ratio of these people live in low income areas, such as San-Chung, Sin-Juang, San-Sia, and Ping-Dong areas. Therefore, whether we look at their education background, employment, or locality, they are the socio-economic weaker groups in Taiwanese society; but compared with male Vietnamese, they still have greater advantages.

### **Globalisation**

Previous immigration push and pull theories (Lee, 1966) attempted to explain the reasons for immigration, but now when explaining peoples' decisions for moving we should also incorporate the effects of the free economy and global movement. Foreign brides are also part of this globalization phenomenon. Foreign brides in Taiwan were not the first. 'Mail-order brides' are also found in other countries where women from less developed areas marry men in more developed areas. In the past, most brides from the developing world went to developed world countries like the US, Western Europe, Australia, and Japan. The Philippines, Vietnam, Eastern Europe and Russia were the major export countries for brides. Whether mail-order brides or foreign brides, they are all related to the international political and economical structure of that particular time. For example, Philippino mail-order brides were tightly related to the US military (Hsia, 2003).

By the 1990s, because the Taiwanese government encouraged people to invest in Southeast Asia, international marriages continued to increase. Compared with Southeastern Asian countries, Taiwan has a better economical environment and the people are wealthier. Each country's GDP is shown in table 3.3.4. This is why many Chinese and Southeastern Asian females decide to get married overseas. Because

the time period for each country to open up for tourism and economic investment is different, and because factors such as contact time and quota limitation on visas from the Taiwanese government agency are influential, the pattern of Taiwanese men's marriage with foreign women has changed over time. Thai and Philippino spouses were most common in the midst of 1980s. The number of Indonesian spouses started to show a noticeable increase after 1991. Prior to 1994, Indonesia was the main country from which Taiwanese men married their wives. But after that the Taipei Economic and Trade Office in Indonesia purposely slowed down the processing time, so the waiting time for visas became longer. That is when the Taiwanese marriage agency changed their targets to Vietnamese and Cambodian women. Vietnamese brides became the largest group in 1996, with Vietnamese brides outnumbering Indonesian brides by 3 to 1 by the year 2000. But one thing worth noting is that after Taipei Economic Office of Cambodia withdrew from Cambodia in 1998, all of the Cambodian brides' visa approval processes were transferred to the Vietnamese office, with the result that visa numbers from Vietnam were much higher than from other regions (Hsia, 1997; Hsiao, 2000) Currently, Vietnamese spouses have the highest population in Taiwan, as indicated in table 3.3.5.

Table 3.3.4 List of countries by GDP per capita (2008)

Country	USD
United Kingdom	43,734
Taiwan	16,987
Thailand	4,116
China	3,259
Indonesia	2,239
Philippines	1,845
Vietnam	1,042
Cambodia	823

by International Monetary Fund (2008)

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_countries\\_by\\_GDP\\_\(nominal\)\\_per\\_capita](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(nominal)_per_capita)

Table 3.3.5 The Number of Foreign Spouses with Residence Permit

year	total	foreign spouse original nationality											
		Vietnam		Indonesia		Thailand		Philippines		Cambodia		China	
		count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
2004	336,483	68,181	20.26	24,446	7.27	8,888	2.64	5,590	1.66	4,356	1.29	204,805	60.87
2005	364,596	74,015	20.30	25,457	6.98	9,675	2.65	5,899	1.62	4,541	1.25	223,210	61.22
2006	383,204	75,873	19.80	26,068	6.80	9,426	2.46	6,081	1.59	4,514	1.18	238,185	62.16
2007	399,038	77,980	19.54	26,124	6.55	8,962	2.25	6,140	1.54	4,502	1.13	251,198	62.95
2008	413,421	80,303	19.42	26,153	6.33	8,331	2.02	6,340	1.53	4,423	1.07	262,701	63.54

Table made in December 31, 2008

Source: Website of the Household Registration Division

Explanation:

The numbers of spouses from China, HK and Macau shown in this table were the number of immigration applications received by our administration, not the final approved number.

The numbers of foreign spouse shown in this table were the actual number of foreign spouses with Taiwan permanent resident permits.

The numbers of foreign spouses who obtained Taiwanese citizenship through neutralization were recorded since July 1989.

### **The motivation for overseas marriages**

From the foreign spouses' point of view, most of them hope to change their original families' living conditions through inter-country marriages. Besides the main motivation of Taiwan having a better economic environment there are other factors involved which lead them to consider getting married overseas. Some of the foreign spouses are Chinese descendents. Their grandparents were from the coast of China and moved to Southeast Asia in the last century; so getting married in Taiwan is, in a way, a return to their home nation. Many foreign spouses' relatives and friends are already married and living in Taiwan, so they do not feel isolated, indeed some

may even meet their Taiwanese spouses through their friends and family. Another reason, according to Wu and Liu (2004), is that the economic situation of the home countries of some women is so poor that they would rather marry a Taiwanese man than someone from their original home country who might be unable to get a job.

Indonesian Brides are rational in their decisions about marriage: they are not helpless victims or opportunists. There are two reasons that force them to leave their homeland and come to a strange country: the irresponsibility of the Chinese Indonesians, and the poor living conditions of Indonesia in general (Hsia, 1997).

### **The opening up of the Taiwan Strait**

Since Taiwan removed its martial law and allowed citizens to visit relatives in China in 1987, after 40 years of separation people finally started to make frequent contact across the Taiwan Strait. In the 1990s, many Taiwanese corporations started to invest in China and moved their factories there to take advantage of cheaper production costs. Many young Taiwanese males live in China and work for a long period of time; this caused the marriage across the strait to increase rapidly. Since their ethnicity, language and culture are almost the same, the number of people who married spouses from China well surpasses spouses from Southeast Asia. By July 2005, there were already over 260,000 spouses from China with permission to enter Taiwan. Spouses from China were first permitted in 1992.

### **Continuing the family line**

In many developed countries, the declining birth rate is becoming a serious problem; Taiwan is one such country and the problem is worsening every year. In 2009, Taiwan had the lowest birth rate in the world. In a population of 23 million, just 1.07 children were born per woman in Taiwan, even lower than Japan's 1.57. ("Having

the world's lowest birth rate 'could hurt' Taiwan society," 2009, November 30)

The Chinese traditional culture attaches great importance and pressure to continue the family line, and try to achieve this goal through marriage. There is a saying in the Chinese language which translates to 'the most wrongful thing you could have done to your parents was to not have children'. So when influenced by these values to continue the family line in order to make the family prosperous, marriage and having children become necessities for every man. Therefore, when Taiwanese men cannot find women to marry in the local marriage market, foreign spouses provide a quick and easy solution to this problem. When foreign brides enter Taiwanese families, they assume the role of having babies, taking care of their husband and his parents, and doing chores. They provide the whole family with an effective but low cost contribution.

Sometimes even when the Taiwanese man does not want to marry, the traditional social pressures and the need to fulfil his parents' hope of having a son to carry on the family name, mean that he will unwillingly accept inter country marriage (Hsia, 2002).

### **Agencies**

On one hand, the relatively high economic status of Taiwan is a kind of pull force; on the other hand, the low economic status of some Southeast Asian countries is a push force. However, one of the most important factors that makes cross country marriage so active is its dynamic agency service. A simple, complete, all inclusive service is provided by an agency just like a travel package. According to the consumer's needs, the agency provides information such as a photo, personal profile, and the local TV channel may even show a few minutes of a Southeast Asian girl

introducing herself. The unmarried Taiwanese man would pay a fee to the agency of about USD\$10,000, and the agency would arrange a 1 to 2 weeks travel plan to Southeast Asia to meet these girls. The agency would arrange approximately tens to hundreds of unmarried girls to be interviewed by the Taiwanese man. After the man has selected his wife, they would date for 1 or 2 days; and if both agree, they would have a wedding locally. Most of the fees go to the commission for the agency and travel expenses, only a small amount would go to the bride's parents. After that the couple would register their marriage in the Taiwanese Office and have an interview, then wait a few months for the process to be approved. About 6 months later when the groom returns to Taiwan, the foreign bride would officially come to Taiwan and settle down.

The agencies provide easy and selective ways for Taiwanese males to connect with Southeast Asian females. Thus, a buoyant international marriage market has been created.

## **Features**

With the guidance of the marriage agency, those men who struggle to find proper spouses in their own country can increase their selection and eventually get married. From an economic perspective, it looks like the free market of marriage is reaching an equilibrium in supply and demand. But behind this equilibrium, there are many challenges including political, social, and cultural, issues, which mean that these cross country marriages mask many inequalities.

After the 1990s, the number of foreign brides in Taiwan increased considerably and their contacts with the Taiwanese society also increased. Many news reports and scholars gradually noticed this unique group. The most common characteristics of

this kind of cross country marriage with Southeast Asia or China are:

1. The number of female spouses from China and Southeast Asian is higher than male. This compares with the number of Europeans or Americans who married Taiwanese spouses, where foreign males outnumber females. See Table 3.3.6
2. The age difference is big. Compared with the age difference of domestic married couples ranging from 0 to 6 years, the age difference of foreign brides is generally over 10 years. It is common to see older husbands with younger wives (Chou, 2001).
3. Lack of education. Compared with the Taiwanese average education level, spouses from China and Southeast Asia generally have a lower education level. A few may possess higher levels of education, but their numbers are very small.

Table 3.3.6 The Number of Foreign Spouses with Residence Permit  
(excluding China)

Nationality	Total	Male	Female
Total	92,650	9,283	83,367
Vietnam	57,939	133	57,806
Indonesia	9,631	327	9,304
Thailand	9,037	3,118	5,919
Philippines	3,772	331	3,441
Kampuchea	2,422	6	2,416
Japan	2,323	1,064	1,259
Malaysia	1,476	630	846
USA	1,348	1,032	316
Myanmar	1,003	233	770
Korea	625	163	462
Canada	439	342	97
Singapore	342	167	175
UK	299	78	21
Australia	210	153	57
France	191	160	31
Germany	150	125	25
South Africa	123	68	55
New Zealand	85	66	19
Nepal	84	67	17
Pakistan	82	81	1
India	91	66	25
Other countries	978	673	305

Source: <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/index.asp>---Ministry of Interior of Taiwan, statistic report 2005.

Although the spouses from Southeast Asia and China share many similarities, they also have certain differences:

1. Language. China and Taiwan share the same language, but for foreign spouses coming from Southeast Asia, Chinese is not their first language.
2. Living areas. Spouses from China mostly live in northern part of Taiwan such as

Taipei county, Taipei City and Taoyuan County; whereas foreign spouses from Southeast Asia mostly settle in rural areas such as Pen-Hu county (outer island), and Yung-Lin areas where farming and fishing industries are abundant.

3. The medium for Taiwanese men to get to know girls from China is mostly through introductions by relatives or through trading and business opportunities; only a few are through introduction by agencies. On the other hand, most spouses from Southeast Asia are through agency introduction; only a few meet through relatives or other channels.

### **Prejudice**

As this kind of cross country marriage has been simplified as “buy and sell marriage”, the foreign bride is treated as a commodity; and Taiwanese society holds many prejudices and stereotypical images of them. Since most of them come from economically poorer countries, given the Taiwanese’s lack of knowledge of third world countries, and the media’s negative representation of them, so Taiwanese society generally is prejudiced and holds stereotypical images towards foreign spouses. Many people assume they come to Taiwan for money. It is often heard that foreign spouses are fleeing their marriage, or that they have married Taiwanese men just so they can settle in Taiwan, or even as cover for prostitution in Taiwan.

As these foreign spouses become mothers of Taiwanese children, another kind of worry has emerged. There is a fear that since these foreign spouses are generally less educated, and the men they are married to are also at ‘the bottom’ of Taiwanese society, then the fact that these families often have more children than the average, will seriously affect the quality of the population of Taiwan. These kind of stereotypical images exist in the minds of many Taiwanese.

## **The names they are called**

As time passes, what Taiwanese society calls these women who came from China or Southeast Asia to be married in Taiwan has also changed. These women were called ‘foreign brides’ from the 1980s. However, as time passed, and they were no longer newly weds, with some even having Taiwanese ID and having lived in Taiwan for over 10 years, people still called them foreign brides. This was deemed to be discriminating and the Awakening Foundation hosted, an event called “Please call me..., let new immigrant women talk about themselves essay competition”, which allowed foreign spouses to elect their preferred name. The name with the highest vote was “new female immigrant”.

The ministry of the Interior announced in 2003 that we should call people who come to Taiwan and get married “foreign spouses”. Foreign spouses not only refers to women of other nationalities who come to Taiwan to marry, but also includes males of other nationalities who marry Taiwanese women. However, whilst this may look like a neutral term, “foreign spouses” in Taiwan still generally refers to women from China or Southeast Asia, which is still a stereotypical term. A non-government group called the “TransAsia Sisters” was established in 2005, whose purpose was to assist all foreign spouses from Southeast Asia. It has published a book, “Don’t call me foreign bride”, in with articles written in Chinese by foreign spouses from Southeast Asia. These spouses wrote about their life experiences in Chinese, to let more Taiwanese know more about them. This event raised many concerns in society in general toward foreign spouses and made this issue more visible to the public.

At the current time, the term ‘foreign bride’ has been recognized as a discriminating and disrespectful term, so it does not appear in formal literature. ‘Foreign spouse’ on the other hand is a neutral term and is widely accepted and used

in formal literature. But since ‘foreign spouses’ cover a wide range, including males from Europe and America who marry Taiwanese women, and since there are times when the government needs to specify the group they are referring to, some of the government literature uses the term ‘new female immigrants’, ‘new inhabitants’ or ‘neo-immigrants’ to describe these women from China or Southeast Asia who have come to Taiwan to marry.

### **3.3.2 Children of Immigrant Mothers in Taiwan**

In the statistics of the Ministry of Education 2011 (table 3.3.7), the percentage of foreign spouses’ children in compulsory education has been increasing in recent years. In the academic year 2010, more than one hundred and seventy thousand children (176,373) of foreign spouses were in compulsory education. The percentage was 9.78% in elementary schools. The statistics indicate the larger number of those children in the lower grades, thus revealing the growing percentage of children from Southeastern mothers in elementary school. In the academic year 2010, the current percentage of foreign spouses’ children in junior high school was 3.02%, with 27,763 children out of 919,802 junior high school students in total.

Table 3.3.7 Statistics of Foreign Spouses' Children in Elementary School

Academic year	Total population of elementary school students	Population of neo-immigrants' children	Percentage
2005	1,831,873	53,334	2.91%
2006	1,798,393	70,797	3.94%
2007	1,754,115	90,959	5.19%
2008	1,677,453	113,182	6.75%
2009	1,593,398	133,272	8.36%
2010	1,519,456	148,610	9.78%

Source : Ministry of Education (2011). "Statistics about Foreign Spouses' Children Population in Compulsory Education." From [http://www.edu.tw/files/site\\_content/B0013/son\\_of\\_foreign\\_99.pdf](http://www.edu.tw/files/site_content/B0013/son_of_foreign_99.pdf)

There are many children from foreign spouses in urban areas such as Taipei County and Taipei City, but the percentage in those areas is no higher than in rural areas. In many rural areas, notably agricultural or fishing villages, the percentage of children from foreign spouses in school is as high as 50%.

Table 3.3.8 Numbers of Foreign Spouses' Boys & Girls in Compulsory Education  
(Categorized by Nationalities)

Academic Year 2007									
Area & Nationality	Total			Elementary Schools			Junior High Schools		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	103600	53495	50105	90958	47073	43885	12642	6422	6220
Mainland									
China	37552	19535	18017	32999	17282	15717	4553	2253	2300
Vietnam	25 299	12 993	12 306	24 268	12 446	11 822	1031	547	484
Indonesia	21 825	11 202	10 623	18 694	9615	9079	3131	1587	1544
Thailand	3590	1868	1722	2860	1499	1361	730	369	361
Philippines	5084	2615	2469	4230	2163	2067	854	452	402
Cambodia	1840	935	905	1795	911	884	45	24	21
Japan	1061	525	536	726	358	368	335	167	168
Malaysia	1807	965	842	1231	650	581	576	315	261
USA	678	351	327	534	272	262	144	79	65
South Korea	728	386	342	500	271	229	228	115	113
Myanmar	2162	1119	1043	1698	889	809	464	230	234
Singapore	226	111	115	152	70	82	74	41	33
Canada	149	78	71	124	65	59	25	13	12
Others	1599	812	787	1147	582	565	452	230	222

Source : Department of Statistics, Ministry of Education ( 2008 ) ◦ Statistics Report of Student Born to Foreign Mothers (2005~2007 academic year).

From [http://140.111.34.54/statistics/content.aspx?site\\_content\\_sn=8869](http://140.111.34.54/statistics/content.aspx?site_content_sn=8869)

Table 3.3.9 Numbers of Foreign Spouses' Boys & Girls in Compulsory Education  
(Categorized by Local Areas and Genders)

Academic Year 2007									
administrative region	Total			Elementary school			Junior high schools		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	103 600	53 495	50 105	90 958	47 073	43 885	12 642	6 422	6 220
Taipei City	7 155	3 699	3 456	5 880	3 050	2 830	1 275	649	626
Kaohsiung	5 123	2 694	2 429	4 364	2 311	2 053	759	383	376
Taipei County	17 384	8 965	8 419	15 204	7 893	7 311	2 180	1 072	1 108
Yilan County	1 739	923	816	1 562	829	733	177	94	83
Taoyuan County	11 801	6 106	5 695	10 129	5 260	4 869	1 672	846	826
Hsin-Chu County	3 986	2 065	1 921	3 419	1 761	1 658	567	304	263
Miaoli County	3 660	1 901	1 759	3 311	1 714	1 597	349	187	162
Taichung County	6 728	3 406	3 322	6 081	3 082	2 999	647	324	323
Changhua County	6 327	3 336	2 991	5 769	3 035	2 734	558	301	257
Nantou County	3 011	1 563	1 448	2 787	1 444	1 343	224	119	105
Yunlin County	5 146	2 723	2 423	4 515	2 384	2 131	631	339	292
Chiayi County	3 640	1 860	1 780	3 366	1 739	1 627	274	121	153
Tainan County	4 369	2 282	2 087	4 045	2 112	1 933	324	170	154
Kaohsiung County	5 404	2 732	2 672	4 911	2 504	2 407	493	228	265
Pingtung County	5 443	2 746	2 697	4 664	2 327	2 337	779	419	360
Taitung County	884	449	435	775	387	388	109	62	47
Hualien County	1 122	551	571	937	461	476	185	90	95
Penghu County	727	382	345	674	358	316	53	24	29
Keelung City	1 660	835	825	1 440	731	709	220	104	116
Hsin-Chu City	1 495	797	698	1 296	700	596	199	97	102
Taichung City	3 046	1 570	1 476	2 596	1 332	1 264	450	238	212
Chiayi City	901	449	452	812	408	404	89	41	48

Tainan City	2 182	1 129	1 053	1 882	980	902	300	149	151
Kinmen County	532	267	265	439	220	219	93	47	46
Lienchiang County	135	65	70	100	51	49	35	14	21

## Taiwanese Measures to Help Foreign Spouses and their Children

Ministry of Interior

**Policy:** “Measures of Care and Counselling for Foreign & Mainland Chinese Spouses”

On May 7th, 2003, the Ministry of Interior published the “Measures of Care and Counselling for Foreign & Mainland Chinese Spouses”. For the eight focuses: adjustment to local life, medical care, employment opportunities, educational sessions, child upbringing, personal security, legal aid, and cultural sensitivity, 56 concrete measures were planned. The measures were conducted by 12 central government units (the Ministries of Interior, Education, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Transportation & Communications, and Finance as well as the Department of Health, the Government Information Office, the Council for Cultural Affairs, the Council Of Labour Affairs, the Mainland Affairs Council, and the Veterans Affairs Commission) and by local governments. The Ministry of Interior was responsible for review meetings to assess how the units conducted the measures. By 2007, 18 tasks to investigations into foreign and Mainland spouses’ lives have been completed, as have 38 initiatives such as enhancing life adjustment and guidance.

**Fund:** Establish “Foreign Spouse Assistance Fund”

According to the guidelines relating to “Raising Exclusive Foreign Spouse

Assistance Fund” from the 2900th meeting of Executive Yuan on July 28th, 2004, the Foreign Spouse Assistance Fund was founded and assigned to the Ministry of Interior. Since 2005, NT\$ 3 billion (3,000,000,000) is supposed to be raised in 10 years so as to enhance the assistance of foreign spouses. The following tasks relating to the fund have been completed:

1. Between 2005 and August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2006, 10 meetings to manage the Foreign Spouse Assistance Fund have been held. Until August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2006, 320 cases from the central government, the local governments (of special municipalities, counties, and cities), and the private sector applied for subsidies. 175 of the cases were subsidized. The subsidies were NT\$ 310,991,322.
2. In order to spend the fund effectively and completely assist foreign spouses and their children, the “Management Board of Foreign Spouses Assistance Fund” passed the “Plans to Assist Foreign Spouses in Adjustment to Local Life, Language Learning, and Child Upbringing” in the eighth meeting, with clarified goals and methods. Three classes of adjustment to local life, language learning, and child upbringing were planned with the total budget of NT\$ 113,740,000 and were supposed to take place from June 2006.

#### Ministry of Education

##### Services of Child Education for Foreign Spouses

1. Prioritized application for public kindergartens: Foreign spouses’ children in the age of four to attend elementary school are given preferential access to public kindergartens.
2. Learning Services: Categories of languages, mathematics, and social science are covered. The projects like EPA (“educational priority area”), “Educational

Catch-Up”, and “Glory Regeneration” aim to help. After school classes are offered for foreign and mainland spouses’ children to improve their understanding of language, society, and culture. All the local governments of special municipalities, counties, and cities applied to hold such “learning services” by following the “MOE (Ministry of Education) Plan to Propel Learning Services for Foreign Spouses’ Children.” In 2004, that plan provided subsidies of NT\$ 7,539,080 to open 131 classes, with 2, 547 participants in total.

(1) In 2003, MOE aimed EPA (“educational priority area”) subsidies at foreign and mainland spouses’ children. (2) In order to achieve the goals of “assistance for the learning disadvantaged” and “catch-up between rural & urban students”. the MOE introduced the “Collaboration Plan: Supplemental Educational Services” as remedial teaching for the learning disadvantaged. In 2007, MOE subsidized the local governments to execute this with a budget over NT\$ 448,960,000. 121,966 students in total were helped by the services. The highest percentage of the student population was children from low-income & middle-to-low income households and those of farmers, workers, and fishermen who were exempt from income taxes. The second highest percentage went to the foreign spouses’ children whose learning performance was lower. (3) The MOE subsidized disadvantaged students to attend the programme of learning after classes so that the parents could work without worrying. In 2007, 1,413 schools joined the programme, which was 52% of all the elementary schools in Taiwan. Between July and December 2007, the programme subsidized 6,375 (in total) of foreign spouses’ children with a budget of NT\$ 30,630,000.

3. Counselling project: This focusses on how foreign and mainland spouses’ children perform at school and adjust themselves to school life and aims to enhance the

interaction between the children and their parents, pupils, and teachers. In cooperation with social workers, the project attempts to understand family backgrounds and determine the help needed, such as access to the resources available and counselling projects.

4. International Days: In 2004, a budget of NT\$ 1,444,000 was invested in these, while eight local governments (of counties & cities) were commissioned to take part. Focused on democracy, law & order, and human rights, the activities incorporated more exotic cultures into Taiwanese society to create a more diversified society which is rich in culture. These culture weeks or exhibitions of various countries make a circuit to every part of Taiwan and include many resources, reflecting cooperation with the foreign offices in Taiwan from foreign spouses' native countries. This focus on other cultures is included in teaching plans and has become a required element of the formal curriculum & teacher training.
5. Academic conferences on education: Central & local education units, teachers in compulsory education and teacher-training institutes hold many academic conferences to discuss the education of disadvantaged children of foreign spouses in order to reach a consensus on the most effective methods.

Other varied services and educational measures for the children and foreign spouses were adopted by local and centre government.

## **3.4 The UK**

### **Ethnic minority pupils in the UK (Multicultural Education in the UK)**

The United Kingdom has been an ethnically and culturally diverse society for centuries. However, particularly post-war, the number of immigrants from the

Commonwealth grew rapidly and cultural diversity is still increasing. The 2001 Census showed that nearly one in eight pupils comes from a minority ethnic background. By 2009, the school census shows increasing percentages of ethnic minority pupils - 24.5% in primary schools and 20.6% in secondary schools. Pupils come from widely different ethnic backgrounds, such as those found in the Caribbean, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, China and other communities. Most pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds live in and around the big cities.

The DfES (2003) indicated that various studies and reports have appeared to show underachievement by ethnic minority pupils in relation to their white peers, although Chinese and Indian children have achieved better exam results than average in recent years. This is significant given that school achievement would appear to influence success in later life, including whether or not students go to university, job prospects and their ability to make a full contribution to society.

### **3.4.1 A History of Ethnic Minority Education Policy of the UK, 1960-1990**

This section provides a review of the development of education for immigrant children in postwar Britain, and particularly in England.

Britain after the Second World War, like most Western European countries, was faced with a chronic labour shortage. Government and businesses initiated recruitment campaigns in foreign countries in an attempt to solve the problem. The colonies, or ex-colonies, offered a supply of labour which could fill the gaps in times of economic expansion. The British Nationality Act of 1948 laid down that the citizens of Commonwealth countries (former British colonies and dependencies) were British subjects entitled to enter Britain, to work and to settle permanently. Workers were also

encouraged to move because of underdevelopment in their own countries. Many of these colonies suffered from over-population, political instability and economic crises, and citizenship of the New Commonwealth countries gave migrants the right to settle in the UK permanently (Mckenzie, 2001). Black migrants from the West Indies, India, and Pakistan came to urban centres in Britain as labour, to work and settle.

The end of the 1950s saw the first signs of economic recession to end the post-war boom in employment. As major sectors of British economy began to experience conditions that would later lead to significant decline, the state enacted a series of legal statutes to limit the movement of migrant labour. The recession was also accompanied by a shift in capital investment from labour intensive industries to capital intensive ones. This reduced the work force which had relied on migrant labour. (Grosvenor, 1997)

There were thus many immigrants who were not needed by the labour market, and their differences in language and culture gave rise to concerns amongst many in British society, which led to a series of social problems. By the end of the 1950s certain assertions about black settlement in Britain were becoming commonplace in political discourse. These commonplace assertions coalesced around a single idea: black migration constituted a serious and growing 'problem' for white Britain. Black settlers were a 'problem' because of their numbers: there were 'too many'. It has been estimated (Skellington with Morris, 1992, using OPCS and Labour force Survey) that in 1951 approximately 0.4 per cent of the British population was drawn from ethnic minorities and that by 1961 this had increased to approximately 1 percent (Mckenzie, 2001) .

Over the past half-century educational policies in the UK have addressed ethnic diversity in several ways and in papers, such as Tomlinson (2001), Craft (1986),

Banks and Lynch (1986) Grosvenor(1997) and Figueroa (2004) something of an established narrative is now in place. According to this literature, the history of ethnic minority education policy can be clearly traced though some policies overlap and shifts in policy can be more apparent than real, so that they exist in the sphere of articulation rather than in practice. Figueroa (2004) claims that several different policy approaches relating to the education of ethnic minority children in the United Kingdom in the postwar era can be identified, although these approaches have not conformed to the neat typology which follows.

Laissez-Faire (1950s)

Assimilation phase (later 1950s~ 1960s )

Integrationist phase (later 1960s~1970s)

Cultural pluralist phase (later 1970s~1980s)

Postscript: market solutions (1990s to the present)

Controversially, Troyna (1982) regards the assimilation-integration-pluralist responses taken up over the past twenty years as 'official rhetoric'. He analysed DES policy responses to the education of minority group children and concluded that 'the DES has in fact an enduring commitment to an assimilationist perspective on blacks in Britain'. He considers that the models of assimilation and integration differ only in that the integration does not advocate the total suppression of cultural differences. Mullard (1982) also argued that the ideological and practical differences between assimilationism, integrationism and pluralism were not great.

### **Laissez-Faire (1950s)**

The educational policy during the early postwar period is often termed as

laissez-faire. According to this, everyone is equal before a colour-blind law, and the presence of immigrants calls for no special provisions. The British Nationality Act of 1948 conferred equal citizenship rights in the UK on citizens of the Commonwealth and colonies (Figueroa, 2004).

When faced with increasing immigration and tensions in ethnic relations, the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill (originally drafted in 1954) led to the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 to introduce provision to control 'immigration from the Commonwealth (Grosvenor, 1997). It can be seen as the end of the general laissez-faire period.

### **Assimilation (later 1950s~ 1960s)**

Racialised political discourse as it emerged in the 1950s was characterized by a concern with the issue of 'numbers', with the material well-being of the white population and with cultural difference. Practical problems where the races met were the issue of wages, the problems of housing and the matter of education where the number of immigrant children rapidly increased, many of whom could not speak English (Grosvenor, 1997). Increased immigration gradually caused a series of social problems, which reflected the British public's attitude of exclusion to immigrants at that time. One example of this was the 1958 Notting Hill Race Riot. As these issues emerged, the debate on immigration policies intensified.

Besides measures to control immigration from the Commonwealth, the British government also initiated a series of measures to help those people of different colour who were already British citizens to better blend into British society. The Race Relations Act passed in 1965 states "it is prohibited for anyone to behave in any form of racial discrimination in public areas such as theatres, cinemas and dance halls".

This Act has been revised twice in 1968 and 1971, and both revisions have strengthened the power to fight racial discrimination. However, despite the official efforts of the British government to prevent racial discrimination, it still exists in many corners of society.

The increasing numbers of children of Commonwealth origin presented schools in the early 1960s with problems for which they were unprepared. For instance, Arthur Moyle, the Labour MP for Lewisham North, stated that there were schools in his constituency:

Where the number of immigrant children is rapidly approaching a very high proportion. When it reaches a certain proportion there is no doubt that the character of the education begins to change. No longer is one trying to produce British children for the British way of life. The whole system of education is becoming distorted in the direction of trying to accommodate children, many of whom cannot speak the language, to the British way of life. (Grosvenor, 1997, p.27)

There was initially no central policy or planning to meet the needs of such children in the education system. The children of immigrants had to endure prejudice in different forms and it was only in the 1960s that solutions to this started to be identified (Mckenzie, 2001). The initial response of the education system to the arrival of increasing numbers of immigrant children in school during the late 1950s and early 1960s was to focus on assimilating ethnic minority pupils as quickly as possible into majority society. This approach simply sought to absorb any newcomers without fuss or special provision.

## Dispersal

Between 1960 and 1965 the crucial policy issues which emerged were concerned centrally with the teaching of English to poor or non English-speaking pupils, and

with the dispersal of immigrant pupils to prevent ‘high immigrant’ schools. Spreading the Children’ had been discussed as a policy option at the conference organised by LEA in December 1962 where dispersal as a policy was based ‘on educational needs’ in order to combat the language problems of ‘non-English speakers’. Dispersal was sanctioned ‘as necessary for educational reasons – so that the teachers might provide efficient education’ (Grosvenor, 1997).

One of the important policy documents of the early 1960s was the second report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (CIAC). Its major concern was with the role of the education system in bringing about the cultural assimilation of immigrant children into ‘British life’. To facilitate this, the number of immigrant children in schools should be small. ‘If a school has more than a certain percentage of immigrant children among its pupils, the whole character and ethos of the school is altered. Immigrant pupils in such a school would not get as good an introduction to British life as they would in a normal school.’(CIAC, 1964, para. 26). The 1964 report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (CIAC) deemed the presence of a high proportion of immigrant children in one school classroom as undesirable and unfair to all the children in the class and therefore advised ‘dispersal’. There were two aims of dispersing ethnic minority children between different schools. One was an attempt to spread the problem and the other was to avoid any school becoming predominantly immigrant in character (Dhondy, 1982).

The policy of dispersal was confirmed and developed in the DES Circular 7/65 which, under the heading ‘Spreading the Children’, said:

“It is inevitable that, as the proportion of immigrant children in a school or class increases, the problems will become more difficult to solve, and the chances of assimilation more remote...” (Swann, 1985, p.193)

This recommended that dispersal become an official policy recommendation to LEAs. Much of the circular was incorporated in a government White Paper published in 1965 (HMSO, 1965). The Circular, sanctioned by the new Labour Government, advised LEAs to restrict the proportion of 'immigrant children' in any school to under thirty percent. Initially only five LEAs, Ealing, Hounslow, Bradford, West Bromwich and Huddersfield, operated bussing, and dispersal was rejected by the ILEA and Birmingham, the two LEAs with the greatest number of immigrant children. The policy attracted criticism from diverse sources until it was ruled illegal in 1975 (Tomlinson, 1983).

## Section 11

Governments responded to immigration during the 1950s and 1960s with some specific initiatives to cater for the educational welfare of immigrant children. Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 was one of the few legislative provisions designed to help the children of immigrants. It provided grants to fund large scale English as a Second Language (ESL) work in schools and reception centres. LEAs set up language centres to which the children of new arrivals were assigned as soon as possible after settling. The express purpose of these centres, as their name implies, was to provide immigrant children with a basic competence in English. Once they were able to demonstrate this, they were sent to mainstream schools, where they were expected to follow the normal curriculum.

Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 was the chief source of funding for activities in the 'multicultural' field. It empowered the Home Secretary to pay grants at the rate of 75% in respect of the employment of staff to those local authorities which had to make special provision as a consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of 'Commonwealth immigrants' whose

language or customs differed from those of the rest of the community. Section 11 was thus the chief source of funding for the 'ethnic minority dimension' of 'Education for All', although it remained a somewhat imperfect vehicle for progress (DES, 1985). Meanwhile, the creation of the Inner London Education Authority provided a supportive grounding for relevant research. (Mckenzie, 2001)

### The first Race Relations Act

Before the 1960s, discrimination on the grounds of skin colour was not illegal and casual 'colour prejudice' was part of daily life for many Londoners. In 1965 the passing of the first Race Relations Act, which prohibited racial discrimination in public places, outlawed racial discrimination and set up the Race Relations Board (R.R.B) to investigate complaints. The Act's provisions were weak, for example the Act did not apply to issues such as employment or the provision of housing. In 1968, a new act enlarged and extended the R.R.B's powers and set up the Community Relations Commission (C.R.C) to help enforce these laws (M.O.L., 2009).

### Inactivity

Conventional interpretations of educational policies for the 1960s specify two main trends; first, that the goals of policy were primarily assimilationist, second, that in rhetoric and ideological terms these policies were racially inexplicit (Troyna & Williams, 1986). There was a common belief that everything would sort itself out in time and that it was best to keep quiet about race, i.e. doing good by doing little (Figueroa, 2004). There were piecemeal responses from local authorities in the late 1950s and 1960s to the settlement of ethnic minorities. In the meantime, many teachers were committed to assimilationist and integrationist views and perspectives. These perspectives, at the time, seemed right and proper. They tied in with current

liberal thinking, 'that in order to provide equal opportunities all pupils should be treated the same'. When asked about the ILEA's stance on this issue before 1977, a local Community Relations Officer put it like this: 'Before the 1977 policy it was a case of nondiscrimination, that we treat everybody equally. We are all God's children, that kind of approach' (Troyna & Williams, 1986 , p.30).

Except for Circular 7/65, central government prior to 1971 studiously avoided the formulation of centrally prescribed policy recommendations on the education of black children. This inactivity represents an explicit ideological position. Inaction is in itself a conscious and deliberate act but central government's inactivity is more apparent than real (Grosvenor, 1997). Roy Todd (1991) stated that we can learn from the silences in debate, as well as the sounds. We can also gain understanding from the absence of policy initiatives as well as from their presence (Todd, 1991).

There were few studies of education policy as it related to multicultural education during these years: to some extent this was understandable, as the Department of Education and Science (DES) continued to turn a blind eye to demands from within and beyond the education service for a clear, unequivocal policy commitment to multicultural or anti-racist education (Tomlinson, 1981; Troyna, 1982). Its only significant move on this issue came in the 1977 Green Paper, *Education in Schools: A Consultative Document*, where it asserted that: 'Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one and education should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races (sic) that now make up our society'(DES, 1977, p.41). Hardly then a firm policy; even less an injunction for formal action by Local Education Authorities (LEAs), schools and their teaching staff. Similarly, it was not until the early 1980s that any significant number of LEAs considered the issues important enough to publish formal, authority- wide policy

statements affirming a commitment to multicultural/ ethnic or anti-racist education (Troyna & Williams, 1986).

### Definition of Assimilation

The approach between the Second World War and the late 1960s was termed Assimilation which pays attention only to the feelings of majority rather than the minority. Giddens (1989) provides a definition of assimilation as ‘the acceptance of a minority group by a majority population, in which the group takes over the values and norms of the dominant culture’ (Giddens, 1989, p.735). Troyna and Williams (1986) claimed that ‘assimilation’ demanded a denial of affiliations to any other cultural, linguistic or national identities. Banks and Lynch (1986) also point out that with assimilation, the emphasis is on minimizing cultural differences and on preserving the status quo.

### **Integration (later 1960s~ 1970s)**

By 1971, the ethnic minority population had increased from 1 percent in 1961, to 2.3 per cent (Mckenzie, 2001). UK policies on limiting the amount of immigrants continued to appear. The 1968 Commonwealth Immigrant Act removed the right of entry from British Asians in East Africa and introduced a system of vouchers which discriminated against black Commonwealth citizen (Grosvenor, 1997). On the other hand, moves towards integration were in progress, although there were arguments that the moves were less clear-cut as were apparent in in-service courses and some official publications (Todd, 1991).

## Second-generation

By this time, there were increasing numbers of British-born, second-generation immigrant children. Then distinguishing factors between the problems of 'first' and 'second generation' immigrants emerged. The second generation were entirely educated in this country and expected equal treatment with their white contemporaries. They had less patience with overcoming the difficulties that confronted them than their parents had (Grosvenor, 1997).

By the end of the 1960s, integration replaced assimilation as the stated policy goal of the DES (Grosvenor, 1997). An address on 23 May 1966 to voluntary liaison committees of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants by the Labour Home Secretary and Birmingham MP, Roy Jenkins, appeared to presage this shift away from the policy of assimilation. Jenkins observed that Britain was entering a new era – 'a move from the era of the first generation immigrant to that of the second generation immigrant'. In this changing society, he stated, the national aim with regard to Britain's black population should be integration. He said,

'Integration' is perhaps a rather loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think that we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman... I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. This is the goal. (Jenkins, 1966 as cited in Grosvenor, 1997, p.55)

Meanwhile, the educational response was moving from an assimilationist perspective to the notion of pluralistic integration. The DES in 1971 published a list of central policy objectives which were:

1. to help create a climate in schools in which colour and race were not divisive and which would give all immigrant children opportunities for personal development in their new environment;
2. to ensure that building programmes and teacher quotas reflected the needs of areas with large numbers of immigrant pupils;
3. to offer advice and practical help to teachers faced with the challenge of teaching immigrant children;
4. to safeguard against any lowering of standards, due to the presence of large numbers of non-English speaking children, which might adversely affect the progress of other children;
5. to encourage and promote relevant research. (DES, 1971, p.15) (DES, 1981, p.197)

According to the DES, it was not short of information concerning the effective education of immigrant children at this time, but it was argued that the most obvious policy quite simply related to English as a Second Language (ESL).

The most obvious policy - ESL

The first official education publication of the UK government relating to immigrants in Britain was *English for Immigrants*- Pamphlet 43 (Ministry of Education, 1963). It made recommendations on English-language support on the basis of initial and temporary help as an aid to integration. In 1971 DES Survey 13 'The Education of Immigrants' noted that 'the most urgent challenge facing the schools concerned is that of teaching English to immigrant children' (Ager, 1996) . Townsend surveyed the policies and practices of 146 LEAs in 1970 and found that almost half of

the LEAs in England had made some special arrangements, mainly for the teaching of English (Tomlinson, 1983; Townsend, 1971). Without doubt, ESL (English as a Second Language) provision was the most obvious policy response to the deployment of human and financial resources (Troyna & Williams, 1986).

#### Dispersal policy abandoned

Meanwhile, consensus that dispersal was educationally and socially sound was starting to break down. The central government supported it, but some local councils refused to disperse children. Parents from 'white areas' were unwilling to have immigrant children enter their school and immigrant parents were reluctant to send their children on a longer journey to school. The Birmingham Post reported 'angry mothers' stating 'it's us or them' and complaining that 'the coloured majority' were holding their children back (Grosvenor, 1997). This policy was not longer widely adopted; mainly because white suburban schools did not want minority children and certainly did not want their children bussed as a *quid pro quo* to Black schools (Rex, 1985).

At the end of the 1960s, crude assimilation thinking was coming under review. The dispersal policy was officially abandoned in 1971 (DES, 1971).

#### Teachers' challenges

By this time, the particular challenges facing teachers who were working in multi-racial schools began to be acknowledged. Some warned their LEA of an impending 'gigantic problem' in schools because of the growth in numbers of 'immigrant pupils' (Grosvenor, 1997). The schools and teachers faced problems which had never before been experienced and they were not prepared for growing numbers of children in their classrooms who did not speak English or had different

backgrounds. The Association of Teachers of English to Pupils from Overseas, founded in 1962, became the National Association for Multiracial Education (NAME) in 1973.

Many teachers held negative views of immigrant children and their families. Evidence reviewed in 1984 suggested that many white teachers had, during the previous twenty years, held inappropriate views about minority parents and pupils: their lack of knowledge about minorities leading to stereotyped views; their assimilationist perspectives leading to difficulty in accepting manifestations of 'cultural pluralism'; and their negative views of West Indian parents and pupils in particular, possibly affecting the academic performance of these pupils (Tomlinson, 1984).

Some attention had been given to multicultural matters in both initial teacher training and in-service training of teachers. However, many colleges and university departments of education during the 1970s managed optional courses for only a few interested teachers from multiracial schools. Eggleston, directing a project enquiring into in-service teacher education, reported that in-service courses for teaching in a multicultural society were also 'fragmentary and incomplete', and that courses were often cancelled for lack of support (Eggleston, Dunn, & Purewal, 1981). A further reason for the paucity of courses, was that teacher trainers themselves were not usually recruited on the basis of their knowledge of multicultural issues (Tomlinson, 1984).

#### Centre and LEAs

There was sustained pressure on central government in the 1970s to produce national policies and funding to deal with the incorporation and successful education

of ethnic minority children. Many reports and papers had provided recent policy recommendations, such as:

- 1973 The House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration produced policy recommendations in the 1973 report- Education.(SCRRI, 1973)
- 1977 The House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration published another report – *The West Indian Community*. It reiterates policy recommendations specifically concerning the education of West Indian children.(SCRRI, 1977)
- 1974 The Community Relations Commission produced a policy report on the education of ethnic minority children (Tomlinson, 1983)
- 1978 The Commission for Racial Equality made policy recommendations.(Tomlinson, 1983)
- 1981 Little and Willey made recommendations on education in their report on racial disadvantage. (Little & Willey, 1981)

The recommendations for improving the education of ethnic minority children made within this period, had, as Tomlinson (1983) pointed out, provided policy initiatives which covered a broad range of educational topics; but they lacked direction from central government (Tomlinson, 1983). The Rampton Report provides a summary of recommendations in their interim report, in which they regretted that ‘we have received some evidence about the lack of leadership given by the DES in the field of multi-cultural education’ (Rampton, 1981)

Despite an absence of central funding or co-ordinated national policy, LEAs during the later 1970s began to initiate policies specifically for ethnic minority children. The first LEA policy statement on multiethnic education was produced by ILEA (ILEA, 1977).

Issues emerge

In the 1970s, although multiracial education and equality became the widely accepted slogan, there was considerable uncertainty as to what it actually meant. It seemed that education aimed to be fair, but through its processes and orientation, reproduced and legitimated inequalities. The major issue to emerge was that of the poorer performance and achievement of some minority children, particularly West Indian children. The poor grades of the immigrant students in the 1960s could be related to the new environment they were in, and the effect of unfamiliarity with a new language. But by the 1970s, most of these students were born in the UK and were familiar with English; their grades, however, were still behind those of the white pupils. This raised concerns from the ethnic minority community.

On the other hand, ethnic minority communities indicated a self-awakening with regard to preserving their ethnic cultures. During the 1960s there was a relatively clear consensus between central government, LEAs and schools, that immigrant children constituted a problem for the education system which could be solved in terms of cultural and linguistic assimilation or integration. But by the 1970s this consensus had broken down. The demands from ethnic minority communities themselves to retain their linguistic and cultural traditions, and criticisms from ethnic minority parents about the quality of the education offered to their children, constituted outside pressures to change practices and produce policies. (Tomlinson, 1983)

The West Indian Community expressed the concerns about the academic performance of their children during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This concern was recognized by the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. In 1977 the Committee reported on *the West Indian community*, and urgently recommended an

inquiry into the causes of educational under-achievement of children of West Indian origin and action to improve the situation. Subsequently, in 1979, the Government set up a committee to enquire into the education of children from all ethnic minority groups. This was the origins of the Swann Report (1985).

#### The Race Relations Act 1976

In 1976, a far tougher Act than any before it was passed which made discrimination unlawful in employment, training, education, and the provision of goods and services. It was broadly framed so that it covered not only direct discrimination but also indirect discrimination, extended discrimination to include victimisation, and replaced the Race Relations Board (R.R.B) and the Community Relations Commission (C.R.C.) with the Commission for Racial Equality, a stronger body with more powers to prosecute (Museum of London, n.d.).

The Race Relations Act 1976 prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race in admission to schools, the appointment of teachers, careers advice, access to facilities, and required LEAs to take positive action to eliminate discrimination and promote equal opportunity, understanding and good relations. This was an important Act at that time, and was a huge step forward. However many LEAs and individual schools were unfamiliar with the legislation and the only Home Office guidance was the explanatory booklet *Racial Discrimination: A Guide to the Race Relations Act 1976* issued in 1977 (Young & Connelly, 1981).

In 1977 the Labour government decided to review Britain's nationality laws on the grounds that provision had 'caused confusion and ... encouraged the belief that our immigration laws contain elements of racial prejudice', and listed possible changes for discussion. This review was completed by the Conservatives, following

their election victory in 1979 (Grosvenor, 1997). Today, the amended the Race Relations Act 1976, now the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, places a duty on public sector institutions to positively promote race equality.

### **Cultural Pluralism (later 1970s~ 1980s)**

It has been estimated that, in 1971, 2.3 per cent of the UK's population was drawn from ethnic minorities and that by 1981 this had risen to 3.9 per cent (Skellington & Morris, 1992). A DES publication at the time, *Education in Schools*, declared, 'Our society is a multicultural, multiracial one, and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society' (DES, 1977) .

Minority groups and individuals had drawn attention to the specific racist nature of their treatment and disadvantage throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Policies in local government needed to attract minority electoral support. Professional groups such as LEA officers and administrators, and teachers' organizations such as the National Union of Teachers (NUT), all London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF) and National Association for Multiracial Education (NAME) all played prominent roles in the advocacy of antiracist education policies (Troyna & Williams, 1986). However, one of the most important catalysts for change appeared in 1981.

In 1981, the UK suffered serious riots related to racial tensions in many major cities with large ethnic minority communities, such as Brixton in London, Birmingham and Liverpool. Whilst it may be difficult to pinpoint precisely the effects of these disturbances and their symbolic evocation as a justification for changing policies (Troyna & Williams, 1986), nonetheless, as Craft (1984) has observed, the

year 1981 was significant for the development of multicultural education. Two important publications appeared, the Rampton (1981) and Scarman reports (HomeOffice, 1981). Lord Scarman highlighted the responsibility of schools to provide 'suitable educational ...opportunities' for black students. After 1981 an increasing number of LEAs responded to Scarman's call for action by producing explicit policies affirming a commitment to multicultural and antiracist goals (Troyna & Williams, 1986). However, it is interesting to note that Scarman asserted that 'institutional racism' did 'not exist in Britain'(HomeOffice, 1981). 1981 was also the year in which the Parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration implored schools to examine their formal and hidden curriculum to ensure that they provided the means to combat racism and promote equality of opportunity (Troyna & Williams, 1986).

Banks and Lynch conclude that the late 1970s and 1980s saw far more effort being devoted to the multicultural 'permeation' of the primary and secondary school curriculum than previously (Banks & Lynch, 1986). The inadequate and surface multiculturalism in the past and its dominant practice in schools, namely the 'saris, samosas and steel bands' approach, was challenged in the 1980s (Grosvenor, 1997). In 1981, however, Barker claimed that racism had not disappeared but that the emphasis was now on cultural differences rather than claims to biological superiority (Barker, 1981).

There were, however, still some conservative voices unwilling to accept multicultural education. Some schools and teachers responded that they did not need to change as it was still expected that minority groups would adapt to the white, British way of life, and that there was therefore no need to provide either compensatory education for blacks or for the curriculum in the schools to reflect the

diversity of British society (Mould, 1987). The most common phrases used by head-teachers when discussing the relevance of multicultural education to their schools were:

We have no problem here.

We treat all children in the same way.

My catchment area is not multicultural.

These local reactions, in the 1980s, to the concept of multicultural education reflected those shown in the 1960s by areas which had experienced earlier immigration (Mould, 1987).

In the mid-1980s people at all levels of education began to take into account ideas and examples of good practice in multicultural and anti-racist education. Many LEAs were responding faster than the central government. Todd (1991) cites Berkshire as an example. Berkshire's policy was developed through a lengthy period of consultation and discussion which began in the late 1970s. Berkshire established the Advisory Committee for Multicultural Education and published a final report including a policy statement, in December 1982. The education committee approved an amended form of the policy statement in January 1983. The formal statement at the beginning of Berkshire's general policy gives its racial equality aim (Royal County of Berkshire, 1983) (see Appendix H). The remainder of this policy paper provided clarification of concerns with equality and justice, and an analysis of aspects of racism. The second and third policy papers outlined major implications for schools and the ways in which the policy would be practically implemented (Todd, 1991). Then, all LEAs had to have policies in place that addressed specific anti-discriminatory practices.

Piecemeal local authority responses to the changing composition of schools, including the establishment of language centres and 'bussing', preceded central government direction in the 1960s. However, by the 1980s the policies and structures established by central government were instrumental in propelling some local authorities towards multicultural education, or at least providing sources of legitimation for those working for change from within local authorities (Todd, 1991). Moreover, a firmer directional control by government was in evidence, through the allocation of funding such as Educational Support Grants, introduced in 1985. These grants allocated £980,000 to category H: 'Pilot projects related to educational needs in a multi-ethnic society' and encouraged LEAs to promote curriculum changes in areas identified centrally. As indicated by such initiatives, it is clear that local authorities play a major role in determining policy relating to multicultural education (Mould, 1987).

#### Definition of Pluralism

If we accept that the majority group in British society is not in itself homogeneous and that changes in both the majority and minority groups have occurred, then we can understand the nature of society as a pluralist society (Todd, 1991). In general terms, and drawing upon cross-cultural evidence, a plural society is defined by Giddens as 'a society in which several ethnic groupings coexist, each living in communities or regions largely separate from the others' (Giddens, 1989). It is now, perhaps, a tradition in political analysis to use the term with implicit or explicit recognition of the extent to which apparent pluralism conceals the operations of power which reproduce substantial inequalities in society (Lukes, 1974). Although the educational use of the term pluralism has symbolic significance, particularly as a challenge to those who assert ideas of a dominant and unitary British

culture, it may be used in contexts which fail to illuminate the realities of power in education (Sachs, 1986) which means using the term 'pluralism' can mask inequalities, where there is still discrimination towards black students in schools (Todd, 1991).

As Bolton observed in 1979, 'the early ideas of assimilation and integration were patronizing or offensively dismissive of other cultures and life-styles', and he advocated a pluralism more accepting of other cultures, so as 'to allow equal opportunity for all to play a full part in society' (Bolton, 1979, p.6).

### **The Swann Report**

In 1979, an official committee of inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups was set up. In 1985, the final report of the Committee, the Swann Report, was published. The Swann Report, *Education for All*, was very important in the field of education for ethnic minorities in Britain. The report concluded that UK society was faced with a dual problem: eradicating the discriminatory attitudes of the white majority on the one hand, and on the other hand, evolving an educational system which ensured that all pupils achieved their full potential. In addition, concluded the committee, society must not, through prejudice and discrimination, increase the social and economic deprivation of ethnic minority families. Rather, schools must respond with greater sensitivity, and without any trace of prejudice, to the needs of ethnic minority children. The report embodied the essential principles of 'Education for All' rather than providing policies aimed at ethnic minority pupils only. The Swann Report served as a catalyst for change and helped schools to review their approaches. The shift of focus from 'West Indian in Our Schools' to 'Education for all', indicated an important shift from 'them' to 'us'. Which moved from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism referring to Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (see figure 3.2.1).

Overall, the concept of multicultural education emerged in the 1980s. At this period, the aim was to foster and maintain good race relations. The most obvious difference between the early days of assimilation and integration, and the concept of multicultural education, was that, whereas the former focused primarily on seeking to 'remedy' the perceived 'problems' of ethnic minority children and to 'compensate' for their perceived 'disabilities' and 'disadvantages', multicultural education had tended to have two distinct and different themes - firstly, meeting the particular educational needs of ethnic minority children and secondly, addressing the broader issue of preparing all pupils for life in a multi-racial society (Swann, 1985). The Swann Report was thus an important benchmark for multicultural education in the UK. The following section discusses in detail its origin, key points, responses, and criticisms.

The origins of this Committee can be traced back to the concern expressed by the West Indian Community during the late 1960s and early 1970s about the academic performance of their children. In the early 1970s ethnic minority communities, teachers and some educationalist expressed concerns about the poor educational performance of such children within the system. Research conducted during this period also showed that ethnic minority children, particularly West Indians, were performing less well than their white peers and that West Indian children were over-represented in schools for the educationally subnormal. The concern of ethnic minority groups was recognised by the Select Committee on Race Relations which reported in 1977 (Verma, 1987).

In 1977 the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration reported on the West Indian community, and urgently recommended an inquiry into the causes of educational under-achievement of children of West Indian origin and action to improve the situation. Subsequently, in 1979, the Labour government agreed to

establish a Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. The committee under the chairmanship of Anthony Rampton was required to review the educational needs and attainment of children from ethnic minority groups. From approximately 1977, at the beginning of the Rampton deliberations, there was a growing awareness that some special educational programmes were required to meet the needs of the relatively few ethnic minority children in the area. (Mould, 1987)

It is important to reflect on the reasons why the Select Committee's concern with black 'education underachievement' should have stimulated this positive response from central government. After all, this was not a new concern; in fact, since the 1960s researchers in different parts of the country, especially in Inner London, had identified this pattern (Taylor, 1981; Tomlinson, 1983). Why did this issue finally gain people's attention, leading to the setting up of a committee? What was clear by 1978 was that contrary to earlier diagnoses and prognoses, black 'educational underachievement' as measured by researchers could no longer be considered an ephemeral problem, related causally to the disruptive effects of immigration on black students, their lack of familiarity with the UK or because of discontinuities between the UK and Caribbean education systems. By the late 1970s the vast majority of school students of Afro-Caribbean origin had been born and brought up in the UK; despite this, they were still more likely than their white or 'Asian' counterparts to be represented in the lower streams of secondary school (Troyna, 1987). This was the main reason behind the UK government's agreement to investigate this phenomenon.

It is important to analyse the socio-political context in which the committee was established. As mentioned earlier, many local authorities started to identify their own problems and needs. Schools with more West Indian children focused on underachievement; and schools with more Asian children focused on religious

education and mother tongue teaching. Very few LEAs had clear multicultural education policies, with their top priority being English as Second Language. Faced with more and more challenges from local authorities, central government was forced to act. The Swann (and Rampton) committee was set up in 1979 by a Labour government but had its membership finalized by a conservative government. The committee was thus still operational even after a change of government, indicating that the demand for change was a cross party, national issue.

The preface and content of Swann Report covered the interim report and methods used to conduct the research. The extraction attached in Appendix I.

#### Key points of Swann

Besides the above mentioned key points extracted from contemporary commentaries there are other important concepts for discussion in this section, in particular the main reason for the establishment of this commission, where it is clearly stated that the question of achievement and underachievement is complex involving a wide variety of educational and social issues. Low IQ is not a significant factor in West Indian underachievement and indeed underachievement is associated with socioeconomic status for all children.

The Swann Report also reflected on and reviewed how minority and multicultural issues had been handled in the past:

We regard both the assimilationist and integrationist educational responses to the needs of ethnic minority pupils as, in retrospect, misguided and ill-founded. (DES, 1985, p.198)

The education policies in the past only focused on the minority student, but what Swann emphasized was for all:

We are not looking for the assimilation of the minority communities within an unchanged dominant way of life, we are perhaps looking for the ‘assimilation’ of all groups within a redefined concept of what it means to live in British society today (DES, 1985, p.8).

What the report emphasized was the need to respect the cultures of minority groups, along with the equal value of all cultures:

Not ‘Teaching Culture’ or ‘Cultural Preservation’ We would instead wish to see school encouraging the cultural development of all their pupils, both in terms of helping them to gain confidence in their own cultural identities while learning to respect the identities of other groups as equally valid in their own right. (DES, 1985, p.323)

Whilst the law could address people’s behaviour, it could not change what people think. There was already legislation and policy proposals related to race relations before the Swann Report, but these were seen as having little effect. The important contribution of Swann was its concept of culture equality, challenging biased thoughts, and putting the emphasis on education and the younger generation. The Report urged people to think of ‘education for all’ as premised on a set of common values.

In the short term, the first of these problems is a matter for the Law, the Government, Housing Authorities, Employers’ Unions, the Commission for Racial Equality, and many others. But in the long run we believe that it is a matter for schools to bring about this much-needed change in attitudes amongst coming generations. (DES, 1985, p.90)

The following section of recommendations from Mckenzie (2001) summarises the Swann Report’s key points for reference:

- Differences in IQ were not found to make a significant contribution to underachievement.
- Racism (although largely unintentional) was an important influence on underachievement.

-A smaller percentage of 'West Indians' (1 per cent) went to university than did people from other ethnic minority groups (4 per cent of 'others' went to university)

-Differences in socio-economic circumstances provided a partial explanation for the relatively low attainment of Bangladeshi as well as West Indian children and these differences often resulted from racial discrimination, especially in housing and employment.

-Although priority in language teaching should be given to English, linguistic diversity should be considered a positive asset.

-More attention should be given to multicultural matters in both initial teacher training and in-service training of teachers, and that effectiveness of racism awareness training be investigated.

-Greater effort should be made to employ and promote teachers from ethnic minority groups, although without positive discrimination or the lowering of standards.

#### Response to the Swann Report

Since the Swann Report, tensions within state policy with reference to education for a plural society have formed a continuous backdrop against which schools have had to develop their institutional responses to meeting the needs of their student populations (Bell & Stevenson, 2006).

Since the Report held that stereotyped attitudes among teachers influence achievement, especially underachievement, additional funding was made available by the DES for the in-service training of teachers on teaching and the curriculum in a multi-ethnic community (PitKannen, et al., 2002). The Swann Report's effects became clear in some GCSE subject guidelines, in the requirements of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, in the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, and in the reports of HM Inspectorate on schools and colleges. In addition, 'teaching in a multi-ethnic society' became a priority for in-service education for

teachers (for two years), with funding for attendance at 25-day courses as a means of promoting policy implementation (Todd, 1991).

In November 1985 the In-service Teacher Training Grants Scheme (DES Circular 3/85) added two additional priority areas to its original list of five. One of these was 'training concerned with the need to respond to ethnic diversity as identified in the Swann Report': it was proposed that £680,000 be made available for this purpose in 1986-87. Grants of this nature were very welcome, although it could be argued that they were still woefully inadequate for the task in hand. (Mould, 1987). The national Union of teachers also welcomed the Swann Report's endorsement (NUT, 1986).

However, in 1985, Joseph, Secretary of State for Education, rejected many of the key recommendations of the Swann Report and asserted instead the importance of national values in education. In his valedictory speech as Secretary of State for Education in May 1986, he condemned the 'self-appointed apostles of anti-racism' who 'sought to subvert our fundamental values and institutions' and were 'more anxious to pursue their own political advantage than to create harmony between ethnic groups' (Grosvenor, 1997).

### Criticisms of Swann

After the Swann Report was published, many criticisms of its research methods and findings also emerged.

#### The evidence of underachievement

Research for the Swann Committee that studied school leavers in five inner-city LEA areas where the educational attainment of every ethnic group in the study was lower than the national average. However, Verma has criticized the Swann Report on its standard for judging students' achievements. The criterion or criteria of

underachievement, such information was derived typically from CSE, O- and A- level results and was criticised as being too simplistic a measure of achievement. In addition, the Swann Report relied heavily on the evidence produced by the School Leavers' Survey which had other flaws. Authors of the Report have acknowledged this and warn against the simplistic interpretation of achievement on the basis of currently available incomplete statistical evidence (Verma, 1987).

The Swann Committee based its general argument about black 'educational underachievement' on data provide by the DES School Leavers Survey 1978-1979 which was also criticized by Troyna. The point Troyna made was that the grossly insensitive use of data, linked as it was to the provocative issue of teacher racism, undermined the credibility of the Committee's argument, failed to pre-empt inevitable press criticism of the Report and incurred the anger of many teachers who perceived it as an unjustified attack on their professionalism (Troyna, 1987).

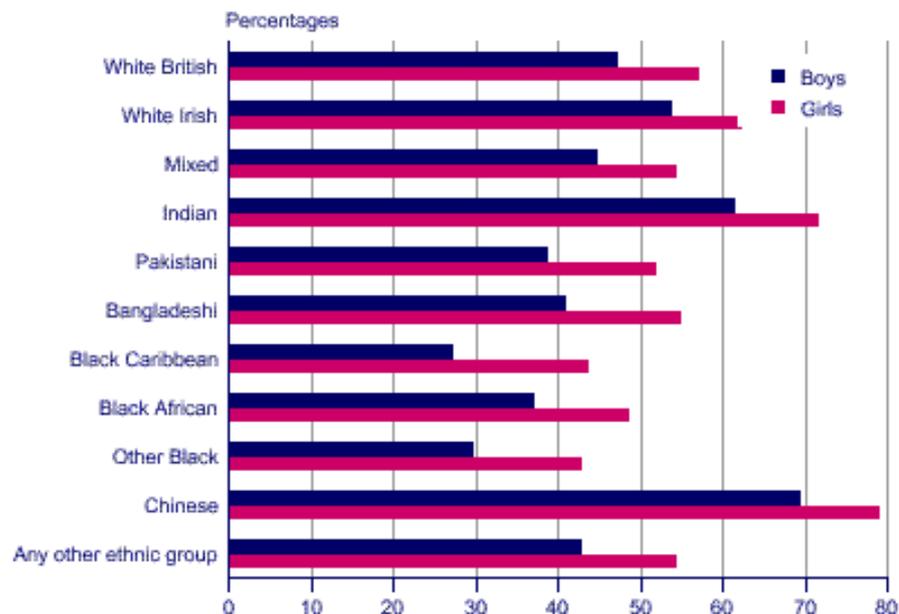
According to Verma (1987) another crucial issue overlooked by the Report was the fact that when differential performance is examined, the judgement is often based on the 'average' performance for the different group. It rarely happens that researchers attempt to ascertain individual variation within a given group (Verma, 1987). Thus the individual cannot represent the whole group, and the whole group is not equal to every individual. For example, the fact that a set of scores shows that group A's performance is inferior to that of group B does not mean that all the individuals in group A are performing badly (Verma, 1987).

The Report also gave the impression that children of Asian origin were doing well within the British educational system. The Committee should have made every effort to collect separate data for Asian sub-groups and from different parts of the country. Failure to do that was deemed a major weakness of the Report (Verma,

1987).

Verma (1987) continued to criticize the Swann Report. He maintained that the evidence that Asian children had the same school grades as the white students was ‘shaky’. Other academics also questioned this assertion that ‘Asians’ perform as well as ‘All other leavers’, for example: Krutika Tanna (1985) ‘Opening the black box’. Nevertheless, more recent data suggests that Asians tend to perform as well or even better than white children based on the interpretation of achievement and statistical evidence.

Table 3.4.1 Pupils achieving 5 or more A\*-C at GCSE/GNVQ: by sex and ethnic group, 2004, England



Source: Office for National Statistics, <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=461>

Only focus on ethnicity

Troyna (1987) criticized Swann for its focus on ethnicity alone, ignoring other factors. This, he said, was a restricted view because it focussed on achievement levels along ethnic lines. Consequently, the Committee’s discussion and conclusions were

based solely on a comparative investigation of the performance of 'Asian', 'West Indian' and 'All other leavers' (i.e. mainly whites) in public examinations taken in five LEAs in 1981-82 (Troyna, 1987). The Report also ignored important research published in 1983 by Roberts et al. (1983) and his associates which had shown that the national profile of black 'educational underachievement' could be 'attributable entirely to the fact that they reside in districts and attend schools where the attainments of all pupils are below average' (Troyna, 1987). Even now researchers still claim that inequality is a result of class difference (Berends & Lucas, 2007). When we consider the factors that lead children to underachieve, we should not just consider race, but also the affects of their socio-economic status and the wider influences that combine to sustain underachievement.

Troyna also stressed that individual teacher prejudice was only part of the story of racism in the English educational system. Both Joseph and the Swann Committee failed, or refused, to consider the more insidious and covert forms of racism as they operate almost routinely in pedagogic, administrative and organizational features of school and college life (Troyna, 1987).

No prescription but merely Platitudes

Hugill (1985) criticized the Swann Report, saying 'the saddest aspect of the Report is that the majority of recommendations have been made time and time again'. Chivers (1987) also challenged many of its findings:

The Report supplies no explanation based on research, so that the reader is left with a puzzle. (Chivers, 1987, p. xii)

Chivers points out that while Verma and Troyna were both concerned about the technical inadequacies of the Report, Troyna's central dissatisfaction was with the report's shortcomings with regard to policy. No case for promoting the minorities'

cultures within the school system was made and there were no indications of ways forward to challenge racism at school (Chivers, 1987).

The final question is that, if certain groups are underachieving, what can be done to help them both within the school system and in the wider society? The Report does not provide a 'real' solution to the problems faced by ethnic minorities in British society. (Verma, 1987, p.23)

'Education for All' was also criticized heavily by organizations such as the National Anti-racist Movement in Education, which insisted that the Report suffered from important omissions and that it inhibited rather than advanced the legitimization of anti-racist education (NAME, 1985).

In Mould's response to Swann, he argued that as time moved on, the concept of multicultural education would gradually change and develop, with the contribution of Swann being an important part.

In my authority I feel that much of our work would have progressed without any Swann Report. What Swann has done in my opinion, however, is to give a good housekeeping seal of approval to the initiatives undertaken by many individuals and some local authorities in the field of multicultural education. It has produced much comment. With newspaper coverage, articles in such periodicals from the Commission for Racial Equality, NAME and the Runnymede Trust, it has alerted many educationists to the need for action in their authorities. Its recommendations can be used both as a yardstick and as a lever in the pursuit of awareness raising and curriculum change to reflect the diversity and importance of the ethnic mix within society. Even without a single conference, a single debate, its very existence would have given credence to all within LEAs who wish to pursue a multicultural education policy. (Mould, 1987, p.55)

Mckenzie explained the possible reasons why there was so much criticism. Information about the report had been distorted by a biased media before reaching the

public, who had then imposed on it their own definitions of reality. Myths had also emerged, based on these distorted media reports, hearsay or sometimes half-understood messages (Mckenzie, 2001).

### *Orthodoxy of multicultural education*

Brandt (1986) described the report as ‘for good or ill, probably the most important document to emerge within the discourse of race and education in Britain’ and its importance is still being recognized by many scholars. Rex from the beginning expressed his support to the Committee. On publication of the Committee’s Interim Report, *West Indian Children in our Schools*, 1981, John Rex was prompted to write that: ‘The most important thing about the Rampton Committee, as it used to be called, is not its content, but the whole political drama which surrounded the publication of its first report’ (Rex, 1981, p.4 as cited in Rex, 1987, p.31).

Rex again expressed his positive views on the Swann in 1987:

I would hope that all those who wish to see an anti-racist educational system will take advantage of what Swann has offered. We are no longer talking about a situation in which a few idealists fighting against the mainstream are propagating a minority doctrine. Whatever local councillors or reactionary headteachers and others may think of the matter, we have the Swann Report in our side. ...it is up to us to see that its principles are fully implemented. (Rex, 1987, p.15)

Following Swann’s death, Verma and Tomlinson, two leading educational researchers, paid tribute to his report as ‘the most radical educational report so far published in Britain’. It is difficult to assess the extent of the report’s influence on policy-makers and practitioners (Grosvenor, 1997).

Although the Swann Report has received much criticism, it had also generated a lot of broad discussion, for example, *Education for A Pluralist Society* :

*Philosophical perspectives on the Swann Report*, published by Institute of Education.

All the papers were contributed by staff of IOE (Haydon, 1987). He remarked:

The Swann Report, *Education for all*, presents the response of an official inquiry to a profoundly important question: how should education respond to the diversity of culture, faith and ethnic background which characterizes present-day British society? While some of the papers are critical of Swann, our primary concern is to be forward-looking, to make suggestions... ...We did not intend to mount a comprehensive critique of the report; rather, seeing that the report brought up important issues which needed further discussion (Haydon, 1987, p.9)

It is clear from the analysis of some of the main conclusions of the Report that the evidence offered was inconclusive and sometimes conflicting, and the explanations were provisional. None the less, the message from the Swann Report was clear (Verma, 1987). It urged people to think of 'education for all' as premised on a set of common values with which all our children should be brought up. It may seem an unremarkable recommendation; but it is a milestone in official thinking about education in Britain this century (Haydon, 1987). Although the report was not perfect, it contained a great deal which could be used in discussion and in the development of guidelines for action.

Multicultural Education is an enormously difficult task. Troyna even arguing that the goal could never be achieved (Troyna, 1987). But the Swann Report expressed the government's determination to succeed, and provided people at that time with a new direction to consider. The report marked a new stage in educational progress and today, and its importance is still recognised in contemporary debates about Multicultural Education in the UK.

### **Postscript: market solutions (1990s to the present)**

As previously indicated, the sustainability of education policies is influenced by changes of governments and changes in ideologies. The Education Reform Act 1988, introduced by a Conservative Government, gave rise to radical changes. The right-wing Thatcher governments during the 1980s began to turn education into a quasi-market, in which choice and competition were intended to enable consumers to select schools and courses. Education began to move from being a key pillar of the welfare state to being a prop for a global market economy. (Tomlinson, 2001). In addition, under both Conservative and New Labour governments from 1988 onwards, education policy was driven by the assertion that ‘standards’ were too low and must be raised. It had been argued that some reforms and projects had raised only majority students’ standards, and that minority students had not shared equally in the improved attainment associated with the reforms (Gillborn and Gipps 1996, Tomlinson, 2008). The move towards neo-liberal agendas in education introduced a raft of policy technologies such as testing and assessment of children with the results being used to determine teacher and school performance. Accordingly, the main controversial issues suggestive of inequality included:

1. Under pressure from league table comparisons, schools had an informal incentive within the law to select children who would enhance their league table position and be easy to teach.
2. It is also clear that schools were increasingly using ‘setting by ability’ and other forms of internal selection to separate children into hierarchical teaching groups. This kind of development was openly advocated by government. For example, the New Labour Party’s 1997 election manifesto (Labour Party, 1997) claimed that ‘setting’ children in classes can maximise progress, for the benefit of high-fliers and

slower learners alike. The focus is thus on levelling up, not levelling down.

Post-1988, however, the slow but steady progress towards the more equitable incorporation of minorities into the education system was considerably impeded in the view of some critics. Overt policies for dealing with race and minority issues were almost completely removed from the educational agenda and race became an 'absent presence' (Apple, 1999) not rediscovered until the end of the 1990s (Tomlinson, 2001)

Schools responded to the pressure to 'raise standards' and education thus appeared to sustain rather than ameliorate class division. Tomlinson (2001) points out that in the 1990s, growth in inequality in Britain was the fastest of any advanced state. A significant gap in attainment levels at the end of compulsory education (age 16), had widened since 1988 (PitKannen, Fishman, & Verma, 2002).

A key change from the era of the Swann Report was that after the Education Reform Act 1988, schools in England were not free to construct the content, methods of teaching and methods of assessment, but were legally constrained to follow a centrally prescribed curriculum: the National Curriculum.

In 1997, after eighteen years of Tory rule, New Labour won a landslide victory in the general election on a platform with education as its highest priority. Its first white paper, *Excellence in Schools*, spoke of 'excellence for everyone' (Figueroa, 2004). The education policies of the UK were to focus on raising standards and attacking low standards. The emphasis was on the needs of every child instead of diverse groups. For instance, a subsequent the Labour Party election manifesto (Labour Party, 2005) expressed the claim that 'our plan now is to tailor our education system to individual pupil needs with parents supporting teachers and support staff'. In addition,

underpinned by the Children Act 2004, the government established an integrated programme, *Every Child Matters: Change for Children*, to build services around the needs of children and young people (DfES, 2004). In 2009, the Department of Children, Schools and Families further explained:

We now want to go further, to keep every child on track and to achieve high standards for every pupil, not only the majority. In particular, where a child falls behind they should receive additional support – through small-group or one-to-one tuition where that will be the most effective (DCSF, 2009, p.30) .

These policies aimed to provide the flexibility of provision to meet every child's needs, and reflected an ideological commitment to education as the engine of social change.

Over the past half century, educational policies for minorities in the UK have moved from ignoring their needs to regarding the individual needs of every student. Although the underlying ethic is one of respect for all persons and their human rights, in practice this policy is still problematic and politically emotive. In 2003 the government acknowledged that 'opportunities are unequal for many of the one in eight pupils who come from a minority ethnic background' (DfES, 2003, p.4). Relating this UK narrative of 1965 to 1990 to Bennett's DMIS model (figure 3.2.1), it appears to show UK society proceeding through the ethnocentric stages, arriving at 'acceptance' in the present and aiming at 'integration' for the future.

However, Tomlinson (2001) argued that by the year 2000 there was still overt selection for grammar schools in thirty-six areas, and market forces had proved very effective in reintroducing a complex system of selection, often passing as "diversity" , in which the greatest beneficiaries were the white middle class, with small numbers of middle class Asian and black students (Tomlinson, 2003). In a

review of research in the mid-1990s, Gillborn and Gipps (1996) suggested that while all pupils had improved their performance at GCSE level over a decade, there was a growing 'Black-White' gap between African Caribbean pupils and their white peers. On the other hand, after the suicide bombing in London in 2005 by four young Muslims who were born and educated in Britain, the ethnic tension increased in society. Community cohesion thus became the most manifest issue in the UK.

### **3.4.2 Analysis of this History**

After reviewing the history of multicultural education in the UK in section 3.4.1, a brief description follows of the social thinking at the time in the UK from the 1950s-2000s. Three noteworthy themes are identified:

- a process of evolution
- minority students as the disadvantaged
- handling the majority's worries rather than the minority's needs

#### **A process**

The UK faced an increase in the number of immigrants in the 1950s, and since then there have been different views on how to deal with this continuing phenomenon. Based on historic events, policy directions, and public opinion, in the previous section we roughly divided this process from the 1950s to the 1980s into different phases thus:

Laissez-Faire phase (1950s)

Assimilation phase (late 1950s~ 1960s )

Integrationist phase (late 1960s~1970s)

### Cultural pluralist phase (late 1970s~1980s)

This process of initial confrontation to acceptance through to integration is a formula found in other cultural collisions. Many multicultural countries such as the US and UK and even Taiwan would appear to have had similar experiences. As mentioned above, each phase was not clearly divided, and overlapped with each other. Some might argue that there was progress in each phase and decade, but there was not much policy change for the minority in fact (Figueroa, 2004; Troyna, 1982). The impact of community activism and organisation at grass-roots level make a ground –up process as drivers of changes.

Bennett (1986, 1993) proposed a developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS: see figure 3.2.1, below), based on the American experience. According to this, when people are faced with different cultures, they move from ‘defense against difference’ to ‘minimization of difference’. After a period of conflict and then adjustment, they finally enter the stage of ethnorelativism which indicates a move from acceptance towards integration.

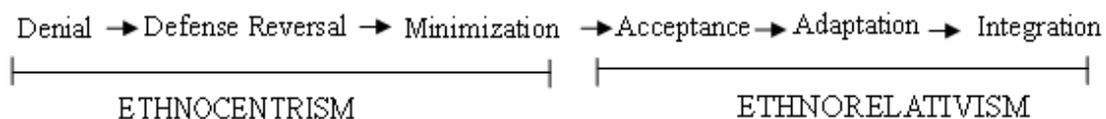


Figure 3.2.1 Developmental model of intercultural sensitivity

(source: Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman, 2003)

In the UK, there have been different interpretations of the phases of approaches to multicultural education over the past few decades. Some of these identify four, rather than three, phases, for instance, assimilation, integration, multiracial, and

anti-racist approaches. On one hand since the changes of opinions happen over time, it is impossible to give a precise date as to the dividing line between phases. On the other hand, since every area faced different challenges, so the pace of change would reflect this. Taking the UK as an example, it may be that many big cities with a high ratio of immigrants would be aware of the challenges more quickly than central government, and would thus demand change before other areas of the country. Although there is not a general term for it, it is evident that since the 1950s, educational policies in the UK have adapted to ethnic diversity in several ways. They moved from assimilation to integration, to cultural pluralism and match the direction of development identified in Bennett's model.

Mullard also proposed a model to describe the approaches to education in a multicultural society. There are ways of classifying these general approaches. Mullard has used six labels to identify qualitatively different forms of education: immigrant, multi-racial, multicultural, multi-ethnic, poly-ethnic and anti-racist. Some of these he links with particular decades. He suggests, for example, that immigrant education was the approach of the 1950s and 1960s; multi-racial education 'surfaced in the mid-1960s'; whereas multicultural education developed in the 1970s. Mullard also uses a distinction which divides these six types into two. He argues that whereas the first five are implicitly or explicitly racist, the final approach is not (Mullard, 1984). But Mullard did not identify this as a continuous and constant process.

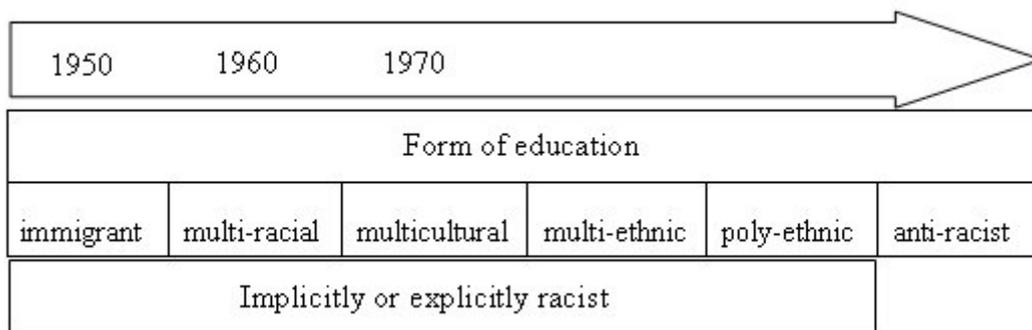


Figure 3.4.1 Mullard's model

Richardson (1985) proposed a simple and useful model firmly rooted in a British context and which has been used extensively in in-service education for teachers. In his model, teachers use the 15 statements to consider the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statements to determine their attitudes. This model can also be used to evaluate where teachers' attitudes lie toward immigrants, and can help identify changes in attitudes and approaches.

Table 3.4.2 Issues and controversies in the Swann Report: a model

(Richardson, 1985)

A	B	C
Immigrants came to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s because the laws on immigration were not strict.	Ethnic minorities came to Britain because they had a right to and because they wanted a better life.	Black people came to Britain, as to other countries, because their labour was required by the economy.
Immigrants should integrate as quickly as possible with the British way of life.	Ethnic minorities should be able to maintain their language and cultural heritage.	Black people have to defend themselves against racist laws and practices, and to struggle for racial justice.
There is some racial prejudice in Britain, but it's only human nature, and Britain is a much more tolerant place than most other countries.	There are some misguided individuals and extremist groups in Britain, but basically our society is just and democratic and provides equality.	Britain is a racist society, and has been for several centuries. Racism is to do with power structures more than with the attitudes of individuals
It is counter-productive to try to remove prejudice - you can't force people to like each other by bringing in laws and regulations.	Prejudice is based on ignorance and misunderstanding. It can be removed by personal contacts and the provision of information.	Prejudice is caused by, it is not the cause of unjust structures and procedures. It can be removed only by dismantling these.
There should be provision of English as a Second Language in schools, but otherwise 'children are all children, we should treat all children exactly the same' - it is wrong to notice or emphasise cultural or racial differences. Underachievement is caused by home background and culture.	Schools should recognise and affirm ethnic minority children's background, culture and language . . . celebrate festivals, organise international evenings, use and teach mother tongues and community languages, teach about ethnic minority history, art, music, religion, literature.	Priorities in education are for there to be more black people in positions of power and influence - as heads, senior teachers, governors, education officers elected members; and to remove discrimination in the curriculum, classroom methods and school organisation; and to teach directly about equality and justice and against racism.

A set of labels to be overlaid onto this model is offered by Houlton (1986). His headings and subheadings, moving from left to right, are: 'Assimilation', 'Multiculturalism' and 'Anti-Racism'. There is a hidden dimension of time in this

model. Perhaps it is sufficient to say at this stage that column A brings together an orientation which encapsulates the earliest educational responses to black people in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s. Column B's pluralist 'multiculturalist' approach developed at a later stage. Column C draws out some of the major elements of anti-racist approaches of the early and mid-1980s. The correlations between Richardson's and Mullard's models are clearly evident (Todd, 1991).

These different models all have similarity and help explain what happens when different cultures meet each other. This process matches the current issues in Taiwan related to the restructuring of the population and the need for society to adapt. As such, this represents a formula which all cultures would seem to experience when encountering others.

### **Regarding minority students as the disadvantaged**

When discussing the history of education policy in the UK for ethnic minorities, there is an important dimension that we need to consider. Post 1945, governments, both Labour and Conservative, sought to control the movement of immigrants into Britain. In doing so they defined immigration as a 'problem'. At first the minority's needs were ignored. Then when majority had to face up to the challenge, they moved to seeing ethnic minority groups simply as 'disadvantaged', something which could be remedied by education and other social policies.

Grosvenor further explains the process of identifying black immigrants as a problem, making the point that 'Race' does not exist in reality and is instead a social construct. Racism is an ideology, that is, a way of viewing and understating the world (Grosvenor, 1997). Political discourse focuses on the concepts of 'culture', 'nation' and 'race' and, Grosvenor, after analysing related factors on racialisation and

race thinking maintains that the discourse around identifying black immigrants as problems is a product of invention and imagination after 1950s.

### Threat

Massive immigration occurred which had not existed before which appeared to threaten the material well being of the indigenous white population, exacerbated by issues of cultural and skin colour difference. In the 1960s, many members of Parliament and politicians proposed that employment and housing problems were related to immigration and that migrants' culture was very 'different from us'. Racialised political discourse as it emerged in the 1950s was characterized by a concern with the issue of 'numbers', with the material well-being of the white population and with cultural difference. By the end of the 1950s certain assertions about immigrant settlement in Britain were becoming commonplace in political discourse. These commonplace assertions coalesced around a single idea: migration of people of colour constituted a serious and growing 'problem' for white Britain, because of the numbers: there were 'too many' (Grosvenor, 1997).

### Control

In order to limit the increasing number of immigrants, Parliament debated about nationality and immigration controls. The government discussed legislation to limit the number of immigrants entering the UK. The Commonwealth Immigrants Bill, originally drafted in 1954, introduced provision to control immigration from the Commonwealth. As a result, issues of superiority/ inferiority and inclusion / exclusion rose to the surface. This discriminatory and exclusionary legislative policy conceived in the 1950s led to a political discourse which structured 'race' as a problem.

## Prejudice

Constructions of social problems were publicly articulated and debated. The 'race thinking' in the 1950s focused on issues around 'cultural difference', where 'race inferiority' did not appear as a major element in 'race-thinking'. However, in the 1960s, more prejudice and misunderstanding occurred, causing immigrants to lose status. Some political elites even promoted race issues for their own benefit in elections. This is evident from the interviews which Kenneth Newton conducted with Birmingham councillors in 1971. During the interviews councillors expressed 'a full range of racist stereotypes':

that coloured immigrants have caused a housing shortage, that they are responsible for the 'crime wave', that their birth rate is abnormally high, that they refuse to integrate (i.e. conform to the British way of life, which often includes the belief that coloured people are inferior), that they like living in slums, that they live off social security, prostitution, and gambling, that they are less intelligent than natives, that they take jobs from white workers, and, at the same, that they are lazy and idle, and so on. (Grosvenor, 1997, p.113)

## Media

In addition, the mass media has generally provided a negative portrayal of immigrants, which was a factor in deteriorating race relations during the 1960s and 70s. A UNESCO (Cricher, Parker, & Sondhi, 1977) survey of press reporting of 'race' in Birmingham and West Midlands newspapers between 1963 and 1970 found statements on 'race' were automatically newsworthy and received extensive coverage (Grosvenor, 1997). The white majority thereby exercised control over public discourse and the voice of the ethnic minority was difficult to hear.

## A regime of truth

Once public opinions were formed, public statements become an element in the

constantly growing stream of events, truths, fears, lies, and crises which influence the political process. Through identifying the ethnic minority, it became apparent that to have knowledge of an object was to have authority over it. To use Foucault's phrase, 'a regime of truth', the conception of ethnic minorities as a 'problem' was a common feature in national and local political debate. A racialised 'regime of truth' was all-pervasive (Grosvenor, 1997).

The generation of education policies must be seen in their historic or political context. In the atmosphere at that time, the priority of education was to eliminate difference; no matter whether it was culture or language. However, race also played a part. When assimilationist educational responses are based upon the assumption that ethnic minority pupils are a problem, then education becomes a dominant and reproductive tool.

Under the social conditions at that time, many prejudices toward ethnic minority students were apparent. Data were used indiscriminately as evidence of immigrant pupils' inferiority, which also became one of the reasons for the general public's negative response.

While in education 'immigrants' were report as overcrowding schools, 'as the beneficiaries of special provision', and as 'depriving white children of resources'. (Grosvenor, 1997, p.115)

Tomlinson (1983) argued that some of the comments on West Indian home backgrounds and child-rearing techniques, for example, were based on opinion, not research. Some small-scale studies would have been used to provide evidence to settle what had become political, rather than educational, questions. Taylor (1981) has also drawn attention to the technical point that there is some confusion in the research over the term 'significance'. In some of the research statistical tests of significance have

been applied to data, and while this may appear to make this more objective and 'scientific', statistical significance still has to be interpreted and evaluated in an educational context (Tomlinson, 1983).

Some argued that racial prejudice is a basic human instinct. This prejudice was part of human nature; it was based on fear, 'fear' of the 'unknown', the 'unusual' and the 'strange', fear of 'lower standards' in health and housing, fear for jobs. However, many opinions are shaped by environment; they can be guided, and avoided. Grosvenor (1997) pointed out that in the 1950s, debates which studied 'race inferiority' did not include 'race-thinking'. However when in late 1950s a political discourse emerged which structured 'race' as a problem, then 'race thinking' focused on issues around 'cultural difference'. The UK, in the 1950s, ignored the issue of race and thus allowed a negativity to develop. When in the 1960s, there were more disturbances, including riots, the horrors of racism were finally acknowledged and addressed. Grosvenor (1997) in his concluding chapter explained that if 'race thinking' can be dismantled, the practices of exclusion and subordination which result from such thinking can be more effectively challenged.

## Remedy

The ignorance in the 1960s could not be ignored in the 1970s. Under the pressure of producing policies related to children in ethnic minority groups, the response of central government from the mid-1970s was to subsume the problem of minority children under those of the disadvantaged. Subsuming the needs of ethnic minority children under those of the disadvantaged was reiterated as official policy in the 1977 White Paper *A Policy for the Inner Cities* which was published by the Department of the Environment (Tomlinson, 1983).

General policy discussions therefore often assumed an ethnic minority child who combined the problems of all and who in addition was assumed to share all the characteristics of the inner city poor. However, the learning problems for each student were not similar. Asian children and West Indians had different problems. Asian children might have more problems with English and religious difference; but West Indian children had other problems. Also, there was variation between different sub-groups. But policies at that time assumed that minority children all had similar problems, seeing ethnic minority groups simply as 'disadvantaged' and treating their needs as problems which could be remedied in order to move forwards. Such an approach attempts to relegate multicultural education to an aspect of 'educational disadvantage'.

The concept of 1960s assimilation was a deficiency model which was developed in response to the presence of non-British born children in the education system. The problem was seen as existing in the lack of spoken and written English and knowledge of British life and cultures. Once these deficiencies were overcome, it was assumed that these young people would be assimilated into the British education system. The Multi-Racial Model which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s emphasised the reality of Britain as a multi-racial society in which black communities were seen as disadvantaged (Todd, 1991). After all, minority students' needs were treated as deficiency, a problem, and a result of disadvantaged, to be responded to with remedial and corrective methods, rather than a solution based on equality.

In fact, family, cultural and home differences, and deficiencies have all been suggested as factors affecting the educational performance of ethnic minority pupils, but the low socio-economic status, language problems, cultural segregation and so on, have not been presented in as obvious a way as skin colour difference. The major

policy in the 1960s was dispersing by bussing and the development of language teaching for non-English speaking children. Children were to be bussed regardless of whether they could speak English or not or whether they had special problems or not, because they were Black. The policy of dispersal illustrates both the perception of black pupils as a 'problem' and the racist attitudes embedded within the educational system.

The two large-scale research studies on school processes and ethnic minorities which have been carried out (Little & Willey, 1981; Townsend & Brittain, 1972) concluded that schools in general were, at that time, not willing to change their organisation or curriculum to take account of minorities, apart from using ESL programmes. They have also tended to regard minority pupils as problems. (Tomlinson, 1983)

An American academic, David L. Kirp, who studied British educational policy throughout the 1960s and 1970s, advanced the critique that:

The aim of British policy has been, on the one hand, to stress the infinitely diverse needs of individual students, and on the other, to embed race in some broader policy context such as educational disadvantage.' (Kirp, 1979, p.40).

Likewise the Rampton Committee criticised the 1970s policy of subsuming the needs of minority group children under the disadvantaged label:

'Within the DES we have been concerned to note that the needs of ethnic minority children are so often seen only as an aspect of educational disadvantage, or in some cases even just a form of handicap. This seems to reflect a general view that ethnic minority children are a problem.' (DES, 1981, p.73)

It has always been more expedient to subsume ethnic minority children under the general label of 'disadvantaged' (Tomlinson, 1983). Policy critiques also suggest that

attempts to subsume the problems of minority group children under the label of 'disadvantaged' have not been beneficial, either to minority or majority pupils, and the late 1970s and early 1980s have been characterised by efforts from parliamentary committees, local authorities and other bodies, to push central government more in the direction of positive national policies for minority group pupils, and for multi-ethnic education generally (Tomlinson, 1983).

Ethnic minorities are subsumed under a wider group—that of the disadvantaged. It has been a recurring theme of Tomlinson's (1984) book that the stereotype of the disadvantaged parent, who is in need of organisation by professionals and whose children are in need of compensation for their background, is inappropriate when applied to minority communities. Indeed, the model adds further stigmatisation to groups already at a disadvantage in society. It suggests that parents from minority communities are handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the school system and rely more on teachers to inform and help them than white parents do (Tomlinson, 1983). Much home-school liaison was at that time based on the model of disadvantage, when professionals might still feel that their expertise guarantees that they know best, a position which precludes really listening to parents' views and opinions. (Tomlinson, 1984). Despite the undoubted social and material disadvantages to be found in urban areas, minority parents did not consider themselves to be part of a disadvantaged group (Tomlinson, 1984). Writing about multicultural education in post 1945 Britain, the racist assumptions were reinforced by defining immigrant and their cultures as social problems and largely ignoring the influence of structural inequalities.

### Hostility

In the political climate of the mid-1980s, the New Right within the Conservative Party proposed a theory of 'pseudo-biological culturalism', which fostered the belief

that people are innately different, so that it is in our nature to repel different races. 'It is only natural to meet strangers with hostility'. For example, Norman Tebbit's account of his understanding of 'Being British' can be read as an example of this new discourse of 'race': 'The race relations industry tell us that British pride is offensive...Nationality is deeply rooted in ties of blood, kith and kin, language and religion....'(Grosvenor, 1997, p.17). 'Large waves' of new 'immigrants' represent a threat to the cultural, political and religious homogeneity of white British society. This kind of thinking reinforced the perception that immigrants were a 'trouble'.

### **Handling the majority's concerns rather than minority's needs**

To summarize multicultural education policy in the UK post 1945, there is a sense that educational policies were handling the majority's concerns rather than minority's needs. At the basis of policy consideration was the need to reduce disruption, rather than handle the minority students' needs, based on the equality of every student.

- In the 1950s, the majority of the public only thought about the effects that an increasing number of immigrants would bring to them, and hoped to limit the numbers of immigrants. They ignored the educational needs of these immigrants.
- In the 1960s, teaching English was seen as the most important thing and a dispersal policy was implemented. It was thought that dispersal and time would completely blend the new immigrants into the British society.
- In the 1970s, ethnic minority students were seen as problems, and it was thought that their needs could be remedied by addressing their 'disadvantage'.
- In the 1980s, multicultural education policy moved towards the preparation of

all pupils for life in a multi-racial and culturally diverse society.

- In the most recent period educational policies have focused on raising standards and on market forces. Minority issues are largely subsumed under this overriding priority.

Education is a national concern, but is driven by ideological shifts between governments and tended to solve the immediate problems. Take the history of multicultural education in Britain as an example: policy can be depicted as having more to do with keeping the system running with minimal disruption than with dealing with the needs of minority children. Nonetheless, if one looks at the way in which provision for minority children has been made since 1960 two things stand out. One is that, in the first phase, many of the policies which were adopted on such matters as E2L teaching, and dealt with low achievers and disruption rather than with the needs of minority children. The other is that when minority-specific policies were developed they were often based upon incoherent and conflicting assumptions about the problems of a multicultural society (Rex, 1985).

Besides reducing disruption, such policy is also doubted to protect the rights of the majority. One policy response in the 1960s, the proposal of dispersing by bussing is one example. It was developed out of fear that the presence of Black children in large numbers would lower standards and children were to be bussed regardless of whether they could speak English or not or whether they had special problems or not, only because they were Black. If the policy was not widely adopted, moreover, it was not because minorities opposed it, but because White suburban schools did not want minority children and certainly did not want their children

bussed as a quid pro quo to Black schools (Rex, 1985).

In this minimal disruption context, some scholars argue that multicultural education is only masking the problem and presenting a false image of progress towards a harmonic society. Troyna and Williams (1986) stated that multiculturalists put forward a range of policies which can be labelled as compensatory – designed to remedy the supposed linguistic, cultural and identity deficits of black students. In this context, the development of a multicultural curriculum to increase students' motivation and commitment to achievement in school is heavily stressed. It is also hoped that such a curriculum might re-educate white students out of their prejudices. Antiracists, however, press for a very different set of policy changes, ones which are intended to change existing patterns of racial inequality in education by challenging the institutionalisation of racism. In short, the aim is defined in terms of equality of outcomes not equality of access. Antiracists, therefore, argue for policy initiatives designed to change institutions rather than children. These include the politicisation of the formal curriculum, scrutiny of the 'hidden' curriculum, changes in the way students are assessed and allocated to ability streams and sets, more black staff and better promotion prospects for those already teaching, and the introduction of policies to prevent and punish racist incidents in school. Moreover, special needs would be defined by black groups themselves and special provision would be available as a right of citizenship, not as a compensatory strategy. For Mullard (1984), antiracism is qualitatively different from multiculturalism in so far as it stems from an entirely different source- blacks rather than middle class whites – and is aimed at the goal of racial equality and justice, not harmony and integration (Troyna & Williams, 1986).

This chapter has scanned the phenomena of immigrant in two countries. Although the time and period are different, many similarities are apparent in the

current situation of Taiwan and the history of the UK, such as the perceived threats to society, discriminative media viewpoint and responding policy which ignored the minorities in the beginning and followed by assuming that multicultural education is solely a matter of making special provision for minority children. The succeeding chapters discuss and compare the two countries with a particular focus on policy analysis.

## **4. Results and Analysis**

According to the discussions in the methodology chapter, the policy study and analysis is basically conforming to the framework as problem identification, agenda setting, and policy formulation.

### **4.1 Problem Definition**

As mentioned previously in the methodology section 2.2, the definition of a problem is part of the problem (Parsons, 1995). The important steps in identifying the problem are to describe the situation and find the reasons that caused the policy problem. Therefore, in this section, the study explores the policy problem in Taiwan and specifies the factors which have impacted on that in detail.

The related discussion on foreign spouses and their children has become a 'hot issue' in Taiwan. In the past 15 years, foreign spouses from Southeast Asia and China have increased. The number has reached over 410,000 in 2008. Large numbers of foreign spouses have appeared in our daily lives, in the market, on the street, becoming our neighbours or even relatives. They also appear in news reports, but mostly in a negative light. As time moves forward, foreign brides became foreign spouses; after they continued the family line for their husband, they also became foreign mothers. The general term for the children of foreign mothers is the 'new children of Taiwan'. The new-born babies whose mothers were foreign brides accounted for 13% of total births in 2005 (MOI, statistics report 2005), the children of foreign spouses in 2010 accounted for 9.78% of the total number of primary school students.

Why do we research the children of foreign spouses? Foreign mothers come from countries in Southeast Asia which are relatively under developed, plus Chinese is not their first language, and they are generally not well educated. In addition, many of the Taiwanese men who marry foreign brides are from a low socio-economic status background, some are even disabled. Therefore, many reports have indicated that children of foreign spouses have a higher chance of 'slow development' problems. The children of female immigrants are widely considered by the general public to be inferior, and have problems studying, leading to educational problems. As the ratio of children of foreign spouses in junior schools and primary schools started to rise, increasing attention was put on their disadvantaged status instigating much research and supplementary policy considerations. The attention which was originally on the foreign spouse shifted to foreign mothers and their children. Many research articles, news reports, and public opinion led to the view that the number of foreign spouses had grown to such point that they could no longer be ignored, and that the government should provide educational assistance to these new Taiwanese children. Much research started to focus on the children of the foreign spouses; and this was also the primary interest for this study.

The research question of the study is: What are the important factors that have influenced the education of immigrant children in Taiwan? The general problem of neo-immigrants' children usually arises from several dimensions which are identified in the following discussion.

### **Cross country marriage and the cultural difference**

The adaptation problems faced by people in cross country marriage are more complex than domestic marriage. As their cultural differences and language

differences are built on a 'non-love' foundation, potential value conflicts and adaptation problems are hidden in their daily lives. A tense husband-wife relationship may also be the cause of poor parent-child relationships. For instance, Liu (2001) indicated in her research of 'Lived experiences of intermarriage among Filipino women in Taiwan', that in the Philippines they adopt bilineal descent, but Taiwanese families mostly adopt patrilineal descent. Therefore, Philippine wives see Taiwanese men as being filial to their parents, they see this as a weakness, an inability to be independent, and therefore they are not real men. They would also doubt their position in the family.

The problems faced by cross country marriage immigrants are not only their literacy: values hidden inside their cultures, difficulties arising from their lifestyle, and different understandings of marriage are also factors affecting their adaptation to Taiwan. Taiwanese families often criticize Vietnamese spouses, saying that they love money as they mail money back to Vietnam. However these Vietnamese spouses have a deep-rooted opinion that daughters need to take care of their maiden family. This is perceived differently by the traditional Taiwanese families. Another daily life example is that when some Indonesian spouses first came to Taiwan, they could not eat anything because they were used to spicy food, which is very different to what traditional Taiwanese families eat.

What these foreign spouses faced were not only problems of cultural adaptation when they migrated to a new country, but also the lifestyle adaptations when moving into a new family. The 'double strangeness' made their lives even harder. Not only do they need to adjust to the new marriage, they also face completely different lifestyles, value differences and a language barrier. The researcher also had a cross cultural experience when studying overseas, so has an understanding of those foreign

spouses entering a strange environment. However, cross country marriage immigrants face far more complex problems than general immigrants, and have more difficulty adapting.

## **Language**

Aside from Chinese spouses, most foreign spouses do not speak Mandarin as their first language. Even if they study Mandarin very hard and can communicate in their daily lives, they still cannot speak it as well as native mothers as they are likely to use limited vocabulary and simple sentences. Childhood is an important stage for language ability development where the mother usually plays the crucial role in instruction and modelling. Therefore, children whose mothers are non-Mandarin speaking foreign brides are usually weaker in expressing themselves in the majority language, using simple words, and spending less time playing with words (Wang & Yang, 2002). Some research has shown concern for the under-performance of children born to foreign mothers (Chung & Wang , 2004 and Liu, 2003).

Hsu (2005) researched the life adaptation factors of the children of foreign spouses. He indicated that the mother's communication ability would directly affect her children's learning performance. The research also found out that their ability to learn language was weaker than their peers.

Hsang (2004) conducted a small samples qualitative study in Tainan county, indicated that foreign mothers are limited in their use of language, so it is hard for them to participate with their children's learning activities. Because the level of their language is low, it also affects their confidence when teaching their children. Even though they came to Taiwan many years earlier, these foreign mothers still lack an understanding of Taiwanese language, culture and education.

Tainan County Education Bureau, in 2003, focused on the children of foreign spouses and conducted research on the problems faced by these children after they entered elementary schools. They found out: 1. their mothers cannot help them with the first grade Chinese or learn phonetic symbols; 2. when assisting the children with home work or studies, because they cannot read they could not help; 3. the children lack preschool education, so they generally have difficulty when starting school; 4. they lack the ‘proper’ education concept and discipline methods for their children; 5. they cannot properly communicate with the teachers due to their language barrier; 6. their children are slow in learning (the parents work hard at monitoring, but their children still respond slowly); 7. Since the mother cannot read Chinese, it is hard for her to participate in the school or class activities, which might slow down the children’s learning (Wang, 2003).

Concerns with developmental delay are also evident in other reports. The Department of Health, Bureau of Health Promotion commissioned the Republic of China Association of Early Intervention for Developmental Delay in Children (2003), to conduct the “Activities in Physical and Mental Development Screening” for all children of foreign spouses under age of 6 in Nantou County. The rate of developmental delay in children after the screening was 5%, which complies with the prevalence set out by WHO standards, and was no higher than the rate of native children. The highest developmental delay item was language delay (Children’s Bureau, Ministry of the Interior). Referring to Lin’s (2003) research, the language performance of these children of immigrant mothers is tightly related to their gender, physical and cognitive development, preschool education, intelligence, basic learning ability, group adaptation, relationships with others, father’s occupation and education, and mother’s language ability. Besides the child’s personal ability, their family’s

social economical status and their mother's Chinese language ability all affect the language performance of the children of foreign spouses.

Some research evidence has show that children of foreign mothers do have poorer performance in language and communication compared with Taiwanese students. According to Wang & Yang (2002) children of Southeast Asian spouses clearly have less vocabulary compared with their peers, their language also lacks complexity, they do not talk actively, and have poorer social behaviour. These children also do not normally play word games, which leads to slower development of their language skills. The above research result also matched the research by Lin (2003), Chung, Wang and Chen (2006) which indicated that the performance of Taiwanese children is superior to the children of foreign spouses in language skills.

The Ministry of Education (2005) published the *Report on Investigation into Learning & Life of Foreign Spouses' Children in Elementary School*, which indicated that if the Chinese communication skills of the foreign mother are high, then the likelihood for the children to have proper development in language is higher, which is 95.62%. Furthermore, the report showed that children of foreign spouses experienced delays in language development at lower school years (11.1%), but by the time they reached higher school years only 5.46% would have this delay. The ratio decreases as age grows, this might be attributable to the success of school education.

However, some research results also indicate that there is no significant difference between the children of immigrant mothers and native students (Wang et.al, 2006; Chen, 2004). According to Chen's (2004) research on the measured intelligence, language skills and school performance of grade one children of foreign spouse, when factors such as social economical status, gender and area are controlled, the children of foreign spouse would have no significant difference in their language

skill performance when compared with native children. In other words, although some of research believes that the language and communication skills of children of foreign spouses are poorer than children of domestic spouses, some research still indicates that there is not a significant difference between the two groups. Therefore, the performance of foreign spouse children as compared to native children is still in need of further discussion and clarification.

If the mother's poor Chinese language skill is one of the factors affecting their children's language skill, and this became their weakness, then could their mother's first language become an advantage to their child in learning language? In fact, the answer is negative. At the current time the Taiwanese general public is not interested in the mother tongues of these foreign spouses and considers them to be languages not very competitive internationally and therefore not worthy of being studied. In the pilot study for this research, two foreign mothers expressed their view that it was not a necessity to teach their children their mother tongues. You learn the language of where you are; so Chinese and Taiwanese are both more important. This result is identical to Chen's research which found that foreign mothers think it is not necessary to teach their children their mother tongue (Chen, 2001).

### **Weak family and social supports**

Immigration withdrew the support of the original family and society. When they first came to a strange country, with limited language communication skills, foreign mothers in Taiwanese society found it hard to obtain enough information on how to cope. In addition some husbands are afraid of their wives having too much contact with the outside world with its attractions and influences, so they would limit

their contact with the outside world and restrain their lives to within the family circle. This kind of situation makes their social ability and support networks weak and even for those who wish to work, it is very difficult with a limited network. The separation of foreign spouses from outside resources thus further weakens their rights (Hsia, 2003).

Foreign mothers are not familiar with the Taiwan education system and many are not entirely fluent in Mandarin. If their children have problems with studies, classmates and teachers, they may not be able to gain their mother's full support. And if the children cannot obtain support from their mother, this may aggravate their disadvantage and the relationship between school and family. Wang (2004) explained that since almost half of all foreign mothers cannot read Chinese, they cannot cooperate with teachers or school, and this has a negative influence on the progress of their children's learning. The researcher worked as a volunteer at one of the foreign spouses' parents conferences sponsored by Pearl S. Buck Foundation. One of the foreign mothers shared her difficulty about raising her children:

One day my child collided with his classmate in a school activity, he was in grade 2. His classmate had a minor injury, and the teacher would like to meet the parents from both families after school to explain this was an accident and my child didn't do it on purpose. However the grandmother of the other child blamed me for not disciplining my child well and kept saying bad things about my child. Because my Chinese was not very good and I didn't know how to explain it. I could only stand there and listen to her blaming us. I felt terrible inside. (Foreign mother)

In addition, ordinarily there exists the stereotype that foreign mothers lack the ability to teach their children, so teachers usually adopt a patronising stance when giving foreign mothers advice and instructions in how to teach their children. This may cause foreign mothers to feel disregarded and depreciate their self-worth. Hsu

(2004) indicated that the most difficult thing for a foreign mother to teach their children is to “co-operate with school teaching” and to give them “guidance and assistance at home” .

## **Social Economic Status**

Coleman from the US led a research team in 1964 to study the inequality of education opportunity between the different ethnic groups in the US. In the subsequent Coleman Report (1966) he found out that the family background factors such as the reading material at home and the education level of the parents were deciding factors in the student’s achievement; not the quality of the teachers or the resources of the school as had been commonly assumed. Taiwanese research also confirms this research finding: that school has a limited influence on the student’s learning and achievement (Lin & Wu, 2007). Since Coleman published his report in 1966, many educational scholars have believed if a student receives resources from his family, then he would perform better at school. Different immigrant families would thus have different outcomes; as some adapted well, but some did not. Parents who participate in school education, the level of communication they have with their children, and the parents’ own education level will all affect the children’s learning adaptation. Families with advantages in these areas would tend to have children who adapt well in school compared with other immigrant families (Glick & White, 2004).

The socio-economic conditions of children of immigrant mothers are poorer than that of indigenous families in many ways. According to the Foreign and Mainland China Spouse Living Conditions Survey Report conducted in 2003 and published by the Ministry of Interior in June of 2004, foreign spouses’ education levels were mostly

Junior High School with 34.6%, followed by Elementary School of 31.9%; as for spouses from China, the highest was Junior Career School with 40.6%, followed by High School and High Career School with 27.5%.

Another research project conducted by the Ministry of Education, the *Report on Investigation into Learning & Life of Foreign Spouses' Children in Elementary School* (2005) indicated the education level of the Southeast Asian spouses, where illiteracy accounted for 15.2%, 36.4% have elementary school education, 26.3% have junior high school education, 16.2% have high school education, and only 5.8% have university degree. According to the data provided by Taiwan's representative offices in Ho Chi Minh City on the occupation statistics for Vietnamese spouses from August to December 1991, the majority (88%) of the Vietnamese spouses were working as 'house care', followed by farming at 7%. The education level below junior high school is 96.02%, only 3.98% have education beyond high school. Elementary and junior high school each has about 40% share, so they generally have a lower education level (Hsu, 2004).

Aside from the education level of the foreign spouses being low, their Taiwanese husbands' education levels are also not high. According to the Foreign and Mainland China Spouse Living Conditions Survey Report (Ministry of the Interior, 2004), most (70.5%) of the people who married foreign spouses were educated up to Junior or High Schools, whilst education level below Elementary School was 16.2%. In 2008, the education level of Taiwanese citizens over 15 years old is 53.5% for high school, and 34.3% for higher education (Republic of China Statistical Information Network). As Taiwan introduced nine years of compulsory education in 1968, the number of younger generation adults who have received higher education is a lot higher than the average number of Taiwanese population. This is to say that

according to these numbers, it indicates that there is a difference between foreign spouses' education level compared to local peer parents' education level.

Wang's research report on the Vietnamese spouses indicated that the average education their husbands received is 9.8 years, which is junior high school graduated. Most of their occupations are workers, drivers, self-employed (small vendors), or farmers; most of them are of low socio-economic status (Wang, 2001). Most of the Taiwanese men who married foreign brides are in the bottom of the economically disadvantaged families living in farming villages or sub rural areas, and the majority of their occupations are workers and farmers (Wang 2001, Hsia, 2000, Cho, 2003). Only 1.2% of the families that have Southeast Asian spouses and with children in primary schools are considered to be wealthy, 76.2% are normal families, and 22.6% are low income families (MOE, 2005).

Much research uses economic factors to explain the school adaptation of the children of foreign spouse (Tsai, et.al, 2004; Wu & Liu, 2004, and Lin, 2003). Such researchers maintain that socio-economical status is an absolute factor; high socio-economical status will ensure that children's school adaptation and achievement are high. An American research study indicates that there are many disadvantages in education for immigrant children with low socio-economical status families. Some disadvantages may even pass down to their third generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Furthermore, many UK studies point out that socio-economic circumstances bear close correlation to academic achievement. Figure 4.1.1 shows that pupils from lower socio-economic groups tend to achieve poorer outcomes and lower examination results than those from higher socio-economic groups. Rattansi (1988, p.354) argued that if differences in economic circumstance were properly allowed for, the gaps in attainment between majority and minority groups cited by studies such as the Swann

Report would be much less marked. The ethnic minorities who performed least well (such as Turkish and Bangladeshi children) were those where the adult population was most heavily concentrated in manual work. Tsai et al. (2004) and Hsieh (2007) show that the gap in the family SES is an important factor in the achievements of the foreign spouses' children.

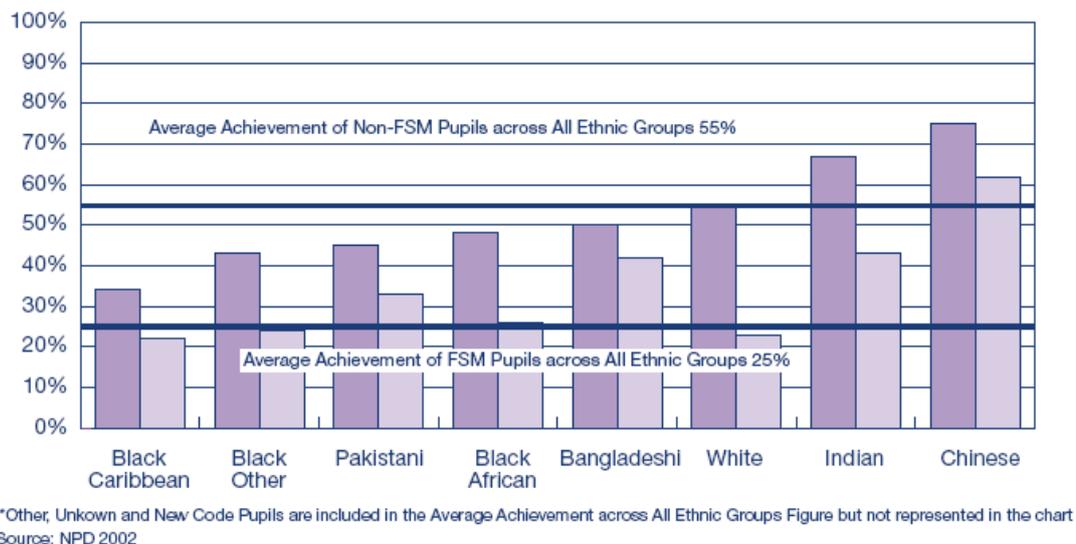


Figure 4.1.1 PLASC 2002 characteristics: Proportion achieving 5+ A\*-C GCSEs for those entered for GCSEs in Maintained Schools in 2002

Source: DfES, 2003

Although many research studies have indicated that the family's socio-economic status has a major effect on the children's school achievements, it does not follow that education has no effect. According to the research by Professor Eric Turkheimer of the University Of Virginia Department Of Psychology, the impacts of genetic factors and acquired environment on the children's IQ differ according to their socio-economical background. IQ is more tightly related to genes for children in higher socio-economic status families; but for children in low socio-economic backgrounds, the amount of books at home and whether they have met a good teacher is far more influential on their IQ than their genes (Weiss, 2003). This is to say that

the addition of improved or acquired educational opportunity has limited effects on children from higher socio-economical families, but may have significant effects on children from lower socio-economical families. This conclusion could be used to support disadvantaged students with more funding to improve the quality of their education. In addition, discussions about children's genetic endowment need to be treated with some caution since it appears that positive environmental influences, including high quality education, are implicated in raising children's achievement and life chances.

## **Health**

Chou (2001) indicated that children born to foreign mothers have a higher risk of difficulty in the development of their cognitive and physical abilities. The threats to the health of these children may stem from several causes. First of all, males who marry foreign brides have a higher than average rate of physical or cognitive impairments; for example, some of them are retiring veterans and much older than is typical for fathers in Taiwan. According to the Foreign and Mainland China Spouse Living Conditions Survey Report (M.O.I., 2004), the average age of interviewed foreign spouses was 27 with the average age of their Taiwanese spouses being 39; the average age of the interviewed spouses from mainland China was 33 with their Taiwanese spouses being 45. The average age difference for both groups is 12 years. Compared with the age difference of domestic married couples ranging from 0 to 6 years, the age difference of those with foreign brides is wider (Chou, 2001).

Secondly, because foreign brides are not familiar with Mandarin and the health system in Taiwan, they may not get enough useful information and advice about pregnancy and childbirth. Some of them may not have regular care and tests while

pregnant. Thus, they may lack knowledge of how to care for a baby and also may not find out about certain problems before the baby is born. Finally, because of feeling lonely and due to the fertility expectations from their families, many foreign brides have a baby very soon after they are married. They may not be able to take care of themselves in a strange environment, let alone be able to take good care of their children.

In addition to physical health, the children born into the families of foreign brides also need to pay attention to issues of self-awareness, self-identity and values. Negative influences may come from several areas. Firstly, since the marriage does not start from love but from other reasons, there may be a relationship imbalance between the couple. This sort of unequal atmosphere exists in many families with foreign brides. In August 2006, a news report in Taiwan provided a vivid example: a young child yelled to his mother 'I will ask my father to buy a new mother' (Don, 2006/08/19). Moreover, incidents of marital violence involving foreign spouses are reported of in Taiwanese society, suggesting the likelihood that foreign brides do not know how to get help and suffer alone and in silence (Tssay, 2005).

In contrast, some research studies indicate that health is not a problem for the children born to foreign mothers. The "Current Situation of Foreign Pregnant & Lying-in Women and Birth Reporting", conducted by the Bureau of Health Promotion, Department of Health, ROC Taiwan (2005) between 2002 and 2004, does not demonstrate a higher percentage of babies with birth defects from the foreign women as compared to native ones. As Shioh-ing Wu, the deputy chief of that Bureau says, the statistics show that the new-born babies from the female immigrants are no different from the babies of native women, and that in fact the percentage of babies with birth defects from native women is a little higher than the percentage of New

Taiwan Children with defects. Research on children with allergies in Taiwan in 2008 indicated their number is increasing. The medical community study found out that children from families with a higher level of education had a higher chance of getting an allergy; conversely the children born to foreign mothers and children born to young mothers 25 years of age or below had a lower chance of getting an allergy (Chang, 2008)

## **Prejudice**

When discussing possible factors such as cultural adaptation, language differences, low socio-economic status of the family, and health that might cause children of foreign spouses to exhibit poor educational performance, there were many sides to the arguments, and no agreement on those factors. However, within the general public of Taiwan there is still a negative stigma attached to the foreign brides and their children.

### **Prejudice against foreign spouses**

Prejudice arises for many reasons. On the one hand, most of the men who marry foreign brides are often from a low SES (Social Economic Status) background, older, disabled or a retired veteran. They usually have difficulty finding the matches for their marriage in Taiwan. On the other hand, foreign brides marry Taiwanese people usually for economic reasons. They may not be well-educated in their own country, and may not fully comprehend Chinese. In addition, alarming information about foreign brides has been promulgated in all kinds of media, for example stories headlined “fake marriage, true prostitution” and “foreign bride runs away” . Because of these negative impressions, considerable prejudice exists against foreign brides in Taiwanese society.

We can get some idea of the general public's unfriendly attitude toward foreign spouses from a poll which the "Earth" magazine commissioned Shih Hsin University to conduct, called the "Attitude Survey of our General Public towards Southeast Asia and Mainland China Female Spouses" (Chen, 2003). 59% of the population thought there should be a restraint on the numbers of female spouses from Southeast Asia and Mainland China permitted to enter Taiwan. 42% of the interviewees had concerns about Southeast Asia females marrying Taiwanese men, and their reasons included "the education for the next generation" (34%), followed by "population quality" (30%); whilst 20% of the population thought we should not provide equal treatments to Southeast Asia and mainland China female spouses (Chen, 2003). In addition, the content of and ideas behind the three immigration laws in Taiwan (Entry, Exit, and Immigration Law, Nationality Law, and National Immigration Agency Laws and Regulations), indicate that foreign spouses are being tagged with labels of 'low quality', poverty, resource predator, and 'fake marriage makers' that cause social problems.

The researcher taught a class on "Multicultural Education" in a university course for pre-service elementary school teachers in 2009. During their final examination, some students still expressed stereotypical images of foreign spouses even after studying multicultural education for whole term. The following is representative of the general opinion that the public have on the foreign spouses and show the range of opinions:

Most of foreign brides married lower socio-economical spouses. As the couples have a lower education level, they don't have enough information regarding tests during pregnancy and after the delivery. Therefore it is more common to have malnutrition or congenital defects in babies. When the number of these babies increased, it will cause a huge society burden to our society.

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The best method to treat them is with respect, tolerance and equality; there is no need for special care because they are no different than us.

\*\*\*\*\*

Foreign spouse come to Taiwan with the responsibility of parenting and chores. But they do not understand our lifestyle, local customs and values. Therefore their children would have more social problems than other kids.

\*\*\*\*\*

If the children are close to their mother since a very young age, then it is easy for them to learn their mother's habits and language. However these languages and lifestyles might not be suitable for living in Taiwan, and may lower the education effectiveness of the new Taiwanese generation. Therefore, we need to set up a good learning environment for them.

After a semester of multicultural education, they learned to understand the difference between cultures and knew how to appreciate multiculturalism with respect and tolerance. But some students still felt that foreign spouses might bring problems, and that the government and schools needed to come up with ways to remedy any problems. Although these students were all motivated to help foreign spouses, they still appeared to believe that foreign spouses would lower the quality of Taiwan, and that the government needed to take actions.

According to literature and the researcher's observations, sources of bias towards foreign spouses can be divided into the following categories:

1. Marriage commercialization: the quality of non-love marriage is poor; the female is a commodity, and is thought of in terms of merchandise value.
2. Child-bearing: the most important function of bought foreign brides is to continue the family lines; they are just 'breeding tools'.

3. Disadvantaged men: people think of men who marry foreign brides as 'losers' in the Taiwanese marriage market, with the media often choosing physically or mentally disabled, economically vulnerable, and old husband/young wife couples as their major story-lines.
4. Ethnicity issues: some people believe that people from Southeast Asia come to our country as an act of ethnic aggression.
5. Media smears: the media emphasizes foreign spouses' role in crime, and highlights what they see as their profit-minded characteristics, thus perpetuating the view that foreign spouses are the trouble makers in Taiwanese society.
6. Male hegemony: the media has also created a scene that foreign spouses are subject to domestic violence.
7. Political issues: spouses from China may share a language with us, but they face a lot more limitations when applying for legal status and working permits than spouses from Southeast Asia. There still is a pattern of thinking in terms of "opposing enemies" when making policies. This reflects on the policies of trading, exchange students and various other fields.

### **Prejudice against Children of immigrant mothers**

This prejudice and discrimination reflects on the children of immigrant mothers. The children are assumed to be inferior and not intelligent. The joining of "foreign brides" and "Taiwanese grooms" is considered a joining of low classes, with their children being described as the factor which "lowers the quality of the Taiwanese". Media reporters have insinuated that such children "would definitely lower the quality of our population," as both their parents do not have a proper education, some are even cognitively or physically disabled; therefore their children will not have a good

educational environment, with a negative impact on the quality of our future population. One example indicates the bias that Taiwanese society and the government holds: the Health Bureau supports the installation of contraceptive devices and ligation surgery to only mental patients, AIDS patients, physically and mentally disabled on a low income, and foreign spouses. This is discrimination based on the hegemony of the dominant group.

## **Labelling**

Societal bias brings negative effects to the children of foreign spouses, even if the aim is to assist them. Lu (2003) in her case study of 3 children of foreign mothers found out that the teachers gave more assistance and had lower expectations due to the children's family background. As these children got older, the gap between other classmates increased, and expectations from teachers were lower. Therefore, we can see that even though teachers were giving children of foreign mothers proper assistance, their expectations were reduced due to their family background. This causes the 'Pygmalion effect'.

Many researchers' high level of interest in the children of foreign spouse may also increase the negative impact on them. On one hand, we are glad to see the children of foreign spouse receive a lot of attention due to increasing research, but on the other hand, many researchers still maintain a biased opinion of these children and think they have difficulties in every dimension, so they compare all aspects of daily life and learning performance of the children of foreign spouses with Taiwanese children, such as leisure lifestyle, emotional management, information quality, and athletic ability, etc. Many questionnaires are handed to the teachers on the performance of children of foreign spouses. This kind of well-intentioned research

may lead to the children of foreign spouses becoming increasingly labelled, reinforcing the characteristics of prejudice, creating boundaries and categorizing them as 'others' .

## **Identification**

Most children of foreign spouses have a tendency to be passive, independent and not willing to reveal their nationality (Wang & Wen et al, 2006). Many doubt their own and their mothers' identities. As mentioned earlier society has many biased opinions towards foreign spouses, and these may affect children's understanding of their own identities. For example, a teacher invited a foreign mother to the class to share her multicultural experience, but the foreign mother refused and asked the teacher not to tell the students that her son's mother was from Southeast Asia, and not a Taiwanese. Although this is not a frequent phenomenon, it exemplifies the tensions that these spouses face.

The second generation of a cross country marriage should have the advantage of both cultures. But the lower status of foreign mothers in the Taiwanese society may cause confusion for their children regarding their mother's identity. Their identities developed an emphasis on the materials and interests at stake, and eventually tilted toward identifying the strong figure in the family to be the father. In some cases, the husband's family in Taiwan would forbid foreign mothers to teach their mother tongues to their children (Hsia, 2005). Therefore the original cultures of these neo-immigrants become invisible, depressed, or even discriminated against in their Taiwanese husband's families. During work with social workers, the researcher heard some cases where the children would ask their mothers why they were not Taiwanese. In another case a child said to his mother: 'you are from Vietnam, how

can you shout at me?' If the children have problems in expression, communication and learning, it can be corrected through education; but the negative values they have acquired since a young age are much harder to remove. As the foreign mother's status in society and family is pressurised and distorted, they may find it very difficult to play the role of 'the good mother' and educate their children.

Though the second generations of foreign spouses should have the advantages of two cultures, due to the conscious sense of superiority of the Taiwanese and the confusion caused by discrimination from society and family, these children of foreign spouses may have problems with their own sense of identity and that of their mothers. If they choose to identify with their mother, they are afraid of being categorized into the incompetent, weak, or minority group of people. If they choose their father's side or the Taiwanese society, then there is a danger that they will identify with those who discriminate against their own mothers (Yang A. L., 2003; Mo & Lai, 2004).

The Director-General of Wan-Hua Xin-An Community Development Association maintained that some foreign mothers do not discipline their children. According to her, they have to assist their husbands and family with their business, and if the children cannot stop crying, they just give them cookies and candy. They send their children to daycare whenever there is a free service available. The attitude of these foreign mothers on the education of their children was seen as very negative. The Chairman of the Pro-Hatching Creative Development Association, which provides free assistance to foreign spouses, said that foreign spouses are the main labourers in the family, and that as with other housewives, they need to do chores and take care of the family. But most of them do not have the status as the woman of the household; sometimes their status would be even lower than their own children. When foreign mothers, who accompany their children to the class, saw their children fighting or

misbehaving, they could only lure them away with snacks. Some children even speak to their mother with no respect (Wang, 2009).

## **Divorce**

A high divorce rate is another important factor that is considered to have impact on children. We have discussed several possible factors that might be disadvantageous to the education of the children of foreign spouse, and they are all related to their foreign mothers'. For example, the poorer level of their mothers' Chinese language skills, weak societal supports, or having difficulty adapting to cross-cultural lifestyle. However, when the children are not living with their foreign mothers, there are still possibilities that the children will be disadvantaged.

According to the statistics from the Ministry of Interior 2008, the divorce rate of foreign spouses (including mainland China) in 2007 was 28.4%, which is about three times higher than the divorce rate of indigenous couples. The families of children of immigrant mothers are already of lower socio-economic status, their situation is made worse if they become a single parent family.

One news article indicated that the divorce rate of Southeast Asian spouses is high. Kaohsiung County (rural area in southern Taiwan) in 2008 had 356 pairs of newly married couples with Southeast Asian spouses; 291 couples got divorced, the ratio is 81.74%. Not only was this number 20% higher compared to 2006, but also twice as many when compared with the county average. The Director of the Good Shepherd Outreach Service Centre in Kaohsiung, Bi-Chi Lee, said 2003 and 2004 were the peak years for marrying foreign brides, and the dangerous period for divorce is 3 to 4 years into the marriage. In the recent phone interviews, they found out that many foreign spouses who came to Taiwan in 2001 and 2003 have already divorced

and returned to their home country (Y. L. Chu, 2009)

## **Multiple factors**

Summarizing the above, the children of foreign mothers are not naturally born disadvantaged; their disadvantages come from their acquired environments and wider socio-cultural and economic factors within Taiwanese society. The problems they may face include lower family socio-economical status, lower language and education levels of their mothers, less cultural capital, an unhealthy family lifestyle and negative societal labels. Any one of these factors may affect their educational development and make them disadvantaged in society.

Whilst they face particular disadvantages, methodological crudity in early studies has led to an exaggeration and over simplification of 'ethnic disadvantage'. We cannot simplify the poor educational standards reached by the children of foreign spouse as a result of 'ethnic disadvantage'.

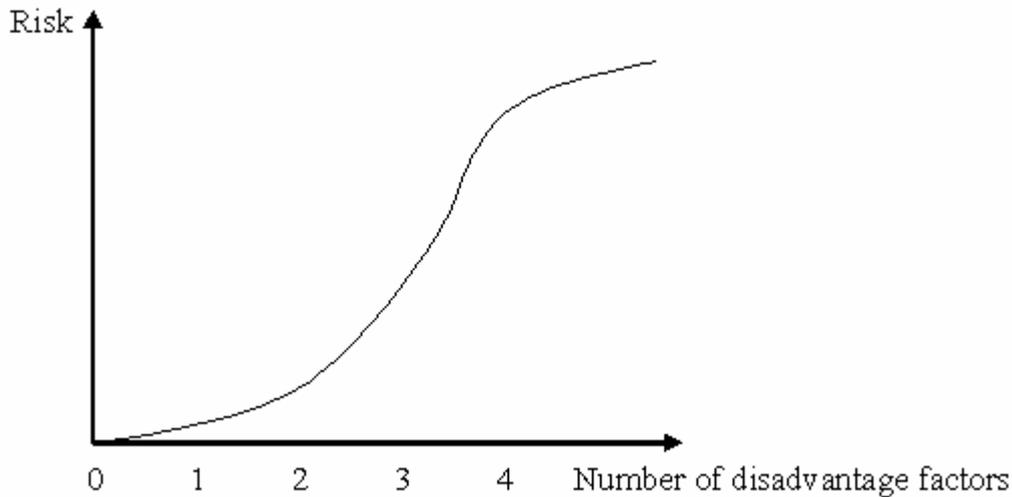


Figure 4.1.2 Risk level with the number of disadvantage factors (Daniels, 2008)

The effects of multiple negative factors are not just additional, but exponential. Some children have disadvantage factors such as a learning difficulty, ethnic minority, lower socio-economic status, language barriers, single parent. It may not be risky to have one or two factors together; but when they have more than three factors simultaneously, some students are considered high risk (Daniels, 2008). We have mentioned before that though the children of immigrant mothers do not appear to have fallen behind as a whole group, they do have high risk when multiple negative factors come together. The policy and research analyses conducted for this study have provided some clarification of these complex issues.

### **Findings from fieldwork**

Is the phenomenon a problem or not? The Taiwanese public generally thinks that the children of foreign spouse have language, home environment and learning difficulties. Therefore, many education scholars have proposed to help these children. However, after conducting field work, the researcher hesitated. Many of

the teachers and foreign mothers the researcher has contacted do not think these children have any problems. The researcher tried to use statistics of a large sample base, but also found that some of the research conclusions indicate that the children of foreign spouses have no significant underachievement compared with other students. After conducting interviews, and as a result of long term field work with social workers and school teachers, the researcher noticed that their problems are not all the same. Not all of these children have learning difficulties; and not all of these children have difficulties related to the home environment. However, although much research from the large sample base indicates the children of immigrant mothers have no significant underachievement in learning, other research clearly displays the difficulties these children of foreign spouses are facing. After further analysis of the data, the study concludes that the school performance of the children of foreign spouse does not fall behind as a whole group, but they do have individual differences. These differences are not necessarily related to the identity of their mothers being foreign spouses, but may be caused by many other factors.

If government or policy makers treat the individual differences of these children as one and the same problem, they ignore the real issues. Before we discuss policy issues, the study conducted detailed analysis of all the possible problems these children of immigrant mothers might have faced. Every child is unique and we heard a lot of voices telling us that the children of foreign spouse need help and assistance. But before we can start helping them, we must carefully analyse the problems they face, and the possible causes of these problems. We need to find out the commonality and uniqueness of their problems, and then look at what is the responsibility of family, community, school and government, and in what directions educational policies should be headed.

## **The first research question - findings from Interviews**

The pilot study was to access three foreign mothers and the five teachers who have the “students whose mothers are immigrants” in their class and define the wider concept of the research. The focus was on the first research question: What are the educational challenges facing children/school students born to female immigrants in Taiwan? After analysing the transcripts of the first stage of interviews, the researcher summarized the opinions of the foreign mothers and teachers toward the education of children of immigrants.

### Doing well in school

The children of immigrant mothers in Taiwan do well in their school lives and their grades are also not bad when compared to their cohort. The foreign mothers do not feel their children are behind in their studies. The teachers also pointed out that the children of foreign spouses in their class do not have any difference in their attainment compared with other students.

My child has really good grades, and always receives awards; he got second in ranking in his class. (mother B)

He (meaning her son) is doing great in school, he’s very good. (mother C)

I feel these children are the same as other kids... There was a child and, when I asked about things regarding his mother’s original country, he didn’t know anything. He is a totally Taiwanese, and he is completely not related to his mother’s original cultures. (teacher C)

### After-school class

In Taiwan, many parents send their children to private after-school classes so their children can be watched over, because both parents work, from four o’clock in the afternoon to supper time. These classes can also help children with their school

work, which makes it an efficient system and replaces the need for parents to help with school work. The after-school classes, are therefore, a popular solution for parents to bridge the gap for their children and work well for families with foreign mothers.

The father signs the child's communication book everyday... The school has a free after-school child care programme for our child, but we did not sign him up as my husband sends him to a class outside of school (at our own expense), so my child has really good grades... because I can't teach him myself. (mother B)

Right now one third of the students attend the after-school class. Since the study schedule of the after-school class is always ahead of the school, the students who participate in the after-school class all get really good grades. They come to school only to play. (teacher C)

Although my Chinese is very good, I still send my children to the after-school classes because both my husband and I work. Grandmother is seventy something years old. She cannot help the kids with schoolwork. (Interviewee G)

## Learning Chinese

Learning Chinese is most important as learning the mother tongue is not encouraged, as indicated by these extracts:

I didn't teach my child Vietnamese because I don't feel it's needed. You learn a language depends on where you are; so learning Taiwanese, English and Chinese are more important. My family also thinks it's not necessary to teach my child my native language. English is more important; they started English class at grade 1 this year; it used to be grade 3 when they started to learn English. (mother B)

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Mother: I didn't teach him, but I do speak to him sometimes, but afraid he doesn't understand, so I don't teach anymore. Before I used to

teach him to speak but my father in law thinks he would get confused if I teach him too much. Most kids learn faster when returning to Vietnam, but he never been to Vietnam so he learns slowly; he doesn't understand even when I speak to him.

The researcher: do you want to teach him? Mother: maybe, I would want to, but he doesn't understand.

The researcher: what does your family think of teaching child your first language? Mother: my husband has no opinion.

The researcher: what about your father in law? (since she mentioned before that much of the child's education is decided by her father in law, so the researcher asked this question)

Mother: He was ok about it now. He didn't like it before, but right now he's fine with it. But I don't teach him much now.

The researcher: You can teach him when you get a chance, it's better to learn more.

Mother: oh, when I speak to him, he just goes what? What are you talking about? He doesn't understand when I speak too much.

(mother A)

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They still teach one or two simple sentences at home, not lot, mostly vocabularies. I wouldn't suggest this since they come to Taiwan, besides learning Chinese; they also need to learn English. Besides, if he doesn't take some special language class, then others wouldn't know his mother is a foreigner. Their classmates didn't know at all!  
(teacher A)

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Teach them mother tongue is nice, but learning that from their mothers at home is enough. The school already got a full course schedule and wouldn't have space for new classes. (teacher B)

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I feel learning mother tongue is very nice, but it needs support from the family, otherwise the mother would be under a lot of pressure as others

would say something like the child can't even speak Chinese well, why learn Vietnamese. (teacher C)

#### Teachers' views on additional training

The teachers do not think they need additional training when teaching students whose mothers are immigrants and in order to communicate with foreign mothers.

I don't feel we need additional communication skills when communicating with foreign mothers. Some of them came to Taiwan for over 10 years and their Chinese are ok and have no problem. They feel weird if you think their language has problems. (teacher B)

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When I was studying at the Teacher College, I felt teaching the new children of Taiwan would be hard; but now I don't feel any difference teaching them and teaching regular students. (teacher A)

#### The difference is bigger in rural areas

The proportion of students whose mothers are foreign is considerably higher in some areas than in others. In the academic year 2007, the percentage of foreign spouses' children in elementary schools was 5.19% of the population as a whole. But in many rural areas or fishing villages, the ratio is a lot higher. One of the teachers who teaches in rural area said that one third of students in her class were born to foreign mothers, and that most of them were from poor families who needed extra help. She presented a paper at a conference showing how she helps these students born to foreign mothers in her class.

The difference in performance appears to be huge. Some of the students whose mothers are immigrants are performing extremely well; but some of them are from families living in very poor conditions whose performance is behind. However, a

senior and experienced teacher from a rural area (whom the researcher met at a conference) indicated that some of her students born to foreign mothers were really excellent in class, whilst others were ‘just normal’ like other native students. In her experience, the situation of student born to foreign mother is diverse. Some ‘students whose mothers are immigrants’ do need help from school, but not all of them. She could not say whether the children born to foreign mothers were underachieving compared to their native peers.

### **Findings from documentary research**

In order to find a more definitive answer to the first research question ‘What are the educational challenges facing children/school students born to female immigrants in Taiwan?’ and in order to find out if there is a difference between urban and rural area, the researcher obtained more information and evidence from other documentary sources, looking both at quantitative surveys with representative sampling and qualitative case studies.

The findings of quantitative surveys show that the children of foreign mothers do not have poor academic performance and have no significant differences in learning achievement compared to the native peers (Department of Statistics- MOE, 2005; Wang & Wen et al., 2006; Hsieh, 2007). However, the research findings of the qualitative study are various. Some indicated that the children of foreign mothers are disadvantaged in learning and have lower learning achievement (Lin, 2003; Tsai, Chou, & Yang, 2004). Some demonstrated that foreign brides’ children are later or disadvantaged in language development (Wu, and Liu, 2004; Hsu, 2005; Wang & Tsai, 2008). But, some of the qualitative studies show difference. They concluded that the children of neo-immigrants do not have worse learning performances than native

children (Chen, Liu, Chou, Huang, & Wuang, 2004; Hsiao, 2005).

It is noteworthy that some studies confirmed that the inequality of family socio-economic status is the main cause instead of the ethnic group people belong to (Hsieh, 2007; Tsai, Chou, & Yang, 2004). The study of Bureau of Health Promotion demonstrate that no higher percentage of babies with birth defects from foreign women, and in fact the percentage of babies with birth defects from native women is a little higher than the percentage of New Taiwan Children with defects (Department of Health, 2005).

The details of these studies was attached in Appendix J.

## **Summary of Problem Definition**

### **- Individual differences and prejudice**

For a long time, Taiwanese society has held negative views on foreign spouses' children. People generally hold that these children's disadvantaged family environments and lack of cultural access will affect the quality of Taiwan's population negatively. This has resulted in many proposals to assist foreign spouses' children. However, both the fieldwork conducted as part of this research and quantitative research with large samples, has failed to prove that foreign spouses' children have to catch up with their classmates to adjust to local life or in terms of educational achievement. Some of the reviewed quantitative studies, like Tsai et al. (2004) and Wang & Wen et al. (2006), were conducted by the experts and scholars, and some studies were conducted by MOE (Department of Statistics, MOE, 2005) while some studies were master dissertations or doctoral theses by individual postgraduate

students, such as Lin, 2003, Hsiao, 2005, and Hsieh, 2007. There are thus a large number of relevant studies, which do not share the same or even similar conclusions. Some studies point out that the foreign spouses' children have lower academic performance than native parents' children, whereas many studies conclude that their performance is the same.

Generally, the controversial issues are those in the public eye. The idea that the foreign spouses' children are of poor achievement is much discussed. Also, the media tends to prejudice the public in Taiwan and labels the "New Children of Taiwan" as the "disadvantaged at birth" with "poor learning achievements." This is similar to the situation in UK in the 1950s, when the students born to the ethnic minorities and immigrants were considered to be problematic. During the search for information about foreign spouses' children, this study found that many media reports and studies cited the following statement in 2004 to prove the poor quality of foreign spouses' children but failed to mention limitations such as sample size, representativeness, and the regionality of the cited statement. The media only cited the headline: "High Percentage of Foreign Spouses' Children in Physical & Mental Disabilities and in Development Delay", which has then been accepted as the case. For instance:

In one investigation on "Physical & Mental Development Delay of Foreign Brides' Children", Taichung Veterans General Hospital discovered that at least 26% of the 102 studied foreign brides had children with development delays. The highest percentage of the delays went to DLD (developmental language delay), and the other higher percentages went to the cognitive function, sports function, GDD (global developmental delay). (Min-Sen Daily News, 2003)

In the studies, Kaohsiung Chang Gung Memorial Hospital found that the foreign lying-in women had higher percentages of miscarriages, premature births, and low birth weight than the native ones. In average, the foreign brides went to 8.3 antenatal examinations, while the native

brides did 10.7 ones. The birth weight of the native brides' infants was 100 g heavier than that of the foreign brides' infants. In the clinical studies, Kaohsiung Chang Gung Memorial Hospital found that the foreign spouses' failure to do enough antenatal examinations resulted in the higher chance of premature births, low birth weight, and births with development delays than the common lying-in women. (United Daily, 2001)

Many studies point out that the foreign spouses' children do not perform more badly than the native children (Department of Statistics, MOE, 2005; Chen et al., 2004). On the other hand, many studies witness the difficulties facing foreign spouses' children in life and school, such as having physically disabled or financially disadvantaged fathers, foreign mothers struggling to adjust to an alien lifestyle, and parents' failure to help the children. These difficulties do exist.

How are the various research findings explained? Usually, researchers explain that their findings are limited by a small sample size, a small number of interviewees, and the sampling area, and require further exploration. Thus, although the credibility of some findings needs verification, the "New Children of Taiwan" have been labelled and stereotyped as the "disadvantaged at birth" with "poor learning achievements."

However, after interviewing foreign spouses, connecting with their children and exchanging experiences with teachers, this study can begin to shed light on the various realities of these children's situations. Some foreign mothers adjust themselves well to Taiwan and support their children's education, so their children are not less competent than those of native mothers. However, other foreign spouses' children are not so lucky. In a poor living conditions, some children lack mothers able to support them. In such cases, poor language proficiency may be accompanied by other developmental delays. Without having attended kindergartens, these children may achieve much less well than other pupils in elementary school. Teachers' efforts

are often not enough to solve this problem which needs more resources from the government.

Are children born to immigrant mothers more disadvantaged than native ones? If yes, how disadvantaged are they? Once problems have been identified, there is still a lack of agreement on the solutions. One possible reason is that the learning achievements of the neo-immigrants' children are complicated by personal, family cultural factors, language development, and parents' attitudes towards education SES. It is impossible to generalize and say that neo-immigrants' conditions will disadvantage their children's educational achievements. The findings from this study refute the general stereotype of foreign spouses' children's achievement that is popular in the media. The neo-immigrants' children neither perform much better than the native ones nor are completely disadvantaged. This view is similar to a study by Hernandez (1999) in US.

Studies about minority immigrant students can neither create non-existent "problems" nor adopt a universal approach. But neither can researchers pretend that there were no problems. The field work conducted in this research was challenged by the problem of whether foreign spouses' children needed any assistance with their education. The study can neither ignore existing problems nor create problems out of the situation of neo-immigrants' children. Therefore, this researcher can only keep observing and thinking and avoiding presuppositions.

## **4.2 Agenda setting of the educational challenge of children born to foreign mothers**

As the number of foreign spouses increases in Taiwan, the researcher has

observed more studies and policy discussion on the need for schools to adapt and to raise the educational achievement of the children of foreign spouses. The phenomenon has now become a policy problem and is thus discussed here. Referring to agenda setting, as discussed in section 2.2, the study explained how the perceived educational problems of children born to foreign mother gained attention from the mass media, society and finally entered the policy agenda.

Cobb & Elder (1972) defined agenda setting as a series of politically controversial issues that are legal in the political system; that is a series of events that have been the focus of the decision making system which is planning to take action. Agenda setting is very important because once the issue has not entered the public or government agenda, it cannot be considered for the next step of action. This is to say that before the issue can be decided by policy, it must be recognised. What made the education problems of foreign spouses and their children enter the policy agenda in Taiwan? As we saw in section 2.2, according to Lester & Stewart (2000), if an issue matches the conditions below, it will receive extra attention and thus enter the agenda:

1. The issue is in an emergency and thus cannot be ignored;
2. The issue is displayed in a dramatic way, so it is unique, such as ozone depletion and global warming issues.
3. The issue is emotional, and benefits some people who can draw the attention of media.
4. The issue is influential.
5. The issue is related to social rights and legality.
6. The issue is epidemic

The education problems experienced by some of the children of foreign spouses in Taiwan is not an immediate crisis and do not have uniqueness like ozone depletion or global warming. So why does it capture the attention of the media, the public and academics? One of the reasons is its commonality. The number of foreign spouses rapidly increased since 1995, with the number of foreign brides being at its highest in 2003 when it accounted for 31% of the total of newly married couples. They appear in daily life, become neighbours, food vendors, employees or even become foreign brides to our friends and family.

The second reason is that the issue of foreign spouses is controversial, which draws the attention of the media. As the number of foreign spouses increases, many negative reports appeared in the Taiwanese media. These negative reports all have their storylines and are often inflammatory, such as: “fake marriage, real labour”, “fake marriage, real prostitute”, “run away foreign brides”, “foreign bride was caught prostituting”, “agency cheats single men”. Foreign spouses are depicted as having all kinds of social problems, or to blame for the source of other problems. The media also categorizes them as victims who live poor and sad lives in Taiwan, seeing them as “sexual victim”, “victim of domestic violence”, “prostitution lured by smuggling gangs”. One of the most memorable cases for the researcher was a 19 years old Vietnamese spouse who was sexually abused by her husband and his ex-wife, and finally left on the side of a road to starve to death in 2003. Fortunately, she was saved by police. This news report shocked the whole Taiwanese society, and indicates how the press influences its readers in what to think about. Consecutive days of news coverage made all foreign spouses in Taiwan look like they were living in inhuman environments, and that all men who married Southeast Asian spouses were mentally or physically disabled. Such topics are a favourite theme of modern

news. In such a way, the mass media models attitudes and behaviour, and reinforces stereotypes and prejudices.

Rogers, Dearing, and Chang's (1991) confirmed the media's influence on the process of agenda setting. A unique news event would draw the attention of media and make it into a media agenda (Figure 4.2.1). Once the media continued to focus on this event, it would then enter the public agenda. Through this process the issue of Taiwan's foreign spouses has progressed from a media agenda into a public agenda. The general public are thus 'well-informed' by the media on the high ratio, high social problems and disadvantageous status of foreign spouses.

On the other side, Associate Professor, H. C. Hsia, of the Institute of Social Development, Shih Hsin University, has played an important role in promoting a more reflective approach to the issue of foreign spouses. She started a Chinese learning class for foreign spouses in a southern Hakka village Meinung in 1995. She finished her PhD thesis in 1997 on *Selfing and Othering in the "Foreign Bride" Phenomenon – A study of Class, Gender and Ethnicity in the Transnational Marriage between Taiwanese Men and Indonesian Women* (Hsia, 1997a) in the University of Florida. She was the first person to bring the issue of foreign spouses into the academic field. She officially established the TransAsia Sisters Association, Taiwan (TASAT) to promote public awareness and discussion regarding foreign spouses's rights. She may not have reached the status of a policy entrepreneur who suggests solutions to political problems, but she does play an important role in representing foreign spouses.

As the numbers of foreign spouses increase, with one of their most important missions for coming to Taiwan being to continue the family line for their husband, the numbers of new born babies born to foreign mothers has also increased year by year.

In 2005, the proportion of new-born babies whose mother was a Foreign Bride accounted for 13% of total births (MOI, statistics report 2005). Our society is thus shifting its attention from the spouses themselves to their children. One of the most referred to data in the early days was from Kaohsiung Chang Gung Memorial Hospital's clinical research on the slow physical and mental development of children of foreign brides. In the studies, Kaohsiung Chang Gung Memorial Hospital found that foreign lying-in women had higher percentages of miscarriages, premature births, and low birth weight babies than native ones. On average, foreign brides went to 8.3 obstetric investigations, while the native brides went to 10.7 ones. The birth weight of the native brides' infants was 100 g heavier than that of the foreign brides' infants. In the clinical studies, Kaohsiung Chang Gung Memorial Hospital found that foreign spouses' failure to attend enough obstetric investigations resulted in a higher chance of premature births, low birth weight, and births with development delays than the native lying-in women (United Daily, 2001). After this data was published by the media, an image of the children of foreign spouses being of 'poor quality' has been generally accepted.

During the public agenda stage, the general public would think that Taiwanese grooms who married foreign brides were elderly, disabled, of low socio-economic status and poorly educated, so it would follow that their children would be born with disadvantages. At the same time, the elites of Taiwan society with high socio-economic status were having fewer children of their own, leading to the consensus that an increased number of children of foreign mothers would drag down the population quality of the Taiwanese. These concerns led to a general consensus that made many people urge the government to pay more attention to this issue and take action to remedy the problem. If not, Taiwan would face serious consequences

in the future. This ominous prediction provided a huge motivation for the government agency to focus on this issue and as a result the education of foreign spouses quickly entered what Cobb and Elder (1972) call an institutional agenda. When a government notices a public issue and it is serious enough that action must be taken, then the problem enters the institutional, or formal agenda.

Many issues relating to foreign spouses and their children entered the policy agenda in 2003. The Premier of the Executive Yuan explicitly instructed that:

... right now there are over 230,000 foreign spouses, including brides from China, that are in Taiwan. For these women who came to our country with the responsibility to breed and take care of our next generation, the government should come up with policies to respond to their individual or family's basic rights and needs, as well as provide concrete measures and funding for implementation" (The Ministry of Interior, 2003).

This instruction became an important basis for the Ministry of the Interior to implement the "Measure of Care and Counseling for Foreign & Mainland Chinese Spouses".

On May 7th, 2003, the Ministry of Interior created the "Measures of Care and Counseling for Foreign & Mainland Chinese Spouses". For the eight focuses: adjustment to local life, medical care, employment opportunities, educational sessions, child upbringing, personal security, legal aid, and cultural sensitivity, 56 concrete measures were planned. The measures were conducted by 12 central government units (the Ministries of Interior, Education, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Transportation & Communications, and Finance as well as the Department of Health, the Government Information Office, the Council for Cultural Affairs, the Council Of Labor Affairs, the Mainland Affairs Council, and the Veterans Affairs Commission, Executive Yuan) and by local governments.

In 2003, The Ministry of Education targeted EPA subsidies ( educational priority area, EPA ) at the foreign and mainland spouses' children. It also included the “children of the Mainland China spouses” into the supplementary index in 2004 which focused on individual and family rights and needs.

According to the instructions in the “Raising Exclusive Foreign Spouse Assistance Fund” from the 2900th meeting of Executive Yuan on July 28th, 2004, the Foreign Spouse Assistance Fund was founded and assigned to the Ministry of Interior. Since 2005, NT\$ 3 billion (3,000,000,000) is supposed to be raised in 10 years so as to enhance the assistance of foreign spouses. The following tasks were completed:

1. Between 2005 and August 31st, 2006, 10 meetings to manage the Foreign Spouse Assistance Fund have been held. Up until August 31st, 2006, 320 cases from central government, local governments (of special municipalities, counties, and cities), and the private sector had applied for subsidies. 175 of the cases were subsidized. The subsidies were NT\$ 310,991,322.
2. In order to spend the fund effectively and completely assisting foreign spouses and their children, the “Management Board of Foreign Spouse Assistance Fund” passed the “Plans to Assist Foreign Spouses in Adjustment to Local Life, Language Learning, and Child Upbringing” in the eighth meeting, with clarified goals and methods. Three classes of adjustment to local life, language learning, and child upbringing for foreign spouses were planned with a total budget of NT\$ 113,740,000 and were supposed to take place from June 2006.

The education problems of the children born to foreign mother in Taiwan matches the conditions set out in agenda setting: high commonality, spectacular news events, controversial, the general public feeling impact and a sense of danger,

and a consensus to remedy the problem. Therefore, following the process from media agenda, to public agenda, then eventually entering policy agenda, it becomes one of the education policies of the Taiwanese government. When education problems enter the agenda, this means that the government has already reached a consensus that this is an educational problem. Which government agency should these education problems be transferred to? And how it should be done? And what should be done? And where it should be done? After the issue has entered this stage, the problem needs a practical solution. This is why the current study compares Taiwan with international standards, and hopes to learn from the UK on how to assist immigrant children with their education.

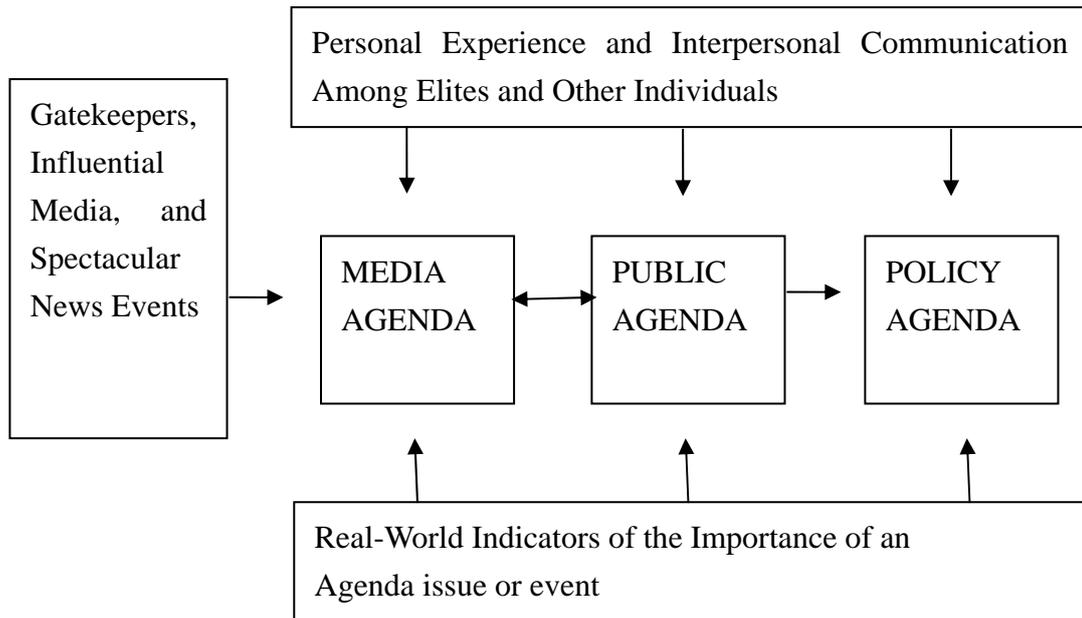


Figure 4.2.1 The Agenda-Setting Process  
Rogers, Dearing, and Chang's (1991)

### 4.3 Policy Formulation

Referring to the methodology section 2.2 and following the process of policy problem identification and agenda setting, the policy research goes to *formulation* which estimates the consequences of existing and proposed policies, specifies probable future constraints on the achievement of objectives, and estimates the political feasibility (support and opposition) of different options (Dunn, 1994). As can be seen in the previous analysis, the most common policy approach taken for immigrant pupils in both the UK yesterday and in Taiwan today is ‘disadvantaged viewing’. This section discussed the reasons, truth, politics, statistics and harm caused by of regarding minority pupils as the disadvantaged.

When discussing the disadvantages of ethnic minority groups, we have to question whether or not these are genuine disadvantages and where the disadvantages come from. Reviewing the existing research (listed in Appendix J), there is no scientific evidence to show the underachievement of children born to foreign mothers, but there are obvious disadvantageous stereotypes and sympathy to the children of immigrants. The findings of this study points to an acquired rather than natural disadvantage as the main challenge to these students.

Immigrants are usually not only culturally marginalized but also economically disadvantaged. Kymlicka (2004) points out that economic disadvantage is often the result of historic state practices of discrimination, exclusion, and segregation. Many research papers have pointed out how the underachievement of minority pupils is not caused by their ethnic background but is due to historical, economic and cultural factors. Furthermore, some scholars have pointed out that labelling an ethnic minority's disadvantages is linked to a political agenda.

### **Socioeconomic Status**

It is impossible to ascribe a fixed causal relationship between student learning and schooling. Many complex forces influence student attainment, including personal, psychological, social, cultural, familial, community, interactive and institutional factors (Nieto, 2008). In section 4.1, variations in the factors of foreign mothers' children and their possible disadvantage, are analysed in terms of cultural differences arising from cross-cultural/national marriages, a different mother tongue, weak social and family support, prejudice, labelling, low SES, and issues of identification. The study, however, found the most prevalent factor to be low socioeconomic status.

The Foreign and Mainland China Spouse Living Conditions Survey Report

(Ministry of the Interior, 2004) indicated that 11.6% of Taiwan nationals marrying Southeast Asian or Chinese spouses have disabilities or a low-income which is higher than that for nationals (4.6%). Many Taiwanese males who married foreign spouses are from a working class rather than middle class background. Also, the education levels of foreign spouses and their Taiwanese husbands' are lower, as analysed in section 4.1.

In the second stage interviews, the social worker and head teacher mentioned that low socioeconomic status was the major factor that affects the children born to foreign mothers:

Families of foreign spouses are weak because of their family finance. Parents have to spend much time on work to make a living and thereby cannot take care of their children fully though this does not mean they are unwilling or intentionally ignoring their children and it is just that they are unable to do it ( interviewee S )

Reasons why children of foreign mothers are weak need discussion with two perspectives. Father often comes from low socioeconomic status which is a reason why he would marry a foreign female and this is his weak finance. Also foreign mother does not speak the language. This is cultural weakness. ( interviewee H )

But economic disadvantage is not unique to immigrants; working class families have similar experience and struggle with low socioeconomic status:

Families of foreign spouses undergo the same experience like working class families and I think this has nothing to do with nationality. ( interviewee G )

The Equality of Educational Opportunity Study (EEOS) in the USA, also known as the "Coleman Study," (1966) found that school resource grants, laboratory grants,

library spending and school operation funds do not affect students' performance but family background does. Tsai et al. (2004) and Hsieh (2007) also showed that the family's SES is an important factor in the achievements of foreign spouses' children. Low socioeconomic status has not only resulted in economic capital difference but also in a difference in cultural capital.

The UK research on ethnic minority pupils' underachievement has also pointed out how socioeconomic circumstances affect students' achievement, and has explained variations in examination performance. Eggleston et al. (1986) conducted an investigation into the educational and vocational experiences of black 15-18-year-old members of minority ethnic groups, and found that 87% of their sample of children from 'Afro-Caribbean' backgrounds had fathers who were manual workers, compared to 73% of 'Asian' children and 69% of 'white' children. Rattansi (1988) argued that, if differences in economic circumstance were properly allowed for, the gaps in attainment between whites and blacks cited by studies such as Swann Report would be much less marked. The ethnic minorities who performed least well (such as Turkish and Bangladeshi children) were those where the adult population was most heavily concentrated in manual work. Sullivan and Whitty (2007) also indicated that we need to recognize the continuing importance of social class as a determinant of educational outcomes. Social class is significantly more important in this respect than either ethnicity or gender, yet policymakers are far happier to talk explicitly about gender and ethnicity. Studies which contain no controls for social class often claim that the differences they describe are net of social background, but failing to measure social class will not make the issue go away.

The influence of low socioeconomic status on student achievement is a complex issue. The opportunities for children of immigrants to receive a better quality of

education may be lessened because family finances dictate where people live. Low SES parents cannot move children to a better school district. Second, because many parents send their children to after-school classes and teachers there help children with their schoolwork which improves their grades. The issue of whether or not to keep sending children to such classes is debatable but for families of working class fathers and non-native foreign mothers, these after-school programmes may provide a good solution for them. The analysis in section 4.1 that showed some children of immigrant mothers perform in school just as well as native peers may prove the after-school class programme's success in helping these children, so in a sense, the programme compensates families with foreign mothers. Many native children take additional English courses, art classes such as music and painting; these are the rare resources for the students from a low socioeconomic background.

Also, foreign mothers' language skills have hindered them from helping with their children's schooling, which thereby affects their children's academic achievement (Lin, 2003; Hsu, 2005). The Taiwan government provides foreign spouses with Mandarin courses but because of their low socioeconomic background and their financial situation, they are often unable to attend classes and thus cannot improve their language skills. This may serve to reinforce cycles of deprivation and underachievement.

### **SES and Higher Education**

As far as the present situation in which the academic performance of the children born to foreign mothers is concerned, in the stage of compulsory education, they are not too different from their native peers. As far as the influence of families' low socioeconomic status on academic achievements is concerned, the non selective nature of Taiwan compulsory education is relevant. Taiwan's primary and junior

high schools are organised by school district and education choices are limited, with only very rich parents choosing private schools, which are few. Thus most children go to the public school in their district. Public schools are financed by the government, so they are not too different in terms of resources. Most students have, therefore, a similar quality of education. Although the children of immigrant mothers have not yet reached higher education, we need to begin considering this aspect. The low SES background of children born to foreign mother may reduce their opportunities of receiving higher education in the near future.

The equity and opportunity of higher education has been an important issue and is relevant now that we know that in the compulsory education stage, children of immigrant mothers and their native peers do not achieve differently. A concern is the link between low socioeconomic status and entrance opportunity into higher education. In Taiwan, higher education has gone from being for the elite to being for the whole population. In 2007, the higher education's rate was 66.3%, (college freshmen took part in the 18-year olds ratio). However, high rates of higher education does not mean that access is fair. Getting into higher education may not be too difficult but entering into a quality school with low tuition fees may not be open to all on an equal basis. According to a research report (NTHU, 2004) entry into colleges is different according to families' levels of income and the district they live in. Only 11% of students from low income households go to public universities in contrast to 20% of middle class students. More students from low income families than from middle class families go to private universities and vocational colleges. And when considering the fathers' education background, the students with better educated fathers go to public universities. In Taiwan, public universities mean good schools in terms of quality and low tuition fees whereas private universities are a second

choice. This choice of public or private universities will affect students' post graduate futures in terms of their positions and salaries.

Therefore, Taiwan's higher education system indicates inequalities according to social class. Whether or not this will affect children born to foreign mothers is a matter for concern and further attention. The concern is that despite these children being not too different in academic achievements in compulsory education, they will fall behind in higher education due to SES differences which will hinder their social mobility.

### **The truth of disadvantage**

The most perplexing question in conducting this study is 'do the children born to foreign mothers really need help?' In the years of conducting the study, the researcher underwent several changes in providing an answer to the question. Initially, the researcher reflected public thinking that children born to foreign mothers do not perform well and need help through specific educational policies.

But after several pilot study interviews, the researcher was amazed to find how well foreign mothers' children performed in school. Teachers everywhere gave almost the same answers: that children born to female immigrants were not underachieving. That was quite different from the impression held by the general public and different from most previous research. Following up this with newer quantitative research, the researcher found statistical proof that students whose mothers are immigrant do not suffer from underachievement. The researcher therefore wondered if she should continue her research.

However, when the researcher contacted more foreign mothers and their children, she found these children were undergoing pressures that local children would not have

experienced, and that they did have higher risks of disadvantage when multiple negative factors were linked. The researcher, then, began trying to identify the educational challenges that children born to foreign mother would have to face, realising that they were are not falling behind as a whole group but did show differences as individuals. The study classifies the two main factors that cause their disadvantage: low SES and prejudice.

You ask me what their weaknesses are. I think it's their hiding their identities. Do not agree with their mother, don't let her go to school, don't want to admit that their mother are foreigners. They don't recognize themselves. This is the result of society's prejudice against them. Psychological weakness is more serious than economy one (interviewee K)

The researcher has heard many primary school teachers say that students whose mothers are immigrants are just like other students and have no need of special attention; the teachers also felt they communicated well with the mothers. But in fact, this 'no-problem' approach would itself need deep thought and as a result the researcher has approached the situation with two perspectives.

One perspective is that good examples are usually apparent, so for instance, foreign females that are married to good spouses, have husbands who are supportive in familiarizing them with society and send them to supplementary school to learn Chinese. These foreign females would then become more easily reached people for research for the study. These females are mostly better off and may be invited to join school events or government meetings as representatives of foreign spouses. They show a positive reflection of social acceptance. In addition their children are like the children from middle classes' families that receive help from teachers in

private after-school classes, so they perform well in school. On the contrary, foreign females that have to work to provide for their families may gain no support from their marital spouses and families, so they are unable to join any classes may be harder to reach by the government or researchers. This, then, may have biased this study as to whether children of immigrant mothers are disadvantaged and whether students who have no special needs have received inappropriate care.

Now there are about 90% of foreign spouses stay inactive in society have no connections with schools and the ones that are in contact with the outside world is about 10% and it's those that go to supplement school. (interviewee H)

Only about 10~20% foreign spouses would study in supplement schools. They are ones that are okay in the life and their husbands treat them nicely. Those who don't attend schools are ones require special attentions. (interviewee S)

Another perspective to consider is that some families may hide weaknesses from the public. Some foreign spouses' families are not well-off and try to hide this. The researcher contacted some that are working in breakfast eateries, some working in factories, and some working in parks or doing a part-time job temporarily. Although they struggle to make a living, they would try not to show this but instead would try to show they are self-sufficient. They do not want to be looked down on and realise they are living a better life than they did back home in Southeast Asia. Unless you enquire into their family situations, it would be very hard to find the truth of how difficult their lives are. This is very much aligned with social workers' observations:

I went to two foreign mothers' home and before the visits in my contact with them, I thought they should have a satisfactory home until

I went to their homes, I saw their living situations were not as good as I thought because things they used at home were not common ones we would use at home. The situations were very bad. I mentioned this for two things. One thing is foreign spouses may get satisfied easily and the other thing is maybe they are trying to hide their genuine situations from others and living hard. (interviewee S)

Many foreign spouses need support. Because they do not know the language well, are unfamiliar with the culture and are not well off, they become the ones that struggle at the bottom and do not speak up for themselves. These women may thus become invisible and silenced. Therefore, when probing the family background of children born to foreign mothers, we need to get to the truth that lays beneath what is represented on the surface.

## **Politics**

The education of foreign spouses' children is an issue that draws the public's attention. The educational unit in the government has proposed many projects, and policies for assistance in recent years, but is such difference really a disadvantage? First, 'disadvantage' needs to be defined and in doing so we need to avoid misinterpreting difference as deficiency. Generally, children born to foreign mothers have the same needs as other children and though some may be less advantaged in terms of culture and household finances, by no means all immigrant pupils have disadvantages and special needs.

If we look at the UK in the 1970s: the aims of British policies at the time were, on the one hand, to stress the infinitely diverse needs of individual students, and on the other, to embed race in a broader policy context as educational disadvantage. (Tomlinson, 1983). Despite pressures to produce policies specifically related to ethnic minority children, the response of central government from the mid-1970s was to

subsume the problem of minority children under those of the disadvantaged. Subsuming the needs of ethnic minority children under those of the disadvantaged was reiterated as official policy in the 1977 White Paper *A Policy for the Inner Cities* which was published by the Department of the Environment (Tomlinson, 1983). Policy critiques suggest that attempts to subsume the problems of minority group children under the label of 'disadvantaged' have not been beneficial, either to minority or majority pupils, and the late 1970s and early 1980s have been characterised by efforts from parliamentary committees, local authorities and other bodies, to push central government more in the direction of positive national policies for minority group pupils, and for multi-ethnic education generally. It has always been more expedient to subsume them under the general label of 'disadvantage'. Taiwan has similarly categorized foreign spouses' children as a disadvantaged group and compensated them with policies such as learning services after school.

The UK policies of compensatory education have turned from simply focusing on ethnic background to the current stage of paying attention to each individual student's educational needs. However, Taiwan still adopts the approach of providing compensatory policies based on ethnic categorization. It needs instead to meet individual differences and needs. Simply defining children by their ethnic group can lead to self-fulfilling prophecies. Educational policies should respect an individual's particular needs and not classify them by ethnic backgrounds.

Why, when handling immigrant issues, do the UK and Taiwan classify them as the disadvantaged? In order to answer this we need to look at the hidden factor of politics. In Taiwan, to win elections politicians, need apparent political achievement and therefore use disadvantaged groups as a platform for exhibiting their political approaches to issues such as multiculturalism. This is not done by one or two

individuals but by the whole group.

Because Taiwan is a democracy country, there are elections. And if you approach explanations from this angle, then you would be able to understand why there were so many new policies born. So for example, last year I held a County International Literate Month. To some extent, that's a way for enhancing the political power. (interviewee H)

The consensus on the importance of this issue had led to pressure on the government and forced them to address immigrants' affairs. As the number of immigrant increases, the majority begins to feel concerned about job opportunities, social security and national identity. Then, when the children of immigrants begin entering the education system, people's worries shift to education. Educational policies have not discussed problems but have led to action. Under policy pressure, the fundamental rationale behind policy making is probably not as important as evolution or revolution. Evolution and revolution symbolize responses to political pressure and so instead of actually solving the problems, it may be that only the political pressure is addressed or resolved. In other words, to handle the public's concerns for the education of the large quantity of children born to foreign mothers, the policy finds a deficiency and then provides what it sees as compensation.

In order to gain public support and for self political interest, it could be said that the government has simply labelled children of immigrants as "the disadvantaged" and produced support for 'the weak'. Tomlinson (2008) pointed out the UK government attempted to deflect attention away from the situation of racial minorities by claiming that they were simply a part of the disadvantaged sector of society. Subsuming minority concerns under the disadvantage label was also an attempt to avoid white xenophobic assumptions that minorities were taking extra resources in housing, education and employment. The strategy was never successful, as the white working

class continued to assume that minorities had preferential treatment.

## **Statistics**

Education is of national importance. At a national level, analysing educational statistics can point to the nation's need for the development of human resources. At another level, educational statistics can indicate students' performance and define their needs. Without such statistical data it would be harder to find solutions for the problems. The Swann Committee points out that "the absence of ethnically-based statistics throughout the education system has contributed to the lack of positive action at both national and local level to identify and seek to remedy the underachievement of West Indian children". (Swann, 1985: xxiii)

Students' achievement needs long-term tracking to provide sufficient data to show reasons for underperformance, especially for disadvantaged students. Like the stereotypes revealed in this study, media stories that children born to foreign mothers perform poorly in schools have caused a concern in Taiwan education. After the field study, however, the researcher found the opposite to this common belief that children born to foreign mothers achieve less well. But the large quantity of data currently available lacks cohesion and integration and makes it very hard for policy makers to judge whether or not children born to foreign mothers have differentials in educational attainment. Although social class explained more variations in examining performance than ethnicity did, it still left the larger part of the variation in performance unexplained. So far, the educational policies for immigrant children in Taiwan are still uncertain and need detailed statistical data to help clarify the situation.

Besides data on academic attainments, data on students' background is equally important, for instance, mother's native nationality, language skills and family SES

because outcomes depend on a combination of these factors. Data on achievement indicates difference in output but does not show what factors bring success. Lacking understanding of students' background hinders our understanding. Educational policy research needs to know what factors influence academic achievements. When these factors are missing, educational research cannot determine educational needs as it is difficult to say which factors determine educational outcomes for minority ethnic groups. Sullivan and Whitty (2007) indicated that administrative datasets such as the National Pupil Database need to include information rich data on social background, rather than just FSM (free school meal). We cannot come to informed conclusions on issues such as school segregation and school effectiveness without better data. Both researchers and policymakers need to be honest about the limitations of the evidence they are using, and what the research can and cannot show.

The interviewees mentioned that low socioeconomic status is the biggest problem for families of foreign spouses but currently there is no data to support this:

We don't have statistics. But if we do, we would know. I believe many immigrant families in central south Taiwan must be unemployed and without two incomes they can't survive. Think about it, NT \$20,000 a month in Taipei? It's hard. It has to have two incomes. But now the worst situation is that it's possible for Taiwanese father to lose his job and even more so for the foreign mother (interviewee H)

Frankly most families with foreign wives from Southeast Asia aren't doing well financially. There aren't many researches on this such as average income and foreign spouses' household income. So just go by my observation, I think foreign spouses' families are worse off. (interviewee S)

Without long-term statistics recorded and collected effectively we cannot begin to evaluate the success or otherwise of educational programmes and policies. The

government only provides funds, but no follow-ups and no assessments, so it is difficult to measure the effectiveness of policy. Indeed, some would say that the provision of funds is just to make people feel that they are doing something. As far as Taiwan's current situation is concerned, the government has provided many funds to support foreign spouses, but often people do not know how to use these funds. Courses are held but the benefits to spouses are limited. Schools often complain that education authorities grant funds and require schools to hold multicultural education activities but students and their parents are often not willing to participate. Some primary and secondary schools are now required to conduct school evaluations but lack data on students' achievement. They thus do the things like a writing contests, and provide superficial evidence for show. Distribution of government's funds is not based on any specific evidence, but related to superficial efficiency rather than on students' academic achievements. The government can only list what they have done but cannot explain what changes have been brought about as a result, or how effective those changes have been.

Although statistical data is very important to policy research, such data is limited. Much research is misused and data is manipulated to indicate the underachievement of children of immigrant mothers. Taking the UK as an example, Sullivan and Whitty (2007) pointed out that in early studies, methodological crudity also led to an exaggeration and over-simplification of 'ethnic disadvantage'. There was a consensus in the research literature until the 1980s that minority students 'underachieved' in education. This consensus was partly due to the fact that many first generation immigrant children did not speak English. However, long-term statistical data from the UK revealed that differences in ethnic backgrounds led to the various learning attainments. In some cases, students from Asian minorities performed much better

than white British students, but the black pupils (particularly those from Afro-Caribbean heritage) still fell behind. In addition, boys from white working class communities also demonstrated low performance and achievement so these problems are not distinguished along ethnic lines. Nevertheless, these results do not apply to each case of minority students. Taiwan has many studies on foreign spouses and their children but there is no single body responsible for integrating results.

Although statistical data is critical for policy making, data collection can create problems for minorities and school teachers. The debate in UK on the need for statistics indicates the basis of such pressure. The DES had decided by 1965 that it was essential to collect statistics on immigrant pupils, particularly to plan for buildings and teacher quotas. Schools were requested to complete forms which requested information about immigrant children, from January 1966 on an annual basis. The intention may have been laudable, but it satisfied few people. There were fears that racists would use the statistic to demonstrate how schools were being 'overrun' by immigrant children, and the National Union of Teachers' members objected strenuously to the procedure and in certain areas refused to complete the form. The union considered that 'attempts to elicit information on 'country of origin' can arouse the deepest resentment and suspicion of racial discrimination'. Collection of statistic was discontinued in 1972 but since that time there have been demands that statistics should again be collected at a national level. Such statistics are collected annually via pupil performance data, starting with the early years foundation stage at age 5 and continuing with standard attainment tests at age 7, 11, 14, and GCSE and A level results. The teachers' unions in particular, have changed from their earlier view, and by the end of the 1970s some teachers were willing to co-operate in the collection of statistics. (Tomlinson, 1983)

In Taiwan, the collection of statistical data can also create problems for foreign mothers, students, and teachers. The link between foreign spouses and their children and social welfare is a new issue, and so government agencies and schools often conduct surveys and master-degree students and PhD students produce questionnaires to collect data for their dissertations. A few schoolteachers have responded to researchers that completing questionnaires is extra work for them and very tiring. The study's interview with a social worker indicates how the extent to which surveys have become a nuisance for foreign spouses:

Some foreign spouses and their families felt very bothered. One time it was public nurses; another time it was charity organizations; yet another time it was schools; yet another time it was people government agencies; so many different organizations with continuous investigations. (interviewee S)

Statistical data is an important foundation for policy formulation but it should not become routine nor should it impinge on the subjects of the research. The government needs to create a specific agency which would not only collect detailed data, but would also collect data in such a way that respects the feelings of those who are the subject of the research. This is one reason why this study forsook questionnaires but instead, conducted interviews to reach the research objectives. Hopefully through this research, the subjects of the research themselves will have gained some useful information. The social worker shared her successful experience of data collection:

Our foundation was asked, in 2006 by Taipei City government, to conduct telephone interviews. Most of our interviewers are multi-language speakers and when the foreign spouses heard our interviewers speaking the same language with them, they were able to say more about themselves and even cried and kept saying "thank you" to our interviewers for their care. (interviewee S)

Statistical data provides fundamental information for policy research. Lacking

such data makes it hard to appropriately respond to policy problems and to examine the effectiveness of policy implementation. Building a complete and integrated education statistical database should be the top priority for the education authority.

### **Summary**

In this chapter we have gone through the policy analytic procedures to recognise the real problems that children born to foreign mothers are encountering, the agenda setting process related to this issue, and the deeper meaning of labelling minority children as disadvantaged. In the following chapter, the study proposes the policy thoughts and makes suggestions for the policy problems.

## **5 Discussion**

The purpose of the study is to discuss a direction for Taiwan's educational policies for children of immigrant mothers. In doing so, this chapter starts with a discussion of questions / issues / themes arising from international comparative analysis in the UK and Taiwan. Following the presenting of the principles in considering equity and justice, the study proposes both directional and practical educational policies in Taiwan for the foreign mothers, their families and their children. When looking at analysis and discussion of the history of education for immigrant children in the UK, it is evident that policies on justice and equity are crucial. Education policy making should not be 'majority for minorities' but should be 'majority with minorities. Alongside proposing that multicultural education is adopted in Taiwan, the study suggests that a plural mother tongue policy is an empowering means for children of immigrant mothers and one which has the potential to enhance national competitiveness in the near future.

### **5.1 International Comparison**

As argued in section 2.3, above, the comparison perspective has made a positive contribution to educational policy research. In this section, through the international comparison, analysis of commonality and differences between the two countries under study in developing educational policies for immigrant children is discussed, and insights are provided into the development of policy formulation and implementation in the UK in the past and present Taiwan.



### 5.1.2 Following Contemporary Thoughts

When comparing the similar experience in acculturation of the UK and Taiwan, it seems that the processes at every stage in Taiwan are accelerated by comparison to the UK. This is perhaps due to the influence of the world on Taiwan as immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon compared to its history in the UK. .

The UK's assimilation policies in the 1960s were consistent with trends in other developed economies at the time. Educational responses to immigrant and minority group children were linked closely to political views of the relationship of minorities to the majority society (Kirp 1979, Tomlinson 1983). Britain was not alone in its contradictory response to migration and the incorporation of migrant children. Post-war movement of racial and ethnic groups around the world has led to world-wide debate about the merit of assimilation versus pluralistic co-existence, particularly in the area of education. The idea that a nation-state should consist of one majority culture, with minorities abandoning their original cultures in order to become effective citizens was originally espoused by both liberals and traditionalists, and education was regarded as a major means to bring this about (Tomlinson, 2008) .

But culture is an active process that may reflect different thoughts in different times. In the 1970s many nations, especially in the West, began developing various perspectives about multi-cultural society and pluralistic values, for instance, through anti-racist movements, feminism movements, and international aboriginal people movements that were becoming organised and vocal. Multiculturalism has become significant in Western immigrant nations since 1970s. The old adapted assimilation policy of the melting pot has been replaced by a mosaic of multiculturalism. And respect toward minority cultures was becoming part of the majority culture through a constellation of policies incorporating legal and human rights, education, welfare,

housing and anti-discriminatory employment practices. These processes at national level were often reinforced through international movements and non-governmental organisations. As a result, UNESCO's declaration on cultural diversity in 2001 indicates how this has become one of the most pressing contemporary issues.

Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations.

In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together. Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace. Thus defined, cultural pluralism gives policy expression to the reality of cultural diversity. Indissociable from a democratic framework, cultural pluralism is conducive to cultural exchange and to the flourishing of creative capacities that sustain public life. (UNESCO, 2001)

Globalization is an international trend, along with increased migration due to labour market demands and the failure of some economies in the developing world. Now many nations are multiethnic and are composed of immigrants who may settle on a permanent or temporary basis. International migration is a prevalent social, economic, and political reality. Every nation's government pays close attention to international migration and their immigrant policies. And although detailed policy may be different, there is a common sense that a modern nation values cultural diversities, and recognises the citizenship rights of settled minorities and the

inequalities they face. Taking the UK as an example, Tomlinson (2004) points out that the New Labour government after 1997 initially appeared more aware of the need for an education system to incorporate some measure of social justice and equity, and responding to cultural diversities was both a modern response to globalization and also a more economically sensible way of preparing a future workforce.

With global economic competitiveness, governments should think positively about how to deal with ethnic minorities and immigrants as far as future national development and international economic competition are concerned. As Kymlicka (2004) has pointed out, multiculturalism is part of a project to bring about justice and equality, and also 'good business' in a globalised world. Any antagonism to minorities is not necessarily shared by employers and proponents of contemporary capitalism. Employers and business need to work in the interests of profit and capital accumulation and many minority members are possibly acquiring more internationally marketable cultural skills and the ability to function in several languages than many in the majority groups (Tomlinson, 2008).

Taiwan, under the pressure of globalization, is being influenced by these international trends, especially in educational policies because Taiwan always takes the Western world as a pattern for reference. In the 1980s and 1990s James A. Banks' multicultural education attracted many believers who advocated multicultural education for Taiwan at the same time as native political liberation and native movements began to emerge. "Nativism", protecting aboriginal people's rights as well as developing local dialects became significant issues in politics. As to respecting multiculturalism, when the Taiwan Constitution was amended for the fourth time in 1997, a new clause stated that "the country recognizes multicultures and advocates the preservation and development of native Taiwanese's languages and cultures (Item

Nine, Constitution Ten)”, which shows Taiwan’s positive acceptance of multiculturalism. With the increase of immigrant numbers, the idea of multiculturalism went from promising minority cultures to accepting foreign spouses’ motherland cultures.

Many nations’ internal affairs undergo changes because of the trend towards globalization: education is one of them. So although the development of Taiwan and UK’s educational policies for immigrant students have been influenced by international trends, local change has occurred in different time periods. Now Taiwan is at the stage where there is a growing awareness that some educational programmes are required to meet the needs of children born to foreign mothers, but these educational programmes serve only the needs of a small group of minorities and are not for all. This is can interpreted as only a superficial understanding of multiculturalism. The same situation happened in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s. Though the UK was developing educational policies for immigrant students earlier, marketization approaches since 1990s encouraged individual competitiveness and policies and that encouraged a diversity of schools, so that community segregation was further exacerbated (Tomlinson, 2008). Taiwan and the UK are now at different stages of the formulation of their education policies respecting culture diversities and pursuing integration; nevertheless they seek a common goal of social cohesion.

### **5.1.3 Dissimilarities between UK and Taiwan**

Although the two countries have been through similar processes in terms of incorporating immigrants into their societies, they have different backgrounds and circumstances. The two significant differences may lead the two countries towards

developing educational policy for immigrant children differently. Firstly, the purpose and means of migration are different, and secondly the influence of the marketisation of education in the UK has had a direct influence on methods of integration.

### **Issues of race**

First, the purpose and means of migration is different. Immigrants coming to Britain at that time were almost all manual labourers from Commonwealth countries, arriving because of a work force shortage after the Second World War, and they brought their families with them. By contrast, the neo-immigrants of Taiwan are mostly single females who come to form a family with Taiwanese men. Thus, the obvious factor that constitutes a difference in the Taiwanese context is that the immigrants involved do not have the same physical differences as was the case for most 1980s immigrants to the UK, who were distinguished from the mainstream population, immediately, through colour. There was also far more inter-marriage. Most of these immigrants had different skin colour, religion and culture and in some cases a different language. Both biological and sociological characteristics were distinctive. This issue of race was, and to a certain extent still is, a significant factor affecting the cohesion of society in the UK. Grosvenor states that Britain is a racialised society, and that the concept of 'race' is widely used in everyday discourse. Racism, as an ideology, is a way of viewing and understanding the world and as such is used to categorise or classify populations into distinct, biologically defined, collectivities (Grosvenor, 1997). Minority groups can still be easily defined by reference to their biological and sociological characteristics, even if they are second or third generation born and raised in the UK.

Over the last thirty years, approaches to multicultural education have changed, and discrimination and prejudice towards immigrant minorities has ameliorated,

reflected in changing educational policy. By the later 1990s policies were catching up with a public mood displaying more acceptance of minorities as citizens, and confronting some of the inequalities evident within education. However, the aftermath of attacks in the USA and in England (2001, 2005) has led to an increase in racial tension again, with policies being influenced by xenophobic and racist reactions within the indigenous population, and by fears of social unrest. 'Race' presents in national policy again (Tomlinson, 2008).

Unlike the UK experience, because there are no obvious physical differences, the issue of race is a minor concern for children born to foreign mothers in Taiwan. Low socio-economic backgrounds and the other factors discussed in section 4.1 are instead the main cause of prejudice.

### **Marketisation**

The second significant difference between the UK and Taiwan is the impact of marketisation. As previously discussed, the two countries went through similar experiences in terms of assimilation and integration. However, the Education Reform Act of 1988 in the UK promoted the principle of the free market in education: privatisation, competition and efficiency, and this had a significant effect on the direction of education for minorities.

For three decades, from the 1960s - 1980s, local authorities, schools and teachers tried out new ideas in multicultural education and by the late 1980s education policy was a major contributory agent to integration in Britain, with multiculturalism firmly in place as a policy goal. This was exemplified in 1985 when policy moved from subsuming minorities under the label of disadvantage, to a focus on the educational needs of a multi-ethnic society and on race equality, achievement and a changed

curriculum, with the publication of the Swann Report (1985). Since then, however, anti-racist and multicultural support services have declined drastically because education has been driven by a policy built on the ideology of market forces, whereby the need to ensure rising standards, open enrolment, opting-out, parental choice and per capita funding have created a situation where equal opportunities are subordinated and de-prioritised.

As a result of this marketisation, success in public examinations improved in all groups, and the numbers entering higher education rose, but a growing gap between the school achievements of pupils of African-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin became more obvious in the 1990s (Gillborn and Gipps 1996). By 2000s, the continuing policy of parental 'choice' of school caused huge problems as it became evident that schools were largely doing the 'choosing', that there was 'white flight' from schools with a high proportion of ethnic minority children and a resulting increase in social and ethnic segregation (Tomlinson, 2008). The school curriculum, teacher training and other attempts to incorporate minority children have all been subject to the impact of market forces and the political climate. Schooling has become a market commodity and the 'best' education a prize to be competitively sought, rather than a democratic right (Tomlinson, 2008). As such, this is a major factor when considering educational issues in the UK.

Educational policy for children of immigrant in Taiwan has many similarities to the approach to multiculturalism as seen in the UK before 1990s. Although it is flawed and still far from satisfactory, it is continually improving. Unlike the UK, where a focus on multicultural education was largely marginalized after 1988 because of a new ideology based on market forces, competition and parental choice do not dominate the education system in Taiwan currently. Any pressures relating to selection

and choice of school do not appear until after high school age.

Thus, 'issues of race' and 'market forces' are not serious obstacles in the way of creating multicultural policies and education for incorporating immigrants. Taiwanese society recognizes the purpose and necessity of multicultural education. Multiculturalism and integration are goals agreed by consensus and without controversy.

### **Urban / Rural Disparities**

Urban-rural disparities are common in many countries but one thing worthy of note is that Taiwan's situation is opposite to the UK's. The situation in the UK is similar to the US in that inner-city schools usually have a higher proportion of minority group students who may have fewer resources and lower academic achievement. But in Taiwan, by contrast, resources are concentrated in the cities and urban areas. The houses in the centre area of Taipei city are much more expensive than those in suburban /rural areas. Many higher SES parents spend a lot of money buying a property in a best-choice school district in order for their children to get into a reputable school. The students in the city generally have higher academic achievements than those in the suburban /rural areas. Many schools that have more children born to foreign mothers are concentrated in satellite cities, especially in fishing villages or agricultural counties.

Some studies demonstrated that immigrant mothers' children fall behind local pupils academically. Tsai et al.(2004), Wu and Liu (2004), and Wang and Tsai (2008) all state that urban-rural disparities exist especially in areas dominated by fishing villages and in the mountains. In the UK, students from minority groups and immigrant families also demonstrate a significant gap in learning achievements with

respect to non immigrant or host children. However in this situation the urban vs. rural situation is reversed, as the majority of black immigrants and their children continue to live in the inner areas of UK's major industrial cities, as noted initially by Troyna and Williams in 1986. For instance, the concentration of the poor in London and Manchester is more intense than that in rural areas whereas in Taiwan, the resources for immigrant spouses' children are less in rural areas. This confirms Taiwan's general distribution of learning achievements with urban students performing better than rural ones.

The study refers to the UK experience in order to illuminate that of Taiwan. It is not looking for a 'problem-solving' policy which can be taken direct from one country to the other. Instead, by understanding the English perspectives, the study is able to learn from this and identify the key factors that may influence education policy and social justice in Taiwan. Identifying the major differences and similarities between the two countries is part of this process. In brief, female immigrants in Taiwan are not too different in terms of skin colours, customs, and religious beliefs than local residents except for their nationalities, languages and cultures. What this study focuses on is the educational levels of the immigrants' children and the biggest difference between Taiwan and the UK is that in the UK many immigrant pupils are born to immigrant parents and they speak a language other than English, unlike in Taiwan where only the mother is an immigrant and others like relatives and friends are non-immigrants. Children of immigrant mothers in Taiwan are similar in skin colours and are capable of using the the first language of the country - Mandarin. In contrast, the UK's immigrants, especially when concentrated in local communities remain distinguishable from the majority white British people. When analysing the UK's educational policies for immigrant students, these differences must be included in the

analysis

Taiwan does not face the issues of race diversity and the marketisation of education as is found in the UK, and is more concerned with the prejudice, labelling and poor socio-economic background of children born to foreign mothers, as these are the crucial factors that influence their educational chances. Therefore, in the following sections 5.2, the study discusses and proposes the education policies for dealing with the labelling and prejudice towards children born to foreign mothers.

#### **5.1.4 Contribution of the study to comparative research in education**

As discussed in the methodology section, certain prerequisites are essential for a comparative study. While meeting them does not necessarily guarantee the success of a comparative study of education policy, failure to meet any of these is very likely to lead reduce the validity of the findings. This study tried to meet these key requirements by the use of multiplism, long-term fieldwork and self reflection.

Firstly, context matters. Context is widely considered to be important to comparative research in education policy by many distinguished comparativists (Sadler, 1900; Crossley & Watson, 2003). In this study the researcher spent a number of years gathering literature and materials with regard to the educational policies for immigrants in both countries. Understanding the history and current context of the UK and Taiwan from different perspectives helps the study to identify the policy problems in a varied of ways. For instance, the study analysed policy problems in Taiwan from the political, economic, social and cultural points of view in section 4.1.

Second, comparison is a logical way of thinking. Based on Bereday's fundamental framework of descriptive, interpretative, juxtaposition, and comparative analysis, the research clarified its focus gradually. The study dealt with the research

questions using a 'problem approach' which is recommended by the Bereday (1964) and Holmes (1981). In contrast to total analysis, the problem approach enables the researcher to survey comparative evidence in small segments. In other words, comparative research can be related closely to specific concerns in research – in this case the educational challenge of assimilating immigrant groups in the UK during 1960-90, and in Taiwan since 1995 – in relation to effective strategies to foster cultural integration through education.

Along with a comprehensive understanding of two countries, the problem approach of comparison helps the study to conduct analysis of the important factors that have influenced educational policies for immigrant children in the past in the UK and in present day Taiwan, and indicates the similarities and differences between the UK and Taiwan with regard to these research interests.

Last, diminishing bias is a key consideration in international comparative research. It was also recognised as a major issue by the researcher carrying out this study. As mentioned in the methodology section, with reference to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestion for naturalistic inquiry, this study addresses bias in the way by reading broadly. For instance, whilst numerous researchers indicated that there was underachievement of immigrant children in Taiwan, the information gained from the fieldwork did not conform to that. After more data and materials were collected, no significant difference between immigrant children and their native peers emerged.

Bias may be based on researchers' implicit values and preconceptions. Comparative education policy researchers may be conditioned by their upbringing, culture, education, environment, prejudices, or political, social and religious values. The most important issue here is to be aware of these conditions and reflect critically on their influences.

## **5.2 Education Policy: principles and priorities**

As the study has progressed to this stage, it has gone through the problem identifying, factors and analysing variables, using international comparison and drawing on historical and fieldwork analysis. Also, the study has also been conceived with some themes and issues for policy recommendation and action in mind. Accordingly, the next stage of the discussion addresses: perceptions of equity and justice; the crucial policy object as being not only children but also their foreign mother, family and society; considerations as to how to empower rather than merely assist those in need of support; and language as a resource. As a part of this assessment, the study draws not just on the documentary evidence but on the interviews conducted with the stakeholders in the field

### **5.2.1 Equity and Justice**

Policies based on certain groups' self-interest are unlikely to increase social harmony. The UK used to treat teaching English as the most important education policy for ethnic minority pupils, but through analysis of the 'Riots' in England in 2001, there is scant evidence that lack of English language or of loyalty to the United Kingdom were important factors in causing the riots. Instead, social and economic deprivation, discrimination, Islamaphobia, resentment between the White and Asian communities, and political activity by the far right all seem likely contributory factors (Figueroa, 2004).

The concept of equity and justice is a universal concern, as shown in national policies and in supra-national organisations such as the United Nations. Educational equity is especially crucial because it is the starting point for social equity. Traditionally, people consider that what is equal is fair. Now, this is not always true. It

is increasingly accepted that positive discrimination in favour of disadvantaged groups is a way of addressing social inequalities and wider issues of inequity. In many countries, positive discrimination policies are set up, whereby some students are given more resources than others because of the inequality of the initial situation. This is in accordance with Aristotle's concept of equality 'to treat equals equally and unequals unequally'. Justice is not necessarily equality for all; sometimes it would be unjust to treat all people equally. Thus, policies can go beyond equality in the cause of greater social justice.

When we recognize that there different treatments to pursue equity, what kind of positive discrimination can inform educational policies for children born to foreign mothers? What is even more difficult is defining the focus of such policies. Many countries are still adjusting to the challenges of such policies as the factors involved are complex and do not respond to quick or easy solutions. Therefore government agencies and educators in most countries are still looking to build effective educational policies which result in improved outcomes and life chances for disadvantaged students.

Taiwan has set the result for its citizen education rights and the rate of entry to compulsory education is 99.5% (NPF, 2009). According to Taiwan's laws, it also has defined equity and differences according to principles of justice. Education Basic Rights Rule Two says "people are the central object of education right" and Rule Four says "opportunities for education should be equal without discriminations against gender, age, ability, area, ethnic groups, religious beliefs, political beliefs, and social economic statuses. For aboriginal people and those with disabilities including less advantaged people, education should consider its individualism and specifics and be protected by laws as a way to guarantee their receiving of help and way to

development.” From this, the equity and differences principles are evident. Although Taiwan pursues justice and equity which has the support of society, the reality of how disadvantaged groups are treated by such policies still requires much revision and improvement.

So far Taiwan has only created an appearance of multiculturalism to show that the foreign spouses and their children are living harmoniously with others, but the reality is that respect of children for their mothers’ cultures and basic principles of equity are not realized. Some politicians make a show of appearing to support these families and doing something for them ,but this is just political expediency and does no real good: it is just like patching tears in torn clothes. Some appear helpful but putting policy into practice is difficult and reality is often distorted. Some policies are misused, resulting in injustice so that society has to put in more time, money, and energy to correct the consequences. A local education authority said that there are many recommendations and policies for the children born to foreign mothers, but because they are afraid of making a mistake, they avoid executing recommendations because of the fear of failure and its consequences.

The study cannot put into place successful methods, but can discuss potentially helpful principles for those creating educational policies for disadvantaged students and at the same time review some current Taiwanese educational policies for foreign mothers’ children.

**Using threats and warnings in order to make policy work may have negative consequences.** Often, if there is no new policy or intervention, the social problem will become less problematic of its own accord and thereby reduces the need for the implementation of a recommendation. On the other hand, there may be ample evidence to indicate that without a new policy, the social problem may have serious

negative consequences in the foreseeable future. Such an ominous prediction can provide a powerful impetus to implement a proposed recommendation (Majchrzak, 1984). A paper from the UK government (DfES, 2003) warned that if African-Caribbean pupils 'continue to be failed by the system' they will end up in the criminal justice system'. Warnings like this will help the majority see this is not only the minority group's problem, and if the majority does not respond to the warning, they will have to bear the consequences. While in school numbers of children of immigrant mothers are increasing, many people are voicing their concerns that if there is no clear plan to deal with potential challenges, these children's educational achievement may worsen with resultant social problems. Thus many educators and the mass media have sounded a warning bell, hoping to draw the public's attention to the issue and thereby get it onto policy agenda. Warnings may draw attention to policy problems, but such warnings, presenting a worse case scenario as evidence for need for policy, may enhance current prejudices against children born to foreign mothers, thus inhibiting their development. Therefore, there is a need to be cautious when discussing the possible serious results which may arise through lack of policy implementation, and instead stressing the possible benefits of creating appropriate policy. This would include the enhancement of skills in the labour force, enrichment of ethnic cultures, and international development.

**Rendering sympathy is not necessarily helpful.** When people meet others who are different from themselves and think those people are weaker, then conflicts will be reduced, so dominant groups often label minorities as disadvantaged and tend to sympathize with them and try to help them. But such an approach may only create more prejudice and discrimination and thereby strengthen the mainstream culture because minorities are seen as the weaker members of society who need to be

compensated and corrected. The dominant group makes policies in an attempt to help them and change them, but such policy making, from an unequal position, harms them as it labels them as disadvantaged. With regard to multicultural issues, the dominant groups need to appreciate that policy making is to help the entire nation rather than just the minority groups. What has to be changed covers not only the education of minority children but also the systems, organizations, and cultural views of the entire society. An important idea from 1985 Swann Report in UK is the idea of 'Education for all, not just for minority'. Therefore, there is an argument to be made for policy initiatives designed to change institutions rather than children. Special needs would be defined by minority groups themselves and special provision would be available as a right of citizenship, not as a compensatory strategy (Troyna and Williams, 1986).

Some superficial approaches to multiculturalism may satisfy the majority's psychological demands and feelings but will not address minorities' real needs. Policy making, then, should start from the grounds of equality and try not to give only sympathy from high to low as if they were "beggars".

**Ethnic or nationality background should not be used as a means of classification.** Positive discrimination is an expression of equality, but the foundation that it stands on can be very broad and objective, for example, household income and medical prescription rather than the origin of the mother. The government needs to serve all citizens, not serve them according to classifications based on people's backgrounds. Many labelling policies cause problems for the families of foreign spouses. Nationality should not become a label for getting more assistance, as this may increase discrimination against these mothers and their children, encouraging segregation and hostility by reinforcing the idea that immigrants are taking jobs and benefitting. Government policies need to support foreign spouses and their children

according to their individual needs, rather than categorising them altogether.

Some don't really have a problem but government keeps labelling us while they should render supports based on our specific needs. Government doesn't need to spoon-feed us. We can feed ourselves. (interviewee G)

The Taiwanese government is currently planning to implement educational policies for the children of foreign mothers, and is faced with the problem that some people will question why local nationals will not receive the same benefits as those that will be given to foreign spouses. When politicians handle complaints, they try to refer to the principles of equality to show they are being fair but this kind of "equality" is not always genuine. Sympathetic warmth should not become the basis of compensatory procedures for addressing inequalities because that will only strengthen prejudice and discrimination.

I participated in some governmental meetings and they were discussing that foreign spouses' welfare could not be higher than the nationals. This is the government's attitude right now. (interviewee S)

Everyone will compare and complain. Government doesn't give money to our own senior citizens to go to supplementary school, how could we give money to a foreigner? My department had a good budget for immigrants last year, but no more this year. Why? Because the Aboriginal Unit cut us off. (interviewee K)

**City and towns have different needs and may be considered separately to meet the relevant demands.** Foreign spouses living in urban and rural areas need to confront different challenges, and their needs are different respectively. Even though their children might live in the same area, their needs are often particular and children's needs in rural areas are different from those of children in cities. So, for instance, in Taipei, capital of Taiwan, children are often able to use Chinese without

too many difficulties. But in rural areas where dialects are prevalently used, and where many children are taken care of by their grandparents, many of them do not learn Chinese until they enter primary schools. Also supporting systems in urban areas are more complete than those in countryside. From this we can see differences exist in between rural areas and cities.

I have a lot of friends from Southeast Asia who can't come to any classes. They are very different than us who can come to classes. Their thinking is different and that all depend on the environment we are in. (interviewee G)

To help the minorities, central government needs to involve the local authorities and schools more, and take a monitoring and supporting role. Many auxiliary policies aimed at minorities are now going from top to bottom, meaning central government will make decisions on grants for schools without understanding students' real needs. This study recommends that educational policy for children of foreign mothers could go from bottom to top, i.e. school teachers know what their students need and can provide help accordingly, as each school's and area's needs may not be the same. Identical provision such as everyone gets a computer or extra help with schoolwork does not always help. So, for instance, afterschool classes enable students to stay after school to do their homework and the teachers are just there to oversee them. What they do not understand in class, an extra two-hour class may not help with either. Many families of foreign mothers choose to send their children to private afterschool classes because they believe those classes will make a difference and make up for what they cannot provide. What central government could do is help provide guidance, taking a bird's eye view, clarifying what is unclear, distributing grants and funds, and leading local authorities to provide mutual learning and help for effective assessments.

**Current injustices are likely to cause problems in the future.** The segmented assimilation literature argues that integration will inevitably improve over time and explains that second generation ethnic minority immigrants may face incorporation outcomes that are worse than for the first generation. First generation immigrants may be optimistic about the future and content with limited opportunities in the host country, but second generation immigrants are likely to have higher expectations and become alienated when discrimination prevents them from participating in mainstream society (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Gans 1992; Waters 1999).

Looking at the UK's experience, limitation, control and even assimilation are not accomplished ways to solve immigrants' problems and conflicts with the mainstream. In addition policies based on certain groups' self-interest are unlikely to increase social harmony. Taking educational "marketization" as an example, scholars have criticised "marketized" competition and maintain that market forces are unable to help education to play a better role in raising outcomes for students' standards. Instead, social segregations and hostilities may become worse.

...from the 1980s and into the 2000s successive reforms have ensured that schooling has become a market commodity and the 'best' education a prize to be competitively sought, not a democratic right. Under the rubric of a 'diversity' of schools a complex hierarchy of more and less desirable schools continues to be created, leading on, for most minority pupils, either to vocational, low-level or catch-up academic courses in Further Education, to the lower end of a hierarchy of universities or to low-level employment or unemployment. It is clear that the unequal possession of economic, cultural and social capital gives different social classes and minority groups unequal chances in the competition for the best schools and universities, and thus for high-level credentials and employment. (Tomlinson, 2008: 176)

**Consideration of the impact of marketisation on education.** Reviewing the experience of the UK, it is apparent that the Education Reform Act of 1988 has led to a stagnation in the development of multicultural education policy. The market forces of competition and parental choice appear to have increased social and ethnic segregation, and widened the gap between the attainment of majority and minority pupils. Taiwan has not followed a marketisation route and competition and league tables on educational quality are found mainly in higher education only. However, it is not easy for any modern nation to resist the strong tide of globalization and marketisation, and therefore it is worth learning from and listening to the experiences of educators in the UK. Privatisation, diversity, choice and running schools on a business model are huge challenges for the education system if it is still to play a role in fighting for equity and justice.

While there is no blueprint for what successful education for a democratic multicultural society might look like, the British scholar of multicultural education, Sally Tomlinson advocates:

A major principle should be that education in a democratic, plural, multicultural society be shaped by a public service culture relevant to the whole society, not one that encourages private, faith, business or any particular group interest. ... has a duty and key role in clarifying and tackling the manifestations of inequality, racism and discrimination within its own institutions and in the wider society. Behind these principles is the assumption that politics and policies will actually be underpinned by beliefs that fairness and social and racial justice are the basis for a good society. (Tomlinson, 2008, p.181)

Thus we need to take account of the UK experience and the current economic crisis in western countries, the free market, and competitive and profit oriented policies which contain potential risks and costs. Given that Taiwan is on the way to becoming a developed country, it is important that we consider such issues and remain

cautious about adopting them. The major purpose of education in a multicultural society is to offer all young people the means to live independent and interdependent lives which are socially and economically useful. No one should be left behind.

### **5.2.2 Empowerment**

As an area of high immigrant population in England, Berkshire established the Advisory Committee for Multicultural Education and published a report including a policy statement, in December 1982. It indicated the principal concepts key to promoting racial equality and justice. These show the essentiality importance of empowering immigrant parents and communities rather than focussing on minority students only.

- To encourage ethnic minority parents and communities to be fully involved in the decision-making processes which affect the education of their children.
- To increase the influence of ethnic minority parents, organisations and communities by supporting educational and cultural projects which they themselves initiate.
- To encourage the recruitment of ethnic minority teachers, administrators and other staff at all levels, and the appointment of ethnic minority governors.

(Royal County of Berkshire, 1983) (see Appendix H)

In Taiwan, education plays a role in helping foreign spouses and their children conform to society. In the meantime, elites that have power to make decisions speak for them and propose policies which affect them. However, in fact, these elites still represent mainstream thinking, and the decisions they make on behalf of the

immigrants are actually more for the majority groups than minorities. Borrowing Foucault's viewpoint, this attitude has created a hindrance between government and people and created cultural hegemony (Gutting, 2005). Another perspective is needed in order to soften the governments' rule and management. Therefore, educational policy makers need to consider how to empower the minority groups so that they can advocate for themselves and their children if it is to work for the benefit of disadvantaged groups.

There is no such thing as a *neutral* educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (Shaul, 2000:34)

### **The Importance of Improving Foreign Mothers**

If I am to prioritise things, I would agree to change the mothers and the families first. As to the kids, we don't see what care they would need. (interviewee H)

According to the report from National Immigration Agency (2009a) which investigated the foreign spouses who are in low-income families, single households, living with disabilities, or violent families, it was found that more than 60% of the foreign spouses are the major sources of these high risk household income as well as major burden bearers who take care of the families. Data for September 2008, shows that the number of foreign spouses legally allowed to work is in total 260,120 and of these 145,558 are in work, which is 55.9%, whilst 114,562, which is 44.0% are out of work, among whom, 96.9% are housewives. This is different than in the past

when foreign spouses were seen as Taiwan dependents. In fact, they are society's new workforce and provide many families' main source of income.

According to the investigation, it would appear that as many as 60% of foreign spouses do not have their monthly income regulated by minimum wage regulations. Some foreign spouses said their low salary was probably due to their poor levels of education and lack of language skills, so they could only do part-time jobs or temporary jobs, which do not pay much. Because of the economic downturn, in the current climate as long as there is work, they felt this was good enough, although some foreign spouses tried to work longer hours to increase their salaries (National Immigration Agency, 2009a). As has been previously discussed the biggest influence on students whose mother are immigrants is low socioeconomic status, so now that foreign spouses are often the major income source for their families, then the issue of how to raise their educational knowledge and skills so that they can seek better job opportunities should be a priority for educational policy makers.

Besides enhancing foreign mothers' abilities to improve household income, such enhancement is also an important way to improve relationships between them and their children in order to help the children develop a positive sense of identity and belonging. The Ministry of Education now has a programme for the immigrant families named Night Light Angel, where children stay in schools after classes for additional academic assistance, and supper is provided. But the plan has not really helped the students and their foreign mothers, the interviewee explained:

Their problems are that mothers do not have enough support capability. How to help the mothers and their children help themselves on their own instead of on the outsiders is crucial. Government can only take care of them for six years but not their entire life. Consequences would only be that teachers are doing all the help, but moms still know

nothing and children-mother relationship would just get worse because the children would look down on their mothers. (interviewee K)

### **Learning Chinese is the Foundation while Enhancing Capabilities is the Goal**

According to the report from the National Immigration Agency (2009b), a critical factor in the difficulties foreign spouses face when finding work is weak language and communication skills and weaknesses in written Chinese.

Many foreign mothers told me that she wants to get a job. But I feel what she needs desperately isn't getting a job but using Chinese for communication because she doesn't speak well. How could she find a job and who would use her? Many foreign spouses mistakened and would tell me they thinks biggest obstacle to overcome is finding a job. However, most of their jobs are temp job like resource recycling job, cleaning work, which is all short-term. I feel they need to learn first how to communicate. (interviewee S)

Although every level of government and many schools provide free Mandarin courses, the reality is that many foreign spouses do not come to these courses. According to the National Immigration Agency (2009b), the foreign spouses that have approached the assistant programmes are only 27.7% and the most is to attend the Chinese literacy course. Foreign spouses that did not attend assistant programmes are as high as 72.3% and the main reason is because they have to take care of the family and handle housework; the next reason is having to work.

We of course hope foreign mothers to learn our language and culture to reduce culture difference and that would help them with their children. Schools think this is very important but we found most foreign mothers just don't come. (interviewee H)

Therefore, if we want to help empower foreign spouses through education, we

must find ways to help them to attend classes and simultaneously provide financial assistance and child-care services. Keeping opportunities and assistance within school borders is not enough. This was demonstrated under the New Labour government in Britain from 1997-2010, when social policies that were targeted at disadvantaged families included income support for child care costs, family centres that provided education for parents, local health care in the family centres, full day care for children of working families, as well as breakfast and after-school clubs for school-age children. Offering basic Mandarin courses and job training would appear to be what foreign mothers most want. According to the National Immigration Agency (2009b), 35.3% of foreign spouses' top wish is to receive job training. Next at 19.1% is language training and Chinese literacy. A further 11% would like parental training and courses on child care. This data does not correspond, however, to the courses that have been provided by the government. Interviewing a member of the grassroots group of foreign spouses, the foreign mother said:

Chinese literacy foundation is a must, but many foreign spouses have got great Chinese ability. Government should try to develop their other abilities and not just the same courses over and over again. They are not young students. (interviewee G)

Currently besides basic Mandarin courses, private organizations have applied to the government for funding Taiwanese dialect classes, cooking classes, singing classes, and motorcycle licence classes. For those who have lived in Taiwan many years, however, these classes may not suit their needs any more. Would they still need to learn Chinese songs after having been married and having lived in Taiwan for ten years? Foreign spouses self-help organization, 'TransAsia Sisters Association, Taiwan' held a class to train professional translators and the classes received good feedback. Such classes not only enhance foreign spouses' professional skills but also

train more professionals for the society. Government, when considering educational services for foreign spouses, should not just try to establish good mothers, good wives, and good daughters-in-law. They should also enhance the skills that foreign mothers already possess to meet society's needs in the long run.

Current curriculum guidelines in supplementary school are outdated. Some of them are still teaching Thousand Words Literature, Ancient Chinese, which is very unsuitable for foreigners. (interviewee K)

### **Barriers to integration for Foreign Spouses**

There are a number of barriers to integration that face foreign spouses. Although central and local government and schools provided many free courses for foreign spouses, they were not well attended. An analysis of these barriers is informed by a number of perspectives.

First, everyday life is a factor that hinders these women from attending classes. For instance, they have to take care of housework, families, and children, and many of them also have to work for a living.

They want and need a job. It takes all of their energy. We had a mother that who had to leave her job for a manual job which had better income immediately. I asked her to stay so she could learn more and two years later she would be able to find a better job but she said, "I can't even provide for myself now, how can I stay ? " I know if I can't even go on through this year, I can't even think about five years later. So I didn't persuade her. (interviewee S)

Second, whether or not the families of foreign spouses are open minded to the women receiving support is also a factor that affects their learning. In some cases foreign spouse's family members stop these women from reaching out the community. They may be afraid that the foreign wife might run away from home or might become

more difficult to control if they have friends from the same country, and may therefore not support or encourage her to go for more education. Although situations like this are now less than before, these problems are not completely resolved because they relate to wider cultural issues regarding attitudes towards women in general.

Fewer foreign spouses would go to supplementary schools, only about 10 to 20%. Some foreign spouses can go to supplementary schools because they are pretty well in every aspect. Their husbands are also pretty good in many things, so they would let them go. The foreign spouses that don't go to supplementary schools are the ones we should notice (interviewee S)

Foreign spouses that participate in supplementary school are low in percentage. Six years ago (2004), supplementary schools had 37% of students that are foreign spouses, and now (2010) there are 70%. But Taipei County has 6,000 foreign spouses going to supplementary school, which are considered few among 80,000 foreign spouses. They would take as much time as 72 hours (about one semester) . That is enough for applying for an ID card, and then their family wouldn't let them continue. (interviewee K)

Thus many foreign spouses find themselves constrained and not encouraged to participate society as a result of complex social, cultural and historical reasons which are not easily addressed by government policies.

Third, their education diplomas are not recognised, which is also an obstacle for foreign spouses who wish to get better jobs and further education. So far, Taiwan has debated national sovereignty and does not have foreign policies or agreements with Southeast Asian countries, and therefore diploma recognition is a difficult area. Because of sensitive politics and efforts to protect national job opportunities, the Taiwanese government is still very conservative about this. Thus foreign spouses are unable to apply for jobs that require educational accomplishment and entry examinations which in turn prevents them from using and improving their skills.

In Southeast Asian countries, many primary and secondary schools' degrees are recognized by local governments but Taiwan would not recognize it. Taiwan would only recognize some renowned schools in Ho Chi Minh City and this is the same with Thailand's degrees. Diplomats said, "to prevent flawed diploma ... , and also you can attend supplementary schools." If I start all over with elementary school to college, then by the time I get a college degree, wouldn't I be old already? I have attained those degrees, why should I start all over again? (interviewee G)

Not recognizing foreign mothers' education has not only become a problem for them in terms of acquiring more skills, it has also become a problem in looking for work and as a result it is difficult to establish accredited language teachers.

Another problematic cultural issue is that many families with foreign spouses see them as supplementary objects, rather than independent individuals who take care of the family, and this also hinders them from seeking more personal and professional development. Some foreign spouses are able to take courses but then their families do not want them to continue their development and instead want them to stay at home. Such suppression is a key factor in preventing their self development, and consequently in enabling their full acculturation and participation in Taiwanese society.

Last year, we trained 80 foreign spouses for license tests. Chinese written tests are very difficult for them and 35 passed the test, including Chinese culinary test, Western bakery test, and computer test. But half of them ended up staying home to take care of the seniors and the children. Labour Force wants to find jobs for them but their families would not let them go to work. (interviewee K)

## **Parent Involvement**

Authentic education is not carried on by “A” for “B” or by “A” about “B”, but rather by “A” with “B,”. ... For the truly humanist educator and the authentic revolutionary, the object of action is the reality to be transformed by them together with other people- not other men and women themselves. The oppressors are the ones who act upon the people to indoctrinate them and adjust them to a reality which must remain untouched. (Freire, 2000, p. 94)

The role of education in democratic societies is to liberate people to participate fully in society, not to oppress them. A vital element in that appraisal must be the voice of the minority communities themselves in their self-development and self-actualisation. How to empower foreign mothers so they are able to participate in education, policy making, and school activities is an important concern. Allowing them to voice for themselves their needs and aspirations would be an effective way to help resolve some of the inequalities that limit their full participation. Foreign spouses and their children are managed by others, as exemplified by researchers who conduct research ‘on’ them as objects rather than that ‘with’ them as subjects.

Within the current education system in Taiwan, there are few parents who participate in school policy making and if there are some, they are only minimally involved. This is because culturally parents respect schools and teachers as leaders and do not wish to interfere. This is even more the case with foreign mothers.

Those that would contact teachers are very few and they are afraid to contact teachers because they are afraid to make mistakes in speaking and are afraid they don’t write well. They think it’s rude to ask teachers to speak again and so they would ask their husbands to speak with teachers. (Interviewee S)

Foreign mothers who feel able to contact schoolteachers to find out about their children’s learning progress in school are those who are already confident but even

they may find it difficult to follow the education system and curriculum. This study proposes that foreign mothers should be encouraged to participate in school education and speak for themselves as well as for their children. Government policies need to establish seminars and training courses so that foreign parents can set up an organisation which would allow them to have a say in the education system and increase channels of communication between schools and parents.

### **5.2.3 Multicultural Education Policy**

Multicultural education policies were introduced when UK society started to face issues in schools arising from great cultural diversity. In the 1970s, the attention was focussed on the minority only. Then in the 1980s, the British government acknowledged that Britain was a multicultural society and proposed that education should address equality, justice and equal opportunities for students from different ethnic, racial and social groups. It was argued that education has a duty and key role in clarifying and tackling the manifestations of inequality, racism and discrimination within its own institutions and in the wider society (Tomlinson, 2008).

Difference and diversity are embedded within contemporary societies from ethnic groups to languages, to customs, to gender, to social class, and to occupations. With reference to such diversity, multicultural and anti-racist education aims to teach students how to live with people from different cultures, avoid discrimination and address the injustices that arise from prejudice and social exclusion. In Castle's terminology, multiculturalism has two key dimensions: *recognition of cultural diversity* and *social equality for members of minorities*. Recognition of cultural diversity means that both the majority population and the various minorities learn to accept that society is not mono-cultural but rather made up of groups with differing

languages, religions, and cultural values and practices. The social equality dimension of multiculturalism requires action by the state to ensure that members of ethnic minorities have equal opportunities of participation in all arenas of society (Castles, 2004).

Globalization and migration are international trends and Taiwan too has had to deal with multiethnic cultural challenges. This history of this island shows how it has been an immigrant society since the arrival of Chinese migrants hundreds of years ago, through to Spanish and Dutch occupations, to Japanese colonization, and to Jiang Kai Shek's coming to Taiwan in 1949 after losing a war to the China Communist Party. Immigrants throughout different ages have established Taiwan's multiculturalism and acceptance of people and cultural influences coming from outside its borders. The fourth amendment of the Constitution in 1997 added a clause that 'the country recognizes multiculturalism, eagerly maintain and develop aboriginal languages and cultures'. At a constitutional level, then, Taiwan has accepted multiculturalism without resistance or argument. However, there is little understanding of what this means within institutional practices and the everyday lives of people in communities. Policy change is not always followed immediately by changes in social and cultural practices in institutions and within families. This makes it even more imperative that the education system is a key driver of change for the spouses themselves, and for their children. Change may thus come about through gradual settlement, participation in education, and generational changes in values and aspirations.

### **Only superficial multiculturalism**

In recent years, government and civilians have held festivals to exhibit multiculturalism, but festivals can only convey limited information and messages that

are often too superficial to effect meaningful change in social attitudes. Therefore, multicultural education becomes a political slogan only.

Government's intention toward multiculturalism is good but when it comes to executions on schools... I think schools and local authorities are yet to learn more how to execute it and it would become a trouble for teachers and schools. Sometimes the activities sponsored and held by local governments would be just like those god worship rituals and activities. (interviewee S)

In Taiwan, multicultural education often expresses one single view through activities sponsored by predominant groups. For instance, schools or communities might organize exotic shows to help people understand multicultural beauty, but as Banks (2004) said about this kind of approach which focuses on heroes, holidays, and discrete cultural elements, it indicates a superficial approach to culture whereby multicultural education becomes a form of cultural 'window shopping'. Through such an approach, students cannot fully understand the meaning of the cultures, or their underpinning beliefs and practices. What is worse is such an approach may even enhance stereotypes and prejudice against disadvantaged groups and their culture.

Take the 'Taipei County Happy New Inhabitants Quarterly' as an example. Taipei county government mails the booklet to foreign spouses seasonally which includes information from the Education, Health, and Police Bureau. Each paragraph is expressed in seven languages of Chinese, English, Indonesian, Vietnamese, Thai, Myanmar, and Japanese. It looks very multicultural and shows the government's effort to help foreign spouses to adapt to their new environment. But for a foreign spouse, information written in her mother language is only one out of the seven languages in the whole pamphlet. The space given to each language is very little and the information that can be conveyed to her is limited. Critically, it would seem to be political propaganda for multiculturalism, but in fact appears to have little impact

on helping women to make the transition to living and participating fully in Taiwanese society.



Figure 5.2.1 Taipei County Happy New Inhabitants Quarterly

How to prevent the current trend of encouraging multicultural education from becoming just a superficial or tokenistic activity requires more critical consideration. Currently, many executives think that multiculturalism should be seen with its own distinctive characteristics based on cultural understanding; and that would be “multicultural education”. However, multiculturalism, besides recognition of cultural diversity, needs to include efforts towards bringing about social equality. This study argues that multicultural education needs to include the fight for equality by embracing social justice.

### **Education for all**

At the present time, observing the direction of policy-making in Taiwan, and the

values and beliefs that underpin those processes, is important for both foreign spouses and their children. Taiwan pursues multicultural respect—that is basic—and social harmony as its goal, but as far as action is concerned, this usually involves compensatory activity for foreign spouses and their children rather than effort being made by other citizens. The basic thinking is still that foreign migrants should learn to be assimilated into the society, not that everyone in the society should learn about their different cultural backgrounds and how to get along with them. As an example, some primary schools hold children-parent education classes and the target audience is the fathers of children born to foreign mothers. Why would local fathers not have to attend the class but only men married to foreign wives? Why does the school draw a line between who should and should not participate? This is an example of discriminatory behaviour by organisations. This discrimination also needs to be seen in light of the statistical information about children's performance that was used earlier in this thesis. It is not only the children of foreign spouses who are underachieving in school – this problem is spread across children from other socio-economic groups.

Education, besides providing the opportunity for success to disadvantaged minority groups, should also provide opportunities for the majority groups to understand different cultures in order to avoid stereotyping and prejudice and also learn how to communicate in a multicultural society. The investigation of the National Immigration Agency (2009a) shows that foreign spouses think local spouses and their families should also attend such classes and the support for this is as high as 80%. As many as 90% of foreign spouses interviewed thought professionals should have their multifunctional abilities upgraded. They also thought that the government should encourage society to respect different cultures and thereby prevent

discrimination. Support for this reached 96%.

Encouraging multicultural education has been a focus for the Taiwan government's aspirations but looking at the present situation, it would appear that policies focus on how the majority see the minorities, not how the minorities see the majority. In 1985, the UK government published the Swann Report which put forward the philosophy of 'Education for all and not for minority only'. Now, Taiwan needs to move from a 'narrow focus on minority only' to 'multicultural education for all' and thereby gain cooperation from all of its people.

### **The crucial role of teachers**

According to the schoolteachers whom the researcher contacted, many think the children born to foreign mothers are no different than other students. The teachers do not think they need additional training or skills to teach these students or to communicate with their mothers. For some teachers, to be fair is to treat all the students in the same way. For them, any additional care would be seen as discrimination. None of the teachers interviewed in this study think that additional teacher training or additional ability is necessary to teach New Taiwan Children. All of them hold the view that these children, the same as native ones, do not need additional care. That is the same as the views of teachers in former times in the UK, shown in the literature review. Asked about the ILEA's stance on this issue before 1977, a local Community Relations Officer put it like this: before the 1977 policy it was a case of non-discrimination, that we treat everybody equally. We are all God's children, that kind of approach (Troyna & Williams, 1986).

Although the study has been emphasizing that the children born to foreign mothers do not appear to fall behind in learning progress, and the teachers do not

think that special skills are needed to teach the foreign spouses' children, the sensitivity and tolerance to cultural diversity needs to be developed. Mainstream society, consisting of various ethnic groups, is often unaware of many habitual stereotypes, so teachers do need to develop sensitive observation of cultural diversity and to ensure that all students are educated in anti-discriminatory beliefs and practices. Teacher education programmes should help teachers to attain the knowledge and behaviours needed to work effectively with students from diverse groups as well as to help students from mainstream groups develop cross-cultural knowledge, values, and competencies (Banks & Banks, 2004)

Teachers play a crucial role in a multicultural society. Committed, knowledgeable, skilful, and sensitive teachers of multicultural education are essential to its success. Multicultural education for teachers should encourage them not to ignore the racial and ethnic differences that they see; instead they should be able to respond to these differences positively and sensitively. Without such awareness, teachers may reproduce racism, even though they personally condemn it. In 2010, Taiwan news reported that a teacher had used discriminatory words against a student who was born to a foreign mother. The teacher said, "barbarian, roll back to Indonesia with your mom!" and the student, who was a girl, could not stand the abuse and hurt herself with a craft knife (Lin, January 12, 2010).

Teachers are crucial agents in any society that is attempting to incorporate immigrant and minority group children successfully into the education system and offer them equal opportunities to learn. In a society in which the majority is hostile toward minorities, teachers play a key role in educating the majority towards knowledge, understanding, and acceptance of minorities as equal citizens. However, it became clear during the 1960s that British teachers, in both state and private schools,

had no clear conception of the importance of their role in a multi-ethnic society. Teachers lacked knowledge of minority children and their backgrounds, and their attitudes to and expectations of the children were influenced by their racial beliefs and also their lower expectations of children from working classes (Tomlinson, 2008). Today Taiwan's teachers are just like British teachers in the 1960s in that they have grown up in mainstream society and do not have the multicultural understanding and skills, so they do not realize the importance of the role they are playing. They lack quality multicultural education training and so lack the knowledge and ability to implement effective multicultural education.

### **Incorporating multicultural education into the curriculum**

The school curriculum embeds many kinds of knowledge and values. The content of the curriculum should be connected to students' learning experience and thus to include effective multicultural education, the curriculum needs to be addressed. The school education system in Taiwan used to adopt the policy of "melting pot", i.e. the majority's view is the mainstream and thus courses are designed accordingly. This requires minority groups to accept the majority group's design of a mainstream curriculum, which hopes to "melt" them into the mainstream culture. Although in recent years the multicultural view has been accepted, there are no curriculum guidelines from the central educational authority, and it is hard for teachers to create a multicultural curriculum by themselves.

While the Labour government did recognise that considerable change in the school curriculum would be necessary to prepare all children for a multicultural, post-imperial world, no national policies were forthcoming as to what sort of a curriculum was right for a democratic multicultural society. It was left to local authorities, schools and teachers to take a lead in trying out new ideas, often naïve and well

intentioned, sometimes blind to the extent of racism even young white children felt, and to the anxiety many black parents felt for their children. (Tomlinson, 2008, p.68)

Of course we don't agree to "melt" others only...we should try a more global view that we learn from one another, but to talk about changing the entire educational policy, that is very difficult. So far we are just using multicultural education materials as reference for teachers but asking teachers to incorporate the multicultural concept into curriculum, I think, would be very difficult. I think Ministry of Education probably doesn't hold an active policy. (interviewee H)

The curriculums of primary and secondary schools in Taiwan are designed according to curriculum guidelines and then are developed into different versions by different publishers. So far multicultural education is not officially in the curriculum guidelines. As for local or individual teachers, if they want to teach multicultural education, they can only add it to their existing plans. Because of that, it usually becomes a superficial 'contribution' and reflects an 'add on' approach.

In Taipei County, we produced multilingual picture story books for each class. We have materials for them, but it depends on whether or not teachers want to use it. We have done a county-wide survey in April, 2010 which would be due in May. The survey showed frequent use of the material 10%, an occasional use is 70-80% and a never use is 10-20%. (interviewee K)

Taking into account the approaches to multicultural curriculum reform proposed by Banks' (1993), if Taiwan wants to promote multicultural education, it needs to change from the bottom up by moving from 'contribution' and 'add on' approaches that focus on heroes, holidays, and discrete cultural elements to 'transformation' and 'social action' approaches to enable students to learn to view ethnic groups

respectfully. This transformation would involve moving from discussing social issues with different ethnic perspectives to developing students' critical thinking as well as problem solving abilities, and to finally reviewing the process. This is a gradual curriculum reform model, as shown in Figure 5.2.2.

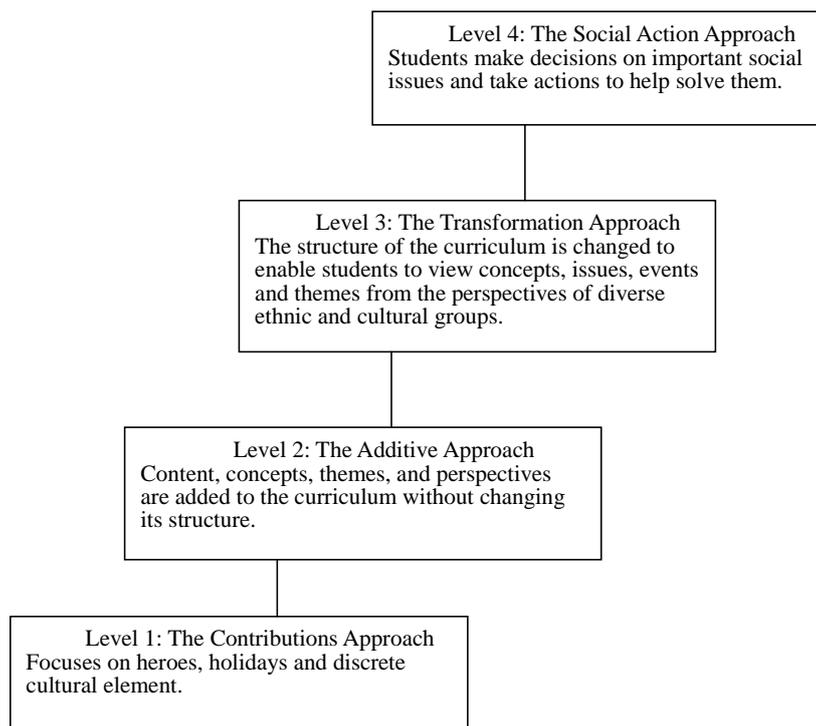


Figure 5.2.2 Approaches to multicultural curriculum reform (Banks, 1993)

The intention is not to place multicultural education somewhere in curriculum guidelines. Instead, this element should be everywhere in a curriculum that conveys the concept of multiculturalism. In Taiwan, academic achievement is a huge pressure and academic exams usually guide teaching instructions. The curriculum is already full in terms of subjects such as Chinese, English, and dialects, mathematics,

science, social studies, music, and sports. Teachers often have to rush through their schedules and usually will not have time to deal with knowledge which is not listed in the guidelines. Therefore, incorporating the concept of multiculturalism into curriculum guidelines is a necessity.

To work with our teachers' characters and teaching style, I have to ask central government to incorporate multicultural education into curriculum guidelines. Otherwise, no teachers will teach it, and teachers' education does not have multicultural education. Material producers do not have that education either. (interviewee K)

Although practicing multicultural education is a current trend in the education systems of many countries, it does not mean that it is already perfect, or that education alone can solve wider social problems. Multicultural education still has many critics. First, its concept is not always clear because there are many conceptualisations of multi-cultural education, and it is difficult to come up with a common agreement on the core beliefs, values, goals and educational practices. And multicultural education's practices are diverse. As Kincheloe and Steinberg point out 'multiculturalism means everything and at the same time nothing'. (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997:1).

One of the current issues debated within multicultural education is the extent to which it promotes individual opinions and overlooks corporate consciousness and common values. There is a danger of ignoring social segregation which may in turn create ethnic conflicts and divisions which would divide the country. This is a concern for many people. Therefore, while highlighting the importance of multicultural education, community cohesion is also a goal to work towards. We have to avoid the nightmare of community segregation.

While accepting multiculturalism, I think these immigrants have to get used to Taiwan. That way he/she would feel comfortable and blissful while living on this land. In a way, he needs to learn to get used to it, to feel part of it. You know? To accept and to highlight sameness. (interviewee S)

When the right-wing conservative people criticize divisions due to multiculturalism, left-wing extremists point out that multicultural education is not resolving the inequalities in society. It covers up reality, by maintaining current social cohesion. Albo points out that multiculturalism offers a ‘minority-friendly’ smokescreen of distraction behind which welfare state reforms that disproportionately harm minority groups are hidden (Albo, 1994 as cited in Kymlicka, 2004).

As Grant and Sleeter (2004) point out multicultural education is not in actual practice an identifiable course or educational programme. Rather, practicing educators use the term *multicultural education* to describe a wide variety of programmes and practices related to educational equity, women, ethnic groups, language minorities, low-income groups, and people with disabilities. Multicultural education views the school as a social system that consists of highly interrelated parts and variables. Therefore, in order to transform the school to bring about educational equality, all the major components of the school must be substantially changed. A focus on any one variable in the school, such as the formalized curriculum, will not implement multicultural education. (Bank, 2004)

Multicultural education is a continuing process because the idealized goals it tries to actualize, i.e. educational equality and the eradication of all forms of discrimination, can never be fully achieved in human society. Racism, sexism, and discrimination against people with disabilities will exist to some extent no matter how hard we work to eliminate these problems. When prejudice and discrimination are

reduced towards one group, they are usually directed toward another group or they take new forms. Whenever groups are identified and labelled, *categorization* occurs. Because the goals of multicultural education can never be fully attained, we should work continually to increase educational equality for all students. Multicultural education must be viewed as an ongoing process, not as something that we 'do' and thereby solve the problems that are the targets of multicultural educational reform (Banks, 2001, 2004).

#### **5.2.4 Language as resource- plural Mother Tongue**

There was mostly cross-party support for the recommendations in the Bullock Report (1975), the report of a committee set up by Mrs Thatcher in 1972, that all schools should have a policy for 'language across the curriculum' and that minority languages should be recognised and supported (Tomlinson, 2008, p. 51).

In the age of globalization, international communities are on the increase, and proficiency in one or more foreign languages is fast becoming the key to opening up participation in communities around the world. Foreign language learning is not only what every nation's education system cares about but is also an important factor for personal success. In many developed countries' the school education system not only requires students to learn a foreign language but also encourages them to learn a second foreign language. After the September 11 attack, the US government began to see how important language was to the international community and thus encouraged and funded changes in American schools so that national security languages were taught, such as Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Hindi etc.

However, the foreign mothers and other interviewees that the researcher knew

and interviewed maintained that the mother tongue of children of immigrant mothers' was not commonly taught. This study shows the analysis in the following ways:

First, members of foreign spouse's families seldom encourage their children to learn their mother tongues. The foreign spouses from Southeast Asia are expected by their Taiwanese families to learn and know Chinese to become part of them as soon as possible. Foreign mothers and their children who speak their native languages are seen as segregated from others and may even be thought to be 'hiding secrets' because they are using their mother tongue. In addition, many Taiwanese believe that if foreign mothers teach their children their native languages, it will hinder them from learning Chinese or the children will develop a strange accent and may be bullied in school. Therefore, in families with foreign mothers, children who speak in their mother tongue are seen as in danger of being excluded and so are prohibited from using their mother tongue. This is a common situation in families where parents speak different languages and depending on whose position is 'higher', whether father's or mother's, the higher parent's language is most often used as the predominant language.

Moreover, some foreign mothers may not be willing to teach their children their mother tongue. The foreign mothers in the study mentioned that in the beginning, they had hoped they and their children would learn and speak Chinese well. Gradually their children had showed less understanding of their mother tongues and then many lost interest in learning it even if they tried to teach it. On the other hand, some foreign mothers do not think it is valuable for their children to learn their mother tongues because they think their mother countries are backward and poor, unlike Taiwan. Thus they think they have done well by leaving their mother country to be married to a Taiwanese and do not think that being able to speak their mother tongues

will be beneficial for their children. They think it is most important that their children learn Chinese and learn dialects i.e. Taiwanese so they can communicate with the older generation. They agree that learning a foreign language is good, but that means learning English which is seen as useful because it has a market value as opposed to their mother tongues, which have no market value.

...I have spoken with many foreign mothers that, for example, a Cambodia mother wants her child to study in a bilingual kindergarten. (Note : The Chinese and English kindergarten is popular in Taiwan.) But she cannot really afford it . I told her that your family is bilingual. The mother said that is different. Ours (Cambodian) is useless. (interviewee S)

If he wants to, I'd teach him but I wouldn't force him to learn my language. (interviewee G)

Southeast Asian mother tongues are not prevalently taught to their children because basically Taiwanese society does not value their languages and has not encouraged their children to learn them whether in school or at home. 21<sup>st</sup> of February is celebrated as the International Mother Language Day every year on the direction of the General Conference of UNESCO. The Taiwan Ministry of Education and some local education authorities hold meetings to promote International Mother Language Day but these could be regarded as 'lip service' only. By 2008, excluding Chinese spouses that speak the same languages, there were 150,000 foreign spouses and 100,000 students whose mother tongues are not mandarin. But on the Mother Language Day sponsored by the Taiwan Ministry of Education, only common local languages such as Taiwanese, Hakka, and Aboriginal dialects were seen and not Southeast Asian languages at all. This indicates the way in which Taiwan currently stresses localization more than globalization, and does not

value the contribution of Southeast Asian spouses.

I think that foreign mothers don't teach their mother tongues because this is limited by their families and society. News media often said if foreign mothers do not use Chinese well, how can they teach their children? Those families may feel ashamed, so they require them to learn Chinese before other things. Families being limited this way are caused by the society. (interviewee G)

The primary school has total 280 students whose mothers are foreigners. Our survey showed that 40 parents agreed to let their children learn Vietnamese. Many of the foreign mothers would like their children to learn mother tongue, but their families wouldn't (interviewee K)

In the past, immigrants were deemed to have integrated successfully by being assimilated into mainstream while abandoning their original culture. If a foreign spouse could speak fluent Chinese and Taiwanese, she would be complimented that she did not look like a foreign spouse but like a Taiwanese. In this compliment is implied the myth that being like a Taiwanese is better. The UK has been through similar experiences in the last century. Acquisition of the English language was perceived as the key to successful assimilation. Migrant success in Britain would be determined by abandonment of their culture, traditions and values, and acceptance of the British 'way of life'. That is to say assimilation involved both cultural loss and cultural conformity (Grosvenor, 1997). In the late 1970s, the 'English only' atmosphere began changing, the Bullock Report (1975), the committee set up by the Minister for Education (Mrs Thatcher) in 1972, recommending that all schools should have a policy for 'language across the curriculum' and that minority languages should be recognised and supported. The school should adopt positive attitudes to its pupils'

bilingualism and wherever possible should help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother tongue. On the surface, it may seem strange and slightly preposterous to suggest that mother-tongue courses be offered as an aid to mastering English. However, it is thought that children will learn English more quickly and more easily if they are strong in their mother tongue (Loewenberg & Wass, 1997). Ovando (2004) stated that in the case of speakers of nonstandard English, the home language cannot be blamed for school failure. On the contrary, one cause for language-related school failure is the educator's negative attitude toward the home language.

Undeniably every language has its popularity and market acceptance, and this will affect the populace's willingness to learn it. Although some Southeast Asian countries' economic development is falling behind, new market potential is worthy of attention. In 2010, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN and China officially defined a free trade zone that would affect Taiwan and world trade. The members in ASEAN are Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. These countries are the countries where most of the foreign spouses come from. With the addition of the Chinese, Taiwan has demonstrated a capacity for containing language skilled workers as a resource. Disregarding the rich context of this language learning environment by inhibiting the development of multi-mother tongues is a waste of such resources. Baca and Cervantes (1998) pointed out that bilingual education is a wise economic investment in order to help linguistic minority students become maximally productive in adult life for their benefit as well as that of the society.

Second-generation immigrants show a higher tendency, more than the first generation, to connect themselves to their mother countries. In the past, immigrants have not closely connected to their mother countries. But current immigrants

through rapid technology development in transportation, communication, and information, are no longer isolated by geographical locations, whereas before that they were uprooted from their motherlands and from continuing ties to their indigenous social networks (Rong & Preissle, 2009). The study noted that there exists a phenomenon in immigrant society whereby the first generation immigrants only hopes to survive in the new environment and become part of it as soon as possible, so they are passive and reserved instead of being active and promoting their mother cultures and languages. When it comes to the second or third generations, they become interested in their mother cultures and sometimes pursue these cultures passionately. Rather than moving towards an Americanized identity, immigrant adolescents tend to maintain identities closely linked to their homeland with their countries of origin (Song, 2007 as cited in Yoshikswa, 2008). Therefore, maintaining their language skills can help them connect back to their mother countries.

Since the 1970s, studies have confirmed the bilingual's verbal and non-verbal cognitive advantage, one which leads the child to make a greater use of language as a tool for development (Hakuta & Diaz, 1985; Diaz & Klinger, 1991; Mohanty & Perregaux, 1997). The benefits of bilingual education have been recognized by many scholars ( Baca & Cervantes, 1998 ) , especially as it has been demonstrated to be the best way to attain maximum cognitive development for minority students. Moreover, if the mother tongue is officially recognized in schools, it can help the child to feel that he/she is respected, which in turn can increase the child's sense of security and confidence (Loewenberg & Wass, 1997). If the Taiwanese education authority does not encourage learning of Southeast Asian mother tongues, this could be interpreted as discriminatory towards foreign mothers' and harmful, in that it leads to a lack of respect for them, as indicated by a social worker's interview who indicated that

children can come to exclude their mothers:

Now I see some children are not very respectful toward their mothers; I would feel children should be close to their mother and see her as their role model. But what I see is those children aren't that way. Instead, they try to exclude their mother because she is Vietnamese or other countries. I was shocked. (interviewee S)

Ensuring that children born to foreign mothers develop with bilingual advantages which enhance positive self-identity should be a basic right. Self identities can be multiple, nested, and overlapping. Members of minority groups who take pride in their ethnic identity is a positive benefit to society and there is no inherent conflict or contradiction between affirming diversity and upholding unity. (Kymlicka, 2004: xiv)

## **Actions**

If we are to acknowledge plural mother tongues' contributions, Taiwan will need to discuss how to promote the mother tongues and resolve problems connected with this. The study now discusses suggestions with respects to incentives, curriculum, and teachers for possible policy formulation.

### Incentive

Currently in Taiwan, mother languages which are recognised are limited to Taiwanese, Hakka, and aboriginal languages, excluding Southeast Asian foreign mothers' languages. This is the result of native culture movement in the past decades. In 2004, dialects were not only incorporated into curriculum guidelines for Grade 1 to 9; but language ability tests, bonus policy, and scholarship rewards were also part of policy.

Since learning mother tongues is now considered important and encouraged, it follows that Southeast Asian mothers' languages should also be included. Because foreign spouses' families are increasing day after day with their children not learning their mother languages but instead, learning other languages, there is a need for swift action if these children are not to lose their skills in their mother languages and become victims of discrimination.

Taiwan has good conditions for developing plural mother tongues. In the UK and US educational policies are putting efforts into help immigrant students whose first language is not English to acquire a certain level of English. But this does not seem to be an issue in Taiwan as the Taiwanese children of immigrant mothers have no problem using Chinese, except for a small number of students who need extra help because they have come back to Taiwan when they are older. Given that the official language — Mandarin is learned and used with no problem, developing plural mother tongues should thus be more easily accepted.

From a cultural perspective, every language is worth preservation. From an investment perspective, one more language means one more opportunity. Southeast Asia is a newly rising global market with an unlimited future. However, the possibility of a good future is out of reach for those who are struggling to make a living. In the current situation where foreign spouses are looked down upon by Taiwanese people, the language of Vietnamese or Indonesian is not regarded with any respect and therefore, their children are discouraged from learn their mother languages. As a result, this study believes that promoting mother tongues will require clear incentives to help the public see the advantages of learning these languages and thereby encourage a trend to learn them. Some might think promoting foreign spouses' mother languages by issuing scholarships or by adding academic

bonuses to the scores of entrance exams is a superficial approach. However, past experience of promoting local dialects indicates that this is a useful and quick way to bring about change. If foreign spouses' mother languages are encouraged, supported by language books, but these are not incorporated into the curriculum and not recognised by proper exams; then few teachers will use teach the languages and parents will not put effort into it either. Learning mother tongues cannot wait. It needs to start in childhood, the best age to learn a language. After this it is harder to produce good bilingual speakers and teaching at an older age will require time and more money.

The study discussed with interviewees the possibilities of creating exams and giving certificates to recognise local dialects as well as granting scholarships and other benefit policies. Though such policies may be possible, the practicalities of putting them into place remain a major challenge.

First, foreign mothers' languages are diverse. If there is no selection based on the number of language speakers, then the whole world's languages would have to be considered. If the selection was be made based on numbers of speakers with the ones with the most speakers being given priority, then Vietnamese, Indonesia, Philippine, Thailand, Cambodia Myanmar, and Malaysia would be include. However, if rewards are to be given, every language should be rewarded equally. When the area is too large, rewards would be difficult to execute.

Second, giving foreign language tests as a way to higher education or as a reward would need criteria, such as TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) and IELTS (The International English Language Testing System). However, Southeast Asian countries are unlike some countries that have their particular language tests. Besides, language proficiency tests involve curriculum, teaching materials, and

teachers' training. In Taiwan, before languages of Taiwanese, Hakka, and Aborigines tests became official, ten years of preparation such as teachers' training and curriculum materials have been required.

Did they teach the Vietnamese correctly? They have North Vietnam and South Vietnam. If we are to certify Vietnamese, the ministry of administration must get ready with teachers' credential and teaching materials. (interviewee K)

Third, learning mother tongues should be encouraged in its own right, rather than being part of the pressure for going to higher education. In Taiwan, if learning mother tongue were to become a factor for getting into higher education, parents would send their children to extra classes or "cram schools" and thus instead of becoming something positive, it would become yet more pressure for students. This study hopes that encouragement to learn foreign mothers' languages will be regarded as worthwhile in itself and that children can learn at home in a natural way, instead of such learning becoming part of pressure for a language test.

Advocating mother tongues' learning as a goal is suggested in the hope that children can learn in their home environment. The study suggests the use of incentives as a way to encourage foreign spouses' families to see the advantages of learning mother tongues in order to increase respect for their mothers' cultures. Language tests, scholarships, and higher education entry bonuses could thus be used as incentives but they are not the real purpose, which is for every child to learn to respect his or her original culture and learn the language. Helping Taiwanese children to develop multilingual and multicultural skills remains the overall purpose for promoting mother language learning.

## Curriculum

In 2010, 13% of children whose mothers are immigrants will be entering elementary schools and 60% of these do not have Chinese as their mother language. However, current national curriculum guidelines require that grades 1 to 9 teach one hour dialect classes per week and these include only Taiwanese, Hakka, or aboriginal languages. Other immigrants' mother tongues are excluded. Students of primary and secondary schools can use their personal choice to choose one language course out of the three.

The need for learning mother tongues is beginning to be felt. The current national curriculum guidelines, however, are not meeting these needs: such language learning is not an elective course and can only be followed outside of class time in an after-school club. Taiwan central government has not yet officially promoted mother tongues. Although it provides funds for some foreign language programmes, delivering the curriculum and developing teaching materials cannot be left to individual schools or teachers if it is to be successful. Instead it requires the Ministry of Education's support and full backing. If this takes place, so that learning a mother tongue becomes a foreign language elective course, then propagating plural mother tongues will be embedded in the system with positive effects.

It is hard to be a formal curriculum. The central will take a long time to achieve. Informal curriculum, I personally agree better. If we just let courses such as dancing or songs be taught in campus clubs and not be incorporated into formal curriculum, teachers' qualification would not become a restriction. (interviewee H)

## Language Teachers

Besides learning their mother tongue from their mothers at home, qualified

teachers are equally important. In UK, recruiting minority teachers is recognised as one way to help minority students' learning of languages. Both government and parents groups see the appointment of more black teachers as one solution to improving black achievements (Tomlinson, 2005).

Currently because the serious population growing decline, Taiwan has too many teachers and some qualified teachers cannot find a teaching job, so if we are going to recruit Southeast Asian teachers, this should possibly only start with language teachers. Primary and secondary school teachers have at least a Bachelor's degree and many have a Master's degree. Many of the foreign mothers are not well educated and few of them received higher education in their mother countries. Even so, due to lack of recognition of their diplomas, it is very difficult for them to become accredited teachers. Taiwan has sovereignty issues with China, and does not have diplomatic relation with many nations. For political reasons, recognizing foreign documents and certificates is problematic.

Because it is difficult to obtain qualified language teacher credentials, schools that want to teach mother tongues can only work within campus clubs. Without having such languages as part of the formal curriculum, pay of these teachers is unstable.

Looking at the UK experience, at first they aimed for immigrants to learn English only, but gradually they began encouraging minority groups to learn their native languages. However, without increased training, it will not have enough qualified foreign language teachers in the future. During the 1970s and 1980s bilingualism was researched, debated and encouraged. The end of Section 11 and the introduction of the Ethnic Minority Achievement grant in the 1990s, led to the dispersal of expert bilingual teachers. At the adult level, there is a shortage of teachers

of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) (Tomlinson, 2005).

With one more language, there is one more dimension or viewpoint. Taiwan now has many foreign language teachers in the form of the foreign mothers. There is no cost for their children to learn a second language. Also, with reference to harmony among ethnic groups, the children of immigrant mothers do not have difficulties using Chinese, and so there are no concerns about ethnic segregation. This is thus the natural environment where Taiwan can grow bilingual personnel. But this potential is ignored by the society in spite of the urgent need for such teaching. Thus policies need to be created to encourage mother tongue learning, so those children can learn their parents' languages. Such multilingual skills will help to make both individuals and the country more competitive.

Moreover, the ethnic minorities which retain their own language, culture and community networks have no need to be worried about being integrated into mainstream society and their national identity. For instance, south Asians in Britain are one of the most socially segregated minority groups, but have used their dense networks to promote economic advancement and engage in mainstream politics. In addition, recent research suggests that South Asians have levels of positive national identification that are similar to those of native whites and higher than those of well socially-integrated Caribbeans black (Alexander, Edwards, and Temple 2007; Cinnirella and Hamilton 2007; Maxwell, 2006).

### **5.2.5 Process of Policy Research**

A consensus of policy research is the centrality of process. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) described 'policy as process' as their preferred definition because it provides a framework to understand and investigate policy process and how policy is made.

Taylor et al. (1997) stated that 'policy research is aiming to unravel the complexities of the policy process'. Majchrzak defined policy research as the 'process of conducting research or analysis on a fundamental social problem in order to provide policymakers with pragmatic, action-oriented recommendations for alleviating the problem' (1984, p.104). Accordingly, 'process' is crucial to understanding the policy problem and to conducting policy research.

As explained in the methodology chapter, the policy study was addressed in a way which conformed to the process as advised by prominent policy researchers, Dunn (1984), Hough (1984), Dye (1992) and Majchrzak (1984). Although a policy study is complex and there is no single recipe for it, following the suggested policy process helps the study make progress in an orderly manner and provides clear steps using a rational model. The first phase of the study is 'problem structuring' discussed in chapter 3. It describes the policy problem in two countries from varied perspectives both in the past and at the current time. Then chapter 4 presents first the 'problem definition' which explores the policy problem in Taiwan and specifies the factors which have impacted on that in detail. Followed by 'agenda setting', the study then explains how the perceived educational problems of children born to foreign mothers gained attention from the mass media, society and finally entered the policy agenda. In the last section of chapter 4 'policy formulation', the study explores the consequences of existing and proposed policies and discussed possible reasons, political influences, statistics and potential harm caused by regarding minority pupils as disadvantaged. Lastly, this section (5.2) communicates the possible directions for educational policies for immigrant children in Taiwan.

As a result of the policy research process, the study provides a clear framework to help understand and explain the process of education policy-making for

multi-cultural integration in two countries and demonstrates how specific issues become policy agenda and how such policy is responded to.

## 6. Conclusions

The educational problem of immigrant children has been given attention by many countries. Taiwan has started to deal with this issue in recent decades, but the circumstances of Taiwan are unique. Most of the immigrants in Taiwan are females from Mainland China and Southeast Asian countries who are married to Taiwanese men. Since the socioeconomic status of Taiwanese grooms and foreign brides is generally seen to be low, the rapidly increasing number of children born to foreign mothers is a concern in Taiwanese society. This study explored the educational challenges these children/students are facing and referred to the UK experience on educational policy for minority students from the 1960s to the present day.

### 6.1 The Key Points

This study has presented a critical framework for analyzing the situation of children born to foreign mothers in Taiwan; including the various difficulties and causal factors. Using a comparative perspective policy study which draws on the UK, and fieldwork investigation, the research questions have been addressed. In particular, this study has provided new knowledge to remedy the gap in existing literature around current stereotypes and prejudice toward the children of foreign mothers.

In turn, the key findings and points of analysis are presented as follows:

#### **Not disadvantaged as a whole, just different needs**

As demonstrated by the results and analysis in chapter 4, the fieldwork and documentary study show no evidence that children born to foreign mothers have poor academic performance. While quantitative research studies with large samples show

no statistically significant differences between children of immigrant parents and their native peers, some qualitative studies with small samples tend to tell the story that children born to foreign mothers do not achieve well (the details of these studies shown in Appendix J).

The children of foreign mothers do not 'fall behind' as a group, but a stereotype exists which labels them as disadvantaged because of their mothers' background. As can be seen in the previous analysis, the most common policy approach taken for immigrant pupils in both the UK in the past and in Taiwan today is 'disadvantaged viewing'. This study recognised that disadvantages do exist in some families with foreign mothers, such as low SES background and the challenge of cultural difference, but the most serious disadvantage to emerge was the prejudice and discrimination towards these children held by mainstream society and even from policies. Thus, given that children born to foreign mothers may face more difficulties than their native Taiwanese peers, it is important that their individual needs are considered with care, when providing assistance.

**The development and performance of the children of foreign mothers are affected by varied social and familial factors.** Although grouped into the broad category of children born to immigrant mothers, these children have individual differences. Some of them achieve very well in school, while some of them are developmentally delayed with special educational needs, or may underperform as a result of being born in a poorly functioning family. The situations in which they are involved are varied. This study analysed the factors that have influenced these children and many of the problems identified arise from the cultural differences involved in international marriages. In general, the problems of adaptation faced in international marriages are more complex than those in a domestic marriage,

especially since the foreign bride holds what is seen as an unequal position and thus an atmosphere may exist in families with such brides. Moreover, family and social support is often weak because the foreign mothers do not have the support of their original family and society, and they are unfamiliar with the Taiwanese education system.

Language difference is a controversial factor that affects students born to immigrant mothers. With the exception of Chinese spouses, 150,000 foreign spouses do not speak Mandarin as their first language. Some research has indicated that the mother's language ability directly affects her children's learning performance, although this is still under debate. Health threats are also a concern for these children, because many of their fathers are older or disabled. Insufficient prenatal care also contributes to concerns about these babies' health. In addition, the divorce rate, three times higher for international marriages, is another factor which is detrimental to these children.

The general public of Taiwan attaches a negative stigma to foreign brides and their children. The children are assumed to be inferior and not intelligent, and have even been described as a factor that is 'undermining the quality of the Taiwanese'. This prejudice and bias have negative effects on these children; for example, teachers have lower expectations, and many compensation policies label and categorise them as 'disadvantaged' and 'others'. This prejudice not only affects them from outside, but also lacerates them from inside. Many children of immigrant mothers are not willing to reveal their mothers' nationality due to these negative views which in turn affects their self esteem and their respect for their mothers.

The study observed that the most widespread cause of disadvantage for children born to foreign mothers is the family's low socioeconomic status. Family background

is an important factor which influences a student's achievement. In general, many families with foreign spouses are working class and have low family income. In addition to having a less-educated foreign mother, these children have Taiwanese fathers with relatively low educational levels for Taiwan. Therefore, the children in these families have fewer resources than the children from middle-class families, and they own less cultural and social capital. If it were affordable, families with foreign mothers would use private after-school classes to help them fulfil their role in educating their children.

This study found that the children of immigrant mothers do not underachieve naturally and generally. Their disadvantages come from factors of their acquired environments. The possible problems they might face include lower family socioeconomic status, lower language and education levels on the part of their mothers, less cultural capital, unhealthy family lifestyles, and negative labelling. Any one of these factors could make them disadvantaged and affect their development, and the impact is compounded when these multiple negative factors join together. Children in this situation are thus at high risk.

This phenomenon is now attracting more attention not only because of the rapidly increasing number of foreign mothers and their children, but also because of the other challenges brought by increased immigration, such as security issues, changes to the labour market, and political problems. The incidents and debate related to immigrants have raised the level of concern in Taiwanese society, and the worries and negative views that result transfer to their children. Thus, the education of children born to foreign mothers has become a key issue in Taiwan and has progressed from the media agenda to the public agenda, and then eventually into policy agenda in Taiwan.

**Both the UK and Taiwan governments handle the majority's worries rather than the minority's needs.** When massive immigration occurs, the majority of the population feel threatened in many ways, concerned about issues related to job losses, housing, and security. In order to deal with pressure from the public, government has to react, for example, by limiting the increasing number of immigrants, and developing policies for immigration control. Under pressure to create policies related to immigrant students, both governments initially regarded cultural differences simply as deficiencies. The predominant groups attempted to remedy what were seen as the problems of the immigrant groups and minimise any differences.

The initial response of both the UK and Taiwanese governments was to regard minority students as a problem and to subsume the special needs of minority children under the umbrella of the 'disadvantaged'. Immigrant students were treated as deficient, problematic, and disadvantaged, and were only responded to through remedial and correctional methods, not methods based on equality and their needs. In terms of why the UK government identified immigrant children as disadvantaged, Tomlinson (2008) pointed out that the government attempted to deflect attention away from the situation of racial minorities by claiming that they were simply a part of the disadvantaged sector of society. This was also an attempt to avoid white xenophobic assumptions that minorities were taking up extra resources in housing, education, and employment. On the other hand, in Taiwan, politicians need quick and apparent political achievements to win elections, and, therefore, they have taken advantage of disadvantaged groups as a platform for exhibiting their political performance. To use Foucault's phrase, 'a regime of truth', the conception of ethnic minorities as a 'problem' has been a common feature in national and local political debate. Through the process of identifying immigrant children as problems, we can know that

assuming knowledge of an object was to have authority over it. Once the public opinions were formed, public statements became part of the political process—an element in the constantly growing stream of events, truths, fears, lies, and crises which make up the policy process (Grosvenor, 1997).

It is important to recognise that many pressures drive education policy. Under policy pressure, the fundamental rationale towards policy making is probably not as important as evolution or revolution. Evolution and revolution symbolise responses to political pressure. Instead of actually solving problems, policy is more likely to solve just political pressure. In other words, to handle the public's concerns about the education of the large number of children born to foreign mothers, policy makers' first reaction is to see deficiency and provide a means of compensation.

**Both go through similar processes of adopting immigrants.** This study observed that the UK and Taiwan have gone through similar processes of acculturation, and it would appear that this has been a shorter process in Taiwan. This indicates that a society, when trying to deal with the challenges of migration, produces common reactions and gradually transforms social attitudes and behaviours. The change may be learned from other countries' histories, which may shorten the process, but it would appear that the goal cannot be reached directly by skipping key stages or steps. The development of policy is thus guided by the principle that for a policy to be successful it must include gradual processes or stages, which mirror, for example, the ways in which the public come to agree on a view and then move on to the next step. It is impossible to fix a policy at any one time as these need to evolve to reflect progress in social attitudes. In addition, specific problems (such as foreign spouses in Taiwan) may require specific policies and strategies because of the situated nature of the challenges that are created.

Although the idea of multiculturalism is accepted in Taiwan, this is not reflected in organisations and in people's daily lives. Contact with people from other cultures and acculturation is time-consuming. The policy-making procedure for immigrants is also a long journey and one which has to be amended as needs change. In addition, because educational policy deals with human affairs, it also has to take into account the opinions of the public, and thus it is impossible to create a series of perfect policies initially. The history of policy making activity in this field in the UK has evolved over time, with many different iterations and emphases which have reflected changes in society, and changes in international policy arenas such as the UN.

The UK has been adopting immigrants for more than 60 years, whereas Taiwan has been doing this for just about 15 years. Today, the time span of immigrants' settlement varies widely in the UK. Some ethnic minority students are third- or fourth-generation, born and raised in the UK. They have British citizenship and may identify themselves as 'British-Asian' or British-Afro-Caribbean, thus indicating hybrid identities. At the same time, many 'new wave' immigrant students have just arrived this century and cannot speak English at all. The backgrounds and situations of UK immigrants, some of whom are from ethnic minorities, are varied, with some on working permits or student visas, some refugees, and some residents of the European Union. As a response, UK educational policies are currently based less on students' origins and more on their individual needs. However, the history of neo-immigrants in Taiwan is relatively short and their backgrounds are similar in many ways. Therefore, many of the policies are based on their immigrant backgrounds rather than addressing the child as an individual. This would appear to be the biggest difference between UK and Taiwanese educational policy for ethnic minority students at the current time.

### **Step by step**

The study has shown that, through global trends and contact with immigrants, Taiwan is taking a similar path to the UK in developing policies for multiculturalism. This shows that a society, when trying to deal with immigrant problems, can produce similar reactions and can gradually transform their attitudes and beliefs. The change may be made in a short time, but steps cannot be skipped in order to reach the goal directly. The development of multicultural policy is guided by the same principles, i.e. that policies need to be introduced in a gradual way, and certain processes gone through. For example the public comes to agree on a common view and then policy moves on to the next step. It is impossible to achieve an ideal instantly; progress must be made in stages with public opinion in mind.

From the events in New York of September 11th 2001, many countries around the world have been affected by or faced with terrorism and social divisions. Young people of this generation do not only have to adapt to a society which is made up of different cultures and races but also they have to learn to deal with conflicts and obstacles. Western democracies, although having worked hard for several decades, still have not obtained their final goal, i.e. a cohesive society in which all groups feel they are treated equitably. The UK has not solved the problems and challenges of a multicultural society either. In particular, under the present economic downturn, tensions emerge and can become out of control as the riots in multicultural areas such as Hackney in London in 2011 illustrated. So this process of development still moves slowly, with many set backs on the way.

### **Need for more than Education Policy**

As demonstrated in the previous section, there are numerous policy initiatives that could and should be undertaken in order to assist and support children born to foreign mothers. Nevertheless, based on the UK experience and Taiwanese

circumstances as discussed, the study recognises that many of the complex and multipliable factors faced by these children are not caused or cannot be solved by education alone. For instance, the most influential factor on the achievement of immigrant children is the disadvantage brought about by low SES. Apart from helping with social mobility in the future, education itself cannot provide help directly and immediately with SES. Therefore, the study has expanded its focus beyond the sphere of education in order to consider further solutions.

To solve a policy problem, one must look beyond a single aspect. School education cannot solve minorities' disadvantages and underachievement alone and current educational policies cannot resolve discrimination against the minorities on their own. Aiming for justice and equity in society requires cooperation from social welfare through to public policies and educational policy is just one of the crucial pillars.

Educational problems are complex and cannot be resolved by a single solution. Policy is accumulative. In spite of public policies which may contribute to the closing of the achievement gap- whether by providing more support to families, increasing educational opportunities within schools, or decreasing the racial isolation between schools – it is important to understand that family and welfare policies need to be coordinated with educational policies, a complex, yet critical interplay that is often ignored by policymakers. Without thinking about how educational policies complement or conflict with policies related to such spheres as welfare, work and housing, the goal of narrowing achievement gaps will continue to face significant obstacles (Berends & Lucas, 2007). The best practice in schools will have little effect unless it is matched by practice in society at large. Alongside sound educational policies there need to be programmes to tackle poverty, exclusion, inequality,

discrimination, and racism (Figueroa, 2004).

According to the study's previous discussion in section 4.1, there are many different factors causing difficulties for children born to foreign mothers, such as cultural differences, weak family support, low social economic status, labelling and prejudice. Among these, the most influential factor is that foreign spouse families prevalently face the disadvantage of low SES. But the gap between the rich and the poor is a problem that cannot be solved by education alone. Many researchers believe school provision and resources are less important than students' family background (Coleman, 1966). If students are empty in their belly, worried about their next meal, having had a bad night's sleep, or suffering the consequences of a broken family, then even if there are good education programmes in place, it is not going to help them. The children born to foreign mothers have to face more challenges than local children as they grow up and education policy can not solve those difficulties alone. Therefore, to ensure that these children have the maximum opportunity to develop their potential, more than educational policy is needed.

Taking the children of foreign mothers joining pre-school and how their family background relates to their school performance is one example. Taiwan's compulsory education starts at age 6. Before this, parents can choose to let their children attend public nursery schools that require lower tuition fees or to attend private nursery schools that require higher fees. Years ago when the birth rate was higher, some public nursery schools could not offer enough places. The Government's policy since 2004 towards children born to foreign mothers has prioritized their right to attend public nursery schools. Every child that is four years old whose parent is non-natural Taiwanese, has higher priority to attend public nursery schools. This sounds like a welfare policy which cares for them, but public nursery schools are

unlike private nursery schools which desperately need students and pursued better academic performance. Many public nursery schools do not provide children academic input i.e. learning Chinese phonetic symbols “ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ ㄏ”. Therefore, when some primary school teachers express the view that the children of foreign mother are not performing well with respect to Chinese in their first grade in primary school, this raises the question of whether this is because their foreign mothers do not know Chinese or whether the teaching in public nursery schools is different. In other words, is this related to financial background and school choice? The study’s interviewee said:

If foreign mothers are being blamed for their children’s worse performance, and if I am richer, I would send kids to private nursery schools.... If we afford private, why would we go to public nursery schools? We must go an international and bilingual one. Like my Chinese is good, I still send my kids to after-school classes.  
(interviewee G)

In a capitalist society, many problems can be resolved by money and that includes education. In common with this, Taiwanese families also spend money to resolve their children’s educational problems. For instance, Taiwan’s entrance to higher education is very pressured and many parents spend a great deal of money to send their children to “cram schools” in order to get additional tutoring and English courses.

However, families with foreign spouses not only have financial difficulties like other working class families, but they also face problems if they wish to improve their financial situation. For instance, previously, Chinese spouses could not work until they got their ID card. With such a work limitation for ten years, how could they earn an income to help make their families better off? Southeast Asian spouses though, are given work permits to stay to work: often these are just manual labouring

jobs. According to the 2008 foreign spouses survey, 35.3% of them hope to receive job training, 19.1% of them want language training, and 11.0% of them would like parent-child education / child care training ( National Immigration Agency, 2009b ) . Nevertheless, the researcher observed that courses provided by the government are often related to life adaptation, language, and parental education. In Taiwan society's the subconscious thinking behind this is that foreign spouses are here to be good mothers and wives, continuing the family name rather than contributing to the labour force. Foreign spouses are attracted to come from China and Southeast Asia where their national economy less good ,but the Taiwanese government agencies try to stop a large inflow of foreign spouses due to concerns around population quality, job opportunities, crime, and political ideology. Much policy discussion still focuses on concerns about immigrants taking local people's jobs, which is one reason for the limitations on what foreign spouses can do. The government's anti-immigrant stand shows consideration for society as a whole but in so doing it has hindered foreign spouses who wish to work to improve their household finance.

Bowles (1983) stated that educational equality cannot be achieved through changes in the school system only. To let all children in society enjoy equality of education, it needs to first reform the capitalist society and to resolve financial inequality. The life of children born to foreign mothers in Taiwan and their achievement are very much affected by their family background and the lack of support for foreign spouses' to enter the work force, limited by law, reduces their chances of success. It is the government's responsibility to provide people with the opportunities for work and subsequent life fulfilment. Besides favourable educational policies, appropriate social welfare, and financial assistance, other assistance such as human resource training can help families with foreign spouses

improve their household income which would indirectly help their children. Any effort to achieve equitable school performance must take into consideration the larger societal context. Enhancing the opportunities for their fathers and mothers is a positive way to help children born to foreign mothers.

Only focusing on education is not finding the “itchy spot”, for instance, a real need of a job training to improve household finance. Frankly, their fathers are disadvantaged also. They are less capable to get a good job, unable to find a local woman to marry, so they married a foreign bride. If the government can help by providing work training, they would be able to help them self. Or if they still don’t have a good job and make a living for themselves, they would move around from place to place, which would not be good for their children. This is not merely an education policy issue. (interviewee H)

Berends & Lucas (2007) point out that positive changes in socioeconomic circumstances correspond with closing the achievement gaps. Because of the correspondence between improved parents’ socioeconomic circumstances and decreases in the black-white and Latino-white mathematics score gaps, policies that support the advancement of educational attainment, occupational attainment and wages are also worthwhile.

The UK educational comparatist Sir Michael Sadler urged:

In studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools...(Sadler, 1900, as cited in Alexander, 2000)

The atmosphere of equity and justice in the society and nation cannot be achieved by school or educational policy alone when referring to the UK experience, it was observed that if the whole society was not aware of fairness and justice then, even multicultural education policies and provision which have been in place for a

long time still can not eliminate the social conflict, ethnic segregation, and disadvantaged or vulnerable situation of minority groups.

The national identity of immigrants is established on the basis of getting the situation right with other residents of the country. If minority groups feel themselves to be victims of discrimination and exclusion, they will find ways to adjust their cultural identity and national identity, and may show hostility toward the country of residence which can lead to a nation-state identity crisis. For instance, one year after the 2005 London blast, an opinion survey published in *The Times* said 13 percent of British Muslims believed the July 7 bombers should be viewed as "martyrs" and 7 percent felt that suicide attacks on civilians were justifiable.

Thus even though multicultural education for all has been an approach taken for many years in a developed country such as the UK, it is still inadequate. Social justice, welfare, security, and economic policy have to work together: if they do then it is more likely that a harmonious multiethnic society will be achieved.

Currently in Taiwan, the legal system in many ways is not quite fair for immigrants. To give an example here: the National Immigration Agency was set up in 2007, but nearly 70% of the job positions were established for police, where the basic assumption is the intention of control rather than providing a service. Also, because of excessive administrative, the rights of immigrants are not adequately protected. This is an issue that the organisations of immigrants are currently debating. They argue that the contribution of immigrants to society is no less than other citizens: they pay taxes too but suffer limitations and the disadvantages brought about by lower social class.

The government needs to acknowledge that 'schools cannot compensate for society'. Educational policies alone are never likely to eradicate class inequalities in

educational attainment. Policies to reduce inequalities in the distribution of income may have a greater impact on educational inequalities than educational policy (Robinson, 1997). Of course a reduction in educational inequalities will not automatically lead to greater opportunities for social mobility especially where there are ethnic and gender inequalities and inequalities in the labour market which need direct intervention. An exclusive focus on education policy will not resolve the problem (Sullivan and Whitty, 2007).

### **Policy Study**

Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do; policy analysis is to understand how, why and what difference it makes (Dye, 1992). This study adopts an international comparative perspective to inquiry into policy issues. Through reviewing the history and literatures of educational policy for minority groups in the UK, this study clarifies the current concerns and an approach which treats children of foreign mothers as disadvantaged in Taiwan society. Comparative study provides both context and perspective on policy problems, as well as possible advice. Although some may argue that international comparative education reinforces the centre-periphery inequality, there is still value in an individual country referring to the experience of another country and considering the impact of globalisation.

Policy analysis is undertaken to provide insight and understanding about a policy problem. But there is no simple recipe for conducting policy research. This research adopts the features of policy research- multiplism and flexibility. In addition to collecting different sources, it also flexibly adjusts the process of research. The researcher has to admit this study went through a progress of learning by doing. However, undertaking long-term fieldwork and using an iterative approach to the policy problem did help to ensure a clear direction for policy analysis.

Public policy is complicated; there is no perfect solution for any policy problem. According to the analysis of educational policy for immigrants in the UK and Taiwan, the research confirms what Majchrzak (1984) has stated 'Policy is not made, it accumulates'. A policy made without careful thought may cause damage more serious than the original social problem. Thus, dealing with complex social problems, policymakers and governments sometimes may only be able to alleviate the problem through continually fine tuning, rather than creating the perfect policy.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

This study found that children of foreign spouses display no overall underachievement, only individual differences and needs according to their different circumstances. The challenges related to the education of foreign spouses' children can neither be generalised nor addressed by a single solution, so we cannot just categorise these children as 'disadvantaged' and offer compensation or sympathy which may be unnecessary. Some implications for policy and practice are drawn from the main findings.

### **Avoid labelling**

Help should be based on individual needs; ethnic or national background should not be used as a means of classification. There are two reasons for not using the background of a child as a label to indicate the necessity of assistance. First, that would increase current discrimination against foreign women and their children where the majority look at them as 'others' who are here to steal their jobs and take part in social welfare. Second, using national background labelling to identify all such children as disadvantaged will never help them to improve their social position or

respect. Removing national background labelling could help to reduce prejudice against members of these minority groups. The government should consider supplying foreign spouses and their children with the provisions that they need through more objective criteria, for example, household income, family function, and medical prescription, rather than a compensative policy according to where the mother is originally from. Moreover, simply defining ethnic groups by their background can easily trap them in self-fulfilling prophecies as disadvantaged.

Policy critiques suggest that attempts to subsume the problems of minority children under the label of 'disadvantaged' have not been beneficial to either minority or majority pupils (Tomlinson, 1983). The UK policies of compensatory education have moved from the former stage, which simply focused on ethnic backgrounds, to the current stage, which pays attention to each individual student's educational needs. Students should not simply be categorised as disadvantaged because of their country of origin. Instead their different needs and abilities should be considered so that they are given individual help as required to allow them to develop their full potential; that is the recommended direction for educational policies for immigrant students as a result of this study.

Offering sympathy is also not an appropriate strategy. When considering multicultural issues, the predominant group should not think that the purpose of policy making is to help minorities; rather, their policy thinking should aim at the nation as a whole. A superficial approach to multiculturalism might satisfy the majority's psychological demands and feelings, but would not take care of minorities' real needs. Policy making, then, should be based on the grounds of equality for all, rather than a condescending approach to the perceived needs of one group.

### **Current injustice, Future disquiet**

What appear to be current injustices may create problems in the future as education is an important tool for social mobility. Although this study has emphasised that children born to foreign mothers do not appear to fall behind in academic achievement, this is based only on data from compulsory education. Whether differences also exist in Taiwanese higher education, with the result that things will get worse for children born to foreign mothers, is a major concern in relation to the mechanisms of social class reproduction. From the 1980s and into the 2000s, through successive reforms, schooling has become a market commodity and the 'best' education a prize to be competitively sought, not a democratic right (Tomlinson, 2008: 176). Nick Clegg also said: 'We have, even after 12 years of Labour, one of the most socially segregated systems of education in the world, where the circumstances of your birth determine everything from your educational attainment to the length of your life' (Wintour, 2009). The social cohesion issues and racial segregation problems caused by competition from marketisation are serious problems facing the UK today. That is also a lesson for Taiwan.

### **Multicultural education for all**

Multicultural education is for all, not for minorities only. In 1985, the Swann Report proposed this concept, which may be considered a milestone for UK educational policy for minorities. Taiwan is at a turning point where it is moving from only addressing children of immigrant mothers to attempting to provide multicultural education for all students. As discussed earlier, prejudice provided a partial explanation for the disadvantage of children born to foreign mothers. To counter this, empowering foreign mothers is a useful and crucial means of helping their children. However, if Taiwanese fathers and families do not change their attitudes to respect these children and their mothers at the same time, the effect of helping them will be

limited. The current direction of multicultural education in Taiwan should extend from solely dealing with minority children to incorporating all children. A key question is then whether children born to foreign mothers are seen as a neutral phenomenon, a negative problem or a positive resource in schools. Responses to this will depend on the view point of the individual. If the focus continues to be the issue of foreign brides, it is unlikely that the children will be seen as anything other than problematic, whereas, in fact, what needs to be changed is the system and the organisations, rather than the children.

Teachers play a crucial role in a multicultural society. Some schoolteachers think the children born to foreign mothers are not much different from other students, and the best way to be fair is to treat all the students in the same way. This is the same as the views of the teachers in the UK before 1970s, as shown in the literature review. In fact, committed, knowledgeable, skilful, and sensitive teachers of multicultural education are essential to its success. When training teachers in multicultural education, we need to explain that they should not ignore the racial and ethnic differences that they see, but rather try to respond to these differences positively and sensitively. Without such awareness, teachers may reproduce racism, even though they personally condemn it.

To take multicultural education seriously, it must be incorporated into the national curriculum guidelines. In Taiwan, academic achievement is a huge pressure and entry exams for higher education usually guide teaching instruction. Schoolteachers often have to rush through their schedules and usually do not have time to deal with knowledge which is not listed in the guidelines. Therefore, incorporating the concept of multiculturalism into the curriculum guidelines is necessary. Multicultural education should not just be placed anywhere in the

curriculum guidelines, however, but should be found everywhere in a curriculum that conveys the concept of multiculturalism.

Multicultural education cannot be purely 'romantic', or a 'carnival', as is Taiwan's current interpretation of such education. The concept of multicultural education in Taiwan needs to be revisited so that its objectives turn from focussing only on minorities to including all citizens. Promoting multicultural education is popular but there is a danger that it puts immigrants and minority groups into 'special' categories in order to help them and thus to provide charity. The focus should instead be on the acceptance of cultural differences and cultural diversity and richness for all. Respecting every single student's culture, understanding the value of cultural diversity, and through criticism enabling students to view things from different perspectives and empowering students to take social action are key. This will allow society to enjoy the benefits of multiculturalism. As Banks (2001, 2004) stated, the goals of multicultural education can never be fully attained; we should work continually to increase educational equality for all students. This is the case in Taiwan. This study began in 2005 and since then policies related to foreign mothers and their children have improved but there is still much to be done.

### **Right data for the right policy**

Statistical data is a crucial foundation for policy making. Without accurate statistics data, it is hard to find answers and solutions to problems. Students' achievement needs long-term tracking in order to gather sufficient data to understand factors for underperformance, especially for disadvantaged students. The Swann Committee stated that 'the absence of ethnically-based statistics throughout the education system has contributed to the lack of positive action at both national and local levels to identify and seek to remedy the underachievement of West Indian

children' (Swann, 1985: xxiii). So far, the educational policies for immigrant children in Taiwan still lack clarity and there is a need for detailed statistics to enable the creating of appropriate policies. This lack of information allows prejudice and stereotypes to remain. Establishing a fair, complete, and integrated education statistics database ought to be the top priority for the education authority.

There is plenty of research on foreign spouses and their children in Taiwan, but there is no government department or committee to interrogate the information and resources, evaluate the many reports for bias and accuracy, and use research results to guide the public and policy. It was crucial for the UK to set up an official committee in the 1980s and then publish an important report—'the Swann Report'—to show the endorsement of government and turn the tide of policy and practice, as well as social values and attitudes. By 2010, there were 425,000 foreign spouses and 155,000 children born to foreign mothers in Taiwan, totalling 580,000 people, but no one unit with responsibility for them. Currently, in Taiwan, the National Immigration Agency, Ministry of Education, Department of Health, Council of Labour Affairs, and many other government sections all handle part of the work. However, they are all in parallel positions and no one has authority over the others; which has led to a lack of coordination between the executive branches, resulting in difficulties in administration. An official committee for immigrants is needed in order to consider the whole picture, for example, the Council of Indigenous People in Taiwan. The Foreign Spouse Assistance Fund was founded and assigned to the Ministry of the Interior. Starting in 2005, NT\$3 billion was supposed to be raised over 10 years to enhance the assistance available to foreign spouses. This policy had good intentions, but without an authority to take charge, it resulted in a collection of fragmented and superficial programmes, and no long-term policy planning.

## **Language as resource**

This study proposes ‘developing plural mother tongues’ as a key recommendation. This is not only useful in itself but also a means to integration. Since foreign spouses and their children are regarded as inferior, and since learning Mandarin and English are high priorities, the mother tongues of children of immigrant mothers are not commonly taught in Taiwan. However, language is not only a right but also a resource (Hornberger, 1998). There are many advantages to promoting plural mother tongues. First, an interest in learning their mother tongues could improve foreign mothers’ position in their families and in society. Second, the new global market potential is worth attention. In 2010, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China officially defined a free-trade zone that would affect Taiwan and world trade. Multilingual skills will become an asset to make both individuals and the country competitive, and Taiwan has that language resource. Third, the ability to use a mother tongue valued by society could enhance the self-confidence and identity of children (Loewenberg & Wass, 1997).

In addition to assisting them in their needs, we should present foreign mothers as international citizens who have unique human resources, rather than regard them as second-class citizens. Helping the children of foreign mothers to develop with bilingual advantages, thus promoting a positive self-identity should be a basic right. This study has discussed some recommendations for promoting mother tongues. First, like the local dialect movements of past decades, it might be possible to list other mother languages in elective courses for students to choose. Foreign spouses are available to train to become foreign language teachers, and to encourage the development of language curriculum and teaching materials. Foreign language ability tests, scholarships, and higher education entry bonuses should be developed as

incentives. Whilst this is feasible, there are still many difficulties to be resolved in practice, for instance, the recognition of foreign spouses' educational diplomas. Educational diploma verification and testing is a foundation for many programmes and affects policy planning, so addressing this issue should be a priority if measures to promote the teaching of foreign spouses' mother tongues are to be set up.

Advocating the learning of mother tongues as a goal may help children to learn in their home environments, so this study suggests incentives as a way to encourage foreign spouses' families to see the advantages of learning mother tongues in order to increase respect for their mother cultures. Language tests, scholarships, and higher education entry bonuses could be such incentives, not a purpose in themselves. The hope would be for every child to learn to respect his or her mother's original culture and learn his or her language. Helping Taiwanese children to develop multilingual and multicultural skills would be the purpose behind the promotion of mother-language learning.

One more language leads to one more view and skill. Taiwan now has many available foreign language teachers in the form of these foreign mothers. Their children can learn a second language tuition-free. Also, considering harmony among ethnic groups, children of immigrant mothers do not have difficulty using Chinese, and do not have concerns about ethnic segregation. This is therefore the natural environment where Taiwan can develop bilingual citizens and yet the possibilities are ignored by society. Thus policies need to be created to encourage mother-tongue learning, so these children can learn their parents' languages. Multilingual skills are an asset for individuals and in addition can help to make the country competitive.

The children of international marriages should enjoy the privilege of their multicultural background and bilingual environment. How to change current

prejudices against them into appreciation is the most important task in developing their potential, and, as has been discussed above, simply labelling these children as disadvantaged category does more harm than good.

### **Not educational policy only**

Finally, more than educational policy is required. The underachievement of disadvantaged groups cannot be resolved through educational policy alone. It will require cooperation with social welfare and public policies. Many researchers believe school provision and resources have less influence than a student's family background in terms of affecting attainment (Coleman, 1966). Factors both inside and outside of school have to work together, if change is to occur. Foreign-spouse families often face the disadvantages of a low socioeconomic status and yet poor support from the government and limitations in law against entering the workforce make it hard for them to have sufficient money to improve their finances. In addition to educational policy and social welfare, other measures involving human resource training could help improve these families' household finances, which would indirectly but fundamentally help their children.

Although the study considers that the provision of appropriate policy is crucial to achieving educational and social equity, such policies do not necessarily guarantee outcomes. Factors which undermine the achievement of minority students are constantly changing and debated. On the one hand, it may be argued that policy implementation causes the widening or closing of the gap between policy and practice, whilst on the other, as in the case of the UK, the reasons behind the performance gap have themselves changed. For decades, the poor performance of minority students was blamed, in part, on institutional racism. However, recent evidence shows differences between ethnic groups and the impact of cultural context. While many

Black (African Caribbean) students under-perform, many Chinese students out-perform their white peers. Sewell (2008) maintains that black children do badly in class because of a lack of attention, poor parenting and peer-group pressure, rather than overt racism. By contrast, the British-Chinese children's better performance was attributed to their aspirations and family support (Archer & Francis, 2007). Multicultural education and positive discrimination policies have improved the situation in many ways. Sewell (2008) further points out that the average black Caribbean child today may well attend the most lavish of new academies, where the average spent per pupil is more than in some private schools.

There are many possible factors which influence children's academic performance. Besides those factors found inside school, the influences of ethnic background are also significant. The liberal and enlightened ideals of multiculturalism in 1970s-80s UK may not have ensured success for students from all ethnic groups, but the general success of these strategies is acknowledged. The ideas of Swann may not have worked out in the UK because no multicultural policy was easy to achieve across such disparate groups, particularly with such obvious ethnic identity differences in some cases. However, Swann's ideas may be better applicable in a Taiwanese context, where it is relatively easy for the children of immigrants to be identified with and accepted by those in mainstream culture.

### **6.3 Contribution of this study**

Although research concerning children of immigrant mothers is not unique, it remains an important issue for discussion and research in Taiwan, and as such this study provides several ideas that have not been raised by other researchers. The study has provided a comprehensive discussion of the educational challenges of children

born to foreign mothers in Taiwan, clarifying the misperception of their underachievement, and an international comparative perspective including extensive information on the process of acculturation.

While much of the research focuses on different points, variables, and specific educational policies relating to immigrant students, the study tried to understand the wider picture of the educational response towards immigrants. The British experience in education policy for minorities is worthy of consideration in Taiwan and because of this the study adopted an international comparative perspective. Through this the study aimed to understand the Taiwan education system, to learn about other cultures and their education systems, to identify similarities and differences between different systems, to improve international understanding, and, the most practical aim, to be a tool for policy making. Knowing where others have had success or failure may help us to improve.

This study stressed that the increasing number of children of female immigrants in Taiwan is a phenomenon, not a problem that needs to be solved in a hurry. The purpose of this study was to discuss the experience that the UK has gone through and help to predict the things that Taiwan may be going to face. It is absolutely not to import a 'cure' from abroad to cure our symptoms. A comparative study should not be a means of reproducing western values and policy trajectories, but of offering insights and possible ways forward.

The demographic change discussed in this study concerns Taiwanese society. The study argues that this change could be an asset rather than a deficit, as long as it is seen through this lens. We cannot be too optimistic about immigrants' incorporation and also cannot disregard the role and functions that education plays. Although much of the research has indicated that the family's socioeconomic status has a significant

effect on children's attainment in school, this does not mean that education has no effect. According to the research by Professor Eric Turkheimer of the University Of Virginia Department of Psychology, the effects of genes and acquired environment on children's IQs differ according to their socioeconomic background. The IQ is more closely related to genes for children in higher socioeconomic status families; for children from low socioeconomic backgrounds, the number of books at home and whether they have met a good teacher have far more influential effects on their IQ than their genes (Weiss, 2003). That is to say, the addition or improvement of acquired education opportunities have limited effects on children from higher socioeconomic status families, and have significant effects on children from lower socioeconomic status families. This finding could be used to support disadvantaged students with more help to improve the quality of their education.

Population movement is an international trend. Most countries are facing immigration and many are grappling with similar issues and conflicts. In some countries where they are experiencing low birth rates (such as Spain and Japan), the integration of migrant groups is essential to sustaining population growth, providing a labour force, and sustaining a country's competitiveness in global markets. For many people, contact with immigrants is their first experience with people of different cultures, and the process of integration needs to be learned as there is evidence to suggest that people usually resist things they are not familiar with. A multiculturalist approach can provide opportunities for young people to learn how to live together with people from different cultural backgrounds. Education services can thus help promote the acceptance of immigrants as equal members of our society and can help young people learn from other multicultural societies around the world.

This study connects international comparison and policy research. The

hybridisation approach generated a practical framework for analyzing policy problems. By adopting multiple research methods and data sources, this thesis offers a significant contribution as it provides insights into policy problem and proposes policy recommendations. While this study takes a comparative perspective and depends upon the considerable western literatures for both content and methodology, it did not simply impose or reproduce educational policy and suggestions from the UK to Taiwan. Rather it indicated how Taiwan might look outwards to understand what policies have been effective, and inwards to develop their own unique approaches and solutions.

## **6.4 Reflections**

Cross-cultural understanding is a crucial and a basic element of this study. My personal experience of living and studying abroad has been very helpful and useful for this research. Cultural differences keep challenging the way I think, and also broaden the angles I see. For 30 years, I was a member of the predominant group. However, as a foreign student, I have had an opportunity to change my position from majority to minority. This has made me realise that immigrants find themselves in a strange place, speaking an unfamiliar language. This empathy and understanding have helped me get closer to the objective of the research and also strengthen my passion for the topic of the study.

The growth I experienced during the research has been intensive. I have learned a lot, both actively and passively. My point of view has changed over these years of study. In addition to an appreciation for and understanding of cultural diversity, my ability to analyse and critique injustice has increased. In this time I went from holding monocultural to multicultural perspectives, which was due to my digging deep into

the topic. My sense of different ethnic groups and my worldview have been widened. Seeing things from this different angle has made me appreciate that most situations contain both, value judgments and possibilities.

Through the years of study, I found myself becoming stuck from time to time. These bottlenecks and setbacks forced me to stop and review the original plan and find more information to solve the problem in hand. By reading more and thinking more, these frustrations cleared, and solutions would emerge after a period of stagnation. I now give thanks for these difficulties, as every breakthrough made the research more thoughtful and stable. That is, what does not kill you makes you stronger.

Finally, I reflect on my contribution as a policy researcher. A policy researcher has a different role from a policy maker. Policy makers are usually under very pressing political pressure, so they have to make decisions rapidly, using limited information, and they must believe and be confident in themselves as well as defend their policies. Hesitation cannot resolve policy problems, but may delay the timing of policy implementation. In contrast, policy researchers usually need more time to collect information to ensure the integrity of information, especially for a doctoral thesis that consumes several years. As a policy researcher, it is my responsibility to offer a critique and propose recommendations, but still maintain respect for educational policy makers. After all, it is much easier to propose change than to implement it. Good policies are often much harder to detect and discuss, but that does not mean they have not been made.

## **6.5 Limitations and directions for future research**

Like the policy process, a research plan is unlikely to be perfect. When dealing with people's affairs, research is more complicated, highly variable, and full of different views and judgments than straight scientific data collection. This study had a research plan and proposal in advance, but once it was in progress, obstacles and doubts emerged continually. From document review, to data collation, to analysis, every stage involved conceiving, conducting, adjusting, and then writing, criticising, and rewriting. Throughout the study, I kept repeating the 'forward, revise, and integrate' and 'self-assurance vs. self-denial' procedures. This seems to be the same process used to develop educational policy for immigrant children. A perfect policy cannot be created in one day; it always takes time to accumulate and adjust.

If we waited for perfection, we would never embark on anything. We therefore need to look for a best-fit compromise between political imperatives and quality research. The most important contributor is ongoing dialogue whereby we can clarify objectives, explain constraints, and identify opportunities. (Le Metais, 2000: 51)

This study has taken an international comparative perspective and discussed educational policy for immigrant children in general, not the details of a particular policy. Thus, there is no comprehensive content and implementation outcome for a single policy, and so it may function less as an action guide than it would have if individual policies were examined in depth. Nevertheless, sometimes the clarifying of direction is far more difficult and important than the details of guidance.

Sampling is a crucial part of collecting proper research data. In order to get complete information from different policy users, I interviewed people from different interest groups, such as teachers, foreign mothers, social worker, grassroots member, and administrator. In the first stage of interviews, because of limitation of access, the

study did not use random sampling. Instead the method used was to contact foreign mothers from supplementary schools as this was easier and familiar to the researcher. However, the samples were found not to be ideal, and were soon an impediment. The foreign mothers that study in supplementary schools come from what could be considered 'decent' or educated families which are open to ideas and support their learning. They are what we could call the fortunate few and therefore, there appeared to be no problems in their lives or with their children's education, according to the interviews. This 'no help needed' finding obstructed the study plan. Fortunately, however, long-term fieldwork and extensive interaction with the research themes helped me to find more information and more cases, and thus additional interviewees provided different perspectives to balance this side of the story. This initial obstacle helped the researcher to dig deeper for research questions and provided an opportunity to reflect on the original hypotheses.

This study has given some analysis of and recommendations for educational policy for students of immigrant mothers, but the specific details of educational policy implementation and guidance are not provided. This may be considered for further study. In addition, the study found that much of the current research focused on only the 'problem population' and tried to uncover the factors which make immigrant children disadvantaged and lead to their underachievement. There were almost no studies which focussed on the groups who have been successful in order to ascertain the reasons why and just how they do so well in a multicultural environment. It would be helpful to know the causes that make such model minorities successful. This would provide valuable direction for policy reference.

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# Appendix

## Appendix A-Invitation of first stage Interview (English)

English 英文版

### Invitation

Dear parents/ teacher,

My name is Hsin-Jui Ho, a postgraduate student from the University of Exeter, UK. I am conducting a study of 'the educational policies for immigrant children' for my doctoral degree program. In order to gather the information for research, I am going to take interview with some people who are related to this research topic in Taiwan, for example parents, school teachers, students, the staff of teacher education institution and policy-makers etc.

I sincerely invite you to take part. Here is some detail of the interview:

1. I want talk to you for about 30 minutes and ask some questions.
2. You could join the interview by individual or a group interview within 2~3 person.
3. The interview could be hold in the place convenient to you.
4. I would not ask the detail of your personal data, for example your name, your address and so on. None of the information will identify you.
5. You can stop the interview at any time, if you are not satisfied with this interviewing.
6. If you agree, the interview will be type recorded. It is for data analysis only and the type will not be disclosed without your permission.

For thanks your time, the researcher will provide a  gift voucher NTD 200 to the interview participant.

If you have any question about my study, I will be glad to answer them.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Hsin-Jui Ho  
TEL:09160388  
Email:hh218@exeter.ac.uk

## Appendix A-Invitation of first stage Interview(Chinese)

Chinese 中文版

### 邀請函

您好，我的名字是何心蕊，國立台北師範學院教育政策研究所畢業。目前是英國艾希特大學 (University of Exeter) 的博士班學生，正進行博士論文研究，研究主題為「台灣與英國兩地之移民子女教育政策」。為了收集研究資料，我計畫在台灣進行訪談，訪談對象包括教師、學校行政人員、家長及師資培育機構人員...等，誠心邀請您接受訪談。訪談說明如下：

1. 訪談僅進行一次，時間約為 **20~30 分鐘**。
  2. 可進行單獨 **1 人** 的訪談，亦可進行小團體 **2~3 人** 的訪談。
  3. 訪談的地點以 **受訪者便利** 為主，例如：補校教室...。
  4. 訪談內容是移民子女教育政策的相關主題，**絕不**詢問您的個人資料如：姓名、電話、住址...等。
  5. 如果您覺得訪談進行的不順利或不愉快，您有權立即 **終止訪談並退出**。
  6. 如果您同意，訪談的過程會有 **錄音**，以便研究者事後的資料整理。
- 為答謝您寶貴的時間參與訪談，研究者將致贈  禮券 200 元予您，感謝您對研究的熱心協助。

若您有任何疑問或需要協助之處，歡迎與我聯絡。 敬祝  
平安喜樂

研究生  
何心蕊 敬上  
電話：09160388  
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## Appendix A-Invitation of first stage Interview (Vietnamese)

Vietnamese 越南文版

### THƯ MỜI

Chào bạn, tôi tên là Hà Tâm Nhụy, tốt nghiệp Sờ nghiên cứu chính sách giáo dục Trường đại học sư phạm Đài Bắc. Hiện nay là sinh viên lớp tiến sĩ Trường đại học University of Exeter- Anh, hiện đang nghiên cứu luận văn tiến sĩ, chủ đề nghiên cứu là “Chính sách giáo dục cho con cái người di cư giữa hai nước Đài Loan và Anh”. Để thu thập tài liệu nghiên cứu, tôi dự kiến sẽ tiến hành cuộc phỏng vấn tại Đài Loan, đối tượng phỏng vấn bao gồm giáo viên, nhân viên hành chính trong nhà trường, phụ huynh học sinh và người theo học khóa đào tạo giáo viên v.v..., chân thành mời bạn tham gia phỏng vấn.

Thuyết minh cuộc phỏng vấn như sau :

1. Chỉ tiến hành phỏng vấn một lần, thời gian khoảng **20~30 phút**.
2. Có thể phỏng vấn **từng người một**, cũng có thể là một nhóm **2~3 người**.
3. Địa điểm phỏng vấn căn cứ **trên sự tiện lợi của người được phỏng vấn**, ví dụ: tại lớp học bổ túc...
4. Nội dung phỏng vấn là những chủ đề liên quan đến chính sách giáo dục con cái người di dân, **tuyệt đối không** hỏi thông tin cá nhân như : họ tên, số điện thoại, địa chỉ v.v...
5. Nếu bạn cảm thấy phỏng vấn không thuận lợi hoặc không vui, bạn có quyền **dừng ngay cuộc phỏng vấn**.
6. Nếu được sự đồng ý của bạn, trong quá trình phỏng vấn sẽ có **ghi âm** để tiện cho việc người nghiên cứu sau này sắp xếp lại các tài liệu.

Để đáp lại việc bạn dành thời gian quý báu tham gia phỏng vấn, người nghiên cứu sẽ tặng bạn phiếu mua siêu thị  全聯福利中心 trị giá \$NT200, cảm ơn bạn nhiệt tình phối hợp nghiên cứu.

Nếu bạn có vấn đề gì hoặc cần được giúp đỡ, bạn hãy liên hệ với tôi. Chúc bạn bình an vui vẻ.

Nghiên cứu sinh  
Hà Tâm Nhụy  
Điện thoại : 09160388  
Email : hh218@exeter.ac.uk

## Appendix A-Invitation of first stage Interview(Indonesian)

Indonesian 印尼文版

### Surat Undangan

Hai, saudara-saudari. Nama saya adalah He, Xin-Rui. Mahasiswi lulusan National Taipei University of Education di bidang Graduate School of Educational Policy. Saya sekarang adalah mahasiswi tingkatan profesor di universitas negeri Inggris (University of Exeter), dan lagi dalam proses membuat disertasi penelitian dengan topik "Polis Pendidikan Terhadap Anak Transmigrasi Dari Negeri Taiwan dan Inggris". Demi mengumpulkan segala informasi atas penelitian ini, saya berencana datang ke Taiwan untuk mengadakan interviu. Tujuan yang akan diinterview yakni para guru, karyawan di bagian administrasi sekolah, orang tua, karyawan lembaga pelatihan guru, dsb. Saya mengharapkan dengan sepenuh hati Anda bisa menyetujui akan interviu ini.

Penjelasan dalam proses interviu sebagai berikut :

1. Interviui hanya diadakan sekali, dalam waktu antara **20~30 menit**.
2. Boleh menginterview hanya dengan **1 orang**, atau grup kecil **2~3 orang**.
3. Tempat pengadaaan interviui **sesuai dengan tunjukan dari orang yang akan diinterview**, misalnya : ruangan kelas....
4. Topik yang akan diinterview adalah yang berkenaan dengan polis pendidikan terhadap anak transmigrasi, **tidak akan** menanyakan hal-hal pribadi Anda, seperti nama, telpon, alamat tinggal, dsb.
5. Apabila Anda merasakan proses interviui tidak lancar atau tidak menyenangkan, Anda berhak langsung **menghentikan interviui tersebut dan keluar dari penelitian**.
6. Dengan persetujuan Anda, proses dalam menginterview akan **direkam suaranya** untuk memudahkan peneliti menyusun informasi sesudahnya.

Untuk membalas waktu Anda yang berharga dan menyatakan rasa berterima kasih atas pembantuan Anda yang besar dalam penelitian ini, sang peneliti akan memberikan kupon  全聯福利中心 seharga NTD 200 sebagai pembalasannya.

Andaikata Anda ada masalah atau perlu bantuan, silahkan hubungi saya.  
Semoga Anda sehat walafiat dan bahagia selalu

Mahasiswi Penelitian  
Ho, Hsin-Jui  
Handpon: 09160388  
Email: hh218@exeter.ac.uk

## Appendix B- Questions of First Stage Interview

### *Foreign mothers* 家長訪談題目

#### **General information** 基本資料

How old are you? 妳幾歲?

What is your nationality? 你的國籍是?

What is your education level in your homeland? 你在原生國的教育程度是?

How long have you been in Taiwan? 妳來台灣多久了?

How many children do you have? 妳有幾個小孩?

How old is your child? 你小孩幾歲?

#### **School Education** 學校教育

What is your expectation to school education? 你對學校教育的期待是?

Do you feel satisfied with the school education on children? 你對你小孩的學校教育滿意嗎?

What is your view about your child's teacher? 你覺得孩子的老師如何?

#### **Special needs** 特別需求

How is your child in school? 你小孩在學校的情況如何?

What seems to be bothering your child in the school? 他有什麼困擾嗎?

How do you know that? 你怎麼知道的?

What seems to be bothering you about your child go to school? 你有什麼困擾嗎?

Do you think children born to foreign mother need additional help in the school? 你覺得外配子女的教育有需要特別的幫助嗎? What kind of help? 哪一方面的幫助?

#### **Special Provision** 特別服務

Does school provide any special provision to the student who born to foreign mother? 學校有提供特別照顧給外籍媽媽的子女嗎?

What is the special provision? 怎樣的特別照顧?

Do you think these special provisions are helpful? 有用嗎?

#### **Labelled** 標籤化

Do you feel the children are labelled, when the school give them additional attention? 會不會擔心孩子被分類(標籤化)?

### **Prejudice 偏見**

What do you think people in general have prejudice on foreign bride? 妳覺得一般人對外籍配偶有偏見嗎？

Do you think people have prejudice on the children born to foreign mother? 妳覺得一般人對外籍媽媽的小孩有偏見嗎？

Do you feel those prejudices exist on your child's school? 你覺得在你孩子的學校有這些偏見嗎？

### **Mother tongue 母語**

What do you think that teach the children their mother tongue? 你覺得教孩子母語如何？

Do you teach your children your first language? 那你有教孩子母語嗎？

What does your family think of teaching child your first language? 你家人覺得你教孩子母語如何？

### **Educational policy 教育政策**

What do you think that recruit ethnic minority background teacher? 你覺得招募外籍背景的老師如何？

If the school or government (LEA and national) are going to have some educational policies for the student born to foreign mothers, what is the most important thing do you think? 如果政府要提出一些教育政策幫助外籍媽媽的孩子，妳覺得什麼比較重要？

### **Ending**

Would you mind to take further interviews if I need more information for research?

如果我需要更多的資訊，你願意參與再一次的訪談嗎？

## *Teachers* 教師訪談題目

### **General information** 基本資料

How many years have you been teacher? 妳當老師幾年了?

How do you think being a teacher? 你覺得當老師如何?

Could you talk about anything is changing in your work? Or anything is changing in education environment of Taiwan? 可不可以說一些這幾年在妳工作上正在變化的事?

### **School Education** 學校教育

What is your view of school education? 你對學校教育的看法?

Do you feel satisfied with the school education now? 你對現在的學校教育滿意嗎?

What do you think the view of school education from student parents? 你覺得家長對學校教育的看法?

### **Special needs** 特別需求

Do you have experience in teaching the student born to foreign mother? How many? 妳有教過新台灣之子嗎? 多少個?

What is your general idea to the students born to foreign mother? 你的對新台灣之子的印象是?

Do you think the student born to foreign mothers have difference with other students? 你有感受到新台灣之子與其他學生的不同嗎?

Do you think they need particular help? What kind of help? 你覺得他們需要幫助嗎? 哪一方面?

### **Special provision** 特別服務

Does school provide any special provision to the student who born to foreign mother? 學校有提供特別照顧給外籍媽媽的子女嗎?

What is the special provision? 怎樣的特別照顧?

Do you think these special provisions are helpful? 有用嗎?

### **Prejudice** 偏見

What is your view about foreign mother? 你對外籍媽媽的看法?

What do you think people in general have prejudice on foreign bride? 妳覺得一般人對外籍配偶有偏見嗎?

Do you think people got prejudice on the children born to foreign mother?

妳覺得一般人對外籍媽媽的小孩有偏見嗎?

Do you think those stereotype exist on your school or your class? 你覺得在你的學

校或教室裡有這些偏見嗎？

### **Labelled 標籤化**

Do you feel the children are labelled, when the school give them additional attention?  
會不會擔心孩子被分類（標籤化）？

### **Teacher training 教師訓練**

Have your teacher training institution provided Initial training in Multi-culture education? 你的師資培育機構有提供老師在多元文化教育上的需要嗎？

Do you get any in-service training regarding helping the students born to foreign mother? 那麼在職進修呢？

Do you think you need additional training for teaching the children born to foreign mother? 你覺得妳需要額外的訓練來教導新台灣之子嗎？

Do you think you need special skill to communicate with foreign mother? 需要特別的溝通技術與外籍媽媽溝通？

### **Mother Tongue 母語**

How do you think that children learn their mother tongue? 你覺得新台灣之子學母語好嗎？

Do you think school should help student learn their mother tongue in the school? 你覺得學校應該在學校裡幫助學生學母語嗎？

### **Educational policy 教育政策**

Do you think the children born to foreign mother are disadvantaged?  
你覺得移民之子是不利，是弱勢嗎？

What do you think that ethnic minority background teacher recruitment? 你覺得招募外籍背景的老師如何？

Do you think our curriculum or educational policies need to be changed for the children born to foreign mothers? 你覺得我們的教育政策或學校課程有需要為移民改變嗎？

If the school or government (LEA and national) are going to have some educational policies for the student born to foreign mothers, what is the most important thing do you think? 如果政府要提出一些教育政策幫助外籍媽媽的孩子，妳覺得什麼比較重要？

### **Ending**

Would you mind to take further interviews if I need more information for research?  
如果我需要更多的資訊，你願意參與再一次的訪談嗎？

## Appendix C- Informed consent of first Stage Interview (English)

English 英文版

### Informed Consent

Dear parents/ teacher,

My name is Hisn-Jui Ho, a postgraduate student from the University of Exeter, UK. I am conducting a study of 'the educational policies for immigrant children' for my doctoral degree program. In order to gather the information for research, I am going to take interview with some people who are related to this research topic in Taiwan, for example parents, school teachers, students, the staff of teacher education institution and policy-makers etc.

I sincerely appreciate your participant. Here is some detail of the interview:

#### Your right:

1. Voluntary. You do not have to participate. The decision to take part in this study is up to you.
2. You can stop the interview at any time, if you are not satisfied with this interviewing.
3. Withdraw. If you decide not to take part in the study, you may quit at any time.

#### My promise:

1. All the information you give will use for research analysis only.
2. Your participation is confidential and no names of the respondents will appear in any report.
3. There is no risk of physical injury from participation in this study.

#### The procedure of interview:

1. I want talk to you for about 30 minutes and ask some questions.
2. If you agree, the interview will be type recorded. It is for data analysis only and the type will not be disclosed without your permission.
3. I would not ask the detail of your personal data, for example your name, your address and so on. None of the information will identify you.

If you have any question about my study, I will be glad to answer them. You can reach me by telephone 09160388 , or email [hh218@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:hh218@exeter.ac.uk)

You have read the Consent Form. Your signature on this form means that you understand the information and you agree to participate in this study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/2008

Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/2008

Date

## Appendix C- Informed consent of first Stage Interview (Chinese)

Chinese 中文版

### 訪談同意函

親愛的家長/老師，

您好，我的名字是何心蕊，英國艾希特大學 (University of Exeter)的博士班學生，正進行博士論文研究，研究主題為「台灣與英國兩地之移民子女教育政策」。為了收集研究資料，我目前在台灣進行訪談，訪談對象包括教師、學校行政人員、家長及師資培育機構人員...等，誠心感謝您接受訪談。

訪談說明如下：

#### 您的權力：

1. 您有完全的自由意願參與訪談。
2. 如果您對訪談的進行不滿意，您可以立刻停止訪談。
3. 如果您決定退出這個研究，您可以隨時提出。

#### 我的保證：

1. 您提供的所有訊息僅供研究使用。
2. 您的參與是匿名的，不會有任何姓名出現在研究報告中。
3. 參與這個訪談，沒有風險及身體的傷害。

#### 訪談過程：

1. 訪談僅進行一次，時間約為 30 分鐘。
2. 如果您同意，訪談的過程會有錄音，以便研究者事後的資料整理。
3. 訪談內容僅與研究主題相關，絕不詢問您的個人資料如：姓名、電話、住址...等。

如果您有任何有關本研究的問題，我很樂意回答您。您可以聯絡我的電話 09160388 或 email: [hh218@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:hh218@exeter.ac.uk)

您已讀完此同意函，請您在同意函上簽名表示您瞭解並同意參與本研究。

\_\_\_\_\_  
受訪者簽名

\_\_\_\_\_  
2008 年 月 日  
日期

\_\_\_\_\_  
研究者簽名

\_\_\_\_\_  
2008 年 月 日  
日期

## Appendix C- Informed consent of first Stage Interview (Indonesian)

Indonesian 印尼文版

### Surat Persetujuan Interview

Teruntuk Ortu/Guru Yang Tercinta :

Apa kabar saudara-saudari semuanya. Nama saya adalah He, Xin-Rui. Mahasiswi tingkatan profesor di universitas negeri Inggris (University of Exeter) yang lagi dalam proses membuat disertasi penelitian dengan topik "Polis Pendidikan Terhadap Anak Transmigrasi Dari Negeri Taiwan dan Inggris". Demi mengumpulkan segala informasi atas penelitian ini, saya sekarang berada di Taiwan dalam memproseskan interview. Tujuan yang akan diinterview yakni para guru, karyawan di bagian administrasi sekolah, orang tua, karyawan lembaga pelatihan guru, dsb. Saya mengharapkan dengan sepenuh hati Anda bisa menyetujui akan interview ini.

Penjelasan dalam proses interview sebagai berikut :

#### Hak-hak Anda :

4. Anda bebas sepenuhnya mau atau tidak untuk mengikuti interview.
5. Apabila Anda tidak puas dalam proses interview, Anda boleh langsung menghentikannya.
6. Apabila Anda memutuskan keluar dari penelitian, Anda boleh mengajukannya setiap saat.

#### Jaminan saya :

4. Segala informasi yang diberikan oleh Anda hanya digunakan untuk penelitian saja.
5. Nama Anda tidak akan disebutkan dalam laporan penelitian, sebab nama Anda merupakan panggilan kecil dalam pengikut sertaan interview ini.
6. Mengikut sertaan interview ini tidak ada resiko atau membahayakan badan.

#### Proses interview :

1. Interview hanya diadakan sekali, dalam waktu antara 30 menit.
2. Dengan persetujuan Anda, proses dalam menginterview akan direkam suaranya untuk memudahkan peneliti menyusun informasi sesudahnya.
3. Bahan yang akan diinterview hanya berkenaan dengan topik yang bersangkutan, tidak akan menanyakan hal-hal pribadi Anda, seperti nama, telpon, alamat tinggal, dsb.

Andaikata Anda ada pertanyaan atas penelitian ini, silahkan hubungi saya setiap waktu. Anda boleh telpon ke handpon :09160388 atau email: [hh218@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:hh218@exeter.ac.uk)

Anda telah membaca surat persetujuan ini, silahkan Anda menandatangani surat persetujuan sebagai menandakan Anda telah paham dan setuju mengikuti penelitian.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Tanda tangan orang yang diinterview  
Tanggal bulan tahun 2008

\_\_\_\_\_  
Tanda tangan peneliti  
Tanggal bulan tahun 2008

## Appendix C- Informed consent of first Stage Interview (Vietnamese)

Vietnamesees 越南文版

### GIẤY ĐỒNG Ý PHÒNG VẤN

Phụ huynh HS/ thầy cô giáo thân mến :

Chào quý vị, tôi tên là Hà Tâm Nhụy, sinh viên lớp tiến sĩ Trường đại học University of Exeter- Anh, hiện đang nghiên cứu luận văn tiến sĩ, chủ đề nghiên cứu là “Chính sách giáo dục cho con cái người di cư giữa hai nước Đài Loan và Anh”. Để thu thập tài liệu nghiên cứu, tôi tiến hành cuộc phỏng vấn tại Đài Loan, đối tượng phỏng vấn bao gồm giáo viên, nhân viên hành chính trong nhà trường, phụ huynh học sinh và người theo học khóa đào tạo giáo viên v.v..., chân thành cảm ơn quý vị tham gia cuộc phỏng vấn.

Thuyết minh cuộc phỏng vấn như sau :

#### ***Quyền lợi của quý vị :***

1. Quý vị có toàn ý nguyện tự do tham gia phỏng vấn.
2. Nếu quý vị không hài lòng với việc phỏng vấn, có thể dừng ngay phỏng vấn.
3. Nếu quý vị quyết định không tiếp tục cuộc phỏng vấn, có thể đưa ra yêu cầu bất cứ lúc nào.

#### ***Đảm bảo của tôi:***

1. Tất cả thông tin mà quý vị cung cấp chỉ sử dụng cho việc nghiên cứu.
2. Được giấu tên thật của quý vị, sẽ không thể hiện tên trên bảng báo cáo nghiên cứu.
3. Tham gia phỏng vấn không có nguy hiểm và tổn hại đến sức khỏe.

#### ***Quá trình phỏng vấn :***

1. Chỉ tiến hành phỏng vấn một lần, thời gian khoảng 30 phút.
2. Nếu được sự đồng ý của quý vị, trong quá trình phỏng vấn sẽ có **ghi âm** để tiện cho việc người nghiên cứu sau này sắp xếp lại các tài liệu.
3. Nội dung phỏng vấn chỉ liên quan đến chủ đề nghiên cứu, tuyệt đối không hỏi thông tin cá nhân như : họ tên, số điện thoại, địa chỉ v.v...

Nếu quý vị có vấn đề gì liên quan đến nghiên cứu này, tôi rất vui lòng giải đáp cho quý vị, có thể liên hệ tôi qua số điện thoại 09160388 hoặc email [hh218@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:hh218@exeter.ac.uk)

Quý vị đã đọc, hiểu và đồng ý tham gia, xin quý vị hãy ký tên vào.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Người được phỏng vấn ký tên  
Ngày ... tháng ... năm 2008

\_\_\_\_\_  
Người nghiên cứu ký tên  
Ngày ... tháng ... năm 2008

## **Appendix D- Questions of Second Stage Interview**

### **Interviewee- head teacher, social worker, member of grassroots group**

Based on your understanding, are children of foreign spouse disadvantaged?

If yes, in what ways?

If not, why do people said that (disadvantaged)?

Do you think the children of new immigrants need helps in school education?

What are the difficulties of Taiwan government planning related policies?

What are the difficulties of Taiwan government implementing related policies?

What would you think is the most effective programme/policy to the new immigrants and their children currently?

Do you think the current education policies for the children of foreign spouse are enough? What areas are enough? And what areas are not enough?

### **Labeling**

Would the excessive cares from academics and media strengthen the disadvantaged stereotype of the children of foreign spouse?

How to avoid strengthening the difference and increasesing the labeling problem during implementation of all kinds of assistance measures?

Do you think by removing definition of identity on their background and instead, using objective conditions such as household incomes and prescription from doctors that have precise standards to set out guidelines for resource supports could prevent those foreign spouse and their children from being categorized and over simplified as the disadvantaged group? Or could there be other possible difficulties?

What do you think if the new immigrants blend in to our society naturally without give them any special care and assistance? Would they blend in naturally with time?

Is that unfairness and injustice

### **Statistic**

Do schools keep any kinds of statistics such as the educational achievement and their life adaptation on the children of foreign spouse?

Are there any difficulties conducting these surveys?

Are these surveys causing any troubles?

The foundation of education policy is based on statistical information. What's your opinion on this?

## **Parents Participate**

What is your opinion on encouraging foreign parents to participate in school education?

Encouraging ethnic minority parents and communities to involve in the school education by arranging some trainings and setting up an association for increase their involvement and empowerment capability for their children. What's your opinion on this?

According to literatures from UK, hiring minority teachers would help the studies of minority students. Do you think hiring foreign (Southeast Asia) teachers is necessary and feasible?

## **Mother tongue**

Some foreign mothers and their families think that it's most import for their children to learn Chinese. If they have to learn a second language it has to be English. Learning mother tongue would be a burden added to the children's education and might confuse the children's language learning. What's your opinion on this?

What is your opinion on developing a multi-language environment could be an important advantage for Taiwan's future economical competitiveness?

From what I have known, there are few programmes in Taiwan start encouraging the children of foreign spouse to learn their mother's native languages but are lacking teachers and teaching materials. What do you think?

Looking at the UK experience, at first they would hope the immigrants to learn English, but gradually they would also encourage minority groups to learn their native languages only. However, if there is no serious training, it would not have enough qualified foreign language teachers that could use in the future. What is your opinion on promoting the policy on training bilingual in Taiwan?

The researchers think there are fewer (minority community isolate and race separate) Community segregation pressure and crisis in the current immigration situation in Taiwan. Moreover, as high ratio of students in the US and the UK have problem of using majority language, but Taiwan has not. Therefore, Taiwan has no worry of developing heritage languages for a globalization competitive advantage. What's your opinion on this?

The researcher has observed an immigrant society phenomenon that many first generation immigrants sometimes only hope to survive or blend into the society as quickly as possible; they are mostly passive and hidden regarding promoting their own cultures and language. However, when it comes to the second and third generation immigrants, since many of them have lost their native language ability and are willing to pursuing self identity, and also because they are more familiar with the society they grow and are confident about their acquired

language skill. Therefore, they start to have interests in their original cultures, and sometimes would pursue it with a high passion.

### **Education for all**

Do you think that the entire population should learn to live with the immigrants?

What is your opinion on multicultural education policies should aim at all and not for minority pupils only?

According to document review, a long term study in UK has clear data that there is an issue of underachievement for some ethnic minority, therefore education policies were proposed. However, according to Taiwan's document review, we cannot confirm whether the children of foreign spouse are underachieving. Therefore would proposing all kinds of remedial educational policies become a kind of discrimination and bias?

The researcher thinks that there are two directions that the educational policies on the children of foreign spouse in Taiwan should be headed. The first one is multicultural education for all, which including the correction on the biased views of the society, review of the school course schedules, the enhancement of teachers' multicultural understanding, and multicultural education for all and not just for foreign spouse' children only. The other direction is to identify the unique needs of each student and provide assistance to each student's special needs. We should not provide remedial policies to the foreign spouse as a whole group since it would strengthen their stereotypical images and make them as inferior. What is your opinion on this?

**The end**

## **Appendix E- Questions of final Stage Interview**

### **Interviewee- administrator of education authority**

Based on your understanding, are children of foreign spouse disadvantaged?

If yes, in what ways?

If not, why do people said that (disadvantaged)?

Do you think the children of immigrant mothers need helps in school education?

What are the difficulties of Taiwan government planning and implementing related policies?

What would you think is the most effective programme/policy to the new immigrants and their children currently?

While making educational policies for immigrants and their children, would that be pressuring because it may be better than the welfare for natural Taiwanese?

### **Labeling**

Would the excessive cares from academics and media strengthen the disadvantaged stereotype of the children of foreign spouse?

According to document review, a long term study in UK has clear data that there is an issue of underachievement for some ethnic minority, therefore education polices were proposed. However, according to Taiwan's document review, we cannot confirm whether the children of foreign spouse are underachieving. Therefore would proposing all kinds of remedial educational policies become a kind of discrimination and bias?

How to avoid strengthening the difference and increasesing the labeling problem during implementation of all kinds of assistance measures?

Do you think by removing definition of identity on their background and instead, using objective conditions such as household incomes and prescription from doctors that have precise standards to set out guidelines for resource supports could prevent those foreign spouse and their children from being categorized and over simplified as the disadvantaged group? Or could there be other possible difficulties?

### **Statistic**

Does the government unit you are in or any other unit have a complete statistic programme that keeps tracks and conducts surveys on all kinds of statistic data for the children of foreign spouses? And conducting long-term follow-ups? Is the data comprehensive?

### **Parents Participate**

What is your opinion on encouraging foreign parents to participate in school education?

Encouraging ethnic minority parents and communities to get involved in school education by arranging some trainings and setting up an association for increasing their involvement and empowerment capability for their children. What's your opinion on this?

According to literatures from UK, hiring minority teachers would help the studies of minority students. Do you think hiring foreign (Southeast Asia) teachers is necessary and feasible?

### **Mother tongue**

In the UK and US, many immigrant students have trouble with poor English. Do the children of immigrant mothers in Taiwan have trouble with Chinese?

Some foreign mothers and their families think that it's most import for their children to learn Chinese. If they have to learn a second language, it has to be English. Learning a mother tongue would be a burden added to the children's education and might confuse the children's language learning. What's your opinion on this?

What is your opinion on developing a multi-language environment to be an important advantage for Taiwan's future economical competitiveness?

Looking at the UK experience, at first they would hope the immigrants to learn English only, but gradually they would also encourage minority groups to learn their native languages. However, if there is no serious training, it would not have enough qualified foreign language teachers that could use in the future. From what I have known, there are few programmes in Taiwan that have started to encourage the children of foreign spouses to learn their mother's native languages but are lacking teachers and teaching materials. What do you think?

How about in comparison with Hakka and aboriginal languages, giving immigrants' mother languages the certification, scholarships, or academic bonuses?

### **Education for all**

Do you think that the entire population should learn to live with the immigrants?

What is your opinion on multicultural education policies should aim at all but not for minority pupils only?

### **Discussion of policy direction**

The study proposed a few directions of educational policy for children of immigrant mothers in Taiwan for discussion and please give your comment:

First, multicultural education is for all and not for minorities only. This includes corrections on social prejudice, examining school curriculum, enhancing teachers' multicultural ability, etc.

Second, make sure to know different needs of each individual student and provide helps to students with particular needs and do not see them all as the disadvantaged to give compensation policies. Because such behavior would strengthen stereotype and allow them to be seen as less qualified or weaker people.

Third, strengthen children of immigrant mothers' existed advantages, for example, developing plural mother tongues.

Fourth, the disadvantage of children of immigrant mothers often comes from family's low socioeconomic background and mere educational policy is very limited and so other factors such as politic, economic, and social welfare policy need to be incorporated into the structure.

**The end**

## Appendix F- Informed consent of second and final Stage Interview

(Chinese)

Chinese 中文版

### 訪談同意函

您好，我的名字是何心蕊，英國艾希特大學 (University of Exeter)的博士班學生，正進行博士論文研究，研究主題為「台灣與英國兩地之移民子女教育政策」。為了收集研究資料，我目前在台灣進行訪談，訪談對象包括教師、學校行政人員、家長及師資培育機構人員...等，誠心感謝您接受訪談。

訪談說明如下：

#### 您的權力：

1. 您有完全的自由意願參與訪談。
2. 如果您對訪談的進行不滿意，您可以立刻停止訪談。
3. 如果您決定退出這個研究，您可以隨時提出。

#### 我的保證：

1. 您提供的所有訊息僅供研究使用。
2. 您的參與是匿名的，不會有任何姓名出現在研究報告中。
3. 參與這個訪談，沒有風險及身體的傷害。

#### 訪談過程：

1. 訪談的時間約為一個小時。
2. 如果您同意，訪談的過程會有錄音，以便研究者事後的資料整理，所有的錄音資料將會在研究完成後銷毀。
3. 訪談內容僅與研究主題相關，絕不涉及您的個人資料如：姓名、電話、住址...等。

如果您有任何有關本研究的問題，我很樂意回答您。您可以聯絡我的電話 098954xxxx或email: hh218@exeter.ac.uk

您已讀完此同意函，請您在同意函上簽名表示您瞭解並同意參與本研究。

\_\_\_\_\_

受訪者簽名

2010年\_\_月\_\_日

日期

\_\_\_\_\_

研究者簽名

2010年\_\_月\_\_日

日期

## Appendix F- Informed consent of second and final Stage Interview

(English)

English 英文版

### Informed Consent

My name is Hisn-Jui Ho, a postgraduate student from the University of Exeter, UK. I am conducting a study of 'the educational policies for immigrant children' for my doctoral degree programme. In order to gather the information for research, I am going to take interview with some people who are related to this research topic in Taiwan, for example parents, school teachers, the social workers and policy-makers etc.

I sincerely appreciate your participant. Here is some detail of the interview:

#### Your right:

1. Voluntary. You do not have to participate. The decision to take part in this study is up to you.
2. You can stop the interview at any time, if you are not satisfied with this interviewing.
3. Withdraw. If you decide not to take part in the study, you may quit at any time.

#### My promise:

1. All the information you give will use for research analysis only.
2. Your participation is confidential and no names of the respondents will appear in any report.
3. There is no risk of physical injury from participation in this study.

#### The procedure of interview:

1. I want talk to you for about one hour and ask some questions.
2. If you agree, the interview will be type recorded. It is for data analysis only and the type will not be disclosed without your permission. All tapes will be destroyed once the study has been concluded successfully.
3. I would not ask the detail of your personal data. None of the information will identify you.

If you have any question about my study, I will be glad to answer them. You can reach me by telephone 098954xxxx, or email hh218@exeter.ac.uk

You have read the Consent Form. Your signature on this form means that you understand the information and you agree to participate in this study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/2010\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/2010\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix G- Certificate of ethical research approval

STUDENT HIGHER-LEVEL RESEARCH



School of Education and Lifelong Learning

### Certificate of ethical research approval

**STUDENT RESEARCH/FIELDWORK/CASEWORK AND DISSERTATION/THESIS**

**You will need to complete this certificate when you undertake a piece of higher-level research (e.g. Masters, PhD, EdD level).**

To activate this certificate you need to first sign it yourself, then have it signed by your supervisor and by the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee.

For further information on ethical educational research access the guidelines on the BERA web site: <http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/guides.php> and view the School's statement in your handbooks.

---

**READ THIS FORM CAREFULLY AND THEN COMPLETE IT ON YOUR COMPUTER** (the form will expand to contain the text you enter).

**DO NOT COMPLETE BY HAND**

---

**Your name:** Hsin-Jui Ho

**Degree/Programme of Study:** MPhil /PhD

**Project Supervisor(s):** Professor William Richardson

**Your email address:** hh218@ex.ac.uk

**Tel:** +886 9895458 or +886 2 292230

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**Title of your project:**

A comparative perspective on educational policies for immigrant children in Taiwan

**Brief description of your research project:**

This research discusses the educational implications of an element of the considerable demographic change faced in Taiwan in recent years – that of the rapidly growing number of children born to foreign mothers. The aims of this study are to reveal the educational challenges that Taiwan is facing as a result of this phenomenon, to relate these to similar experiences in the UK in an earlier period (1965-90) and to produce relevant information for policy-makers concerned with the educational needs of the 'new children of Taiwan'. The methodological conception framework of this study comprises policy analysis and international comparison. In addition to document analysis, the fieldwork element of the research will employ semi-structured interviews to collect primary data.

**Give details of the participants in this research (giving ages of any children and/or young people involved):**

The participants of this research will include individuals representing a range of groups who affect and are affected by the policy problem, for instance:

- Foreign mothers.
- Family members of children born to foreign mothers.
- Students born to foreign mothers (from primary school to university).
- The teachers who have the "new children of Taiwan" in their classes.
- The staffs of teacher education institutions and colleges in Taiwan.
- Policy-makers in Taiwan
- Other interest groups

**Give details regarding the ethical issues of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality (with special reference to any children or those with special needs) a blank consent form can be downloaded from the SELL student access on-line documents:**

A written informed consent form will be translated to several languages, such as Mandarin, Vietnamese and Indonesian, and given to participants before gathering information from them. Persons and institutions who participate in this research will be fully anonymous and non-identifiable. All research data are confidential.

**Give details of the methods to be used for data collection and analysis and how you would ensure they do not cause any harm, detriment or unreasonable stress:**

The fieldwork of this study adopts semi-structured interviews to collect data. The research field will commence with pilot interviews at a Mandarin class for foreign brides in Taiwan. Those who welcome and are interested this research will be invited to be participants of the research. Meanwhile, the researcher will fully respect the wishes of those who do not want to participate in this study.

The semi-structured interviews will involve individuals representing a range of groups who affect and are affected by the policy problem, for instance:

- Foreign mothers.
- Family members of children born to foreign mothers.
- Students born to foreign mothers (from primary school to university).
- The teachers who have the "new children of Taiwan" in their classes.
- The staffs of teacher education institutions and colleges in Taiwan.
- Policy-makers in Taiwan
- Other interest groups

The research design of this study is aimed at investigation rather than intervention. The researcher will focus on information close to policy problem and attempt to allay fears that interviewees' personal privacy will be invaded. In this context, and since the foreign brides and their children may be vulnerable, the researcher will consider the interview questions carefully and discuss these with her supervisor before any implementation.

**Give details of any other ethical issues which may arise from this project (e.g. secure storage of videos/recorded interviews/photos/completed questionnaires or special arrangements made for participants with special needs etc.):**

The researcher will contact with the gatekeeper of organizations where the fieldwork will take place and obtain their authorization before interviews. The informed consent will be provided in advance, and after interview, the transcripts will be provided to the interviewee who is willing to review it. The researcher ensures all data, including the tape recordings and transcripts of interviews, will treat in a way confidential and anonymous and will be stored by the researcher safely. Participant's privacy is guaranteed.

Research participants are subjects, not object. People's right and dignity will be respect strictly.

**Give details of any exceptional factors, which may raise ethical issues (e.g. potential political or ideological conflicts which may pose danger or harm to participants):**

---

*This form should now be printed out, signed by you below and sent to your supervisor to sign. Your supervisor will forward this document to the School's **Research Support Office** for the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee to countersign. A unique approval reference will be added and this certificate will be returned to you to be included at the back of your dissertation/thesis.*

---

**I hereby certify that I will abide by the details given above and that I undertake in my dissertation / thesis (delete whichever is inappropriate) to respect the dignity and privacy of those participating in this research.**

**I confirm that if my research should change radically, I will complete a further form.**

Signed:..... *Wain Jui Ho* .....date: **20<sup>th</sup> March 2009**

*N.B. You should not start the fieldwork part of the project until you have the signature of your supervisor*

---

**This project has been approved for the period:** *1/4/09* **until:** *30/6/10*  
**By** (above mentioned supervisor's signature): *Silvia Ribeiro* **date:** *29/3/09*

*N.B. To Supervisor: Please ensure that ethical issues are addressed annually in your report and if any changes in the research occurs a further form is completed.*

**SELL unique approval reference:**..... *D/08/09/45*.....

Signed:..... *Silvia Ribeiro* .....date: *20/04/09*  
Chair of the School's Ethics Committee

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This form is available from  
<http://www.education.ex.ac.uk/students/index.php> then click on On-line documents.

## **Appendix H- Royal County of Berkshire -Education for Racial Equality: policy paper 1**

### **GENERAL POLICY**

#### **Introduction**

This paper has three parts. First, Berkshire's formal policy on education for racial equality is stated, and responses concerning its implementation are invited. Second, there are notes about the statement's background and context. Third, there are notes on the definition of its three principal concepts - equality, justice, racism.

#### 1. Formal Statement

Berkshire County Council requires and supports all its educational institutions and services to create, maintain and promote racial equality and justice.

The Council is opposed to racism in all its forms. It wishes therefore:

- 1) To promote understanding of the principles and practices of racial equality and justice, and commitment to them.
- 2) To identify and remove all practices, procedures and customs which discriminate against ethnic minority people and to replace them with procedures which are fair to all.
- 3) To encourage ethnic minority parents and communities to be fully involved in the decision-making processes which affect the education of their children.
- 4) To increase the influence of ethnic minority parents, organisations and communities by supporting educational and cultural projects which they themselves initiate.
- 5) To encourage the recruitment of ethnic minority teachers, administrators and other staff at all levels, and the appointment of ethnic minority governors.
- 6) To monitor and evaluate the implementation of County Council policies, and to make changes and corrections as appropriate.

This statement was formally adopted by the Education Committee in January 1983.

## Appendix I- Extract from the Swann Report

### Preface

The preface of Swann Report covered the interim report and methods used to conduct the research. Some of the key points were:

#### Interim report

1981, in interim report concluded that West Indian children as a group were: "...underachieving in relation to their peers."

We then went to consider the various factors, both within the education system and more generally, which had been said to contribute to this underachievement and identified:

"...no single cause... but rather a network of widely differing attitudes and expectations on the part of teachers and the education system as a whole, and on the part of West Indian parents, which lead the West India child to have particular difficulties and face particular hurdles in achieving his or her full potential." p.viii

**Modus Operandi.** Throughout our work we have adopted a structure of specialist sub-committees and sub-groups.

**Reviews of Research** We commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) to prepare a series of evaluative reviews of research.

**Evidence-Gathering** During our lifetime we have issued two main invitations for evidence- firstly at the start of our work, and then again, after the publication of our interim report, when we invited both comments on that report together with further evidence were relating to other ethnic minority groups and to the broader issues encompassed by our remit. The summary of our interim report's findings and conclusions was also sent to every maintained school and teacher training institution in England, inviting comments and further evidence.

**Forums** We decided early on in our work that we wished to extend our consultations beyond the traditional educational interest groups and

the leading national ethnic minority organizations to involve also parents and young people, particularly from the various ethnic minority communities, who might otherwise have been unlikely to make their voices heard through formal channels. We therefore organized some 30 open meetings or ‘forums’ around the country, which took place in schools or community centres, in the evening or at weekends, usually under the auspices of local community relations councils, at which we could discuss the major issues of concern to the communities in these areas.

**National Conference** we also convened a one day national conference, in November 1981, to discuss its findings. There were over 250 participants, including representatives of both Houses of Parliament, local authority members and officers, Heads and teachers and community representatives from a range of ethnic minority groups.

**Visits** On our visits to primary schools we have made particular efforts to talk to parents about their expectations of schools and their aspirations for their children. In secondary schools we have taken every opportunity to meet and talk with groups of senior pupils, especially but not exclusively from ethnic minority groups, in order to seek their views on the various issues within our remit – bearing in mind that in many ways it is their attitudes, as the citizens and parents of the future, which offer a crucial insight into the future nature of our society.

## Content

The Swann Report is a large document, including the findings of research, reviews, recommendations, and annexes. The following extract indicates the importance of its content, especially chapter 6 – Education for all.

In putting forward our philosophy of ‘Education for all’, we therefore believe it is essential for us to set out here our broad strategy for the management of change needed in order to achieve the objective we have advocated. P.344

Review of the Curriculum

LEA Policy Statements

Some policy statements are however unduly influenced by an assimilationist view of the 'special needs and problems' of ethnic minority children.... We would therefore like to see all LEAs being required to review their policies in the light of our findings. P.346

#### Multicultural Advisers

We believe that there is a need for at least one adviser and perhaps a senior officer in every LEA to be designated as having specific responsibility for coordinating and initiating the development of the kind of approach to education which we have advocated. P.346

#### Work of HMI

In addition to local authority inspectors and advisers, another major influence on curriculum development in schools is of course the work of HM Inspectorate. P.347

#### The role of the School Curriculum Development Committee

We believe that the SCDC can and must play a leading role in fostering the development of the broader, pluralist approach to the education of all children which we have advocated.

#### Examinations

Examinations have a major part to play in complementing and reflecting a multicultural approach to the curriculum in schools and the multi-racial nature of today's school population.

#### Response by Schools

We believe it is important that all LEAs should expect their schools to review their curriculum, both taught and 'hidden', in the light of the principles which we have put forward, to prepare appropriate policy statements and monitor their practical implementation. P.352

The following "checklist", based largely on guidelines prepared by the Inner London Education Authority \*, indicates some of the broad themes which teachers in all schools, whether multi-racial or "all-white", should consider in appraising their work :

- Are issues related to the multi-racial nature of British society today treated in a coherent and comprehensive way throughout the curriculum?

-Where there are choices to be made about the content of the curriculum, do these take account of the diversity of pupils' cultural experiences?

- Is content provided from a wide range of sources? Is it selected so that it engages pupils' feelings as well as giving them information? Are pupils able to explore and share the ideas, opinions and interests which derive from their particular cultural experiences?

- Does the curriculum aim to create an understanding of and interest in different environments, societies, systems and cultures across the world?

- Are pupils encouraged to recognise that each society has its own values, traditions and styles of everyday living which should be considered in the context of that society, as well as compared with their own?

- Are opportunities provided to show the contribution that different societies have made to the growing understanding and knowledge of humankind?

- Is the curriculum designed towards developing an understanding and appreciation of the various communities that make up the local and national society?

- Does the content of the curriculum ensure that pupils understand that migration and movement of people - and thus cultural diversity - are underlying themes in history and the contemporary world?

- Have teachers and departments selected the content of courses to help pupils understand how inaccurate and potentially damaging racial and cultural stereotyping can be, and the historical and contemporary processes which encourage this stereotyping? P.354

\* Education in a Multi-Ethnic Society- An aide-memoire for the inspectorate. ILEA, 1981.

## Regional Conferences

...the one-day national conference ...Staff from multi-racial areas and staff from schools or from areas of the country where LEA policies were still at a very early stage of .....discuss together their view on 'multicultural' issues. P.356

## Resources

...because our major aim was a change in attitude and perspective rather than in actual content, some at least of the cost of the implementation of the policies which we had proposed would be psychological rather than financial. ...it is clear for example that additional funds alone cannot effectively counter the pervasive influence of racism or lead to a reorientation of the curriculum. P.358

## Section 11

Up to now the chief source of funding for activities in the 'multicultural' field has been Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 which empowers the Home Secretary to pay grants at the rate of 75% in respect of the employment of staff to those local authorities which have to make special provision in the exercise of their functions in consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of 'Commonwealth immigrants' whose language or customs differ from those of the rest of the community. P.358

## Ethnically-Based Statistics

We certainly believe this to be true and therefore regard the collection of accurate and reliable ethnically-base statistics as an essential element in our overall strategy for achieving the policies we have put forward. P.362

## Main conclusions and recommendations of Swann

### The Concept of 'Education for All'

The arguments underpinning the concept of "Education for All" are as follows:

- (a) The fundamental change that is necessary is the recognition that the problem facing the education system is not how to educate children of ethnic minorities, but how to educate all children.
- (b) Britain is a multi-racial and multi-cultural society and all pupils must be enabled to understand what this means.
- (c) This challenge cannot be left to the separate and independent initiatives of LEAs and schools: only those with experience of substantial numbers of ethnic minority pupils have attempted to tackle it, though the issue affects all schools and all pupils.
- (d) Education has to be something more than the reinforcement of the beliefs, values and identity which each child brings to school.
- (e) It is necessary to combat racism, to attack inherited myths and stereotypes, and the ways in which they are embodied in institutional practices.
- (f) Multi-cultural understanding has also to permeate all aspects of a school's work, It is not a separate topic that can be welded on to existing practices.
- (g) Only in this way can school begin to offer anything approaching the *equality of opportunity* for all pupils which it must be the aspiration of the education system to provide. (DES, 1985, p.363 and p.769)

## **Appendix J- Extract from the Studies regard to Children of foreign mothers**

Department of Statistics, MOE (2005). "Report on Investigation into Learning & Life of Foreign Spouses' Children in Elementary School." Ministry of Education.

Investigation area Taiwan and its islands were covered.

Investigation Subjects The subjects were the elementary school students with at least one Southeastern Asian parent by the end of May 2005. A questionnaire about the overall situation of those students was enclosed for the class teachers to fill in.

Periods of Data Investigation The static data adopted May 31st, 2005 as the datum, while the dynamic data adopted the academic years 2004 & 2005 as the datum.

Investigation Period From the 10th to 25th of June, 2005

Investigation Items (1) Basic data: Gender, age, grade in school, cognitive function & language development, amount of & seniority order among siblings, and other items about personal information of the Southeastern spouses' children.

(2) Family data: family member to make a living, family economy, living condition, and nationality, education & language proficiency of the Southeastern Asian parent

(3) Learning at & adjustment to school: Academic performance &

adjustment to school life

(4) Family education & life: Learning assistance & time for homework

Investigating method 281 of all Taiwan's schools and 7159 of all Taiwan's students were sampled. The questionnaires about the overall situation of those students were enclosed for the class teachers to fill in. The online investigation between the 10th and 25th of June, 2005 got 7,027 valid questionnaires returned by the students and 3,616 ones by the teachers.

Research findings (1) Language & Cognitive Development  
91.8% of the Southeastern Asian spouses' children in elementary school had normal language development. 90.7% of those children had normal cognitive development. This result reveals that the Southeastern Asian spouses' children in elementary school are not abnormal in language and cognitive development.

(2) Academic Performance

When we take a look at how the Southeastern Asian spouses' children in elementary school perform in the five academic categories of language, mathematics, social & natural sciences, and arts, 47% to 54% of those children had outstanding performance, whereas 14% to 27% of them did not perform so well or had poor performance. This demonstrates that the Southeastern Asian spouses' children in elementary school do not have poor academic performance.

(3) Capability of Adjustment

In terms of "communications with teachers or pupils", "learning

interaction in class”, and “adjustment to group life or environment”, the result is that the Southeastern Asian spouses’ children did quite well in school. Only 5% to 15% did not do so well. That shows that the Southeastern Asian spouses’ children adapt themselves to the learning environment of elementary school.

#### (4) Learning Services

Limited by language proficiency, the Southeastern Asian spouses cannot actively help the children with homework. 31.87% of those children receive learning services mainly from after-school classes. The parents and teachers interviewed by this study also say that main provider of learning assistance is the after-school class. That finding confirms the investigations of Huang W. L. (2004) and Tsai C. C. (2003).

#### (5) Family Conditions

In terms of the Southeastern Asian spouses’ education, 15.2% of them were illiterate, while only 5.8% were college graduates. 36.4% graduated from elementary school, 26.3% from junior high, and 16.2% from senior high school.

Only 1.2% of the Southeastern Asian spouses’ children come from richer families. 76.2% come from the middle-class families, and 22.6% from the low-income ones.

Wang S. Y., Wen M. L. et al. (2006). The Study for Learning Performance of Immigrant Children in Taiwan. *Educational Resources and Research*, 68, 137-170.

Investigation Area      This general survey sent questionnaires and investigation forms to 3,025 schools (in total): elementary schools (2,356) and junior high

schools (669) with children of neo-immigrants in Taiwan.

**Investigation Method** This study sent the questionnaires by e-mail and offered paper versions for those who could not read the electronic ones. The electronic files of the questionnaires and the investigation forms were sent to the teachers with neo-immigrants' children in class. The schools collected the filled questionnaires and investigations forms and returned them for the statistical analysis.

**Investigation Tool** This study designed the "Questionnaire to Survey Learning Achievements of Children from Taiwan's Neo-immigrants in Compulsory Education" and the "Form to Investigate Learning Achievements of Children from Taiwan's Neo-immigrants in Compulsory Education" as the tool.

**Research Findings** (1) In elementary school, the "New Children of Taiwan" do not perform differently from the native Taiwan children. Nevertheless, the New ones have worse grades than the native ones in junior high school.

(2) In general & remote areas, the New Children of Taiwan do not have significant differences in learning achievement.

(3) The educational backgrounds of the neo-immigrants are not directly related to the learning achievements of their children.

(4) The children of the neo-immigrants from Mainland China perform academically better than the children of the Southeastern Asian immigrants.

Hsieh, Jin-Chang (2007). Study of the Analysis of Immigrant Children in Taiwan Assessment of Student Achievement. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, National ChengChi University.

Purpose of the study The purpose of this study is to analyze neo-immigrant children's achievement, performance in psychological traits and compare these with native children

Investigation Method In comparing math achievement between immigrant children and native children, we use the technique of multiple latent regression to test the difference after exclusion of some items with significant differential item functioning.

Research Findings The result indicates that there is no significant difference between these two races in the sixth grade, but in the fourth grade the native children perform better than immigrant children. Based on this result, several analyses took place with showed that inequality of family social economic status between races is the main cause instead of the ethnic group people belong to.

Bureau of Health Promotion, Department of Health (2005). Current Situation of Foreign Pregnant & Lying-in Women and Birth Reporting.

Investigation Period The "Current Situation of Foreign Pregnant & Lying-in Women and Birth Reporting", conducted by the Bureau of Health Promotion, Department of Health, ROC (Taiwan) between 2002 and 2004.

Research The study does not demonstrate a higher percentage of babies with birth defects from foreign women than from native ones. As

Findings           Shiow-ing Wu, the deputy chief of that Bureau, says, the statistics show that new-born babies from female immigrants are no different from the babies of native women and that in fact the percentage of babies with birth defects from native women is a little higher than the percentage of New Taiwan Children with defects.

Researcher	Research Findings
Lin C. P. (2003)	<p>The foreign brides' children in the first and second grades in Kaohsiung City were surveyed. The statistical analysis of the 319 valid returned questionnaires reveals:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Foreign brides' children are indeed disadvantaged in the overall learning.</li> <li>2. The percentage of foreign brides' children with physical &amp; mental disabilities and the percentage of those children that are gifted &amp; talented are high enough to catch the eye of special educational needs experts.</li> </ol>
Tsai, J. K., Chou, L. H., Yang, S. C (2004)	<p>Foreign spouses and their marriage partners are generally lower in social economic status (SES). Most foreign spouses' children have lower learning achievements in school. The students in Northern Taiwan perform academically better than those in Southern Taiwan, while those with parents higher in SES do better than those with parents who are of middle and</p>

lower in SES.

1000 foreign spouses' children in elementary school and 300 in junior high school were sampled proportionally nationwide.

Chen, H. Y., Liu, N. J., Chou, Y. C., and Huang, P. S. Using interviews and statistics about educational achievements, they found that the children of neo-immigrants do not have worse learning performances than native children.

Wuang Y. F. (2004) The interviewed teachers generally hold that the children of neo-immigrants perform normally in interpersonal relationships and in interactions with the pupils & teachers.

In Taipei County, 138 children of the Southeastern Asian spouses were sampled, while their teachers and parents were surveyed and interviewed.

Wu, C. Y. and Liu, H. Y. (2004) Looking at educational achievement, these researchers found that foreign brides' children are later in language development.

In addition, a lack of parental care leads to a tendency towards negative behaviour in their children. In Chiayi, six foreign spouses in the remote mountains were sampled.

Hsu Y. C. (2005) Researching achievement in fishing villages, the teachers say that foreign spouses' children are more disadvantaged in language development.

Currently, elementary school teachers point out that the foreign spouses' children interact well with their pupils. The cultural differences are not the main influence on that interaction.

Hsiao T. C (2005) In learning achievements, foreign spouses' children are not significantly different in the five curricula of standard Chinese, mathematics, life curriculum, integrated activity, and health & PE (physical education) from the children of native parents. Given the family background and social status as control variables, foreign spouses' children perform academically better in the life curriculum than native parents' children and the same as the matched group with similar family backgrounds. That finding is different from the views of the media and the public.

Based on the sociometry, the investigation surveyed 713 students from the areas of Dali City, Taiping City, and Wufeng Township (all in Taichung County). Among the surveyed subjects, 58 students were from the foreign spouses, and 655 from native parents. The matched group for comparison consisted of 58 native parents' children and the surveyed children of the foreign spouses.

Wang C. S. and This research sampled the area of Taichung County.

Tsai C. C. (2008) Students' family information, their grades in seven subject fields, and their scores on five learning adaptation subscales were collected for 124 elementary school students whose mothers were of Southeast Asian nationality, 93 students' whose mothers were of Mainland Chinese nationality, and 217 students' whose mothers were native Taiwanese. Students in the last group were specifically chosen to match the economic status of students in the first two groups. The major findings of this study included: (1) The grades of students in the Southeast Asia group were inferior to the grades of students in the native group in all seven subject fields. The grades, in four subject fields, of students in the Chinese group were inferior to those of students in the native group after holding the SES constant.