



Deregulation and Decentralization of Higher Education in Taiwan since 1994: Political Intervention on Policy Implementation

Chang, Jia-chun

(Degree)

博士 (学術)

(Date of Degree)

2014-01-08

(Date of Publication)

2015-01-01

(Resource Type)

doctoral thesis

(Report Number)

乙第3237号

(URL)

<https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14094/D2003237>

※ 当コンテンツは神戸大学の学術成果です。無断複製・不正使用等を禁じます。著作権法で認められている範囲内で、適切にご利用ください。



Deregulation and Decentralization of Higher Education in Taiwan since 1994: Political Intervention on Policy Implementation

Chang Jia-chung

Abstract

From the 1950s to 1980s, under the strong leadership of Kuomintang (KMT), Taiwan maintained a one-party system with the institution of the Martial Law. In consideration of the unstable and harsh domestic and international environment, Taiwan implemented authoritative social and economic policies. The centralized policy was implemented in all sectors including the education sector, and education was based upon the ‘Three Principles of the People’ and anti-communist principles. Specifically, in the higher education sub-sector, university autonomy or academic freedom was not accepted, and universities assumed the role of a governmental agency. For instance, teachers’ appointment, students’ recruitment, entrance examinations, education curricula, and university management followed strict government regulations.

When the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was formed in 1986, Taiwan changed from a one-party dictatorship to a polarized society. In July 1987, the ending of the Martial Law transformed Taiwan into a relatively liberal society. In the higher education sub-sector, the expectation for university autonomy increased among university officials. The University Law was then amended in 1994, which led to the subsequent progression of university deregulation. Examining this democratization from the perspective of quantitative expansion, only one university and three colleges existed as higher education institutes in Taiwan in 1950; this eventually led to the expansion of 28 universities and colleges in 1986. However, the number rapidly increased to 147 universities and colleges in 2008, and over 980,000 students studied in higher education institutions. Higher education became increasingly widespread throughout Taiwan.

Based on this background, this study aims to analyze deregulation and decentralization in Taiwanese higher education since 1994, with a focus on political intervention on educational policies. This research examines the following four

questions. First of all, what are the foundations of Taiwanese society in political intervention on Taiwanese higher education development? Second, what are the practices of higher education policy of deregulation and decentralization under the high and low political intervention? Third, what are the political power interactions and competitions in the policies of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education? Forth, what are the confronting positions between political authority, scholar-ruler and educators, and results of conflicts on political intervention in Taiwanese higher education?

The objectives of this study that relate to the four research questions are: first of all, to examine the foundations of political intervention on higher education development in Taiwanese society; second, to explore the practices of higher education since 1994 under the high and low political intervention; third, to establish the political power interaction and competition in the policies of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education; and fourth, to explore the confronting positions between political authority, scholar-rulers and educators, and results of conflicts on the issues of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education.

Due to the conceptual nature of this study, the research has adopted the view of identity politics and the sociological conflict theory as a theoretical framework, the component of research approach consisting of case study and content analysis. The case study is used to explore causation in order to understand the underlying principles. The content analysis is used to examine the different kinds of documents and materials, including national papers, official education documents, newspapers, and laws that comment on the distinctive mark of higher education. Furthermore, the study employs telephone and face-to-face interviews with four groups of participants: 1) officials in the Ministry of Education (MOE) who are in charge of educational affairs; 2) public and private university/college teaching staff; 3) public and private university/college students; and 4) KMT and DPP legislators. A total of 179 people

were interviewed, of which 24 are government officials including 7 legislators, 106 are from public universities, and 49 are from private universities. The teaching personnel who were interviewed had at least five years of teaching experience in the university. The officials in the MOE that were interviewed also had at least five years of experience in the education administrative job. The students who were interviewed were randomly selected but had to have studied at least one year in university or college.

Briefly, this study finds that: 1) higher education reform since 1994 is tightly connected with political development as well as economic and social movements; 2) the Taiwanese government implemented higher education maximal expansion policy with a type of educational populism where the principle in educational philosophy is 'to each according to his needs'; 3) many new higher education institutes were the result of deals made by local powerful political factions to support politicians in the elections; 4) the policies of deregulation and decentralization in higher education are actually a means to solve the problems of finance in higher education institutes; 5) the political power's liberation in higher education is a pseudomorph of re-centralization, that is, most of the higher education affairs are still under the control of central authority, implying that the goal of education in Taiwan is not purely educational but also political.

More importantly, the Taiwanese government implemented an unreal deregulation to develop a new type of regulation with educational populism on the basis of ethnic conflicts, national identity and political benefits. The ethnic conflicts, national identity and political benefits were the reason for the Taiwanese higher education development being distant from rationalism. The Taiwanese gave up its rationality from epistemology and emphasized on indigenous consciousness, and the extreme policy of localization and Man-nan ethnic identity in higher education was confronted with problems not only by the global movement of internationalization,

but also by its political character.

With regard to the findings of the case study, in ‘The case of Huang Kuan-tsae of President of National Taiwan Normal University’ for instance, it showed the fundamental matter was the people’s concern over Huang’s legitimacy regarding the employment of educational personnel; and the issue of the MOE overstepping its authority. ‘The case of Tu Cheng-sheng of Educational Minister’ revealed that Tu was a highly political person. He made himself a controversial figure by pushing through a series of highly contentious education policies and stressing on political ideology. ‘The case of education reconstruction alliance movement’ showed clearly that the leader of official reform’s team attempted to use political power to settle the issues of education, and such a way of thinking harmed the spirit of education.

This study also finds that higher education in Taiwan has a distortive value in people’s view. The policies are unceasingly intervened by politics. Politicians, scholar-rulers and academic cliques constantly use their power to control the development of higher education with no end in sight. For instance, in the case of ‘professors govern the university’ policy, university autonomy is alienated to political struggles. Moreover, autonomy is always used as an excuse to criticize the people who have different opinions in education or political affairs.

In conclusion, it is clear that the majority of Taiwanese firmly believe in higher education determinism, considering that higher education is a significant means to achieve new social status. The monetary reward system is another incentive to push the Taiwanese toward higher education. Unfortunately, Taiwan’s national identity crisis and extreme localization are two major issues that have seriously impeded the development of higher education. Since 1994, the core concept of higher education reform has been deregulation. However, the Taiwanese central authority alienated the value of deregulation into the new form of regulation. Under the control of politicians and scholar-rulers, the higher education reform results is not only excessive

quantitative expansion but also decline in quality. Nevertheless, the Taiwanese higher education is full of mutative policies and it has indisputably suffered significantly under political intervention. There is a growing belief that higher education needs to be re-reformed in order to respond to the intervention from political authoritarianism under the cloak of democracy and from scholar-rulers in the name of western academic experience.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
List of Diagrams.....	viii
List of Tables.....	ix
Terminology	x
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Research Questions	4
1.3 Objectives of the Study	6
1.4 Significance of the Study	7
1.5 Organization of the Dissertation	8
Chapter 2 Essence of the Taiwanese Higher Education	10
2.1 The Structure and Development of Higher Education.....	11
2.2 Higher Education Policies.....	19
2.3 The Interaction between Higher Education Development, Political Transition and Economic Growth	28
2.4 Summary	42
Chapter 3 Literature Review	44
3.1 The Dynamics of Political Power in the Higher Education	44
3.2 The General Practice of the Higher Education Reform	53
3.3 The Identity Politics and Sociological Theory Explains the Social Phenomena and Higher Education	60
Chapter 4 Methodology	68
4.1 Theoretical Framework	68
4.2 The Approach of Research	72
Chapter 5 The Foundation of Taiwanese Society in Political Intervention	78
5.1 The Socio-political Headstone of Political Intervention.....	78
5.2 The Social Value and the Issue of National Identity on Higher Education Development.....	86
5.3 The Globalization and the Roles of Higher Educational Decision-makers on Higher Education Development	95
5.4 Summary	116

Chapter 6 The Practice of Higher Education Policies under the High and Low Political Intervention	120
6.1 The Practice of High Political Interventions in Higher Education Policies.	120
6.2 The Practice of Low Political Interventions in Higher Education Policies .	127
6.3 The Issues of Higher Education Policies	150
6.4 Summary	165
 Chapter 7 The Political Power Interaction and Competition in the Policies of Higher Education	 168
7.1 The Alienative Policies in Higher Education Development	168
7.2 The Metamorphic Policy in Higher Education Autonomy	195
7.3 Summary	216
 Chapter 8 The Confronting Positions and Results of Conflicts on the Issue of Political Intervention	 219
8.1 The Policy Debates and the Educational Populism in Higher Education	219
8.2 The Policy Debates and the Issue of Higher Education Expansion.....	223
8.3 Political and Social Conflicts on Higher Educational Policies.....	239
8.4 Summary	257
 Chapter 9 Discussion and Conclusion.....	 261
9.1 Discussion of Findings.....	261
9.2 Conclusion	268
 Reference	 273
Appendix 1.....	293
Appendix 2.....	296

List of Diagrams

Diagram 2.1: The Complete Educational System in Taiwan	13
Diagram 2.2: Substantive GNP Growth Rate, %, 1952-1977	37
Diagram 2.3: The Ratio of Higher Education Expenditures to Total Education Expenditures, GNP %, 2003.....	41
Diagram 4.1: Organization Type	75
Diagram 4.2: The Distribution of Profession from the Private University Sampled...	76
Diagram 4.3: The Selection of Department in Private University	76
Diagram 4.4: The Distribution of Profession from the Public University Sampled....	77
Diagram 4.5: The Selection of Departments in Public Universities	77
Diagram 5.1: Interviewees' Opinion on Politician's Involvement in the Taiwanese Higher Education.....	112
Diagram 5.2: Interviewees' Opinion (Teachers) on the Competence of Minister of Education.....	113
Diagram 6.1: The Curve of the Regularity Expenditure Average in Private University and College/person/Government Subsidy, 1976-2004.....	148
Diagram 6.2: The Curve and Gap between Public and Private University and College on Tuition Fees, 1989-2003	149
Diagram 6.3: The Hours of a Student in Cram School/per week	157
Diagram 6.4: The Subjects/Study in Cram School	157
Diagram 6.5: Schoolwork in Cram School/per student studies	158
Diagram 7.1: Interviewees' Opinions on the Successful Implementation of Deregulation Policy in Higher Education.	178
Diagram 7.2: Interviewees' Opinions (Teachers) on Lee Yuan-tseh's Policy of Professor Governs the University	204
Diagram 7.3: Interviewees' Opinions (Students) on Lee Yuan-tseh's Policy of Professor Governs the University	204
Diagram 8.1: The Tendency of the Amount on PhD and Master Students in Graduate Schools, 1992-2005	239
Diagram 8.2: Interviewees' Opinions (Teachers) on the Issue of the Weighty Intervener in Higher Education.	247
Diagram 8.3: Interviewees' Opinions (Teachers) on 'Who is Responsible for the Failure of Grand Education Reform?'	249
Diagram 8.4: Interviewees' Opinions (Students) on 'Who is Responsible for the Failure of Grand Education Reform?'	250
Diagram 8.5: Different Opinions on Education Reform.....	256

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Year/Enrollment Number/Enrollment Percent in Universities and Colleges, 1994-2007.....	17
Table 2.2: The Number of Colleges and Universities in Taiwan, 1987-2006 (exclude Junior Colleges).....	18
Table 2.3: Jobless Rate for Different Education Levels, %, 1996-2006.....	28
Table 2.4: The Number of Colleges and Universities in Taiwan, 1950-1986 (excluded Junior Colleges).....	38
Table 2.5: The Ratio of Expenditures to GNP/GDP and the Number of Universities and Colleges (1976-1986)	38
Table 2.6: The Ratio of Expenditures to GNP/GDP and the Number of Universities and Colleges, 1987-2006.....	40
Table 2.7 The Ratio of Higher Education Expenditures to Total Education Expenditures, GNP %, 1996-2005	40
Table 5.1: Changes in the Number of University Graduates, 1997–2005	81
Table 6.1: The Name and Title of the Members in CRE.....	134
Table 6.2: The Source of Tuition, Government Funding and Others for Public Universities, %, 2000-2006	146
Table 6.3: The Self-Fundraising in Public Universities, %.....	147
Table 6.4: The Comparison of Tuition and Fees on Public University per Student Relative to Per Capita GDP.....	149
Table 6.5: Name and Duty Days of Ministers of Education, 1949-2008.....	160
Table 6.6: Duty Days/Achievements/Reasons of Step down of Education Ministers	164
Table 8.1: The Quantity of University and College, 1950-2006.....	226
Table 8.2: Total Population, The Number of New Babies and Birth Rate Unit: % ...	229
Table 8.3: The Number of Students Enrolled in Graduate Schools, 1998-2006.....	239

Terminology

This research focuses on the development of the higher education in Taiwan since 1994. The terms ‘deregulation’ means the process of lessening or maximizing the removal of government authority on the higher education sub-sector; ‘decentralization’ is the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations and/or the private sector. The term ‘higher education’ consists of governmentrun and independent universities, military academies and colleges. Higher education, also forms part of post-secondary education or tertiary education system and includes a variety of programs beyond secondary schools. The term ‘higher education reform’ means that the higher education system accepts new educational concepts, revise new content, adopting new processes to correct the shortcomings of present educational policies and to adapt both the needs of subjective and objective circumstances on different stages. For the purpose of this exercise, government was defined inclusively as including ministries, bureaucracy and in national systems, government at any level.

The term ‘political intervention’ is defined as the political implications of legal authority of governments; it consists of parties with interests on higher education policies, political behavior of party politics and non-party politics on higher education issues, and realistic situation which was reflected. In this dissertation, the term ‘liberalization’ refers to a relaxation of government restrictions. The term ‘democratization’ is the transition of an authoritarian political system to a democratic one. The terminology of ‘autonomy’ is defined as the ability to offer freely all kinds of degrees, without external monitoring of any kind.

The term ‘educational populism’ is defined that political ideas and activities that are intended to represent ordinary people’s needs and wishes in educational field. Educational populism is also a collectivist movement. It is a common theme compares

the people against the elite, and urges educational and political system changes.¹ The term ‘educational politicism’ is an ideological and political activity with the goal of a politicization, in which education is subject to the power of the highest authority for the purposes of politics.² The term ‘alienation’ in this study is that withdrawing or separation of a person or his affections from an object or position of former attachment. Principally, the core essence of alienation is highlight on confrontation between subject and object or alien power and the separation of things that naturally belong together, or antagonism between things that are in harmony. The term ‘rationalism’ is defined that the reason as the chief source and test of knowledge, in which the criterion of truth is not sensory but intellectual and deductive. The term ‘ethnic conflict’ in this study describes a situation in which two or more actors pursue incompatible, yet from their individual perspectives entirely just, goals. The term ‘academic capitalism’ refers to college and university deployment of the human capital for their faculty, for the purposes of enhancing their revenues. It describes the phenomenon of universities and faculty increasing attention to market potential as research impetus.

¹ Reference on: M. Canovan (1981) *Populism*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, p.5; M. Kazin (1998) *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

² J. Chang (2009) “The Practice of Educational Politicism in Changing Taiwan: A New Phenomenology” in MPI and Macau Government (ed.), *Journal of Strategies for Macau’s Development*, Vol. 3, pp. 370-386.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

In 1949, the central government of the Republic of China (ROC) moved from China to Taiwan. At the time there was only one university with three departments and three colleges. In 1951, the number of university and college students totaled 6,665; this ascended to 13 national and 19 private higher education institutions by 1974. The number of higher education institutions in 2004 reached 145, consisting of 75 universities that registered 770,760 students, of which 34 were national and 41 private. The remaining 70 private colleges served the needs of 284,169 students. In 2005, there were 148 colleges and universities with a student population of 980,000 plus. For more than five decades, higher education in Taiwan has made remarkable progress quantitatively.

Following the suggestions of Council on Educational Reform (CER) since 1994 and the guidance of General Consultation Report for Education Reform' (GCRER) in 1996,³ the rapid growth in the number of universities and colleges brought the higher education market into a highly competitive situation. A decreasing birth rate, resulted in a lack of applicants which caused serious resources shortages and financial problems to all higher education institutes, regardless of whether the institutions were public, private universities or colleges. The expansion of higher education reflects the will of the people and the need of economic development⁴, more importantly; it is also a political consideration by politicians. However, this rapid development of higher education institutions and the availability of education for most segments of the population, not just the elite, have affected the quality and ecosystem of higher education.

³ The suggestions of Council on Educational Reform (CER) since 1994 and the guidance of General Consultation Report for Education Reform' (GCRER) in 1996, the details can be seen in Chapter 2.2.

⁴ Regarding the will of people and the need of economic development on educational reform, the details can be seen in Chapter 2.3 and 5.1.

On 5 January 1994, the MOE officially announced new regulations offering universities and colleges more academic and administrative independence, for instance, the creation of the policy of professors govern the university, the policy of new university fund system and the policy of employment of the university president. By law, the MOE has drastically reduced its influence on higher education's jurisdiction; its authoritative control was no longer considered harmonious with educators and people in the new political situation such that citizens could freely participate in various kinds of activities in the country. However, in reality, the operation of higher education is still dominated by political power.

Taiwan remained under Martial Law since 1950s, with the state goal of being vigilant against communist infiltration and preparing to retake the mainland. Therefore, political dissent was not tolerated. One-party rule, under the law of 'Temporary Provisions Effective during the Period of Communist Rebellion'⁵ from 1948 to 1987, when President Chiang Ching-kuo, first son of the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, liberalized and democratized⁶ the national system. With democracy put into practice, the question of the political status of Taiwan emerged as a controversial issue, and it has influenced decision-making on national policies, in which, inevitably, included the development of higher education.

⁵ The Temporary Provisions Effective during the Period of Communist Rebellion was a series of temporary constitutional provisions passed by the National Assembly of the Republic of China (Taiwan) on May 10, 1948. The Temporary Provisions which superseded the Constitution were designed to enhance presidential power during the emergency period of communist uprising. For example, the president may, during the period of Communist rebellion, take emergency measures to avert an imminent danger to the security of the nation or of the people, establish an organ for making major policy decisions concerned with national mobilization and suppression of the Communist rebellion, make adjustments in the administrative and personnel organs of the central government, and initiate regulations governing the elections for additional seats in the three parliamentary bodies. See <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/constitution07.htm> (Accessed: 11 July 2007)

⁶ There is a distinct difference between liberalization and democratization. Liberalization refers to a relaxation of government restrictions, in the arena of social policy it may refer to a relaxation of laws. Democratization is the transition to a more democratic political regime. Different patterns of democratization are often used to explain other political phenomena. Liberalization can take place without democratization, and deals with a combination of policy and social change specialized to a certain issue such as the liberalization of government-held something for private use, whereas democratization is more politically specialized that can arise from a liberalization. In this dissertation, the term '*liberalization*' is defined that refers to a relaxation of government restrictions. The term '*democratization*' means the transition of political system from authoritarian to democracy.

The lifting of the Martial Law on the 15 July 1987 marked a turning point in Taiwanese history. This was an event of crucial importance not just because it signified the liberalization of Taiwanese thinking on politics, education and human rights after a long period of political oppression⁷, it also revealed the emergence of a new era. From 1989 to 1993, on the eve of the significant grand education reform in 1994, the call for discussion on higher education affairs by Taiwanese increased sharply. People protested on the street and demanded that the government reform the education system, which included deregulation, decentralization, university autonomy, democracy in university, independent research work and improving Joint University Entrance Examinations (JUEE).⁸

Essentially, from a phylogenic viewpoint, higher education development since 1994 was tightly connected with other political and social movements; it was pushed by different interest groups in Taiwan, for instance, ‘Alliance against High Tuition’ and ‘410 Alliance on Education Reform’, while at the same time being one of the government’s objectives. In addition, national identity triggered conflicts between ethnic groups⁹; Man-nan ethnic group and three other groups¹⁰ generally formed the political opposition and influenced people’s rational discussions on higher education policies. Furthermore, the case of enhancing university autonomy was one of the basic policies on higher education reform since 1994,¹¹ but institutionalizing the rule of law for university autonomy in Taiwan has not been without cost. Increasing the autonomy of the university administration through election processes created

⁷ With martial law came harsh curtailment of the basic human rights of Taiwan's people freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of movement etc. Establishment of new political parties and newspapers was banned, and travel abroad was tightly restricted.

⁸ Huang K. (2006) *The Failure of Education Reform*, Taipei: INK Publishing Co., pp. 179-206. Reporter, (1995, April 8) “The Four Demands by 410 Alliance on Education Refrom” (410 教改聯盟的四項主張), *United Daily*.

⁹ Regarding the conflict national identity, the detail see Chapter 5.1

¹⁰ Taiwan has four main ethnic groups, namely “Min-nan” (閩南), “Hakka” (客家), “Mainlander” (外省人), and Taiwanese “aborigines” (原住民).

¹¹ In 1994, The University Law was revised fundamentality to gave universities autonomy, and Council of Educational Reform was built as well. This year is a turning point on higher education sector in Taiwan.

opportunities for open conflicts between candidates and their supporters over nonacademic issues. In rational circumstances¹², the proliferation of faculty power would be of benefit to university autonomy, but in Taiwan, political position is something. In reality, the election of a university president or dean of faculty became a decisive struggle for political positioning. Voting stations became the political battlefield and the academic world was being polluted by politics¹³.

1.2 Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to examine the reality of political intervention on the policy of deregulation and decentralization in the Taiwanese higher education since 1994. For a long time, the Taiwanese higher education policies and related statutes were decided primarily by the political decision-makers and MOE, in accordance with national economics and political policies. The decisions made by the central government were passed down through various educational administrative systems for implementation. However, most educators in Taiwan recognize that such forms of organization, including bureaucratic-type hierarchical authority, which was applied to universities, were no longer working well. Hence the first principal research question is ‘what are the foundations of Taiwanese society in political intervention on Taiwanese higher education development?’

The reasons for the driving force behind political intervention delivery in the education system are national goal and political market competition. In Taiwan, most of the education policies were the result of the reaction to domestic political issues and it is related to political power transformation in the education system. This was especially evident in the higher education sector. Therefore, the second principal question is ‘what are the practices of higher education policy of deregulation and decentralization under the high and low political intervention?’

¹² In philosophy, rationality is originally the exercise of reason, a rational decision is one that is not just reasoned, but is also optimal for achieving a goal or solving a problem.

¹³ See Chapter 7.2

The central concepts of higher education reform since 1994 in Taiwan were deregulation and decentralization. These policies emphasize the liberalization of education management from government control. In correspondence with this aim, education system should transform from hierarchical pattern to collegial type, and transferred from central authority to the higher education institutes itself. In reality, the Taiwanese deviated from this route. The Taiwanese government implemented a false deregulation and decentralization to develop a new type of regulation and decentralization with educational populism¹⁴. Thus, the third principal question is ‘what are the political power interactions and competitions in the policies of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education?’

The grand education reforms put into practice since 1994, which includes high tuition fees, increasing the number of post-secondary institutes, university autonomy, deregulation and decentralization. These falls under the principle of educational politicism¹⁵, the major policies were concrete and directly affected the intrinsic quality of higher education. It triggered much controversy and has also been the targeted by people for the most criticisms. Hence, the fourth principal question is ‘what are the confronting positions between political authority, scholar-ruler and educators, and results of conflicts on the issue of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education?’

¹⁴ The details can be seen in Chapter6, 7, 8.

¹⁵ Educational politicism is an ideological and political activity with the goal of a politicization, in which education is subject to the power of the highest authority for the purposes of politics. The natures of the structure on educational politicism are that first, it possesses a lofty aspiration to accomplish the political goals which are expected by the highest authority, regardless of the aspect of politics, economy or education itself. Second, it is a radical educational populism, alienating educational policies and conception of politics takes command of all education affairs. Third, the aim is to provide education service to politics and politicians. Fourth, the measure is political intervention. Fifth, the idea is to maximize political benefits with power. Sixth, the education system control is handed by either ruling class or by the agent of ruling class. To sum-up the illustrations, the components of educational politicism consist of three pillars. First, ideology: it includes educational populism, alienation and educational authoritarianism. Second, objective: education services to politics and politicians. Third, programs of action: it contains particularistic acts, populism, and political intervention. Regarding the definition of educational politicism see J. Chang (2009) “The Practice of Educational Politicism in Changing Taiwan: A New Phenomenology” in MPI and Macau Government (ed.), *Journal of Strategies for Macau's Development*, Vol. 3, pp. 370-386.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Higher education has long been a critical issue, and it continues to be a main cause of concern for the people in Taiwan. Taiwanese higher education development, which contains both real and ideal aspects, is a symbolic policy as it covers differing fields of culture, social values, national identity, political struggles and national goals.

First of all, this study follows the view of identity politics and the core contents of the conflict theory intending to penetrate the foundation of political intervention in Taiwanese society. ‘The foundation of political intervention’ in here highlights the essence of education system and the socio-political root on political intervention in higher education. To achieve this objective this study examines the socio-political headstone of political intervention in chapter 5, which includes the detail of the issue of national identity and political momentums on higher education, the political roles of educational decision-makers.

Second, this study plans to explore the practice of higher education since 1994 under the high and low political intervention. To achieve this objective, this study examines the high and low political intervention in Taiwanese higher education development, which includes the conflicts between the educational ideality and political reality on higher education development; the political goals and the political actions in implementing higher education policies; and the issues of higher education policies in chapter 6.

Third, this study aims to discover the political power interaction and competition in the policies of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education. Political intervention in this dissertation consists of political party, politicians and scholar-ruler’s political interests on higher education affairs and its political behavior on higher education issues. To achieve this objective, this study examines the political power interaction, competition and educational populism¹⁶ in Taiwanese

¹⁶ Educational populism is a political strategy in educational sector, it based on a calculated appeal to the interests or prejudices of ordinary people.

higher education development, which analyzes sections of the alienative policies in higher education development and the metamorphic policy in higher education autonomy in chapter 7.

Fourth, this study attempts to find the confronting positions between political authority, scholar-rulers and educators, and results of conflicts on the issue of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education. To achieve this objective, this study interprets the driving forces behind the educational populism; the cases of educational, political and social conflicts on higher educational policies in chapter 8.

Summing-up the research, this study also discloses a new concept to explain the new phenomenon in Taiwanese higher education that is called educational ‘alienative transition’. An alienative system results from an abnormal transformation; it contains a number of species in political interventions and educational populism.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The original contribution of this study completely reveals that higher education development after 1950' was tightly connected to political and social movements in Taiwan. Under the inspection of the conflict theory, this study verifies that the higher education grand reform since 1994 was not the creation of reality and ideality on the pure education policy's conflict, it was a conflict of political and ethnic interest, which tangle Taiwanese high education policies.

From the view of system structure and function, no qualified organizational type can explain the operative situation on the Taiwanese higher education system appropriately. Thus, this study discloses a new analytical view to interpret the phenomenon of higher education development which correlates with domestic politics. As the social culture is the sum of the fundamental values that gives form and substance to the political process, it influences the orientation of the people towards policy-making. This study is also an original study on the integration of educational values, national identity, and ethnic conflicts to explore the higher educational

development in Taiwan. This study is one of the few to deconstruct the higher education development in Taiwan combined with the views on the contradiction between the politicians' political interest, particularism¹⁷, political intervention, political reality, and educational ideality in Taiwanese higher education. This study looks into the structural and inner world of higher education policies, the debates and the practical measures that were implemented in Taiwan.

Very specifically, the Taiwanese higher education development since 1994 was driven by Lee Yuan-tseh, a Nobel laureate in Chemistry, a non-education expert. As a leader of the official education reform team, Lee had the highest power to make a final decision on education reform policies. This study uses the view of objectivity to discover the facts that a non-education specialist with the title of Nobel laureate did on the Taiwanese higher education affairs. Furthermore, under the educational populism and political promise in the general elections, the number of Taiwanese higher education institutions expanded with rapidly. This study reveals the situation of the policy of higher education expansion and analyzes its predicaments.

1.5 Organization of the Dissertation

This study discusses the issues in a total of eight chapters. Chapter 1 reviews the backgrounds and describes questions, objectives and significance of the research. Chapter 2 is the essence of the Taiwanese higher education; it describes both the transformation of higher education policies, the structure of higher education and the interaction between higher education development, political transition and economic growth. Chapter 3 reviews the previous studies, which focus on the journals, articles, newspapers and books that relate to this study and centering on theoretical points on previous studies. Chapter 4 introduces the analytical framework, and the approach taken in this research. Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 are the results of analysis. It focuses on

¹⁷ Political particularism is the ability of policymakers to further their careers by appealing to narrow interests rather than the wider interests of the country.

the actual state of the foundation and policies of political intervention in higher education, political momentums in higher education, political role of educational decision-makers, the political intervention on the policies of deregulation, decentralization and other higher educational affairs. The alienative policies in higher education and political, and social conflicts on anti-educational movements are discussed. Finally, Chapter 9 is the discussions and conclusion on the research of the study.

Chapter 2 Essence of the Taiwanese Higher Education

Almond and Verba (1989) gave a clear definition on political culture, they interpreted that political culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations toward politics among the members of a political system. It is the subjective realm that underlies and gives meaning to political actions.

The Taiwanese political culture is a mix with the value of traditional and modern political ideology. Same as political culture, education mix with the value of tradition and modern on the philosophy of education. Within such a blend, the people and students hold obedience and conservative attitudes on politics; they have no expectation to the input of the political system, but instead unilaterally accept the restrictions from the output of political system. In other words, their support for the decision-maker or the political authority is greater than that of their own demands. Under such circumstances, people have a very low desire to participate in politics and educational affairs, they believed that the decisive rights belong to elite who control and operate politics, education and policy-design.

Political socialization¹⁸ is the process by which individuals acquire political norms and values in their society (Langton, 1969; Jownsend, 1972). After DPP gained political power in 2000, it faced two fundamental issues if they wished to exercise their long-term leadership. These were: constructing new political statements and to win over the majority of the Taiwanese and identify the political view of DPP. To solve these two issues, the DPP elites proceed to restructure social values through the education system. Their purpose was to establish a new political culture so that the members in the country could accept the supreme aim of DPP's society based on the interest of Man-nan ethnic group. The ideal of DPP's society portrayed by the party's elite is to make a stand on de-Sinicization, permanent ruling and Taiwan

¹⁸ Political socialization-the process of a person's learning or being guidance for acquiring political orientation and behavior pattern.

independence.

In order to create the status of Taiwan independence, it was primarily necessary to change the fundamental values in Taiwan. The most important medium for political socialization are school textbooks and curriculums. Educational institutions are, amongst the most important organizations, the best place to cultivate its political socialization movement. They can be used to mold members in the nation to form their political orientation and support pro-DPP political behavior (Langton, 1969).

There was another important characteristic in the course of DPP's political socialization that is to pay a great deal of attention to create the new values on national identity. This was achieved through the use of political slogans including 'love Taiwan' and 'anti-alien regime' which indicated Mainlanders and KMT in every school and every corner around the island. Its functions on political socialization, whether in society or in school, can be summarized as the following: 1) The national identity can create a strong desire and consciousness of political participation with DPP's political stand; 2) A unanimous national identity is a good political superglue, it can unite people's ideas and service to DPP's central authority and it can bring about the consistency of political behavior with DPP's political ideology.

2.1 The Structure and Development of Higher Education

In general, higher education can be classified into 6 categories in Taiwan: 1) Junior Colleges; 2) the Universities of Technology and Institutes of Technology; 3) Public and Private Universities and Colleges; 4) Normal Universities and Teachers' Colleges; 5) Open Universities; and 6) Military Academies and Police University.¹⁹ All higher education institutions may offer either degree or non-degree oriented continuing education programs. To qualify as a university, an institute must consist of at least

¹⁹ Military Academies in Taiwan including: Military Academy, Naval Academy, Air Force Academy, Chungcheng Institute of Technology, Political Warfare College, National Defense Management College, College of National Defense Medicine.

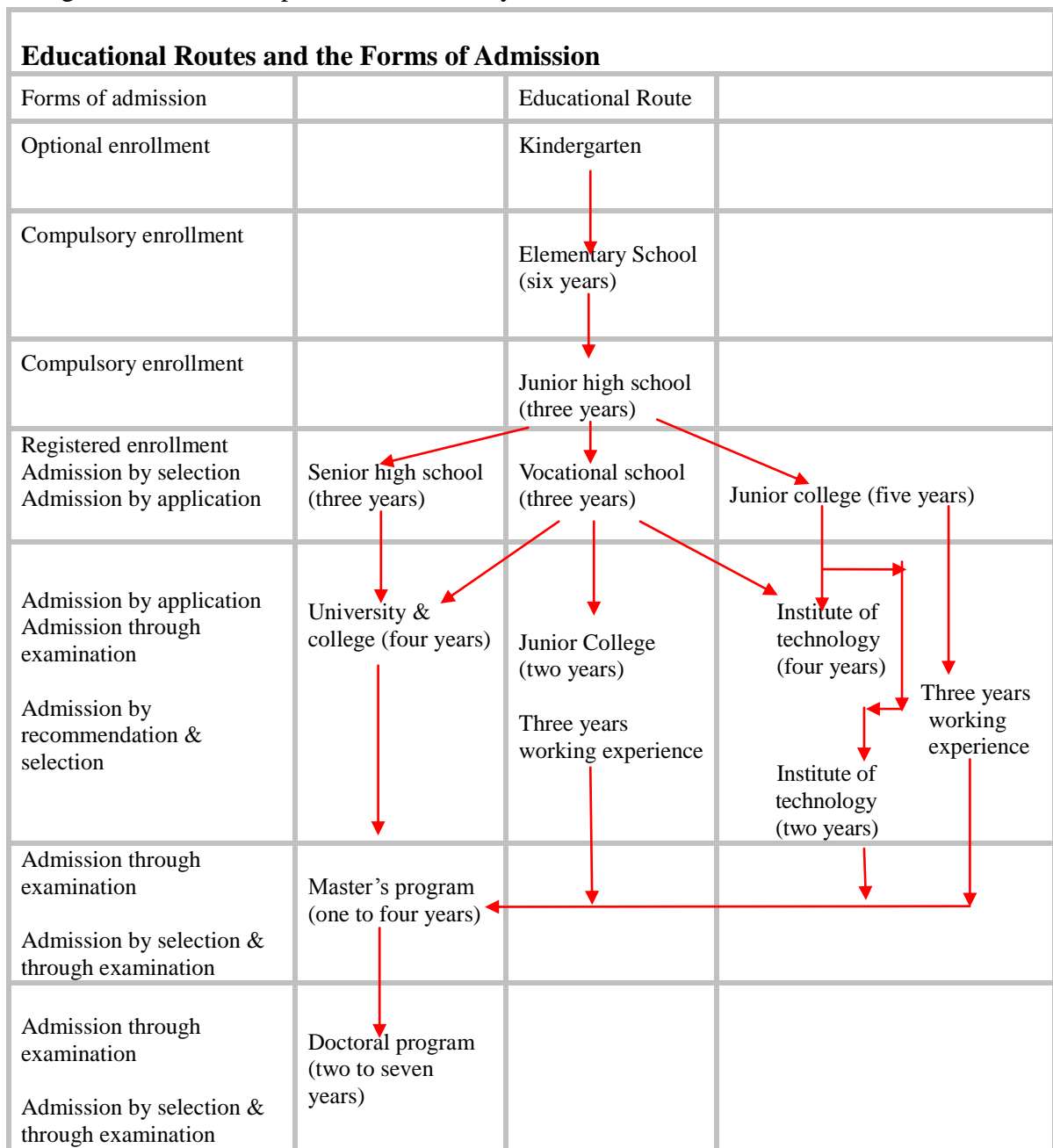
twelve academic departments which are covered by at least three faculties.²⁰

In 2004, as MOE showed (MOE, 2004) that there were only 14 junior colleges in total, 11 of which were private and enrolled a total of 230,938 students. The aims of junior colleges focus primarily on applied sciences, technology and business, to turn out a work force with mid-level technical or managerial skills. University and four-year College are authorized to offer the bachelor, masters and doctorates degrees, similar to most universities around the world. As the regulation by MOE, it requires that a minimum of 128 credits be completed to achieve a bachelor degree. Graduate courses are divided between masters and doctorate programs; it usually admits students only after they gained a bachelor degree and have passed the relevant examinations. Junior college graduates are also eligible to take the examination after relevant work experience. The doctorate program normally requires between two and seven years of study after completing a master degree. In 2004, a total of 1,964 doctorates, 35,981 master degrees, and 192,854 bachelor's degrees were awarded in Taiwan. Military education includes four-year university-level education, and master, doctor degree-level research studies. Police universities are the same as military academy.

A three-tier system of primary school, high school and university or college was adopted in the Taiwanese educational system. It covers six years of elementary school, three years of junior high school, three years of senior high school, and four years of university or college. Elementary and junior high school attendance is compulsory by Constitution. The structure of education and educational routes is illustrated in Diagram 2.1:

²⁰ See The Article 5 in 'The Standard of to Establish an University', proclamation on 30th October 1996, Taipei: Ministry of Education, 1997.

Diagram 2.1: The Complete Educational System in Taiwan



Source: MOE (2004)

On regulations, students can test into any post-secondary institute from either senior high or vocational school. Students who complete a five-year junior college program may take the relevant examinations to matriculate in two-year Institute of Technology or four-year Institute of Technology. Furthermore, the students may also take a transfer test held by specific departments in university to enter as second year students or first year students. Universities and colleges offer a wide variety of master

and doctoral programs, which are also entered through either individual competitive examination or directly from college or university.

Before the middle of 1970's, supplementary education in Taiwan only required students to be educated to senior high school level. In 1976, the Supplementary Education Act²¹ was amended to extend the education to junior college level. Supplementary schools may be public or private.²² The Supplementary Education Act was further amended to extend the education to university level in 1982.²³ In 1984 rectified the Degree Granting Act,²⁴ which regulated that after graduates from the National Open University are awarded a bachelor degree. Also in 1984, the University Act was amended to grant authority to provincial and city governments for establishing open universities. From the system's view, after the National Open University was officially founded in 1986, the structure of complementary education with distance learning being implemented was finalized.

National Open University began enrolling undergraduates in 1987, and under University Act, the Open University of Kaohsiung²⁵ has been in operation since 1997. There are only two kinds of undergraduates, regular students and elective students, in Open University, regardless of what location (regional or nationwide), were admitted. Regular students must be at least 20 years old and have senior high school or equivalent qualifications; elective students must be at least 18 years of age, and are not required to have senior high school equivalent qualifications. To graduate and get a bachelor's degree, regular students must acquire 128 credits; elective students

²¹ 'Supplementary Education Act' proclaimed in 9 June 1982, the order number:總統臺(一)義字 3351, the full text have 25 Articles. See *Laws and Regulations of Ministry of Education 2006*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.

²² *A Brief Introduction to Taiwan*, see <http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/brief/index.html> (Accessed: 11 July 2008)

²³ See: Article 5 and 20 of 'Supplementary Education Act', *Laws and Regulations of Ministry of Education 2006*, Taipei: Ministry of Education. The rapid development of communications and information technology also brought changes to supplementary education, which can now be offered through correspondence study, broadcasting and educational channels on TV.

²⁴ 'Degree Granting Act', proclaimed in 27 April 1994, the order number:華總(一)義字 2235, the full text have 17 Articles. See *Laws and Regulations of Ministry of Education 2006*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.

²⁵ Kaohsiung, is a second large city, located at south of Taiwan.

initially need to gain 40 credits before becoming regular students. If they choose to continue, they can acquire their degree with another 88 credits. In 2004, the two open universities were attended by 24,531 students, 3,664 of whom graduated that year (Year book, 2005).

Regarding higher education development, it is clear that in modern history of Taiwan has until 1994, generally undergone two main education reforms which touched upon the structure of whole system. The first was the establishment of a modern education system that was mostly influenced by Japanese models in the colonial period before 1945. The second grand reform came soon after World War II when Japan departed from Taiwan, much of this was under the direction of the government of Republic of China, and changes in the educational system were heavily influenced by American practices.

Following the second reform, education in Taiwan realized the concept of equal opportunity and elevated national education standards was to become the driving force for the development of economic society. The educational system served the country well in producing the skilled light-industrial workforce that made the Taiwanese economic situation reach the summit when compared with other developing countries in the last quarter of 20th Century. However, as Taiwan turned into the 21st Century, the education system reveals various problems; there is a growing belief that the education, especially higher education, needed to change in order to respond to the challenges of the new era.

In 1949, Communist forces gained control of Mainland China. The ruling Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, retreated to Taiwan. During that time, the educational mechanism in Taiwan was given a vocational training outlook, with the emphasis on training people for the jobs as well as educating them in harmony with nationalist spirit. This largely resulted from the government's well-known intention to make Taiwan a solid military base to win over

the Chinese Continent.

When the central government moved to Taiwan in 1949, there was only one university with three departments and three colleges only¹⁴. In 1951, the sum of university and college students totaled 6,665; the numbers ascended to 13 national and 19 private higher education institutions by 1974. In 2000, the number of universities and colleges reached 127 compared with 105 establishments in 1999 and only 84 in 1998. College and university enrollments in 2001 were 48.78 per 1,000 of the total population.²⁶ In 2001 there were 57 universities, 78 colleges, and 19 junior colleges. A total of 1,187,225 undergraduates were enrolled, and there were 103,213 graduate students in 1,668 graduate programs.

The number of higher education institutions in 2004 reached 145, consisting of 75 universities that registered 770,760 students, of which 34 were national, and 41 private, 70 private colleges and 14 junior colleges served the needs of 284,169 students. A total of 1,228,727 undergraduates were enrolled in these institutions, of which 160,401 graduate students were placed in 2,455 graduate school programs (Year book, 2005).²⁷ Among them, College and university enrollment were 56.67 per 1,000 of the total population, and if the two open universities and continuing education, junior college level, are included, the rate was even higher. In 2005, there were 148 colleges and universities with a student population of 980,000 plus; the total breakdown in 2006 included 94 universities and 53 colleges. For more than five decades, higher education in Taiwan had made remarkable progress quantitatively. The Table 2.1 shows the change from 1994 to 2007 showing senior high school graduates enrolled in tertiary education.

²⁶ If the two open universities and continuing education are included, this percentage was 54.10%.

²⁷ In SY 2004 (September 2004 to June 2005), the total enrollment rate of the population aged six to twenty-one was 96.77 percent. Roughly 237 persons for every one thousand of the total population were attending some type of educational institution. See *Education-Year book* (2005), Taipei: Ministry of Education, 2006.

Table 2.1: Year/Enrollment Number/Enrollment Percent in Universities and Colleges,
1994-2007

Year	Sign no.	Enroll no.	Enrollment %
1994	124,786	55,343	44.35
1995	125,490	55,604	44.31
1996	124,654	61,381	49.24
1997	123,545	74,346	60.18
1998	118,827	71,826	60.45
1999	121,122	72,471	59.83
2000	130,468	75,281	57.70
2001	126,233	77,450	61.35
2002	97,699	78,562	80.41
2003	104,608	87,059	83.22
2004	102,132	88,939	87.05
2005	99,990	88,991	89.08
2006	97788	88920	90.93
2007	90002	86652	96.28

Source: Created by the author, based on the Statistic of Education, MOE, (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007)

The rapid growth in the number of universities and colleges brought the higher education market into a highly competitive situation. With a decreasing birth rate resulting in a lack of applicants, some universities and colleges in Taiwan will recruit fewer fresh people than ever before. This may cause serious resources squander and financial problems to all higher education institutes, regardless of their status as public or private universities or colleges. The recruitment of more mature students, from either on-job or off-job categories, is one of the most important ways to help them survive.

From 1994 to 2006 as the case, the number of four-year higher education institutions in Taiwan had risen from 58 to 147. At the same time the number of students graduating from higher education institutions has increased, resulting in a higher supply of people with higher education for the labor market. Actually, higher education institutions in Taiwan have gone through rapid expansion from late 1987 to 2006 as Table 2.2 exhibited. In 2006, the number of higher education institutions has reached to 147.

Table 2.2: The Number of Colleges and Universities in Taiwan, 1987-2006 (exclude Junior Colleges)

Year	College	University	Total
1987	23	16	39
1988	23	16	39
1989	20	21	41
1990	25	21	46
1991	29	21	50
1992	29	21	50
1993	30	21	51
1994	35	23	58
1995	36	24	60
1996	43	24	67
1997	40	38	78
1998	45	39	84
1999	61	44	105
2000	74	53	127
2001	78	57	135
2002	78	61	139
2003	75	67	142
2004	70	75	145
2005	59	89	148
2006	53	94	147

Source: Department of Statistics, MOE (2007)

The expansion in higher education establishments reflects the will of the people and higher education reform consensus. More importantly, it is also a political consideration by politicians, the issue of political intervention on higher education development which will be discussed in detail in other Chapters in this research. However, as a result of the increase in universities, colleges and student numbers, higher education is moving from quantitative change to qualitative change, it is no longer limited to the elite but available to the populace. This rapid development of higher education institutions and the availability of education for all segments of the population, not just the elite, have affected the quality and ecosystem of higher education (Lu, 2003). The shift of the ecological system in higher education will be analyzed in section 7.1 of this dissertation.

The Article 162 of Section 5 ‘Education and Culture’ in Chapter 8 ‘Fundamental National Policies’ of Constitution of ROC indicates ‘all government and independent educational and cultural institutions in the country shall, in accordance with law, be subject to state supervision’ (Constitution of Republic of China, 2003). Under

Constitution regulation, higher education institutes in Taiwan have substantially been operated at the discretion of the MOE. However, to assess the operation of higher education from the viewpoint of power structure, the national system in Taiwan is a typical hierarchical structure and the policies of the MOE were determined by the central committee of the ruling party.

This character of decision-making in Taiwan showed clearly that the highest authority of ruling party holds the power to control the national educational affairs. As the agent of central authority, MOE took over the managerial right from the heads of educational establishments and handled all school affairs in the ivory tower. Particularly, the right on university personnel appointments and distribution of monetary resources were controlled by MOE. The nature of this structure made MOE the highest authority in higher education.

Surely, one can easily grasp the real situation that higher education in Taiwan has traditionally been centralized in terms of education goals, the status of teachers and students, personnel recruitment, campus investment, curriculum and the examination structure. Without the unexpected to observers, the central authority in Taiwan makes top level decisions in the fields of higher education.

2.2 Higher Education Policies

The Taiwanese government used to adopt a highly centralized system in governing higher education because education was employed as an instrument to promote official ideologies and maintain political influence of the ruling party. Higher education from 1949 therefore laid emphasis on cooperative behavior, group discipline, loyalty to the political ruler, and obedience to standards. For the purpose of loyalty to the political ruler, four general aims were unveiled for higher education fields at that time, namely: national identity, patriotism, re-Sinicization, and martial spirit. These four aims on the policy of higher education based on the directive document, named ‘Guidelines of the Education during the War Time and the Period of

Rebuilding the Nation Period' published in 1950, followed this guidelines, some sub-guidelines and governmental notices came to complement this basic framework for the education system, it is called 'Guideline on the Sprit, Military, Physical and Technical Training for High School and University' in 1952, 'Plan on the Daily Life Education' in 1962, 'Instruction on the Ethic and Moral Education' in 1968, and 'Plan on the Country-serving Education in 1973. Under these polices, some of the curriculums at universities and colleges are designated to achieve the national goal of security, for instance, military and nursing courses and the program of the doctrine of Sun Yat-sen were taught and trained in higher education institutes; student both male or female needed to be dressed in university uniform to attend such courses.

Under the rule of Martial Law, Taiwanese higher education policies and related legislation were decided primarily by the central government. One can understand this situation by just examining the 'Ministry of Education's Organic Law', which was established on December 1928, the last revision was on 25 July 1973. By this law, the MOE is the sole body responsible for the administration of educational affairs, and is the central administrative authority in directing and supervising the implementation of all educational affairs (Ministry of Education, 1973). Any locally formulated order or disciplinary measure that violates laws and regulations, or which oversteps the authority possessed by the local government itself, could be suspended or revoked by the Executive Yuan Council, upon request by the MOE. The central government had complete control over all major educational policies. Furthermore, the university president was appointed by MOE directly, the dean or director of department needed the approval of the MOE as well.

After lift from Martial Law since 1987 the purpose in the new era was to enhance national power, improve the quality of higher education and in order to better position its universities in the globalized world, the Executive Yuan set up the Council on Educational Reform (CER) in 1994 to evaluate issues in the higher education and

to suggest reforms. After 2 years of studies, CER revealed a fundamental document ‘General Consultation Report for Education Reform’ (GCRER), which the guiding principle is deregulation and has put five major directions of policies for future higher education reform in Taiwan (GCRER, 1996): 1) to liberate the education, and taking off the incorrect control on the education affairs; 2) to develop a new education system that is suitable for every student; 3) offer new opportunities to advance studies and meeting individual as well as social needs; 4) improve the education quality; 5) establishing life-long learning society²⁸.

Based on the Report of CER, the MOE announced new regulations offering universities and colleges more academic and administrative independence. The main concept of new regulations was that it is the responsibility of higher education to guide the social development, to cultivate higher level experts and to enhance the national competitive capability. The principle of the new policies which follows the MOE’ new regulations, are: 1) to expand of higher educational quantity; 2) to elevate the level of higher education; 3) to promote continuing education; 4) to integrate higher education institutions; 5) to search more educational resources; 6) to assist private universities and colleges developing completely; 7) to make universities becoming ‘learning-type’ institutes (GCRER, 1996).

The core value of GCRER in higher education is deregulation as CER clearly revealed. CER suggested to deregulate and decentralize governmental control over education and exempting education from unnecessary constraints, safeguarding the students’ learning rights, protecting the students’ choice right of education patterns,

²⁸ General Consultation Report for Education Reform (GCRER) included a series of all level education policy suggestions, which are summarized on the parts of elementary, middle education and adult education : 1) Elementary education section. Shorten elementary school years from six years to five years, decrease the number of students per class to less than thirty by 1998, and make English a required course. 2) Middle education section. Increase the size of existing high schools, establish specialized high schools to provide both general and vocational education, strengthen the basic skills, which included language, mathematics, of vocational school students, and lower the student ratio of vocational schools versus high schools. 3) Adult and continuing education. Establish community colleges, link universities, families, local communities, and enterprise together to provide on-job training, and develop social education via internet teaching and National Open University.

and respect for the teachers professional autonomy, CER also included such suggestions as the implementation of multiple channels for students to advance to higher levels of education without relying solely on examinations.

On the basis of new higher education policies universities are encouraged to open two-year special classes for in-service study at the undergraduate and graduate school (Principle 3). Higher education institutions that are not economically viable shall be merged or integrated properly (Principle 4). Subsidiary budget to private universities and colleges is increased annually (Principle 6). Universities are expected to play a leading role in the entire learning society (Principle 7). Furthermore, with the purpose of improving higher education, the MOE has carried out several projects. First, University Law Amending Group had been established to check the problems resulting from the implementation of University Law. Second, the present structure of the Academic Examination Committee of the MOE adjusted as a Higher Education Examination Committee. Third, the internal funding system of public universities and the teacher's resource project has been promoted to gain flexibility in personnel and financial operation; to extend the effect of resource manipulation; and to seek the improvement of educational quality. Fourth, it has tried to seek the balance of resource between public and private universities and colleges; to supervise the development project of private universities and colleges' general affairs. Fifth, 'Pursuing Academic Excellence Developing Project of Universities' initiated to enhance academic level and develop the individual characteristic of each university.

Before GCRER was born, in 1995, the MOE released 'The Republic of China Educational Report' in the light of the importance of educational reform towards Taiwan's social development. This Report outlined a path that will guide Taiwanese higher education reform into the 21st century. The two main areas of the proposed reforms were alleviating the examination pressure involved in entering schools of a higher level and promoting a more liberal education. As for a major reform in the area

of higher education, the over 40 year old JUEE was terminated by the year 2002. The new JUEE took a new program; it called the 'Multi-route Promotion Program', which students can adopt alternative ways when applying to a university or college. The new JUEE is divided into three different examination models. Models A and B will both require 'Subject Ability Test' scores, but on different subjects for the 'University Testing of Proficiency for Selected Subjects', which depended on the university demand. Model C is the same as the old JUEE.

However, under the principle of 'to expand of higher educational quantity', Taiwanese kept an open door for establishing new higher education institutions, the results of this policy will be discussed in Chapter 6, 7 and 8 in detail. For the implemented higher reform proposals of GCRER, an inter-ministrial 'Commission for Promoting Education Reform' was set up and assigned the task of monitoring the progress of actualizing the reform proposals. On 4 April 1998, the Commission approved the plan 'Twelve Education Reform Mandates', the plan was then finalized by the Executive Yuan and Legislative Yuan on 14 May 1998. These Twelve Education Reform Mandates which is related with higher education are as follows²⁹: renovating teacher education and in-service training programs (item 3); pursuing excellence in higher education and its development (item 5); advocating lifelong learning projects (item 6); expanding access to colleges and universities (item 9); creating a new system integrating teaching, guidance, and counseling (item 10); increasing the educational budget for the enhancement of educational research (item

²⁹ The whole of 'Twelve Education Reform Mandates': 1) Revamping National Education Projects, K-12; 2) Fostering Pre-school and Kindergarten Education Programs; 3) Renovating Teacher Education and In-service Training Programs; 4) Promoting Impeccable Diversified Vocational Education; 5) Pursuing Excellence in Higher Education and Its Development; 6) Advocating Lifelong Learning Projects; 7) Strengthening Educational Programs Designed for the Handicapped; 8) Invigorating Educational Programs for the Native Taiwanese (Aboriginals); 9) Expanding Access to Colleges and Universities; 10) Creating a New System Integrating Teaching, Guidance, and Counseling; 11) Increasing the Educational Budget for the Enhancement of Educational Research; 12) Accelerating the Promotion of Family Value/Ethics through Parental Education. see S, Yang (2001) "Dilemmas of Education Reform in Taiwan: Internationalization or Localization?" Paper presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International, Education Society, Washington DC, March 13-17.

11); accelerating the promotion of family value/ethics (item 12).

It is worth to mention, after a historical general strike named ‘Rescue Education, Science and Culture’ which united teachers and students and all educational associations active on the Island against the government’s new educational budget policies. Facing this seriously strike, the central government was forced to promise to respect the regulation of budget on ‘Education, Science and Culture’, which is regulated by Constitution. In May 1998, the ‘Action Plan of 1998’ was revealed, it was extremely attractive as the government was to release about 4 billion USD in 5 years (from 1999 to 2004) to conduct the all level educational reform. Unfortunately, the ‘Action Plan of 1998’ was not as smooth as people expected; it ended with no financial support from the government during its early stage.

Along with the Action Plan of 1998, the Taiwanese government also promised to allocate budgets which totalled 150 billion NTD for all level education in 12 items between 1998 and 2003. There were three goals which related with higher education policy: 1) improving teacher’s education and in-service education system; 2) advancing standards for higher education; 3) allocating more educational budget to encourage educational research and studies.³⁰ The same as Action Plan of 1998, this plan was not completed due to the national budget difficulties.

Following GCRER, three major laws namely, University Law, Teacher Law and Private Education Law were revised and promulgated to the public. These new Laws adjust the relationship between MOE and higher education institutions. For instance, the revised University Law grants tertiary institutions autonomy over finance, personnel, and curriculum. The other two laws enhanced the power of teachers,

³⁰ Taiwanese government allocated budgets totally 150 billion NTD for all level education between 1998 and 2003. The goals of policies included that: 1) strengthening national compulsory education; 2) enlarging the coverage of preschool education; 3) improving teacher's education and in-service education system; 4) enhancing a pluralistic and refined form of vocational education; 5) advancing standards for higher education itself; 6) promoting lifelong education; 7) supporting education for the handicapped; 8) invigorating education for aborigine students; 9) opening alternative channels for promotion at different levels of schooling; 10) establishing a new student guidance system which aim is to better integrate education, students’ personal affairs and guidance into one system; 11) allocating more educational budget to encourage educational research and studies; 12) initiating family education.

individuals, and the community, over higher education affairs. Besides, the Teachers' Cultivation Act was promulgated in 1994 and revised in July 2002. Under the new Act, universities and colleges are allowed to offer educational curriculums for cultivating teachers.

In accordance with the new University Law, universities and colleges have the right to establish their own university faculty councils to deal with the recruitment, promotion, and dismissal of teachers; presidents, deans and department heads are elected or appointed using a variety of methods in each university, as opposed to past practice where the MOE had sole authority to appoint presidents of government universities and colleges. As the case of the university president, according to the new regulation, university are allowed to elect two to three candidates for president or for deanship and to refer these names to MOE for final selection. The candidates for university president and deanship are required to campaign on the basis of their vision and performance, and to answer questions raised by teaching staff and students.

In 2002 the Ministry of Education unveiled 'White Paper for University Education' (White Paper, 2001), in which the Paper emphasis on creative education, and adopting a comprehensive view aiming to incorporate the creative education in higher education. Guidelines were also made to systematically promote creative education in a comprehensive way. In other words, university education is chiefly aimed at developing students' talents. Besides, for private university administration, the 'Private Education Institutes Law' and 'Implementation Plan of Cooperation between Social Organizations and Educational Institutes' have granted autonomy to private institutions, particularly in school management, by strengthening the role and authorities of the directors board (Mok and Chan, 2008). The MOE also launched the program 'Last Mile Plan' to ensure that university graduates meet the market's needs. (Mok and Chan, 2008)

Regarding the new programs of higher education reform, in 2000, the program

for ‘Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities’ was unveiled. In 2001, the ‘Program to Enhance Fundamental University Education’ was added. Beginning in 2002, the ‘Program to Raise International Competitiveness of Universities’, the ‘University Consolidation and Inter-University Research Center Program’, the ‘Program to Cultivate Talent in the Science and Technology Departments of Universities, and the ‘Program to Build an Infrastructure for Research-Based Universities’ were launched to promote the development of higher education. In 2005, the ‘Program to Encourage Universities to Pursue Teaching Excellence’ was introduced to encourage universities to raise the teaching and researching quality (Huang, 2006). In that same year (2005), 12 universities joined the ‘Plan for Upholding Universities Capacities (PUUC)’³¹, in which MOE plans to subsidize totally 50 billions NTD (1.6 billions USD) in the following five years. The targets of PUUC was to promote one or more universities to be in the top 100 of world universities and or top 3 in Asian countries, as well as help 5 or more research centers to be in the top 50 of the world’s research centers.

Prior to higher education reform in 1994, the Taiwanese government was the primary funding source of all national universities. However the Taiwanese economy gradually downturned, in order to share the burden of government expenditures and improve the university’s management, the government planned to diversify financing channels to finance its higher education system by new ‘University Fund System’. In this system, they have five public universities to attend form 1996 including National Taiwan University; having eight universities to attend form 1997 including National Chengchi University; having thirteen universities to attend form 1998 including National Taiwan Normal University (Ministry of Education, 2000a). The last step is having all national universities in Taiwan to adopt this new university fund system.

³¹ 12 universities included National Taiwan University, National Chengchi University, National Chengkung University, National Tsinghua University, National Chiaotung University, National Central University, National Sun-Yat-San University, National Yangming University, National Chunghsing University, National Taiwan University of Science and Technology, Changung University, Yuanze University.

Concerning the policies of new university fund system, for instance, the national universities are allowed to keep the annual budget surplus, hence giving incentives for the universities to diversify their sources of income through actively applying for research grants³². Furthermore, the MOE allows 30% of flexibility on public universities' tuition charges. With the introduction of these measures, Taiwanese government hopes to make public universities more financial responsible in the longer term. Nowadays, tuition fees and research grants have contributed to a more significant proportion to the public universities' revenue. In addition, to encourage private universities to compete with national universities on the same ground, Taiwanese government has adopted a new funding policy by cutting about 20-25% of the central government financial resources originally attributed to public universities to offer financial support to private universities based upon a competitive basis. In line with this policy, around 20% of the regular income of the private universities has been supported by the MOE since 1999. (White Paper, 2001) Moreover, the government also slightly loosened the restrictions on tuition fees by adopting the 'user-pay' principle in order to facilitate universities to get additional revenues to finance their academic programmes and research initiatives. Concerning 'user-pay' and the issue of higher education budget, this study will be discussed in Chapter 5.1 and Chapter 6.2.

Regarding the policy of university recruiting their president, this is an important issue on university autonomy, according University Law, Article 9 regulated that 'to appoint a new president to a university, the university shall organize a President Select Committee and the new president is selected through public procedure, he or she shall be appointed by the Ministry of Education'. More important is that 'the proportion and means of selecting different members of the committee referred to in the previous paragraph shall be as follows: representatives of the university recommended by an

³² Before this new university fund policy, the annual budget surplus of university should be returned to government and the government will punish them by deducting next year's annual.

academic affairs meeting shall take up 2/5 of all numbers', and 'institute fellow representatives recommended by the university and social justice defenders shall take up 2/5 of all numbers. Other commissioners shall have representatives selected by the Ministry of Education or the local government' (University Law, 2007). The issue of university recruiting president and MOE intervention in this subject will be analyzed in Chapter 7.1. Furthermore, the policy of 'professors govern the university', which is a weighty program in the agenda of higher education reform since 1994, this problem will be discussed in Chapter 7.2 and other sections.

2.3 The Interaction between Higher Education Development, Political Transition and Economic Growth

Under the policy of expanding higher education institutions many university and college graduates face unemployment problems; they are forced to take lower paid or lower skilled works. In the traditional Chinese culture, a degree in higher education is held in high regard by society. It is usually regarded that a university degree is a better guarantee for the one's future prospect. This traditional Confucian value³³ is one of the reasons for the higher rate of unemployment among people who have a graduate or postgraduate degree. The number of people with a degree on higher education is increasing as planned by the government; unfortunately, the jobs market for the need of higher degree qualification has not grown to the same extent. The Table 2.3 shows the changes in jobless rate for different education levels between 1996 and 2006. Since GCRER was made known to the public, jobless rate on the level of university graduate increased from 3.13% in 1996 to 4.36% in 2006. Especially in 2006, jobless rate of people who own university degree was higher than others.

Table 2.3: Jobless Rate for Different Education Levels, %, 1996-2006

	Average	No school education	Elementary school	Junior high school	Senior high school	Junior College	University
1996	2.60	1.02	1.45	2.77	3.00	3.14	3.13

³³ Regarding the details of Confucian value can see Capter 3.1.

1997	2.72	1.10	1.86	3.25	3.02	2.85	2.63
1998	2.69	1.04	1.74	2.97	3.09	2.90	2.67
1999	2.92	1.28	2.08	3.28	3.23	3.10	2.69
2000	2.99	0.95	2.18	3.50	3.34	2.90	2.67
2001	4.57	1.60	3.76	5.75	5.12	4.03	3.32
2002	5.17	1.69	4.09	6.28	5.92	4.60	3.89
2003	4.99	1.98	4.30	6.11	5.60	4.32	3.82
2004	4.44	1.35	3.51	5.13	4.87	4.02	4.11
2005	4.13	1.33	2.79	4.61	4.54	3.78	4.23
2006	3.91	1.08	2.38	3.89	4.28	3.55	4.36

Source: T. Chen (2007) "Some Key Issues on Higher Education in Taiwan"

More and more people are seeking higher education and parents are planting the thought of Confucius value into the next generation in Taiwan; they encourage their children to do so. As a result, the competition in the employment market is getting tougher. There is a clear phenomenon appearing in the job markets; some people with a higher degree were willing to take blue-collar manual works, such as a waste collector or gatekeeper. On the other hand, some people were naive and impractical when they first entered into white-collar sectors. They had little basic knowledge. As Lin (Do, 1995 b), a Senior Manager of Human Resources, Aetna Life Insurance Co. of America, Taiwan Branch Office, indicated that instead of asking how to improve the quality working, they might ask questions regarding salary or position. They don't understand that businesses must take into account practical considerations in order to survive, and that employees are promoted or rewarded only after they have made visible contributions (Do, 1995 b).

Although different occupation requires different type of employees, there are some common needs; for instance, the ability to deal with other people and to work as part of a team is important in nearly all professions. In addition, industrial circles felt that university graduates did not possess sufficient skill to resolve the issues which were required in the work place. They are dissatisfied with the fact some of the graduates could get high scores simply by memorizing material out of a textbook

instead of the ability to analyze it. From employer's point of view, a university degree does not necessarily mean greater ability or a better work attitude. It was commonly acknowledged by the employees that the employees with higher education degree tend to espouse low work ethic. Industrial circles have a reserved opinion towards higher education evolution, it seems that the higher education may have made great strides in size, teaching, researching and diversity as politician boasted, but businesspeople raise the question whether the higher education provide the students with the right skills that they required.

Generalized the industrial circles' conclusion from a collection of many instances, it covered: 1) the Taiwanese higher education institutions is growing much too fast compared with its commerce and industry; 2) many labor-intensive industries have no need for employees with an advanced education background. People with higher education do not want low skilled jobs; 3) industrial circles believe students mainly acquire theoretical knowledge at school, but employers require more than theories at the work places. They want employee with practical experience in the production line; 4) the gap between people who studied in university and the practical needs of the job market is actually quite large; 5) both of university and graduates are not very well prepared for the real world.

In accordance with the questions, Chen Tzong-hsien (Do, 1995 b), Director of the Youth Employment Services and Vocational Training Department of the National Youth Commission, Executive Yuan, advised MOE should evaluate all college and university's departments and shut down those that cannot meet the practical needs of Taiwan. The cleft between job market and graduates derived from the different paces of educational and economic development. Huang Tung-chun, director of the Institute of Human Resource Management in National Central University, from the different views expressed that with introspection that student takes four years to finish studies in university, while the economic structure is changing much faster. So the education

system should not take all the blame. Businesses should provide vocational training to close the gap (Do, 1995 b).

Some of curriculums at universities are designated to achieve the goals of general erudition in that time indeed; it neglected the need to meet the requirements of work force. Industrial circles had a synesthesia that higher education in Taiwan could be more active and aggressive in preparing students for the job market and the most direct way is to adjust curriculums and orientation of departments. They believed that higher education must consider the practical needs of the job market, it's even more important for schools to build problem solving skills so that students can meet the needs of businesses.

If government can establish a new award system in which positions and salaries are based on the ability instead of educational-level, people will naturally change their attitude toward the value of higher education. Businesses circles, especially in processing industries and initial local business have little need for employees with such a high education. Businesspeople complained that employees with higher education usually have a higher turnover rate as well, and people with less education tend to stay at one company longer (Ho & Yang, 1993), but those with higher degrees leave as soon as they find a better job. Otherwise, businesses do not necessarily welcome over qualified employees; one of reasons is cost. For the same job in early 1990s, an entry-level employee with a master degree was customarily paid 10 to 20% more than a bachelor graduate, whose pay was also, certainly, higher than a junior college graduate. For some jobs, an aggressive and clear minded junior college graduate was more favorable because of the lower personnel costs and high efficiency. Also, in personnel decision-making, manager generally has the idea that employees with higher education have higher unrealistic expectations and are more difficult to manage. They prefer people with less education but a positive attitude and good learning ability. Besides, from a view of businesspeople, two years of in-service

training are more useful than two years spent in graduate school.

However, there are different views in some Taiwanese mind, for instance, Huang Kuang-kuo, professor at the NTU and Hsieh Da-ling, professor at National Chungcheng University, in the interview conducted by the author, who think that meet the needs of the job market should not be the only goal of higher education. Higher education should be able to build a good personality for the students which benefits the country's long-term manpower needs. They believed the aim of a short-term job market will cause serious problems in the future. These people put their faith in the higher education that it should not only for vocational training but also for building the abilities of students to think and make judgments in their whole life. Higher education is the value of Omni-bearing in human society; it is not only the value of job hunting.

In the realm of higher education, with the transition to multi-party politics in Taiwan, the task of the educational mechanism in disseminating the KMT's ideologies was no longer needed. This alleviated the need for a tight political control on higher education and made room for deregulation on education as well. Definitely, the higher education was maximum centralization before 1987. All major education policies, including the education budget, design of the standardized school curriculums, the examination system, the appointment of university presidents, and the policies concerning teacher education institutions, etc. were centrally terminated.

In the economic side, from the 1960s to the end of 1970s, specifically speaking, from the end of 'Quemoy war' which was a military conflict between Taiwan and China, to Chiang Ching-kuo serving as President on 20 May 1978, on the basis of the economical consideration, the Taiwanese higher education was expanded to respond to the needs of developing industries. New economic situation also changed the composition of non-governmental circles. Following the rapid economical achievements, large numbers of political and social welfare organization emerged in

Taiwanese soil. Social participation among the general public was rapidly increasing, and this new composition of membership in the movements of political participation significantly pressured the political rulers in Taiwan. Thus, economic development raised political participation. Furthermore, economic development enriched political and social resources, which drew into politics many who hoped to vie for the fruits that economic success had brought. This development aggravated political conflicts even further.

Higher education is generally a response to complex political, economical, cultural, and social concerns. So, like any other, the Taiwanese education system, too, is conditioned by its organic development. However, from the view of modern Taiwanese history, unequivocally, higher education transformation will be linked to two economic and one political indicator: namely GNP per capita, economic growth rate and political participation. GNP per capita is a comprehensive indicator showing a national investment on education development. Economic growth rate is crucially fundamental because it also shows a national ability on the economy and education performance. Political participation is momentousness that on the basis of policy development and rational decision-making. By putting those three indicators together, it will be easy to assess the progress of the Taiwanese higher education transformation.

(A) Political Participation and Higher Education Development.

The political climate changed in Taiwan, President Chiang rescinded Martial Law in 15 July 1987, it was officially declared in 1947 because of the revolt of the Chinese Communists in Mainland China. The lifting of Martial Law means the prohibition on forming political parties and other political limit were relaxed simultaneously. In the same way with political changes was the variation of the economy and education. The concepts of human capital, diversification, popularity and competency-based

education had been specifically underscored in the higher education policy with the view of promoting economic development through effective educational implementation. Because high-tech industries had been developing at very rapid pace in economic sphere, and after left off Martial Law, democratization and pluralism have hence been sought for in higher education spheres, in the meantime, higher education reform was cried out to converge the demand of the changing social reality (Yang, 2001).

The interaction between the Taiwanese political transition, economic development and higher education reform were inseparable. As Clark (1989) indicated, it is also widely accepted by observers, that Taiwan's successful political democratization is related to several factors, including well-educated elites in the ruling KMT, the rise of the middle class, the popularity of higher education, and the rise of the opposition and external pressure.³⁴ Regardless of those factors, Ku (2002) also emphasized that the regime transformation in Taiwan could be characterized by the following four aspects: priorities (from stability to economy), elections (from the local level to the national level), legitimacy (from the ROC to the ROC on Taiwan), and the military (from dominance to professionalism). All of these factors or aspects need people supports; there is no need to go into doubts, through the design of curricula and spiritual education with political meaning in schools that can reach these objectives.

Basically, the Taiwanese government, after 1949, carried out the educational politicism. It clearly put its priority on political stability, patriotism and martial spirit on education over economic development. It was from the early 1970s that the economy was upgraded to same level which parallel with politics became

³⁴ About Taiwan's political democratization, also reference on: S. Tsang and H. Tien (1999) *Democratization in Taiwan: Implications for China*, New York: St. Martin's. ; P. Newell (1994) *The Transition to the Transition toward Democracy in Taiwan: Political Change in the Chiang Ching-kuo Era, 1971-1986*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press; H. Tien (1989) *The Great Transition: Political and Social Change in the Republic of China*, California: Stanford University, Hoover Institution Press.

government's top priority in the national policies performed. Bullard (1997) also contended that priorities for economic, social, and political activities were determined by considerations of security. Stability is certainly interconnected with national security; as Ku (2002) called that one would not be possible without the other.

However, the political economy of regime transformation and the substance of higher education in Taiwan can be divided into two phases, which are generally based on the line of Martial Law. The first phases was from 1949 to 1987, it was under the authoritarian dominance of President Chiang Kai-shek and KMT's political authority. At this stage, politics and education were precedence, the island was strictly under the control of an authoritarian regime, and empowered by the operation of Martial Law, the aims of education, during that time, were service to country and nation's political goals; there were close confinements on tertiary education, public and private, autonomy and independent. In November 1977, the Chungli Incident occurred in response to the rumors of election irregularities with insufficiency of evidence. It was the first time that people used violent act against the KMT rulers. Chungli Incident incontestably marked a milestone to the people right and it got up the opposition social power in Taiwan, and it challenged the authoritative government as well. In June 1979, Tangwai (non-KMT), a political party-like organization, was born. In September 1986, the DPP, the first opposition party, was inaugurated in Taipei unlawfully (Huang, 1992).

The second phase was from 1987 to 2008. The first day of January 1988, the restrictions on newspapers were removed; thereby allowing complete autonomy for the newspapers and other mass media. On 11 January, the Legislative Yuan passed the third version of the 'Law on Assembly and Parades', allowing ordinary citizen to hold public rallies after having applications approved. 14 January Lee Teng-hui succeed Chiang Ching-kuo, who died on 13 January with age 78, to become the new President. In politics, this phase manifested Taiwan's democratic transition to Lee Teng-hui's

hand. Lee is a person who has an assuming political personality and devastated social value. This phase also disclosed rising of new form of educational politicism in Taiwan. Lee executed his elaborative policies of extreme localization, black gold, education expansionism, and political reshaped afterward.

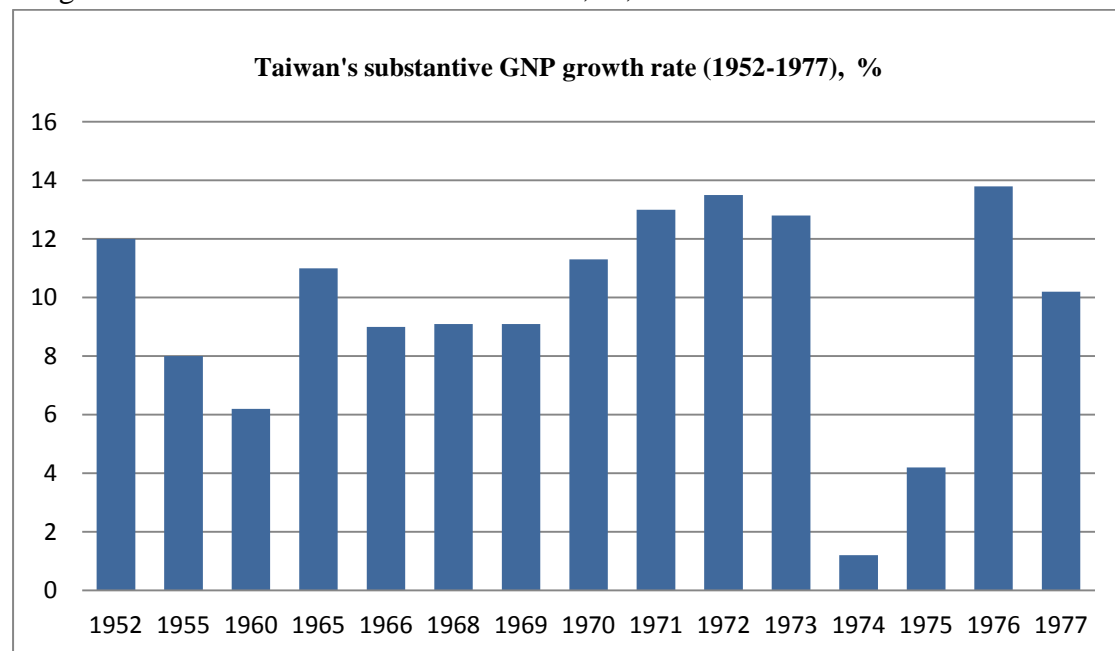
(B) Economic Growth and Higher Education Development.

The first phases were also from 1949 to 1987. The KMT authorities implemented a far-reaching and highly successful land reform programs in Taiwan during the beginning years in Taiwan, the ‘375 Rent Reduction Act’ (37.5 % rent limitation) and ‘Homestead Act’³⁵, by which ‘those who work the land, will be given the land’; The government alleviated tax burden on peasants, redistributed land to tenant farmers and compensated to large landowners who lost their lands with commodities certificates and stock in state-owned industries. Later, KMT turned their compensation into capital and started commercial and industrial enterprises. Under these rules, early 300,000 tenant farmer households benefited from the new land policies by KMT; it also created the chance to the impoverished farmers that they have an economical ability to send their children to the school willingly. Furthermore, these new entrepreneurs who created by land reform programs were to become Taiwan’s first industrial capitalists. From 1950 to 1965, Taiwan received a total of 1.5 billion USD in economic aid from USA; in 1965 all American aid were ceased (Chan, 1997). Having accomplished that, the government then adopted policies for building a strong export-driven economy, such as the Ten Major Construction Projects that provided the infrastructure required for such ventures.

Taiwanese economy did well between 1950s and 1960s; economic growth rate averaged 8% during this period, the GNP growth rate from 1952-1977 is displayed on Diagram 2.2.

³⁵ ‘375 Rent Reduction Act’, totally have 31 Articles; reference on *Laws and Regulations Database of Republic of China* (2002), Taipei: Executive Yuan; *Homestead Act* (2007), Taipei: Executive Yuan.

Diagram 2.2: Substantive GNP Growth Rate, %, 1952-1977



Source: Department of Statistics, Ministry of Economic Affairs (1998)

Economic planning has played a crucial role in economic growth. Since 1953, the government has implemented a series of economic development plans. However, it was not until the mid-1960s that the economic administration division of the government introduced manpower plans. Since then, almost all levels of education policies, especially those related to higher education, have been led by economic goals. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, the Taiwanese shifted away from exporting agricultural products to light-industrial manufactured goods. The annual rate of export growth was about 30%. During this period, higher education was expanded to respond to the needs of developing industries. There were three approaches of expansion. First was to add new departments which focus on applied science and engineering course in universities and colleges; second was to increase the number of students in five-year junior colleges; third was to build more five-year junior colleges, which have industry-oriented curricula.

At the higher education level, the planned set a student ratio of 11:9 in the 1980s for natural science, engineering, agriculture, and medicine-related departments, as

opposed to the social sciences and the humanities. The policy was designed to complement goals in the area of industrial development. Higher education institutions in this period was increased from 1 university and 3 colleges in 1950 to 16 universities and 12 four-year colleges in 1985. The changing of the quantity of the number is shown on Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: The Number of Colleges and Universities in Taiwan, 1950-1986 (excluded Junior Colleges)

Year	No. College	No. University	Total
1950	3	1	4
1955	6	4	10
1960	8	7	15
1965	11	10	21
1970	13	9	22
1975	16	9	25
1980	11	16	27
1985	12	16	28
1986	12	16	28

Source: Department of Statistics, MOE (2007)

The ratio of higher education expenditures to GNP and GDP in the first phase of economic development is showed on Table 2.5; it is worth to highlight that in 1986, just one year before lifted the Martial Law, the percentage of GNP and GDP, from 1976 to 1986, with total education expenditure reached the highest proportion.

Table 2.5: The Ratio of Expenditures to GNP/GDP and the Number of Universities and Colleges (1976-1986)

Year	Higher Education Expenditures (Uni. & Coll.)	Total Education Expenditures % to GNP (all level of Ed.)	Total Education Expenditures % to GDP (all level of Ed.)	Numbers of 4-Years Colleges and Universities
1976	3,012,200	3.89	3.86	25
1977	4,026,876	4.00	3.97	25
1978	4,641,948	4.03	4.01	25
1979	5,046,661	3.89	3.89	26
1980	7,189,916	4.18	4.17	27
1981	9,753,150	4.44	4.43	27
1982	13,233,316	5.04	5.02	27
1983	16,446,165	5.47	5.48	27
1984	14,901,770	4.85	4.87	27
1985	16,585,393	4.95	5.03	28
1986	18,727,505	5.04	5.14	28
* Total amount including public and private universities & colleges, and excluded junior colleges.				
* Currency: Taiwan Dollar (NTD)				
* Unit: 1,000 NTD				

Source: Created by the author, based on the Department of Statistics, MOE (2007)

The second phase was from 1987 to 2008. In the economy, accompanied with Martial Law abrogated, in 1987, the same year the ratio of light industry to non-light industry was up from 49.65% to 50.35%, the first time in Taiwan history that the share of non-light industry exceeded that of light industry in the manufacturing industry's production value (Economic Indicators, 2000). Taiwanese economy during the first half of the 1990s maintained growth similar to what it had in the 1980s. Because of the adoption of 'Statutes for Industrial Upgrading' policy in 1991, the ruling government was marked efforts to upgrade the level of Taiwanese economy from light industry to technology intensive industry.

With rapid economic growth since the early 1970s and political democratization in the 1990s, Taiwan's economic growth rate was average from 7% to 8% between the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. GNP per capita increased from 292 USD in 1970; 5,298 in 1987; 8,111 in 1990; 11,597 in 1996 to 13,325 in 2000 (Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 2001). The foreign reserves increased from less than 1 billion USD in 1973 to 73 billion USD in 1989, and to go a step further almost 100 billion USD in the mid-1990s. Moreover, the output of the heavy industry rose to 68.15%, while the share of light industries dropped to 31.85%. This trend was similarly reflected in the share of the exports of heavy chemical and technology-intensive industries in Taiwanese entire export value, which rose from 57.2% in 1987 to 71.3 % in 1996.³⁶

Regarding the second phase of economic development, the ratio of the amount of higher education expenditures, the all education expenditures to GNP/GDP, and numbers of 4-years colleges and universities is displayed in Table 2.6, the data shows that the ratio is over 6% before 2000, the ratio dropped to an average of 5.7% after 2000; simultaneously, the numbers of higher education institutes continued to

³⁶ The heavy chemical and technology-intensive industries include machinery, electronics, metal products, basic metals, electric appliances, transportation vehicles, precision instruments, rubber and plastic products, and the production of chemical raw materials and products. Reference on: *Economic Indicators* (2000), Taipei: Department of Statistics, Ministry of Economic Affairs.

increase from 39 to 147. Table 2.7 is the data of the ratio of higher education expenditures to total education expenditures from 1996 to 2005.

Table 2.6: The Ratio of Expenditures to GNP/GDP and the Number of Universities and Colleges, 1987-2006

	Higher Education Expenditures (Uni. & Coll.)	Total Education Expenditures % to GNP (all level of Ed.)	Total Education Expenditures % to GDP (all level of Ed.)	Numbers of 4-Years Colleges and Universities
1987	23,638,140	4.64	4.75	39
1988	31,471,197	4.80	4.90	39
1989	32,877,731	5.16	5.26	41
1990	40,064,663	5.66	5.81	46
1991	51,018,405	6.32	6.47	50
1992	59,457,368	6.57	6.72	50
1993	64,393,016	6.78	6.93	51
1994	66,831,084	6.60	6.71	58
1995	70,081,817	6.37	6.74	60
1996	71,856,340	6.50	6.60	67
1997	88,398,565	6.39	6.46	78
1998	89,635,584	6.08	6.13	84
1999	92,260,602	6.09	6.14	105
2000	72,858,000	5.49	5.57	127
2001	75,571,000	5.98	6.09	135
2002	77,421,000	5.94	6.08	139
2003	76,203,000	5.90	6.08	142
2004	72,893,000	5.71	5.91	145
2005	74,458,000	5.77	5.92	148
2006	91,472,589	5.61	5.76	147
* Total amount including public and private universities & colleges, and excluded junior college.				
* Currency: Taiwan Dollar (NT\$)				
* Unit: NT\$ 1,000				

Source: Created by the author, based on the Department of Statistics, MOE (2005, 2007)

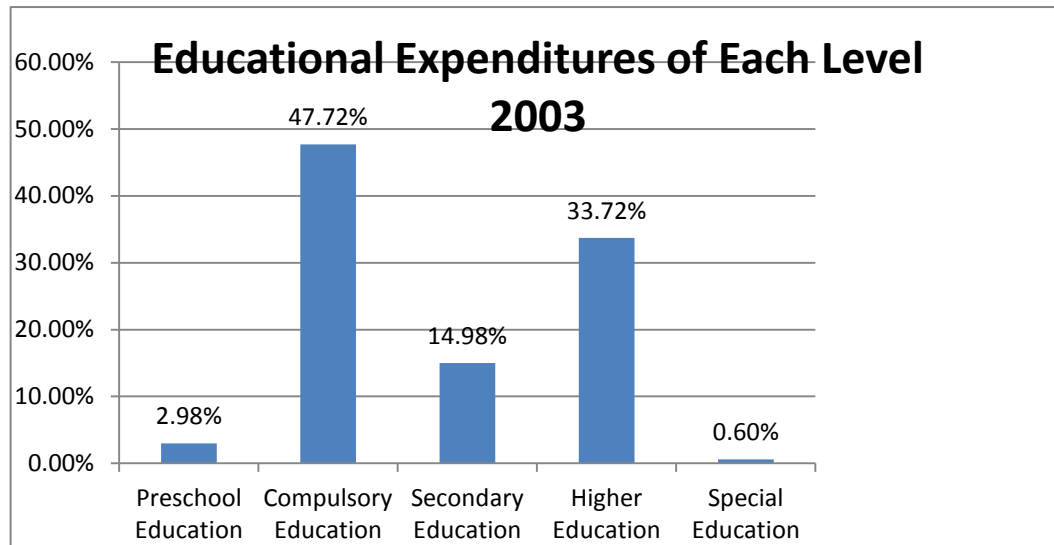
Table 2.7 The Ratio of Higher Education Expenditures to Total Education Expenditures, GNP %, 1996-2005

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
%	14.26	16.46	16.16	16.41	19.84	30.10	32.79	33.72	38.64	39.40

Source: Created by the author, based on the Department of Statistics, MOE (2006)

For the 2003 fiscal year as the case, all level educational expenditures which including both public and private sectors was 5.90% of the GNP. In this figure, 33.72% went to higher education and 47.72% to elementary and junior high schools of the compulsory education system (MOE, 2005). The detail is shown in Diagram 2.3.

Diagram 2.3: The Ratio of Higher Education Expenditures to Total Education Expenditures, GNP %, 2003



Source: Created by the Author

Since the 1980s, Taiwan has faced rapid changes in its political structure as indicated above. The political authority of the central government has eroded. The strength of opposition parties has grown. The economic division of the government exercised less control over higher education policies. The education policies written in both economic and manpower plans were less specific than before. Instead of more general goals such as raised the quality of education and expanded the quantity of higher education.

Higher education has also begun to expand. Not only were new four-year colleges and universities opened, but the number of graduate schools increased as well. The policy of limiting the establishment of private universities was deleted, more new four-year private colleges were allowed to be built after 1987 in order to expand opportunities for higher education and correspond free for close confinement rule in educational system. Higher education institutions in Taiwan have gone through rapid expansion from late 1987 to 2006 as Table 2.2 exhibited. In 2006, the number of higher education institutions has reached to 147.

It is noteworthy to indicate, in 1996, the year that GCRER was announced by the

Executive Yuan. The new structural education reform was inaugurated on the Taiwanese education history, the government set up a CER to study the situation of education and made suggestions for government to reform in 1994, GCRER was the result of CER's work. The major recommendations in it were autonomy, deregulation and the democratization of education comprehensively in higher education territory.

Between Ten Major Construction Projects completion in 1979 to grand education reform in 1994 was a turbulent time for the Taiwanese, as many of people became a member of Taiwan's new middle class due to economic strength. The central authority allowed native Taiwanese to gain a powerful bargaining chip in their demands and improved into higher education opportunity. The Kaohsiung Incident in 1979, the event of 'General Election to the President of the Student Union' in 1982 and '410 Alliance on Education Reform' in 1994 would be major turning point events for politics and for higher education reform in Taiwan.

2.4 Summary

The core value of higher education reform is deregulation. This means that government should not control education anymore, exempting education from unnecessary constraints, and respect the teacher's professional autonomy; this is more like the viewpoint of the educational market economy. For the purpose of upgrade the quality of higher education and to strengthen the manpower of Taiwan in the global world, the central government of Taiwan revealed many programs trying to achieve this aim. However, according the spirit of deregulation, the so call guidelines and programs should depend on particular characteristics of each university and designed by the university itself. Unfortunately, all the guidelines and programs is designed and led by the government; such as the program for 'Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities', the 'Program to Encourage Universities to Pursue Teaching Excellence' and the 'Program to Build an Infrastructure for Research-Based Universities'. Furthermore, for instance, the government appointed the educational target on the

policies of ‘Action Plan of 1998’ and ‘Plan for Upholding Universities Capacities’; the method of how to use the extra expenditure is controlled by the MOE, not by the university itself. The relationship between patron and client gives a good space to the development of political intervention in Taiwan.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

This Chapter reviews previous studies that relate to the concepts and contexts of the study. It has been divided into two main sections, as follows: 1) the dynamics of political power in the higher education; 2) the general practice of the higher education reform; 3) the identity politics and sociological theory explains the social phenomena and higher education. Political power and authority of the decision-maker in higher education correlates closely with the policies of university deregulation, autonomy and political intervention; therefore, this research puts the concepts and comments of scholars and educators on the issue of power and authority, influencing the evolution of higher education in section 3.1. The lesson of the practice of the higher education reform in other countries has a direct link to the higher education reform in Taiwan. This Chapter analyzes the views and studies by scholars on this subject in section 3.2. Section 3.3 reviews the literature of identity politics and sociological theory explains the social phenomena and higher education.

3.1 The Dynamics of Political Power in the Higher Education

Power is one of the concepts in social science that refers to an important social phenomenon. The definition of power is that one can get a person to do something that they would not want to do. In other words, one can persuade someone to act in a way that they consider to be contrary to their interests. In Chinese, as Legalism (Fa-chia) revealed that the special tactics in domination is to be employed by the ruler to make sure others don't take over control of the state. Especially important is that no one can fathom the ruler's motivations, and thus no one can know what behavior might help them get ahead. Legalism was one of the philosophical schools of thought in Chinese history, the viewpoint of Legalism still deeply influence the values of Chinese modern rulers.

The Legalist philosophers in China emphasized the dominance of the state over individual or sub-state's autonomy. The lone individual had no legitimate civil rights and any personal freedom had to be granted by the ruler. Han Fei, a celebrated representative of Legalism, in particular, would be very cautious towards the concept of individual rights. Han Fei's idea centered on the ruler; in his philosophy, the ruler firmly controls the state with the help of three concepts: his position of power, certain techniques on territory, and strict laws. Fundamentally, the Legalists viewed the plebeian or common people of lower class and their actions as evil and foolish. The philosophy of Han Fei is also still abided by the Taiwanese authority even in modern times.

Confucianism has different ideas than Legalism on the power of Authority. Its concept is that in order to govern others one must first govern oneself. When developed sufficiently, the ruler's personal virtue spreads beneficent influence throughout the country. Confucius' thought on the power of the ruler is based upon his ethical idea. He argues that the best government is one that rules through rites (lǐ) and people's natural morality, rather than by using bribery and coercion. He (Confucius/Huang, 1997) explained that if the people were led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given to them by punishments. They will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they were led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given to them by the rules of propriety, they will have felt the sense of shame, and moreover will become good.

Mencius was another great Chinese philosopher whose importance in the Confucian tradition is second only to that of Confucius himself. Mencius emphasized the significance of the common citizens in the state. While Confucianism generally regarded rulers highly, he argued that it is acceptable for the subjects to overthrow or even kill a ruler who ignores the people's needs and rules harshly. A ruler, who does not rule justly, is no longer a true ruler (Chan, 1963). In terms of authority, be it from

the President of the Country, a University or a scholar-ruler, Taiwanese modern society agree with the ideology of Mencius only out of courtesy, but without sincerity. Contrarily, authority always demands people to support its power without excuse. At the centre of Mencius' doctrine is the belief that human beings are born with the knowledge of the good and the ability to do good. Everyone is born with what Mencius described as the 'four beginnings': benevolence, righteousness, respect and the capacity to distinguish right from wrong.

The doctrine of benevolence in Mencius' mind must be brought into politics so that government is humane and moral. It is the responsibility of the ruler to ensure the economic well-being of his subjects, to provide people with education and, in doing so, to rule through winning their loyalty and confidence rather than through force. If rulers oppress the people then they have lost the mandate of Heaven, and the people have the right to exclude them. Mencius is clarifying the proper hierarchy of human society. Although the highest authority has presumably higher status than a commoner, he is actually subordinate to the masses and the resources of society. Regrettably, the conflicts between the ideas of Confucianism, the thought of Mencius and Legalism still exist in Taiwanese higher education. The best known case is the disputes on the relationship between MOE's centralization and university autonomy. The analysis of this issue is described in Chapter 6.

In the West, Weber³⁷(1947) in his work *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* he accentuated authority is the legally supported form of power. It refers to the legitimacy, justification and right to exercise that power. Weber (1947) distinguished three forms of authority, namely: Traditional, Charismatic and Rational-legal. In traditional authority, the legitimacy of the authority comes from tradition; in charismatic authority, from the personality and leadership qualities of the

³⁷ 21/April/1864-14/June/1920.

individual, and in rational-legal authority from powers that are bureaucratically and legally attached to certain positions.

Weber's model of charismatic leadership is endorsed by Barker. Barker (1997) who believed that charismatic leaders are unpredictable; such leaders may be accorded by their followers the right to pronounce on all aspects of their lives. Barker warned that in these cases the leader may lack any accountability, require unquestioning obedience, and encourage a dependency upon the movement for material, spiritual and social resources (Barker, 1997, 2003, 2004).

Charismatic authority is defined as the power legitimized on the basis of a leader's exceptional personal qualities or the demonstration of extraordinary insight and accomplishment, which inspire loyalty and obedience from followers. Chryssides (2001) asserted that not all new social and religious movements have charismatic leaders, and that there are differences in the hegemonic styles among those movements that do. Oakes (1997) also argued that charismatic leaders exhibit traits of narcissism and he also quarreled that they display an extraordinary amount of energy, accompanied by an inner clarity unhindered by the anxieties and guilt that afflict more ordinary people. Oakes did however not fully follow Weber's framework of charismatic authority.

Coser (1971) pointed out that Weber wrote about pure types of authority, and that he was aware that in empirical reality, mixtures will be found in the legitimisation of authority. Riesebrodt (1999) also argues that Weber thought charisma played a strong - if not integral - role in traditional authority systems. Thus, Weber's favor for charismatic authority was particularly strong, especially in focusing on what happened to it with the death or decline of a charismatic leader. Spencer (1970) interpreted Weber's theory to say that legitimate order and authority stems from different aspects of a single phenomenon - the forms that underlie all instances of ordered human interaction. There are two fundamental components of order, norms

and authority. Spencer (1970) explained that authority and norms represent polar principles of social organization: In one case, an organization rests upon orientation to a rule or a principle; in the other instance it is based upon compliance to commands.

According to Weber's type of charismatic authority, Barker, Coser, Spencer, Chryssides and Oakes' view on the characteristic of charismatic leaders, specially, Oakes expounded that charismatic leaders exhibit traits of narcissism. The best case which occurred in Taiwan is the role of the scholar-ruler of Lee Yuan-tseh, a Nobel laureate in Chemistry, in the process of higher education reform. The type of rational-legal in which the prime case is the controversial role on the highest educational administrative bureaucrat Tu Cheng-sheng, Minister of Education from 2004 to 2008 in Taiwan, again in the act of higher education reform. The issues of Lee Yuan-tseh and Tu Cheng-sheng will be analysed in detail in section 5.3 'the political role of higher education decision-makers'. All discussions in this subject are related with question 1, which were revealed in the section of 'problems statement' in this dissertation.

Authority can be latent, same as Lee Yuan-tseh's power; Weber (1991) in his article of *The Nature of Social Action* written in 1922 explained that although it is difficult to establish when control is exercised through influence or through latent power, it is of true existence. However, the distinction between authority and influence remains potentially useful since the power deployed in micro-politics frequently takes the form of influence since interested sets will draw on resources other than those of authority to achieve their ends. There is no need for doubt that power and authority always play significant roles in organizations and management.

Different types of control by authority have been identified as simple control, technical control and bureaucratic control. Simple control refers to control by straightforward direct supervision. Technical control refers to control that is imposed by technology and bureaucratic control refers to control by means of formal rules and

regulations. The form of control in bureaucratic organizations involves a more subtle form of power. Generally, bureaucratic control, like the role of MOE in Taiwan, is control through a system of rules and standard operating procedures (SOPs) that shape the behavior of divisions, functions, and individuals. Some interest groups will be permanently mobilized and interested sets will mobilize as and when interest becomes salient. Components of the formal structure will remain the most powerful set of grouping in an organization.

Chapter 6 ‘the practice of higher education policies under the high and low political intervention’ in this study relates to the re-distribution of power in higher education in the grand education reform since 1994. The issue of university autonomy, in which deregulation are the main subjects in Taiwanese higher education. The terminology of autonomy is defined as the ability to offer freely all kinds of degrees, without external monitoring of any kind (Consejo, 1996). Autonomy is the idea of self-governance or self-determination. It is an important idea in modern liberalism, and it has been understood both as a capacity of persons and as a right or value. Kant (1785)³⁸ made autonomy central to the foundations of morality by making it a basic feature of rational agency. Kant (1785) thought that respect for autonomy is the basis of one’s duties to one another, which can be viewed as the requirements to support the exercise of one’s rational capacities. Autonomy has played a major role, both foundational and normative, in contemporary moral and political thought (Gregor, 1997; Dworkin, 1988).

Unfortunately, there are only a few Taiwanese academic papers which touch on the topic of Taiwanese university autonomy or deregulation with deep interpretation and a distinguishing feature with the Taiwanese culture, but there is a great deal of literature on the theme of university autonomy in Western countries. Therefore this section is focussed on Western educators’ view on this subject. For instance, Snyder

³⁸ 22/April/1724–12/February/1804.

(2002) stated the definition of autonomy describes the practice of self-government that we consider the right and the responsibility of colleges and universities. But the issue is not so simple; autonomy is always a relative concept. Colleges and universities should seek what is reasonable, not absolute autonomy. Snyder (2002) believed that total autonomy, total independence and separation from society, is simply impossible. The degree of an institution's autonomy varies according the nature of its relationships. Perhaps then, it is most useful to think of multiple autonomies or degrees of autonomy.

In university autonomy or governmental deregulation sector, Anderson and Johnson (1998) indicated that in the last decade or so there has been considerable change and turbulence in higher education in many countries. Anderson and Johnson made some examples in Europe to interpret the contexts of university autonomy or governmental deregulation. They pointed out that Sweden has completed far-reaching reforms designed to devolve authority from government to institutions; and the Danish government has been intervening with the objective of reducing the length of courses and time taken to graduate. In Italy, the government granted budget autonomy and further legislation was being implemented giving institutions increased scope for taking decisions. In Germany, they revealed that the federal government's framework act for higher education was being amended leading to numerous changes that will have to be implemented by the state.

Anderson and Johnson's work was likened to the true situation which occurred in the Taiwanese higher education system. The government of Taiwan's influences on university deregulation or autonomy which based on legislative authority or executive suasion related to financial power. Anderson and Johnson (1998) also highlighted that a government may exert influence through its legislative authority to appoint the president, vice-chancellors or members of the governing body such as university council; or it may exert influence over such matters as the salaries and conditions of

academic staff, not because of any legal authority, but simply because it provides most of the income and can threaten to withhold funding unless its conditions are met.

Relating to the viewpoint of Anderson and Johnson on the role of government in the Taiwanese higher education scenario has been analysed in section 1 of Chapter 7 ‘the alienative policies in higher education development’ and section 2 of Chapter 7 ‘the metamorphic policy in higher education autonomy’. All discussions in this subject are related with the question 3, which referenced in the section of ‘problems statement’ in this dissertation.

On autonomy or deregulation, Robinson and Dlamini (1997) also noted with its very basic functions that it entails the freedom of a university to determine for itself on academic grounds only who should teach, what should be taught, how it should be taught and who should be admitted as students. Although these functions have later been found to be narrow, it still remains a useful guideline in demarcating the limits of legitimate autonomy.

There is no doubt that Robinson and Dlamini (1997) commented that a university needs autonomy and a measure of freedom for its academics, if it has to play its role of generating and disseminating knowledge effectively. As one of the purposes in pursuit of academic freedom in the grand education reform since 1994 in Taiwan, the Taiwanese educators know academic freedom is important, because it enables academics to think freely, to speculate and to experiment with new ideas. Important developments have been spearheaded by those people who think freely and creatively; knowledge generated through this creative and critical thinking is important for the development of society. Unfortunately, in Taiwan, because the political phonology mixes with political party interests and ethnic group conflict, the status of an autonomous university is only a dream of utopia with the reality of multiple paradoxes. The details of this topic will be discussed ‘political momentums in higher

education policies' in Chapter 5.1, Chapter 7.1 'the alienative policies in higher education development' and others.

It is worth mentioning again, before KMT moved to Taiwan in 1949, Kowal (1999) pointed out that in the early stages of government, the KMT leaders saw the value of appealing to Confucian ideas. After KMT central government and Chiang's followers turned to Taiwan, there had always been a strong Confucian emphasis in the ideal culture supported by the central authority. Chiang Kai-shek's educational, political and moral program reflected the Confucian commitment to virtues as the foundation of leadership and government. As Davison and Reed (1998) noted, educators and intellectuals in Taiwan have sought to integrate Confucianism with Western philosophies in the educational domain. In contrast, Bo Yang (1992), a social and radical satirist, in his book of *The Ugly Chinese and the Crisis of Chinese Culture*, Bo argues (1992) that Confucianism inhibited creativity, and thus Chinese people did not develop such habits as self-criticism, introspection and self-improvement. Bo also criticized with his radical view that it is a tragedy for the whole of China that in all the Confucian teachings, there is little encouragement for intelligent thinking, scarce mention of the responsibility incumbent upon people in authority, and almost no stimulus for competition. Confucius only wanted his disciples, and his disciples' disciples, to accept the status quo, and to remain smug and self-satisfied. However, Kowal (1999) believed Asian students met the basic problem that they do not question authority, particularly in China; Kowal thought the solution is to deconstruct Confucius. He highlighted that the deconstruction would involve some type of radical reversal of values that have been passed from elder to younger. Under the guide of Confucian philosophy, most university students in Taiwan lack originality of mind and the courage to challenge to authority, as Kowal (1999) indicated, that they may excel at property development of ideas originating elsewhere, but they no longer enrich the world through intellectual property of their own.

3.2 The General Practice of the Higher Education Reform

Higher education reform is an evolutionary movement which attempts to bring about a systematic change in educational theory or practice across a society. The essence of educational theory is the general principle which bases itself on the philosophy of the purpose, application and interpretation of education. In other words, educational theory is an umbrella term for a variety of scholarly approaches to teaching, assessment and education law, most of which are informed by various strands of educational philosophy. In modern time, the higher education reform occurred on a different educational level at various points, from the upper configuration of society or political view in the national system, the modern notion of higher education reforms is tied with the competition of national power; but from the bottom of configuration of society or educational view in the national system, higher education reforms did not become widespread until organized schooling was sufficiently systematized.

The main purpose of the higher education in Taiwan and most other countries is to promote national power. Basically, the university is a dynamic force in economical, political and social development. With relation to issues of globalization and higher education, Mok Ka-ho and Welch (2003) illustrated that the macro and micro changes in national affairs has imputed their educational and political policies. Mok and Welch (2003) accentuated that a recurring theme among the Taiwan and Asia-Pacific rim countries is the importance of cost-efficiency in higher education. The institutional development, policy framework and the quality of higher education must be developed in an atmosphere where there is availability of restricted funds. As the author's realized that the funding is the lifeline of a university, and it is the same as the water resources to the vita to the tillers. Restricted funds availability equals zero waste in water.

Various scholars from the different approaches have argued that the essence of higher education reforms in different countries, such as Ngok King-lun and Kwong (Mok & Welch, 2003) provided the following ideas on Chinese education reform: 1) political changes that have influenced the restructuring of the Chinese educational system; 2) the role of law in educational administration has become an important form of educational governance; 3) The control of the educational system has been decentralized to the provincial and county levels along with the responsibility of funding forty percent of the costs; and 4) China has moved into the realm of academic capitalism. Both Ngok and Kwong actually overestimated the role of the educational laws, in most cases in developing countries the law only provides a symbolic meaning, with political authority holding the final right to interpret the contents of the law, the regulations in law can not be the true code of conduct.

In the case of Hong Kong, Wilding (2003) believed that because it is an element of China, the current deregulation policy in the higher education sector has not lessened governmental intervention. In addition, Yoon (2003) focused on South Korea; he highlights the fact that higher education systems have been reformed as a result of globalization, marketization and deregulation. Yoon thought that the South Korea government has moved from centralized university governance to an autonomous one and thus has decided to increase the public funds to finance higher education. This is the same as the core value of Taiwanese higher education reform since 1994. The government of South Korea had deregulated tertiary education, allowing individual institutions to make their own plans for academic and financial development. In this matter, Mok, Welch and Yoon's view became the same as Ngok King-lun and Julia Kwong; they depended on official policies to make their arbitration. However, from the view of the author, most of samples show that the policy in the official paper is different from the policy put into practice; this is always a major issue in developing countries.

In the theme on the relationship between politics and higher education reform, Welch (2003) pointed out that there are discussions weighing both concepts of politics driving higher education reform and the demand for higher education reform driving politics. Welch (2003) contrasts the concepts of quality and equality, a polarizing articulation of policy fundamentals in higher education. His summing-up stated that the widening social schism in Australian society is hauntingly familiar, and as globalization demands more assimilation to be part of the modern world, the realm of higher education is also being shaped by demand. Actually, the opinion of Welch on the reality of Australian's higher education is the same as the real situation which occurred in Taiwan; the struggle of ethnic groups in Taiwan also widen social schism and seriously influence the normal development of higher education, this analysis will see in Chapter 2, and Chapter 5.1 'the socio-political headstone of political intervention'.

It is a sobering truth; under the progress of globalization higher education has become part of the market economy. International competition in the university's world is an outcome of the internationalization. Internationalization, as an overarching objective, is defined by Paige and Mestenhauser (1999) as a complex, multidimensional learning process that includes the integrative, intercultural, interdisciplinary, comparative, transfer of knowledge-technology, contextual and global dimensions of knowledge construction. With regard to the mission of university in the new era, Grin, Harayama and Weber (2000) argued the mission of a university is that it must be both responsible and responsive. Harayama and Weber (2000) interpreted that responsibility involves the long term view of the university's mission and society's needs. The responsive aspect addresses the immediate strategies for meeting short-term economic and social requirements of the community. The Taiwanese higher education evolution, which connects the issue of the relationship between globalization, higher education development, the university's mission, and

society's needs in the new era can be seen in this study 'the new form of means of production in higher education under globalization' in the item (A) of Chapter 5.3.

On the privatization or deregulation of tertiary education, as stated by Smolicz (1999) on the shift of responsibility for the funding of higher education to students and their families, as well as other outside government sources can be regarded as a form of privatization. This may have resulted in the creation of private, independent, or other non-government higher education institutions, or take the form of directly imposing fees upon students when they attend formally state-funded colleges and universities. This is similar to Smolicz's view that this study unveils the new terminology of 'decompression' to elucidate the phenomenon, in which the central government transfers responsibility such as funds and duty in decision-making to the local government or university. The contents of this subject will be analyzed in section 1 of Chapter 5 'the socio-political headstone of political intervention'.

Wang Yongyang and Secombe (2004) have similar ideas on this issue they indicated in the case of Australia and expressed that privatization of higher education is more a case of public privatization. While in China, Wang and Secombe (2004) viewed that higher education privatization takes the form of independent privatization. About Chinese private tertiary education they pointed out with their observation that it can be generally classified into two categories. One is called people-run/managed, which is the private educational institution and totally funded by industries or sponsors. The other is people-run/managed with state supports, which usually were formerly state-owned colleges. The boundary between people-run and people-run with state support universities is usually ambiguous owing to China's particular social economic heritage and political circumstances.

There are a great numbers of literature that explores issues related to deregulation, however, in the area of developing countries, the issues of deregulation

in the higher education is largely an uncultivated territory and thus readily ignored. The author believes this is an important topic to discuss.

What is deregulation? Mark (1998) defined it as the transfer of decision-making authority, responsibility, and tasks from higher to lower organizational levels or between organizations. The Oxford Dictionary in English Dictionaries & Thesauruses illustrated it as the policy or process of removing or reducing controls and restrictions, specifically the removal of government control over the operation of markets in order to increase competition (Oxford Dictionary, 2007). Decentralization is the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations and/or the private sector; it is a complex multifaceted concept (Astiz, 2002).

Encyclopedia Americana (Gruberg, 2008) claimed also that decentralization has the advantages of: 1) relieving the central government of a constantly increasing burden of expanding services; 2) promoting citizen interest in government through wider popular participation; 3) retarding conditions favorable to bureaucracy or dictatorship; 4) more closely adapting legislative and administrative procedures to the needs of given areas; and 5) enlarging the opportunity for experimentation.

Mark mentioned the essence of higher education reform on decentralization tend to be born in political arenas and driven by many motives, mostly informal and frequently hidden. He generalized the conduct of higher education decentralization reform in Asia, North and South America, and summing-up he indicated: 1) strengthening policy control at the national level under the guise of decentralization; 2) breaking the power of teacher unions; 3) targeting national economic development as a derivative of the reform; 4) reducing national budgets by transferring educational costs to sub-national units; 5) establishing democratic roots after long periods of autocratic government or political turbulence; and 6) reducing conflict at the national

level by authorizing local school councils to hire and fire administrators and teachers (Muta, 2000).

Different types of decentralization on higher education should be distinguished because they have different characteristics, policy implications, and conditions for success. Other scholar and academic institution have different marks on the type of decentralization except Mark, such as Litvack (2003) revealed the types of decentralization that include educational, political, administrative, fiscal, and market decentralization. However, these types of decentralization can also appear in different forms and combinations across countries, within countries and even within sectors.

On the issue of higher education decentralization, scholars viewed that once politicians make the decision to decentralize higher education, the task of carrying out this mission is transferred to the leaders of the educational institution, and hence a complicating dilemma is introduced. On the outcome of transformation, under the public banner of decentralization it is to improve the quality of higher education, the educational leaders must mount a strategy of changing the way of higher education when the underlying motive is really politics in nature. This change process is further complicated because the tenure of ministers of education tends to be quite brief.

Generally, as Sharpe (1963) revealed that there are three forms of educational administrative deregulation, namely: devolution, delegation and deconcentration, each of the three have different characteristics. Sharpe (1963) interprets that devolution transfer decision-making authority to a lower institutional unit that can then act independently or without first asking permission from the central government; delegation transfers decision-making authority from higher to lower hierarchical units, but this authority can be withdrawn at the discretion of the delegating unit; and deconcentration transfers the work but not the significant decision-making authority.

Devolution was also revealed by Schiefelbein and Schiefelbein (2000); they took the case of Chile to explain and pointed out that in Chile it has implemented reform

strategies that shaped its educational deregulation process. Ornelas (2000) takes the case of Mexico to illustrate delegation; Ornelas thought Mexico's deregulation policy was the core of an overall higher education reform; the central government had strong motives to decentralize the educational institution because the highly centralized system was notoriously rigid, inefficient, conflict laden, unresponsive to the needs of local schools, unable to improve the quality of education and frequently dominated by the National Teachers' Union.

The author believes that these classifications cover most living examples in higher education sector, but it will be perfect if decompression is added. This dissertation assumes that decompression means the transfers of responsibility such as funds and duty in decision-making from central to local government and from MOE to university. The essence of the decompression is described in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7.1.

Higher educational deregulation is also a global trend in the past decades. Astiz (2002) observed that there has been a preoccupation with deregulation in the policy discourse about higher education, particularly among the developing countries. However, on the issues of higher education regulation and deregulation, Frederick Leung presented his opinions at the APEC Educational Reform Summit in 2004 at Beijing; he analyzed the motives behind the deregulation of five East Asian countries, and explained what the differences between them are. Leung indicated in China, The deregulation moves were taken because of financial need rather than a genuine embracement of a philosophy of devolution of authority. In the whole process, the maintenance of central control by the government is still of the utmost importance (Leung, 2004). This statement is very similar to the Taiwanese higher education situation; this is one of the reasons of letting go of power, because of the financial factor. The reality of 'power release because of the financial factor' is described in Chapter 5.3 and Chapter 6.2.

However, in Hong Kong case, Leung (2004) advocated that deregulation in educational affairs is not supported by government. In Singapore case, he revealed that the deregulation measures in Singapore are not aimed at devolution of authority to the lower levels of the hierarchy per se, but are means to enhance efficiency of the system. About Taiwan, Huang Kuang-kuo (2003, 2006) showed clearly and argued that the policy of deregulation on higher education has taken place; however, the result is an educational catastrophe. Huang's comment of catastrophe was just right to describe the true situations, in reality, the Taiwanese deregulation policy in higher education is more like a sinister political trick; there is no visible vibration but the game of zero sums, in which the winner takes all, and the loser keeps nothing. This topic is described in Chapter 8.

In terms of the interaction between decision-maker and their higher education reform policy, Corrales (1999) studied as the tenure of ministers of education in 22 nations around the world; Corrales found that they lasted less than 2.5 years in office. New ministers have a learning curve and by the time they become proficient in their job, they are history. The short terms in the seat of education ministers sparks off the low efficiency to implement on new education policy. The result of this investigation is a very similar match to the condition of Taiwan; the details are stated in Chapter 8.2.

3.3 The Identity Politics and Sociological Theory Explains the Social Phenomena and Higher Education

Identity is a person's conception and expression of their individuality or group affiliations, which is defined as the distinctive characteristic belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group. As it emphasizes the sharing of a degree of sameness or oneness with others in a special area.

Identity politics is the political terrain in which various social groups engage in a

struggle for recognition, each seeking recognition for the special interests of a specific social group³⁹. Identity politics are also political attitudes or positions that are based on the cultural, ethnic, gender, racial, religious, or social interests that characterize a group identity. However, the definition of identity politics in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy has come to signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups.⁴⁰ Bickford (1997) commented that the phrase of identity politics is also something of a philosophical punching-bag for a variety of critics. Often challenges fail to make sufficiently clear their object of critique, using identity politics as a blanket description that invokes a range of tacit political failings.

Schlesinger, Jr. (1991) discussed identity politics extensively in his book *The Disuniting of America*. In his view, basing politics on group marginalization fractures the civil polity, and therefore works against creating real opportunities for ending marginalization. Schlesinger (Turner, 2009) believes that movements for civil rights should aim towards full acceptance and integration of marginalized groups into the mainstream culture, rather than perpetuating that marginalization through affirmations of difference.

In addition, psychologists most commonly use the term of identity to describe personal identity, or the idiosyncratic things that make a person unique. Meanwhile, sociologists often use the term to describe social identity, or the collection of group memberships that define the individual. Weinreich (1986) illustrated that a person's identity is defined as the totality of one's self-construal, in which how one construes oneself in the present expresses the continuity between how one construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future. On the issue of ethnic conflict, Weinreich (1986) brightly accentuated that one's ethnic identity is defined as that part of the totality of one's self-construal made up of

³⁹ see <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/terms/i/d.htm> (Accessed: 10 February 2013)

⁴⁰ see <http://www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity-politics/> (Accessed: 8 February 2013)

those dimensions that express the continuity between one's construal of past ancestry and one's future aspirations in relation to ethnicity. However, in the view of Kelly, Erikson and Tajfel (Weinreich & Saunderson, 2003), the Weinreich's identity's structure is a structural representation of the individual's existential experience, in which the relationships between self and other agents are organized in relatively stable structures over time; they (Weinreich & Saunderson, 2003a) believe Weinreich applies the identity variant in a framework which also allows for the transition from one to another by way of biographical experiences and resolution of conflicted identifications situated in various contexts.

Brown (1995) also highlighted that a key condition of possibility for contemporary identity politics was institutionalized liberal democracy. The citizen mobilizations that made democracy real also shaped and unified groups previously marginal to the polity, while extensions of formal rights invited expectations of material and symbolic equality. Intrinsically, people's identity is rooted in their identifications; in what they associated themselves with; what a person associates him or herself with is ultimately who that person is, for all identity is ultimately in relationship to something else.

Identity politics dominated radical politics during the last few decades of the 20th century, and constituted a turn away from attempts to change governments or win political power. Identity politics focused on how their particular group were represented in the media and language, how their group were affected by various institutional practices and so on.

The social movements of the post-war period which emphasized the common interests of the masses of people in opposition to an external enemy, began to pass over to politics which emphasized difference, and by the compounding of multiple difference and identity the enemy became more and more indefinable. For an inter-group (e.g., racial, ethnic, or religious) conflict to occur, the opponents must

have a sense of collective identity about themselves and about their adversary, each side believing the fight is between us and them. Some of those conflicts become intractable, persisting destructively for a very long time, despite efforts to resolve them. In some such conflicts the antagonists seem to be fighting each other about the identities that they hold about themselves and those they attribute to the other side (Coy & Woehrle, 2000). Such conflicts are sometimes called identity-based conflicts and regarded as particularly prone to becoming intractable. Identities are profoundly shaped by interactions molded in conflict, and in turn influence the course of a conflict. Identities can greatly contribute to conflict intractability. How adversaries think about who they are and who and what their enemies are profoundly influences the course of any conflict between them.

Weir (2008) commented that the dangers of identity politics are that it casts as authentic to the self or group an identity that in fact is defined by its opposition to other. Reclaiming such an identity as one's own merely reinforces its dependence on this dominant other, and further internalizes and reinforces an oppressive hierarchy. Brown (1995) offers a more sophisticated caution against the dangers of resentment. Brown argued that identity politics has its own genealogy in liberal capitalism that relentlessly reinforces the wounded attachments it claims to sever that politicized identity thus enunciates itself, makes claims for itself, only by entrenching, restating, dramatizing, and inscribing its pain in politics; it can hold out no future that triumphs over this pain.

It is common to analyze higher education in concrete terms, as a set of specific and local organizations, roles, interactions, and economic transactions. Such analysis may be used by students or educators. But the alternative sociological functionalist and institutionalist can view higher education as deeply affected by an enactment of structures whose nature and meaning have been institutionalized over many centuries and now apply throughout the world.

Higher educational structure, like universities and colleges, reflects common models in national or world environments. The empirical literature provides clear evidence on the issue, that educational systems are remarkably similar around the world, and increasingly so over time. As Riddle (1990, 1993) viewed that historically higher education, taking the form of the university, spread around the world with a great deal of isomorphism in aspiration and content.

Structural functionalism interprets society or university as a structure with interrelated parts. Functionalism also addresses society or university as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements. For Parsons (1975), structural functionalism came to describe a particular stage in the methodological development of social science, rather than a specific school of thought. Ramirez (2002, 2006a, 2006b) observed that the university, practically everywhere, its organizational structure reflects the organization of that particular national polity.

Functionalists, from Comte⁴¹ onwards, have looked towards anthropological basis as the work of theorists providing the closest and most compatible model for social science, such as Malinowski⁴², Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown⁴³. Malinowski's (1989) argues that the basic building block of society is the family, and that family's value influences these members; Durkheim was concerned with the question of how certain societies maintain internal stability and survive over time. He proposed that such societies tend to be segmented, with equivalent parts held together by shared values, common symbols. Radcliffe-Brown (1931), who follows Comte, believed that society constitutes a separate level of reality. Explanations of social phenomena had

⁴¹ A. Comte (1798-1857) was a French philosopher, a founder of the discipline of sociology and of the doctrine of positivism. See A. Comte (1856), *A general view of positivism (Discours sur l'Esprit positif 1844)*, London: 1856

⁴² B. Malinowski (1884-1942), a Polish-born British anthropologist, was a major force in transforming nineteenth-century speculative anthropology into an observation-based science of humanity. See B. Malinowski (1989), *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, Stanford University Press.

⁴³ Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955) has often been associated with functionalism, and is considered by some to be the founder of structural functionalism. His work can see Radcliffe-Brown (1922), *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and Radcliffe-Brown (1931), *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, Melbourne: MacMillan & Co.

therefore to be constructed within this level, individuals being merely transient occupants of comparatively stable social roles.

Parsons (1977) was heavily influenced by Durkheim; based on the system-theoretical concept and the methodological principle of voluntary action and held that the social system is made up of the actions of individuals. Parsons believed that order, stability and cooperation in society are based on value consensus, which is a general agreement by members of society concerning what is good and worthwhile. Stratification system in the society derives from common values it follows from the existence of values that individuals will be evaluated and therefore placed in some form of rank order. Stratification is the ranking of units in a social system in accordance with the common value system. Davis and Moore (1945) gave an argument for social stratification based on the idea of functional necessity, which means all societies need some mechanism for insuring effective role allocation and performance. This mechanism is social stratification that they see as a system which attaches unequal rewards and privileges to the positions in society.

Furthermore, Archer (1979) in her book *Social Origins of Educational Systems* perceives the individual in the society as a rational actor pursuing material interests; she also senses the relationship between structure and culture as an exchange relationship, in which legitimacy is exchanged for resources. Archer's idea differed from two classical sociologists, Durkheim and Weber; they see the individual as an object of cultivation and see society as the source of cultural development. Archer (1984) in her thesis *Social Origins of Educational Systems* also mentions that modern educational systems are of two basic kinds, centralized and decentralized, and that their character and functioning are conditioned by the social and political conflicts of their formative phases. Archer's view is proved in the case of Taiwanese higher education development, which can be seen in this study.

Another name in the field of functionalism's study is Meyer who is among the

leading proponents of the environmental view of organizational theory, which sees organizational structures as primarily determined by environment as opposed to technology. He considers the place of organizations within a wider institutional structure; Meyer pays particular attention in educational systems. His early work focused on the sociology of education, he was also an early contributor to the new sociological institutionalism. Meyer depicted modern formal organizations as ritualized celebrations of external cultural rules, more than coherent actions and policy systems. Meyer (1997) thought that the institutional theory emphasizes that local organizations arise in good measure independent of local circumstances; it derived from wider socio-cultural environments that support and even require local structuration around exogenous models and meanings.

Structuration was devised by A. Giddens. In Giddens' (1995) mind the structuration theory emphasizes what we are looking at when we study society rather than how a particular society actually works. It holds that all human action is performed within the context of a pre-existing social structure which is governed by a set of norms and laws which are distinct from those of other social structures. For Giddens (1976), structures are rules and resources organized as properties of social systems. Resources are patterns people may follow in social life. Rules relate to what is created by human action. Giddens (1984) attempts to transcend the traditional division in sociology between action and structure by focusing on social practices, which, he argues, produce and are produced by structures.

Moreover, Meyer (1970, 1977) and Rowan (1977) also indicated that sociological institutional theory in part arose from studies in the sociology of education. In general, institutional views stress the dependence of local social organization on wider environmental meanings, definitions, rules, and models. The dependence involved what is normally thought of as causal influence in the social sciences. It makes good sense to look at higher education as an institution, and to

consider the consequences of its extensive and intensive institutionalization.

The University is a national institution and organizational form; organizationally, as Reisner (1922) and Reading (1996) indicated that universities in present time generally became more nationalized, leading to their depiction as laboratories of nationalism, and supporters of the national project.

It deserves to be mentioned, functionalism was also criticized for being unable to account for social change, or for structural contradictions and conflict. Stronger criticisms include the epistemological argument that functionalism is tautologies, that is it attempts to account for the development of social institutions solely through recourse to the effects that are attributed to them and thereby explains the two circularly. Another criticism describes the ontological argument that society cannot have needs as a human being does, and even if society does have needs, they need not be met. Giddens (1976) in his article *Functionalism* argues that functionalist explanations may all be rewritten as historical accounts of individual human actions and consequences. A further criticism directed at functionalism is that it contains no sense of agency, that individuals are seen as puppets, acting as their role requires. Further criticisms have been levelled at functionalism by proponents of other social theories, particularly conflict theorists, Marxism, and postmodernists. Conflict theorists like Holmwood (2005), criticised functionalism's concept of systems as giving far too much weight to integration and consensus, and neglecting independence and conflict.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Theoretical Framework

Due to the conceptual nature of this study, this research has adopted the view of identity politics and the sociological conflict theory as a theoretical framework. In order to achieve dependable results, this study has also conducted interviews with participants of higher education in Taiwan.

Identity politics refers to political arguments that focus upon the self-interest and perspectives of self-identified social interest groups and ways in which people's politics is shaped accordingly by aspects of their identity through race, class, religion, gender, or traditional dominance. Identity, particularly in cases of extreme forms of national or ethnic conflict, is marked by inclusion and exclusion, that is, us and them. Identity formation is the process of developing a distinct personality and characteristics, becoming an individuated person separate from others.

However, when and how identities contribute to intractable conflicts depends greatly on the content of the identities held. Certain qualities of identities contribute significantly to the intractability of conflicts, and whether those conflicts are constructive or destructive. In addition, it should be recognized that political leaders play important roles in shaping identities. Political leaders put forward identities that include some people while excluding others. They may expect to benefit from the construction and strengthening of exclusive identities, privileging their own political ambition and gaining power by arousing emotions against other groups and peoples.

Conflict theory argues that individuals and groups within society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources, and that the more powerful groups use their power in order to exploit groups with less power. Conflict theory also justifies social change; it illustrates society as unstable and enharmonic with unpredictable changes. Conflict theory further states that society is created from

ongoing social conflict between various groups. It refers to various types of social interaction.

Intrinsically, conflict theory conveys life as a constant struggle between groups for power and scarce resources. This rationale was established by Marx (Dobb, 1971) who observed small powerful groups exploiting the people in social classes below them. According to Marx' conflict theory in all stratified societies there are two major social groups: a ruling class and a subject class. The ruling class derives its power from its ownership and control of the forces of production. The ruling class exploits and oppresses the subject class. As a result there is a basic conflict of interest between the two classes. The various institutions of society such as the legal and political system are instruments of ruling class domination and serve to further its interests.⁴⁴

The history of conflict theory can be traced back to thinkers such as Machiavelli⁴⁵ or Hobbes⁴⁶, both of whom viewed humanity incompatibly. In current form, conflict theory attempts to refute the functionalist approach, which considers that societies and organizations function so that each individual and group plays a specific role, like organs in the body. The New World Encyclopedia states that the conflict theory is whereby each individual participant and its groups in the society struggle to maximize their benefits, which inevitably contributes to social change such as political changes and revolutions.⁴⁷ The theory is mostly applied to explain conflict between social classes, like ruling class and subject class, or so call political

⁴⁴ M. Dobb (ed.) (1971), K. Marx/ *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Tr. S. W. Ryazanskaya, London: Lawrence & Wishart; T. Skocpol (1980), *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*, New York: Cambridge University Press; I. Wallerstein (1974), *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York: Academic Press. *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*, New York: Academic Press.

⁴⁵ See *The Literary Works of Machiavelli*, trans. J. Hale (1961), Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 139; P. Rahe (2008), *Against throne and altar: Machiavelli and political theory under the English Republic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 282.

⁴⁶ A. Martinich (1992), *The Two Gods of Leviathan: Thomas Hobbes on Religion and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; P. Zagorin (2009), *Hobbes and the Law of Nature*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

⁴⁷ http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Conflict_theory (Accessed: 07 November 2011)

capitalist class and political proletariat.

Modern society presents several examples of the main ideas and mechanisms of the conflict theory in practice, as Mills (1956) presented a conflict theory that shows the process by which the upper class power elites systematically work to disenfranchise and exploit the lower classes to maintain and increase their power.⁴⁸ Mill (1956) also indicated conflict exists between people of lower social statuses and the power elite resulting in a struggle for resources and unequal distribution of influence. Gumplovicz (Irving, 2007) in his work *Outlines of Sociology (Grundriss der Soziologie, 1884)* described how civilization has been shaped by conflict between cultures and ethnic groups.⁴⁹ Horowitz (1986) from his view suggested that Gumplovicz understood conflict in all its forms, which are class conflict and ethnic conflict⁵⁰.

In Ward's book *Dynamic Sociology* (Aho, 1975), he showed that at the most basic level, human nature itself is deeply conflicted between self-aggrandizement and altruism, between emotion and intellect.⁵¹ Ward assumed there had been a 'perpetual and vigorous struggle' among various 'social forces' that shaped society. Political intervention is another form of social conflict which related with the operation of political power. Sharp's (Weber, 2004) view is that political power derives from the subjects of the state. His fundamental belief is that any power structure relies upon the subjects' obedience to the orders of the ruler(s).⁵²

The conflict theory emphasizes the social, political or material inequality of a social group, which critiques the broad socio-political system. However, to sum up the core contents of the different sociologists interpretations, the following are four

⁴⁸ C. Mills (1956). *The Power Elite*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁴⁹ J. Irving (2007), *Fifty Key Sociologists: the Formative Theorists*, London: Routledge, p. 59

⁵⁰ I. Horowitz (1986), *Communicating Ideas: The Politics of Scholarly Publishing*, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, p. 281

⁵¹ J. Burns (2004), *Transforming Leadership*, N. Y.: Grove Press, p. 189; J. Aho (1975), "Lester F. Ward's Sociology of Conflict" in *German Realpolitik and American Sociology: an Inquiry Into the Sources and Political Significance of the Sociology of Conflict*, Chapter 6, N. J.: Bucknell University Press, pp. 130-161

⁵² T. Weber (2004), *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

primary elements of modern conflict theory, these are basis of the analysis in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 respectively.

- 1) Structural inequality: Inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups that benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained.
- 2) Power interaction: The results of conflict between people in the society draws attention to power differentials, such as class and ethnic conflict, and generally contrast historically dominant ideologies.
- 3) Competition: Competition over scarce resources is at the heart of all social relationships. Competition rather than consensus are the characteristics of people's relationships.
- 4) Confronting position: Change occurs as a result of conflict between ethnic and social class's competing interests rather than through adaptation.

All the studies in this dissertation are based on the strength of the truth, rational ratiocination and reliance on reasoned arguments. Basically, from the standpoint of the organizational system, the concept of holism or integrated whole can be stated in terms of a system embodying a set of relationships. Organizational system performance focuses on the arrangement of and relations between the parts, it includes: Organizational environment, hierarchy, culture, functions, goals, and members behavior. However, the Taiwanese education system is a bureaucratic structure with a high degree of standardization. Like many countries this bureaucratic structure is part of a hierarchical system in the nation. In Taiwan, the educational system's environment, culture and transition shows clearly that higher education development is tightly connected with the educational ideality, political reality and national goals. This study needs to analyze the behavior of political, educational authority and the interaction and conflicts between the different groups in higher education development.

Based on the primary elements of conflict theory, this study investigates the following research questions, which was revealed in Chapter 1. First, what are the foundations of Taiwanese society in political intervention on Taiwanese higher education development? Second, what are the conflicting practices of higher education policies of deregulation and decentralization under the high and low political intervention? Third, what are the political power interactions and competitions in the policies of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education? Fourth, what are the confronting positions between political authority, scholar-ruler and educators, and results of conflicts on the issue of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education?

Question one aims to explore the foundations of political intervention on higher education development. This study takes a close look at the Taiwanese social value on higher education and the issues of national identity, and examines the position of political party's regarding higher education affairs. Question two aims to discover the practice of higher education since 1994 under the high and low political intervention. An in-depth analysis on the political goals and actions in higher education policies is examined in this study. Question three aims to investigate political power interaction and competition in the policies of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education. The study explores the contradictions and conflicts in higher education policies, the alienative and the metamorphic policies in higher education development are examined. Question four aims to analyze the driving forces behind the educational populism; the cases of educational, political and social conflicts on higher educational policies, such as the policy debate and the educational populism in higher education, and the policy debate and the issue of higher education expansion, are fully discussed in this study.

4.2 The Approach of Research

This research is intended to study the political intervention on higher education

development in Taiwan since 1994; under the view of identity politics and the theoretical framework of the conflict theory, the case study, content analysis are the main research approach in this dissertation.

In general, a case study⁵³ (Eisenhardt, 1989; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2002) is based on an in-depth investigation of a single individual, group, or event. A case study is used to explore causation in order to find underlying principles. The timeline of these cases study in this study is within the period between 1994 and 2008. The cases on political intervention in higher education consist of six events, which includes the event of Huang Kuan-tsaе, who was the president of National Taiwan Normal University; the plights of higher education policies; the phenomenon of deregulation on teacher training; the estrangement between university and industrial circles; the issue of moral education and cram school; and the issue of ministers of education. All these cases can be seen in Chapter 6.3, Chapter 7.2, and others.

Content analysis⁵⁴ (Weber, 1990; Krippendorff, 2004) is a technique for gathering and analyzing the content of a text. The content can be statistics, national papers, official documents, laws and schemes. This method is used to explain the different kinds of contents such as national papers, official documents, newspapers, and laws to comment the distinctive mark of higher education in Taiwan. For instance, from the amendments of the University Law and MOE's regulations on the policies of higher education, one can clearly understands the political role of educational

⁵³ Restrictions on case study: It's difficult to describe the variety of techniques used to arrive at useful generalizations in a case study, and one way to generalize from a sample of one is to argue that group data overlooks or blurs the significance of individual success or failure. Also reference on: R. Yin (2002) *Case Study Research. Design and Methods*, California: Sage; K. Eisenhardt (1989) "Building Theories from Case Study Research", *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 532-550; R. Stake (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*, California: Sage.

⁵⁴ Restrictions on content analysis: There are strict limitations on the inferences a researcher can make with content analysis. Such as, inferences about motivation or intent can not normally be made, nor can the researcher infer what the effect of seeing such content would be on a viewer. Therefore, content analysis is only analysis of what is in the text. A key point to remember is that the more quantitative aspects of content analysis come first; the qualitative part of the analysis comes last, although some advocates say the technique involves moving back and forth between quantitative and qualitative methods. Also reference on: R. Weber (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*, California: Sage; K. Krippendorff (2004) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, California: Sage.

decision-makers and their political intentions in higher education policies.

Furthermore, an informational interview can help the researcher by generating insights and concepts in his/her research topic. Rubin and Rubin (1995) indicated that interviewing is a philosophy of learning; the interviewer becomes a student and then tries to get people to describe their experiences in their own terms. The interview method of research, typically, involves individual interviews and group interviews. In most circumstances, the following three interview methods are used to get the required information, namely: scripted, semi-scripted and ad-lib interview.

In order to achieve more reliable results, this study conducts semi-scripted and individual telephone and face-to-face interviews. There are four variations of participants, the first is officials in the MOE who are in charge of educational affairs; the second is public and private university/college teaching staff in higher education; the third is public and private university/college students; and the fourth is KMT and DPP legislators. Due to the conceptual nature of this study, the purpose of the interviews is for the author to get an overview of the values of educators and students in the higher education circle and to revise the viewpoint of the author on this study.

The teaching personnel who were interviewed by the author were randomly selected from the universities which are located in the north, the center and the south Taiwan; they had at least five years of teaching experience in universities. The officials in the MOE that were interviewed by the author have also had at least five years of experience in the education administrative job. The students who were interviewed were randomly selected but had to have studied for over a year in university or college. In addition, as the position is appointed by the MOE, the presidents of university and college were excluded from interview. The following diagram shows the structure of interviewees, this is a basic background that can be used to understand the group patterns, these patterns are required by conceptual nature and qualitative study:

Diagram 4.1: Organization Type

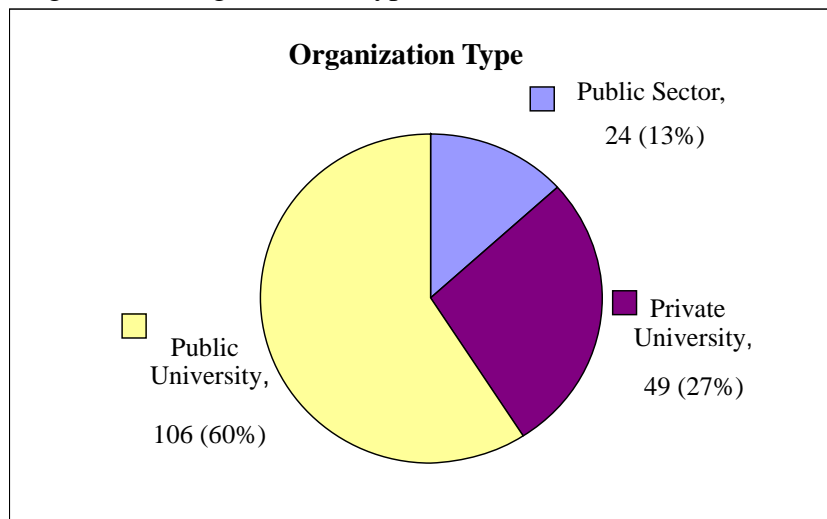


Diagram 4.1 summaries the background of the interviewee. A total of 179 people were interviewed, of which 106 are from public universities, 24 are government officers which includes 7 legislators, and 49 are from private universities. Diagram 4.2 displays the distribution of profession from the private university sampled, it consists of 25 lecturers/professors, 1 administrative staff and 23 students. Diagram 4.3 exhibits the selection of departments; all 25 teaching staff were from a wide range of different departments including politics, law, computer science and others that is shown on the chart.

Diagram 4.2: The Distribution of Profession from the Private University Sampled

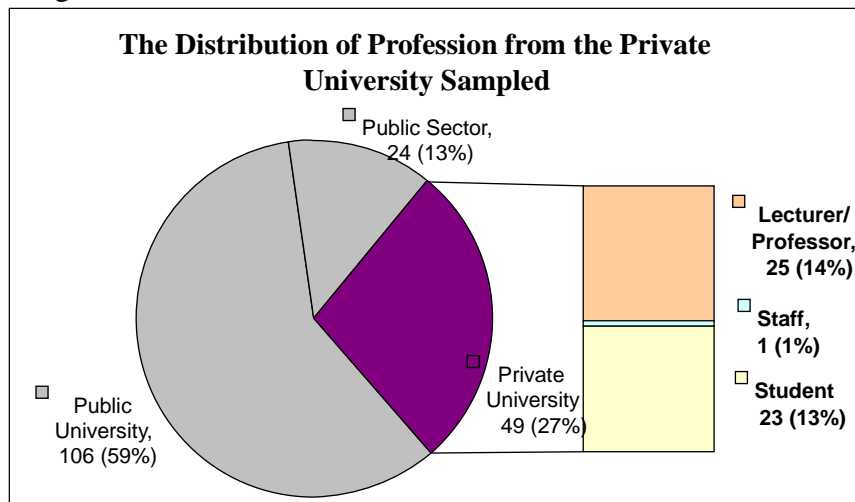


Diagram 4.3: The Selection of Department in Private University

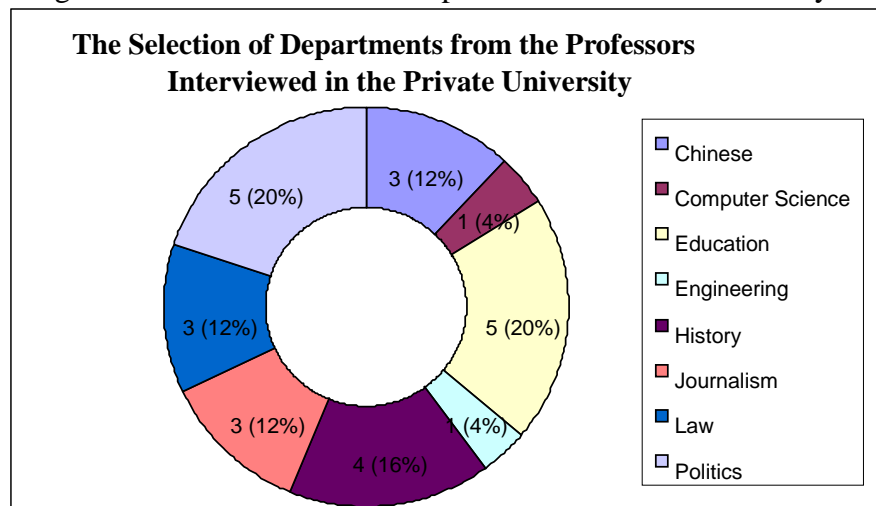


Diagram 4.4 demonstrates the distribution of profession from the public university sampled, where 106 people were selected for interviews, this diagram represents the distribution of the profession among the public university, it include 52 professor, 4 administrative staff and 50 students. Diagram 4.5 presents the selection of departments from the professors interviewed in the public university. All 52 professors from the public university were carefully selected among a range of departments including Politics, Education, History etc., details of the split by departments can be found in the chart below.

Diagram 4.4: The Distribution of Profession from the Public University Sampled

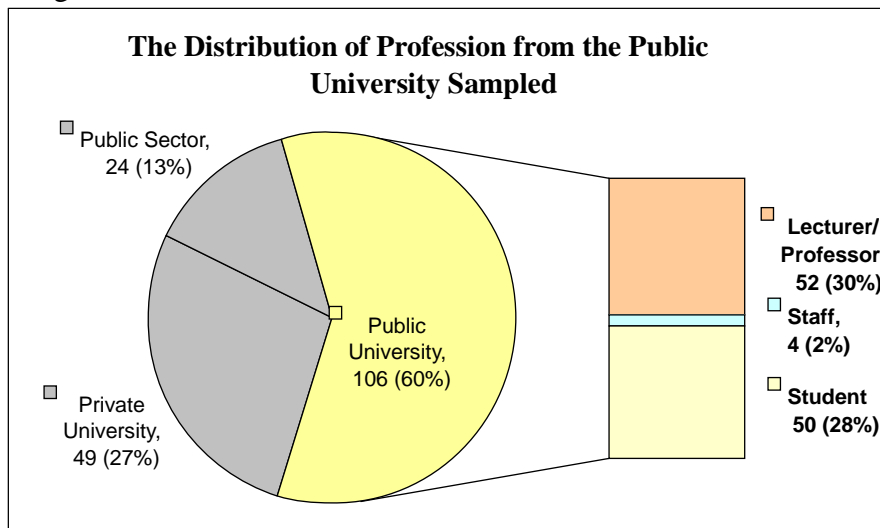
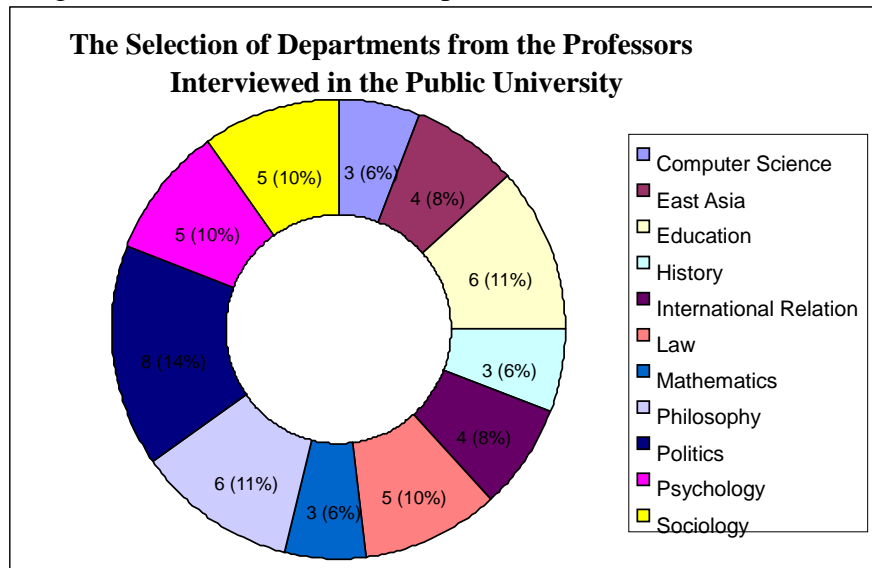


Diagram 4.5: The Selection of Departments in Public Universities



Appendix 1.1 of this dissertation shows the list of universities and interviewees, which covers the Interviewee's status and the date of the interview. The universities were sampled from different locations; covering the university in the north, middle and south of Taiwan. Appendix 1.2 displays the selection of departments of university, which the interviewees belong to.

Chapter 5 The Foundation of Taiwanese Society in Political Intervention

This study covers 3 parts to illustrate the detail on the foundation of Taiwanese society in political intervention in this Chapter. These 3 items are; 1) the socio-political headstone of political intervention, it covers political momentums in higher education policies, political dimension in higher education and the positions of political parties on the policies of higher education; 2) The social value and national identity conflict on higher education development, which includes the social value on higher education, and the issue of national identity in Taiwanese society; 3) The globalization and the roles of higher educational decision-makers on higher education development, which includes the new form of means of production in higher education under globalization, the political roles and personality of the higher educational decision-makers.

5.1 The Socio-political Headstone of Political Intervention

(A) Political Momentums in Higher Education Policies

In 1949, the ruling Nationalist Party, KMT, arrived in Taiwan, KMT put a unique education policy into place as a key part of their efforts to promote national unity until 1987. After that time the educational transformation in Taiwan was all related to the fight for political, social, economic, and people rights. The political rights movements were main appearance in ‘Chungli Incident’ and the ‘Formosa Violent Incident’. An elaboration of these two political movements described in Chapter 2.3. As a result of the economic growth and income increases, the priority of people’s demand from their government was to renew the education policies; they requested that the policy of higher education should be shifted from the purpose of economical development to a greater opportunity in higher education for better future prospects in people’s lives.

The people’s movement for the educational rights stemmed from the change of

better economic circumstances in Taiwan. Due to the oil crisis in the early 1970s' the central government decided to carry out Ten Major Construction Projects to stimulate the nation's economic growth. In the 1980's, the industrial enterprises were relocated to Southeast Asia as a result of rising wages in Taiwan that made it no longer attractive. It provoked unemployment in waves and irritated the political struggles. Contradictorily, while unemployed people gathered to protect their labor rights, the approval for new industrial investment was overruled by political oppositionist; such as the cases of Formosa Plastics Group investment in 1987 and Bayer Company investment in 1997 (Ye, 1993; Wu, 1998).

However, the central government was promoting on political openings and democratization under Chiang Ching-kuo of KMT ruling in 1980s. Chiao (2000) believed that the most critical driving force in the development of democratic regimes was the authoritarian KMT removal of barriers to a more competitive political marketplace. The economic claim also implied a demand of an equitable distribution of resources, which in fact was fighting for adjustment of the relationship between government authorities and society. The people wanted more political, educational, economic, and autonomic power than that they had already been given by the government.

In 1988, NTU became the first university to elect its president of student union through a direct vote in modern Taiwanese higher education history. The students disregarded the approved election system, in which the post was filled by a vote among student governing representatives only; the model was the same as national Presidential election at that time. Traditionally, in campus, candidates for the president of student union held close ties to the university's student affair office and the in-campus's subcommittee of KMT, thus linking student union to the political party. The event of 'direct vote' has usurped the power of the MOE and raised the curtains of university autonomy and other political and social movements in Taiwan. As a

result of highly publicized acts, terms such as independent, deregulation, nonconformist, liberty, and anti-authoritarian are often applied to NTU.

After the event of direct vote, some student's organizations in NTU went on street protest alongside with National Chenchi University, National Taiwan Normal University and other universities. They frequently joined political party to participate in anti-government activities. In December 1993, when MOE disclosed the draft of University Law to test the reaction of Taiwanese; universities students joined in a sit-in and three-day hunger strike to protest the contents in the draft of the University Law in 1994 revision, in which MOE gave universities only little autonomy. Unfortunately the idea of higher education reform has dwindled away and was replaced by the intensifying desire for the pursuit of political interests. The more open atmosphere after 1987 prompted the people to express their demands on different aspects of social affairs including education reform. A mass rally of more than 10,000 people was held in April 1994 urging for modernization of the rigid education system. Consequently, the Seventh National Education Conference was organized by the MOE in June 1994 to explore ways forward.

However, after the Martial Law was lifted, personal dignity, human rights, political democracy, university autonomy, high quality education, happy learning, and equitable share education resource were pursued by the people. In the new circumstances of domestic politics, higher education met the new environment for its development; these new surroundings are: 1) the Martial Law was rescinded in 1987, which gave people a free minds to reconsider the aims of education; 2) political democratization, which gave politicians a chance to meddle in the education operation with the name of 'educational supervision'; 3) high political momentum in education system.

(B) Political Dimension in Higher Education

This study highlighted the result of interaction between politics, economy and education; it is a vital phenomenon in Taiwan. Since 1960s, the role of higher education has been affected by national manpower programs. As Taiwanese manufacturing industries became increasingly sophisticated in 1970s, both industrial circles and commercial society needed more technicians with professional knowledge and skills in the labour markets. They demanded government to expand size of higher education institutions. For the purposes of keeping political, social stability and economic development, MOE responded to these requests, by increasing the number of graduate schools in university, and placing the focus on engineering, electronics, agriculture, business in industry-oriented colleges in 1980s. The development of professional education in Taiwan adopted the same courses that the West did; however, it lacked modern education philosophy of its own (Huang, 2006).

The truth is that the rise of the market economy in Taiwan created considerable quantities of students in all level of higher education, the new social and economic changes also called upon the tertiary education to broaden their aims and curricula to fit in with the new economical conditions. Table 5.1 is the changes in number of university graduates from 1997 to 2005. It shows that the number of bachelor graduates rose from 85,802 in 1997 up to 219,919 in 2005.

Table 5.1: Changes in the Number of University Graduates, 1997–2005

	Ph.D	Master	Bachelor	Total
1997	1,282	14,146	85,802	101,230
1998	1,307	15,016	87,421	103,744
1999	1,455	16,757	100,171	118,383
2000	1,463	20,752	117,430	139,645
2001	1,501	25,900	146,166	173,567
2002	1,759	30,856	176,044	208,659
2003	1,964	35,981	192,854	230,799
2004	2,165	42,334	210,763	255,262
2005	2,614	45,736	219,919	268,269

Source: The Statistic of Education, MOE (2006)

Political authority clearly understood that political stability base on the economic achievements; for the purpose of economic development, one of the goals of universities is to cultivate disciplined workers for factories and public offices. The other aim is by pushing students through a tapering hierarchy of universities and put the island's finest test-takers into the best jobs in the government and top high-tech firms in the society.

Taiwanese higher education has produced reliable laborers for predictable works since 1950s, but when economic circumstances are changed, educators and people argued higher education needs to produce new leaders who have an ability to respond quickly to situations in the changing world. They advocated that the higher level of bachelor degree were expected not only to promote basic scientific knowledge, mental discipline and good moral character but also to help prepare students to fit into globalization, for high-value jobs and individual development and success.

With regards to higher education, social elites also emphasized that the development of industry and international trade was growing at a fast pace, the role of university had to be expanded, offering extensive training not only in civil service, but also in higher technical personnel who would be able to put into practice the research of new production. This idea is similar to Fotopoulos (1999) who indicated that all these developments had significant repercussions on education; one of the most significant ones being the gradual acceptance of the view that education ought to be the responsibility of the country.

With the incentive of the fast economic growth and drastic social and political converts in the 1990s, the Taiwanese, without the least hesitation, expressed their aspirations about different aspects of national system openly, particularly in the zone of higher education. The public at large demonstrated from written articles on columns in newspapers and magazines to protest March or violent protests on the

street. The protesters frequently surrounded MOE headquarter to show their strong dissatisfaction on rigid domination in education affairs by the government, and urged for a modern higher education reform to alleviate the stress that pressured on students from the universities and colleges entrance examinations.

It is noteworthy that the latest grand education reform officially inaugurated since 1994 in Taiwan was one of the achievements of political and social movements. People demanded that the government should pursue protecting academic freedom. However, until 1994, all of higher education affairs such as administration, personnel, finance, and curriculum were under the rigorous control by central authority and its political ideology. Even academic publications, social science field in particularly, were assessed and screened by the MOE. Students were obliged to take courses in political thought that transmitted the doctrines and ideas of Sun Yat-sen, father of ROC, and his successors Chiang Kai-shek.

Diversification and democratization have had a direct impact on higher education development since the lifting of Martial Law in 1987. Higher education reform was urgently needed to meet the demands of the Taiwanese and their changing society. However, since the early 1990s, there was a strong sense of crisis in education; this crisis was resulted from the public's calling for drastic actions in major educational transformation. It was under these circumstances that led to the Premier approval for the establishment of a cabinet-level ad hoc CER in September 1994.

(C) The Position of Political Party on the Policies of Higher Education

DPP is a good case to analysis the effect that political party has on higher education affairs, unlike KMT which clearly shows political and economic objectives on its education policies. DPP strongly stands for freedom, deregulation, politics-free, and justice on higher education before it took political power. However, after it was elected as a ruling party, it betrayed its education ideas, by abandoning the promises

to provide education free from political bureaucrats and university autonomy free from political intervention.

In the section of ‘Educational and Cultural Reform’ in the Political Platform of the Democratic Progressive Party, which adopted by the First National Congress of the DPP on 10 November 1986 and modified on 19 March 1995, DPP advocated that set up an vivid education system; stop political intervention in the decision-making of administration in the campus; and maintain neutrality of faculty and academic freedom. DPP’ position on higher education affairs was that 1) the government should protect the right of teachers and students; 2) students should be allowed to publish publications and convene seminars without restrictions; 3) university teachers and students should be given the rights of assembly and autonomy, 4) whether a university or a research organization should continue to hire its personnel should be determined by an independent screening board without interference by political power; and 5) the government should guarantee the lifetime employment of those outstanding teachers who have served for a certain period of time (DPP, 1995).

In the section of ‘Policy Suggestions in Educational Affairs’, from the angle of deregulation and democratization, DPP higher education policies advocated that 1) promote academic and creative freedom, respect the right of teachers to lecture freely, employ professors as school administrators and establish a lifetime tenure system for outstanding teachers; 2) relinquish unifies textbooks and curriculums, prohibit teachers from inculcating students with political dogma, promote freedom of thought, and encourage student’s individuality and creativity; 3) increase the central government’s budgets for educational and cultural development and forbid any political party or group from misappropriating budgets for education; 4) protect the right of people to establish private schools at various levels and to determine their own education curriculum; 5) remove military instructors from schools, abolish the compulsory military training, promote campus democracy and forbid political or

military intervention in school affairs; 6) improve the public university entrance examination, increase the number of universities and colleges, increase the number of students enrolled in public universities and colleges, upgrade the quality of teaching and expel college students who perform poorly; 7) reduce the number of students per class and purchase more teaching materials to improve the quality of education; 8) adopt a more flexible academic system for universities and colleges; 9) upgrade the faculty and facilities of graduate schools and cooperate with renowned foreign universities in setting up branches in Taiwan; 10) appropriate government funds to encourage the private sector to establish training facilities for the handicapped; 11) make public the financial conditions and procedures for the employment, discharge, evaluation of personnel at education facilities, and allow teachers to file petitions for reconsideration of their cases; 12) increase teacher salaries, provide better benefits, and improve the teachers' retirement system; 13) provide long-term, low-interest loans to college and university students and increase scholarships for students from low-income families; 14) forbid private schools from collecting excessive tuition from students; protect teachers and staff of private schools, and present citations and awards to outstanding private schools; 15) give priority to improving education facilities in backward areas to maintain a balanced development of education (DPP, 1995).

'Policy Suggestions in Educational Affairs' has made a solid contributed to subsequent reform of higher education. However, it finally proved that DPP new higher education policies were only electoral propaganda and unable cash the cheque. Lee Yuan-tseh, the convener of CER since 1994 and the leader of consultative group on national polities of DPP's government since 2000, a Nobel laureate, surprisingly argued publicly that the policy promise in the general election did not need to be implemented, Lee thought DPP's higher education policies, which announce in public that just a political advertisement (The Sight, 2006 1). Another case is needed to

analyze that is ‘the ratio of education expenditures to GNP and GDP’, when DPP became the ruling party and held power on distribute national budget in May 2000; however, since then the proportion between GNP and education expenditures were always kept below 6%, lower than KMT’s government, its predecessor. It achieved only 5.98% in 2001, 5.90% in 2003, 5.71% in 2004, and 5.61% in 2006 (Economic Indicators, 2007); the situation was steadily worsened. The detail of the ratio and statistics was illustrated in Section 2.3.

5.2 The Social Value and the Issue of National Identity on Higher Education Development

(A) The Social Value on Higher Education in Taiwanese Society

The Taiwanese fundamental value believes in Confucianism, people venerate intelligentsia and accord them with the highest social status, higher education is traditionally seen in middle class as an avenue of upward social mobility. Though value of diversification became main stream with the rise of economical upgrade and mercantilism, the education in the people’s mind continues to be viewed as a matter of supreme importance. Most parents are more than willing to make great sacrifices to educate their children, even going into debt in order to send them abroad for graduate studies (Lin, 2003).

In education side, there are two tremendous influences in Chinese society, namely Confucianism and Examism. Confucianism is the most important ancient religious-like underpinning for the social values, institutions and transcendent ideas of traditional Chinese society. The core value of Confucian doctrine is emphasized on individual morality and ethics, and the proper exercise of political power by the rulers. In other words, Confucianism deals primarily with ‘the relationship between individual person and Mighty Master in the ‘heaven’, ‘Mighty Master in the land’, ‘Emperor’, ‘Parent’, and ‘Teacher’, the individual person is mostly petty and low, he/she has to humble himself/herself, in the presence of the five Masters, an

individual person needs to be self-remolding to harmony with five Masters demands.

Confucianism has dominated Chinese educational ideology and learning value for a very long time in Chinese history. Under the Confucianism' doctrine 'subjection to teachers' and 'obedience to rules' are the fundamental basis for holding the relationship between a teacher and a student in Taiwan. The concepts of subjection to teachers and obedience to rules became students' moral values in the school. Most students in Taiwan were equipped with unswerving loyalty to the powerful body of schools. From these ethics people were taught to pledge their subjection to the teachers, to the superiors, and to the central authority including President and MOE. Before the Martial Law was rescinded in 1987, the belief of 'MOE cannot be challenged' was the cardinal trait of students' personality in Taiwan. The morality behind obedience to rules was effective in the suppression on liberal behavior in educational affairs in Taiwan. Similarly, before 1987, the presidents of higher education institutes or councils had only executive obligation to the regulation of MOE. The supreme leadership was in the hands of the MOE and its boss - central authority.

Collective examinations are tested by the methods of oral and written exams with the aim to select individuals for the positions in the civil service. In Taiwan, the central government has set Examination Yuan parallel with Executive Yuan (same as Cabinet in Western country); the Examination Yuan is in charge of validating the qualification of civil servants. It is one of the five central government branches and is based on the ancient examination system in pre-modern China. The origin of this system, called 'Nine rank system',⁵⁵ a civil service nomination system, can be traced

⁵⁵ Theoretically, local government authorities were given the task of selecting talented candidates, then categorizing them into nine grades depending on their abilities. In practice, however, only the rich and powerful would be selected. During the Tang Dynasty, the Nine-rank system developed into a method of classification for civil officials and military officers serving the court, from local levels to national levels. Those directly under the Emperor heading the top departments were considered *First Pin* (Grade), and those who are county judicial officers, for example, were generally *Ninth Pin*. Some of the nine grades were further divided into *zheng* (正; regular), *cong* (從; deputy), *shang* (上; upper) and *xia* (下; lower) grades. Therefore in theory, the whole classification system actually holds more than eighteen ranks. In reality the subdivisions were customized in specific central and local departments;

back to the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD).

Theoretically, any male adult in imperial China, regardless of wealth or social status, men could become a high-ranking official in government by passing the national exams. In imperial China the examination system and associated methods of recruitment to the central bureaucracy were major mechanisms by which the central government captured and held the loyalty of intellectuals. The social elite seized the chance to achieve their utmost goal of upward social mobility and gaining new status of social class. Such public examination systems have deeply affected what standards to use in assessing the individual's performance.

Furthermore, Confucian believes in the capacity of hard working and academic achievement; it gives focus to the importance of education in the future of young generation (Stevenson, Lee, Stigler, & Kitamura, 1990; Stevenson, 1992). Influenced by the essence of these ideas, parents in Chinese society esteemed the scholastic achievements of their young children. It is regarded as one of crucial factors that influence their future career and life-long development. The majority of the people are sifted through the educational system to become public servants in cities rural areas. Indeed. Achieving higher education in Taiwan is still a significant means to achieve new social status, it means moving from rural to urban citizenship or advancing from the lower class to middle class.

In Taiwan, the majority of people firmly believe in higher education determinism; the idea of retaining educational superiority to change one's social position has long been embedded in people's mind. As a result of traditional emphasis on the value of higher education, many students feel if they do not achieve high scores, their academic career will be severely hampered and their lives altered. For instance, Students who do not pass university entrance will often opt to spend another year at

for instance, one department consisted of twelve ranks whereas another composed of sixteen. The views on the examination system in ancient China see: T. Kellaghan and G. Madaus, "External (public) examinations" T. Kellaghan, D. Stufflebeam and L. Wingate (ed.), *International Handbook of Educational Evaluation*, Netherlands: Kluwer.

cram school⁵⁶ to retake the test.

The monetary reward system in Taiwan is another incentive to push people to take higher education in addition to the traditional value of Confucianism. People with higher education usually receive higher pay; many have better chances of a promotion or achieving a higher social status, even taking a title of high ranking officer in the local or central government. A university degree is also beneficial in the sense of return on investment. In 2007, the average starting salary for university graduates was around 25,000 NTD /per month, but the median starting salary for high school graduates was around 17,280 NTD /per month. In the jobs market of domestic office, the salary for people who held a bachelor degree with five years of experience was 32,850 NTD /per month (976 USD) in 2005, with information and sciences topped the list at an average of 36,874 NTD /per month. More importantly, higher education degree usually means a better chance of getting a job and gaining political power. One who has non-university degree means that he/she is harder to find a technical and specialized job, especially in cities. For instance, In Taiwan, all Ministers in Cabinet and a very high proportion of Congressmen acquired the university graduate or postgraduate degree.

In addition, university graduates are more likely to get professional or managerial jobs, whereas non-university graduates are more inclined to settle on operative or administrative jobs. In reality, there is only very limited opportunity for a technical operator being promoted to the management circle. In military service, a person who holds a four-year academy degree has the chance to be promoted to a General, but for a person who holds only an ordinary training diploma or senior high school degree, the Sergeant Major probably is the highest military career one can get.

The Taiwanese economic development was built on two sturdy pillars - hard working and Confucian values. In addition, the economy is changing rapidly from

⁵⁶ Cram schools: also referred as supplementary education or tutorials, is a kind of private school that provides highly organized lessons conducted after regular school hours and on weekends.

industrial to knowledge-based economy under globalization and IT revolution. In the new circumstances, from the viewpoint of social vertical mobility, people hold a higher regard in a knowledge-based economy than an agricultural or traditional industrial society. Furthermore, in the new employment structure, it has become increasingly rare for a person to pursue just one career in a lifetime; comparatively, it has become much easier for a person to move up a career ladder today than it was in the past. In other words, nowadays a person not only frequent horizontal shifts across careers, but also frequent vertical shifts along the career. Unlike the manual labor and industrial economy, the cruel fact is that there are only a few vacant spaces for low-level labors in the era of knowledge-based economy. With the expansion of high-tech knowledge service comes the needs for advanced knowledge at almost all levels of works. People in Taiwan understand the significance of the studies. On the purpose of pursuing a better life in this new era, higher education is absolutely the best investment anyone can make.

However, there are a large number of young people that pursues higher education; this means a higher possibility of achieving big change in Taiwanese society. This social value on higher education is an excellent breeding ground for developing of educational populism, and a good opportunity for politicians to create political opportunism. On the basis of the doctrine of Karl Marx, the economic behavior and various means of production are a decisive factor of politics; from the view of capitalism, economical activities is a motive force of social progress. In this study, one of the explanations is that the interaction between economical ambition and political stability of the country is a breeding ground of political intervention on higher education.

(B) The Issue of National Identity in Taiwanese Society

In 1949, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek arrived in Taiwan with his Nationalist forces

and his followers after their defeat by the CCP in the civil war. Since then, the dispute over the island's status, whether Taiwan should be considered as an independent country or a province of China, has prevented any clarification on naming issue until Martial Law was lifted in 1987. Taiwan identity crisis has been an ongoing issue over two decades arising from the political rivalry between the Pan-blue coalition⁵⁷ and the Pan-green coalition⁵⁸. National policies are confused due to the political position on Taiwan identity. When Lee Teng-hui, a native Taiwanese, succeeded Chiang Ching-kuo as the President in 1988, the extreme localization which based on the principle of Taiwan's independence became the theme of political, educational and social movement in Taiwan. Unchangeably, the core value of extreme localization movement is emphasized on Taiwan's independence by no name; the movement stemmed from political party's interests and political conflicts in dividing ill-gotten profits. The movement involves teaching Taiwanese history and culture from a grassroots view and local perspective, as well as promoting languages that was established in local Taiwan, including Min-nan, Hakka and aboriginal languages.

The movement of localization has been expressed in forms; for instance, the use of dialect in the official occasions, emphasizing Taiwanese priority in international affairs, anti-Chinese, de-Sinicization, and avoiding as much as possible the debate of Taiwan's identity, whether or not Taiwan is part of China. After DPP became the ruling party in 2000, some companies or organizations were forced to replace its company name with 'Taiwan' or 'Taiwanese' if the original name contained the word

⁵⁷ The Pan-Blue Coalition (泛藍聯盟), is a political coalition in the Taiwan, consisting of the Kuomintang (KMT), the people First Party (PFP), and the smaller New Party (CNP). The name comes from the party colors of the Kuomintang. This coalition in politics tends to favor a Chinese nationalist identity over a Taiwanese separatist one and favors a softer policy and greater economic linkage with the PRC. Pan-blue coalition argues that a one China principle can be used as the basis for official talks with the Mainland China. It also opposes Taiwan's independence and argues that it is unnecessary and even provocative to establish a Taiwanese identity which is separated from the identity mainland China due to Taiwan's needs to relying on China's market and goodwill. This strategy is the best guarantee for maintaining peace and stability across the Taiwan.

⁵⁸ The Pan-Green Coalition (泛綠聯盟) consisting of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), and the minor Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP). The name comes from the colors of the DPP, which originally adopted green in part. In contrast to the Pan-Blue Coalition, the Pan-Green Coalition tends to favor Taiwan independence.

‘China’ or ‘Chinese’. The policy for renaming scheme is known as ‘the Campaign for the Correction of Names’. However, In light of a trademark issue and its associated cost, not many schools and companies complied with this change. Furthermore, after gaining only few support from the politicians in central establishment and without parliament’s approval, Taiwan’s President Chen Shui-bian approved a proposal for the word ‘Taiwan’ to be printed on the front of the passports, along with its official title, the Republic of China from 2002 (Add, 2002 a). The government has since then looked into renaming foreign representative offices to include Taiwan in their official names.

It is noteworthy that the issue of the Taiwanese independence versus Chinese reunification is primary political axis; it influences the rational debate on national and educational affairs. The struggle between the bloc of independent and reunification lead into the political intervention on higher education and educational populism; these subjects will be analyzed in Chapter 5.3, 6.3, and 8.1 in this dissertation. Chinese reunification is supported in different degrees by Pan-blue coalition. Generally, the Pan-blue coalition agrees that the Republic of China is an independent and sovereign state, not part of the People’s Republic of China. The goal of Taiwan independence is primarily to create a de jure independent and sovereign Republic of Taiwan; it is supported by the Pan-green coalition. Apparently, the Pan-green coalition is particularly strong in southern Taiwan, especially among farmers, families with low income and speakers of Man-nan dialect in the rural area. However, within the Taiwanese political spectrum, the Pan-blue is considered to lean towards the support of Chinese reunification or keep the Taiwan status quo in the name of Republic of China, while the Pan-green supported the creation of an independent country under the name of Republic of Taiwan. Mainly, Chinese reunification is often viewed as being the ideology of the Mainlanders and their second generation who are living in Taiwan.

During the Martial Law era lasting until 1987, discussion of Taiwan independence was forbidden in school, university and public rally; the recovery of the mainland and national unification were the unchallengeable national goals at that time. In July 1987, President Chiang Ching-kuo lifted Martial Law and initiated the Taiwanese political democratization; there has been a growth in the number of people identifying themselves as Taiwanese and not Chinese. In polls conducted by the National Chengchi University in 1991, only 13.6% of respondents identified themselves as Taiwanese. This figure rose to 45.7% in 2004. In contrast, the number of respondents that identified as Chinese was 43.9% in 1991 and fell to just 6.3% in 2004. Shown clearly in this poll, half of respondents responded with dual-identity, both Chinese and Taiwanese, and the statistic has remained steady with just a slight decline from 49.7% in 1992 to 45.4% in 2004 (Political, 2004 a).

In a poll dated November 2006, over 60% of population consider themselves to be Taiwanese while 34% consider themselves to be both Taiwanese and Chinese. This is consistent with the ethnic breakdown of Taiwan's population. Since most Hakka consider themselves to be Han Chinese, their number combined with the Mainlanders and a few Min-nan is closest to the 34% cited. It would appear that most Min-nan consider themselves to be ethnic Taiwanese. Approximately 62% favored independence for Taiwan (Latest, 2006 u). Another polls carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in DPP governance in 2001 found 70% of people would support a name change to 'Taiwan' if the island could no longer be referred to as the Republic of China. The rise of Taiwan identity generally is affected by two factors that are smearing China by former President Lee Teng-hui of KMT, DPP's central government after 2000, and encouragement by the elites of DPP.

It deserve to be mentioned that surveys showed most people in Taiwan identify themselves as Taiwanese or both Taiwanese and Chinese more than as Chinese; but it does not necessarily mean that people are in favor of moving toward Taiwan

independence or creating a new country, because the majority of people hope to maintain the status quo. According to a November 2005 poll from the Mainland Affairs Commission, 37.7% of the population favors maintaining the status quo until a decision can be made in the future, 18.4% favors maintaining the status quo indefinitely, 14% favors maintaining the status quo until eventual independence, 12% favors maintaining the status quo until eventual reunification, 10.3% favors independence as soon as possible, and 2.1% favors reunification as soon as possible (Mainland Affairs Commission, 2005).

Intrinsically, Taiwan independence has varying definitions with different degrees of support. Currently, there are three major positions. The first position considers the move for Taiwan independence as a nationalist movement, which argues that the Republic of China under KMT has been in the past a 'foreign regime' forcibly imposed on Taiwan. Its political action involves removing the name that is relative to the characters of China such '中國' from official organization, institution, school, college, university and private firm or company in Taiwan as this dissertation mentioned on above paragraphs. In education section, the main performance is rewriting history books to focus exclusively on Taiwan as a central entity and not recognized the educational degree, which gained from China by the Taiwanese, promoting the use of the native Taiwanese language (Min-nan dialect), reducing economic links with the PRC, and in general thinking of Taiwan as a separate entity from any notion of China.

The second position is that Taiwan is already an independent country with the official name Republic of China, which has been independent since 1949. In other words, Taiwan de facto separate from China. The Third position defines Taiwan independence as 'splitting Taiwan from China, causing division of the nation and the people', which adopted by PRC; it considers itself the sole legitimate government of all China including Taiwan which official title is ROC. A summarizing state that after

the lifting of Martial Law since 1987, and the acceptance of multiparty politics, in Taiwan, the political situation is much more complicated and it trigger the birth of political intervention in educational territory.

5.3 The Globalization and the Roles of Higher Educational Decision-makers on Higher Education Development

(A) The New Form of Means of Production in Higher Education under Globalization

Globalization has precipitated substantial influences on higher education evolution. As Levin (2001) pointed out that with emphasis upon international competitiveness, economic globalization is viewed as moving postsecondary institutions into a business-like orientation, with its attendant behaviors of efficiency and productivity. Higher education institutions are unavoidable closely related to the marketplace under the new era of globalization (Miyoshi, 1998).

Moreover, tertiary education plays an important role not merely in maintaining or revolutionizing national systems in Third World countries but also in national and international market in First and Second World countries with respect to the worldwide proliferation of neo-liberal policies. In light of the structural changes in the national system at the time of globalization, higher education has also required structural adjustment and reform strategies to the new circumstances in the world (Monkman, 2002). Unfortunately, the new action on structural adjustment in education system offers a platform to play the game of political power for politicians in many developing countries.

In order to enhance international competitiveness in the world market as well as to adjust new means of production of knowledge-based economy in a global society, some educators argued that university should adopt entrepreneurial structure, strategy and culture to manage the education affairs (Rhoades & Smart, 1996). In keeping with this structural recombination in higher education, the global economy demands new

national policies to promote academic capitalism. According to Slaughter and Leslie's (1997) view, the global economy facilitates academic capitalism in higher education, with an emphasis on national policies and funding patterns.

The term of academic capitalism refers to college and university deployment of the human capital for their faculty, for the purposes of enhancing their revenues. It describes the phenomenon of universities and faculty increasing attention to market potential as research impetus. Slaughter and Rhoades (1997, 2004) examined the role of student in academic capitalism as educational consumers rather than student's roles as learners engaged with the formal and informal curricula. Actually, academic capitalism (Leslie, 1997; Slaughter, 2004) has more emphasis on the global and national levels, while it disregards conceptual development on the local level. However, academic capitalism is on the basis of university autonomy, deregulation and decentralization (Brown, 1994); it is a style of capitalism and money efficiency is insisted. Although Taiwan has reformed the higher education with the view of globalization as same as many developed countries, the quality of higher education still did not meet requirements of a competitive global economy, because of: 1) its national system is ambiguity in the mode of dominion; 2) it is not clear to classify between democracy with capitalism or with authoritarianism.

Back to the basic, the rose of the modern education system has its roots in the nation-state, which is a form of political organization under which a relatively homogeneous people inhabits a sovereign state. The nation-state, even if in its early absolutist form, extended its control beyond the politics and into the religious and educational fields, and almost all other aspects of human life. As a ruling class of the bureaucracy in nation-state needs for well educated civil servants served to feudal masters and managed the people; university, at that time, became the cultivated institutions for higher civil servants and clergymen. In the middle period of 20th Century, university education was serve nation to develop national power. From the

last two decade of 20th Century until present, base on the business and IT revolution, the new capitalist means of production was occurrence, and higher educational popularity is respected by ruling class. IT revolution and globalization blurred the nation geographic boundaries; the aims of university education became more internationalization. The globalizing promise is that globalization has produced challenges; intrinsically, globalization has changed the nature of higher education and these changes have made the new value in the Taiwanese mind as most people in the world.

Under globalization, the people took advantage of email, computers, internet, and instant capital flows; all these have made the world more interdependent than it was before. As a result, politics, economy, education, culture, and ideology are forming at the global value. In reality, globalization is also a complex interaction of globalizing and localizing tendencies. There is a conflict between particularistic and universalistic values. On the one hand, as Scott (1997) indicated, many governments in the world are trying to reform its education systems in order to cater for global changes. On the other, far from the center of these governments, some people are struggling to preserve their nearly extinct cultures with limited support from government or the community. In Taiwan, people can easily accept the competitive reality of new lifestyle in globalize world due to its distinctive geographical and economical circumstances; but most people also worried about the quality of higher education that they got in the schools in such high competitive global market.

Under the context of globalization, the higher education development is similar as international business met the new situation in the new age, which is the appearance of the neo-political authoritarianism, economic capitalism, business expansionism, and the principle of market orientation. The new form of means of production in higher education also met the new condition of the political intervention, academic capitalism, educational expansionism and education-market orientation. The

phenomenon of globalization results in a keen competition between higher education institutes. In Taiwan, people asked central government to face the sober truth with deep concern to improve the quality of higher education as soon as possible. People's demand accelerated the development of neo-political authoritarianism and educational politicism. However, the central establishment is legitimately gained the extra political power from the people with the title of education reform.

In economic side, the key aspect of globalization is realization of economic deregulation and the lowering of social costs. Economic marketization requires deregulation to release its dynamics. In education side, challenge posed by globalization results in the marketization of education, and it look the same as economy, educational marketization requires deregulation to liberate its energy. However, in Taiwan, deregulation does not mean that governments entirely remove their interventions from the educational territory, but it means the elimination of government aid in the public university sector. Precisely speaking, although the Taiwanese government adopted the policy of 'user-pay' in higher education in order to facilitate universities to get additional revenues to finance their academic programmers and research initiatives. The Taiwanese government in reality only carried out a policy of decompression for itself in higher education. The concept of reduce aid comes from the idea of 'user pays' that is typical value of capitalism.

The idea of user pays is initially from the ecological protection and progressively developed to illustrate the relation between consumptive activities and governmental tax (Mackay & Longstaff, 1993). The principle of user-pays is, in environment ecology view, the variation of the polluter-pays principle that calls upon the user of a natural resource to bear the cost of running down natural capital. From the economic activities view, the term of user pays is a pricing approach based on the capitalist idea that the most economically efficient allocation of resources occurs when consumers pay the full cost of the goods that they consume. In Taiwan, the higher education

policy of user-pays led into some deep and complex social questions: 1) the efficiency of the public service; 2) the responsibility of central government; 3) the relationship between taxation and other charges; 4) which level of education should share the cost of all government services; 5) what percentage of tuition fee should be shared with the government? In the interview conducted by the author, on the question ‘do you agree with the higher education policy of user pay?’ more than 97% students opposed, they suspected that this policy is a new form of corruption by central government; they expressed distrust with the politicians.

The higher education in Taiwan mostly followed the model of Western countries. Educational institutions, especially in higher education, the government put no attention on the questions of user pays, but endeavor to find more users under user pays system. Consequently, the higher education was overloaded with large number of students and job markets that full of different kinds of competition. The dynamic of marketization has also led to a series of higher education reform in Taiwan. The tasks of these reforms are the following: 1) to increase the competitiveness of the higher education institutions in order to catch up with the radical economic and scientific competition across the world; 2) to help improve equality of access to higher education. However, some educators argued that marketized education lacks concern for the humanistic issues of equal opportunity, social justice and the social contract. In some countries, as Sullivan (1998) indicated education is completely a commodity with students and parents are the consumers, and the places in school are goods that can be bought and sold.

Globalization and its immense affect increasingly influence the essence of higher education development; it also extends the needs for an effective managing education. The significance of education management is rocketing in the higher education sphere and entire education systems. Visions of the university’s future, its aim to create, distributes and reuse knowledge, the university will also devote itself to provide

knowledge exploration and intellectual growth. In addition to the change of economic type and the blurred national boundary, globalization, along with educational marketization, has put higher education issues into the forefront in Taiwan indeed.

Furthermore, the short of place in universities for student studies and the quality of higher education were social issues between 1980s and 1990s in Taiwan. In reality, from the standpoint of social justice, educational exclusion is most often seen as the problem of inequality of educational opportunities and partly as a consequence of this inequality of social opportunities (Kivirauma, Rinne & Seppänen, 2003). The students who live in remote rural area or come from the poor families have worse resources and material chances than those children who are from city or middle class. This has been the main argument and rationale behind carrying out higher education reform since 1994 in Taiwan. Moreover, educational exclusion to low income families also deals very deeply with different life style, cultural values, power relations, and the diversification of knowledge.

Modern education system, a product of the Western modernization, has provided impetus that reinforced effective rational control of the world. As part of the closely interconnected global system, Taiwan cannot escape the Western influences in its higher education innovation. Theory of human capita, capitalistic economy, scientific and technologic modernization played a vital role in the Taiwanese higher education policy implementation in 1980s-1990s. However, on the basis of the political benefits and ethnic conflicts⁵⁹, the Taiwanese higher education development falling from rationalism (Audi, 1999; Blackburn, 1996), which is the core value of justification in modern society, and in which the criterion of truth is not sensory but intellectual and deductive (Bourke, 1962; Arrington, 1991). The Taiwanese gave up the rationality from epistemology and was emphasized on indigenous conscious, extreme localization and Man-nan ethnic identity in grand education reform since 1994. It was

⁵⁹ The term 'ethnic conflict' in this study describes a situation in which two or more actors pursue incompatible, yet from their individual perspectives entirely just, goals.

confronted with the problems caused not only by the global movement of internationalization, but also by its political character.

The world today, as the Joint Statement of the Second APEC Education Ministerial Meeting (2000) declared, is now truly the global village it was once envisaged to be. The advancement of science and revolution of technology have made all parts of the world much more interconnected and mutual interdependent. In addition, Yang (2001) also indicated the global economic and social trends will have impacts on the education development. Internationalization of education is thus necessary to open the door for better mutual understanding and appreciation of rich diversities. In the spirit of the new age, it makes Taiwan, in surface, to take internationalization as one of the major mottos in the higher education reform, but the omnipresent politics has always among the Taiwanese higher education affairs, it takes shape of a unique phenomenon of political intervention

Globalization, along with other processes, creates the demands for a new kind of organization within universities and higher education systems, such as decentralization, deregulation, autonomy, effectiveness, and professionalism. On the other hand, Taiwanese also demand the government to clear the relationship between power and duty, open the questions of the international comparability, and the role and responsibility of the government in university. However, for effective administration and management of educational organizations, especially the desire to achieve a greater responsiveness, flexibility and innovativeness of organizations in a rapidly changing global environment is growing stronger in Taiwan.

The higher educational theories, models, and concepts derived from Western experiences as mentioned above, Taiwan cannot escape from Western influences in higher education evolution as it is a part of a closely interconnected global system. The arrival of knowledge-based economy era, Taiwanese higher education plays a crucial role in leading social progress. Without doubt, higher education should

become the forerunner in national development; its extensive influence and fundamental functions have also become increasingly apparent. People and educators in Taiwan understood that higher education reform is able to cope with the development of a multivalent and rapidly changing society. They demanded that the higher education have to form a cross-disciplinary academy-industry alliance, develop curricula and research of knowledge-based service industries as a result of the keen competition in global markets, such as innovative cultural enterprises, health and recreation, long term care, and digital learning.

(B) The Political Roles of Higher Educational Decision-makers

The role of the MOE should be mentioned; as this study revealed that there is a rapid political change in Taiwan following the end of the Martial Law in 1987. Concurrently, by law, MOE has drastically reduced its activities on higher education manor; the dictatorship that MOE once possessed has lost its harmonious in the new political situation with an increasing citizen's involvement and participation in various activities. However, in reality, the typical idea of philosophy of Legalist and a classic spectre of means of production in Asia is still haunting in the minds of political rulers in Taiwan even though the Martial Law was released. In other words, the core value of governance on higher education is still dominated by political power; it is similar as the relationship between hirer and worker in 19th Century but with different form and stratagem. As this study mentioned in Chapter 3 that under the Confucian ideology in Taiwan, people or students were loyal to the bureaucratic officials and supreme controller. Traditionally Taiwanese were afraid to challenge the political and educational authority, they would without a doubt accept any rules, regulation and policies-decision that was announced by the central authority, no question asked.

Before 1994, the MOE was direct control over all elements of higher education; it fully regulated demand and supply of higher education. On the role of the rulers on

teaching units, it controlled university budgets, decided university teacher qualifications, determined teacher and administrative salary structures, judged whether a department, school, or faculty can be expanded. It also has the power of approval over all teachings and administrative appointments. This typical management and control by centralization resulted in a phenomenon that neither the public nor the private universities have much incentive to compete with other universities in the region or the world. From the education side, MOE decided how many students in the college will be allowed to accept and determined which level of students will be allowed to attend. The MOE had significant influence over JUEE, a Joint University Entrance Exam that was held once a year. The students were allocated a place at the universities and departments by MOE based on their test scores and preference rankings.

In 1994 the University Act was amended which was the basic part of higher education reform in that year.⁶⁰ Protected by the new amendment, officially, universities have an authority to rule themselves including university development policies, and the president of a university can be determined through public election by all teachers and administrators in the campus; the decisions on university's affairs belong to the university council and no longer with MOE. Under the principal of autonomy, university fund raising administration was recognized and this system has been running since 1996. According to this new system, public universities and colleges must be responsible for a portion of their funding sources, rather than completely relying on the central government for tuition collection and expenditures. Through such financial semi-independence, theoretically, universities are able to consolidate the spirit of autonomy.

The Ninth Article of the Fundamental Law of Education⁶¹ which proclaimed on

⁶⁰ Laws and regulations was revision including 'University Act', 'Junior College School Act', 'Teachers' Cultivation Act', 'Supplementary Education Act', 'Degree Granting Act', and 'Private School Act', see the *Compilation of Laws and Regulations on Higher Education* (1997), Taipei: Ministry of Education.

⁶¹ 'Fundamental Law of Education' proclaimed on 23 June 1999, the order number: (1999) 華總(一)

23 June 1999 makes a description of MOE's new authority, including: 1) design and mark out the systems of education; 2) coordinate and assist the development of education; 3) distribute the educational budget; 4) supervise the whole public schools and other educational institutions; 5) promote the international cooperation on education affairs; and 6) reward, assist, and develop education matters on ethnic minority and disadvantaged minority (Laws and Regulations, 2006).

After grand education reform executed from 1994 and drew up the Fundamental Law of Education in 1999, the MOE officially no longer ruled with its iron hand. Its decisions right to cover policies, personnel and curriculum on faculties or control teachers and students political views within higher education institutes is over, although the central government still appears to be over-represented in the top administrative positions. Surely, autonomy, deregulation and decentralization on higher educational affairs in Taiwan has not been complete yet, some of education affairs for instance regarding personnel and curriculum in the colleges and universities, MOE still retains the ultimate power on approval of all such decisions and requires detailed reports of college and university meetings and activities concerning such issues.

(C) The Political Roles and Personality of the Leaders of Higher Education Reform

The Political Characteristic of Lee Yuan-tseh is needed as it clearly shows his crucial influence in Taiwanese higher education development. Lee Yuan Tseh was a Convener of CER and Leader of Education Reform Teams. The phenomenon of Lee Yuan-tseh⁶² in Taiwan resembled the E. Durkheim⁶³ stated the phenomenon of

義字 8800142730, the full text have 17 Articles, The Article 2 and 5 was amendment on 31 November 2005, the order number: (2005) 華總(一) 義字 09400192961. See *Laws and Regulations 2006*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.

⁶² Lee Yuan-tseh was born on 19 November 1936 in Hsinchu, Taiwan. He entered the University of California at Berkeley as a graduate student in 1962 and worked under the late Professor Bruce Mahan for his thesis research on chemiionization processes of electronically excited alkali atoms. Upon receiving his Ph.D in 1965, he stayed on in Mahan's group and started to work on ion molecule reactive scattering experiments with Ron Gentry using ion beam techniques measuring energy and angular distributions. In February 1967, he joined Professor Dudley Herschbach at Harvard University

religion in human society. Durkheim in his work of *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, which was the last major work published by Durkheim, five years before his death in 1917. Durkheim (1912) argued that religion acted as a source of identification for the individuals within a society and religion provided authority figures. Durkheim pointed out that “Since religious force is nothing other than the collective and anonymous force of the clan, and since this can be represented in the mind only in the form of the totem, the totemic emblem is like the visible body the God” (Bellah, 1973, p.184). Lee Yuan-tseh has become the totem of the ‘knowledge’ in Taiwan while he possessed the emblem of Nobel laurel. Lee’s ideas and suggestions in higher educational affairs were believed to be unchallengeable and his words just like something inside the secular Bible. When he was in charge of the education reform in 1994, his authority figures was displayed which mixed with the totem of knowledge and his personality.

Lee Yuan-tseh has a political authoritarian personality as he showed in the fields of educational and domestic affairs in Taiwan. From the viewpoint of behavior, political authoritarian personality reflects a desire for security, order, power, and status, with a desire for structured lines of authority, a conventional set of values or outlook and a demand for unquestioning obedience. From inside of particularity, authoritarian personality characterized by traits such as obedience, dogmatism, prejudice, contempt for weakness, low tolerance for ambiguity, hostility to members of out-groups, and superstition (Shils, 1954; Ray, 1990; Martin, 2001). A person whose structure of personality is arose out of characteristic experiences in early childhood and the pattern of internal, psychic processing.

as a post-doctoral fellow. He accepted the position as an assistant professor in the Department of Chemistry and the James Franck Institute of the University of Chicago in October 1968. He was promoted to associate professor in October 1971 and professor in January 1973. In 1974, he returned to Berkeley as professor of chemistry and principal investigator at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory of the University of California, and became an American citizen the same year. He received the Nobel Prize by chemistry in 1986. In January 1994, he returned to Taiwan to serve as President of Academia Sinica.

⁶³ 15/April/1858-15/November/1917

A political authoritarian personality usually exhibits deference to those with higher authority and hostility to those with lower authority. The term applies particularly to the personalities of teachers and opinion leaders of society. Personality, understood here in the sense of the psychic structure that determines behavior, is not innate. Principally, the two attitudes are closely linked in authoritarian syndrome; as the subject forges an imaginary proximity with the superior group to which it makes allegiance, he/she takes a malicious pleasure in obeying, redirecting his/her aggressiveness against outsiders and subordinates (Adorno, 1950).

Lee Yuan-tseh shared the Nobel Prize in Chemistry with Dudley Herschbach and John Polanyi for the part he played in the development of chemical-reaction dynamics in 1986. He was born on 29 November 1936 in Hsinchu, Taiwan. The experience in WWII had a great impact on his early life. When Lee started his elementary education, Taiwan was under Japanese authoritative dominion. His early schooling was interrupted by the war, as the Taiwanese had to move into the nearby mountains to escape the frequent bombings of the allied force. After the war, when Taiwan came under KMT ruled, in 1955, younger Lee educated at National Taiwan University, and began graduate study at the National Tsinghua University in 1959. Lee enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley as a graduate student in 1962, and earned his Ph.D. in 1965.

The whole period of the education of Lee in Taiwan was under the period of authoritative ruled; no matter whether it is Japanese or KMT governance. In the meantime Lee has the benefit of a privileged position, while every young man after graduation from high school or university were obligated for the two years compulsory military service in the arduous military base or off-shore island; Lee, after very short basic military training, was working in the laboratory in National Tsinghua University instead of his military service (The Declaration by Academia Sinica, 2000). The experience of authority in this early stage of life forms his structure of personality

that inference his value on the character of organizations.

After he returned to Taiwan with aureola of Nobel Prize in 1987, Lee intellectual interests extended well much beyond the field of chemistry. He intended to participate and bring about major changes in Taiwan, to advance Taiwanese politics, political election, and to upgrade the educational system, even international relation, cross-straits policy, economic activities, earthquake rescue work, and the future of mankind. Lee held absolutely policy-decision power when he chaired the CER since 1994. Lee's authoritarian personality and political characters seriously influence his judgments of decision-making on the sphere of deregulation, democratization, professionalism, and autonomy policy in higher education reconstructed. In other words, Taiwanese higher education development since 1994 suffered from his mental rigidity, dogmatism, political stance, and uncertainty avoidance.

Lee Yuan-tseh, the president of Academia Sinica, Nobel laureate and the Taiwanese pre-eminent scientist, has garnered additional attention for his involvement in Taiwanese politics. Lee played an important role during the Presidential election in 2000. On the last week of the competition in the general election he announced publicly that he fully support the DPP's candidate of Chen Shui-bian (The Story, 2000 a). Lee proclaimed on public media, after a closely watched meeting with Chen, Lee stated that he will become a national policy adviser for Chen if Chen wins the election.⁶⁴

DPP's election strategists believed Lee's vouching for Chen could boost Chen's support rate by 2-3 percentage points, a margin that could give Chen a slight, crucial lead over Chen's major rivals. On the eve of voting day, 17 March 2000, DPP was

⁶⁴ Chen Shui-bian also managed to some influential business figures as policy advisers, including Chang Yung-fa (張榮發), head of the Evergreen Group, Stan Shih (施正榮), chairman of computer giant Acer Group, Shi Wen-lung (許文龍), head of plastics conglomerate Chi Mei Corp., as well as Nita Ing (殷琪), who heads the Taiwan Highspeed Railway Co. Sociology professor Michael Hsiao (蕭新煌), who like Acer's Shih is a national policy adviser to current President Lee Teng-hui, and politics professor Peter Chen (陳必照), who sits on the National Security Council., see "The List of National Policy Advises of Chen Shui-bian", *Lianhe ZaoBao*, 13 March 2000, or "Chen Shui-bian Gets Nobel Prize Laureate as Advise", *Taipei Times*, 13 March 2000.

holding its election-eve rally at the Chongshan Soccer Stadium of Taipei in supporting of its presidential candidate Chen Shui-bian and Vice-presidential candidate Lu Hsiu-lien. That surprise was a video by Lee Yuan-tseh's supporting speech on the huge screen. However, his last minute personal endorsement helped usher Chen Shui-bian into the Presidency in a narrow margin victory. Lee's political support lent Chen a last boost in credibility, 12 hours before voting stations opened. Lee's injection into the campaign has since been mythologized as significant, if not decisive. Lee acquired the title of kingmaker in 2000 Presidential election. However, after eight years of Presidency, Chen Shui-bian, who was fully supported by Lee Yuan-tseh, was taken into custody in jail at the end of 2008 and sentenced to 20 years in prison with a fine of NT\$200 million in September 2009 as he was found guilty on six counts involving corruption and money laundering around the world during his tenure of office. Lee declared his political stands in the sensitive moment of general election with his academic aureole that springs from his political authoritarian personality and the value of Man-nan ethnic ideology.

Theodore Adorno was exploring the mental and social landscape favorable to implant antidemocratic ideas. According to Adorno (1950), this personalization of politics, which appears in obvious ways in the modern electoral setting, is the direct result of the dehumanization of social life. The individuals are seeking a substitute for their own social impotence in the supposed omnipotence of great personalities (Adorno, 1950). However, after Chen Shui-bian's inauguration ceremony in the morning of 20 May 2000, Lee was invited by Chen to organize the 'President's advisory group on cross-strait relations' (Lee, 2004 d), which is a unit with high political traits and mission to integrate different ideas from leading political parties and made suggestions to the President about how to ease cross-strait tensions. Otherwise, Lee has also served as an envoy for the Chinese Taipei to a number of APEC summits, filling in for President Chen (President, 2004 k).

Lee Yuan-tseh with his totem of the 'knowledge' in Taiwan supported Chen Shui-bian and Chen's corruptive the reins of government which was a huge controversy in Taiwan. Lee's participation in politics was verbally attacked by Lee Ao. Lee Ao condemned Lee as 'filled with hypocrisy' by claiming to be a scholar who pursues neutrality and truth. In September 2000, four month after DPP held the political power, Lee Ao, Legislator, a writer and diehard of political dissentient, in his book *Lee Yuan-tesh's true face* criticized that Lee is more hateful than fearfully the political figure. Lee Ao (2000) commented that "Lee was doted on and respected by some people with morbidity; Lee Yuan-tesh not only enjoyed this behavior of morbidity, but also self-inflation from think himself with omnipotently" (Lee, 2000, 47). Lee Ao criticized again that the matters which did by Lee Yuan-tesh was far beyond his ability, a chemist interfered and in charge of too many political affairs, such as education reform, political election, government policies, earthquake disaster event, advisory national policy.

Same as Lee Ao, Lee Teng-hui, former President and Lee Yuan-tesh's political comrade, in 2001, in his book *Lee Teng-hui: The Years of Presidency*, Lee Teng-hui (2001) interpreted Lee Yuan-tesh and described that this man thought arrogantly he is an omniscient person, he would like to manage education reform, cross-strait affairs, and earthquake-reconstructive works. He viewed himself as a multi-purpose expert, but he only did little for the matters. He did not like to plant his feet on solid ground to contribute to his job (Chou, 2001).

However, Lee Yuan-tesh remains unpopular amongst the people. Many students and parents criticized him for his involvement in educational affairs with his nonsense. People believed that he put unnecessary burden and administrative complications on students and reduced competitiveness of tertiary education. They have often indicated that Lee Yuan-tesh should stick to the sciences and stop using his Nobel pedigree to influence educational and political policies, those areas in which he is not familiar.

Tu Cheng-sheng, Minister of Education (2004-2008) is an action officer of Lee Yuan-tesh's higher educational policies. Tu Cheng-sheng, the son of a Taoist priest who grew up in a small village in Kaohsiung of southern Taiwan, has a master degree in history from NTU. He was dedicated to the study of ancient Chinese history for more than 30 years. Tu was elected as an academician of Academia Sinica in 1992 and served as the director of the National Palace Museum for the entirety of Chen Shui-bian of DPP first term in Presidency from 2000 to 2004. Tu has held the positions of Minister of Education since 20 May 2004 to 19 May 2008. As Educational Minister, Tu Cheng-sheng has been one of the most controversial officials in the Cabinet. He is an argumentative person and is frequently accused by people because his abnormal behavior cannot be interpreted containing too many twine between political stand, ignorant and ethnicism; his behavior possessed everything but education. This dissertation uses the following examples to illustrate his political temperament in education affairs.

The first case is 'The Event of Taiwan Map'. On the basis of DPP enforced de-Sinicization and accentuated the slogan of Taiwan priority, Tu Cheng-sheng, Educational Minister in May 2004, proposed that Taiwan maps should be turned sideways so that the Taiwan's north is on the left and the east is at the top. This way, he clearly showed that Taiwan is suppressing China instead to its southeast (Taiwan, 2004 g). Tu's opinion immediately surprised most-educators and the Taiwanese people.

Tu, known for his concrete political position on Taiwan indpendence in DPP Cabinet; in the map rotation event, Tu Cheng-sheng played a leading role on the platform of political struggle in Taiwan. The transverse Taiwan map was criticized by legislators. Lee Ching-an of People First Party (PFP), a member of Education Committee in Legislative Yuan⁶⁵, and Lee Ching-hua of PFP, a former professor of

⁶⁵ The Legislative Yuan is one of the five branches (called 'yuàn', 'courts') of government; others are Executive Yuan, Control Yuan, Judicial Yuan, and Examination Yuan.

History Department in National Chenchi University, heckled Tu during an interpellation session in the Legislative Yuan in July 2006. Both Lee accused Tu presented a bad example for all Taiwanese students and he was a political ideologist hired thug on de-Sinicization to be the Education Minister, as well as an activist for Taiwan independence.

Lee Ching-an (Taiwan, 2004 g) satirical pointed out that according to Tu Cheng-sheng's way it is easy to upgrade Taiwan's national power, for instance, places Taiwan on the center of the world map, enlarge Taiwan size on the map to become equal to that of mainland China, put China on the bottom of Taiwan, and other countries all draw slightly smaller on the map. Lee Ching-an indicated again that the kind of this idea is the type of the arrogant viewpoints; it also reflects Tu Cheng-sheng's inferiority complex. Tu Cheng-sheng retorted and stressed that the new Taiwan map and his concentric circle theory, in which Tu thought Taiwan is the hub of all the world, 'simply suggest to students the fact that Taiwan is an oceanic country and that they should love their land starting with what's closest to their heart' and 'it can't be too natural to see the world based on Taiwan' (Merit, 2004 b). It deserves to be mentioned that 'loving Taiwan' and 'not loving Taiwan' are both political intimidation and political hats to people and tags to opposing politicians in Taiwan. Usually DPP, as Man-nan ethnic group's political party, is overbearing decided that which hat to which person with its political ideology as a measuring cup.

In addition to turn sideways of Taiwan map, Tu Cheng-sheng's idea of concentric circle, it was revealed in 2004, which classifies Chinese modern history from 1500 to 1949 as part of world history. In practice, the concept of concentric circles in Tu's mind is the pillar of Taiwan identity or Taiwan independent movement. In essence, the core of the innermost circle is the Man-nan ethnic group surrounded by larger circles of the Taiwan, Asia and the World. Tu Cheng-sheng, who wanted to make Taiwan in the center of the world by turning around a world map, is a protégé of

Man-nan racism and a follower of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian. Tu proved unpopular as head of the Ministry of Education from the start with his suggestion that Taiwan maps be rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise in schools. With the country's north no longer on top, Tu argued that students could appreciate Taiwan from a fresh, fairer angle to see the world.

However, in the survey conducted by the author on the question 'what is the main issue of Taiwanese higher education?' with no reminder of the cases of Lee Yuan-tesh and Tu Cheng-sheng, 89% or 69 of the total 77 teachers (46/52 in public, 23/25 in private) and 90% or 66 of the total 73 students interviewed expressed the fundamental issue of higher education is that the education system is governed by politicians. Diagram 5.1 clearly exhibits interviewees' concern in politician involvement in the Taiwanese higher education. When author mentioned their opinion about the role of Minister of Education, more than 93% or 72 of all 77 teaching staff (49/52 in public, 23/25 in private) interviewed and voiced concern that government continues to appoint unqualified and inexperienced individual with political ambition as the leader of MOE. The concern of competence of Minister of Education is shown in Diagram 5.2.

Diagram 5.1: Interviewees' Opinion on Politician's Involvement in the Taiwanese Higher Education

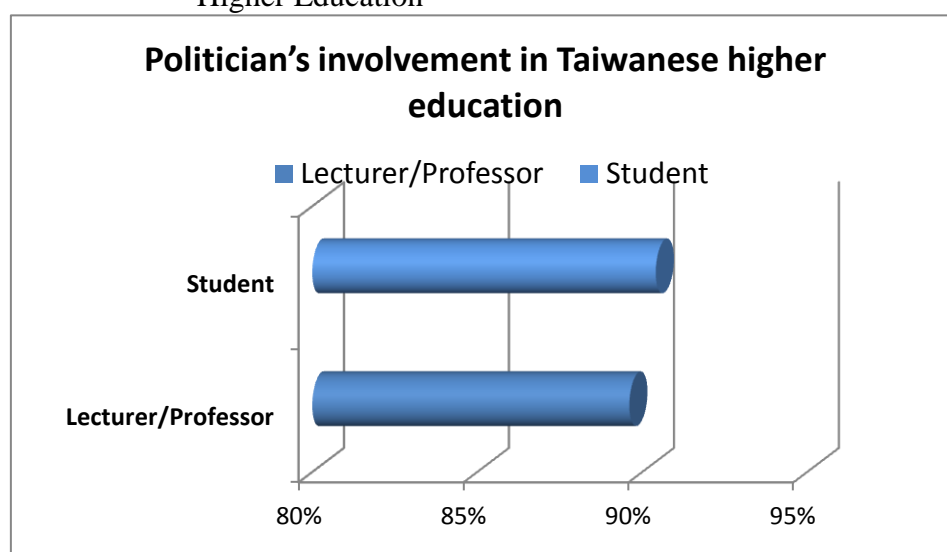
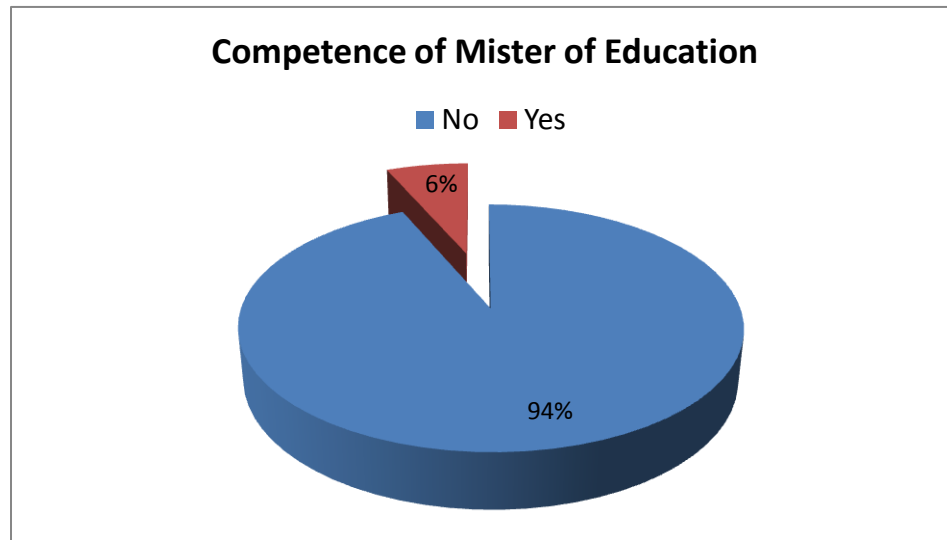


Diagram 5.2: Interviewees' Opinion (Teachers) on the Competence of Minister of Education



The second case is 'The Event of Renaming Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall'. As a fierce proponent of the de-Sinicization in education affairs, obviously Tu Cheng-sheng enjoys support from DPP and Taiwan Solidarity Union lawmakers. With the agenda of DPP de-Sinicization movement, as the MOE is officially a guardian of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall (CKSMH) in Taipei. Tu actively match up DPP political action to rename of CKSMH to the Taiwan Democracy Memorial Hall. Tu gave up educational matters have spent day after day holding meetings and making decisions about renovating the hall's facade and exterior. On 19 May 2007, the MOE stripped the name of CKSMH; the day KMT supporters protesting against the name change clashed with police and DPP supporters outside the hall.

In order to counter-MOE illegal action, Taipei mayor Hau Lung-bin of KMT, a former professor of NTU, renamed a wide road which was located at front of President Chen Shui-bian's office to Anti-Corruption Democracy Plaza. Hau emphasized that anti-corruption is a common global value and the action is to showcase the value of fighting corruption (Taipei, 2007 i). Lee Yung-ping, director of Cultural Affairs in Taipei city government, pointed out the MOE violated the Cultural

Asset Preservation Act due to CKSMH is protected by the law. Therefore the Education Ministry paid the fine of NT\$300,000.

As the name changing of building, streets, and schools on the island continued, Tu had busied himself with changing plaques and signs at a memorial hall down the street. Tu, a summit leader in education system, seems to have precious little time left over to tend to other issues in education affairs that have festered for a long time. Many of these issues are core problems with the reform of education system, such as university expensive fees, JUEE problems, budget insufficient, and university deregulation.

The third case is ‘The Event of ‘Ching-Ju-Nan-Shu’’. The event of Ching-Ju-Nan-Shu was a typical case that educational bureaucrat service politics with talking black into white. The cause of the event was President Chen Shui-bian of DPP praised volunteers those who cleaned up a beach for their contributions to environmental protection that used the idiom Ching-Ju-Nan-Shu to describe the many good deeds the volunteers have performed on 20 May 2006, which he intended as a compliment. In fact, this four Chinese character idiom means literally ‘too many to be completely recorded even if one uses all the bamboos (papers) available to write on’. It is generally used to express the idea that one’s crimes or misdeeds are too numerous to be counted. The proper interpretation is ‘too many crimes are committed to be all written about’. In other words, it is usually derogatory in meaning.

Ching-Ju-Nan-Shu is clearly defined in the *Dictionary of Chinese Idioms*; it is edited and published by the National Languages Committee of MOE. But when questioned about the Chen Shui-bian misuse of the idiom, Tu Cheng-sheng, Education Minister, refuted that ‘it wasn’t an error in usage’ (Education, 2006 p; Power, 2006 q). All Tu wanted, however, was to defend President Chen Shui-bian.

Replying to the question posed by Lee Ching-an, KMT lawmaker, at a education committee meeting in Legislative Yuan on 22 May 2006, Tu emphasized again with

lame arguments, perverted logic and distort the right that ching-Ju-Nan-Shu literally means one 'cannot write all even if one uses up all the bamboo'. 'Ching' means 'use up'. 'Ju' is 'bamboo'. 'Nan' means 'difficult', while 'shu' is used as a verb, 'to write'. Tu insisted that it means one cannot write them all up even if one uses the entire paper one has. In sum, the Education Minister wanted to insist that the President was right in using the idiom to compliment the volunteers who are doing 'a great deal of work'.

On 23 May 2006 Premier Su Tseng-chang, Tu's comrades in DPP, said to Tu 'It's totally unnecessary', 'uncalled-for defense of President Chen Shui-bian's gaffe' (Premier, 2006 r). Su Tseng-chang emphasized there is no need for trying to introduce a new meaning to the old idiom and get involved in a new controversy. Tu controverted that only those wise people understand the right usage of the old idiom in its original context. He emphasized that he had been criticized for turning around a world map to emphasize Taiwan is the center of the world. 'Those who criticized me then are criticizing me again' (Premier, 2006 r), Tu added with his turbid view.

Syu Yong-chia (Encomiastic, 2006 o), the president of Parents Association of High School in Taiwan, expressed Education Minister is the model who is imitated by students, but Tu Cheng-sheng's behavior made was a bad demonstration for the students. He stressed again Tu and the Director of Tu's office Chuang Kuo-rong has a strongly biased political color, and spun themselves in the political subjects. Syu Yong-chia further pointed out that they are not professional educators and short on the general capacity to keep the neutral among the political struggles. Wu Wo-syong (Power, 2006 q), the president of Taipei Municipal Jianguo High School, expressed Tu Cheng-sheng should not put his political ideology in the education system. Wu commented Tu and Chuang Kuo-rong forsook the principles of education, worked only for political party; the behavior of them was not extremely suitable. One of officials in MOE highlighted that Tu and his followers in MOE were polluted educational values with politics. MOE under the Tu is always political interest takes

first even though that is fiscal education budget distribution (Power, 2006 q).

Tu Cheng-sheng' view caused a huge repugnance in the educational circles. Most people in Taiwan deemed that Tu has already betrayed his soul with his political standpoint. However, Tu is a highly political person. He made himself a controversial figure by pushing through a series of highly contentious education policies and stressing too much on political ideology. The behavior of Tu Cheng-sheng and some high-level officials in the MOE were actually understood if one observed it through DPP authority's patron-client relationships. Under the rule of Constitution, the President of Taiwan does not only have great power but also free from responsibility for the failure of the national policies that no law could really impose sanction against him. Tu Cheng-sheng, as a Minister in DPP's government, had to give up all his common sense and submitted himself to educational politicism to follow President's political will; his academic career derived from his knowledge on ancient Chinese history, but it is not the assets in political amphitheater to him when he agreed to take up the post of Education Minister. Under the President's policy of de-Sinicization, Tu's background of the specialized field intimate connect with Chinese history is his original sin in the eyes of DPP's fundamentalists; therefore Tu must display better than others in the matters of support President's policy of de-Sinicization and others. It is not a surprise, from the angle of depersonalization in Psychology, Tu was known for his concrete political position on Taiwan identity and de-Sinicization in DPP's Cabinet.

5.4 Summary

This chapter specifically explored the foundation in political intervention on Taiwanese higher education development. In the analysis of the socio-political headstone of political intervention, this study finds that Confucianism still dominates Taiwanese educational ideology and learning value. Achieving higher education is a significant means to achieve new social status. The monetary reward system is

another incentive to push people to take higher education in addition to the traditional value of Confucianism. The majority of people firmly believe in higher education determinism. Students who do not pass university entrance will often opt to spend another year at cram school to retake the test. In answering the interview' question 'do you take part in the cram school?' 91% students of interviewed said they did indeed attend cram school. When asked the question 'how many hours did you do in cram school?' 25% takes 2-4 hours in cram school, while 15% takes 4-6 hours.

The study also finds that, national identity crisis is a major issue in Taiwan, which seriously influenced the higher education development since 1994. The movement of Taiwan's identity and extreme localization, the elements of high political intervention, has been expressed in higher education with the forms of de-Sinicization. The case of 'the campaign for the correction of names' can verify this view; for instance, this campaign shows that the government asked to replace university and college name with 'Taiwan' or 'Taiwanese' if the original name contained the word 'China, 中' or 'Chinese, 中國'. Such as Chinese Culure University in Taipei, Chung-cheng University in Chiayi, or Chinese Medicine University, Chung-shan Medicine University in Taichung, etc. this movement also called 'democratic civil war' by the Premier Minister in 2006.

Regarding political momentums on higher education, this study finds that the political atmosphere gave people free minds to reconsider the aims of education after Martial Law was lifted in 1986. Grand education reform since 1994 was one of the achievements of political and social movements. People demanded that the goverment should pursue protecting academic freedom. Unfortunately, degenerative democratization gives politicians a chance to meddle in the education operation with the name of educational supervision; 97% of teaching staff, 64% of students and 60% of administrative staff agree with this argument, which is shown when the author ask the question 'what is the big issue of the Taiwanese higher education?'

Concerning the political roles of higher educational decision-makers since 1994, this study discovers scholar-ruler Lee Yuan-tseh is a crucial issue on Taiwanese higher education development. Lee has a political authoritarian personality and he becomes the totem of 'knowledge' while he possessed the emblem of Nobel laurel. Lee's ideas and suggestions in higher educational affairs were believed to be unchallengeable in Taiwan. Another educational decision-maker is Educational Minister Tu Cheng-sheng, Tu is an argumentative person because his abnormal behavior cannot be interpreted and it contained too many twine between political stand and ethnicism. From the case of 'the event of Taiwan map' and 'the event of ching-Ju-Nan-Shu' this problem can be found. Similarly, in the survey on the question 'what is the big issue of Taiwan higher education?' 93% of the teacher thought that the Lee and Tu are a theme problem in the higher education reform since 1994.

Along with the the relationship between higher education development and economic circumstances, the ratio of total education expenditures with GNP from 6.5% in 1996 was down to 5.61% in 2006. The ratio of higher education expenditures with total education expenditures in that period was from 14.26% up to 39.40%; however, the numbers of higher education institutions were from 67 sharply increasing to 147 in 2006. According to the MOE's data, the annual education expenditures per-student at public universities was down from 229,577 NTD in 1998 to 187,982 NTD in 2002. In the same period, per-student spending at private universities ascended slightly, from 119,542 NTD to 124,098 NTD. When compared to universities in other nations, the shortfall in Taiwanese higher education spending became clearer. In the case of the National Taiwan University (NTU) which is the most prestigious university in Taiwan. In 2003, NTU spent 202,283 NTD per student per year to educate its students, a figure well below the 246,619 NTD spent by National Seoul University in Korea, University of California at Berkeley's 432,486 NTD, and Harvard University's 847,831NTD in United States. (Chang, 2006, 22) This

lack of resources is also reflected in student-faculty ratios. In 1994, the student-faculty ratio at Taiwanese public universities stood at 14.17:1. At private universities, it was 25.37:1. As of 2004, these ratios had deteriorated to 20.28:1 and 30.12:1, respectively. (Chang, 2006, 22)

In this Chapter it can be seen clearly that the higher education was a maximum centralization before 1987. All major higher education policies, including the education budget, the appointment of university presidents, and the policies concerning teacher education institutions were centrally terminated. After lift off Martial Law in 1987, democratization and pluralism have hence been sought for in higher education spheres. The political economy of regime transformation and the substance of higher education in Taiwan can be divided into two phases, which are generally based on the line of Martial Law.

The first phases was from 1949 to 1987, it under the authoritarian dominance. At this stage, the island was strictly under the control of political rulers, and empowered by the operation of Martial Law; the aims of education were service to country and nation's political goals; there were close confinements on tertiary education autonomy and independent. The second phase was from 1987 to 2008, based on the policies of extreme localization, education expansionism, and political reshaped, this phase disclosed rising of new form of political intervention in Taiwan.

Chapter 6 The Practice of Higher Education Policies under the High and Low Political Intervention

6.1 The Practice of High Political Interventions in Higher Education Policies

The view of political goals is a good way to illustrate the practice of high political interventions in Taiwanese higher education development. Observing the education system from a structuralism's viewpoint, one can acquire the idea that the structure of education reflects the political reality, economical substantiations, social value, cultural consciousness and codes prevailing in the historical situation in which the education takes place. Higher education reform, being a reconstruction of the education system, and thus is linked tightly to the political and economical transformation in Taiwan. Principally, it would appear that the pressures for higher education reform come from numerous elements. However, the main reasons are because of the rise of competition under globalization and the changing social situation of Taiwan under the liberation of political shackles. The people demanded the rights to have a responsible education environment and to redefine the economic and social role of schools. These social atmospheres on higher education affairs offer a good opportunity for politicians to aggrandize their political interests in education systems. Moreover, economic constraints and the latent educational politicism in the mind of politicians can quicken the tempo of reform steps.

The Taiwanese higher education institutes plays a central role on politics and economy as do many other developing countries, this study has mentioned before, it enabled the island to meet the challenges presented by the need to develop a higher sense of patriotism for the preservation of national security, intensive consciousness for economic development, consolidated political ideology uniformity and quickly absorb Western knowledge on science and technology since 1950. It will also be a key function in Taiwan's security and rapid economic growth in the following decades.

The higher education institutes emphasized on cooperative behavior, subjective

discipline, and conformity to political policies. It served Taiwan well in producing a skilled industrial workforce that allowed Taiwan to be a regional economic power during 1970s-1980s. The success of the education system was further reflected by the fact that the great majority of the people in Taiwan considered themselves to be middle class and saw higher education as the road to prosperity. There was a growing belief, however, that the focus on conformity and rote memorization in higher education is too great. Some people felt this focus made it difficult for students to develop as creative and unique individuals. The challenge for educators was to introduce the flexibility needed to nurture individuality without losing group identity and respect for others that enables society as a whole to function smoothly. They thought that the world is becoming an increasingly marketized place and the central government should not play a dominative role in higher education.

In 1994, the MOE announced extensive programs for educational reconstruction. In addition to addressing issues, for instance, the restricted range of major courses in university and excessive examination competition. The MOE included the following new programs: fostering the emotional development of university students, reconsideration of the history and culture curricula in locality, promotion of internationalization through international academic alliance on research fields, teacher and student exchange projects, exceptions to university entrant age restrictions, and intimate cooperation between universities and industries.

As this study mentioned in Chapter 2.3 and 5, the aims of the central government higher education policy in the 1950s were to achieve a number of high-priority goals after the defeat by the CCP. The reasons and spirit of higher education was ultimately for politics. Back in 1949, the year which marked the end of the KMT's struggle on the Mainland China, KMT with its two millions followers fled to Taiwan, these included soldiers, political, economic, and educational officials. For the purpose of national security, the political intervention in the educational fields revealed four

objectives in general. First, national identity; it was the urgent task of KMT authority, to set up a unified and new nationalistic sentiment for the people in the small and dangerous island which is the last political and military base of Chiang Kai-shek. Second, patriotism; guarantees the new generation loyalty to the government of KMT and its party leader Chiang Kai-shek. Third, re-Sinicizing; to exterminate the effects of Japanese colonialism on the island. Finally, martial spirit or spiritual defense forces; secured the national security from the immediate threat of invasion from the Communist China. By and large, the essence of higher education in this stage was to develop a conscious of Taiwan as a bastion and stimulate sufficient military, economic, political, and cultural strength not only to survive, but also to regain lost territory in mainland China.

The KMT government quickly established a school system and administrative apparatus where the purpose was to socialize young students and citizens into versions of KMT and ROC identity. Under the patriotism and re-Sinicizing policies, the nationalism and Chinese culture's education were specifically emphasized and persistently launched (Yang, 2001). Furthermore, political rulers created a new value of schooling; textbooks and other teaching materials became standardized and controlled through a government corporation. It is noteworthy to add that one of the significant political interventions in education system was the use of testing. Central authority through this test assured the government that they could define what legitimate knowledge would be. By assuring they contained political information about KMT's political doctrine, the central government of KMT came to define legitimate professional knowledge in a political way until 1987

Before Martial Law was lifted, in Taiwan, the education system was based on Chiang Kai-shek's anti-communist theorem, ideas of nationalism and Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary ideology. The higher education emphasized on: 1) national unification; 2) political stably; 3) social consistency; 4) uniformity; and 5) to keep harmony

between the four big ethnic groups. In this stage of KMT ruling, the higher education was not primarily the goals of academic studies but serving as the institutions of political socialization for the objective on national security. Teachers were more like loyal public servants than independent scholars. Vuylsteke (1995) similarly observed that the MOE in Taiwan, from 1950 to 1987, reports and policy statements made repeatedly referes to the value of education in assuring political stability, creating a peaceful and orderly society, cultivating the best talent to engage in national development-all goals rooted in Sun Yat-sen's 'Three Principles of the People'. Indeed, the mechanism of education system was designed to assure loyalty to the central government by political aims, and higher education development was controlled by the government with Martial Law. Technology-orient, resources integration and skills development in university became the primary focus of schooling by national economic goals.

Basically, KMT authority emphasized Nationalism in education based on the Chinese traditional culture, which revealed on the spirit of 'Four Books and the Five Classics' (四書五經), it included: the Great Learning (大學), the Doctrine of the Mean (中庸), the Analects of Confucius (論語), the Mencius (孟子), and Classic of Changes (易經), Classic of Poetry (詩經), Classic of Rites (禮記), Classic of History (書經), and Spring and Autumn Annals (春秋).⁶⁶ Economic rationalism on the strength of Western efficiency logic was combined in higher education policy-making since 1950's. When national security was threatened by Communist China, The KMT urgently needed to create a rigid national 'spiritual defense forces', where one of the most important factors was education. As Yang (2001) stated that cultural nationalism with a strong China-orientation was cherished in the education. Otherwise, in economic policy, KMT government understood Western efficient logic of capitalism was also urgently

⁶⁶ The 'Fou Books' are Chinese classic text that Zhu Xi selected, in the Song Dynasty (960 AD-1279 AD), as an introduction to Confucianism. The 'Five Classics' is a corpus of five ancient Chinese books used by Confucianism as the basis of studies. See Li Sijing (1998), *The Five Classics and the Four Books*, Shandong: Friendship Press.

needed for Taiwan's developing industry and foreign trade in order to survive in the international community. The authority of central government recognized that a perspective economy in Taiwan depend on the number of qualified labor force that they have, and a political stable society and good education can cultivate people to become a quality labor force.

After rescinded Martial Law in 1987 until the comprehensive education reform in 1994, this transition stage has urged a new look and deregulation in higher education from all level of social class in society. The value of higher education was redefined; educators from the public to private university debated on diversifying curriculums, autonomy, deregulation and democratization in higher education. Obviously, behind these demands on higher education reform was the new policy of educational politicism that is based on the political movement of Taiwan identity, which dominated by 'Tangwai', DPP forerunner, except economic environments prompted change. Formidable political circumstances and the pressure from the people forced KMT to fundamentally reform education. Furthermore, this comprehensive education reform also comes from the contest of globalization that was mention in Chapter 5.1.

In the economical side, the economic redevelopment, upgrade the industrial products, implement global trade policy, and executing the plan of Asia-Pacific Regional Operations Center, all have one extraordinary need in common: a high quality labor force. If the government wants to succeed in such competition, it requires a more sophisticated higher education system than the current one. In the political side, the majority of the people who have complained about education policies on martial spirit, re-Sinicizing and the tight control which MOE has on education, are Man-nan ethnic and Taiwanese speaking population. They argued that the government still kept military programs in university and demanded the MOE to use Taiwanese, not Mandarin, in the classrooms.

It is worth mentioning that the grand education reform since 1994 consists of strong political elements. Particularly, the Taiwanese asking the government to build Taiwan into an 'Island of Technology' and 'Center of Trade in Asia-Pacific Area' backed by the booming IT industry and globalization in economy, and build Taiwan into a country that is independent, de-Sinicization and extreme localization in politics. Politicians also demanded government to execute the policies of deregulation with uttermost in universities and schools. In a democratic society, education cannot wade into the complicated interaction between political party interests and educational philosophy. However, the interaction between both is indivisible to understand in Taiwan; actually, it also involves an intense political struggles, as the case of the ambitious Man-nan ethnic group, not only did they want the reallocation of political power from KMT in the national systems, but also the redefinition of national identity in education systems.

As mentioned above, the essence of education since 1950's in Taiwan had four political objectives, namely: national identity, patriotism, re-Sinicizing, and martial spirit. All of these belong to the field of moral education, Man-nan ethnic group strongly asked to change it in their schooling. The ideology of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek's nationalistic stand, KMT's political education and the teaching of a strict code of conduct was challenged by the Man-nan ethnic group. Since the removal of Martial Law, moral education has changed rapidly due to new education views and political atmosphere. KMT's political ideology in moral education was phased out; a diversified and generalized new moral education including de-Sinicization and Man-nanization had replaced the special subject of education offered in schools. Indeed, lifting Martial Law initiated Taiwanese political democratization, and educational deregulation and decentralization. Afterward, the prohibition on forming political parties and the ban on the freedoms of speech, publication, association, and assembly were relaxed as this dissertation indicated in Chapter 5.

In reality, in Taiwan, the higher education reform since 1994 was tightly connected with social movements and was pushed by different political interest groups. Historical events inevitably can be track from its context, actually from the rise of the middle class in middle of 1970's after the success of economical development; one can find the clandestine publication of political critique's magazines by political protestors, and vociferous conflict protests against the KMT authorities in Taiwan. After the Formosa Violent Incident in 1979,⁶⁷ social movements broke out in the city most of which was organized by Man-nan ethnic class. They asked government to reallocate political and educational resource, reconstruct education system, university autonomy, protection of the human rights, and consumer and environmental protection. Man-nan Taiwanese also asked to redress a miscarriage in justice on the '228 Incident' that happened in 1947, and demanded for cleaner political election. The first large scale march for memorizing 228 Incidents occurred in 1989, the movement for protection of prostitutes in 1992 and anti-money politics from 1992.

After the ending Martial Law, social energy was free. In the domain of higher education, the liberty of civil rights achieved the first non-governmental conference on education reform in January 1988. Totally 32 associations participated in this conference and to set an example to the others in Taiwan that people could play an important role in education affairs. The second non-governmental conference on education reform was organized in 1989, its main achievement was to examine educational laws, such as University Law, Teachers Law and Teaching Training Law, these were under discussion for amending or drafting during this conference.

On 10 April 1994, a parade of demonstrators coming from different social

⁶⁷ Formosa violent incident or called 'mei-li-dao-shijian' in Chinese is the insurgent against the KMT's regime were arrested in 1979. 'Formosa Violent Incident' also known as 'Kaohsiung Incident', after the event reported that in the ensuing confrontations, more than 90 civilians and 40 policemen were injured, *United Daily / China times*, 11/12/13 October 1979. Other reference on: J. Kaplan (1981) *The Court-martial of the Kaohsiung Defendants*, California: UC Berkeley, Institute of East Asian Studies; H. Thomas (1980) *Repression in Taiwan: A Look at the Kaohsiung Rally and Trials*, New York: The Asian Center.

associations walked down the streets in Taipei, As a result of these stormy protests and demands, the CER was created by the Executive Yuan in July 1994. And later in October the civil ‘410 Alliance on Education Reform’ was formed by educators and the people, which gathered over 90 different educational associations under its canopy. They petitioned for the modernization on the education system, for the draw up of a Basic Law of Education, entrenching the principal of small schools and small classes, deregulation on higher education, and establishing more universities (The Declaration, 1994 a). Higher education reform since 1994 was definitely an outcome of the political and social movements. These movements had three types, namely: 1) for social warfare; 2) for human rights; and 3) for demanding political right. These three kinds of social movements have same prerequisite that are economical achievement, democratic cognition, increase the people rights, and lessen the power of central authority. It is worth pointing out again, no matter which political, social, economic, or educational movements that are related to the people rights in Taiwan. Basically, from a political philosophy’s view, democratization is actually a social value that subjects its people; similarly, the highest right in any political system belongs to the people as well; people believed they own the right to express their opinions on the subject of education. However, either movements for demanding political right or the movements for social warfare were bound to touch the grand education reform in Taiwan.

6.2 The Practice of Low Political Interventions in Higher Education Policies

Taking the view from political actions is a good way to illustrate the practice of low political interventions in Taiwanese higher education development. The term political intervention is defined as ‘the political implications of legal authority of governments’. From 1950, the Taiwanese higher education was shaped by the aims of their politics. Governance at universities was characterized by a dualism between political and academic bureaucracy’s authority with respect to all aspects of nation’s interest; the

university was a national agency and subject to centralized authority; all issues regarding teaching and research were in the hands of the oligarchy or central authority.

This dualism means the central government has power to build the orientation of university management with political objectives. The university felt it had a political and social obligation as the enlightened secular nation to serve as a philanthropic patron for academic life. Although it was under the control of central government, the dualism also reflected the internal organization of the university, which existed as a parallel leadership structure. There was an academic hierarchy on one hand, such as the president, dean, or head of institutes, departments and faculties; and a hierarchy of administrative functions on the other. Intrinsically, the head of university in Taiwan was neither appointed by the 'Academic Affairs Meeting' nor elected by the collegial bodies. The head was appointed by the MOE and in most matters responded to the MOE as well.

At the institutional level, the university as an organization was weak in Taiwan, the bureaucracy dealt directly with the most important issues. The corporative structures of the university and faculty levels merely had a symbolic role. It was the self-image of universities to be a self-governing community of scholars held together by common values. The president was regarded as the leader to represent the university, not to govern, or let alone manage it.

(A) The Political and Educational Reality

In Taiwan, 15 July 1987 was definitely a significant watershed on the domain of politics and education, the day that President Chiang Ching-kuo lifted Martial Law, initiating Taiwan's political and educational democratization. Before that day, the directive document on education was 'Guidelines of the Education during the War Time and the Period of Rebuilding the Nation Period', which published in 1950. Some guidelines and governmental notices came to complement this basic framework

for the education system,⁶⁸ later on in the 1960's and 1970's all with the same objective to design the education system and curriculums as a revolutionary tool to conquer continental China, which KMT government lost in 1949.

Like most developing countries, after WWII, Taiwanese education system at all levels had been highly centralized, strong central planning on the education system has ensured that the government has maintained strong control on the educational orientation. There are three general purposes: the first is to suppress communist thought in Taiwan that was not favorable to its management, particularly, KMT was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese Civil War. Second is connected with the first that is to indoctrinate students into the KMT philosophy, for instance, anti-Communism, KMT and nation's identification. Finally it is to equip students, or people to perform societal stable functions.

KMT was ruling as the supreme party from the late 1949 to May 2000. The political circumstance also applied to high-level positions in the government and higher education, because all appointments of important duty, including cabinet ministers and the presidents of public universities and colleges, were first to be approved by the Standing Committee of the KMT. In reality, the KMT pretty much overlapped with the government. Policies of the KMT were actually policies of the central and local government whereas the Standing Committee of the KMT usually approved the party's policies before its implementation by government officials. Therefore, MOE's education policies were entirely similar to KMT's education policies. The Minister of Education, also known as 'a party member in Cabinet', is an insider of the Central Committee or in most of the cases is a member of Standing Committee of the KMT.

After the Martial Law was lifted, the prohibition on forming political parties and

⁶⁸ Such as the 'Guideline on the Spirit, Military, Physical and Technical Training for High School and Universities' in 1952, 'Plan on the Daily Life Education' in 1962, 'Instruction on the Ethic and Moral Education' in 1968, and 'Plan on the Country-serving Education' in 1973.

the ban on the freedoms of speech, publication, association, and assembly were also relaxed. Concurrently, occurring in a very turbulent social context with the moving of the Martial Law, different civilian and academic groups had different ideas about the reforms that should be introduced. These radical political changes contrast sharply with the stagnant nature of higher education. Since the late 1980s, the authority of Taiwanese government has eroded and the power of the people has grown. Compared to previous decades, the higher education policies written in both economic and manpower plans were less specific than before. Instead of specifying numbers, broader and more general goals such as raising the quality of education, politics free from university, deregulation and autonomy in higher education were stressed.

The quantity of higher education institutions also correlates closely with the removal of the Martial Law, between 1987 and 1997 a span of only 10 years, Taiwanese four-year higher education units has experienced a dramatic expansion, the number of universities and colleges increased from 28 to 67, and student enrollments rose from less than 200,000 to over 380,000. In proportion to the higher education size expansion, the tensions between the local Taiwanese and Mainlanders increased throughout the years as well. The spark started with the 228 Incident that was on the 27 February 1947.⁶⁹ After this tragic historical event, conflicts between local Taiwanese, mainly Min-nan, and Mainlander still exist in Taiwan. In 1988, Lee Teng-hui succeeded Chiang Ching-Kuo as the first Taiwan-born President and chairman of the KMT, Lee continued to hand more government authority over to the native Taiwanese from this moment. Under Lee's governance, Taiwan underwent a process of extreme localization and de-Sinicization gradually; restrictions on the use of Taiwanese languages in the broadcast media and in schools were lifted simultaneously.

⁶⁹ The cause of 228 Incident was when a dispute between a female vendor selling cigarettes without a license and an anti-smuggling officer triggered civil disorder and led to large scale public protests against Taiwan governor Chen Yi from 28 February in Taipei. As Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, Chairman of KMT, dispatched troops from the Mainland to crush the revolt.

However, most party members of the DPP are native Taiwanese or Man-nan ethnic population; they stand for the Taiwan independence in politics. DPP had been continually promoting policy of de-Sinicization during its administration from 2000; its policies affected all areas of life, education and culture. The accumulation of measures had already generated very clear difference. Many people in Taiwan felt increasingly perplexed. For instance in education, DPP, a ruling party, wanted teacher to teach in the Min-nan dialect not only in primary school and high schools but also in universities and colleges. This language policy was protested by the other three ethnic Taiwanese groups; they argued that this could not simply be taken as the language of Taiwan, and questioned whether 'Hakka' and 'aborigine' languages should be taught similarly. DPP's government made compromise with these questions, it added Hakka dialect, and then aboriginal languages were also considered and may be allowed in the future. The result was to make life miserable for pupils in the elementary schools and students in the higher education institutes.

Such confusions arose everywhere. For example, Min-nan language has suddenly appeared in the examinations for the civil service. But most applicants cannot understand it, since Taiwan has now experienced quite a lengthy period of economic growth and urbanization, producing a new social mixture in the cities. Mandarin is the official language by law and has been taught in schools for a long time, but now all of a sudden Min-nan is also required in national exams, with questions people often cannot understand. In this sense, extreme localization is simply Min-nanization, excluding everything else.

(B) The Intervention in the Policies of Higher Education Reform

In the early 1990s the education crisis has resulted in the feeling that the educational system must undertake major changes. On 22 June 1994, the official Seventh National Education Conference was convened in Taipei, the conference noted the need for

diversified cultural development and improved education. Many issues were discussed including redistributing educational resources, revising the structure and flexibility of the curriculum, improving teacher quality, lifelong education, and promoting cross-strait academic exchanges (The National Education, 1994 b). The guiding principles' paper of 'The Principal Points of set up CER' had passed through Executive Yuan on 28 July 1994.

After the Seventh National Education Conference, a temporary Reviewing Committee on Education Reforms (RCER) was formed under the Executive Yuan. Lee Yuan-tseh, a Nobel laureate in Chemistry and president of Academia Sinica, hosted as the chairman of RCER. RCER suggested that future development of higher education should focus on humanism, democracy, diversification, science, technology, and internationalization. Through efforts the following four objectives of higher education reform was realized: 1) creating a modernized education; 2) meeting individual and social demands; 3) moving toward a society of lifelong learning; and 4) facilitating re-engineering of the education system.

The MOE, in the view of the ideas and comments gathered during the Seventh National Education Conference and the suggestions by RCER, published a white paper on education affairs entitled 'Educational Report of the Republic of China on Taiwan: Perceptions of Education towards the Twenty-First Century' (Educational Report, 1995). Many thematic books were also published by RCER⁷⁰ and other civil educational organizations such as the '410 Alliance on Education Reform'.⁷¹ The MOE, under the leadership of the Minister Wu Jing, was promoting a series of measures for education reforms. In his report of 'Embracing the New Century and Developing New Education' on education policies, Wu (1996) stated seven key points of practical and forward-looking concepts for education reform: 1) Hastening

⁷⁰ RCER published four issues of *Advisory Report on Educational Reforms* within 1995-1996.

⁷¹ '410 Alliance on Education Refrom', on 10 April 1994, more than 20,000 people from over 200 civilian groups formed the Alliance and appealed for four sectors of education reforms; namely, smaller classes and smaller schools, more universities, modernization of education, and a basic law for education.

education reforms by establishing an institution of diversification, autonomy and flexibility; 2) Providing students with a diversified, pleasant and satisfying environment for learning; 3) Renovating curriculum, teaching materials, and instructional methods; 4) Minimizing pressure from school entrance examination by making all channels more smoother; 5) Ensuring equal opportunity for education by balancing development between urban and rural areas; 6) Promoting high-quality education and diversifying teacher's cultivation; and 7) Promoting recurrent education and creating a lifelong learning society.

In September, only two months after the Seventh National Education Conference, the Taiwanese called for a drastic action on the fields of education; this voice forced Premier approval for establishing a cabinet-level ad hoc CER. The Executive Yuan set up CER that aimed to evaluate issues in the education affairs. The thirty-two commission members, under the chairmanship of Lee Yuan-tzeh and vice-chairman Chang Jing-yu, a commissioner of Executive Yuan, were assigned the task of studying the feasible strategies for restructuring education system to meet the new demands by the people and of the coming century.

The mission of CER was to make suggestions on the new education policy for reforming the educational system, in order to reflect the needs of Taiwanese, the CER recruited social elites, headteachers of schools, professors, presidents of universities and colleges, private enterprise managers, and politicians as representatives. The first meeting held from 14:30 to 18:15 on 21 September at the first conference room on second floor of Executive Yuan; the 28 commission members participated in this conference and 4 people attended as nonvoting delegates, who was Lee Wen-ji, Liu San-qi, Lee Meng-han, Feng Rui-lin, Full power delegates name and the title as Table 6.1 displays:⁷²

⁷² The Chinese name of 28 Council Members: Lee Yuan-tseh (李遠哲), Chang jing-yu(張京育), Mou Chong-yuan(牟中原), Chen Jun-shan(沈君山), Lee Yi-yuan(李亦園), Lee Guo-wei(李國偉), Yu Chen Yueh-ying(余陳月瑛), Lin Ming-mei(林明美), Lin Qing-jiang(林清江), Chou Li-yu(周麗玉), Shi Chen-rong(施振榮), Sun Chen(孫震), Wei Duan(韋端), Ho Shou-chuan(何壽川), Ma Zhe-ru(馬哲儒), Yan

Table 6.1: The Name and Title of the Members in CRE

Name	Title	Name	Title
Lee Yuan-tseh	President of Sinica	Ma Che-ru	Professor of National Chenggong University
Chang Jing-yu	Commissioner of Executive Yuan	Yan Yun-peng	Director of Tian Xia Magazine
Mou Chong-yuan	Professor of National Taiwan University	Xu Zuo-yun	Academician of Sinica
Chen Jun-shan	President of National Tsing Hua University	Guo Nan-hong	Director of National Science Council, Executive Yuan
Lee Yi-yuan	Academician of Sinica	Cao Liang-ji	Deputy Director of University Entrance Examination Center
Lee Guo-wei	Director of general offices, Sinica	Chen Qi-nan	Deputy Director of Council for Cultural affairs, Executive Yuan
Yu Chen Yueh-ying	Chairman of Gao Yuan College	Yu Shyi-kun	Magistrate of Yi Lan County
Ho Shou-chuan	General Manager of Yong Feng yu Company	Cheng Xian-cheng	Professor of National Taiwan University of Science and Technology
Lin Ming-mei	Headmaster of Jia Yi High School for Girl	Huang Rong-cun	Professor of National Taiwan University
Lin Qing-jiang	President of National Chung Cheng University	Huang Chen-tai	Vice-minister of Ministry of Education
Chou Li-yu	Headmaster of Taipei Municipal Chung Shan High School	Yang Guo-shu	Professor of National Taiwan University
Shi Chen-rong	Chairman of Acer Company	Wan Jia-chun	Headmaster of Taipei Municipal Xi Hu Junior High School
Sun Chen	Commissioner of Executive Yuan	Deng Qi-fu	President of National Chiao Tung University
Wei Duan	Deputy Chief Comptroller of Executive Yuan	Liu Chao-xuan	Minister of Ministry of Communications

Source: Created by the Author

The 28 commission members drew different suggestions from this important conference, such as: First, CER is a consultative unit which in charge by Executive Yuan and Executive Yuan executes education reform policies base on CER's suggestions. (Yang Guo-shu proposed), Second, the rank of the final research report

Yun-peng(殷允芃), Xu Zuo-yun(許倬雲), Guo Nan-hong(郭南宏), Cao Liang-ji(曹亮吉), Chen Qi-nan(陳其南), Yu Shyi-kun(游錫昆), Cheng Xian-cheng(曾憲政), Huang Rong-cun(黃榮村), Huang Chen-tai(黃鎮台), Yang Guo-shu(楊國樞), Wan Jia-chun(萬家春), Deng Qi-fu(鄧啟福), Liu Chao-xuan(劉兆玄), Lee Wen-ji(李文琦), Liu San-qi(劉三錡), Lee Meng-han(李孟翰), Feng Rui-lin(馮瑞麟).

of CER to educational domain equals the grade of the Constitution to State, the final report is a guiding principle on the policy of reconstruction of the education system. (Chen Qi-nan proposed), Third, CER's working schedule should avoid overlap with political election. (Yu Shyi-kun proposed), Forth, Lifelong educations have to be emphasized. (Ho Shou-chuan proposed) (First Consultation Report, 1995). The suggestions on first conference contains different kinds of scope, among them Yu Shyi-kun's proposed was more politics than pure education, Education reform since 1994 is connected with political consideration that happen from the preliminary phase. In other words, education reform was a compromise between politics and education.

On the strength of these principles, the CER has put five major policies directions for the future education reform in Taiwan: 1) relaxing education policies; 2) taking care of every student; 3) creating more channels for higher levels of schooling; 4) raising the quality of education; and 5) establishing a society of lifelong learning (GCRER, 1996). Behind of the suggestions of CER, the MOE announced new regulations offering universities more academic and administrative independence. The main concept of new regulations was the responsibility of higher education that is to guide social development, to cultivate higher level experts and to enhance the national competitive capability.

Under the norm of the five major directions, the principle of new policies on higher education in general as follow: 1) to maintain proper expansion at higher education quantity; 2) to elevate the level of higher education; 3) to fully promote continuing education; 4) to integrate university development; 5) to increase educational resources for research studies; 6) assisting private universities and colleges to develop completely; 7) encouraging universities to become the headquarters of the knowledge-based economy (GCRER, 1996). On the basis of new principle, universities are encouraged to open the special classes for in-service study at the undergraduate level and in the graduate school for the master degree. With the

purpose of improving higher education, the MOE has carried out several projects as follow: 1) University Law Amending Group has been established; 2) to promote the personnel and financial system on higher education; 3) to seek a balance of resource between government and private universities and colleges; 4) to promote the evaluation system in higher education (Lee, 1996).

In 1995, the MOE released 'The Republic of China Educational Report' to the public; it outlined a path to guide the Taiwanese education into the new age. The two main areas of the proposed reforms were alleviating the examination pressure involved in entering higher education institutes and promoting a more liberal education. Since the established committee for the education reform in 1994, education affairs have become national topics. In 1996, the Executive Yuan organized a reformative promotion team to work on implementing suggestions that were proposed by CER. Because of the politicians' power was proliferated quickly in the time of election-decided and they always put pressure on the education operation and interfered the decision-making on the education affairs, the political intervention sparked off the disturbance in higher education. Huang Chen-tai, Vice-Minister of Education, suggested that education matters should be respected by the politicians and be left alone from their influences (Huang, 1995).

More importantly, the third edition of Consultation Report for Education Reform (CRER) announced on 11 June 1996, the section 2 'Education Autonomy and Neutrality' in Chapter 2 'The Idea on Education Reform' illustrated that the political intervention in education show inappropriate control on funds, personnel and teaching materials, the political factions were in the campus and tried to control schools management, it was perturbative schooling matters. On the issue of 'teaching materials', the third edition of 'Report' pointed out that political ideology can permeate to the people minds passing through the content of textbooks, therefore, the textbooks and curriculums should be detach from the government (CRER, 1996). It

also emphasized that the public education system should not be in service to politics and to cultivate political ideology, and political stand of Party should not influence the education system.

Actually, higher education in Taiwan was disturbed during budget distribution, personnel recruitment and curriculums by political intervention. It can be verified from the characteristic of members of the CER, like Lee Yuan-tseh, the convener of CER, has a highly political personality, he has an intense political inclination. Yu Shyi-kun joined the committee with the status of Magistrate in Yilan County; he does not have any education affairs background and experience but just a politician. Yu Chen Yueh-ying same as Yu Shyi-kun is a powerful politician in southern Taiwan and a criminal sentenced to one and a half year for corruption in the case of Sin-Ruei-Do with the position of Presidential adviser in 2003. Shi Chen-rong is one of the kingmakers in the Presidential election in March 2000; Shi is a merchant but possessed a covert and parochial political orientation and he was the member of President Chen Shui-bian's private political consultant from 2000 to 2004. An important committee of education reform contained some politicians who hypocritically asked politics should be removed from the education system in the 'Report' that demonstrated higher education reform is not a good beginning and predestined failure

Despite this, from the aim of national security and national economic development, in past decades the education was successes. However, there is question among the Taiwanese people that will higher education be necessary in order to sustain the governmental policies on non-education sphere in the new century? If one takes a macro view, it is apparent that higher education reform since 1994 in Taiwan was in fact virtually an incomplete education reform due to the unsettled political conflicts on party's interest and the problem of national identity in what was predominantly the Taiwanese society. Because most of the elites in the political party

were only interested in their political benefits, this resulted in the characteristics of low rational debate and high conflict in policy-making system. However, under the pressure from the party, some politicians converted the issues of national identity and ethnic group alienation into cards of political games on higher education affairs. Actually most politicians in Taiwan could no longer debate rationality except for party interest, the deterioration of the already unstable political, economical order was thus further accentuated, and the controlling and operating factors of the higher education were weakened.

In fact, from the sight of the system operation, the grand education reform since 1994 under KMT governance had not reformed the basic higher education structure and value. Thus when DPP inherited political power in 2000, it grasped the opportunity to wage another vision on higher education development by building up a Taiwanese utopia.

(C) The Political Molecules in GCRER

CER was a committee with high political characterization; it was lead by Lee Yuan-tseh. The task of CER was to plan a strategy for how the various functions and authority were to be shifted from the central authority to the universities and other teaching units, and to clarify what changes were needed in the functions and status of MOE. In reality, the CER played a particularly important and special role in education reform since 1994; in addition to assist MOE in the coordinating budget, personnel, and legislature affairs that were necessary for carrying out higher education reconstruction, the CER sometimes collaborated or were in competition with the MOE.

After two-years of working, the members' conference convened 34 times,⁷³ and

⁷³ Between September 1994 to December 1996, under the CER, 'Subcommittee on The Concept of Education and Lifelong Education' had meeting 41 times, 'Subcommittee on Preschool, Prime School, Secondary School' had meeting 65 times, 'Subcommittee on Higher Education' had meeting 30 times, 'Subcommittee on Synthesized and Special Subjects' had meeting 13 times. In these two years 'Joint Conference on head of Subcommittee' had meeting 12 times, Informal discussion by every subcommittee had 14 times. See, *General Consultation Report for Education Reform* (1996), Taipei:

costed 60 million New Taiwan Dollars (NTD, around 2 million USD), the CER ended its mission and submitted a 'General Consultation Report for Education Reform'⁷⁴ to the Executive Yuan and was made public on 2 December 1996. In an attempt to bridge the differences between the government and civil educational associations on social movements, the GCRER repeated the main appeals of the '410 Alliance on Education Reform' and substantiated CER five major principle on the policies directions for the future education reform; GCRER listed five main approach of education reform in Taiwan⁷⁵; First of all, to liberate the education, and taking off the incorrect control on the education affairs. Second, to develop a new education system that is suitable for every student. Third, offer new opportunities to advance studies and meeting individual as well as social needs. Fourth, promote an extensive and penetrative innovation on education system. Fifth, improve the education quality. Last, establishing life-long learning society and to create social conditions that it is favorable to study throughout the people's lives, with special attempts to provide continuing education in later life (GCRER, 1996).

The GCRER included such suggestions as the implementation of multiple channels for students to advance to higher levels of education without relying solely on examinations. The key concept of these reforms is flexibility, diversification, deregulation and decentralization. Other areas examined include the allocation of educational resources, adult education, improved teacher training, innovative teaching techniques, and curriculums changes. After two years of it being formed, the CER, the cabinet-level, was responsible for analyzing the problems of higher education and suggesting reform matters. In addition to suggesting the implementation of multiple

Ministry of Education.

⁷⁴ 'General Consultation Report for Education Reform' has five chapters, Chapter I: Background. Chapter II: The Concept of Education Reform. Chapter III: Suggestions. Chapter IV: Set into Action and the Goals. Chapter V: Perspective on Education Rebuild. See, *General Consultation Report for Education Reform* (1996), Taipei: Ministry of Education.

⁷⁵ The five main approaches of education reform is substantiation of five principle directions of 1) relaxing education policies; 2) taking care of every student; 3) creating more channels for higher levels of schooling; 4) raising the quality of education; and 5) establishing a society of lifelong learning

channels for students to be in higher education institutions, it also suggested that a brand new education system should be established.

Underlying CER suggested in GCRER, the MOE began working actively in the zone of higher education, the main areas where promotional work is undertaken included: 1) the establishment of diversified, autonomous, flexible education system which will be capable of fulfilling the functions of modern education; 2) creation of a healthy scholastic environments, to enable every student to develop in the way best suited to themselves; 3) promotion of curricula and teaching materials, in order to meet educational objectives. 4) making advancement to higher levels of education easier, reducing the level of competitive pressure in this area; 5) improvement of student counseling and promotion of psychological reform; 6) adjustment of the allocation of educational resources, so as to create greater equality in education opportunity; 7) strengthening of the technical education system, to increase the respect in which technical education is held; 8) promotion of greater emphasis on quality in education, with a stress on excellence in teaching; 9) greater diversification in teacher training to produce more effective teaching; 10) promotion of recurrent education and establishment of a lifelong education society (GCRER, 1996).

GCRER finally showed to the public. Among the General Report, the most significant policies are the deregulation and decentralization on higher education. According to the CER, the only way to modernize higher education in Taiwan is to deregulate it and there are four areas where deregulation and decentralization are needed that is the responsibility: 1) for the education resources; 2) for the education structures; 3) for the education content; and 4) for the education administration (GCRER, 1996). These recommendations, especially the item of ‘responsibility for the education resources’, are so radicalized to the educational realm. The central government accepted the recommendations from the CER that the public universities be given more autonomy in their operation. Hence the government ostensibly had

decided to change its role from one of ‘direct interventionist control’ to that of ‘distant supervision’. However, donation by personal or industrial circles to university is not a common practice in Taiwan, so call ‘responsibility for the educational resources’ means the one more channel opening to political power into campuses and it also express the maximize possibility of political intervention by politicians.

Although the CER has submitted its final report, it still faces at least two big problems in implementation. The first problem is the lack of money. One of the prerequisites to a successful education reform is to have the financial resources to actually implement the reforms. According to the ROC Constitution, outlays on education, science and culture should be no less than 15% of total government expenditure. However, the government has not followed this rule at all. Government funds earmarked for education have fallen short of the required amount or have been diverted to other ends. The second problem is a contradiction between CER and MOE due to they have different perspectives on education reform. While the MOE implements policies and the CER responsibility is simply to make policy suggestions. In reality, these two units have different opinions on education issues like whether students should select a university first and then a department when they pass the JUEE; and the definition of autonomy was another point in dispute between them as well.

Lee Yuan-tseh was a commander of 1994’s education reform teams, all of his suggestions on the new education policy had to be fully supported and carried out by the DPP’s lawmakers and DPP’s government in virtue of his laurel on the academia; Lee also had the same political belief and political stand with the rulers of DPP. However, in Taiwan, it deserves to be mentioned, Lee Yuan-tseh, convener of the CER, Nobel Prize winner in Chemistry, was seriously challenged by most of Taiwan’s population, particularly in the Pan-blue group, about his competence in the education field. Although some still impute the unsatisfying outcome of the reform to

Lee's incapability, the Final Consultative Report submitted to the Executive Yuan as the beacon to guide the grand educational reform in Taiwan.

Besides, the National Assembly approved by voting that government will derogate national education and cultural budget, in September 1997, just one year after GCRER was announced, a historical general strike which followed the flag of 'Rescue Education, Science and Culture' united teachers and students and all educational associations active on the island to move against government education policies and protest education budget was cut down. Facing this serious strike, Siao Wan-chang, the Premier, was forced to promise to respect the minimum budget guarantee.

It is worth pointing out that CER unveiled the principal policies of 'responsibility for the education resources' and 'responsibility for the education administration' in GCRER; it touches the issue of the education budget that is a significant predicament in education development in Taiwan. Article 164 in Constitution stipulated that 'funds earmarked for education, science, and culture shall be, in respect of the central government, no less than 15 percent of the total national budget; in respect of the provincial government, no less than 25 percent of the total municipal or county budget. Educational and cultural foundations established in accordance with law, and their property, shall be protected'. The second session of the Third National Assembly passed a provision on Paragraph 8, Article 10 of the 'Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China' on 18 July 1997. Promulgated three days later on 21 July, the provision states that 'priority shall be given to funding for education, science, and culture, and in particular funding for compulsory education, the restrictions in Article 164 of the Constitution notwithstanding'⁷⁶.

⁷⁶ 'Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China' Adopted by the second extraordinary session of the First National Assembly on 22 April 1991, and promulgated by the President on 1 May 1991. Adopted by the extraordinary session of the Second National Assembly on 27 May 1992, and promulgated by the President on 28 May 1992. Adopted by the fourth extraordinary session of the Second National Assembly on 28 July 1994, and promulgated by the President on 1 August 1994. Adopted by the second session of the Third National Assembly on 18 July 1997, and promulgated by the President on 21 July 1997. Revised by the fourth session of the Third National

Although this provision gives compulsory education a higher priority in respect to funding within the education budget, it also removes the minimum expenditure requirements for different levels of the government stipulated in Article 164 of the Constitution. Thus, after the implementation of the additional Articles, the government will have more freedom in allocating budget resources for different government functions. In addition, the ‘Educational Budget Allocation and Management Act’ was passed by the Legislative Yuan on 28 November 2000 and stipulates that, begun in 2002, the educational budget shall not be less than 21.5% of the average annual net revenue over the three previous years at all levels of the government (Education–Year book, 2005).

DPP won the Presidential election and held the full power of governance in 2000, however, DPP’s rulers have completely failed to come up with its own education reform policy, and have simply stuck to that of the former KMT administration. Generally, in the policy of ‘Educational Budget Allocation and Management’ it does not attach importance to education. The nation’s education, science, and culture budget in the first two years of the DPP’s governments ruled accounted for 10.8% and then 11.7% of its annual budget. The number increased to 12% in the third year. The fourth and fifth year, 2004 and 2005, it remained virtually unchanged, as it merely accounted for 12.1% and 12% of the annual budget. Its average increase rate over the past few years is 0.1%. But in the same period, the average increase rate for the annual budget is 0.8%. According the data from Department of Statistics of MOE and show in this dissertation in Chapter 2.3 Table 2.6, all level of education expenditures

Assembly on 3 September 1999, and promulgated by the President on 15 September 1999. The Council of Grand Justices, in its Constitutional Interpretation No. 499 on 24 March 2000, announced that the Additional Articles of the Constitution approved on 15 September 1999, were void, effective immediately. The revised Additional Articles promulgated on 21 July 1997 would remain in effect. Revised by the fifth session of the Third National Assembly on 24 April 2000, and promulgated by the President on 25 April 2000. Revisions to Articles 1, 2, 4, 5, and 8 of, and addition of Article 12 to, the Additional Articles of the ‘Constitution of the Republic of China’, proposed and announced by the Legislative Yuan on 26 August 2004, adopted by the Fourth National Assembly on 7 June 2005, and promulgated by the President on 10 June 2005. See <http://www.gio.gov.tw/info/news/additional.htm> (Accessed: 15 July 2007)

shared only 5.49% of GNP in 2000, and slight increased to 5.61% of GNP in 2006 (Education–Year book, 2007).

Obviously, the rate of the increasing budget on education is much less than that on the nation's annual budget. Besides, the number of undergraduate in Taiwan, from enrollment of 75,281 in 2000 to 88,991 in 2005, student number increased 13,710 during five years. And compare with 86,652 in 2006, it was increased 11,371, while over the same period the higher education budget grew by just 0.1%. So the education budget allotted for each student is in fact decreasing. Unfortunately, after staying in power for eight years, DPP has failed to come up with any new ideas to improve the quality of Taiwanese education. The trend of government expenditure on public universities has tapered off in very recent years. The most important problem arising from funding pressure is the multi-faceted challenges in higher education. For instance, challenges to teaching and researching quality, the challenges to autonomy and the challenges to good governance in the age of economic constraint, global competitiveness and of differentiation in higher education.

Furthermore, on the basis of: 1) as the result of the democratization the populace demanded an easy way for accessing to higher education; 2) politician's promised in the election vote; and 3) satisfied political faction's requirement; all of these reasons have helped pushed up the numbers of higher education institutes from 58 in 1994 to 147 in 2007; the policy of expansion on higher education amount had severely diluted the available resources for existing universities.

The increasing numbers of higher education institutes and students numbers was too rapid causing the shrinking budgets to struggle. This financial shortcoming has made it hard for tertiary education to maintain or improve the quality of education offered. Higher education is the driving force behind the knowledge-based economy in the new era, but budget cutbacks and the growing number of universities have caused a decline in the quality of education available in Taiwan. Chen Wei-jao (In

Pursuit, 2002), president of NTU, from the viewpoint of globalization contended that this decline will have a damaging effect on the Taiwan international competitiveness.

As mentioned above, in Taiwan, a place with centralized power dominion, education affairs, including budgets, university matters are regulated by central government; although the percentage of the national budget on education, science and culture was guarantee by Constitution, it was always not thoroughgoing implementation. While people and educators question the issues of the educational budget, the central authority such as President, Premier and chief comptroller have all promised that the educational budget would follow the rules of Constitution. But the slogan-like's promises were always broken year by year. However, a policy which relies on the good intention of politicians means this policy is impressive only in appearance; it is not ruled by the law while the education policies still need the good will or benefits of politicians. However, this situation of political promises on education affairs in Taiwan means its education system is still ruled by politician's likes or dislikes rather than by the law.

The constitutional provision for minimum government expenditure on education has been hotly debated always between schools and government. As a matter of fact, because of inadequate governmental funding after 2000, the education system has failed to cultivate qualified students and complement to hardware and software in higher education institutes. Furthermore, there was overcrowding in campuses and classrooms, as well as insufficient educational facilities, the universities were forced to raise funds from various ways including taking part in corporate research projects, offering night classes for businesspeople, issuing credit cards, and renting out conference places and other facilities for private use.

From the view of organizational structure to look at the relation between MOE and higher education institutes, indeed, public universities and colleges have been under the MOE as the government branches. Follow the policy of university

autonomy, ‘The Regulation of National University Operation Funds’ was promulgated on 3 February 1999 with order number 8800024760 (Executive Yuan, 1999). According to the new regulation, the public university and college are allowed to set up the University Operation Funds so that partial financial autonomy is achieved by operating within the funds. However, the university personnel system is still closely tied to the government. Before 3 February 1999, the public universities and colleges were 100 percent by the governments support. All expenses were paid from an annual budget allocated by the national budget. While it was guaranteed that finance was to be provided, it also meant that universities and colleges could not keep any income they made through tuition or other sources; everything had to go straight to the national treasury, and could not be used directly by the institution.

It is worthy to note that four years earlier than The Regulation of National University Operation Funds was announced, the MOE declared an experimental pilot program, which was announced on January 1994 and executed from 1 July 1995, under which five public universities, including National Taiwan University in Taipei, National Tsinghua University and National Chiaotung University in Hsinchu, National Chengkung University in Tainan, and National Taiwan University of Science and Technology in Taipei, were responsible for 20% of their own operating expenditures until 1998. The five pilot universities were allowed gradually to meet the 20% mark. For fiscal 1996, for example, National Tsinghua University was responsible for 14%, or about 11 million USD, of its 77 million USD total budget. Tuition income accounted for about 7%. In 2006, 55 out of 70 public universities participate in this program. The source of tuition, government funding and others for public universities from 2000 to 2006 is showed on Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: The Source of Tuition, Government Funding and Others for Public Universities, %, 2000-2006

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Tuition (%)	12.83	15.03	15.83	20.19	22.74	21.93	21.59

Government (%)	62.70	59.50	57.90	52.50	49.70	49.70	49.20
Others (%)	24.47	25.47	26.27	27.31	27.56	28.37	29.21

Source: Created by the author, based on the Department of Statistics, MOE (2007)

As Table 6.2 shows; tuition rose from 12.83% of public university expenditure in 2000 up to 21.59% in 2006. Government funding has decreased from 62.70% in 2000 down to 49.20% in 2006. Increase higher education tuitions have become a heavy burden for many students. From 1997 to 2006, tuition at public universities has increased approximately 40%, while private universities have experienced a 12% increase. Usually the tuition of private university is 4 times than of public university in Taiwan. In addition, for the aim to prepare the additional expense in tuition, as a result more than half of the universities and colleges student has student loans or part-time jobs. Table 6.3 is the percentage of self-fundraising in public universities from 2000 to 2006.

Table 6.3: The Self-Fundraising in Public Universities, %

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
%	37.3	40.5	42.1	47.5	50.3	50.3	50.8

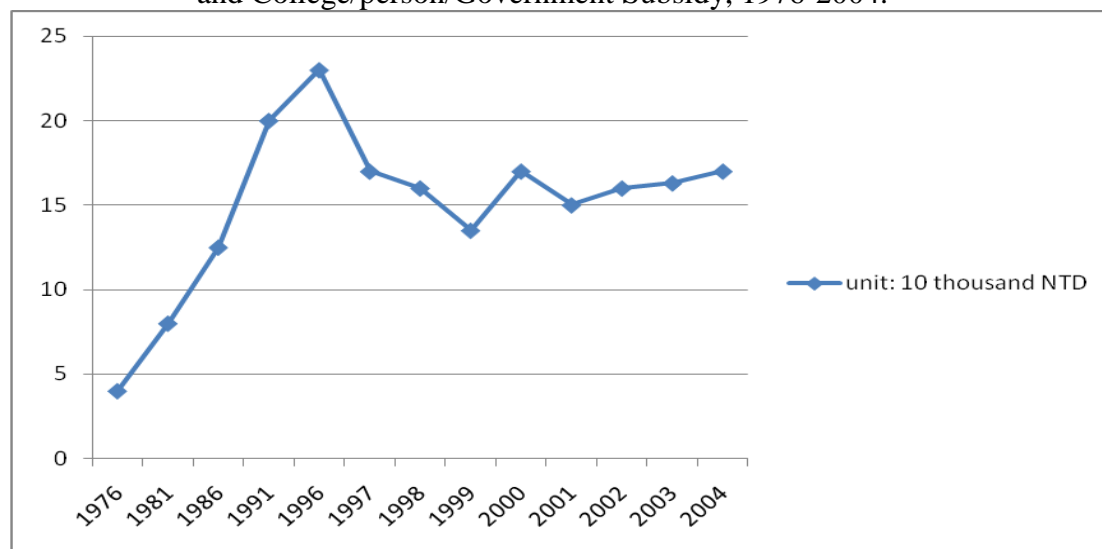
Source: Created by the author, based on the Department of Statistics, MOE (2007)

The old higher education funding system not only denied the universities any independence in financial operation, but also caused a great deal of waste and mismanagement. As regulation, the leftover money of fiscal year could not be transferred to any other part of the university program, nor could it be carried over to the next year. Furthermore, if the university can not deplete the funding as it was arranged in fiscal budgetary accounting items, it would be punished by having the following year's budget cut. 'So before the end of the fiscal year, during May and June, school always have to digest the budget', Yip Ming-chuen, dean of General Affairs at National Tsinghua University disclosed (Yun, 1995).

Private universities are also very much in favor of financial autonomy for their

public counterparts. Samuel Chang, president of private Chungyuan Christian University highlighted that old higher education funding system has resulted in an unfair distribution of educational resources between the private and the public universities (Yun, 1995). The Diagram 6.1 displays a student in private university or college who accept the average regularity expenditure from government. In 1976 was only 4 thousand NTD; it reached to 23.5 thousand NTD 1996, which is the year that the ‘General Consultation Report for Education Reform’ was announced; in 2004 the regularity expenditure was dropped to 16.5 thousand NTD.

Diagram 6.1: The Curve of the Regularity Expenditure Average in Private University and College/person/Government Subsidy, 1976-2004.

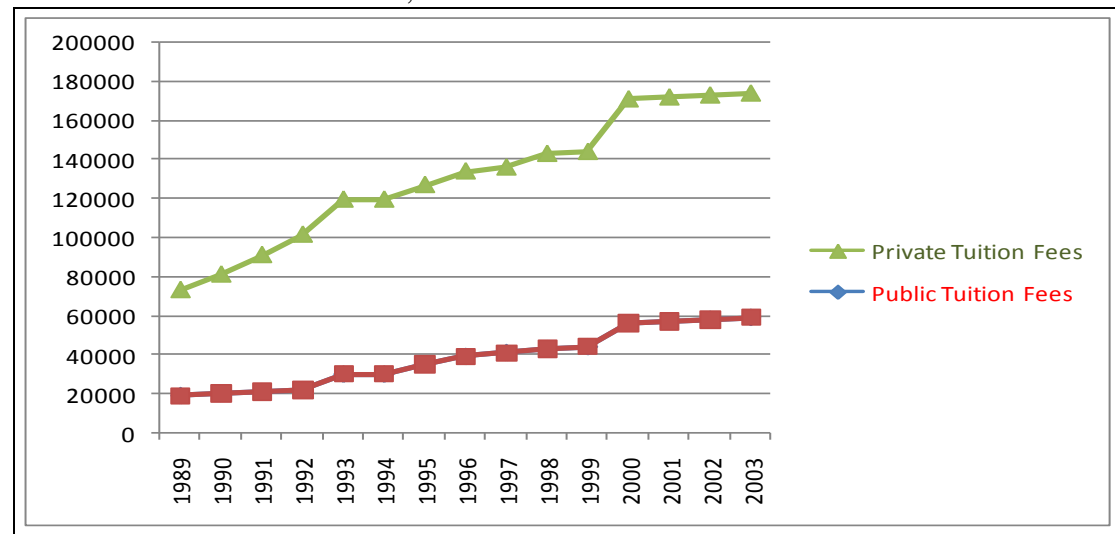


Source: The Statistic of Education, MOE (2006)

More significantly, the alumni and the philanthropists donated personal property, collections, money, building or other financial resources to higher education institutes are not yet a tradition in Taiwan. Generally private schools have to meet two main problems in the sector of financial affairs; one is that private universities cannot raise tuition rates without MOE approval; another is that the tuition fees is already much higher than the public counterparts. The tuition gap between public and private academic units were already frequently complained and demonstrated by students who studies in private university.

The Diagram 6.2 exhibits the comparison of tuition fees between public and private university and college from 1989 to 2003, in which the small gap between them was happened in 1989. The big gap was from 2000, which the year the DPP became the ruling party in Taiwan.

Diagram 6.2: The Curve and Gap between Public and Private University and College on Tuition Fees, 1989-2003



Source: The Statistic of Education, MOE (2006)

According to the data of 'Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS)' of Executive Yuan, in 2006, showed that in the ten years, the private university tuition rose 12%, relatively 40% in the public university; the wages was increased to 8% only in these ten years (DGBAS, 2006). The Taiwanese tuition on public university per student relative to per capita GDP, which is compared with other countries, is showed on Table 6.4

Table 6.4: The Comparison of Tuition and Fees on Public University per Student Relative to Per Capita GDP

Country	Year	Public University Tuition	Per Capita GDP (USD)	Public University Tuition (Per Capita GDP %)
Taiwan	2003	1,675(USD)/56,844(NTD)	13,587(USD)	12.33%
	2004	1,838(USD)/58,666(NTD)	14,663(USD)	12.53%
	2005	1,793(USD)/58,906(NTD)	15,668(USD)	11.44%

	2006	1,825(USD)/59,490(NTD)	16,030(USD)	11.38%
	2007	1,798(USD)/59,490(NTD)	16,596(USD)	10.38%
UK	2005		37,062(USD)	5.46%
France	2004		33,055(USD)	0.62%
Germany	2006		35,024(USD)	2.43%
Note: NTD (Taiwan dollars); USD (American dollars). The fees exclude university living fees and other university fees				

Source: Created by the author, based on the Department of Statistics, MOE (2007)

Table 6.4 clearly shows that per public university student relative to per capital GDP higher than Europe countries. While the issues of high tuition fees deeply concerned the people, on 20 June 2005, Education Minister Tu Cheng-sheng astonishingly announced a four-year plan aimed at teaching students to swim. According to the MOE timetable, the project estimated 67 million USD price tag will be financed by the government to help build swimming pools throughout the whole of Taiwan. Tu Cheng-sheng urged that we are looking forward to seeing more teachers, parents and students joining the fashion of learning to swim (Ministry, 2005 o).

DPP's government and Executive Yuan were not paying attention on high tuition fees issues. In order to solve these predicaments, Legislative Yuan has completed a preliminary review of a proposed amendment to the Income Tax Law in 2006 that would allow taxpayers to claim a higher deduction for educational expenses (Taxpayers, 2006 k). According to the bill passed by the Finance Committee on 13 December 2006, taxpayers would be able to claim a deduction of up to 25,000 NTD (769 USD) for educational expenses of each child who is receiving higher education. And the amount of the allowed deduction would be adjusted accordingly whenever there is an average hike of more than 3% in the tuition fees of colleges and universities.⁷⁷

6.3 The Issues of Higher Education Policies

It has been years since the grand education reform was introduced in 1994. The KMT

⁷⁷ In addition, taxpayers would also be able to claim a deduction of up to 25,000 NTD for each child who is within three years before entering elementary school. "Taxpayers could get Higher Deductions for Education Expenses", *China Post*, 15 December 2006.

initiated the reform and pushed ahead with them for six years while it was in power. In 2000, the DPP came to political authority and continued to administer the reforms; the higher education development has become politically charged. Generally, the questions of higher education can be mark to 5 plights and 6 events.

(A) The Plights of Educational Populism in Higher Education

From the view of higher education reform in terms of quality, efficiency and equality to see the contradictory ideas and values that have been in operation composed of five complications. 1) First plight has been the increasing number of higher education institutes caused the quality of students to decrease. Over the course of a decade, 96.28% of university entrance exam takers can enter the university in 2007 with minimum total scores of 18.47 on six subjects, 2.84 scores per subject average only; and 97.1% in 2008 with minimum scores of 7.6 totally (Democratic, 2007 t; Editorial, 2008).

One shouldn't be shocked by this terribly low entry score. There is a glut of higher education unit in the island, practicality each of them needs students to cater for the funding, which they cannot get enough from the government, and the only way for them to survive is to get as many students as possible. Many, especially private, universities and colleges kept opening new departments with fancy names that can attract high school students easily. When the offer is more than the needs in order to take enough students to keep running the new department, the universities and colleges risk taking in students who are truly not able for higher education. Facing this serious question, Lee Yuan-tseh's reaction was astonishing that he insisted that over 97 % enrollments ratio in colleges and universities are not a bad thing to the nation (The Number, 2007 b). Actually, the number of university increased sharply was the politicians and scholar-ruler's responsibility, because there are too many political and dictatorial consideration mixed in it.

2) Second plight is posed by different ways of gaining admission to universities and colleges and disregarding equality. After the new JUEE system was implemented since 1996, the facts were verified that it would benefit the students who can afford to go to cram schools or learn other skills. Designs of multiple university admission system were based on the notion that each student could exert his or her talent to the full. This system was advantageous to students who come from upper and middle class families due to their finance being good enough to let their children study in extension classes or learning from private tutor. These students are easily accepted by the top public universities; however, it handicaps the other side, there is no choice but to get into the less reputable colleges.

3) Third plight is educational budget insufficiency. Economic circumstances deteriorated led to the complications of educational budget distribution. How to allocate the educational budget has always been a controversial issue in Taiwan. Decompression of financial affairs became a way to settle question of funds from MOE. 4) Fourth plight is education reformers and academics must cut through the noise of politics and get back to the actual needs of the public on different critical issues. The conflicts of political ideology, political struggle, faction interests, political intervention, and de-Sinicization were inevitably found behind the grand education reform in Taiwan. In order to stabilize the ideology on Taiwan identity, Man-nan ethnic authority tried every possibility to get rid of Chinese culture influence and escape from China-oriented nationalism among higher education.

5) Fifth plight is the tensions between internationalization and extreme localization, or globalization and de-Sinicization in higher education circle. However, extreme localization should not become de-Sinicization and be confined only to understand the Taiwanese cultures and Man-nan ethnic group's values within limits in global world. Theoretically natural localization of education can make people to build the cultural self-identity that is the starting point of learning process towards

understanding and respect for the cultures and spiritual value of various civilizations. However, in Taiwan political struggles and ethnic conflicts sparked off an alienation of localization on education; it turned positive value of localization into negative worth of de-Sinicization, and changed the role of educational teleology⁷⁸ into political teleology. Unequivocally only educational teleology with no political color can resolve the ideology conflicts in the Taiwanese education evolution.

(B) The Phenomenon of the Policy of Teacher Training.

Teacher training programs are no longer the sole preserve of Normal Universities. Any college and university can certify a teacher since the grand education reform in 1994. The supply of teachers has exceeded the demand and a lot of teachers have had difficulty finding a teaching job. The root cause of the deviation between supply and demand for primary school teachers is dual as the falling birth rate and the impractical deregulation on teaching certification.

Members of re-education reform's groups in Taiwan declaimed to against the phenomenon of big gap between supply and demand on the job of schoolteachers. They accused that it has led to the waste of higher education resources, not only on the part of government and universities, but of individual would be teachers. It is also a deep disappointed and worry to university students who cling to take part in the profession. However, in view of the declining number of the birth rate and school enrolment, there will not only be a lack of teaching vacancies in the future, but job cuts as well.

According to statistics provided by the MOE in 2006, it predicted that fewer than

⁷⁸ Teleology is the philosophical study of design, purpose, directive principle, or finality in nature or human creations. It is traditionally contrasted with philosophical naturalism, which views nature as lacking design or purpose. In opposition to this, teleology holds there is a final cause or purpose inherent in all beings. There are two types of such causes, intrinsic finality and extrinsic finality. Reference on: E. Mayr (1992) "The Idea of Teleology", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 53, pp. 117-135; R. Millikan (2004) *Varieties of Meaning*, Massachusetts: MIT Press; L. Wright (1976) *Teleological Explanations: An Etiological Analysis of Goals and Functions*, California: University of California Press.

200,000 children will enroll in the first grade in 2011, down from 290,000 in 2006. As a result, there will be an estimated surplus of 4,700 elementary school teachers at island wide. On the basis of the new amended of 'Program of Educational Innovation', the elementary schools in Taiwan are supposed to have no more than 35 students in each class in the 2007, and the official ceiling will be lowered gradually until it reaches 29 in 2011 (Education, 2006 c), because the number of students is fewer than the available places given by the government.

Luo Te-shui, managing director of the Taipei Teachers' Association, argued that the government should not only review its teacher certification policy but totally overhaul its liberalist education philosophy, which tends to commercialize the overall education environment in Taiwan (Education, 2006 c). Actually, Luo Te-shui overestimated the DPP's policy of deregulation on teacher training, which is only the political policy and not touches the educational philosophy at all. However, the policy of teacher training has no considered the voice as Luo did. It was short on a rational debate between the educators and decision-makers before MOE announced the policy of teacher certification.

Pan Wen-chung, a MOE official, was stick to false reasoning. He insisted the plan to reduce class size in primary schools aimed at refining education, ensuring qualified supply and healthy replacement of teachers, and to achieve a fair and effective use of educational resources (Education, 2006 c). Same as Pan, the National Teachers' Association, a pro-DPP unit, released a statement welcoming the plan to reduce class sizes. The association's president, Wu Chung-tai, predicted it would improve the quality of education in the future.

(C) The Estrangement between Higher Education and Industrial Circles

There are several major reasons for lack of success on the effort to closer collaborative relationship between universities and business or industrial companies.

The first is the complicated environments of higher education. Too many political interventions in university operation cause industrial circles distant from ivory towers. The second is the matter of incentives. The existing academia rewarding system does not encourage the faculty members to work with the industry unless publishable results are generated from the collaboration. The third is the regulations of the most universities for appointing adjunct professors from industry that are too rigid to allow the university to widely hire.

In Taiwan, most of the science departments are capable of helping the industry to carry out high tech research and development. In the reality of political circumstances, the industry neither showed a great bravery to the face of politicians nor attempted seriously to tap into this pool of departments. Many companies in industrial circles only ask individual university academician to help on specific studies. However, most of these interactions are in the form of personal consultations by brains, helping the companies to find ready solutions to problems concerning certain processes and materials, or to acquire information about relevant new technology.

(D) The Issue of Moral Education and Cram Schools

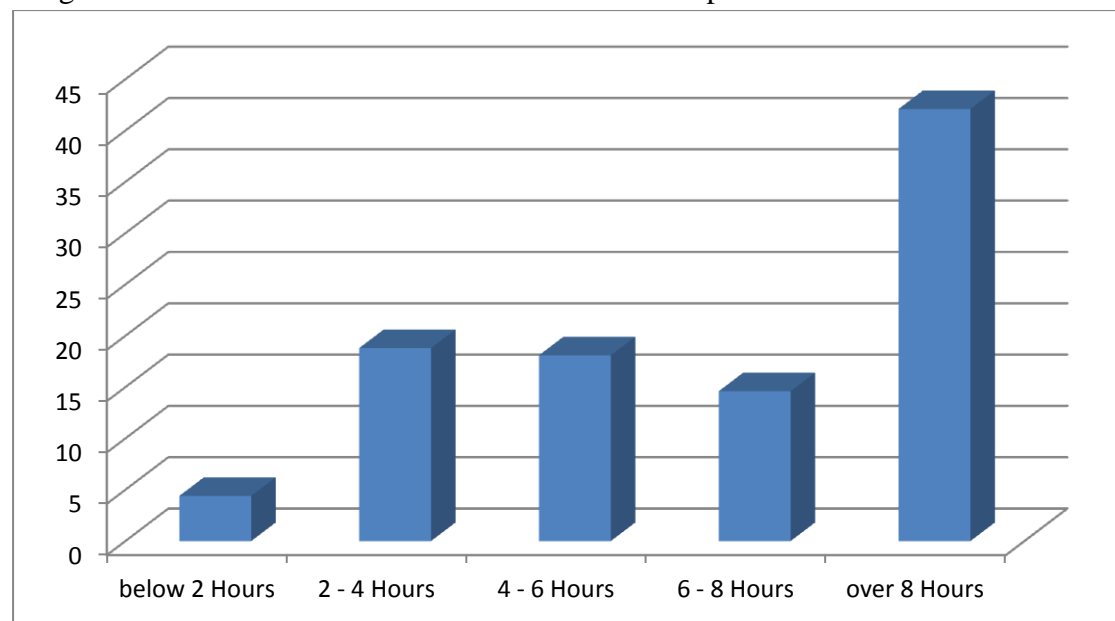
The presidents of universities, principals of schools and educators dissatisfied the fact that there are many political figures whose behavior has a tremendously negative influence on the way that young people conduct themselves. Educators emphasized that there is so much dishonesty, deception and dirty trickery in the ruling government and politicians. It is now difficult to convince the younger generation on the importance of proper behavior. National Chengchi University made a survey in 2006, 70% of the respondents expressed the moral character of the Taiwanese has been declining from 2000. Around 90% of those polled believed that politicians set the worst example to the society and students. Also, 70% of the respondents indicated the people have regressed in the areas of honesty, sense of shame and respect for the law

(Ministry, 2006 a).

Ruling politicians disagreed the result of this survey. The chairman of the DPP, Yu Shyi-kun, just half month before this survey in August 2006, retorted that moral integrity is a 'feudalistic value' (Education, 2006 c). When most educators denounced Yu's view, Yu hit back and argued that in a democratic country, morality is an outdated concept. Yu's statement, which shocked those who heard it, reflected to a great extent the nature of politicians who are running this country.

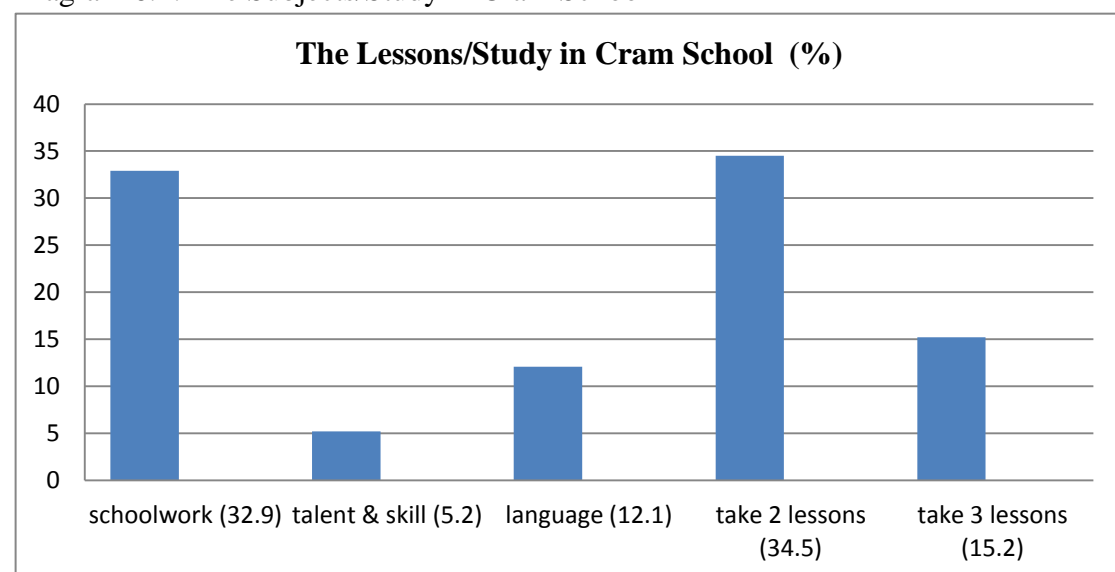
In the last several years, majority of teachers of universities and senior high schools along with student's parents lodged a bitter complaint against the practice of the grand education reform, such as the nine-year integrated curriculum, particularly regarding structuralism-based math, oversimplified science courses, and new model of JUEE. A new phenomenon emerged from Taiwan after the grand education reform revealed by government, that is the number of cram schools attended by students seeking new JUEE exam has increased to 8800 in 2007, and a whopping three times compared to 2001 and five times compared to 1997. One can understand the true situation of students in cram school from the Diagrams as follow: Diagram 6.3 shows the hours of students every week studied in cram schools in 2007, 42.1% senior high school students studied over 8 hours in cram schools, only 4.4% students spent less than 2 hours, 18.8% at 2-4 hours; 18.1% at 4-6 hours and 14.6% at 6-8 hours. Diagram 6.4 is the kind of subjects, which took by student in cram schools in 2007, 32.9% studied schoolwork in cram schools; 12.1% studied language in which the English is majority; 5.2% for talent and skill, which is music, art, dance, and others; between schoolwork, language and skill, 34.5% students take two subjects and 15.2% take three subjects.

Diagram 6.3: The Hours of a Student in Cram School/per week



Source: The Statistic of Education, MOE (2007)

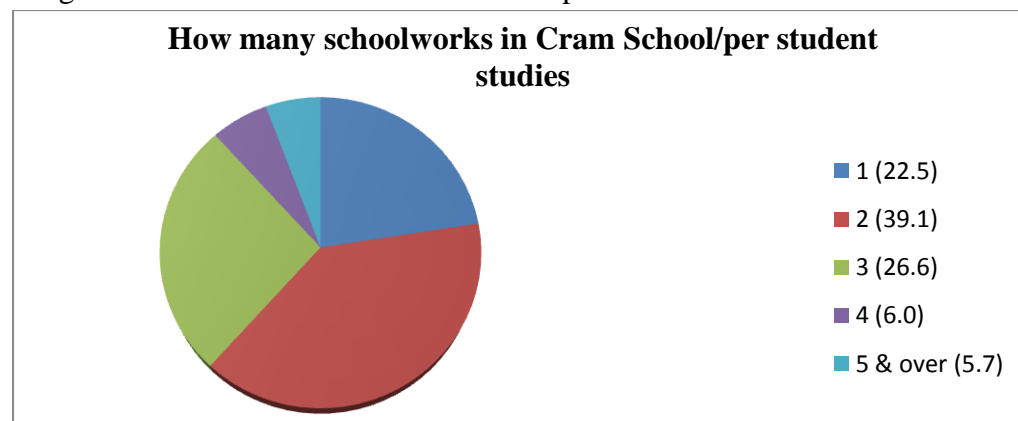
Diagram 6.4: The Subjects/Study in Cram School



Source: The Statistic of Education, MOE (2007)

Diagram 6.5 shows the schoolworks which students studied in cram schools, 5.7% of students studied over 5 lessons including science sciences and social science; 39.1% for 2 lessons; 26.6% for 3; 22.5% for one and 6% for 4.

Diagram 6.5: Schoolwork in Cram School/per student studies



Source: The Statistic of Education, MOE (2007)

These phenomenons suggested the new higher education programs are serious flawed. Since 1994, the government had a group of scholars and educators map out a major education schemes in a bid to resolve the problems plaguing the island's higher education. Among the measures carried out under the schemes were the establishment of a large number of universities and colleges and the termination of the government control in the higher education institutes. The overall aims of the new education policies were designs to improve the quality of education, to build up an ability oriented education, and to create a new high class laborer force in the new era. The goal remains unaccomplished for 15 years. Most high school students still live a stressful life because of the need to study hard every day for tests and exams. Most university still keeps the mark time or worsens than before because of short of budget and heavy political intervention. It should also propose remedies for problems in the implementation of higher education reform. However, it will be impossible to revise the reform policies throughout this short time, but a concrete new strategy for solving the problems is needed for the purpose of effectively diagnose flaws of the education policies.

At a discussion forum at the Legislative Yuan on November 2002, Minister of Education Huang Jong-tsun and his three predecessors Kuo Wei-fan, Wu Jing and Yung Chao-siang, all agreed that the principles of the higher education reforms were

mostly correct. Kuo, Wu and Yung believed that while the direction of the reform was correct, it had been implemented hurriedly without adequate complementary measures. The reform therefore needed to be adjusted and improved (Fix, 2003 h).

In politics side, on the question of who is responsible for the fail of higher education reform, KMT and DPP were shirked its responsibility and shifted the blame onto other. The direction of reform policy was set when former KMT's chairman Lien Chan as Premier between 1992 and 1997, the GCRER written was under Lien's supervision and shelved by then President Lee Teng-hui in 1996. Unfortunately, the selfish motive in Lee Teng-hui's mind while the figure of higher education was reorganization, Lee pours his idea of Man-nan ethnic absolutism and political intervention into the new education system. He wants to change the contents of education to accomplish his target on localization in politics. Since coming to power in 2000, the DPP, Lee Teng-hui's political and Man-nan ethnic alliance has made many changes in the essence of higher education reform and executed extreme localization and political intervention, more than Lee Teng-hui did by himself. Legislator Lee Chia-chin claimed that KMT design the feasible structure of reform, but DPP was not lived up to the promise (Fix, 2003 h), it was irresponsible for KMT, Lee Chia-chin insisted.

Indeed, the higher education reform has become a target of a great deal of public criticism from 2000, and blame for the failures have been laid on between Lee Teng-hui, DPP's government, Academia Sinica president Lee Yuan-tseh, and the education ministers. It needs to emphasize again that many key reform's policies were suggested by Lee Yuan-tseh. In people's mind, he has become the chief culprit responsible for the failure of the reform. These disastrous higher education policies are the result of the governmental inability to manage it with an axenic governance and political struggle created the chaotic educational ecosystem. The MOE under the DPP controlled is in shambles. The government continues to appoint unqualified,

inexperienced people and possessed political personality person to be a leader of MOE like Tu Cheng-sheng, Minister of Education from 2004, and Chuang Kuo-rong, chief of secretaries of the Minister of Education from 2007. They continue to politicize what should be professional issues and continue to play the game of favoritism with those who serve party goals.

(E) The Issue of Ministers of Education

The Taiwanese current course of higher education reform has been harshly criticized by educators, students and parents as mentioned the above. From 1996 to 2008 five Education Ministers were rotated through the post after holding office for only one to two year each. It is echo to Corrales (1999) studied on the tenure of Ministers of Education in 22 nations around the world. Corrales found that they lasted less than 2.5 years in office. This issue of the short term in office in Taiwan, from 1996, was much different then the past. During the KMT ruled that the Education Ministers are three to four years on duty except in the time of Lee Teng-hui's Presidency. Table 6.5 shows the tenure of the office of Ministers of Education since 1949.

Table 6.5: Name and Duty Days of Ministers of Education, 1949-2008⁷⁹

Name	On duty	Name	On duty
Hang Li-wu	21/03/1949	Lee Huan	28/05/1984
Cheng Tian-fang	12/03/1950	Mao Gao-wun	04/07/1987
Chang Chi-yun	27/05/1954	Kuo Wei-fan	27/02/1993
Mei Yi-chi	14/07/1958	Wu Jing	10/06/1996
Huang Ji-lu	23/02/1961	Lin Cing-chiang	09/02/1998
Yan Chen-chin	25/01/1965	Yung Chao-siang	15/06/1999
Chung Jiao-guang	25/06/1969	Cheng Chih-lang	20/05/2000
Luo Yun-ping	31/03/1971	Huang Jong-tsun	01/02/2002

⁷⁹ The name in Chinese: Hang Li-wu (杭立武), Cheng Tian-fang (程天放), Chang Chi-yun (張其昀), Mei Yi-chi (梅貽琦), Huang Ji-lu (黃季陸), Yan Chen-chin (閻振興), Chung Jiao-guang (鍾皎光), Luo Yun-ping (羅雲平), Chiang Yan-shih (蔣彥士), Lee Yuan-cu (李元簇), Chu Huei-sen (朱匯森), Lee Huan (李煥), Mao Gao-wun (毛高文), Kuo Wei-fan (郭為藩), Wu Jing (吳京), Lin Cing-chiang (林清江), Yung Chao-siang (楊朝祥), Cheng Chih-lang (曾志朗), Huang Jong-tsun (黃榮村), Tu Cheng-sheng (杜正勝)

Chiang Yan-shih	29/05/1972	Tu Cheng-sheng	20/05/2004
Lee Yuan-cu	19/04/1977		
Chu Huei-sen	29/05/1979		

Source: Created by the Author

Wu Jing, on 6 October 1996 took the position as Education Minister. He executed the policy of grand education reform in the early phase. Wu criticized that all the Education Ministers from 1996 have not surpassed for two years in such important position. He questioned to the government that ‘are all ministers not qualification on the seat? (Education, 2003 d) Wu acknowledged that the policies which related to grand education reform were incompleteness; therefore the implementation on education reform appeared difficult and resulted in the big gap between satisfaction and expectation in Taiwan. As the case of expansion the number of higher education institutions, there were 52 universities and colleges added in two years from 1999 to 2000. Wu accentuated that the grand education reform is not completely failure yet, it is deviated only by implementation. At that time, the rule by politicians was instead of rule by law. Wu commented Lee Yuan-tseh was deeply involved the affairs of grand education reform with no mention Lee’s name. ‘If CER gave the right and let MOE to carry out the agenda of reform, it could be no dispute in nowadays, and MOE impel the education reform that certainly is a duty’ (Education, 2003 d), Wu stressed.

Chou Chu-ying, professor of Education Department in National Chengchi University, on 7 August 2003, argued that Wu Jing should take the same responsibility on the failure of the reform; as Lee Yuan-tseh should also do. She gave an example to indicate that Wu Jing proposed the procedures for gaining a bachelor degree through the policy of the ‘three national highways’ which divided the polytechnic system, senior high school and recurrent educational system in higher education sphere (Ten, 2003 e). Wu’s policy let many polytechnic junior colleges promoted to university; it created the inflation in university sector rapidly and formed a predicament that the budget was seriously insufficiency; the student’s quality

promptly reduced it made a crisis on higher education. Chou Chu-ying showed clearly from her view that Wu Jing must be responsible for that. Wu Jing responded the question of ‘national highways’ in higher education. He highlighted that at that time the ratio of students in high schools and polytechnic schools was 3:7. Most polytechnic students were abandoned by the higher education. Therefore, he created the pipeline for them, and one of the approaches was upgrade polytechnic school to college and then university status (Who, 2003 o).

From 6 June 1996 Wu Jing held the job as Minister, because of the personal style and his unique personality he was called ‘the idea king’ by the people. But Wu’ official career did not go smoothly if he is compared with his predecessors. After one year and ten months, he left his position with surprise due to the policy of open door for the ‘alien’ degrees in which the government recognises the academic degree that Taiwanese obtained from Mainland China; and guided to revoke the lower limit of “funds for education, science, and culture shall be not less than fifteen percent of the total national budget”, which regulated in the Article 164 in Section 5 of Constitution.

It is worth pointing out that the higher education policy of ‘Denied Mainland China Degree’, which is under national policy of de-Sinicization by Lee Teng-hui’s authority at that time. Besides, Wu is not a member of Man-nan ethnic group in Taiwan, he dangerously touched the sensitive political and ethnic red line with his status of Mainlander. Nevertheless, the Cross-straits affairs are a forbidden area, it belong to the right of President as Lee Teng-hui announced publicly. The true reason that pressed Wu to step down from the platform of MOE was his open door policy and not others at all. In other words, Wu’s problem belonged to the category of politics not education.

Lin Cing-chiang succeeded Wu Jing to take over the office in MOE. Lin was one of the contributors of GCRER, and he carried out the grand education reform vigorously. In his ministerial days, Lin announced to abolish the Joint High School

Entrance Examination and implemented the policy of ‘multidimensional channels’ to universities. Unfortunately, after a year and eight months Lin died with illness on the position of Minister. Lin was a conservative person with Man-nan ethnic background, and a typical member of bureaucracy. He was loyal to his job and education innovation in his hand was preceded with no stormy waves.

Yung Chao-siang, Lin Cing-chiang’s inheritor with Man-nan ethnic background, left his new seat after eight months due to DPP acquired the regime in May 2000. He contributed to education that was only proclaimed the white paper of ‘12 Years Compulsory Education’ as the KMT political promise during the period of general election in 2000. Cheng Chih-lang, Man-nan ethnic background, followed Yung Chao-siang, became the Minister on 20 May 2000 that the first day of new central government came into political power. Cheng kept his seat only one year and nine months. He left because of the policy of ‘Chinese Phonetic Transcription’ due to he insisted on the method of use the same as Mainland China used. The same as his predecessor Wu Jing, Cheng also touched the political red line. Cheng stepped down from the stage of Minister that was not accident in Taiwanese unique political climate.

Huang Jong-tsun, Man-nan ethnic background, was seated in his office as Minister for two years and three months (Huang, 2004 i). The main reason caused him left the title was that Huang disagreed to take part in the electioneering on legislative election with DPP. Huang insisted Education Minister should not step in the political election and education should guard the educational land clean. Tu Cheng-sheng, Man-nan ethnic background, took over the position as a Minister of Education in the same day while Huang left. Tu is a most controversial Minister in the educational history of Taiwan; he possessed a violent political character and obstinate Man-nan ethnic racist. In his term he was loyal to the policy of de-Sinicization and changed the social value of students by a wide margin. These issues of Tu were analyzed in the Section 5.3 with details.

As early as in 2003, the people already had formidable critique to the policies of higher education reform. Kuo Wei-fan, the former Education Minister, admitted reform's mistake that 'indeed, many troubles were occurred'. Kuo believed the key issue was the ministers only held the short days in the office since 1996. He highlighted that no one could draw up the complete programs and carry it out from start to finish, and the major problem of grand education reform was the frequent change of ministers, each minister had their own ideas, but the tenure in office was too short (Editorial, 2003). He told again that finally the new items of education reform measure were on the way hastily, the result is to pay a big and deeply grieved price.

In connection with six Ministers from 1996 to 2008, the duty years, achievements and the reasons of stepped down from the office can see the Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Duty Days/Achievements/ Reasons of Step down of Education Ministers

Ministers of Education			
Name/On Duty	Duty/Year	Reason/Stepped down	Achievements
Wu Jing (10/06/1996)	1.6 Years	Admitted mainland China diploma	*3 national education highways. *Constructive mathematics *University autonomy
Lin Cing-chiang (09/02/1998)	1.4 Years	Died	*Abolished the 'Joint High School Entrance Examination' *Constructive mathematics *University autonomy
Yung Chao-siang (15/06/1999)	11 Months	Resigned with KMT fail in Generation Election	*Proclaimed the white paper of '12 years compulsory education' *Constructive mathematics *University autonomy
Cheng Chih-lang (20/05/2000)	1.8 Years	Policy of 'Chinese phonetic transcription'	*Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum *constructive mathematics *University autonomy
Huang Jong-tsun (01/02/2002)	2.3 Years	Held neutral in legislative election	*Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum *constructive mathematics *University autonomy
Tu Cheng-sheng (20/05/2004)	4 Years	Replaced. Due to DPP fail in Generation Election	*Political intervened educational affairs. *Revised history textbooks *Revises Taiwan map *De-Sinicization

Source: Created by the Author

The education affairs need a long-range scheme and axenic culture circumstances around the system, political disturbance and impetuous policy should let it alone. Unfortunately the higher education evolution since 1994 carried on with these two taboos. Because of the endless political interference, the higher education is going to be warming and gradually over the load of the system. Consequently, the failure on higher education reform is expectation.

6.4 Summary

This chapter described the practice of higher education policies under the high and low political intervention. In the analysis of the political intentions in higher education, this study finds Taiwanese higher education reform is linked tightly to the political and social movements in Taiwanese modern history. These high political movements had four types, namely: for social warfare; for human rights; for demanding political right; and for demanding educational right. For instance, when people asked the government to liberate political right from its hands, in the meantime, the student in NTU became the first university to elect its president of the student union through a direct vote. The students disregarded the approved election system, in which as MOE regulation states that the post was filled by a vote among student governing representatives only; the model was the same as national Presidential election at that time. After the event of direct vote of NTU in 1988, many students' society in NTU went on street protest alongside with National Chenchi University, National Taiwan Normal University and other universities to protest MOE's intervention on higher education affairs. Students and teachers in the protest movement revealed the slogan on university autonomy. They highlighted that from the viewpoint of university, the social welfare and human right is equal to university autonomy.

Before Martial Law was lifted, the education emphasized on national unification, political stability, social consistency, uniformity, and to keep harmony between the

four big ethnic groups. The mechanism of education system was designed to assure loyalty to the central government, and higher education evolution was controlled by the government with Martial Law. Since the removal of Martial Law, moral education has changed rapidly due to new education views and political atmosphere. A brand new political moral education including de-Sinicization and Man-nanization had replaced the special subject of education offered in schools.

More importantly, this study surprisingly finds the governance at universities was characterized by a dualism between political and academic bureaucracy's authority with respect to all aspects of national and political interest. This dualism means the central government has power to build the orientation of university management with political objectives. Furthermore, in the analysis of the alienative policies on deregulation and decentralization in higher education, this study finds the policy of deregulation and decentralization executed in Taiwan are not aimed at devolution of authority to the lower levels of the hierarchy per se, but are means to solve political and funding pressures.

Due to the policy of higher education expansion, the Taiwanese government recognized that economical capacity is not good enough to fully support higher education performance again. According the Article 164 in the Constitution, it stipulated that 'funds earmarked for education, science, and culture shall be, in respect of the central government, not less than 15 percent of the total national budget'. But the nation's education, science, and culture budget was 10.8% in 2000 and 12% in 2005; in which total education expenditures was 5.4% in 2000 and 5.77% in 2005; simultaneously, the numbers of higher education institutes continued to increase from 127 to 148 from 2000 to 2005. Within the annual total education expenditures the higher education was only 38.64% in 2004 and 39.40% in 2005. (Education Statistical Data, 2006) It needs to mention that in Taiwan private universities also share governmental higher education expenditures with public universities. The increasing

numbers of higher education institutes and students was too fast and were struggling with the shrinking budgets. This financial shortcoming has made it hard for tertiary education to maintain or improve the quality of education offered.

Based on this difficult financial problem, the policies of higher education should be 'responsibility for the education resources' and 'responsibility for the education administration' were revealed by central government. However, the policy of centralization means the government should offer enough finance to higher education institutes without any excuse. Money issues provided decision-makers with ideas on how to solve this problem; one such idea is to enforce the new policies of educational deregulation in higher education. In accordance with the question 'what is difference between regulation and deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?' 87% of teaching staff and 75% of administrative staff believed that clearing up the pressures of university funding that is one of the purposes of deregulation and decentralization.

Chapter 7 The Political Power Interaction and Competition in the Policies of Higher Education

7.1 The Alienative Policies in Higher Education Development

Alienation (Entfremdung in German), is the one of the concept of sociology and an important theme in K. Marx's celebration that runs throughout his works, from the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844⁸⁰ to *Capital*⁸¹, especially the unpublished sections entitled *Results of the Immediate Process of Production*.⁸² The term alienation has many interpretations; one of definitions on alienation is that withdrawing or separation of a person or his affections from an object or position of former attachment.⁸³ Principally, the core essence of alienation is highlight on 'confrontation between subject and object or alien power' and 'the separation of things that naturally belong together, or antagonism between things that are in harmony'.

(A) The Alienation on the policies of Deregulation and Decentralization

What is deregulation? The deregulation means the act of freeing from regulation, especially from the governmental regulations. In higher education area, deregulation, a term which can be seen as a process by which governments remove, reduce, or

⁸⁰ The *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* cover a wide range of topics, including much interesting material on private property and communism, and on money, as well as developing Marx's critique of Hegel. However, the manuscripts are best known for their account of alienated labor. See K. Marx (1964) *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, New York: International Publishers.

⁸¹ *Capital* was publishes in 1867 (*Capital I*), 1885 (*Capital II*), 1894 (*Capital III*). Karl Marx (1990), *Capital, Volume I*. London: Penguin.

⁸² Reference on *Marxists and Engles Internet Archive*, see <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/> (Accessed: 15 May 2008)

⁸³ The substance of alienation has a technical and legal meaning. In Karl Marx expounded that alienation in capitalist societies occurs because in work, each contributes to the common wealth, but can only express this fundamentally social aspect of individuality through a production system that is not publicly social, but privately owned, for which each individual functions as an instrument, not as a social being. In other words, for Karl Marx, the main aspect of alienation is the separation of labor from the worker, and separation of the products of labor from the worker. Both end up being taken by employers and controlled by them, dominating the worker. In his work of *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844, Karl Marx famously depicts the worker under capitalism as suffering from four types of alienated labor; First, from the product; second, in productive activity work; third, from species-being; finally, from other human beings. A summarizing statement on these four types, Marx emphasized the capitalism reduces labor to a commodity to be traded on the market, rather than a social relationship; workers become part of the machine rather than an individual human being.

simplify restrictions on education affairs and individual university with the intent of encouraging the efficient operation. The stated rationale for deregulation is often that fewer and simpler regulations will lead to a raised level of competitiveness. For instance, the government provides university with the funding that public schools are given, but to deregulate the constraints on how such funds must be spent. Simplistically speaking, deregulation is largely underpinned by concerns with efficiency. Deregulation is partly different from decentralization, because a decentralized education system while often having less and simpler regulations, can also have regulations in order to increase efficiency and, or, protect political authority's rights. However, the terms are often used interchangeably within deregulated and decentralized.

Educational market's competition and market's globalization usually is a driving force for the deregulation of university. Ideally, higher education as a deregulated industry will see more independent and autonomy on educational affairs. Nevertheless, in Taiwan, deregulation on higher education was the only reaction of domestic political issues, it related to political power transformation in tertiary education system. For a long time, the Taiwanese education policies and related legislation were decided primarily by the central government, in accordance with national development's policy. Most of the decisions made by the central authority were passed down through various educational administrative systems for implementation at different levels by the local governments and educational institutions, which possessed less authority in terms of decision-making and flexibility.

One can understand this situation by examining the 'Ministry of Education Organic Law', it established on 8 December 1928, last revision published on 25 July 1973, which stipulates that the MOE is the sole body responsible for the administration of education affairs, and is the central administrative authority in directing and supervising the implementation of all education affairs by local

administrative authorities (Ministry of Education's Organic Law, 1994). Any locally formulated order or disciplinary measure that violates laws and regulations, or which oversteps the authority possessed by the local government itself, could be suspended or revoked by the Council of Executive Yuan, upon request by the MOE. The central government had complete control over all major educational policies.

When the Martial Law was lifted in 1987, the political climate was modified rapidly. Since every aspect of people life had been so tightly controlled by the government under the Martial Law, there was a sentiment among people of getting rid of any control from the political ideology. Martial law was vanished; democratization and pluralism were sought after in different social fields, with the government being requested to play a minor role in the education system and university operation amidst the call of student autonomy and management by professors.

From the surface point of view, deregulation officially involves the transformation of authority and decision-making from the central government directly to the universities. The education system as this dissertation stated is highly centralized before 1987; however, the first stage of education deregulation was introduced when Lee Yuan-tseh returned to Taiwan in 1987 and brought up the idea of 'university governed and run by university professors'. The second stage was followed by the suggestion of final report of CER in 1996, it gave universities principals greater autonomy and wider responsibility with regards to decision-making and others.

From the viewpoint of system function, the education reform has to resolve the questions within education itself and the questions of interrelationship between educational reality and ideality. Most of educators in Taiwan knew that the authoritative forms of organization applied to universities are no longer suitable for use in the education system again. The Taiwanese educational deregulation and decentralization are more radical concerned. The public movement for deregulation

and decentralization on higher education started with the rescinded Martial Law. Although, after the year 2000, its concerns on the finance of education played a major role in these reform initiatives, the main impetus of change was politically triggered as this dissertation pointed in Chapter 5.2 and 5.4.

Actually, after 1996, a dramatic shift in higher education policy took place. While a large number of political and social movements were raised during the late 1990s, trust in the traditional patterns of maintenance and funding gradually eroded. This phenomenon was caused by a variety of factors, the three most important being the crisis of central government steering; 1) the crisis of the power on finance allotment by government; and 2) the new ethnic politics provoked a ethnic conflict; 3) the crisis of higher education expansion.

A very important event is the policy of higher education expansion since 1994; it significantly increased the complexity of the education system. The dominant view in the higher education sector was that universities were bound by a rigid bureaucracy and hence could not develop their creativity. The government and universities did not share the same common vision about the role of the government on the higher education affairs. Universities were unwilling to be restricted by their own worries, so they demanded the right to decide its own affairs, asking the MOE to loosen its control over them.

Furthermore, the ethnic politics emerged from the conflicts between Man-nan ethnic group of academia and KMT's rulers before the year 2000; and the new confrontation between new central authority of DPP's government and non Man-nan ethnic group of academia emerged after the year 2000. In the new stage, the campus opposed DPP's rulers due to the dirty education policies in funding distribution, political intervention on personnel system and others. Most academic people in university distrusted the politician's justice and they asked managing university affairs by autonomy. The crisis of the power on the finance allotment resulted in

political decision-makers increasingly having to refuse applications for additional funding. Therefore, higher education units demanded the government to implement the policy of deregulation and allow them to raise their own funds.

Over the last half century, central government in Taiwan were the chief patrons on higher education field and, in response, had expected them to be useful instruments for the advancement of national purposes, such as unified political ideology, political stability and economical development. From the university's perspective, it welcomed generous beneficence and expansion of academic size to reach the ambitious designs. Of course the price of this support has been greater government interest in the internal affairs of university. By and large, on the basis of a deep political chasm in the academic circles, government took advantage of the budget distribution and biased award system to intervene the university management. Universities have not successfully resisted attempts from central authority to run them the way that university systems are conducted.

Educational deregulation is a global trend in the past decades, it is parallel with the development of liberalism; similar to other developing countries in the world, Taiwan executed some educational policies which relates with deregulation since 1994. Generally, the two reasons pushed Taiwanese higher education to implement deregulation and decentralization; it was the vigorous economical and political liberalism in the international community and the variation of island's economical and political circumstances. Facing the new wave of liberalism in globalization era, the Taiwanese government understood that a centralized approach to education is failing to meet the needs of the university autonomy, which was strongly demanded by educators and people in Taiwan. Meanwhile Taiwanese government actively recognized that economical capacity is not good enough to fully support higher education performance again. However, the policy of centralization means the government should, without excuse, financially aid higher education institutes.

Besides, the essence of the Taiwanese national system was a qualitative change in the new age; the advancement of high technology, the consequence of internationalization and imbued with vitality of human right were also used to crack central government influence in education system. Those reasons have provided political decision-makers with ideas of how to solve these emerging problems. One of such ideas is to enforce the new policies of educational deregulation in higher education territory, such as personnel system independence and expenditure autonomy. It deserves to be mentioned that in Taiwan, there were many approaches of undergoing deregulation which were decided by politicians with different considerations.

From the system's structure approach and function to survey, it is very clear that the educational deregulation in Taiwan are a result of the market-oriented education, sluggish economy and the interest conflict between political parties. As Taiwan becomes more and more democratization after Martial Law being lifted in 1987, the central government found that the highly centralized education policies in higher education sector were unable to satisfy educators, industrial circles and the people in Taiwan, where there is an increasing demand on both the quantity and the quality of higher education. Therefore the government replaced its role from direct control and running of the schools to managing them through democratization.

There are some factors that contribute to the rise of democratization in the higher education area; it needs to be emphasized again that one of the major impetuses is the need for private sources of funding to supplement the insufficient government funding in higher education affairs. Taiwan's economy has been rearranged since the second term of Lee Teng-hui's ruled and sustained declined from DPP's rules since 2000, funding for education was no long sufficient. Government budget for education in the percentage of GNP is down 6% from 2000 which is low compared with those before, as stated in section 5.4 in this study. It was in this context that the government relaxed

its monopoly of the running of universities and colleges and began to allow them to be run by non-centralization.

For instance, before the grand education reform of 1994, the contracts with faculty members covered up only to two years of employment, some contracts among university teachers were not renewed due to their political orientations. For example, ‘The Event of Philosophy Department in NTU’ is a very good case to show this situation; from December 1972 to June 1975, due to ‘improper opinion on political affairs’, ‘attack government with speech and writing’ and ‘the behavior same as red communist’; totally 12 professors including Chao Tian-yi, Chen Go-ying, Wang Siao-bo, Huang Tian-cheng, and Yu Siang-chou were dismissed from NTU, (Syue, 2003).

Under the policis of deregulation and decentralization, the rights of universities and colleges was official protected by the revised University Law in 1994 version and afterwards. In the case of university president appointment, the new regulation higher education institutions can set up a ‘selection committee’ to screen qualified candidates, and accept the top two or three candidates of university president who are the winner in the direct election by academics and administrative personnel in campus; and next step is that committee recommend two to three finalists to the MOE, the MOE must then form a MOE-level committee to make final decision. Moreover, according Article 20 of the new University Law it regulates that ‘confirmation for reasons of engagement, upgrading, suspension and severance of university teachers shall be reviewed by the Teacher Review Committee’. The revised University Law has introduced the tenure system as a measure to protect university teacher’s job in the faculty. Teacher Review Committee instead of MOE will run the right of personnel matters in the university domain.

Education cannot be freed from MOE without a certain amount of deregulation in the curriculums, budget, personnel recruitment and dismissal. For instance, the

basic prerequisite of deregulation is the liberation from the hands of authority on curriculum contexts. Prior to education reform, the student in Taiwan was following one uniform set of textbook from primary to senior high school; in 1996, the final report of CER official announced that the curriculums and syllabus were free, different groups of educators and publishers were commissioned to print different textbooks to cater for the different needs of students. This policy was a step up from highly centralized system to deregulation. Unfortunately, while DPP held political power since 2000, the policy of democratization on curriculums was persecuted by the political movement of de-Sinicization; the curriculums became a political tool to serve politicians again. Once the curriculum was influenced by politics, it means the end of deregulation.

However, importantly, all the public affairs are taken command by politics in Taiwan, from the view of philosophy, among these moves of deregulation, for certain an antithesis will emerge, in which deregulation is alienation to re-regulation with another form. For example, an Academic Affairs Meeting (AAM) was form that follows the new regulations of the final report of CER and revised University Law to take charge of most aspects of education affairs in university. The AAM takes a collegiate bench in officially, but in reality it is still directly controlled by the president of university.

In addition, as the sample of changing the exchange of power from the hands of MOE to the university president; MOE transfers there political target onto the university president, nevertheless, it resorts to every conceivable means to appoint the person, who is a faithful follower of MOE or political rulers, to take the seat of president in university. The ‘event of Huang Kuan-tsae’ of president of NTNU in 2004 was the one good case to verify this argument. The detail of the event of Huang Kuan-tsae will be interpreted in Section 6.4. The president of university is a representative of AAM, he/she should defend the benefits of the AAM and all the

members in the campus; in reality under the intervention the president of university was alienated to become an agent of MOE inside of the red-brick wall. University Law gives the power to the university president by the policy of deregulation, however, he/she move to the antithesis of deregulation and give assistance to MOE to monitor regulation. In Taiwan, regulation is re-centralization in another form due to omnipresent politics; in the view of MOE, centralization is still deemed to be necessary at the highest administrative level in universities so as to implement the MOE policy of decentralization.

Indeed, there have been some major changes in the operation of university system since 1994 under the name of ‘university rule’ or ‘university autonomy’. No need for reticence, the Taiwanese style’s university rule represents a typical example of re-regulation dressed up in the form of decentralization. The essence of university rule is a managerial restructuring and break away from MOE domination, aiming at improving the quality of higher education. Nevertheless, from the position of MOE, university rule is only to respond to the demand on university autonomy by the educators, and to settle the problems of budget distribution with the idea of decompression, while the educational budget is in reduced circumstances since government lost its control on economic development. Surely the policy of the university autonomy under the label of deregulation and decentralization is in reality a re-centralization.

In Taiwan the public universities are fully subsidized by the government, and private universities also have subsidization; the number of subsidy in private university can see Diagram 6.1. However, to honor a commitment of the political checks in the election vote, Taiwan underwent a massive expansion in its education provision in over ten years. The policy of the quantitative expansion in higher education is a typical and radical educational populism. Strictly speaking, it is an uttermost approximate educational Collectivism or Communism into practice. A

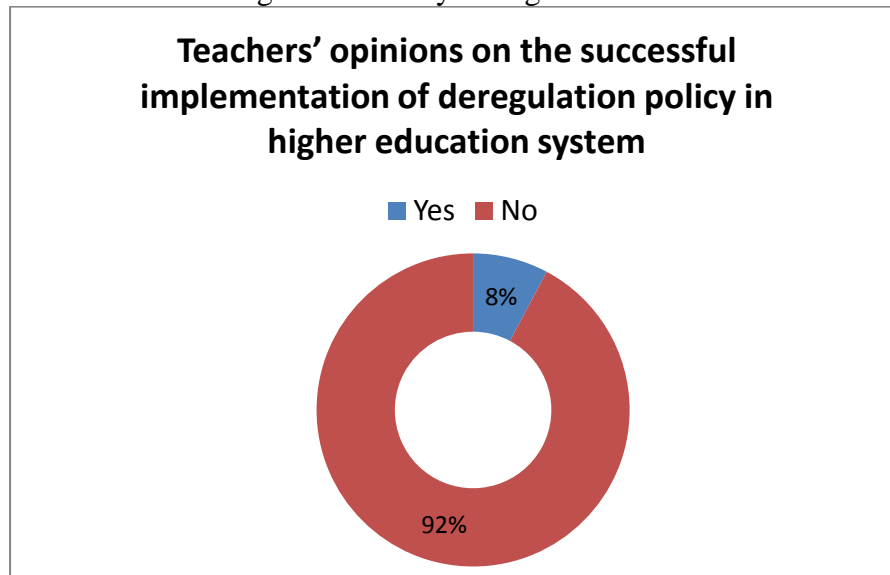
system which is part of the form of Capitalism but displayed with the value of Communism, the contradiction between the government and universities is obviously clear. When the government and people turned its attention to the quality of schooling, it was found that the funding framework which had been governing subsidized to universities were originally meant for smaller numbers, which was inadequate for the purpose of quality control.

The policy of deregulation and decentralization executed in Taiwan are not aimed at devolution of authority to the lower levels of the hierarchy per se, but are means to solve political and funding pressures. In politics there was no need for constraint, decentralization is re-centralization. In economy, decentralization is the same as decompression in it's the funding relocation. Many educators and universities are concerned that the policy of decentralization is in line with the Taiwanese long-standing political intervention on higher education, where universities and other tertiary institutions are perceived as public service institutions, in which the interests of the academic profession are seen as subordinate to the national interest. Universities and colleges in Taiwan are more like government departments than autonomous academic body, and the decentralization measures are more a shift of limited authority from one part of the government to another. This way like Leung (2004) described that this is a deconcentration rather than devolution.

However, in the interview conducted by author, on the question 'what is the essence of deregulation policy in higher education after grand education reform since 1994?' more than 92% or 71 of all 77 teaching staff (50/52 in public and 21/25 in private) interviewed indicated that the political struggle created the chaotic deregulation policy since 1994; they believed that the Taiwanese government implemented an unreal deregulation to develop new type of regulation on the basis of struggle of ethnic group, nation identity and political conflict. A total of 13 administrative staff from MOE, all of them believed that deregulation policy was

completely implemented by central government. The Diagram 7.1 shows the interviewees' opinion on the successful implementation of deregulation policy in higher education.

Diagram 7.1: Interviewees' Opinions on the Successful Implementation of Deregulation Policy in Higher Education.



Academics in Taiwan have come to believe that there is undue government intervention in its affairs no matter before or after democratization and lifted Martial Law. Government always had the political view to decide the right of which institutions can be universities, and has attempted to change the final decision which is made by university councils, and has meddled in a view of efficiency on university management.

Since 1994, higher education development, officially by law, education policies have witnessed a decentralization of power from the central government to localized ones, with individual universities and colleges being allowed to create personal education policies based on their own strategic plans. However, in reality, a paradoxical phenomenon in Taiwan is how this decentralization process is taking place. Universities and colleges are so used to following orders in a centralized government that they are relying on the orders from the hierarchy above to carry out

the decentralization measures. On the other hand, in order to safeguard the successful implementation of the decentralization policies, the government imposes sanctions on universities that fail to follow the guidelines set by the government. Nevertheless, it is worth to point out that deregulation and decentralization, which call for initiative at the grass root level, have been implemented in a uniform manner from the top by conveying orders to educators at lower levels. And as educational administrators are afraid to stand out and be different from the rest.

(B) The Deformation on Higher Education Performance with Political Intervention

After DPP held power in Presidential office, inevitably political struggles in Taiwan covered all the themes of national policies, it was a fierce conflict amounting to no compromise among the political parties. In the cause of without a hitch on higher education reform, an effort to reconcile the ruling and opposition parties was proceeded by some scholars; they proposed the establishment of a dialogue mechanism for stability on national policies. Scholar, like Chang Ya-chung, professor of NTU and a leader of social movement, urged ruling and opposition lawmakers to set aside political ideology to ensure the smooth operation of the higher education development. 'People should strongly demands Legislators from both the DPP and KMT to lay down the party interest and to give an impetus to passage of significant education reform bills', Chang indicated in the interview with the author. Generally, the main controversial political topics on higher education reform are show on five issues below:

(a) The Issue of the Policy of De-Sinicization

In the 'Political Platform of the Democratic Progressive Party' which was adopted by the First National Congress of the DPP on 10 November 1986 advocated that the education system shall be reformed on the basis of recognizing Taiwan as a

community. This shall be done so that people may gradually cultivate the recognition of their country, society and culture and thereby develop a sense of national self-consciousness. In DPP's view the core value of education is educational localization; actually localization in fact is de-Sinicization when DPP put his education idea into political actions.

On 31 January 2007 Premier Su Tseng-chang was publicly proclaimed to plan changes in high school history textbooks, including the contents, there will be a change from 'Mainland' to 'China', moving 'Chinese history' to part of 'Foreign history' and dropping the title of Sun Yat-sen as the 'Father of the Nation' and others that is related with China (Su, 2007 a). Opposition politicians and educators criticized it lack of in-depth discussion on this de-Sinicization policy. Taiwan and China as separate nations in new textbooks as the most insidious aspect of the DPP name changing campaigns that has seen the word 'China' stripped from the names of state-run companies, MOE strongly asked university and college to be renamed if it has the word 'China', 'Chinese' or any word which is connected with single character of 'Chinese', like '中 (chung)'. Such as Chinese Culure University in Taipei, Chung-cheng University in Chiayi, or Chinese Medicine University, Chung-shan Medicine University in Taichung, etc.

Facing the political issues on education affairs, lawmakers censured Minister of Education, Tu Cheng-sheng in February 2007 for his highly political behavior to play the role of accomplice in DPP's 'brainwashing campaign', which in their view seeks to promote nationalism by literally rewriting history. Legislator Lee Fu-tien of PFP and other lawmakers heckled Tu why MOE operate to revise the contents of history textbooks with the DPP political stand and to fit its policy of de-Sinicization. 'This is an unconstitutional campaign to change the thinking not only of adults, but of students as well, and this is a strategy to brainwash them, with Tu Cheng-sheng leading efforts to force DPP's ideology onto our youth' (Critics, 2007 1), Lee Fu-tien emphasized.

Ma Ying-jeou, Taipei mayor, accused the MOE of attempting to confuse people cognition and value with the MOE and DPP's planned revisions in history textbooks. Ma also accused the DPP's administration of trying through the hands of MOE to control academic freedom by using its political power. Curbing academic freedom is a violation of the freedom of expression and speech as protected by the Constitution.

Tu Cheng-sheng was appointed to be a Education Minister by DPP on May 2004; Tu launched a campaign of extreme localization in education system from the begin day in his position, Tu's policy of extreme localization actually is de-Sinicization as this dissertation unveiled, he uses his authority by the title of the chief of education affairs to anti-democratic value. As the cases of the issues of history textbooks and de-Sinicization, Tu Cheng-sheng made the policy by himself with no discussion with public and even the inner circle of MOE, when he was criticized by educators and people about his arbitrariness, he used to put the political hat of 'not love Taiwan', 'the fellow of Communist China' on the commentators (Ministry, 2007 q). Besides, He also ordered an increase in lessons on Taiwanese history instead of Chinese history and a decrease in teaching classical Chinese.

But Tu Cheng-shen's command face the rebound and passive resistance by teachers, they expressed that Classical Chinese is a traditional style of written Chinese based on the grammar and vocabulary of ancient Chinese, learning it is indispensable to acquiring the ability to communicate effectively in one's everyday life. Many expressions were needed to write or speak in a terse, convincing and interesting manner is ever present in texts written by the ancients. They believed studying Classical Chinese also has the advantage of learning the values crucial for developing moral character. The values of course can be learned in other ways, but perusing Classical Chinese is the most direct and efficient approach.

The teacher's passive resistance manifested on the test questions on Chinese Literature of JUEE in 2007. Many questions designed to assess student's proficiency

in Classical Chinese (JUEE, 2007 n), and this text questions was praised by high school teachers of Chinese. Most importantly, the examiners who created the exam were university professors; they showed their protest by saying nothing. The test questions in JUEE in 2007 indicated most professors of Chinese Literature refused to identify Tu's and his patron's de-Sinicization policy. Obviously, the teachers gave the questions to disagree with the MOE's goal of separatism and de-Sinicizing in education system.

MOE actively went to remove Classical Chinese from high school textbooks and university curriculums of Department of Chinese Literature. The tendency, in politics, to get rid of things Chinese is common to those who are convinced Taiwan should be separated permanently from China. The fundamental separatists like Tu Cheng-sheng and his fellows in MOE and DPP insisted that Chinese culture is foreign and de-Sinicization is necessary. Tu and separatists who worked in the education system held this view and believed it should stop teaching Mandarin, Chinese history in schools. Classical Chinese in universities, and student should treat Chinese history as foreign history.

The view of Tu and his fellows of fundamental separatists have been rejected by professors who gave the questions for the 2007's JUEE. A total of 66% of the questions on the Chinese Literature test were designed to evaluate the examinee's understanding of Classical Chinese. In the history exam, only a few of the questions can be seen on the test were about modern Taiwan. Not only that, but there was one question on the math test of the exam that was taken from a text written in ancient China (Ministry, 2007 q). The MOE's de-Sinicization policy in higher education sector and schools has a political motive behind, it attempt to transform the island's education into an ideological tool for a certain political party interests. New patriotism evoked the political role on education system, it back to the time that education was control by politics in 1950 to 1987. But in this term, the player is changed from KMT

to DPP.

(b) The Issue of the policy of Universities Amalgamation

The DPP, which won political power in 2000, began its comprehensive political revisionism and political intervention's campaigns by removing Chiang Kai-shek statues from the public places across the island, and removed 'China' references in the titles of state-owned companies to assert Taiwanese identity for Taiwan whose official title remains the Republic of China. Political revisionism was quickly stepped in education region, DPP asked higher education institutes or schools who have the name that it connection with 'China', 'Chinese', 'Chiang Kai-shek', and '中' which pronunciation and single character are same as the first word of 'China' to change the name as mentioned above. Besides, MOE demands Chiang Kai-shek memorial statues should be removed from the campuses, and was note by name to strongly recommend NTNU, National Chenchi University and Military Academies to obey this intense suggestion by MOE.

In 2006 DPP dropped Chiang's name from the title of Taiwan's main international airport and shifted the name of Chiang Kai-shek memorial hall in 2007. Earlier 2006, the government stripped Chiang likenesses from military bases (Taipei, 2007 i). The definition of 'Rectifies Names Movement' was called 'democratic civil war' by the Premier Hsieh Chang-ting of DPP, a member of central authority (To, 2007 v); the essence of democratic civil war in Hsieh' mind is a typical political struggle between two big ethnic groups in Taiwan. DPP reproduced the consciousness of China' the Cultural Revolution and to create a political value in education system. Such as established ideology of Man-nan ethnic group, de-Sinicization and Taiwan identity in schools, these political goals was achieved through university merging, history textbook, schools name change, revised curriculum, denied PRC academic degree qualification, and executed radical educational populism to accomplish its

political great expectations.

As the case plan of university amalgamation, in order to carry out this scheme, DPP authority baited the universities with money, money which they needed. As early as 2002 the MOE used an assumpsit to offer incentive packages worth 841 million NTD (24 million USD) to encourage universities to forge alliances or mergers. The reason of amalgamation, in the surface, as MOE stated that is to allocate additional funds to meeting the basic needs of universities. Inevitably the MOE plans to merge universities with money seduction failed because the universities have individual backgrounds, traditions, dignity and characteristics. Actually MOE was never really considered to consolidate universities for the purpose of improving quality to compete with its counterparts around the world; the truth is politicians clearly understood that each university is a base of latent capital of politics for political group. Furthermore, university mergers is a bogus subject to MOE and DPP rulers, the genuine goal of a merger is targeted on universities who are connected with China in its history with name or consanguinity.

On 21 October 2004, in a press conference at the Executive Yuan, some University presidents, MOE and members of the Cabinet joint announced a reconstructive project to merge National Tsinghua University (NTHU) and National Chiaotung University (NCTU), both are almost hundred years old and top universities especially in the fields of science in Taiwan, becoming a new university, named Hsin Chu University, the name is similar to that of the location of the city. According to vice-chairman Chang Jing-sen (2004), the Council for Economic Planning and Development (CEPD) of Executive Yuan, stated that central government plan spent 300 million USD in 2005 to encourage cooperative activities between universities in Taiwan. The theme of NTHU and NCTU amalgamation is part of the 300 million USD plan.

The political notion of marriage NTHU and NCTU became a focus of public

debate after the DPP's government explained it as a means of enhancing Taiwanese academic profile in the world. The idea formed in 2001 after the DPP's authority adopted a suggestion by Lee Yuan-tseh, president of Academia Sinica, to focus on mergers, strategic alliances and cooperation between universities (Fanchiang, 2004). Lee's advice was oversimplified and had no elaboration, it was a typical 'Tautology' into implementation, which refers 'repetition of same sense in different words' and it was a hypothesis that 'word' is the truth in any situation. Lee's idea is very simple, it's like one adds one equals two; two is larger than one that is the truth, therefore two universities amalgamation is better than one. Lee's recommendation was only a camouflage which hides DPP political calculation from the attack of their political contenders.

Yu Shyi-kun, Premier Minister with Pan-green political position, de-Sinicization advocator and a fundamentalist on Taiwan identity, tracked the idea of Lee Yuan-tseh and emphasized the subsidies will equally available to all qualified universities, both public and private, whose board of trustees can provide a detailed merger timetable. Several objectives were set in the Executive Yuan and MOE educational agenda. One such goals is to have at least one of the island's higher education institutes ranked among the top 100 universities in the world within the next few years and at least one university to be listed on the world's top 50 within 20 years (Fanchiang, 2004; Tsinghua, 2004 h; The Policy, 2004 j).

The reasons which government addressed ostensibly were the merger of two prestige universities with the project that aimed at turning universities into world-class research institute. However, it was actually a political scheme under the political intention of de-Sinicization that because NTHU and NCTU have twin brothers in Beijing and Shanghai, China, who share the same university name and blood. DPP's political standpoint and his political appeal is de-Sinicization unequivocally. If DPP wish to delete NTHU and NCTU, the tops university in Taiwan,

from the map of educational web, then the best way is to change his name through the amalgamation with the enticement of huge sums of money.

The Chinese proverb of ‘money can move the god, money is omnipotent’ is the belief of most politicians; money always is the soul of ‘black gold politics’ in Taiwan. In addition to the political reasons, from the educational view, universities merged policy have been raised the concern of some university’s administrators, for instance Liu Tsen-feng (Fanchiang, 2004), dean of College of Engineering in NCTU, expressed that the inevitable outcome of a rash of university mergers will be the transformation of the island’s higher education institutions into businesses with their eyes on the bottom line. However, it is worth knowing that an investigation in 2003 demonstrates that, as high as 76.3% of presidents of national universities confessed their universities are a mediocre institution. Totally 76.4% of presidents disappointed the programs of education reform since 1994. 76.3% among them disagreed that the policy of university amalgamation. The common opinions are research facilities and obviously resources insufficiency (University, 2003 j).

The amalgamative plan was ended without any results since this plan was filled by political conspiracies; universities are impossible to become one under politicians except in the autocratic country. DPP and his agent MOE attempted through the merger to carry out its de-Sinicization policy and to destroy outstanding universities only because its name and blood is connected with Mainland China, it is an amazing political intervention. The collapse of the plan caused no casualties and is a benignancy for higher education development at all; however, this case which results in an apprehensive political disturbance in education system is still hazy in the minds of academia. Besides, MOE intense suggestion NTNU, National Chenchi University and others to move out Chiang Kai-shek memorial statues from campuses, and asked the Chinese Culture University, National Chungcheng University and others to change its name. It was rejected by universities except from the Military Academics; they

held the reason that is as Kuo Shin-kuang, Lecturer of National Chenchi University pointed out in the author's interview that the climate of political intervention in campus is not encouraged.

(c) The Issue of the Policy of History Textbooks

The event of textbook's controversy is another case on the practice of political intervention and political struggle in Taiwanese education system. DPP's government has decided to drastically re-examine the contents of Taiwanese historical education in 2007 and plan to execute comprehensively in 2009, the people, especially educators animadverted MOE's textbook policy is too marginalization and politicization. It is worth noticing that new textbook policy was announced in January 2007 just after three months of the biggest political demonstration in Taiwanese history. Over one million people had taken part in the movement to protest the corruption of the President, his family and his inner circle's (Taiwan, 2006 t). This action covered over one month, it led by Shi Min-de, a democratic personage, Huang Kuang-kuo, Chang ya-chung, both came from National Taiwan University in Taipei, and many other professors from different universities around the island.

Most Intellectuals lashed out against President Chen Shui-bian for using education matter to circuitously retaliate the Pan-blue political protest action. MOE with no public debate process plans to drop subject matter of Chinese part from history textbooks and JUEE exam, MOE's historical textbook policy operated in coordination with DPP's political stand on extreme localization. The move was another step toward promoting Taiwan independence through the education channel. Under the new curriculums, one of the most important changes in historical textbooks would be replacing the terms like 'our country' and the 'mainland' with the word 'China', weakening the historical events that happened in China, and anti-Chinese view on the international affairs in the China history whatever it came off in modern

or before modern periods. This changes showed politics and history's education is closely connected.

Senior high schools started using new history textbooks in 2007. The fight against the MOE has been going on non stop, not only in political circles but also in educational community. Some educators and Pan-blue politicians called the changes made in history textbooks is 'politics influenced education' and 'full of fascism ideology' (Falsify, 2007 o). They also condemned MOE violated the Constitution by canceling the Sun Yat-sen's title of Father of Nation without national consensus, while the MOE, Pan-green groups, and separatists lauded that the changes as a step in the right direction. Critic criticized that review members on textbooks were selected by MOE because of their political orientation rather than their history expertise. Besides, the new textbooks covered the developing relation between Taiwan and China, the conflict between both side of Taiwan Strait and the debate over Taiwan's identity. Taiwan identity is a very sensitive political issue since 1996 under Lee Teng-hui' ruled in the second Presidential term in Taiwan. It touches four major ethnic group's political nerve center, which cover Min-nan, Hakka, Mainlander, and Taiwanese aborigines. However, politicians fancy this political theme due to it possessing large capacity of political benefits.

The new textbooks sparked controversy and most people accused the textbook changes of being politically motivated. Nevertheless, DPP establishment and Education Minister Tu Cheng-sheng thought that Taiwanese history education in all levels of school can enhance a sense of extreme localization among the students, and this is a significant political step to Taiwanese independent. On 3 January 2007, Ma Ying-jeou, KMT chairman, accused Education Minister Tu Cheng-sheng of trying to falsify history and confuse student's value on the motherland. KMT petitioned the Grand Justice for the constitutional interpretation on the case of event of the history textbooks, and to prevent the MOE from damaging academic freedom.

On 31 January 2007 in Executive Yuan's meeting, Premier Su Tseng-chang of DPP expressed publicly that he fully support Tu Cheng-sheng's the policy of history textbooks. Su stressed that the revision of history textbooks aimed to instill 'love of Taiwan' to students (Su, 2007 a), he hit back to counterforce and condemned that education under KMT rule only cared about China and always dreamt of returning to China one day, never teaching students enough about their land. If students did not know about Taiwan, how could they love their country and contribute to it. Besides, some pro-DPP's professors with Man-nan background, as Lee hong-si, professor of Law Department in NTU, expressed that new version of history textbooks were more in accordance with Taiwan identity.

Lan Shun-the, director-general of the National Institute for Compilation and Translation, response the accusation that the textbook changes were made out a ideology of Taiwan independence (KMT, 2007 h), he supported MOE and said that textbooks just like artifacts have to change with time. Other MOE's supporters as Hsueh Hua-yuan, professor of History Department in National Chengchi University accused the professors who went against MOE policy were 'making a fuss over little things' on 12 February 2007. Hsueh Hua-yuan also dialectical retorted the title of 'Father of Nation' was given to Sun Yat-sen in an order promulgated by KMT government in 1940 and therefore it is also politically biased (KMT, 2007 h). The view of Hsueh Hua-yuan is true, he does not point out that the title of Sun Yat-sen was promulgated by law. However, on 29 January 2007 Wu Chan-liang, director of History Department in NTU deemed that textbook review members all had strong parochial Man-nan ethnic ideological biases (The Title, 2007 m).

The event of the history textbooks has also brought the tension between Taiwan Strait. Beijing denounced Taipei attempt to promote Taiwan independence by revising the history textbooks. 'We have noticed the developments', 'The political motive behind it is to transform the island's education into an ideological tool for Taiwan

independence'. Yang Yi told on 31 January 2007 with the status of spokesman for the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council in China (Taiwan, 2007 p).

The background of the policy of MOE on history textbooks was as Premier Su Tseng-chang stated on 9 March 2007; he indicated that a well-planned education reform program will also further strengthen the nation's democratic foundation, cement social solidarity and raise Taiwan identity as a sovereign and independent entity. Actually, 'Further strengthen the democratic foundation' was a splendid but platitudinous excuse, the word 'strengthen democracy' is only a fig leaf, 'raise Taiwan identity as a sovereign and independent entity' was really DPP's political purpose. Su's words revealed the education development in Taiwan has been become a sacrificial offering to political destination and intervention.

Following the event of the history textbooks, on 20 July 2007 the MOE disregarding educators and public voice, invited Taiwan History Association to review the contents of history textbooks comprehensively, the target is to revise around 5,000 terms in school textbooks relating to the Taiwan's ties with China such as 'cross-strait relations' changed to 'nation-to-nation relations' and Sun Yat-sen's title as the 'Father of Nation' removed, this intention was exactly the same as President Chen Shui-bian's political stand. However, on 21 July in Taichung, KMT Presidential candidate Ma Ying-jeou criticized the textbooks issue and highlighted that it is an attempt at de-Sinicization and create a new form of Martial Law. He denounced MOE for altering the content of history textbooks for political purposes and the plan of MOE reappearance of new Martial Law, it intended to restrict freedom of thought and speech. It's not what an education ministry should do.

In Taiwan, obviously politics and education is kept closely linked, Under the DPP political aim on Taiwan independence, educational variation is significant political campaign. Tu Cheng-sheng, who became Education Minister in 2004, has played a leading role in promoting education reform instead of Lee Yuan-tseh.

‘History education in Taiwan has to do with political struggle and the establishment of national identity. Thus, it holds the key to education reform as a whole’, Tu portrayed (De-Sinicization, 2007 s).

From the ideological viewpoint and the summing-up lessons on political movements, DPP deeply believed that according to the function of political socialization on textbooks, political intervention in curriculums is essential prerequisite means; DPP emphasis on extreme localization is aimed at Taiwan identity, intensify Man-nan ethnic population consciousness and strengthening patriotic sentiments in the students mind, thereby DPP encourages them to contribute themselves to Taiwan independent movement, inculcated that Taiwan indepedence could not come true without the DPP, and at helping them establish the determination to strive for the independence of sovereignty by Min-nan Taiwanese. Since Taiwan is already under DPP’s ruling from 2000, history education is still required to play a political role in helping to strengthen the legitimacy of DPP, especially DPP have showed its very low ability to manage national affairs and high morally degenerated. Because of the weakness on administrative ability, DPP only choice was to pour its political ideology into the people’s mind to build regime legitimacy.

Politicization happens everywhere and in anything, the slogan of ‘love Taiwan’ is a standard to examine people’s political stand, which is judged subjectively by DPP, it is also a tool of populism to attack political opponents who have a dissenting view with DPP. Politicians make good use of education affairs to reach their political objectives; most of them don’t really care about the essence of education or educational value. The events of the history textbooks illustrate education spheres has become the territory of political ideology under control by politician’s political colonialism.

(d) The Issue of the policy of Academic Degree Qualification

Facing the challenge from the job market, the total number of students attending Mainland China's higher education institutions from totally 3759 between 1985 and 2000 rose to 5641 between 2001 and 2004, and reached to 6024 in 2006.⁸⁴ Many university graduate students in Taiwan went to China for advance study; this situation of closing link with China has come into political authority notice. Tu Cheng-sheng, Minister of Education, made the remarks that after one day when Beijing announced that Taiwanese students can pay the same tuition and boarding fees as their Chinese counterparts on 25 August 2005. Tu urged Taiwanese students should understand the real reason behind China's offer of tuition incentives. Besides, Tu also asked students to wake up from the dream of China by using very political words to emphasize his view, he told them that he would not claim the quality of education in Taiwan is better than in China, but he would like people to 'see clearly' for themselves (Tu, 2005 p). 'See clearly' in DPP's political language means watch your political position, or don't do the things that do not 'love Taiwan'.

The current education policies in Taiwan are to discourage graduate students from going to China for educational purposes. The top rank officials in central government including President, Vice-president, Ministers, and MOE administrators believed it is dangerous to expose unformed minds to the pernicious influences of Communist ideology and will corrode Taiwan's idea of independence.

There is a rise in the number of Taiwan students seeking to study at Chinese universities in Mainland China even though the qualifications are not recognized by the Taiwanese authorities. 'A fever of seeking higher education, especially postgraduate study on the Mainland has been spreading in Taiwan these years', pointed by Liu Ran-lin (Taiwan, 2002 c), an official at the Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan Affairs Office of Beijing University. The number of the Taiwanese students

⁸⁴ Totally 2895 person joined undergraduate courses and 864 studied in graduate schools from 1985 to 2000. 2875 person joined undergraduate courses and 2766 studied in graduate school in from 2001 to 2004, 3949 person joined undergraduate courses and 2705 studied in graduate school in 2005. See "The briefing in press conference", The Mainland Affairs Council, Executive Yuan, 1 September 2005.

going to Mainland China is forecasted to grow sharply; first of all is because Mainland China economy is rapidly being developed, it offers higher opportunity in the job market, studying there is easier for students to build a good relationship with local students who will probably be future working partner, or with firms which are possibly potential working place. Second reason is there are more places in higher education institutions in China that is available to the Taiwanese students. Third is Beijing authorities freely recognizes academic qualifications granted by Taiwan's institutions of higher learning, it give the Taiwanese students a full legal status to matriculate in China's universities and colleges.

On Taiwan side, central authorities with their political stand still reject university and other academic qualifications awarded in China due to DPP's policy of de-Sinicization. It is worth noting that when KMT ruled the government it drew up a list of seventy-three Mainland China universities and announced that they would be accredited on October 1997, although it was also announced additionally that qualifications involving the study of communist ideology would not be recognized, even if granted by one of the seventy-three approved universities (Degrees, 1998 b).

DPP was an opposition party at that time, KMT's new higher education policy recognized China's university qualifications sparked off an episode of Taiwanese recurrent de-Sinicization debated and political struggles, Lee Teng-hu, pro-Lee's factions, DPP and pro-DPP's educators played the key roles in this contention. However, the former director of the KMT's Department of Mainland Affairs standing up for President Lee Teng-hu's the policy of 'Go-Slow, Be Patient' on China affairs and criticized Wu Jing, Minister of Education from June 1996 to February 1998 and a policy-maker on China's academic degree qualification, for being too rash and called that it is Taiwanese nature of the 'great leap forward'⁸⁵. As a result, Wu, an innovative

⁸⁵ The Great Leap Forward took place in 1958; it was an economic and social plan which aimed to use China's vast population to rapidly transform China from a primarily agrarian economy dominated by peasant farmers into a modern, agriculturalized and industrialized communist society. Reference on: Peng Xizhe (1987), "Demographic Consequences of the Great Leap Forward in China's Provinces", *Population and Development Review*, Vo.13, No. 4; D. Yang (2008), "China's Agricultural Crisis and

Education Minister who enjoyed much popularity and high applause by academics and university students, resigned in early 1998, and his plan was buried by politicians and government officials thereafter. KMT stepped down from the platform of ruling party in 2000 behind Wu Jing leave his office only two years.

(e) The Elements of Political Election on Higher Education Development

The effects of lunar halo around political elections are the special phenomenon to education ecology in Taiwan. The political ideology conflict escalated between Pan-blue and Pan-green supporters in higher education circle since the Presidential election on 20 March 2004. According to Lin Mei-hui, lecturer of Chinese Culture University in Taipei, in the author's interview showed that the teaching staff at the school has been constantly cautioned against bringing personal political preferences into the classroom.

Theoretically, under the principal of democracy, an institutional mechanism can determine who is a political leader and who can hold a legitimate political power in the country. On the account of power in politics equals the monetary benefits in economy; hence the politicians endeavored to wield vote-exercising to compete each other in elections for the aim of taking a tremendous political power. In fact, in Taiwan, democracy is estrangement from its nature, an alienative democracy resulted in a political alienation; for the purpose of attracting more votes in each election, the DPP copied political tactics of their counterpart to establish a closer connection with local cliques, Men-nan business enterprises, Men-nan ethnic group, and Taiwanese speaking population especially on the southern Taiwan. DPP strengthened its ties with the local cliques and Men-nan ethnic factions as a way to enhance its political mobilization for elections and to accrue the party's political influence in the existing grassroots' politics, Taiwan identity and de-Sinicization policy.

Famine of 1959-1961: A Survey and Comparison to Soviet Famines", *Comparative economic Studies*, No. 50, pp. 1-29.

Their institutionalized clientelistic structures persisted as powerful political support in the elections. As political factions and local business networks played a determinative role in political mobilization, the elites of DPP sought to take control of them; The DPP dependence on the electoral support from factional patron-client relationships surprisingly enhanced the local cliques and Men-nan ethnic factions' power in Taiwan. Comparatively, Men-nan ethnic group is reversed to demand DPP to execute its extreme localization policy through the means of administrative control, political and educational reform. Demanding side and supporting side established an interdependent relation. On the other hand, the Taiwanese speaking population tried to increase their influence over the party's power, and vice versa. Policy's interdependence under partake of benefit resulted in extreme localization proliferation; finally it became the movement of de-Sinicization in Taiwan.

In response to the rising sense of Taiwan identity and Taiwan's consciousness among Men-nan ethnic populations, DPP accelerated to implement the policy of a full size Taiwanization to satisfy his supports due to the reins of government needed votes. The mode of interaction between DPP and Men-nan ethnic group usually is that the local factions choose to attach political elites that appear the most conducive to the faction's goals or interests. Meanwhile, political elites also tried to expand involvement with these long-standing traditional clientelist networks. However, DPP's political strategy not only would ensure continued political ascendance, but also would squelch political opposition. The politicization of education reform is only a tactic, it serves to politicise elections, and the main aim of election is to serve the highest political strategy of Taiwan's independence.

7.2 The Metamorphic Policy in Higher Education Autonomy

A university run by an autonomy is in fact another form of 'autonomous society'.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ About 'autonomous society', C. Castoriadis called: autonomous 'a society that not only knows explicitly that it has created its own laws but has instituted itself so as to free its radical imaginary and enable itself to alter its institutions through collective, self-reflective, and deliberate activity'. On the

This is a society, which the public space encompasses the entire teaching and learning body that democracy will take all effective decisions at the macro level. In other words, as Fotopoulos (1999) indicated not only with respect to the political process but also with respect to the economic process. That is to say universities have to implement collective leadership on decision-making in policies and budget-manipulation in university councils. Anderson & Johnson (1998) cleared autonomy for the purposes of this exercise; university autonomy is defined as the freedom of an institution to run its own affairs without direction or influence from any level of government.

Autonomy conceptualized the university as a contradictory entity of a government's agency and a self-governing community by scholars in Taiwan. Starting from 1949, the year KMT government moved to the island, to lift the Martial Law in 1987, the government displayed the interest in higher education and showed their stronger powers to regulate higher education institutes. Since the GCRER was made known to the public in 1996, the central government adopted the policy of autonomy for universities. This policy shift resulted to the collapse of authoritativeness central authority, the demands for increased democratization and new education funds policy in higher education.

The core element of the definition on autonomy is that it is able to undertake activities without seeking permission from a controlling body (Analytic Quality Glossary, 2010). In higher education, autonomous institutions can establish their own programmes of study and have control over their own finances, subject to normal auditing procedures and grant their own degrees. However, this has been argued to only be relative autonomy, rather than absolute.

basis of this definition Castoriadis then defines politics as 'the lucid activity whose object is the institution of an autonomous society and the decisions about collective endeavours' –something that implies, as he points out, that the project of an autonomous society becomes meaningless if it is not, at the same time, the project of bringing forth autonomous individuals, and vice versa. In the same sense, he defines democracy as the regime of collective reflectiveness. See C. Castoriadis (1997), *World in Fragments*, California: Stanford University Press.

Prior to the grand education reform in 1994, the reality is that the education system was highly stagnant. The MOE dominated almost every aspect of higher education institutions, either public or private; it determined general requirements as well as the tuition fees, the courses offered and put into place a uniform curriculum; which every school was demanded to follow. The gownsmen had little initiative and power to expand the narrow range of courses, faculty also had minimal say in university affairs. Furthermore no one could appeal against the director, chairperson, the university president who was appointed by MOE - a unit with a sole decision-making power. All this left little room for any institution to set itself apart. In short, every higher educational teaching and research bodies had to follow the central government policies in virtually all sides of their operations. University affairs were largely dictated by the MOE.

After the Martial Law was lifted, the whole island began rapidly transforming in almost every field, which links this change to an overall social transition that began taking place in Taiwan at the time. At the forefront were several high-profile scholars and politicians, such as Hu Fo, professor of Department of Politics in NTU; Yang Kuo-shu, vice-president of Academia Sinica; Lin Qing-chiang, president of Chungcheng University, who began calling for the grand reform in education system, one of them was Nobel Prize winner, Lee Yuan-tseh, President of Academia Sinica, a Taiwanese premier research institute. Lee raised a call for 'professor governs the university' or 'professor's rule' in the campus, which would give faculty more voice in university affairs and decision on policies (Yun, 1995; Lee, 1997 a).

Although changes were already taking place, the actual passage of the revised University Law in January 1994 marked the formal beginning of the fundamental reform in higher education. The first article of the Law guarantees greater autonomy for all schools, paving the way for not only a freer, but also a more diverse higher education. This regulation still keeps in the Law according to the 2007 revision,

which states that universities shall be guaranteed academic freedom and shall enjoy autonomy within the range of laws and regulations (University Law, 2007).

(A) From the Policy of Regulation to Autonomy

The advantages of university autonomy are the following: the autonomous universities will have the freedom to define the courses they teach, and own the power of personnel management in higher education. Theoretically, university autonomy will serve students more effectively as they are less burdened by the government's bureaucratic regulation and red tape. From the angle of rational knowledge, the academic freedom will be given to the autonomous universities, which will ensure that there is no political interference with the transmission of knowledge in regard to research and teaching.

The University Law was revised in 1994, the regulations of new law clearly revealed the principles of university autonomy and academic self-determination. In other words, a new mechanisms introduced to diversify the control on higher education is related to the enhancement of faculty power at various levels. Universities are authorized to enroll students, prepare the curriculum by themselves and have the right to establish its own university council to deal with the recruitment, promotion, and dismissal of teachers. Under the new rule, universities and colleges officially have more authority in determining the rank and qualifications of teachers than in the past.

At the president level, according to new regulation, university and college are allowed to elect two to three candidates for university president or for deanship and to refer these names to MOE for the final selection. In order to be elected, the candidates competing to be university president and deanship are required to campaign on the basis of their vision and performance, also to answer questions raised by faculty and students. Moreover, the central government granted the members of faculty the power

to negotiate with the university's higher authorities on faculty and university affairs. The presidential election has broadened the legitimacy of university leadership actuality, but unfortunately the final decision on candidates is still on the hand of MOE.

In 1996, the 'Statute Governing the Establishment of School Funds of National Colleges and Universities' legislation was completed. The statute was enacted on the 15 January 1999; it gave universities more power in the usage of funds (Executive Yuan, 1999). In the same year, a flexible university tuition program was introduced, and the universities were permitted to determine their tuition fees. In 2004, to tie in with the introduction of the 'Statute Governing the Establishment of School Funds of National Colleges and Universities (SFNCU)', the other relevant rules and regulations were also revised. The complete separation of government and education establishment officially offered universities and colleges more space to run autonomy.

In order to effectively utilize limited educational resources and pursue a high quality of education, the MOE asked higher education institutions to develop their own characteristics and indicated to universities and colleges that the development should take into account instruction, research and community services. As universities and colleges have their own missions and goals, different styles and focuses should be developed. under the policy of autonomy, MOE demands: 1) higher education institutes have to incorporate flexible mechanisms for cultivating manpower, for instance, regulate departments and graduate schools and the number of students enrolled on both; 2) the educational resources must be effectively integrated and utilized; 3) colleges and universities should emphasize student's career development and strengthen job counseling. In order to let autonomous universities gain greater financial support, the MOE agreed to collect contributions from private and industrial circles, to enter into the business ventures and raise student's tuition fees.

Evidently, any effective change from the central government control to

university autonomy must represent the values, beliefs and securities of the participants. It should predominantly be consistent with the university's vision and mission. However, universities in Taiwan still face serious issues over governance, which relate to the proper regulation of public spending invested in public institutions, as well as questions about the proper distancing of universities and their freedom and autonomy to pursue what universities know best, then uniquely privileged. Since the relationship between university autonomy and funding is likely to be interpreted as a linear effect; namely, the more funding and the greater autonomy. Such a simplistic vision is less than complete since MOE ignores the complicated nature of university autonomy. The nature of the university autonomy should be defined contextually and politically. Its interpretation should also be placed in changing the relationship between government and higher education units.

There is a doubt that the concept of the Taiwanese style's autonomy has not become widely accepted by the student's parents and the teaching staff in higher education institutions, there is a general argument as Chang Ya-chung, professor of Department of Politics in NTU, stated in the author's interview that the university autonomy is an excuse for the government's inefficiency and reduces the burden from its budget. In addition, the political power does not leave the universities alone, and MOE still makes an attempt to intervene the university president appointed and other affairs. In essence, university autonomy will have nothing to do with improving standards of teaching and research as well as increasing academic freedom. However, it must be pointed out that autonomous universities are still under tight control by the MOE according to political and economic needs. For example, universities knuckle under the budget destitution and expect the subsidized from central government; therefore, it needs to adhere to government policies like those governing localizations teaching.

(B) The Policy of Curriculum

University autonomy contains fundamental academic matters; namely, the right of institutions to appoint their own staff; the right of staff to teach and to research according to the dictates of their own intelligences and academic disciplines, and the freedom to publish the results of their scholarly work without reference to any other authority. Among these matters, the most important thing to students in the policy of university autonomy is curriculum autonomy.

When universities could not determine the kinds and contents of courses, it reduced the possibility of university independence. Before the Martial Law was lifted, the subject courses had to be approved by MOE, and the course schedule of the curriculum was strictly limited for each student, with the option of a few electives or interdepartmental courses usually were only available in the senior year. However, in defiance of the MOE, NTU has made the class an elective even for the first year students. Kuo Te-son (Yun, 1995), dean of Academic Affairs in NTU, stated that the NTU took the step as a gesture in asserting control over its own domain.

Furthermore, in 1993, one year before the grand education reform announced, the NTU took a radical approach against MOE rules on the event of military courses in the campus. A group of administrations, along with professors representing each of NTU's faculty, voted to change the status of its courses on military training and nursing from required to optional (Wang, 1995). These courses are mandatory at all universities in Taiwan when Taiwanese government moved to the island in 1949 and reflected the Martial Law thinking of that time. The courses required male students to possess the basic military defense ability, and females to help out in national emergencies. NTU also revised the courses of 'The Idea of Sun Yat-sen' and others. Importantly, all changes in the coursework at NTU were made through meetings between the administrators and teaching staff. This action was an epochal omen of the university autonomy that is coming. NTU proclaimed that NTU's classrooms no

longer required specific courses, for instance, the ‘Doctrine of Three Principles of the People’. ‘There was hardly any space for developing a curriculum that could distinguish one school or department from another’ expressed by Wang Chi-lin, dean of Academic Affairs at the Chinese Culture University in Taipei. Wang (1995) emphasized that the students was grumbled, and that all universities in Taiwan could be called the MOE University. The textbooks, syllabuses, references, and assignments in curriculum, might change from teacher to teacher, but the basic subject of each course would be the same at that time.

Under the University Law in 1994 revision and afterward, each department was permitted to design its own curriculums; subject only needed to be approved by faculty’s Curriculum Committee and university’s Academic Affairs Meeting; the curriculums are then registered with the MOE. The curriculums can be revised at any time and it can reflect the strong points or specialties of each school’s teaching staff as well as new advancements in a particular field. However, in reality, the MOE still retained the power over the general courses which are required by students and teachers; many schools feel the government is still exerting too much influence in university affairs. Irrefutable evidence showed that MOE through the political hands intervene the contents of curriculum that reached summit at the event of de-Sinicization from 2004 in DPP ruled, as this dissertation mentioned in Chapter 6.3.

(c) The Policy of Professors Govern the University

Although, in principle, the direction of education policies is generally towards autonomy and deregulation, the road is nothing but smooth. Lee Yuan-tseh initially proposed ‘professors govern the university’ as an example, after Lee Yuan-tseh brought the idea of professors governing the university in the island; it received the widespread discussions in the short several years. In general, it has two reasons: First, this idea is revealed by academic status lofty Chair Lee that everybody does not have

the objection. Second, the political context then also was the primary cause. The central authoritative system is disintegration while democratic political vigorous development is emersion; the university campus gathered the national high-level knowledge brains, regarding demand democracy, request university deregulation and autonomy really over social populace. The voice of professors govern the university represents a great victory easily; it does not receive any objections to this conception in the campuses.

Lee Yuan-tseh ingenious in this time proposed his suggestion, indeed, has its social fascination. Regrettably Lee Yuan-tseh did not give any annotation on ‘professor’s rule’. The lack of the specification on professors govern the university has produced many problems for universities. This policy was finally simplified and alienation to equal ‘the voting’ in the campus. All the things of education affairs that needs to depend upon the voting to be decided, such as the matters of personnel recruited, policies and events in the university.

In the primary stage, university autonomy was a very primitive idea which was only shortened to professor’s rule as Lee Yuan-tseh unveiled. The concept of professors govern the university resulted in a self-intoxication among professors, under the big hat of professors govern the university, some professors alienated to gladiators in the campus, they scrambled for power and profits, autonomy was used as an excuse to criticize the one’s which have different opinions. Autonomy underwent quite a metamorphosis since Lee Yuan-tseh made a fall short of the specifications. This circumstance offered the chance to stick a pin wherever there’s room for MOE; it was made use of the contradiction between professors to influence university affairs.

In the interview conducted by the author, on the question ‘do you agree with Lee Yuan-tseh’s policy of professors governs the university?’ Of all 77 teachers interviewed, 6.5% or 5 university teachers (4 from public and 1 from private) were entirely against the policy, 15.5% or 12 (3 from public and 9 from private) fully

supported the policy of professors governing the university; however, the majority 78% or 65 teachers agreed with the policy title but with reservations on policy contents. They indicated the relationship between rights and duties should be clearly distinguished. On the other hand, of all 73 students interviewed, more than 89% or 69 students opposed this autonomous policy, they suspected the impartiality of professors, especially students from esteemed university such as National Taiwan University and National Chenchi University have kept a strong distrust to the professors' righteousness on the affairs of university. Diagram 7.2 and 7.3 shows the interviewees' opinion on the issue of the policy of professor governs the university.

Diagram 7.2: Interviewees' Opinions (Teachers) on Lee Yuan-tseh's Policy of Professor Governs the University

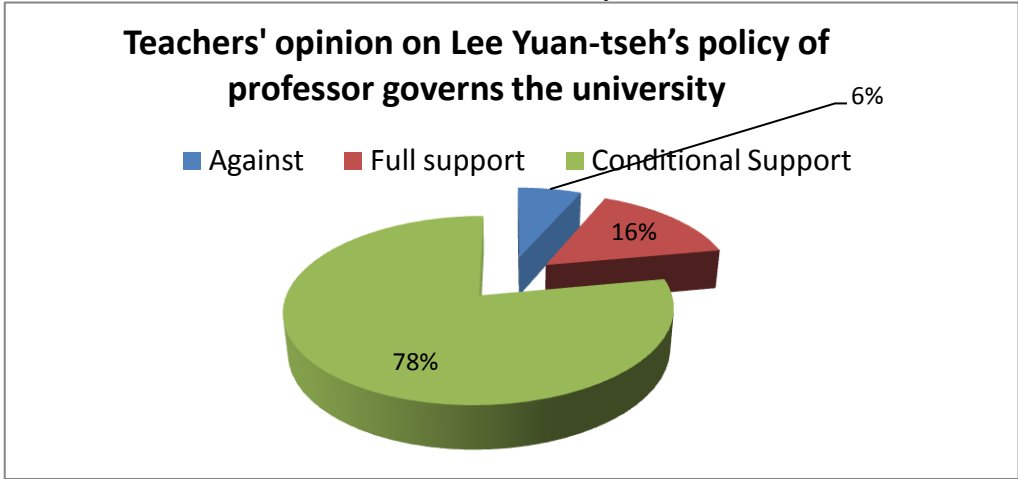
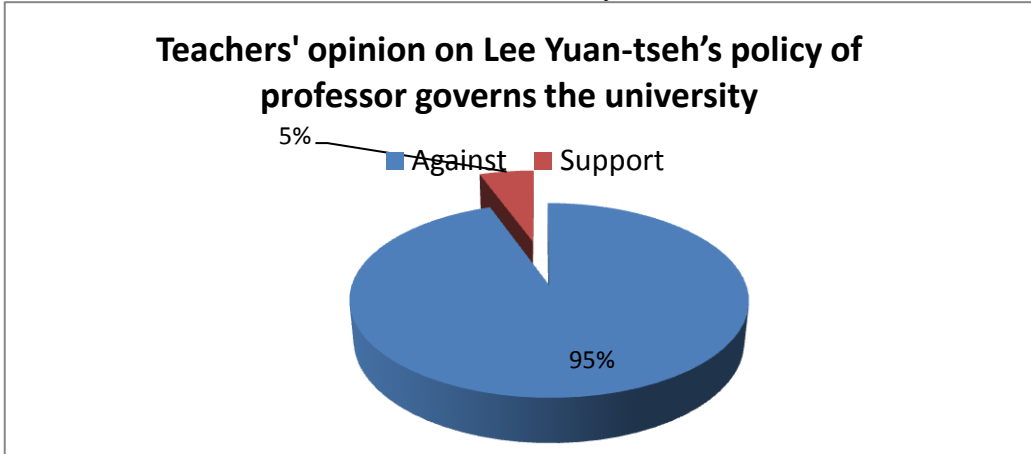


Diagram 7.3: Interviewees' Opinions (Students) on Lee Yuan-tseh's Policy of Professor Governs the University



The case of the issue of university autonomy in the event of university president appointment, one can see the questions and antagonism between MOE and university professors.

(d) The Policy of Employment of the University President

Due to a largely amendatory University Law of 1994 version was establishment, the central government was granting more powers of self-governance to institutes of higher education. Faculties and administrators will no longer accept a packaged curriculum. Universities have gained autonomy in their personnel appointments. Previously, all public university presidents were assigned by the MOE. Deans and chairperson of department were then chosen by the president, and these administrators, in turn, had significant control over faculty hiring.

According to the new University Law, all appointments from the president are made through election by committee of departments. In reality, unfortunately, MOE still has a responsibility to intervene the final decisions on many educational affairs in higher education institutes. Private universities, similar to the past, can make the final decision on selecting their president, but that decision is still subject to MOE approval. One difference for these private universities, however, is that their appointments will now be made through a selection committee, similar to public universities, instead of their board of directors.

Under the University Law from 1994 revision, a new teacher is employed by faculty through a three-tiered system of committees which begins at the department level. It is no longer chosen solely by a chairperson, but by all faculty members who hold a position equivalent to or higher than the applicant are allowed to vote. ‘The chair has only one vote, like everyone else’, stated by Lee Hsi-jian (Yun, 1995), chairman of the Department of Computer Science and Information Engineering at National Chiao Tung University. The only advantage of the Chair is that he’s the one to

decide what type of specialty the candidate should have. After department faculty members make a choice, it must then be approved by two evaluation committees, one representing the college the department belongs to, and one representing the entire university. Promotions are handled in the same way.

During the handing-over ceremony on 2 August 2004, six new university presidents, Huang Kuan-tsae, the president of National Taiwan Normal University; Shaw Jei-fu, the president of the National Chungshing University; and Huang Kuang-nan, the president of the National Taiwan University of Arts. The other appointees were Liu Shui-shan, the president of National Open University; Chou I-cahng, the president of National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology; and Lin Huan-hsiang, the president of National Hualien Teachers College⁸⁷. Among this six, Huang Kuan-tsae, Shaw Jei-fu, Huang Kuang-nan received the most attention as they had been selected by Tu Cheng-sheng, Education Minister, and were not the first choices by the university selection committees (Six, 2004 e). Faced this argued, Tu was debated that is an 'adventure' and it had been based on the belief that it was urgent for universities to transform. Tu emphasized that he believed the candidates 'without too many relationships or burdens' and they would be better able to be innovative in carving out a new direction for the universities.

Tu Cheng-sheng highlighted the term 'relationship' in handing-over ceremony that was astonished by the people, while 'relationship' in the Chinese or Taiwanese means 'morally degenerate' in public affairs area. It is a very negative meaning. MOE used this conflicting and muddy term to describe the new university president in public, educators believed that is caused by a variety of factors, the three most important being: the crisis of a serious political intervention in education system, the crisis of the corruption of educating system and the screening process was not transparent. In reality, at the same time with the implement of university autonomy,

⁸⁷ The name in Chinese: Huang Kuan-tsae (黃光彩), Shaw Jei-fu (蕭介夫), Huang Kuang-nan (黃光男), Liu Shui-shan (劉水深), Chou I-cahng (周義昌), Lin Huan-hsiang (林煥祥).

the government is using political and financial authority to remote control the university affairs. The most direct intervention stem from the right of president appointment and transfer of academic staff must be approved by MOE.

According to Article 9 of University Law in 2007 revision regulated “other commissioners shall be representatives selected by the Ministry of Education or the local government” (University Law, 2007). This article stipulates the number of government-appointed representatives on the committee that elects university heads should be one-fifth of the members, and it also ruled that “institute fellow representatives recommended by the university and social justice defenders shall take up two-fifth of all numbers” (University Law, 2007). The point of trouble is that one must be elected by ‘representatives selected by the MOE’ and ‘social justice defenders’. This rule provides a space for MOE to play politics, and ambiguous ‘social justice’ also means there is a kind of political campaign in it, which of course includes politics.

(e) The Event of Huang Kuan-tsae of President of National Taiwan Normal University

The event of Huang Kuan-tsae, the president of National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU), was a very important and representative case on political intervention in the Taiwanese higher education. Huang, under consideration on political interests of factions, was elected as the president of NTNU in August 2004. However, counterforce about his credentials has been circulating since he took office on the first day, and the MOE was forced to conduct an investigation into the matter.

Huang possessed acutely political character and participated in the conflicting political movement activity which string along with DPP. For instance, in the high political activities on the march in a demonstration of 228 ‘Hand-in-Hand Taiwan Alliance’ just one month before the vote of Presidential election in February 2004, Huang Kuan-tsae as the status of the chairman of TaskCo.com and a member of the

Digital Record Plan, played a important role and energetic support the political actions (Hong, 2004), which was one of the electioneering of candidate Chen Shui-bian of Pan-green coalition. Huang organized the people to joint the 228 performances, which was highly attention by DPP's leading cadre.

At the designation of GCRER in 1996 and University Law in 2007 revision, it promulgated by MOE on 3 January 2007, in Chapter 3 'Organization and Meetings' Article 9 regulated that: 1) to appoint a new president to a university, the university shall organize a President Select Committee; 2) he or she shall be appointed by the Ministry of Education or the local government. The proportion and means of selecting different members of the committee shall be as follows: 1) representatives of the university recommended by an academic affairs meeting shall take up 2/5 of all numbers; 2) institute fellow representatives recommended by the university and social justice defenders shall take up 2/5 of all numbers; 3) other commissioners shall be representatives selected by the Ministry of Education or the local government (University Law, 2007).

Usually Academic Affairs Meeting or popularly called the University Council, as Article 15 ruled that universities shall establish academic affairs meetings organized by the president, deputy presidents, representatives of teachers, academic and executive supervisors as well as representatives of research personnel, staff, students and other related personnel to discuss important academic affairs (University Law, 2007). Academic Affairs Meeting, which is made up by faculty's representatives from each department, the members of central administrative affairs, alumni, and at least one eminent person who is not affiliated with the school; in politics region, such as a member of Congress, either Legislator, Control Yuan's member⁸⁸ or member of

⁸⁸ The first constitutional Control Yuan was organized on June 5, 1948 by members elected by provincial, municipal, Tibetan and Mongolian representative councils and overseas Chinese communities according to the Constitution. When the second National Assembly met in May 1992, it approved the Additional Articles of the Constitution of the ROC; members of the Control Yuan are no longer elected by representative councils. In accordance with this constitutional amendment, the members of the second Control Yuan, nominated and appointed by the President with the consent of the National Assembly, began to exercise their powers on February 1, 1993. The Control Yuan has the

executive authorities; in academic circles, a member of prominent academician. The selection committee offers the names of two or three finalists; either on its own or by a vote of the Academic Affairs Meeting, the list of finalists is then sent to the MOE for a final decision.

According to the ‘Statute Governing the Employment of Educational Personnel’, which promulgated on 17 December 2003, the Article 10 in Chapter 2 ‘The Quality to Appointed’ stated that university presidents are required to have a doctoral degree, and to have worked as a professor at a university, or to have served as chancellor or director of an educational institute for at least four years.⁸⁹ Doctoral degree and academic experience is admitted either in domestic or at oversea.

Most universities in the Western country, state that anyone can be appointed a chancellor, vice-chancellor, or president of college and university, the appointment is controlled by the university council, not by the MOE in the Cabinet or political authority in the central government. Generally, the university council is responsible for the educational character and mission of the university, the approval of annual estimates of income and expenditure, the appointment of senior staff; it serves as both an advisory and ambassadorial body to the university as a whole and is responsible for the election of the executive head of university and college.

Different universities in most Western countries have different procedures for selecting these councils, but in common, they are composed primarily directors of faculty, senior administrative offices, alumni and others by free will; and they have untrammelled power to elect the head of university. In Taiwan the procedure of appointed a university and college president is complex and riddled with politics, MOE is always through the invisible or even obvious pressure from different channel

powers of impeachment, censure and audit. Besides, it may take corrective measures against government organizations. To fulfill these powers, members of the Control Yuan may accept people's petitions, inspect central and local governments, conduct investigations, and supervise examinations. See ‘The control Yuan of R.O.C.’, <http://www.cy.gov.tw/index.asp> (Accessed: 18 July 2008)

⁸⁹ ‘Statute Governing the Employment of Educational Personnel’ proclaimed in 17 December 1994, the order number: 華總(一)義字 09200235611, the full text have 43 articles. See *Laws and Regulations of Ministry of Education* (2006), Taipei: Ministry of Education.

to intervene the decision of Academic Affairs Meeting. The situation at NTNU appeared the MOE dictating to the university who will be their president whether the Academic Affairs Meeting accepts candidate or not.

Huang Kuan-tsae worked as a senior manager at IBM Watson Center for 18 years after receiving his PhD in electronic engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He then worked as project manager at the Institute of Systems Science (ISS) at National University of Singapore from 1989 to 1992, before serving as president of SingaLab Pte Ltd from 1992 to 1993 (Huang, 2005; Chuang, 2005).

While Huang's three years as 'project manager' at ISS were accepted by the selection committee, in which some members were Pan-green faction, as being that of a 'director' in an educational institution, other committee members who stand on the rule of 'Statute Governing the Employment of Educational Personnel' concluded that SingaLab is not an educational institution, and that his experience at an educational institute was therefore less than the required four years (Chuang, 2005).

From the start the nomination of Huang to be the president of NTNU was extremely controversial in the island; Huang's qualification for the university president position immediately came under accused. Comments came from NTNU inner and higher education circles to his post pointed to its illegitimacy. They demanded NTNU needed to form a new selection committee to nominate and select a new president to succeed Huang. One critic to Huang's appointment put it: he got the job simply because he knows some government big-shots (Legislators, 2005 q). Other voices form the view of deregulation and autonomy, most educators believed the MOE intervened university inner election that it is a clear violation to the university autonomy.

In politics coliseum, the opposition KMT and PFP, have accused Huang Kuan-tsae to forgery for obtaining his appointment to the NTNU president position.

Facing the impeached ‘forgery’, Huang argued that was political struggle and an example of another dispute in the Taiwanese higher education; he intentionally dodged the regulation on the law of ‘Statute Governing the Employment of Educational Personnel’, and refuted that ‘it would be impossible in higher education in the West’.

Under the pressure of society around the whole island, on 20 March the MOE was forced to impose a month-long suspension of the NTNU’s president. The controversy on the event of Huang Kuan-tsae was across the campus in NTNU on 21 March 2005 while lawmakers demanded an immediate dismissal the title of president for what they called lying and forgery for Huang’s credentials (Legislators, 2005 q). Chou Shou-syun of KMT Legislator and Lee Yung-ping of PFP Legislator called for a more strict punishment to the event of Huang’s forgery. Which left a clear picture that Huang is a criminal, Chou (Lawmaker, 2005 n) stated that Huang not only is unqualified for the job, but also has lied and fabricated his credentials. Chou also alleged that Huang lied about his work experience; he indicated Huang claimed that he served as the ‘director’ of the Institute of Systems Science at the National University of Singapore from 1989 to 1993; it was one more year than the real time.

However, according to the evidence, a letter from the president of the University of Singapore addressed to Minister of Education Tu Cheng-sheng in November 2004 indicated that Huang was the institute’s project manager and that he was no longer with the institute as of 1992. While a book coauthored by Huang Kuan-tsae and used as a proof of his qualifications for his promotion application was published in 1998, Chou (Lawmaker, 2005 n) pointed that Huang lied about the publication date and claimed that it was published in 1999. Otherwise, Huang was appointed president of SingaLab Pte Ltd from 1992 to 1993, just a private laboratory with joint projects with IBM Development Labs only, Huang purposely emphasis on the ‘president’ and ignored the others.

In addition to demanding Huang Kuan-tsae immediate dismissal, Chou Shou-syun and Lee Yung-ping and other Pan-blue coalition's politicians put serious criticized and asked Tu Cheng-sheng, Education Minister, 'should step down to so he does not try to protect Huang', Pan-blue accused the MOE for covering up for Huang. Most of Taiwan believed that Huang Kuan-tsae obtained the job not because of his qualifications but because of his intimate friendship with Tu and absolutely loyalty to DPP. Chou pointed out that Huang has never taught a day in his life nor obtained any teaching qualifications (Lawmaker, 2005 n).

While Chou Shou-syun, Lee Yung-ping and other legislators of Pan-blue coalition at debate time in Legislative Yuan questioned Huang Kuan-tsae's qualifications and the MOE's decision, some academic groups of Pan-green to show their support for Huang and rebut legislators for politicizing the issue. DPP transformed the event of Huang Kuan-tsae's qualification from the rule of 'Statute Governing the Employment of Educational Personnel' to the political subject. Kao Cheng-yen (University, 2005 h), vice-president of the Taiwanese Professor's Association, found on 9 December 1990 and a peripheral organization of DPP, insisted that Huang's working experience at Watson Research Center, a well-known R&D facility, should not be underestimated. Chuang Wan-shou, director of the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Culture, Languages and Literature at NTNU stated that Huang was elected with full qualifications through a selection process. Chuang considered that the recent actions against Huang are an attempt by conservative groups at the university to prevent higher education reform. It's also a political maneuver to attack Education Minister Tu Cheng-sheng (University, 2005 h).

A person who behind Tu Cheng-sheng in MOE, Political Deputy Minister of Education Lu Mu-lin of DPP, echoed the Huang's supporters insisted the investigation committee of MOE agreed that Huang's experience as a researcher qualified him to be a university president; a decision on whether Huang should keep

the position will be made by the MOE's university president selection committee and depending on relevant documents provided by Huang.

Followed by the social pressure and a month-long investigation, the MOE's University President Selection Committee concluded that Huang Kuan-tsae's one-year stint as president of SingaLab, a private research company under the supervision of the National University of Singapore was not an educational institution, so Huang's working experience at an educational institute was therefore less than the required four years. Huang did not meet the prerequisites from continuing to be the president of NTNU (Huang, 2005 j). Finally, MOE held a six-hour meeting on 20th April 2005 and officially ended that Huang Kuan-tsae, president of NTNU, was disqualified to keep the position and decision to lay off Huang.

After the decided Huang Kuan-tsae's qualifications were insufficient to lead the NTNU, Premier Hsieh Chang-ting of DPP on the next day, 21st April 2005, cannot but give it up to say that he supports the MOE decision to relieve NTNU president Huang Kuan-tsae from his position. Premier Hsieh reiterated that he believed that the MOE decision was based upon a professional evaluation of Huang Kuan-tsae. It is natural that only qualified people can be considered for the office of a university president (Chuang, 2005). In the same day the Administrative Deputy Minister of Education Chou Tsan-te of DPP recognized the fault on the event of Huang Kuan-tsae. Chou illustrated that Huang's position at SingaLab, which is a private company, cannot be counted as experience in an educational institute, and MOE review showed that Huang only served as a director in an educational institute for three years, which does not fulfill the regulation of 'Statute Governing the Employment of Educational Personnel', Chou Tsan-te stated at a press conference to announce the determination.

Tu Cheng-sheng, Minister of Education, had no choice but to admit Huang Kuan-tsae did not meet the requirements to serve as the head of the university. But Tu shifted his responsibility and put mistake to the NTNU selection committee, he

accentuated that he need to stress that it is NTNU responsibility to carefully review Huang's credentials. As highest person of education affairs, Tu didn't even apologize for his transgression and also to be relieved from his responsibility. He highlighted that the only reason he appointed Huang Kuan-tsae is because he believed in Huang's ability to lead education reform in the prestigious university and to improve NTNU reputation internationally. Tu criticized the politicization on this issue, but he also said by self-defense on the event of Huang Kuan-tsae that 'there wasn't any political maneuvering involved in the matter in MOE' (Mo, 2005 a).

The key point of the issue in this event was the people's concern over Huang's legitimacy regarding the employment of educational personnel, and the issue of the MOE overstepping its authority. In other words, people cared who has a final right to appoint someone to be a president of university in the education system. In accordance with the regulation, the final right should belong to law not authority whatever the authority is government ruler, Minister or Nobel laurel.

It is worth emphasizing that before MOE announced that Huang is the new president of NTNU, the vote in the selection committee of NTNU Huang Kuan-tsae was only a second majority candidate. While Huang was appointed by MOE, the members in the campus and the people were question about whether the vote was meaningless or just an autonomic show. However, more importantly, they disagreed with the perturbation which was distributed by the political black hands; actually people used Huang's case to warn Tu Cheng-sheng, the Minister of Education, and DPP rulers that the political hands should leave university alone.

People accused Tu that he chose Huang Kuan-tsae due to his willingness and Huang's political color; he did not obey the game rule in democratic mechanism and exceeded his powers. In people's mind this was not merely an issue on select somebody for a president of university but an issue on the University Law in Taiwan. In connection with the event of Huang Kuan-tsae, one of four presidential candidates

in NTNU, Chen Tai-jen (Mo, 2005 b), professor of Atmospheric Sciences Department, expressed that the election has been politicized, with electioneering seriously hindering university operations and tainting NTNU image. After the event of Huang, Chen withdrew his name from the reelection list after being dissatisfied with the election process.

Following the event of NTNU presidential election, the two universities, National Chungshing University and National Taiwan University of Arts, continuously struggle to find their next presidents. Chang Ya-chung, professor of Department of Politics in NTU, in the author's interview reasserted that the scandals on presidential election in university have indeed damaged the reputations of the institutions of higher education in Taiwan. Chien Ming-yun (Mo, 2005 b), the chairman on the committee for 'Universities and Colleges at the National Teachers Association', suggested that the MOE should meet with universities to discuss possible reform of the problematic election process. However, the MOE now holds the right to make final decision on university presidents from candidates who are chosen by a university election committee. It is really not university autonomy into practice. Autonomy, actually, from many cases one can understand that is only a mask of MOE to display the achievement of democratization in Taiwan to international society and to deal with liberalist educator's demand in the island.

The amendment of the University Act has had a heavy impact on the operation of universities, which demand democracy internally and autonomy externally. Although the president and other top executives in university can now be determined through public election, and important decisions can be made by the university council, but the spirit of university autonomy are not abided by MOE. With the lack of comprehensive rules and regulations, relative problems in university operation and development are still left unresolved. Most importantly, because of the influence of political socialization, the campuses is always existed the potential political conflict;

in other words, the difference representatives of political color and the agents of political authority in campuses still proceed a struggle with each other.

Although autonomy in universities is necessary to ensure academic development, it is just a means rather than a purpose; universities must be operated in the way which ensures that responsibilities are balanced and maximum effectiveness sought. The criteria of autonomy and academic freedom in universities must be clearly defined, and efforts must be made to reorganize the way of universities and to establish disciplinary criteria to construct a new order for university operation.

In Taiwan, because the political phonology mix with political party interests and ethnic group conflict, the status of an autonomous university is only a dream of utopia with the reality of multiple paradoxes; some universities are aspiring to become more independent from outside control in their internal operations, but an invisible hand will still try to master the elements in the system. From the purpose of politics, for instance, the ideology of Man-nan ethnic group priority, central authority is impossible to give up his command on the higher education domain; the same as MOE, higher education sectors are a territory to cultivate the political power for itself. The territory for practicing authority in education system is politics takes command. The relationship between government and university exist the contradiction between political authority and autonomy, in this environment, university autonomy in Taiwan is an only a mythology.

7.3 Summary

As this chapter mentioned that the autonomy conceptualized the university as a contradictory entity of a government's agency and a self-governing community by scholars in Taiwan. Starting from 1949, the year KMT government moved to the island, to lift the Martial Law in 1987, the government displayed the interest in higher education and showed their stronger powers to regulate higher education institutes.

Generally, the two reasons pushed Taiwanese higher education to implement deregulation and decentralization; it was the vigorous economical and political liberalism in the international community and the variation of island's economical and political circumstances. The public movement for deregulation and decentralization on higher education started with the rescinded Martial Law in 1987. Since grand higher education reform in 1994, higher education development, officially by law, education policies have witnessed a decentralization of power from the central government to localized ones. However, in reality, a paradoxical phenomenon in Taiwan is how this decentralization process is taking place.

Ideally, higher education as a deregulated industry will see more independent and autonomy on educational affairs. Nevertheless, in Taiwan, deregulation on higher education was the only reaction of domestic political issues, it related to political power transformation in tertiary education system. Because the core element of the definition on deregulation is that it is able to undertake activities without seeking permission from a controlling body, or leave university alone from the political intervention. Regrettably, this basic educational right is broken by the politicians in Taiwan. As the case of 'event of Huang Kuan-tsae of president of NTNU', which was analysis in this chapter, showed that the key point of Huang's case was people concerning with the legality on employment of educational personnel; people cared who have a final right to appoint someone to be a president of university in the education system. In accordance with the regulation, the final right should belong to law not authority whatever the authority is government ruler, Minister or Nobel laurel. Besides, as the another case of 'professors govern the university'; Lee Yuan-tseh brought this idea to the island and is a weighty program in the agenda of higher education reform since 1994. However, Lee Yuan-tseh did not give any annotation on 'professor's rule'. This study finds this policy was finally simplified and alienation to equal 'the voting' in the campus. All the things of education affairs that needs to

depend upon the voting to be decided. Therefore, on the policy of professor's rule, campus became a best breeding ground to educational politicism. The answer of interviewees verified this argument; to no surprised the answer on the question 'who and what things influence the policy of deregulation?' more than 92% of teaching staff interviewed indicated that the political struggle created the chaotic deregulation policy.

In higher education, autonomous institutions can establish their own programmes of study and have control over their own finances, subject to normal auditing procedures and grant their own degrees. Unfortunately, this study finds Taiwanese higher education still face serious issues over its governance, which relate to the proper regulation of public spending invested in public institutions, as well as questions about the proper distancing of universities and their freedom and autonomy to pursue what universities know best and given unique privileges. Universities and colleges are still under tight control by the MOE according to political and economic needs.

Chapter 8 The Confronting Positions and Results of Conflicts on the Issue of Political Intervention

8.1 The Policy Debates and the Educational Populism in Higher Education

The radical educational populism in Taiwan puts education collectivism or neo-communism into practice; it is a crucial part of the structure of educational politicism. The aim of populism is to appeal to 'the people' by setting up a dichotomy between the class of 'the ruler' and 'the ruled', 'the people' and 'the elite'. Populist assembles 'the people' have often been associated with an emotional entreated to identities, including class, ethnic, and local ones; the core value of populism are 'conflict' and 'confrontation'. The fundamental force of populism is people. Populism is a faith and beloved by authoritarianism and communism in general.⁹⁰

The communism revealed the idea of a society in which property, especially real property and the means of production is held in common.⁹¹ The policy of higher education expansion in Taiwan under Lee Yuan-tseh ruled is equal to a new form and color of educational collectivism or communism. Over 97%, almost totally, graduate from senior high schools who jointed JUEE can matriculate in universities and colleges that are actually not purely altruism. Realistically, the background of educational collectivism is full of the result from political factions that divided up the spoils of political power. Established new universities are mostly only to cash the political check for election votes. Politicians would like to execute maximum

⁹⁰ About other interpreted on 'Populism' reference on: H. Boyte and F. Riessman (ed.) (1986) *The New Populism: The Politics of Empowerment*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.; M. Canovan (1981) *Populism*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; E. Laclau (1997) *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism*, London: Atlantic Highlands Humanities Press; C. Boggs (1986) *Social Movements and Political Power: Emerging Forms of Radicalism in the West*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press; C. Berlet (2005) "When Alienation Turns Right: Populist Conspiracism, the Apocalyptic Style, and Neofascist Movements" L. Langman and D. Fishman, (ed.), *Trauma, Promise, and the Millennium: The Evolution of Alienation*, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

⁹¹ On the term of 'Means of Production' reference on: Karl Marx "Critique of the Gotha Program" *Marx/Engels Selected Works*, Vol. 3. "In Letter from Karl Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer" *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 39. Other article was wrote by Karl Marx see Karl Marx, *Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte aus dem Jahre 1844*; Karl Marx, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, Geschrieben im Dezember 1847/Januar 1848; Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Das Kommunistische Manifest. Eine moderne Edition. Mit einer Einleitung von Eric Hobsbawm*, Argument-Verlag, Hamburg, 1999.

educational collectivism with Karl Marx's idea in 'Critique of the Gotha Programme' on May 1875 that was notable for elucidating the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' as the basis for a higher education society.

Critique of the Gotha Programme was a critique of the draft programmed of the United Workers' Party of Germany. In this document Marx (1875) addressed the dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the two phases of communist society, the production and distribution of the social goods, proletarian internationalism, and the party of the working class. The aim of radical educational populism under educational politicism in Taiwan, which implemented by DPP and Lee Yuan-tseh is to consolidate Man-nan ethnic regime. DPP would like through this policy to acquire the supports from young generation. Furthermore, it needs to expand the numbers of universities to administer the policy of radical educational populism. The 'production' of the license of new university is a best reward to distribute the political ally.

Rather than establishing new universities, the MOE has upgraded colleges to universities. This has led to questions about the quality of instructions. The expansion of higher education has turned universities from institutions for the elite to ones for the masses. Many educators are against Lee Yuan-tseh's alienative popularity for the no restricting development on higher education size, and they disagree the policy of educational expansionism, which under the umbrella of radical educational populism. In the interview conducted by author, on the question 'do you agree with the policy of educational expansionism?' all 77 teachers interviewed, 97% or 75 teachers agreed that the number of universities and colleges has substantially exceeded its demand. They felt that higher education is not compulsory education like primary school. They also questioned the necessity to establish excessive institutions on higher education in Taiwan; due to Taiwan is proceeding to elderly society and kept 147 higher education institutes already.

However, base on the educational populism and political intervention on higher education, the development of private university in recent years has increased dramatically. Unfortunately, the quality of the private university and the perception of its reputation are not at a level. A number of the board of directors in private universities looks at private university as doing educational business. The students of private university can not tolerate that a private university is only a unit of business. Obviously the owner or the board of directors of private university always shares the surplus funds immediately instead of reinvestment to the university.

In Taiwan, higher education in the eyes of educational speculators is not only a machine for gaining money but also a political card for bargaining with politicians. From the view of exceptional commodity, a higher education unit to the owner is a political asset. This unit will be useful as a bargaining counter in the domestic affairs, which including exchanges the economic and political interests with central authority. However, private university always is good place for political proclaimed by politician during the period of election. It has a reciprocal demand between university and political party; when one possess a university that mains its political platform is spacious wide in Taiwan.

In this circumstance, a neutral, objective and impersonal supervision mechanism is highly necessary to maintain the quality of private university. With the expansion of enrolments, quality and efficiency would have to be more proficiently monitored. Therefore educators and people strongly demanded a better legal and accreditation system for higher education that should be set up as soon as possible. They asked the government to release this power from their hands.

From the political interest perspective that limits the number of university is increasingly difficult in Taiwan. But when the essences of higher education switch to compulsory education, it is not the education achievements but disaster. However, serious educational problems are also caused by imbalance between competition and

social justice, between power of educators, parents, universities and government authority.-

Substandard services and unqualified education policies are the main causes of distress among the people who are the consumers of education. The Consumers Foundation, Chinese Taipei (CFCT)⁹² sent out questionnaires to adults selected randomly around the island and collected 1404 valid samples, which composed of 512 males and 892 females conducted between 5 to 25 August 2006. According to the results of a 'consumer misery index' survey, the topped list in terms of causes of consumer distress was the matter of learning and education, which is ahead of second priority on housing and living and third medical attention and services (National, 2006 g).

The implementation of intervention resulted in an abnormal shape in Taiwan. In 2006, a national selection examination, which is used in choosing new teachers to fill teaching job vacancies, there were 30,000 certified teachers competed for 242 jobs at the elementary education level. An alliance of several education reform groups called a press conference on 31 July 2006 to alert government of the dangers presented by this disproportionate allocation of teaching jobs. The central government failed to respond positively to deal the demands from people.

The discrepancy between supply and demand in the education market has become more serious as the MOE changed its policies for teacher training due to match up the needs of election votes in thrice Presidential elections, which KMT won 1996 and DPP won 2000 and 2004. Before the grand education reform, only teacher's colleges could produce accredited schoolteachers. However, since 1994, the government changed the rules to allow more diverse routes to become a teacher,

⁹² Consumers' Foundation, Chinese Taipei (CFCT) was founded in 1980. CFCT is an independent, non-profit organization. It has compiled a 'consumer misery index' annually in terms of prices, quality and current conditions in 10 categories -- food and beverages, clothing, housing and living, transportation and communications, learning and education, leisure and entertainment, medical attention and services, finance, public order and government efficiency, and the environment to reflect the general feelings of consumers.

which allowing university graduates to do so after receiving training and certification. According to Chou Chu-ying, professor of Department of Education at National Chengchi University, indicated the policy may have been well intended, but it backfired. Chou commented that the diversified policy was meant to open up opportunities to join the teaching profession; however, policymakers did not take demographics into account, and failed to accurately gauge just how many teachers were realistically needed (Education, 2006 c). As a result, there are too many teachers for too few positions. Political intervention pursued the goal of education that is a false theme. It intends to eliminate all barriers of education in university sectors to every one for the purpose of politics, but more social barrier of job hunting is created by itself.

8.2 The Policy Debates and the Issue of Higher Education Expansion

(A) The Factors of Globalization and Political Needs

The establishment of new universities in Taiwan since 1994 was mainly to cash the political check for election votes and to execute educational collectivism. The other factor which influences the policy of educational expansion is globalization. The university as the sub-system of the country is a national institution and an organizational form, from the sociologist point of view the university evolves as a global institution retaining much of its classic cultural character through centuries and into consistent global trends and increasing isomorphism nationally. Isomorphism in this study means a different generations of the same life cycle. Higher education has become the institutional locus of the new knowledge system in the present time; as Riddle (1990) indicated that higher education's rapid expansion was expanding as a model-driven institution, which is growing to produce a progressive and equitable future rather than to manage a stable society.

Higher education growth occurred not simply in areas with industrial or commercial development but everywhere the new model of national society has

spread. Moreover, the factor of higher education expanded as Meyer, Ramirez and Soysal (1992 b) stated that much of this expansion would be justified in terms of human capital and of citizenship and human rights. Globalization is also a good reason to the explanatory points about the expansion of the higher education in the period of high national modernity.

The forces of globalization have impacted conditions in Taiwan and in every region of the world. However, globalization increases the demand for education and for educational quality, because 1) economic part: rising payoffs to higher education in a global world; 2) socio-political part: demographics and democratic ideals increases pressure on universities to provide access to groups that traditionally have not attended university.

Intrinsically, globalization means more competition and also means that national borders do not limit a nation's investment, production, and innovation. Because of this situation, the competitions and conflicts in identity formation necessarily affects higher education development. The distribution of access to universities as well as educational reforms aimed at improving its quality, are all headed towards forming labor for a market conditioned by globalization. Thus, central governments must assume responsibility for leveling the playing field for all groups.

Windolf (1997) illustrated that higher education expansion characterized the poor or developing countries almost as much as the developed ones. Windolf's view can be verified that in the history of higher education development, no matter what was developed in which developing country, the organizational structures of higher education reflect political institutional frames rather than educational ones. In more centralized politics, as Taiwan and other developing countries, universities tend to be more centrally authorized and funded. Apparently, there are world-wide models for higher education, and these models render higher education as essential to the successful country; evidently, higher education spreads in rather standardized forms

wherever the nation-state system spreads.

Why did higher education explosively expanded since 1994 in Taiwan? Note that this expansion was based on opening the doors to various political interest groups and to meet the strong demands from the Taiwanese. Regrettably, classic functionalist explanations fail to explain the Taiwanese university's extraordinary recent expansion, because they generally argued that this process of expansion occurs in decentralized states; as Robinson (1986) interpreted that classic functionalist did not explain why higher education becomes the legitimated principal basis of status competition, and they also did not explain why elites are powerful enough to control success educationally would keep expanding education rather than simply restricting access for their lower-status competitor. However, competition and conflict explanations are often used to explain the phenomenon of higher education expansion in the case of Taiwan. Collins (1971, 1979) and Boudon (1973) demonstrated that the conflict' idea is that with mass educational expansion, status-competition and group-competition processes shift to the higher educational level, and inflationary expansion results.

Two important things can be learned from thinking about the higher education expansion in Taiwan; the first is university as an institution, the objectives of this institution are not only mainly local organizations justified by specific economic and political functions but also shaped by power struggles. The second is universities becoming more politicization and nationalized; much of this politician and nationalist flavor was evident at the level of formal organization and as regards the political cultural account of the university. In other words, a much broader political cultural mission has always informed higher education.

The Taiwanese higher education is expanding significantly in size. According to the data of MOE, the number of universities and four-year colleges was only 28 in 1986. In 1995 many new universities and colleges have opened and the number of universities reached 60. After GCRER was made known to the public in 1996, under

the policy of ‘expansion of higher educational quantity’ the quantity of higher education was sharply elevated, and the number from 67 in 1996, 84 in 1998 and 105 in 1999 up to 147 in 2006. The Table 8.1 shows the number of universities and four-year colleges since 1950 in Taiwan.

Table 8.1: The Quantity of University and College, 1950-2006

Year	No. College	No. University	Total
1950	3	1	4
1955	6	4	10
1960	8	7	15
1965	11	10	21
1970	13	9	22
1975	16	9	25
1980	11	16	27
1985	12	16	28
1986	12	16	28
1987	23	16	39
1988	23	16	39
1989	20	21	41
1990	25	21	46
1991	29	21	50
1992	29	21	50
1993	30	21	51
1994	35	23	58
1995	36	24	60
1996	43	24	67
1997	40	38	78
1998	45	39	84
1999	61	44	105
2000	74	53	127
2001	78	57	135
2002	78	61	139
2003	75	67	142
2004	70	75	145
2005	59	89	148
2006	53	94	147
*The number excluded two-year Junior College			
*year: school year			

Source: Department of Statistics, MOE (2007)

The speedy growth is primarily due to relaxation of government regulation since Martial Law being lifted in 1987. Previously, from curriculum and faculty hiring to broader administrative decisions, the MOE always kept a tight rein on higher education as this study mentioned in Chapter 5.2, 5.3 and others.

The ruler in central government expressed the reason to surge new universities

and colleges, because the government needs to reply to people demands, which is government to ease its grip on higher education development. In reality, higher education expansionism has two purposes; one is economical objective, which needs the swift economic development and high level human resources available domestically and abroad. The other is a political objective. In politics field, if the one who holds a university means the one who maintains the social and political assets simultaneously. University itself not only does an education institute, but also a political base. As the case of Tamkang University, private and established in 1950 in Tamsui near Taipei. Clement Chang possessed some important political titles during the day when he served as the university president, such as the Head of Taipei City Council, Minister of Transportation and Communications and Advisory Counselor of President.

The number of universities increased that reflects the need of job market indeed, it also reflects the political ecological system as well. As Taiwanese political geographical distribution, southern Taiwan is DPP's advantageous area in vote; it covers numerous Taiwanese speaking communities. In politics domain, these Min-nan ethnic populations are faithful to DPP and political ruler Lee Teng-hui. Therefore from rescinded Martial Law in 1987 which passed through Lee Teng-hui unveiled the policy of extreme localization in 1996 transferred DPP held political power in 2000, many new higher education institutions were opened in the central and southern island. However, the drawbacks to the growing number of universities and colleges have lead to more graduates competing in an already tight job market. The quantity of higher education institutes really does not necessarily reflect their quality.

Focus on the doctrine of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' in the radical educational populism, and for the purpose of election vote. Taiwanese politicians have to satisfy the needs by voters, many new universities and colleges were the sequela of political elections. The local powerful political factions

made a deal with politicians in the election with their vote's support and money donation to exchange the political promise that is to build a new university in their hometown. To people who is cultivated by Chinese traditional culture, so call 'the great interests' in their life is conversion status from a general public to intellectual; university degree is the great interests to them. However, the voter's value is a best breeding ground to educational politicism.

People in Taiwan have witnessed a proliferation of new higher education institutes since 1994. For instance, senior high schools graduates have access to higher education units that reach at 96.28% in 2007 and 97.1% in 2008; although most educators and industrial circles feared that the quality of higher education will be nothing if university entrance rate is high as almost 100%. DPP's politicians and Lee Yuan-test, the convener of CER, were still eulogized the achievements of over 97% enrollment in higher education. On 18 December 2007 an article 'The Bandits will Flourish if Scholars is Still Alive' (The Bandits, 2007 e) was printed in a prestigious daily newspaper in Taiwan. It openly criticized the mistakes of unlimited to increase the university numbers and the decision-maker by not pointing out the name. It admitted that higher educational institutes have to accommodate all of the graduates form high schools, which is one of Lee Yuan-tseh' education reform policies. This article also criticized that a 'scholar' who is in the service to particular political party and powerful politicians with its laurel crown. The article pointed the political bandits are impossible to eliminate due to some scholars has political personality in Taiwan.

On the basis of political promise in the elections and Lee Yuan-tseh's radical educational populism in his higher education policy, which revealed on GCRER were sharply increasing the size and numbers of the higher education institutes that create problems in higher education fields; it is: 1) as the birth rate has dropped rapidly, many universities have difficulty recruiting enough students; 2) higher academic

degrees do not guarantee higher quality and higher proficiency; 3) an increased number of university graduates means a possibility higher unemployment.

According MOE statistical data disclosed on ‘The Joint Board of the College Recruitment Commission’, 88,991 candidates passed the exam. It means 89.08% students who took year 2005 examination were able to be accepted into higher education institutes. 96.28% of 86,652 candidates were accepted by higher education institutes in 2007 and 97.1% in 2008. The table 2.1 showed clearly about the enrollment ratio from 1994 to 2007; the percent of enrollment over double in the ten years.

It is important to indicate again that many universities and colleges are having more difficulty in recruiting enough students due to the birth rate issue. The second day after MOE published a list of successful applicants to university on 9 August 2007; a statistics revealed that the enrollment score year by year reduces is an inevitable phenomenon. Most new students of year 2007 was born in 1989, which is the year that the number of newborn babies was around 310,000, and this number is approaching MOE provided the recruitment quota to first year students in higher education institutes. However, only 200,000 babies were approximately born in 2006 (Year book-2006, 2007). The recruitment of student’s insufficient question can be seen in the future. Table 8.2 shows the birth rate dropped from 13.76 to 11.65 in 2001 and sustained in follow years, in 2006 the birth rate down to 8.96.

Table 8.2: Total Population, The Number of New Babies and Birth Rate Unit: %

Year	Total Population	Total new born baby	Birth Rate (‰)
1951	7,869,247	385,383	49.97
1961	11,210,084	422,740	38.32
1971	15,073,216	382,797	25.67
1981	18,193,955	414,069	22.96
1991	20,605,831	321,932	15.70
1998	21,928,591	271,450	12.43
1999	22,092,387	283,661	12.89
2000	22,276,672	305,312	13.76
2001	22,405,568	260,354	11.65
2002	22,520,776	247,530	11.02
2003	22,604,550	227,070	10.06

2004	22,689,122	216,419	9.56
2005	22,770,383	205,854	9.06
2006	22,876,787	204,459	8.96

Source: Department of Household Registration, Ministry of Interior (2007)

According to NTNU's survey in 2007, nearly 85% of the families in Taiwan were less willing to have a child because the domestic politics is bad and pressed for social security and high education fees. In 2005, each Taiwanese family had an average of 1.18 children, compared with 5 in 1950. It is clearly a worry that the children of school age is dwindling. The number of new primary school students fell fewer than 300,000 in 2007, and it is expected to drop to 200,000 in follow-up five years (Taiwan, 2007 f). Citing the fact, the MOE unveiled a plan on 1 August 2006 to reduce the class size in elementary schools from 35 to 29 students over the next five years (Education, 2006 c). It means that high schools and colleges will also have fewer students in the future.

Before the grand education reform in 1994, university education was reserved only for those who could score well enough on the JUEE. As a result of new JUEE system and full open door policy, it was surprisingly that 97.1 % of high school graduates who takes JUEE can attend universities and colleges in 2008, compared with 43.8 % in 1992 and 49.24 % in 1996, which the year that GCRER was announced. The development of higher education from elitism to universality has resulted in more university graduates being confronted with the problems of unemployment due to keener competition in the labor market. The jobless rate among university graduates can be seen clearly in Table 2.3, showing the surge from 2.67 % in 2000 to 4.23 % in 2005, 4.36% in 2006 (Chen, 2007).

The rise in both numbers of higher education institutes and enrollment is cause for concerning that 'while university is no longer reserved only for the elite, the Taiwanese public universities appear to be losing their competitive edge', noted by Liu Chao-han, president of National Central University. Liu continued his opinion and

emphasized that this is the biggest crisis; and it's high time to thoroughly review the Taiwanese higher education policies and determine which direction it should head toward.

However, parallel with the excess of capacity, university funding has diminished at the same time by government under the pretext of university autonomy. The exodus of the promising faculty and budget from the costly sciences has continued. Many universities face the problems of aging instruments and the lack of books in the libraries and new teaching aids for departments. Huang Kuang-kuo, professor at the NTU and a leader of the 'Education Reconstruction Alliance', in the interview with author condemned government's 'mass production of university graduates' for political purpose that has led to low quality graduates. Huang also indicated another problem in higher education that is most of the institutes unable to raise enough funds.

With these painful impacts on higher education, there is desperate need for revenue combined with the policy of decentralization. The executive members in university are instinct with ambivalence that higher education institutions needs subsidy from the government and it wrapped up in autonomy simultaneously. These predicaments of university's establishment are: 1) charging even more tuition fees remains unresolved; 2) sources of the needed revenue unidentified; and 3) students barred from higher education by their families income level. Under these predicaments, university and college choose compromise with governmental subsidy and keep the impressive only in appearance on autonomy.

Higher education in Taiwan grew at the same pace with its political needs and economical developments. The higher education developed rapidly not only on the number of universities and colleges but also increased student population. In the past 15 years, Taiwan has stumbled into higher education for masses. It is enrolling larger percentages of high school graduates without having thought clearly about how the system should be structured and its objectives. However, facing the questions of high

tuition and no guarantee for teaching quality in private universities, public universities are inclined to become the safety valve in whole higher education system. Under this circumstance, the value of the freedom education is unveiled in educational philosophy is metamorphosis. In Taiwan the freedom of choice in education is a kind of alienative freedom. Parents and students do not have the freedom to create choices, but only the freedom to choose from whatever the authorities supply to them. Because a plethora of vacant seat and insufficient funds in higher education institutes, on 14 August 2006 the 'Taiwan Provincial Education Association' and the 'Education Reconstruction Alliance' urged MOE to open the doors to the Mainland Chinese students for undergraduate and graduate studies in Taiwan to help to solve their problems.

(B) The Contradiction between Politics and Economy on the Policy of High Tuition and Fees

A contradictory proposition is that on one hand the government implements higher education maximal expansion policy with a type of radical educational populism, where the principle is 'to each according to his needs', and it belong to the value of equalitarianism. But on the other hand, the government executes high tuition fees policy with the type of capitalism in higher education sector. The contradiction between different ideas which stand on the anode and cathode of electromagnetic field alienated the higher education in Taiwan.

In July 2007, Alliance against High Tuition, (AAHT)⁹³ gathered around the MOE protested the policy of high tuition fees with the slogans and catchwords of 'confiscate the corruptive assets from the son-in-law of President Chen Shui-bian and Chen's family, and use it to rescue education' (Confiscate, 2006 m). AAHT's slogan was shown some obvious questions, namely higher education predicaments,

⁹³ The Movement against High Tuition started in 1988; Members of the Coalition include undergraduate and graduate students from public and private universities, key figures from various social movements, workers, teachers, and parents.

undistributed education policies, and depraved political influenced the education development. The issue of high tuition fees is a seriously trouble in the Taiwanese higher education territory.

In the Article 164 of Section 5 ‘Education and Culture’ in Constitution stipulated that “education, science, and culture shall be not less than fifteen percent of the total national budget; and educational and cultural foundations shall be protected” as this dissertation stated in Chapter 5.3. However, the education system needs enough money to cultivate, and central government did not in accordance with regulations of Constitution. The total nation’s education, science and culture budget is well below 15 %. The ratio of all level education expenditures GNP and GDP, between 1987 and 2006, is shown in Table 2.6; the ratio of higher education expenditures to total education expenditures from 1996 to 2005 is shown in Table 2.7. However, the number of tertiary education institutes between 1987 and 2006 was increased from 39 to 147. Some universities have even resorted to increasing class size and to cut course offerings to deal with the lower budget.

Widespread disappointments and complaints with the results of the grand education reform have erupted periodically since 1996 in Taiwan. The people has dissatisfaction engendered a sustained raging debate. One focus on those dissatisfactions is the tertiary education tuition fees have been raising too steeply that in comparison with family income has been gradually decreasing. Because of the people’s demands and politician’s interest on peoples’ votes, expanding higher education institutes has resulted in the dilution of subsidies from government. It was unable to provide plentiful money to each institute. Public universities and cash starved private universities administrators have therefore been compelled to raise tuition. The ratio of the source of tuition, government fund for public universities from 2000 to 2006 can find in Table 6.2.

On the issue of tuition fees, in President Chen Shui-bian's weekly online newsletter of No. 91 on 10 July 2003, Chen urged people with defense to his government to regard higher education as an investment and make their financial plans earlier in preparation for payment of university tuitions (Newsletter, 2003). Chen expressed that his government would offer students lower interest rates for student loans. Chen's remarks touched bitter nerve of many families for whom tuition fees have become heavy burden. Social activists were anti-Chen's viewpoint; for instance, AAHT deemed that the predicaments of education budget derived from political corruption and DPP's moral degeneration. They also have protested that Chen have no ability neither to create new economic achievements nor to maintain economic fruitful results. They accused Chen is intentionally unaware of the financial difficulties, people are suffering and increasing tuition fees have added to family burdens, especially when Taiwan has a seriously corruption in ruling group, in President's family and in bureaucrat capitalist class. The true circumstance is an extreme disparity between the rich and the poor, social instable condition on work with an economic downturn and the high unemployment rate in the Taiwan since 2000.

In fact, a high charge for tuition fees was far ahead the ability of many poor and working class families to pay in Taiwan. It is worth to point out that from 1998 to 2006 the wages in Taiwan have increased by only about 3% on average, and this number is far behind the university tuition expanding rate, which has increased from 10 to 40% over the same period. Because of the reduction in income, many families have barely managed to make ends meet. Therefore, they are not in the mood to listen to financial planning advice suggested by President Chen. AAHT and people against high tuition policy indicated that some universities come up with numerous excuses to gouge students for extra fees, for example by asking them to pay for the use of computer facilities in the campus.

In response to complain over a steep rise in university tuition fees, DPP legislator Chen Chin-jun noted that the growth rate of university tuition has been dwindling (Rising, 2003 i). The Minister of Education Huang Jong-tsun has reacted to people's criticism. He dodged the issue of 'black gold' in the country and stated that in low tuition fees on higher education would greatly add to the governmental fiscal burdens as it would require an additional budgetary outlay of 2.36 billion USD per annum to foot the bill for the tuition of all university students (Rising, 2003 i). The government did not react positively from the restructuring of the national funding system to the general public's grumbling over tuition fees, only by announcing a reduction of the interest rate for educational loans down from 3.18 % to 2.93 %, the effective date is from August 2003.

What many people are actually riled about are not just high tuitions but a deteriorating quality of education stemming from the sharp increase in the number of higher education institutions, which is noted by Huang Hung-pin, head of the MOE Department of Higher Education. Huang marked that if universities and colleges were all well managed and the educations they offer were of uniformly high quality, then their graduates would not have much difficulty finding good jobs. Under such circumstances, the ratio of return on investment would be high, and people probably wouldn't have such strong aversion to moderate tuition increases. Huang's view was partly right, but he ignored the amount spent extravagantly by politicians, and if one would like to discuss the rate of return on investment, the prerequisite condition is that one would have the money to invest it.

A total of 530 million USD in funding was provided by the central government and the private sector to provide low-interest student loans. In 2005, Education Minister Tu Cheng-sheng pointed out that money should not be a problem to stop students from pursuing a higher education. According to the 'Flexible Adjustment of University Tuition Fees Plan' in 2005, a framework of tuition promulgated by the

MOE, it regulated the annual tuition increases at public universities have a ceiling of 10%, while private schools are restricted from raising tuition more than 5% per year (Ministry of Education, 2005 a). Under the new plan Minister asked private university to decide its tuition fees by itself.

In the meantime, university's administrators welcomed the prospect of having a free hand to determine their own tuition rates. The news raised concern among the people and human right groups in Taiwan; they worry that the new regulations would lead to higher fees in another form. Actually, people demanded the government to solve education budget problems form create economical achievements and eliminate corruption. They disagreed that MOE used those way to abandon its duty. Moreover, the regulations were set up again in 2005. It stipulated that private university with a good bank balance and a student body of between 20,000 and 30,000 students will not be allowed to raise tuition. Public universities and colleges demonstrating a financial surplus over the past three years are prohibited from raising tuition fees in the following school year, and with a surplus that is less than 15% of their receipts over the past three years are, however, allowed to increase tuition fees. These rules were to give public universities room to maneuver when raising tuition, since the fees they charge amount to approximately half of what private counterpart charge.

Members of the tuition committee at the Department of Higher Education in MOE have expressed a preference for a flexible tuition policy, rather than a straight increase fees. A flexible policy, they content, would better accommodate the dynamic development of graduate schools, which are having difficulty competing for the best students. The MOE ran another five-year pilot project from August 2005 that would give a few eligible universities the advantage of setting their own tuition fees, while the rest would be subjected to current Ministry regulations.

AAHT denounced that the implication of flexibility and democratization to adjust tuition fees just means that universities can set tuition fees as they wish, which

can only worsen the financial burden on underprivileged families. However, Frank Hsu, president of National Tsinghua University, was a supporter of the MOE's new tuition plan; he stated clearly that because higher education institutes in Taiwan receive less budgetary support from the government. Another supporter was Mu Tzung-tsann, president of Shihhsin University and head of Taiwanese Association of Private Universities and Colleges, Mu pointed out that tuition fees are the only source of income at private universities and colleges, unlike the public universities. The government should therefore not impose upon them the added restraint of an impractical tuition policy (Ministry, 2005 a).

Some educators argued that research style universities shouldn't be charged the same amount as non-research style universities. Chi Mao-chi, professor at National Central University stated in the interview with the author that he thinks it matters much less whether universities charge different fees than how those fees are met. However, this transition from elite status to commonality in Taiwan has given rise to two problems: 1) the education resources are not enough to distribution; and 2) there are questions about how to cultivate the elite from commonality. One of the cases on the lack of resources in higher education sector is showed by the ratios between student and faculty. The student-faculty ratio in 1994 at public universities stood at 14.17:1, and at private universities it was 25.37:1. In 2004, these ratios had worsened to 20.28:1 and 30.12:1 respectively (Lu, 2003).

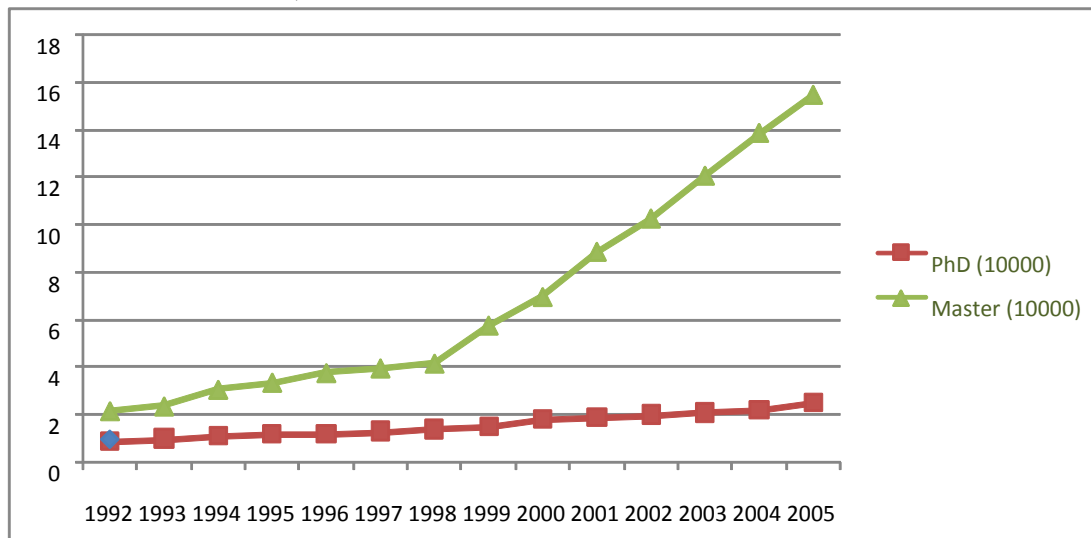
The essence of the Taiwanese higher education was change from the elitism to popularization. However, three drawbacks were surfacing on higher education of popularization. Firstly, the crisis is as the number of senior high school graduates will rapidly decrease. As a result some higher education unit will close due to a shortage of students. Secondly, university faces an ordeal with other counterparts in the region under globalization. Thirdly, from the view of marketization, because of the high

numbers of universities and colleges, higher education has become the buyer's market and the non-seller's market again.

However, on the strength of the role of higher education is unclear and the value of people on education was influenced by Confucianism; therefore, another special phenomenon of grand education reform since 1994 is the large amount of doctors and masters produced at this time. There are four reasons on this issues: 1) economic factor: in order to create the resource of funding university expanded vertical size to accept more students in graduate schools except expanded in undergraduate level; 2) escapism: some students entered the graduate schools not for the enthusiasm in advance research, but because of the short vacancy in job market, study in master courses became the priority option to them; 3) enhance competitive conditions: in order to enrich the qualification for job hunting; 4) psychological barrier: in the cause of refuge the pressure from the family and society that because of the failure in job markets. However, the new situation is occurred that already scarce educational resources are becoming scarcer still.

A data shows the institutes in graduate schools from 656 in 1995 to 2476 in 2005, the student number from around 33,000 increased to 177,024 in some period. On the purpose of passing the entrance exam of graduate schools, the graduates who enrolled in cram schools or supplementary lessons have over 90,000 per year on average (The Statistic of Education, 2007). The Diagram 8.1 displays the change on the amount of PhD and Master Course students in graduate schools from 1992 to 2005.

Diagram 8.1: The Tendency of the Amount on PhD and Master Students in Graduate Schools, 1992-2005



Source: The Statistic of Education, MOE (2007)

The precise number of students enrolled in graduate schools in universities and colleges from 1998 to 2006 is displayed in Table 8.3. The trend of continuous increase is obvious, particularly the Master students. Ph.D students increased more than two and half times and Master students increased nearly four times during this period.

Table 8.3: The Number of Students Enrolled in Graduate Schools, 1998-2006

Year	Ph.D	Master	Total
1998	10,845	43,025	53,510
1999	12,253	54,980	67,233
2000	13,822	70,039	83,861
2001	15,962	87,251	103,213
2002	18,705	103,425	122,130
2003	21,658	121,909	143,567
2004	24,409	135,992	160,401
2005	27,531	149,493	177,024
2006	29,839	163,585	193,424

Source: T. Chen (2007) "Some Key Issues on Higher Education in Taiwan"

8.3 Political and Social Conflicts on Higher Educational Policies

The popularization of higher education is a tendency in the world. Regrettably, higher

education reform in Taiwan walks in a shortcut with opportunistic way, it included upgrading colleges to universities, and built new one for implementing the political promise and retaliate the fidelity of local factions in the political elections. The phenomenons of ‘diploma depreciation’ and ‘distortive education’ were revealed.

This imbalance has to do with an increase in quantity over a decrease in quality; there are 147 institutions of higher learning in 2006. This rapid development has affected the quality of higher education. The challenges to Taiwanese higher education institutes include a lack of diversification or development of specialty areas within university, declining student enrollment, shrinking birthrate, and high competition from overseas and China’s educational units.

(A) The Subjects of Political and Social Conflicts on Higher Education Policies

In the past decades, there has been a dramatic development in higher education in Taiwan as this study mentioned. Because of an enormous increase in the numbers of higher education institutes, the quality of higher education as well as relevant reforms in academic administration has become a matter of great concern to most Taiwanese. Seriously speaking, after many years, the 1994’s grand education reform in Taiwan is widely criticized as a disaster.

Almost none of the objectives set by the CER since 1994 have been really achieved during the past years; students still live under devastating examination pressure,⁹⁴ and teachers never received adequate training on the newly designed curriculum and the quality of tertiary education is even deteriorating because of increasing numbers in universities and colleges. The view of university’s marketization after grand education reform since 1994 has been to change the classical value of university; it means that education is industry not only educational

⁹⁴ Before the grand education reform, students in Taiwan had to succeed in the competitive examination for studying in high school and in universities. Despite such an examination is taken off by the reform, the diversity and complexity of new system, which is supposed not to be so selective, does not unfortunately release the students from the pressure.

body. In a poll conducted by the Association of Teachers in early March 2004, more than 90% of the teachers interviewed qualified the education reforms as a failure.

In the summer of 2003, a number of new anti-educational distortion groups have acted to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the upcoming Presidential election to put their views before the public. The different anti-educational distortion groups that including the Happy Learning Education Reform Front (HLERF) which organized by Huang Wu-hsiung,⁹⁵ Li Hsing-chang⁹⁶ and Hsia Shou-chiu.⁹⁷ They carried slogans protested the alleged failure of higher education reform, and made several appeals, such as: 1) allow teachers to enjoy professional autonomy; 2) implement small classes and small schools; 3) increase the number of public universities; and 4) protect the education rights of the disadvantaged (Backlash, 2003).

Furthermore, an adopted viewpoint from political leftist on higher education issues, the Alliance against High Tuition (AAHT) made protests and filed petitions in opposition to tuition hikes at universities. AAHT convener Chien Shu-hui criticized that tuition and fees are constantly rising at universities in Taiwan given the current difficult economic conditions, clearly creates a burden on ordinary citizens. The AAHT further argued that under the higher tuition policy, higher education increasingly resembles a commodity that only the wealthy can afford, while the young generation of less well-off families have no opportunity to make good in life (Backlash, 2003 p).

According to AAHT figures, tuition has increased by 40% at public universities since 1997 and 12% at private universities, but wages have only increased by 8%. The AAHT called on the government to collect an educational profits tax from the industrial community. On 10 July 2003, the e-paper of President Chen Shui-bian from

⁹⁵ Huang Wu-hsiung, Founder of the 410 Education Reform Alliance.

⁹⁶ Li Hsing-chang, Founder of the Snails without Shells housing advocacy group.

⁹⁷ Hsia Shou-chiu, a professor in the Department of Building and Urban Planning at National Taiwan University.

his office stated that Taiwan has always had a low-tuition policy. E-paper also emphasized the government to help narrow the gap between tuition at heavily subsidized public universities as opposed to tuition dependent private ones. He indicated that the government subsidizes up to 20% of routine expenses at private universities, which is very rarely done anywhere else in the world (E-paper, 2003). The statement of President Chen was not accepted by anti-educational distortion groups, because Chen's explained that was totally different than the real situation in Taiwan. The arguments put forward in the e-paper have by no means appeased dissatisfied groups, on 6 July 2003, the HLERF, AAHT, and other anti-education reform groups brought a petition to the office of the President demanding the President to have a publicly debate on the issues of education affairs. They declared that if current education problems are not resolved, they will mobilize 100,000 people on 28 September 2003 which is Teacher's Day to protest the President with a biggest demonstration.

(B) Education Reconstruction Alliance's Animadversion

Following the issuance of an over 10,000 word declaration focused on 13 educational problems caused by higher education reform, Education Reconstruction Manifesto (ERM)⁹⁸ was proclaimed on 20 July 2003. Some of those involved in the policy-making process were eager to apportion blame at meetings held at the Control Yuan and the Legislative Yuan. ERM from the views of equality and justices to emphasize the gap between the rich and poor class is rapid expansion in Taiwan and the phenomenon of 'two worlds in one country' was formed by DPP's mistake policies. ERM accentuated the education reform since 1994 is precisely an

⁹⁸ 'Education Reform Manifesto', In Chinese is 「教改萬言書」, The manifesto called the major elements of education reform-including alternatives to the high school entrance exams, new approaches to teaching math, the unified nine-year curriculum, private publication of textbooks and allowing each school to choose its own textbooks, integrated instruction, diversified channels for advancement, new forms of teacher training, elimination of technical high schools, a large increase in the number of academic high schools, and faculty control over campuses-mistakes. See Huang Kuang-kuo (2006) *The Failure of Education Reform*, Taipei: INK Publishing Co., pp. 179-206.

accomplice who facilitates this incident. On the basis of social vertical mobility and justice, 'Manifesto' highlighted the future education policies have to look after the students from the poor families and the lowest social class.

Huang Kuang-kuo (2006), professor of Department of Psychology at NTU, one of the originators on Education Reconstruction Alliance (ERA) criticized that GCRER is only a 'beautiful slogan', 'the result of implementation on GCRER is a social disaster'. He argued that if someone neglected his duty, the Control Yuan should not be silent and it must be investigation. The members of ERA were deemed that Lee Yuan-tseh should 'take the responsibility for the great confusion on grand education reform'. And they also censured the 'President Chen Shui-bian was nonsense and gibberish' because 'Chen believed that the education reform is very success' (Huang, 2006, 179-206).

The ERA founded by Huang Kuang-kuo and including more than 100 professors and social elites around the Taiwan; in Manifesto, ERA made a pun on the governmental mainland policy slogan of 'four no's plus one'.⁹⁹ They declared that over one decade of education reform can also be summarized as 'four no's plus one', namely: no sense on responsibility in the government, no support from the teachers, no peace of mind for the parents, no joy for the students, and not having any future to students after graduation from university. The originator of 18 professors and social commentators in ERM including Liu Yuan-jun, president of Soochow University; Qin Meng-qun, dean of Education College, National Chenchi University; Yang Shen-keng, dean of Education School, National Chungcheng University; Wu Wu-dian, dean of Education College, National Kaohsiung Normal University; Wu Chen-chuo, dean of Education College, Chinese Culture University; Huang De-siang, director of Graduate

⁹⁹ 'Four no's plus one' was a pledge by President of Chen Shui-bian of Taiwan, he made in his inauguration speech on 20 May 2000 in Taipei concerning the political status of Taiwan. Chen's administration promises not to declare Taiwan independence, not to change the national title from 'the Republic of China' to 'the Republic of Taiwan', not to incorporate the two states' idea into its constitution, and not to promote a referendum on changing the status quo regarding independence. 'One no' was that Chen pledged not to abolish the National Unification Council and the National Unification Guidelines.

Institute of Education, National Changhua University of Education; Chou Chu-ying, professor of Department of Education, National Chenchi University; Li Chia-tong, professor of Department of Computer Science and Information Engineering, National Jinan University; Lin An-wu, professor of Chinese Literature, NTNU; Kao Ming-shih, professor of Department of History, NTU; Huang Kuang-kuo, professor of Department of psychology, NTU; Huang Huo, professor of National Central University; Cheng Siao-ming, professor of Department of Electrical Engineering, National Tsinghua University; Liu Guang-ding, professor of Department of Chemistry, NTU; Shue Cheng-tai, professor of Department of Sociology, NTU; and Nan Fang-shuo Newsweek publisher; Chai Sih-ping a writer.¹⁰⁰ From the list of originators one can understand that the issues of education reform are paid close attention by academia which covered all the country from north to south and from public to private university.

The principle of ERM is ‘the end chaotic education reform and pursue high quality education’, in which it emphasized that originally the education reform is the way to pursue high quality education for the students. However, after several years, it deteriorated from improving character of education turned to for education reform due to the education reform (Huang, 2006). Seriously, the Manifesto indicated that the leader of official reform’s team attempted to use political power to settle down the issues of education in Taiwan. Such mode of thinking harmed the spirit of education. The Manifesto also showed clearly that although many beautiful slogans were showed up, like ‘the happy study’ and ‘the every schools is a bright star, every student is an elite’, all of these slogans essentially is a response by populism. All of these have violated the principle of truth which is the fundamental value of education (Huang,

¹⁰⁰ The name of professors and social commentators in ERM in Chinese: Liu Yuan-jun (劉源俊), Qin Meng-qun (秦夢群), Yang Shen-keng (楊深坑), Wu Wu-dian (吳武典), Wu Chen-chuo (伍振鸞), Huang De-siang (黃德祥), Chou Chu-ying (周祝瑛), Li Chia-tong (李家同), Lin An-wu (林安梧), Kao Ming-shih (高明士), Huang Kuang-kuo (黃光國), Huang Huo (黃藹), Cheng Siao-ming (曾孝明), Liu Guang-ding (劉廣定), Shue Cheng-tai (薛承泰), Nan Fang-shuo (南方朔), Chai Sih-ping (蔡詩萍).

2006).

In reality, along with grand education reform carrying out, the quantity of cram schools gradually increases. Take Taipei as an example, according to the Taipei city government's statistics, the number of licensable cram schools was 1,253 in 2000, increased 6.19% than 1999. There were 55.14% of higher school students jointed cram schools or supplementary classes in 2000, and 0.64% increase compared with 1999; There were 5.93 hours average in cram schools or supplementary classes in 2000, and 0.17 hours more than 1999 (Huang, 2006). The education reform has facilitated the vigorous development in crams school industry.

Under the guides of reform committee, which in charge by Lee Yuan-tseh, MOE was laissez faire the size of higher education expansion. Many unqualified technical schools were promoted to colleges and shortly upgraded to technical universities and then universities. The policy of 'change the signboard' resulted in the first class technical college turned down to the bottom of the rank on university list. The Manifesto severely criticized the immature policy of 'professors govern the university' which is a weighty program in the agenda of higher education reform and its idea initiative by Lee Yuan-tseh in 1986. Manifesto condemned that the professors govern the university is a prominent symbol of populism in many slogans of education reform. According to the Lee Yuan-tseh interpreted, professors govern the university is a significant factor to push a Taiwanese university to become the first class university in the world.

However, in reality, since 1994 'professor's rule' did not only make a university in Taiwan to achive the first class university in the world, but also jeopardized the academic climate in the campus. Many incapable professors are very fond to compose the academic faction with unanimous political stand to participate in the election for the seat of administration and university council in the ivory tower. They brought in abominable election culture of politics to university and scrambled for academic

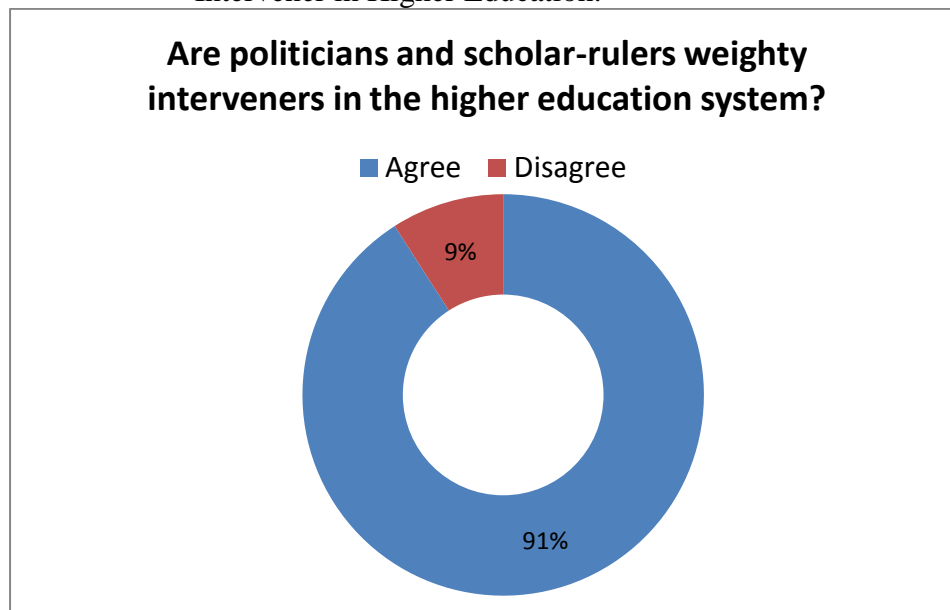
resource with relentless ruse. The policy of professors govern the university caused academic factions integrated with political factions; furthermore, the political power uses the in-campus election arbitrary intervened the operation of university. In 2006 Lin Yi-sheng, academician of Academia Sinica, reviewed this policy and also commented that professors govern the university is distortive academic freedom (Professor, 2006 n).

In the Section 3 'We Demands' in Manifesto pointed out the government established the CER on the 21 September 1994 at the outside of the administrative system. By and large, most of education reforms during ten years were dressed the coats of autonomy, deregulation and decentralization. It was a coarse idea and policy as verified after its implementation (Huang, 2006). While the problems of the number of university and college was expansion excessively, educational resource was insufficient and the job vacancy dissatisfied the needed by graduates, Unfortunately; President Chen Shui-bian still announced, in the inauguration ceremony of National United University in Miaoli county, that because the ruling party need to implement the political promise, the government will build new university or upgrade a college to university status as soon as possible in Yilan and Taitung county (Education, 2003 l). Chen highlighted again that the government have to cash the political check.

Chang Ya-chung, professor of NTU, in the author's interview declaimed against the view of Chen Shui-bian that the number of university is over saturation. Chen still wants to play politics and see university as political counters; this is a typical game of political juggle with education. Power authority took education affairs as political tools in the political election, and it is typical educational politicism to put into practice as this research mentioned many times. Education must be independent from the politics that is an only way to rescue educational predicaments in Taiwan. Similarly, in the interview conducted by author, on the question 'who is the weighty intervener in higher education?' 160 peoples out of all 179 interviewed, majorities of

them agreed that the politicians and scholar-rulers are aliens in the higher education. A similar result that 91% or 70 teachers, of which 50 were from public and 20 from private, can also be found in all 77 teachers interviewed. The diagram 8.2 clearly displayed Teachers' opinion on the issue of the weighty intervener in higher education.

Diagram 8.2: Interviewees' Opinions (Teachers) on the Issue of the Weighty Intervener in Higher Education.



After the civil ERA promulgated Manifesto in public, the ruling authority and the official education reform team immediately put the political hat of 'counter-reform' on the head of ERA and hundred professors who signed on the Manifesto. Political authority questioned Manifesto is political conspiracy and is 'elitism revival in a new quised' with the ideas of 'imperial examination' (Education, 2003 1).

Wu Chong-tai, director-general of National Teachers Association, expressed in October 2005 that the grand education reform should not play with political tactics and revised the educational regulations with wave by wave. He dissatisfied to stress that the different immature subjects was frequently shown up to the people by reform committees. It let teachers to be weighed down with works, while a teacher has a

different idea that the one is referred to the group of counter-reformist by political authority (National, 2005 g).

At the same time, in connection with the political authority attack, Hwang Kuang-kuo, has published an article in a prestige newspaper with the title of 'Education Reconstruction and the Education Should Make a Clear Distinction with Politics' on the 6 August 2003. Hwang rebutted that the flustered and exasperated arguments of official education reform group fully reflected the nature of populism, and the characteristic of Taiwan's populism is 'the counter-wisdom' and 'fawn on vulgar' (Hwang, 2006). It is unusual when authoritarian meet the trouble, no one takes suit the remedy to the case, they only want to take political power to cover it and pretend that everything is going well with some imaginary beautiful slogans. When one question the problems which are really cared by the people, they are not engage in self-examination but put the hat of 'do not love Taiwan' and 'counter-reform' to the speaker.

Hwang's article pointed out the key questions that the central authority of DPP and the leader of the CER possessed intransigent and obstinate nature of politics. Educational field is regard as their exclusive domain, control educational affairs in their minds means control the brains of the next generation. If power authority would like to revise history textbooks from the view of de-Sinicization or Man-nan ethnic racism, and if MOE want control the orientation of higher education development with its will, educational field absolutely is important battlefield for fighting.

The PFP and KMT on 21 July 2003 also heaped criticism on the ruling party of DPP for the failure of grand education reform except education activists. The DPP responded by asking KMT to apologize for its mistaken policies. A focal point of dispute between KMT and DPP was that DPP's legislators thought that all of the grand education reform was introduced when the KMT held in Presidential office, and then DPP's politicians demanded KMT chairman Lien Chan have to apologize for the

current mess. However, the KMT, argued back that the reforms were not effectively implemented by the DPP's government since 2000.

ERA over political battlefield to call on Lee Yuan-tseh, convener of CER and the leader of official education reform teams, president of the Academia Sinica, to accept the responsibility for these alleged failures. Furthermore, the ERA issued four main demands: 1) to reassess the grand education reform and end the chaotic situation; 2) to make education policy transparent and respect the views of educational experts; 3) to devote more attention to disadvantaged students and uphold social justice; and 4) to pursue excellence in education and put joy into learning (Huang, 2006).

On the issue of 'responsibility', in the interviewed conducted by author, when asked 'who is responsible for the failure of grand education reform?' for all 77 teachers interviewed, 95% in which 49 from public university and 24 from private university believed that Lee Yuan-tseh should take full responsibility on the failure of grand education reform; whereas from the interview conducted for students, 51% or 37 students believed politicians were to blame, while 45% or 33 students implied that Lee Yuan-tseh should claim the responsibility. Diagram 8.3 and 8.4 show the interviewees' opinions on the issue of responsibility with regards to the failure in higher education reform.

Diagram 8.3: Interviewees' Opinions (Teachers) on 'Who is Responsible for the Failure of Grand Education Reform?'

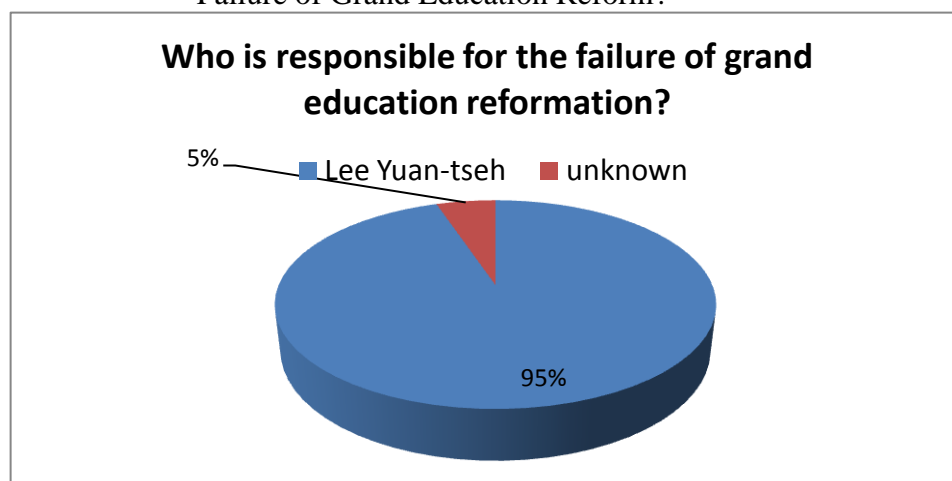
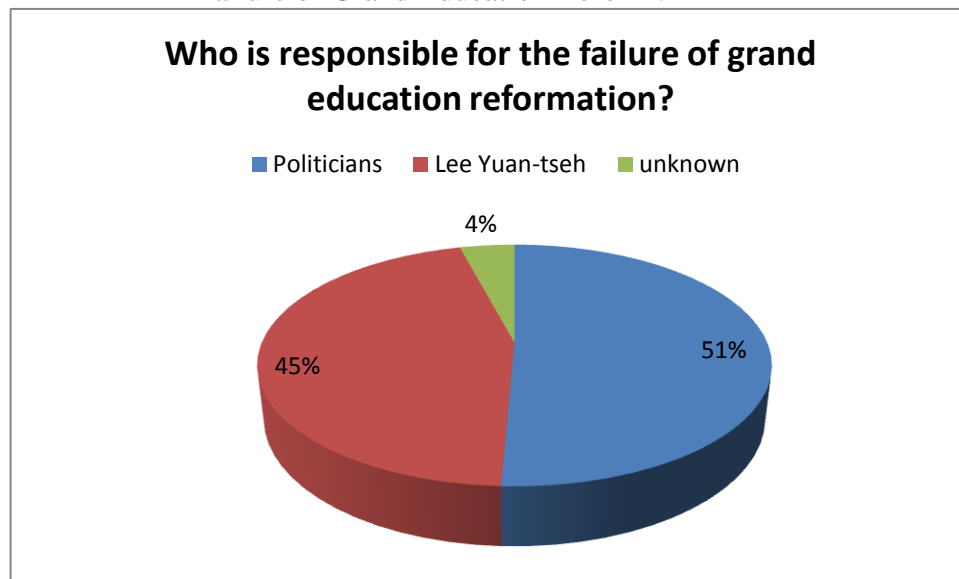


Diagram 8.4: Interviewees' Opinions (Students) on 'Who is Responsible for the Failure of Grand Education Reform?'



On 30 August 2003, Shue Cheng-tai, professor at NTU, with Nan Fang-shuo, the publisher of New News magazine, in the news conference on the first publication ceremony of Shue's new book 'Ten Years Education Reform-The Dream for Who?'. Both Shue and Nan commented Lee Yuan-tseh's merit in reform and stressed that Lee Yuan-tseh's existence in education system that lets the grand education reform reduce the ability of introspection. They called that Lee is deprived of his conscience by depraved political culture in Taiwan, and the black hole of grand education reform resulted in 'the ferment of petty authoritative nature from Lee's deep heart' (Lee, 2003 k). Lee Yuan-tseh has been unable to face the critics on the grand education reform with rationality. In addition, when the members of CER heard the voice and suggestion from different viewers, the uniform reply was argued by 'don't stir up the class animosity'. Seriously, over one decade grand education reform in Taiwan was made the values crisis among the young generation.

On the basis of the principle of the proportion between power and duty, which is consistency when one takes authority that one should carry responsibility with same size as well. In July 2003, many educators in Taiwan asked Lee Yuan-tseh to take the

responsibility on the failure of the grand education reform since 1994. Lee shifted his duty and responded that education policies needs government to execution and no one should take responsibility (Lee, 2003 b). Lee shirked from the duty on the fail of reform that causes the condemnation by most educators and people around the island. On the 7 September 2003, the Round Table Forum held a meeting in the county of Yunlin at the center area of Taiwan to discuss the issues of education. More than 200 including the principals of schools, teachers, and professors participated. One of the opinions in summing-up report of Round Table Forum was ‘if Lee Yuan-tseh does not walk out from his position on education reform, the education does not have a future’ (Huang, 2003 f).

Furthermore, a former Deputy Minister of Education and current president of National Taipei University, Lee Chien-hsing, condemned MOE and Lee Yuan-tseh, for the ineffectualness of a consulting conference held by the Control Yuan. Lee Chien-hsing criticized MOE for failing to create supporting measures for its reform policies and further argued that Lee Yuan-tseh was too influential person in the reform’s policy-making and implementation’s processes (Backlash, 2003 p). Under the attack from all sides, Lee Yuan-tseh insisted that no one should be specifically held responsible for the current bad situation.

Lee Yuan-tseh, as a convener of the CER from 1994 to 1996 and the leader of official education reform executive groups since 1996, was replied dissatisfaction by academia, Wu Jing, a former Education Minister who held the post from June 1996 to February 1998, recollected that ‘the CER flatly stepped on us. I was unable to handle the matters in education reform affairs even though I was a Minister at that time’ (Editorial, 2003). Facing this serious political accusation, social crisis and for the purpose of replying the indicted by the Manifesto which was signed by over 100 professors and educational experts, Yung Chao-siang, former Education Minister, described the chaotic situation in grand education reform with the expression that the

reform is ‘trying to stop the flow of water by cutting it with a knife’. He stated that he humbly accepted the ERA’s Manifesto (Ten, 2003 e; Backlash, 2003 p).

The Executive Yuan illustrated also that it respects and will consider all constructive suggestions related to the educational policies, and will pass them along to the National Education Development Conference, which convened in September 2003 by the MOE, for reference. The Premier also expressed wiliness to broadly accept responsibility for the problems of grand education reform, but that one should not deny the positive efforts put in by educational reformers in the past, and the complex problems of education reform cannot be solved in a single stroke.

On 13 October 2005, under the high pressure from the people on ‘the education reform must be reformed’, Lee Yuan-tseh finally apologized for the fail on reform to the Taiwanese Lee Yuan-tseh confessed that the reform has not been able to relieve the student burden and the objectives were not reaching. He recognized that the grand education reform measures did not relieve the stress on students in higher learning institutions, but rather put more pressure on them, and that was his mistake. Lee’s admitted disclosed a fact that discredited ERA and other impartial educator’s good name with the black hat of ‘stir up the class animosity’ was a big mistake. Lee’s apology was written down the struggle among the people for the event of responsibility on the ill success of grand education reform.

Lee Yuan-tseh, a Nobel laureate in Chemistry, the convener of the CER, was the chief consultant of the GCRER in 1996, which was used by the MOE as a foundation stone of grand education reform. He acknowledged that the education reform flawed on for years and had put more pressure on students. Lee made the comment in response to a question from independent Legislator Lee Ao in the parliament session at Legislative Yuan whether he made any mistakes in the last ten years on education reform under his presided.

In criticized on the issues of structure of education reform by the people, Lee Yuan-tseh admitted his mistake only on 'put more pressure on students' in order to absolve his responsibility. He stated again that at that time, the public had high expectations on the CER, but in fact, the CER were only to make recommendations on the affairs of education reform to MOE, not a right to implement them. He further defended himself and emphasized that education is everyone's responsibility, not just his own (Lee Ao, 2005). However, Lee Yuan-tseh's explanation on mitigate responsibility that drew sharp responses from lawmakers, Lee Ching-an, PFP Legislator, who insisted that Lee must indeed apologize to the public because the education reform have failed and became a disaster, while Hung Hsiu-chu, KMT Legislator, showed that the apology by Lee proves that the plan of education reform is failure and the apology has come also too late (Lee Ao, 2005).

Huang Kuang-kuo and Chang Ya-chung, both professor of NTU, discontented and pointed out that Lee Yuan-tseh's apology was evaded serious matters and taken up trifles. They criticized Lee avoided the crucial points on his duty and only diverted attention from his responsibility on educational policy-making to other one. They also denounced Lee's education reform group and MOE are 'the benefit symbiont' and 'dig the money group'. Chang Ya-chung in the interview with the author showed clearly that because of the low quality on higher education, MOE solve this problem only through raising the money, which like the incomplete project of 50 billions NTD for five years to a few universities. Huang Kuang-kuo in the author's interview stressed the constructive a high quality higher education cannot depend on special budgets; and Huang questioned what university can do after five years? He indicated the resultants of education reform is that the quality of graduate schools are equal in level to the undergraduate schools precedent, undergraduate schools are now equal to senior high schools in academic level. Huang and Chang's view touched the deep heart of the people and educators, although 'the quality of graduate schools are as past

undergraduate schools' was slight underestimated, the trouble got into the higher education that is reality.

Also, Liu Guang-ding, professor of Department of Chemistry in NTU, accused Lee Yuan-tseh as the convener of reform waded into the manipulation of MOE; Lee is not an expert of education, but he drew up the approaches of education policies that he should sincerely and truly apology for the failure of education reform (Lee, 2005 e; Lee, 2005 f). In addition, the leftist anti-educational distortion organization, the New Century Youth Group¹⁰¹ and AAHT have been engaged in the movement protesting against high tuition and higher education policies, which made by Lee Yuan-tseh and his groups. They demanded that: 1) revise high tuition policy and give up the commercialization of education; 2) levy a tax on consumption to raise the fund for special education purposes; 3) free tuition for children of the unemployed family; 4) hold an national day to memorize the event of high tuition (Against, 2004). Besides, they also emphasized that when they say they oppose the commercialization of education, they imply two things. First, they are against commercialization; second, they are against extreme capitalism. The New Century Youth Group and AAHT firmly push against education into the sphere of market orientation and profit making, their opinions was the same as the views of most people in Taiwan during that time.

With regard to the questions of high tuition fees at the different level in the education system, the Executive Yuan was forced a response in 2003; it has devised a plan for interest-free student loans, available to all families with an annual income of 1.2 million NTD or less. In addition, the MOE decided to offer scholarships for children of laborers, farmers, and the unemployed. Actually the central authority did not pay attention on the issues of higher tuition fees and reconsideration on the affairs of education. On 13 May 2006, AAHT and hundreds of teachers and students

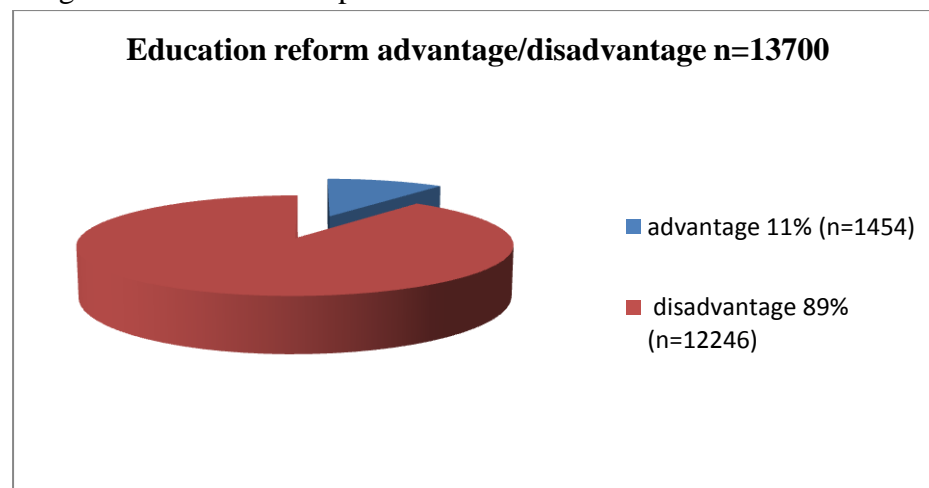
¹⁰¹ The New Century Youth Group was founded in 1999 by a group of progressive students and young people who care deeply about the social, economic, political, and environmental issues faced by Taiwan today. It is a leftist group rooted in theoretical studies as well as active participation in social movement

protested again against high tuition fees in front of the building of MOE. They were opposite the commercialization of education which has caused tuition, text book and reference material's prices to rise. Some students was arrested by the police with the reason of violated the rule of Assembly and Parade Law. Luo Te-shui, a managing director of the Taipei Teacher's Association, criticized in the rally (Protesters, 2006 i) that the education has become extremely stressful for parents in Taiwan.

An important idea behind the educational reality is the lack of funding for education should not be passed on to the public, because many parents belong to the blue-collar or very petty bourgeoisie class and they cannot afford the high educational expenses. In the protested rally of AAHT, people clearly emphasized that current education policies separate the rich from the poor; when in fact, every student deserves an equal opportunities.

Many years of grand education reform since 1994 in Taiwan are widely criticized as a disaster. In a poll conducted by the Association of Teachers in early March 2004, more than 90% of the teachers interviewed qualified the education reforms as a failure. Another survey showed the same conclusion as Association of Teachers did. Taiwan Province Education Committee made questionnaires for 13,700 participants on 8 September 2003, 89% or 12,246 expressed education reform since 1994 as a disadvantage to the education system, while only 11% or 1,454 participants thought it was an advantage (The Results, 2003 g). Diagram 8.5 clearly exhibits the idea of people on grand education reform.

Diagram 8.5: Different Opinions on Education Reform



Source: Taiwan Province Education Committee (2004)

It needs to point out that the most of the key members of CER and reformist took part in the political career during the period of grand education reform; such as Yu Shyi-kun became the Premier, Lin Cing-chiang and Huang Jong-tsun worked as the Minister of Education, and others who jointed the education reform movements and protested on the streets in 1990s entered DPP's government as a high-ranking official in the comfortable office to manage the education reform affairs. Huang De-siang, director of Graduate Institute of Education in National Changhua University of Education, described that over ten years education reform is a 'movement of steel-making with all the people' in Taiwan; it is similarly as the Great Cultural Revolution in China with Taiwanese style (Huang, 2003 a). As the qualitative definition in academic world, the Great Cultural Revolution was a political revolution and power struggles in the political arenas.

It is worth to watch that for the purpose of victory in the political elections, central authority was complementing these voices of skepticism on the issues of reform, which including the questions of Lee Yuan-tseh, higher tuition fees, education funds and many others; just like the case of teachers applying for retirement and being refused have gotten into the public spotlight because of budgetary shortages in the middle of 2003. On the basis of the coming the Presidential election in March 2004,

in contrast to officialdom's response to the other events, which were protested by the social groups; the DPP's rulers has moved quickly to tackle the questions of retirement rights of teachers. The MOE rapidly proposed a budget of 20-30 billion NTD for teacher retirement. Furthermore, politicians took notice on the education affairs always in the periods of political elections, as Hsia Shou-chiu, professor of NTU, suggested before the general election of 2004 that if those who are dissatisfied the way of education are being run do not take the opportunity afforded by the Presidential election to raise questions about education policy now. It is improbable they will get attention from the government.

There is a real question that education matters are the only tool for servicing politics. Politicians need to obtain the power through the deal with the topics of any public policies in the period of elections; the trouble is that the political check is not guarantee to pay cash. The issues of education reform, which were indicated by academia will cool down any time if educators can not hold the chance to force the politicians to sign the agreements on educational affairs with them, although, the education is a long term process which calls for long term solutions.

8.4 Summary

This chapter explored the confronting positions between political authority, scholar-ruler and educators, and results of conflicts on the issue of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education? This study finds a crucial part of the structure of higher education are educational collectivism and educational populism, as the case of 'university entrance ratio', over 97% graduate from senior high schools who jointed JUEE can matriculate in universities and colleges. The high entrance proportion is actually purely educational collectivism. As another case of 'the policy of established new universities', this study finds established new universities are used only to cash the political check for election votes; the new higher education institutions born from this special circumstance, which for instance, Ming-Dao

college in 2001 and which became an university in 2007; Kainan College in 2000 and became university in 2006; Asia University of Taiwan in 2001; Kao Fong College of Digital Contents in 2004; Tainan National University of Art in 2004; National Taichung University in 2005 (from College upgraded) ; National Hsinchu University of Education in 2005 (from College upgraded); National Pingtung University of Education in 2005) (from College upgraded); and National Taiwan Sport University in 2009 (from College upgraded).

Politicians would like to execute educational collectivism from the view of political interest; the principle of educational collectivism is ‘from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs’ as the basis for a higher education society. Expectedly, in reply to the question ‘do you agree with the policy of educational expansion since 1994?’ 97% of teaching staff agreed that the number of universities and colleges has substantially exceeded its demand, 95% of administrative staff agreed with the author view on this subject.

The aim of educational populism in Taiwan can be seen that for the purpose of election vote, politicians have to satisfy the needs of voters. Many new universities and colleges were the consequence of political elections. This study clearly finds on the basis of political promise in the election and the policy of radical educational populism were sharply increasing the size and numbers of higher education institutes that causes the crises of many universities have difficulties recruiting enough students, and an increased number of university graduates means a possibility higher unemployment number in Taiwan. As the case of ‘the increasing number of higher education institutes caused the quality of students to decrease’ the data shows that 97.1% of university entrance exam takers can enter the university with minimum total scores of 7.6 totally on six subjects in 2008. One shouldn’t be shocked by this terribly low entering score. This is a typical result of extremely educational populism.

Furthermore, on the question ‘who is the weighty intervener in higher education?’ 91% of all teaching staff agreed that the political rulers and scholar-rulers are aliens in the higher education. They believed that decision-makers and scholar-rulers expressed their belief in deregulation and decentralization on higher education; however, in behavior, they were backed by Keynesian policies, which emphasize the importance of the governmental role in national affairs. Keynesian theory emphasizes the important role of central government on the national development during the period of transition time. The same as Keynesianism, political rulers in Taiwan emphasize the importance of the governmental role in education affairs. Sometimes, they admire the mighty power of communist party leader, but have no bravery to live up to this dream. For instance, the role of Lee Yuan-tseh in higher education reform since 1994 is useful to verify this argument; with the phenomenon of Lee with his totem of the ‘knowledge’ in Taiwan, Lee’s ideas and suggestions in higher educational affairs were an unchallengeable thought and his words just like something inside the secular Bible in Taiwan. Decision-maker’ behavior with authoritarianism also can to be verified in the policy of ‘the event of Taiwan map’ in this study.

In the interview with the author not reminding the interviewees the cases of Lee Yuan-tesh and Tu Cheng-sheng, 89% of all teaching staff and 90% of students interviewed expressed the fundamental issue of higher education is that the education system is governed by politicians who would like to control everything in educational affairs. When mentioned their opinion about the role of Lee Yuan-tesh and Education Minister Tu Cheng-sheng, more than 93% of teaching staff interviewed and voiced concern that government continues to appoint unqualified and inexperienced individual with political ambition as the leader of MOE. This view was also verified by National Chengchi University surveyed in 2006, which revealed in Chapter 6.3, 70% of the respondents expressed the moral character of the Taiwanese has been declining from 2000 because of the issue of education. Around 90% of those polled

believed that both politicians intervene in education affairs, and set the worst example to the society and students. Also, 70% of the respondents indicated the student have regressed in the areas of honesty, sense of shame and respect for the law.

This study also examined the political and social conflicts on higher educational policies, and revealed a case of ERM (Education Reconstruction Manifesto) to explain the situation of the issue of Taiwanese higher education. ERM declared 13 educational problems caused by higher education reform. It is from the views of equality and justices to emphasize the gap between the rich and poor class is rapid expanding in Taiwan. Besides, on the basis of social vertical mobility and justice, ERM highlighted the future education policies have to look after the students from the poor families and the lowest social class. ERM clearly indicated that the leader of official reform's team attempted to use political power to settle down the issues of education, such mode of thinking harmed the spirit of education. The ERM also showed that many beautiful educational slogans are essentially a response by educational populism. ERM' view is the same as the result of the survey which was conducted by author on the question 'how did the politician intervene on education reform?' 96% of teaching staff and 65% of students interviewed expressed the policy of educational populism is one of the tools used by politicians to influence the development of higher education. This study agrees with the ERM' view, Taiwanese government needs to end chaotic higher education reform and pursue higher quality education, to find a right and good way to seek high quality education for the students.

Chapter 9 Discussion and Conclusion

9.1 Discussion of Findings

The main aim of this dissertation was to examine the political intervention on higher education development through two representative ideas of deregulation and decentralization since 1994 in Taiwan. One of the objectives in this study was to penetrate the foundation of political intervention in Taiwanese higher education. This study finds that the aims of the central government initiating higher education policy in the 1950-80s was to achieve a number of high-priority goals after suffering defeat by the CCP in 1949. First, national identity; the political rulers sought to set up unified and new nationalistic sentiment for the people via the educational way. Second, patriotism; it aimed to develop the new generation's loyalty to the central government and its party leader. Third, re-Sinicization; it sought to eliminate the effects of colonialism on the island and replace these with Chinese nationalism. Finally, martial spirit or spiritual defense forces; it aimed to build national security from the immediate threat of invasion from Communist China. As this study shows that higher education contained political doctrine of KMT in which the core value was Chiang Kai-shek's anti-communist theorem, ideas of nationalism and Sun Yat-sen's political ideology. The essence of the higher education in this stage was not primarily the goal of knowledge transformation but serving as the institutions of political socialization for the objective of national security.

This study detects that idea of obedience to the ruler and the fear of punishment from central authority are Chinese nature and idiosyncrasy in Confucian society. If one views the power transmission in the context of the wider movement of pursuing democracy, one may understand why it is difficult for deregulation to take root in Taiwan. In Taiwan, democracy is a fashionable name, which means the country has nearly reached the entry level of developed countries. It is a fancy pet phrase by

intelligentsia. For the notion of deregulation, it is not taken as something with intrinsic value, but as a political excuse for the re-regulation

Another objective in this study was to explore the policies of political intervention in higher education. This study finds that the socio-political headstone in higher education has changed rapidly due to the emergence of new educational view and political atmosphere after the 1980s. KMT political ideology was phased out from the higher education domain, but unfortunately rapidly replaced by new objectives of education under the policies of DPP on Taiwanese independence, de-Sinicization, and extreme localization, which originated from the political movements of Taiwanese identity and ethnic conflicts.

Regarding the practice of higher education policies under the political intervention, this study discovers that central authority alienated the value of deregulation and decentralization to educational politicism. In reality, the ideology of politics took command of most educational affairs. Intrinsically, the policies of deregulation and decentralization emphasized the liberation of educational management from governmental control. In correspond to this aims, the power of decision-making on higher education affairs should be transformed from centralized authority to local control. Unfortunately, the Taiwanese deviated from this route; an unrealistic decentralization was used to develop a new type of centralization with educational populism on the basis of ethnic groups, national identity and political conflicts, as this research analyzed in different chapters.

Concerning the interview question ‘what is the essence of deregulation policy in higher education since 1994?’, this study finds that more than 92% of teaching staff interviewed indicated that the political struggle created abnormal deregulation policies since 1994. They believed that the Taiwanese made a metamorphosis on the policies of deregulation. This study also finds that in Taiwan, the policies of deregulation in higher education are actually a means of solving national financial

problems in higher education institutes. In most professors' mind, deregulation measures were enforced in a centralized spirit to ensure a better control over higher education institutes in fulfilling political party interests, and least involvement in democratization. None of this was aiming to transfer decision-making authority from higher to lower organizational levels. Thus, it is not surprising that veritable deregulation was not achieved in Taiwan. This unsuccessful transformation from central authorities to higher education institutes demonstrates that the idea of deregulation itself does not sit well with the political culture and political situation in domestic affairs.

This study identifies the phenomenon of higher education development since 1994 in Taiwan. It is a new form of political intervention put into practice in the higher education system. The MOE under the central authoritative dominance is in shambles. The government continues to appoint some unqualified, inexperienced people with political influence as its new head of the MOE, like Tu Cheng-sheng, the Minister of Education from 2004 to 2008. Tu politicized educational issues and played favoritism towards those who serve his party's goals in his duty days. However, as this study finds, the political struggle and ethnic's conflict sparked off an alienation of localization on the higher education development. It turned positive value of localization into negative worth of de-Sinicization in the higher education, and changed the role of educational teleology into political teleology. Unequivocally only the educational teleology with no political color can resolve the ideology conflicts in the Taiwanese education system.

As to the interview question 'who is responsible for the failure of grand education reform since 1994?', 95% of teaching staff interviewed believed that scholar-rulers and politicians should both take responsibility for the failure of grand education reform; whereas 51% of students believed that politicians were to blame and 45% of students stated that scholar-rulers should claim responsibility. Lee

Yuan-tseh, who in charge education reform affairs since 1994, apologized to the Taiwanese on 13 October 2005 in the parliament for the failure on grand education reform since 1994. He admitted that the objectives of grand education reform were not achieved and that was his fault.

Besides, Kuo Wei-fan, the former Education Minister, admitted education reform was a mistake. Kuo believed the key issues were political interventions and education ministers from 1996 had only short days in the office. He highlighted that no one could draw up the complete programs and carries it out from start to finish in such a short period of time. Thus, the major problem of grand education reform was the frequent change of ministers, each minister had their own ideas, but the tenure in office was too short. Indeed, as Table 6.5 in this study indicates, in a twelve-year period (1996-2008), six education ministers had been rotated or substituted with few of them holding just one or two years in the office.

Concerning the contents of educational populism on Taiwanese higher education development, this study finds that the policy on higher education expansion that implemented by Taiwanese government advocated the doctrine of ‘to each according to his needs’. It belongs to the value of equalitarianism and communism. Contrarily, the government executed high tuition policy for higher education in a form of capitalism. The contradiction between different ideas on equalitarianism and capitalism, which stand on the anode and cathode of electromagnetic field alienated the higher education in Taiwan.

This study also discovers that new authoritarianism took different forms in different places. In Taiwan the central authority attempted to minimise higher education’s role in allocating educational resources and replace it with a central control mechanism. In political sloganeering, political rulers expressed their belief in deregulation, but in political behavior they were backed by Keynesian policies.¹⁰²

¹⁰² John M. Keynes (5/June/1883-21/April/1946). A British economist, Keynes attended King’s College Cambridge and later became a fellow there. In 1911 he was made editor of the Economic

Political rulers emphasize the importance of the governmental role in education affairs. Occasionally, they admire the mighty power of communist party leader, but have no bravery to live up to this dream.

As this study indicates that the educational politicism emphasizes concentrative political power. However, deregulation is the phenomenon of disperse power. From the view of political philosophy, the essence of deregulation and regulation looks at different meanings, regulation is more from the leftists and socialism's viewpoint. The aim is to manage country's affairs with governmental power. In economy, the essence of regulation is united by the desire to achieve greater equality and give power to leaders to hold greater control on the means of production; it is a type of command economy. In education, regulation is highlighted on the overall planning in education system's manipulation and overall distribution in system resource. Deregulation is quite the opposite; its concept comes from the rightists and capitalism's viewpoint. The aim is to manage the system operation within itself. In economy, deregulation accentuated on the sole responsibility for its profits or losses that are the type of market economy. In education, it is autonomy. Forming the idea of market-oriented economy, higher education institutes is another form of the service industry, which touches upon economic interest. From the idea of politics, higher education institutes are political bases in many developing countries where dirty policies are a dominant force in domestic political competition. However, the goal of higher education in Taiwan is not purely educational but also political.

As this study finds that Taiwanese higher education is certainly dominated by intervention and even more by educational politicism, which mixes with domestic

Journal - Britain's foremost economics publication. The main plank of Keynesian' theory is the assertion that the aggregate demand created by households, businesses and the government-and not the dynamics of free markets-is the most important driving force in an economy. His theory further asserts that free markets have no self-balancing mechanisms that lead to full employment. Keynesian economists urge and justify a government's intervention in the economy through public policies that aim to achieve full employment and price stability. The Selected Works of John M. Keynes reference on *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* published in 1919; *A Tract on Monetary Reform* in 1923; *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* in 1936.

politics, educational reality, democratization, interventionism, and extreme populism. The result of the grand education reform which made progress over the years was combined with educational politicism and political intervention. The essence and goals of grand education reform have received no respectability by most Taiwanese; for instance, the higher education reform has been sanctified that no one can access except for a small number of scholar-ruler's comrades. Under the phenomenon of the totem of 'knowledge', the ideas and suggestions of a leader of grand education reform teams with the title of Nobel laurel in higher educational affairs were believed to be unchallengeable and his words just like something inside the secular Bible in Taiwan. The GCRER in reality became an educational Holy Bible that indicates no one can address different ideas on its reform policy.

Moreover, as this study finds and verifies that the Taiwanese higher education is an alienative system. The development of higher education is unceasingly intervened by politics. Politicians, scholar-rulers and academic cliques constantly use their power to control it with no end in sight. As the case of 'the policy of professors governing the university', unfortunately, under the big hat of professors governs the university, autonomy is alienated to political struggle in the campus. Autonomy is used as an excuse to criticize the one who have different opinions in education affairs or political stand. Lin Yi-sheng, academician of Academia Sinica, shares the same view with the author. In 2006 he reviewed the policy of university's autonomy and commented that professors govern the university is distortive academic freedom. Regarding the interview question 'do you agree with Lee Yuan-tseh's policy of professors governs the university?', 78% of teaching staff agreed with the policy title but with reservations on policy contents. They indicated that the relationship between rights and duties should be clearly distinguished. However, 89% of students opposed this autonomy policy; because they kept a strong distrust the professors' righteousness on the affairs of higher education.

In the case of ‘the policy of higher education expansion’, as this study discloses in Chapter 8 that it was manipulated by radical educational populism to alienate popularity policy for attracting more votes in each political election at the national and local levels. This study finds that the higher education development is indeed a process of alienative transition. The term of alienative transition is an inharmonious and struggle phenomenon which can make a targeted mutagenesis, or can damage the immune functions in the system. Higher education in Taiwan varies through internal processes and in response to variations in external forcing factors including interest’s distribution, political intervention, national identity, globalization, educational populism. The targeted mutagenesis in education system is the process in which the emission of political interest radiation by the politician deliberate change in the genetic structure directed at a specific site on the higher education.

One thing which should be emphasized is that many governmental programs in Taiwanese education affairs appear to have political purposes; actually democracy in Taiwan did not automatically bring better education practices or enhanced autonomy protection to the higher education institutes and other academic units. From the viewpoint of educational affairs, an ideal open political system should be rationally discussed in the area of educational policy-making in democratic mechanism; the deregulation in education system has to be protected by political establishment as well. However, the Taiwanese higher education itself reveals the phenomenon of alienation due to the issue of national identity and political struggle among the ethnic groups and politicians. The empirical evidence shows that alienative democracy is not necessarily advantageous for the outcomes of public policy or substantive educational policy.

This study also finds that the framework of policy-making on higher education in Taiwan is largely captured by political interest groups. Political ruler disregarded the pledge to improve the educational quality when they became ruling authority. In addition, on the exchange of political benefits with local cliques, politicians always

made every endeavor to play the card of education on the political platform with their allies. Educational soil became the place not only to cultivate political ideology but also to agglomerate political power. The lift of the Martial Law in Taiwan provided local political factions with enhanced opportunities to pressure central government for more relaxing controls on education affairs. After over a decade of grand education reform, one of the most remarkable education developments was the establishment of a breeding ground for political intervention in the education system. Educational politicism broadened political disturbance in educational matters, the Taiwanese education at all levels entered an era of alienative circulation, which progressively crippled the education system.

9.2 Conclusion

The modern history of education in Taiwan has, generally, undergone different styles of education development; either covers the structure of the whole system or simply the single policy. Taiwanese government put its priority on political stability, patriotism, and martial spirit on education over economic development during the first two decades since 1950; from the early 1970s the economy became the government's top priority in the national policies. Education at that time emphasized cooperative behavior, group discipline, and obedience to standards.

This dissertation explores the foundation of political intervention since 1994. This study reveals that Confucian culture still dominated Taiwanese educational ideology and learning value. The majority of people firmly believe in higher education determinism. The era of grand higher education reform began when 'The Principal Points of set up Council on Education Reform' was passed by Executive Yuan on 28 July 1994; the CER completed its mission and submitted a GCRER to the Executive Yuan and was made public on 2 December 1996.

In response to the requirements of the knowledge-based economy, the higher education in Taiwan faces the challenge of upgrading the education system in the era

of globalization. However, under globalization's pressure, the Taiwanese higher authority has not only abandoned adjusting higher education tune to tie in with the progress of globalization, but remain autistic in higher education affairs. In other words, the central authority is sealing the sensory organs with its political ideology; as the case of the 'event of Tu Cheng-sheng of Minister of Education', it revealed that Tu had to give up all his common sense and submitted himself to educational politicism to follow political will of his political party, and the central authority did not care about the functions of higher education and the damage caused by alienative transition. It cares only its political power. The phenomenon of educational politicism threatens the future of higher education development in Taiwan.

Unfortunately, the issues of national identity crisis and extreme localization have seriously impeded the development of high education since 1994. The movement of Taiwanese identity and extreme localization has been expressed in the forms of de-Sinicization. This viewpoint can be revealed and verified in the case of 'the campaign for the correction of names on university and college' in Chapter 5. Besides, people demanded that the government should pursue protecting academic freedom. However, degenerative democratization in Taiwan gives politicians a chance to meddle in the education operation with the name of educational supervision.

This study describes the policies of intervention in higher education. This research reveals Taiwanese higher education development is linked tightly to the political and economical transformation in Taiwanese modern history. Before the Martial Law was rescinded in 1987, the aims of higher education were above economy and education itself. The education emphasized on national unification, political stability, social consistency, uniformity, and harmony between the four big ethnic groups. In that time, the educational policies were designed to assure loyalty to the central government, and higher education development was controlled by the government. Since the removal of Martial Law, a brand new mutative political moral

education emerged that includes de-Sinicization and Man-nanization which had replaced the special subject of education offered in schools.

Furthermore, this study exposes that grand education reform since 1994 was one of the achievements of political and social movements. These movements had four types, namely: for social warfare; for human rights; for demanding political right; and for demanding educational right. When people asked the government to liberate political right from its hands, people believed they owned the right to express their opinions on the subject of education. These movements, either demanding political right or social warfare, were bound to touch the grand education reform in Taiwan.

The core concept of higher education reform has been deregulation in grand education reform since 1994. However, the Taiwanese central authority alienated the value of deregulation into the new form of regulation. Politics takes command of most educational affairs. Moreover, as this study exposed that the number of higher education institutes rapidly increased as a result of educational populism in Taiwan. Over 97% students who took the JUEE with minimum scores of 7.69 totaled on six subjects in 2008 can be matriculated into higher education institutes. This is fully conformed to the principle of ‘from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs’ that was unveiled in *Critique of the Gotha Program* on May 1875 by K. Marx. The higher education policies are mixed with polarized ‘ism’ that forms a contradictory opposition and offers a big space for the political intervention

Furthermore, as the case of the policy on setting up new private universities, the privatization of tertiary education in Taiwan is not established on the basis of education philosophy or educational democratization, but as a result of the deficiency of government funding; this study discovers that it is actually a policy of decompression and not typical deregulation. And more importantly, many new higher education institutes were the sequel of political elections as this study analyzed, the local powerful political factions made a deal with politicians in the elections with

their support in exchange for political promise to establish a new university in his electoral district. This research also surprisingly finds the governance at universities was characterized by a dualism between political and academic bureaucracy's authority with respect to all aspects of national and political interest. This dualism means the central government has power to build the orientation of university management with political objectives. The universities felt it had a political and social obligation as the enlightened secular nation to serve as a philanthropic patron for academic life.

The study explores the contents of educational populism in Taiwanese higher education development. This research reveals a crucial part of higher education system is education collectivism and political conflicts, as the case of 'university entrance ratio', the high rate of entrance proportion to university is actually purely education collectivism. The aim of educational populism in Taiwan can be seen that for the purpose of election vote, politicians have to satisfy the needs of voters. Many new universities and colleges were the result of political elections. This study clearly reveals on the basis of political promise in the elections and the policy of radical educational populism were sharply increasing the size and numbers of higher education institutes that causes the crises of many universities have difficulties recruiting enough students.

The study also examines the political and social conflicts on higher educational policies and reveals a case of ERM to explain the situation of the issue of Taiwanese higher education. On the basis of social vertical mobility and justice, ERM highlighted the future education policies have to look after the students from the poor families and the lowest social class. ERM clearly indicated that the leader of official reform's team attempted to use political power to settle the issues of education, such way of thinking was harmful to the spirit of education. The ERM also showed that many beautiful educational slogans in Taiwan are essentially a response by

educational populism. This study agrees with the ERM' view, Taiwanese government needs to end chaotic higher education reform and pursue higher quality education, to find a right and good way to seek high quality higher education for the students.

Although the grand education reform started in 1994 was under the name of justice, equity, and universalization. Essentially it was heading towards popularization with the idea of populism; the essence of higher education and the relationship among country, society and enterprise have significantly changed. When MOE reduced subsidy to higher education with the slogan of democratization and autonomy, universities and colleges were forced to adopt different ways to raise funds from industrial circles, increasing tuition and decreasing the expenditures. Both activities have pushed higher education institutes to make compromise with non-academic matters.

If one faithfully faced the development of society, it is clear that the core duty of higher education is to discover the truth, and pursue the genuine knowledge of philosophy, but to support economy. If the university would like to survive as the knowledge sanctuary, it should fix its orientation. The obligation of public authority is to support without interference. If powerful authority influences university's values with political hands, or university is viewed as a political base, university will have been effectively murdered by politicians. However, higher education reform is a never-ending story, as Taiwan is turning into era of globalization, the state of higher education reveals various problems; there is a growing belief that higher education needs to be re-reformed in order to respond to the intervention from political authoritarian with a coat of democracy, and from scholar-rulers with the name of Western academic experience.

References

- Academics Want Chinese Postgraduates in Taiwan (2002b, January 14), *Taipei Times*, p. A4.
- Add Taiwan on the Cover Page of Passport, President Approved (2002a, January 14), *United Daily*. (總統證明護照加註台灣 (2002a , 1 月 14 日) , 聯合報)
- Adorno, T. (1950) *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harper.
- Almond, G. and S. Verba (1989) *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, London: Sage.
- Amin, A. (1998) Globalization and Regional Development: A Relational Perspective, *Competition and Change*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 145-166.
- Analytic Quality Glossary (2010)
<http://www.qualityresearchinternational.com/glossary/autonomy.htm> (Accessed: 30 August 2010)
- Anderson, D. and R. Johnson (1998) *University Autonomy in Twenty Countries*, Australian: The Australian National University.
- APEC (2000) "Education for Learning Societies in the 21st Century", *The Second APEC Education Ministerial Meeting*, Singapore, 7 April 2000.
- Archer, M. (1979, 1984) *Social Origins of Educational Systems*, London: Sage.
- Archer, M. (1988) *Culture and Agency: The Place of Culture in Social Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arrington, R. (1991) "Rationalism, Realism, and Relativism: Perspectives in Contemporary Moral Epistemology", *Ethics*, Vol. No. 101, pp. 406-422.
- Ashby, W. (1947) "Principles of the Self-Organizing Dynamic System", *Journal of General Psychology*, Vol. 37, pp. 125-128.
- Ashby, W. (1962) "Principles of the Self-Organizing Systems" in H. Foerster and G. Zopf, Jr. (eds.), *Principles of Self-Organization, Sponsored by Information Systems Branch*, U.S. Office of Naval Research, pp. 102-126.
- Astiz, M., A. Wiseman and D. Baker (2002) "Slouching Towards Decentralization: Consequences of Globalization for Curricular Control in National Educational Systems", *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 46, No.1, pp. 66-88.
- Audi, R. (ed.) (1999) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Average Office Worker Salary Grows 9% (2005m, October 27), *Taipei Times*, p. A3.
- Backlash Hits Education Reform (2003p, August), *Taiwan Panorama*, p. 6.
- Ball, S. (1998) 'Big Policies Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy', *Comparative Education*, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 119-130.
- Barker, E. (1983) "New Religious Movements in Britain" in H. Meldgaard and J. Aagaard (ed.), *New Religious Movements in Europe*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, pp. 33-48.
- Barker, E. (2003) "The Wisdom to Know the Difference? Freedom, Control and the Sociology of Religion", *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 64, No. 3, pp. 285-307.
- Barnes, J. (1999) "Funding and University Autonomy" in M. Henkel & B. Little (ed.), *Changing Relationships between Higher Education and the State*, Chapter 9, Philadelphia: J. Kingsley Publishers.
- Baxter, P. and S. Jack (2008) "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers", *The Qualitative Report*, Vol. 13,

- No. 4, pp. 544-559.
- Becker, G. (1993) *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bellah, R. (1973) *Emile Durkheim: On Morality and Society, Selected Writings*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bentley, M. (1999) *Modern Historiography: An Introduction*, London: Routledge.
- Berlet, C. (2005) "When Alienation Turns Right: Populist Conspiracism, the Apocalyptic Style, and Neofascist Movements" in L. Langman and D. Fishman, (ed.), *Trauma, Promise, and the Millennium: The Evolution of Alienation*, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 115-144.
- Bertalanffy, L. (1950) "An Outline of General System Theory", *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 139-164.
- Bertalanffy, L. (1968) *General System Theory: Foundations, Development, Applications*, New York: George Braziller.
- Bertalanffy, L. (1975) *Perspectives on General Systems Theory: Scientific-Philosophical Studies*, New York: George Braziller.
- Besieged and Protested by Whole Peoples: People in Everywhere, (2006f, October 11), *United Daily*. (全民圍城 (2006f, 10月11日), 聯合報)
- Bickford S. (1997) "Anti-Anti-Identity Politics: Feminism, Democracy, and the Complexities of Citizenship", *Hypatia*, Vol.12, No. 4, pp. 111-31.
- Blackburn, S. (1996) *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blight, D., D. Davis and A. Olsen (2000) "The Globalization of Higher Education" in P. Scott, (ed.), *Higher Education Re-formed*, New York: Falmer Press, pp. 95-113.
- Bo, Y. (1992) *The Ugly Chinaman*, Taipei: Sin Kuang Published. (柏楊 (1992) 「醜陋的中國人」, 台北: 星光出版社)
- Boggs, C. (1986) *Social Movements and Political Power: Emerging Forms of Radicalism in the West*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Boudon, R. (1973) *Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality*, New York: John Wiley.
- Boulding, K. (1956) *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Boulding, K. (1966) *The Impact of the Social Sciences*, Rutgers: University Press.
- Boulding, K. (1975) *International Systems: Peace, Conflict Resolution, and Politics*, Colorado: Associated University Press.
- Boyte, H. and F. Riessman (ed.) (1986) *The New Populism: The Politics of Empowerment*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Brown, D. (1994) "Decentralization in Educational Government and Management", *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, London: Pergamon Press, p. 1410.
- Brown, T. (1999) "Challenging Globalization as Discourse and Phenomenon", *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp.13-17.
- Brown, W. (1995) *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 74.
- Bullard, M. (1997) *The Soldier and The Citizen*, New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Burki, S. (1999) *Beyond the Center: Decentralizing the State*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Canovan, M. (1981) *Populism*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, p. 5.
- Carnoy M. (2000) "Globalization and Educational Reform" in N. Stromquist and K.

- Monkman (ed.) *Globalization and Education: Integration and Contestation across Cultures*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 43-61.
- Carnoy, M. and D. Rhoten (2002) "What Does Globalization Mean for Education Change? A Comparative Approach", *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 1-9.
- Castoriadis, C. (1997) *World in Fragments*, California: Stanford University Press.
- Chan, D. and K. Mok (2001) "Educational Reforms and Coping Strategies Under the Tidal Wave of Marketisation: A Comparative Study of Hong Kong and The Mainland", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 21-41.
- Chan, G. (1997) "Taiwan as an Emerging Foreign Aid Donor: Developments, Problems, and Prospects", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 1, pp.37-56.
- Chan, S. and C. Clark (1992) *Flexibility, Foresight, and Fortune in Taiwan's Development: Navigating between Scylla and Charybdis*, London: Routledge.
- Chan, W. (1963) (translated and compiled). *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Chang J. (2009) "The Practice of Educational Politicism in Changing Taiwan: A New Phenomenology", Paper Presented at the Symposium of Macro: Strategies for Macau's Development, Macau Polytechnic Institute, 21-22 April 2009.
- Chang, C. (2006) "Changing Times for Higher Education", *Taiwan Panorama*, Vol. 6, p.22.
- Chang, J and Y. Hsieh (1999) "The Strategy of Japanese Higher Education Reform for the 21st Century" in NTNU (ed.), *A Special Issue of the Journal on the International Symposium: Higher Education Reform and Teachers Training*, National Taiwan Normal University and Chinese Comparative Education Society, Taipei, Vol. 2, pp.353-368.
- Chang, J. (2008) "Higher Education Development in Taiwan since 1994: Political Intervention on Educational Implementation", Paper Presented at 52nd Comparative International Education Society's Annual Meeting, Columbia University's Teachers College, 21 March 2008.
- Chang, J. (2008) *Power Struggle and the Political Role of Military: 1949-1973 in China*, Chapter 1, Taipei: Yang-jhih Published, pp. 1-38.
- Chang, J. (2009) "The Practice of Educational Politicism in Changing Taiwan: A New Phenomenology" in MPI and Macau Government (ed.), *Journal of Strategies for Macau's Development*, Vol. 3, pp. 370-386.
- Chang, J. and Y. Hsieh (1999) "Towards the Lifelong Learning Society: Recurrent Education in Taiwanese Higher Education" in Ministry of Education (ed.), *A Special Issue of the Journal on the Symposium: Teaching and Research in Higher Education*, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Defense, Taiwan, Vol. 2, pp. 255-261.
- Checkland, P. (1997) *Soft Systems Methodology in Action*, London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Chen, T. (2007) "Some Key Issues on Higher Education in Taiwan", Paper for Presentation at the International Conference on Higher Education Reform, Taipei, 6 October 2007.
- Chiao, K. (2000) "Democratic Transition, Electoral Politics, and Environmental Policy Implementation in Taiwan, 1986-1997 - The Case of Local Point Source River Pollution Control", Paper for Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, 31 August-3 September 2000. University of Southern California: School of Policy, Planning, and Development.

- Chou, C. (2001) *Lee Teng-hui: The Years of Presidency*, Taipei: The Ke Ying Published. (鄒景雯 (2001)「李登輝執政告白實錄」, 印刻出版有限公司)
- Chou, H. (1996) *The Necessity on Established the University Law*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Chryssides, G. (2001) "Unrecognized Charisma? A study and Comparison of Four Charismatic Leaders: Charles Taze Russell, Joseph Smith, L Ron Hubbard, Swami Prabhupada", Paper presented at the 2001 International Conference; The Spiritual Supermarket: Religious Pluralism in The 21st Century, Organised by INFORM and CESNUR, London: April 19-22, 2001.
- Chu, Y. and T. Lin (1996) "The Process of Democratic Consolidation in Taiwan: Social Cleavage, Electoral Competition, and the Emerging Party System" in H. M. Tien (ed.) *Taiwan's Electoral Politics and Democratic Transition: Riding the Third Wave*, New York: M. E. Sharpe, pp. 79-104.
- Chuang, J. (2005) "NTNU President Forced to Step Down", *Taipei Times*, 22 April 2005.
- Clark, B. (1983) *The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-national Perspective*, California: University of California Press.
- Clark, B. (1984) *Perspectives on Higher Education: Eight Disciplinary and Comparative Views*, California: University of California Press.
- Clark, C. (1989) *Taiwan's Development: Implications for Contending Political Economy Paradigms*, New York: Greenwood.
- Collins, R. (1971) "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 36, pp. 1002-19.
- Collins, R. (1979) *The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification*, New York: Academic Press.
- Compilation of Laws and Regulations on Higher Education* (1997), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Confiscate the Corruptive Assets from the Son-in Law of President Chen Shui-bian, and Use It Rescue Education (2006m, July 2), *The Epoch Time*, p. A1
- Confucius/C. Huang (1997) *The Analects of Confucius*: Lun Yu, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Connor, H. (1999) "Different Graduates, Different Labor Market" in M. Henkel and B. Little (ed.), *Changing Relationships between Higher Education and the State*, Philadelphia: J. Kingsley Publishers.
- Constitution of Republic of China* (2003), Taipei: San-ming Inc.(中華民國憲法(2003) , 台北: 三民出版社)
- Consultation Report for Education Reform (CRER)* (1996), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Corrales, J. (1999) *The Politics of Education Reform: Bolstering the Supply and Demand; Overcoming Institutional Blocks*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Council on Education Reform (1996) *The General Consultation Report for Education Reform*, Taipei: Minister of Education.
- Coy, P and L. Woehrle (2000) *Social Conflicts and Collective Identities*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Creswell, J. (2003) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Critics Slam Schoolbook Revision of Nanjing Massacre (2007l, February 27), *Taipei Times*, p. A3.
- Dale, R. and S. Robertson (2002) "The Varying Effects of Regional Organizations as

- Subjects of Globalization of Education”, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 10-16.
- Daun, H. (1997) “National Forces, Globalization and Educational Restructuring: Some European Response Patterns”, *Comparative Education*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 19-41.
- Davey, K. (ed.) (2002) *Balancing National and Local Responsibilities: Education Management and Finance in Four Central European Countries, Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative*, Budapest: Open Society Institute.
- Davis, K. and W. Moore (1945) “Some Principles of Stratification” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 242-9.
- Davison, G. and B. Reed (1998) *Culture and Customs of Taiwan*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- DDP (1995) *Political Platform of the Democratic Progressive Party*, DPP, 19 March 1995.
- Degrees of Discontent (1998b, June 1), *Taiwan Review*, p. 5.
- De-Sinicization in History Textbook (2007s, March 6), *United Evening Daily*. (歷史教科書去中國化 (2007s, 3月6日), 聯合晚報)
- Devaney, R. (2003) *An Introduction to Chaotic Dynamical Systems*, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Deverson, T. (ed.) (2007) *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dill, D. and B. Sporn (1995) “The Implications of a Postindustrial Environment for the University” in D. Dill and B. Sporn (ed.), *Emerging Patterns of Social Demand and University Reform: Through a Glass Darkly*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp. 1-19.
- Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (2006) *Family Income/Expenditure Survey Metadata*, Taipei: Executive Yuan.
- Dlamini, M. (1996) “Academic Freedom and the Autonomy of Tertiary Institutions”, *University Autonomy and Academic Freedom in South Africa*, South Africa: University of South Africa.
- Do Grads Make the Grade? (1995b, June 1), *Taiwan Review*, p. 2.
- Dore, R. (1997) *The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development*, London: Institute of Education, University of London.
- Douglas, K. and E. Elliott (1997) *Chaos Theory in the Social Sciences*, Massachusetts: Perseus Publishing.
- Duderstadt, J. (2000) *A University for the 21st Century*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Durant, W. (1991) *Story of Philosophy: The Lives and Opinions of the World's Greatest Philosophers: From Plato to John Dewe*, New York: Pocket books.
- Durkheim, E. (1912) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, (English translation by Joseph Swain: 1915), New York: The Free Press.
- Dworkin, G. (1988) *The Theory and Practice of Autonomy*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge press.
- Each Subject Average Score only 2.84 in New JUEE (2007c, August 9), *The Epoch Time/United Daily*, p. A1/A3.
- Each Subject Average Score only 2.84 in New JUEE (2007t, August 9), *The Epoch Time/United Daily*. (大學聯考每科平均 2.84 分 (2007t, 8月9日), 大紀元新聞網/聯合報)
- Easton, D. (1953) *The Political System. An Inquiry into the State of Political Science*,

- New York: Knopf.
- Easton, D. (1956) *Framework for Political Analysis*, New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs.
- Economic Indicators* (2000, 2007) Taipei: Department of Statistics, Ministry of Economic Affairs.
- Editorial, (1996a, June 10) "Professor Governs the University is not Professors Struggles in the University", *United Daily*. (社論 (1996a, 6 月 10 日) 「教授治校不是教授鬥爭」, 聯合報)
- Editorial, (2003, August 7) "Look Back to See Education Reform", *United Daily*. (社論 (2003, 8 月 7 日) 「回顧教改」, 聯合報)
- Editorial, (2004, May 20) "228 Rally Memorabilia Donated", *Taipei Times*.
- Editorial, (2008, August 8) "The Education of 7.69", *United Evening Daily/China Time*. (社論 (2008, 8 月 8 日) 「7.69 分的教育」, 聯合晚報/中國時報)
- Education Commission Report: Quality School Education Commission* (1997), Vol. 7, Hong Kong: Hong Kong SAR Government.
- Education Minister Changing Soon, Education Reform Changing Tune (2003d, August 15), *The Liberty Times*. (教育部長更換太快, 教改變調 (2003d, 8 月 15 日), 自由時報)
- Education Minister Tu Turns into Lexicographer (2006p, May 23), *China Post*, p. A2.
- Education Office Tackles Oversupply of Teachers (2006c, August 11), *Taiwan Journal*, p. 3.
- Education Reconstruction and the Education Should Make a Clear Distinction with Politics (2003l, August 6), *United Daily*. (教育重建和教育需與政治分離 (2003l, 8 月 6 日), 聯合報)
- Education Reconstruction Manifesto-Ending Chaos of Education Reform (2003a, July 21), *United Daily*. (教改萬言書 (2003a, 7 月 21 日), 聯合報)
- Education Statistical Data* (2000, 2006), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Educational Report of the Republic of China on Taiwan: Perceptions of Education Towards The Twenty-First Century* (1995), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Education-Year Book* (2005), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Education-Year Book* (2007), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Edwards, R. and R. Usher (2000) *Globalization and Pedagogy*, London: Routledge.
- Eisenhardt, K. (1989) "Building Theories from Case Study Research", *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 14, No. 4.
- Encomiastic Volunteers: Chen Shui-bian's Ching-Ju-Nan-Shu (2006o, May 21), *United Daily*. (陳水扁的「罄竹難書」 (2006o, 5 月 21 日), 聯合報)
- E-paper*, The Office of President Chen Shui-bian, 10 July 2003.
- Executive Yuan (1999) *The Regulation of National University Operation Funds*, 3 February 1999, (88) 華總一義字 No.8800024760.
- Executive Yuan (2007) *Law and Regulations Database of Republic of China*, Taipei: Executive Yuan.
- Falk, R (1999) *Predatory Globalization*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Falsify History, Pan-blue Criticized (2007o, January 30), *United Daily*. (竄改教科書: 泛藍抨擊 (2007o, 1 月 30 日), 聯合報)
- Family Income/Expenditure Survey Metadata* (2006) Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei: Executive Yuan.
- Fanchiang, C. (2004) "University Chancellors Announce Merger Plan", *Taiwan Journal*, 12 November 2004, pp. 4-6.
- Field, J. (1995), 'Globalization, Consumption and the Learning Business', *Distance*

- Education*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 270-283.
- Final Advisory Report on Educational Reforms* (1996), Taipei: Reviewing Committee on Educational Reforms.
- First Consultation Report for Education Reform* (1995), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Fix the KMT's Education Reforms (2003h, July 24), *Taipei Times*, p. A2.
- Forrester, J. (1969) *A Deeper Knowledge of Social Systems*, Massachusetts: MIT Alumni Association.
- Forrester, J. (1971) *World Dynamics*, Massachusetts: Wright-Allen Press.
- Forrester, J. (1972) *Principles of Systems*, Massachusetts: Wright Allen Press.
- Fotopoulos, T. (1999) "Mass Media, Culture and Democracy" *Democracy & Nature: The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, Vol.5, No. 1, March 1999, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 33-64.
- General Consultation Report for Education Reform* (GCRER) (1996), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Gerring, J. (2005) *Case Study Research*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibbons, M. (1998) "A Commonwealth Perspective on the Globalization of Higher Education" in P. Scott (ed.), *The Globalization of Higher Education*, London: The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, pp. 70-87.
- Giddens, A. (1976) "Functionalism: Apres La Lute" *Social Research*, Vol. 43, pp. 325-66.
- Giddens, A. (1976) *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of interpretative Sociologies*, London: Hutchinson.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1995) *Politics, Sociology and Social Theory: Encounters with Classical and Contemporary Social Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gobel, C. (2004) "Beheading the Hydra: Combating Political Corruption and Organised Crime", *China Perspectives*, No. 56, pp. 14-25.
- Gobel, C. (2005) "Ko-lin Chin, Heijin. Organized Crime, Business and Politics in Taiwan", *China Perspectives*, No. 62, p. 64.
- Gold, T. (1986) *State and Society in the Taiwan Miracle*, New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Gornitzka, A. (1999) "Governmental Policies and Organizational Change in Higher Education", *Higher Education*, Vol, 38, No. 1, pp. 5-29.
- Green, A. (1997) *Education Globalization and the Nation State*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Grin, F., Y. Harayama and L. Weber (2000) *Responsiveness, Responsibility and Accountability: An Evaluation of University Governance in Switzerland*, Rapport à l'Office fédéral de l'éducation et de la science, Berne, 3, 2000.
- Gruberg, M. (2008) "Decentralization", *Encyclopedia Americana*, <http://ea.grolier.com/cgi-bin/article?assetid=0121760-00>> (Accessed: 9 November 2008).
- Hawking, S. (1996) *The Illustrated A Brief History of Time*, New York: Bantam Books.
- Hawkins, J. (2000) "Centralization, Decentralization, Recentralization - Educational Reform in China", *Journal of Educational Administration*, Vol. 38, No. 5.
- Held, D., A. Goldblatt and J. Perraton (1999) *Global Transformations: Politics*,

- Economics and Culture*, California: Stanford University Press.
- Henry, M., B. Lingard, F. Rizvi and S. Taylor (2001) *Globalization and Education Policy*, London: IAU & Pergamon.
- Her, K. (2002) "In Pursuit of Excellence", *Taiwan Review*, 1 December 2002.
- Heron, R. and S. Park (ed.) (1995) *The Asian Pacific Rim and Globalization*, Aldershot: Avebury.
- Hiromitsu, M. (2000) "Deregulation and Decentralization of Education in Japan", *Journal of Educational Administration*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 455-467.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1992) *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holmwood, J. (2005) "Functionalism and its Critics" in A. Harrington (ed.), *Modern Social Theory: An Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 87-109.
- Honderich, T. (ed.) (1996) *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hong, C. (2004) "228 Rally Memorabilia Donated", *Taipei Times*, 20 May 2004.
- Hsiao, M. (2002) "Coexistence and Synthesis: Cultural Globalization and Localization in Contemporary Taiwan" in P. Berger and S. Huntington (ed.), *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 48-67.
- <http://east.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/decentralization> (Accessed: 23 July 2008)
- <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/> (Accessed: 19 November 2007)
- <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/terms/i/d.htm> (Accessed: 10 February 2013)
- <http://www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity-politics/> (Accessed: 8 February 2013)
- http://www.president.gov.tw/1_epaper/92/920710.html (Accessed: 07 July 2008)
- Huang Kuan-tsae was Dismissed From His Office by MOE (2005c, April 21), *United Daily*. (黃榮村辭職教育部長 (2005c, 4 月 21 日), 聯合報)
- Huang Kuan-tsae's Qualifications Unclear (2005j, March 21), *United Daily*. (黃光彩的資格不符 (2005j, 3 月 21 日), 聯合報)
- Huang, C. (1995) "To Install an Education Committee at Local and Central Government", The Report on 18th Committee of CER, Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Huang, D. (1992) *Democratic Progressive Party and Taiwan's Political Democratization*, Taipei: China Times Published.
- Huang, K. (2003) *The Mistake of Education Reform*, Taipei: INK Publishing Co.
- Huang, K. (2004) *Message From the President - Announced by National Taiwan Normal University*, Taipei: NTNU.
- Huang, K. (2006) *The Failure of Education Reform*, Taipei: INK Publishing Co.
- Huang, Kuang-kuo: Lee Yuan-tseh Does Not Walk Out, No Future for Taiwan Education (2003f, September 8), *United Daily*. (黃光國：李遠哲不走台灣教育沒前途 (2003f, 9 月 8 日), 聯合報)
- Huang, S. (2006) "Evaluation in Taiwan: An Overview", *Journal of Multidisciplinary Evaluation*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 129-140.
- Hutton, W. (2002) "The Class War Destroying Our Schools", *Observer*, 26 May.
- Jansen, R. (2011) "Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism" *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp.75-96.
- Jarvis, P. (2000) "Globalization, The Learning Society and Comparative Education", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 343-355.
- Jenlink, P., C. Reigeluth, A. Carr, and L. Nelson (1998) "Guidelines for Facilitating Systemic Change in School Districts", *Systems Research and Behavioral*

- Science*, Vol.15, No. 3, pp. 217-233.
- Jepperson, R. (2002) "The Development and Application of Sociological Neo-institutionalism" in J. Berger, M. Zelditch, and Jr. Lanham (ed.), *New Directions in Contemporary Sociological Theory*, pp. 229-66; *Journal of Economics*, Vol. 106, No. 2, pp. 407-443.
- Jones, P. (1998) "Globalization and Internationalism: Democratic Prospects for World Education", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 143-155.
- Jowensend, J. (1972) "Political Participation in Communist China", *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 32, pp. 162-164.
- Kagan, R. (1999) "Chen Shui-bian: A Democratic Nationalist Building a Community and a Nation", The Asian Studies Conference Japan, 26 June 1999.
- Kang, L. (2001) *Oral History by Lee Kuo-ding: Taiwan Experience*, Taipei: Chuo Yue Published. (康綠島 (2001)「李國鼎口述歷史：台灣經驗」，卓越文化出版社)
- Kant, I. (1997) *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.
- Kaplan, J. (1981) *The Court-martial of The Kaohsiung Defendants*, California: UC Berkeley, Institute of East Asian Studies.
- Kazin, M. (1998) *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Keats, R. and S. Katherine (ed.) (2007) *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kellaghan, T. and G. Madaus (2003) "External (Public) Examinations" in T. Kellaghan, D. Stufflebeam and L. Wingate (ed.), *International Handbook of Educational Evaluation*, Netherlands: Kluwer, pp. 465-481.
- Kellert, S. (1993) *In the Wake of Chaos: Unpredictable Order in Dynamical Systems*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kenneth D. (2003) *Fiscal Decentralization*,
<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/document/UNTC/UNPAN017650.pdf> (Accessed: 23 October 2008).
- Kerr, C. (1987) "A Critical Age in the University World" *European Journal of Education*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 183-193.
- Kerr, C. (2001) *The Uses of the University*, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kiel, L. and E. Elliot (1996) *Chaos Theory in the Social Sciences*, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Kivirauma, J., R. Rinne and P. Seppänen (2003) "Neo-liberal Education Policy Approaching the Finnish Shoreline?", *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1,
<http://www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=5> (Accessed: 05 July 2008)
- Klir, G. (1969) *An Approach to General Systems Theory*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Klir, G. (1972) *Trends in General Systems Theory*, New York: John Wiley.
- Klir, G. (1978) *Applied General Systems Research*, New York: Plenum Press.
- Klir, G. (2006) *Uncertainty and Information: Foundations of Generalized Information Theory*, New Jersey: John Wiley.
- Knight, J. (1997) "Internationalization of Higher Education: A Conceptual Framework" in J. Knight and H. Wit (ed.), *Internationalization of Higher Education in Asia Pacific Countries*, Amsterdam: EAIP, pp. 5-19.
- Kogan, M. and S. Hanney (2000) *Reforming Higher Education*, London: Jessica

- Kingsley Publishers.
- Kottak, C. (2005) *Window on Humanity: A Concise Introduction to General Anthropology*, New York: McGraw Hill.
- Kowal, K. (1999) "The Sage We Love to Hate", *Taiwan Review*, <http://taiwanreview.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=1449&CtNode=1358> (09 July 2008)
- Kress, G. (1996) "Internationalization and Globalization: Rethinking a Curriculum of Communication", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 185-196.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, California: Thousand Oaks.
- Ku, S. (2002) "The Political Economy of Regime Transformation-Taiwan and Southeast Asia", *World Affairs*, No. 22.
- Kuo, W. (1996) "Education Reform in Taiwan, R. O. C." in Comparative Education Society-Taipei (ed.), *Educational Reform: From Tradition to Postmodernity*, Taipei: Shih Ta Publishers Company, pp. 3-13.
- Laclau, E. (1997) *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism*, London: Atlantic Highlands Humanities Press.
- Langton, K. (1969) *Political Socialization*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Latest Poll Shows Strong Support for Independence (2006u, November 29), *Taipei Times*, p. A3.
- Lau, D. (1963) "Glossary", *Lao-Tzu: The Tao Te Ching*, New York: Penguin Books.
- Lawmaker Ask Huang Kuan-tsae Step Down (2005n, March 31), *United Daily*. (立法委員要求黃光彩下台 (2005n, 3 月 31 日), 聯合報)
- Laws and Regulations* (2006), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Lee Ao Pressing, Lee Yuan-tseh's Apologized for Educational Reform (2005e, October 13), *United Evening Daily*. (李敖聲聲逼問李遠哲為教改道歉 (2005c, 10 月 13 日), 聯合晚報)
- Lee Teng-hui Criticized Lee Yuan-tseh: He Thinks He is An All-purpose Person (2001, May 9), *United Evening Daily*. (李登輝批李遠哲：自以為萬能 (2001, 5 月 9 日), 聯合晚報)
- Lee Yuan-tseh Apologized for the Education Reform (2005f, October 13), *United Daily/China Times*. (李遠哲為教改道歉 (2005f, 10 月 13 日), 聯合報/中國時報)
- Lee Yuan-tseh Denies He's Envoy (2002d, June 25), *Taipei Times*, p. A2.
- Lee Yuan-tseh Lets The Educational Reform Reduced the Ability of Introspection (2003k, August 31), *United Daily*. (李遠哲讓教改減少反省能力 (2003k, 8 月 31 日), 聯合報)
- Lee Yuan-tseh Supported Chen Shui-bian, Academic Circles Criticized Lee's Political Behavior (2004d, March 19), *United Daily*. (李遠哲支持陳水扁：學術界批評李遠哲的政治行為 (2004d, 3 月 19 日), 聯合報)
- Lee Yuan-tseh: Education is Teaching and Learning (1997a, January 1), *Global Views Monthly*, Vol. 127, p. 2.
- Lee Yuan-tseh: Someone Criticized the Education Reform with No Read the GCRER (2003b, July 21), *United Evening Daily*. (李遠哲：有人沒看過教改諮議報告書就任意批評 (2003b, 7 月 21 日), 聯合晚報)
- Lee, A. (2000) *Lee Yuan-tseh's True Face*, Taipei: Lee Ao Published Co. (李敖 (2000) 「李登輝的假面具」, 台北：李敖出版社)
- Lee, K. (1996) "The Ideas of University Law", Report on 20th Commission on

- Educational Reform, March 1996.
- Lee, M. and S. Gopinathan (2003) "Centralized Decentralization of Higher Education in Singapore" in K. Mok (ed.), *Centralization and Decentralization: Educational Reforms and Changing Governance in Chinese Societies*, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, the University of Hong Kong, pp. 117-136.
- Lee, T. (1999) *The Road to Democracy: Taiwan's Pursuit of Identity*, Tokyo: PHP Institute, Inc.
- Legge, J. (Trans.) (1970) *The Works of Mencius*, New York: Dover Publications.
- Legge, J. (Trans.) (1991) *The Chinese Classics with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, Taipei: Southern Materials Center Publishing.
- Legislators Heap Plagiarism, Forgery Claims on Academics (2005q, March 22), *Taipei Times*, p. A4.
- Leslie, L. (1997) *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Leung, F. (2004) "Educational Centralization and Decentralization in East Asia", Paper Presented at The APEC Educational Reform Summit, January 2004, Beijing, HK: The University of Hong Kong.
- Levin, J. (2001) "Public Policy, Community Colleges, and the Path to Globalization", *Higher Education*, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 237-262.
- Li, S. (1998) *The Five Classics and the Four Books*, Shandong: Friendship Press.
- Lin, F. (2003) "Rising College Tuition Sparks Protests", *Taiwan Today*, 24 October 2003. <http://www.taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xItem=20318&CtNode=122> (Accessed: 09 July 2008)
- Lindgren, M. (1973) *People of Pylos: Prosopographical and Methodological Studies in the Pylos Archives*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Lindlof, T. and B. Taylor (2002) *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*, California: Sage.
- Lorenzen, M. (2008) *Chaos Theory and Education*, <http://www.information-literacy.net/2008/04/chaos-theory-and-education.html> (Accessed: 19 November 2008)
- Lu, M. (2003) "The Making of World Class Research Universities in an Age of Globalization - Components & Challenges", The Speech by Vice Minister of Education, 6 November 2003.
- Mackay, H. and S. Longstaff (1993) *The Ethics of User Pays*, Sydney: St James Ethics Centre.
- Madeleine, G. (1997) *Transforming Higher Education, View from the Leaders Around The World*, London: Oryx Press.
- Mainland Affairs Commission (2005) *The Survey of National Identity*, Taipei: Mainland Affairs Commission, Executive Yuan.
- Malinowski, B. (1989) *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, California: Stanford University Press, p. 160.
- Manesh, S. (2007) "Global Education Already a Reality", *Taiwan Journal*, May, <http://taiwanjournal.nat.gov.tw/site/Tj/ct.asp?xItem=24288&ctNode=122> (Accessed: 22 December 2009)
- Marginson, S. (1997) "How Free is Higher Education?", *Higher Education Research and Development*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 359-369.
- Marginson, S. and G. Rhoades (2002) "Beyond National States, Markets, and Systems of Higher Education: A Glonacal Agency Heuristic", *Higher Education*, Vol. 43,

- No. 3, pp. 281-309.
- Mark, H. (1998) "Strategies of Educational Decentralization: Key Questions and Core Issues", *Journal of Educational Administration*, Vol. 36, No. 2, p. 111-128.
- Mark, H. (ed.) (2000) "Educational Decentralization around the Pacific Rim", *Journal of Educational Administration*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 406-411.
- Marshall, C. and G. Rossman (1999) *Designing Qualitative Research*, California: Thousand Oaks.
- Martin, J. (2001) "The Authoritarian Personality, 50 Years Later: What Questions Are There for Political Psychology?", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 1-26.
- Marx, K. (1990) *Capital*, Vol. 1, London: Penguin.
- Marx, K. (1844) "Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte aus dem Jahre 1844", *Marx/Engels Collected Works*.
- Marx, K. (1848) "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei", Geschrieben im Dezember 1847/Januar 1848, *Marx/Engels Collected Works*.
- Marx, K. (1867), "Critique of the Gotha Program", *Marx/Engels Selected Works*, Vol. 3. "In Letter from Karl Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer", *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 39.
- Marx, K. (1964) *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, New York: International Publishers.
- Marx, K. and F. Engels (1982) *The German Ideology*, New York: Amherst.
- Mayr, E. (1992) "The Idea of Teleology", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 53, pp. 117-135.
- McBurnie, G. (2001) "Leverage Globalization as A Policy Paradigm for Higher Education", *Higher Education in Europe*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 11-26.
- Merit not a Matter of Credentials for New Top Educator (2004b, July 13), *Taipei Times*, p. A2.
- Mestenhauser, J. (ed.) (1998) *Reforming the Higher Education Curriculum: Internationalizing the Campus*, Arizona: The Oryx Press.
- Meyer, J. (1970) "The Charter: Conditions of Diffuse Socialization in Schools" in W. Scott (ed.), *Social Processes and Social Structures*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 546-78.
- Meyer, J. (1977) "The Effects of Education as An Institution" *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 83, pp. 55-77.
- Meyer, J. and B. Rowan (1977) "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony" *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 83, pp. 340-63.
- Meyer, J., F. Ramirez, and Y. Soysal (1992b) "World Expansion of Mass Education, 1870-1980" *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 65, pp. 128-49.
- Military Training Office Leave Universities (1998a, March 27), *United Daily*. (大學不再有軍事訓練 (1998a, 3月27日), 聯合報)
- Miller, J. (1995) *Living Systems*, Colorado: University of Colorado.
- Millikan, R. (2004) *Varieties of Meaning*, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Ministry Earmarks 67 million USD for New Pools for Schools' Project (2005o, July 8), *Taiwan Journal*, p. 6.
- Ministry of Education (1973) *Ministry of Education's Organic Law*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.
<http://edu.law.moe.gov.tw/LawContentDetails.aspx?id=FL008149&KeyWordHL=&StyleType=1> (11 May 2007)
- Ministry of Education (2000) *Fostering Autonomy and Accountability in Universities: A Review of Public University Governance and Funding in Singapore*, Singapore: Ministry of Education.

- Ministry of Education (2000a) *List of Projects for the First Round of the Programme for Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education (2003) *National Conference on Educational Development*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education (2004) *List of Projects for the Programme for Improving University Fundamental Education*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education (2005), *Educational Budget Allocation and Management Act*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education Given a Slap in the Face (2007q, July 5), *China Post*, p. A4.
- Ministry of Education Mulls New Policy of Letting Schools Decide Own Tuition Fees (2005a, May 13), *Taiwan Journal*, p. 4.
- Ministry of Education's Organic Law* (1994), Taipei: Executive Yuan.
- Ministry Should Boost Moral Education in Schools (2006a, September 1), *China Post*, p. A2.
- Miyoshi, M. (1998) "Globalization, Culture and the University" in F. Jameson and M. Miyoshi (ed.), *The Cultures of Globalization*, North Carolina: Duke University Press, pp. 247-272.
- Mo, Y. (2005a) "MOE Rules Huang not Qualified to Head NTNU", *Taipei Times*, 21 April 2005.
- Mo, Y. (2005b) "University Election Process Prompts Calls for Reform", *Taipei Times*, 18 April 2005.
- MOE Urged to Admit Chinese Students (2006j, August 15), *Taiwan Headlines*, p. 1.
- Mok, K. and A. Welch (2003) *Globalization and Educational Restructuring in the Asia Pacific Region*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mok, K. and Y. Chan (2008) "International Benchmarking with the Best Universities: Policy and Practice in Mainland China and Taiwan", *Higher Education Policy*, Vol. 21, pp. 469-486.
- Monkman, K. and M. Baird (2002) "Educational Change in the Context of Globalization", *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 497-508.
- Morris, P. (1996) "Asia's Four Little Tigers: A Comparison of the Role of Education in their Development", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 95-110.
- Morris, P. and A. Sweeting (ed.) (1995) *Education and Development in East Asia*, London: Garland.
- Morrow, R. and C. Torres (2000) "The State, Globalization, and Educational Policy" in N. Burbules and C. Torres (ed.), *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives*, New York: Routledge, pp. 27-56.
- National Teachers Association: The Failure of Education Reform and the Political Intervention (2005g, October 14), *United Daily*. (全國教師聯會：教改失敗的原因是政治干預 (2005g, 10月14日), 聯合報)
- Never Use Politics View to See History (2007j, February 25), *United Evening Daily*. (永遠不要用政治看歷史 (2007j, 2月25日), 聯合晚報)
- Newell, P. (1994) *The Transition to the Transition toward Democracy in Taiwan: Political Change in the Chiang Ching-kuo Era, 1971-1986*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Newsletter, (2003, 10 July) *President Chen Shui-bian's Weekly Online Newsletter*, No. 91, 10 July 2003,
- Ngok, K. and K. Chan (2001) "Towards Centralization and Decentralization in Educational Development in China: The Case of Shanghai", *Education and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp 59-78.

- Ngok, K. and K. Chan (2003) "Towards Centralization and Decentralization in Educational Development in China: the Case of Shanghai" in K. Mok (ed.), *Centralization and Decentralization: Educational Reforms and Changing Governance in Chinese Societies*, Hong Kong: the University of Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre.
- Oakes, L. (1997) *Prophetic Charisma: The Psychology of Revolutionary Religious Personalities*, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Ornelas, C. (2000) "The Politics of the Educational Decentralization in Mexico", *Journal of Educational Administration*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 426-441.
- Ott, E. (2002) *Chaos in Dynamical Systems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paige, M. (1999) "Internationalizing Educational Administration", *Educational Administration Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 5, p. 500-518.
- Paqueo, V. and J. Lammert (2000) *Decentralization & School-Based Management Resource Kit*, Washington DC: World Bank.
- Parsons, T. (1975) "The Present Status of Structural-Functional Theory in Sociology" *Social Systems and The Evolution of Action Theory*, New York: The Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (1977) *The Evolution of Societies*, New York: Prentice Hall.
- Pechar, H. (2005) "University Autonomy in Austria", Presentation for the Second Round Table Meeting of the ASEAN-EU University Network Programme (AUNP) in Barcelona, Spain, on the Topic Autonomy in Higher Education, 13-15 January 2005.
- Peng, X. (1987) "Demographic Consequences of the Great Leap Forward in China's Provinces", *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 639-670.
- Pidwirny, M. (2007) *Definitions of Systems and Models*, British Columbia: Physical Geography.
- Political Intervention in Education: Political Authority Always Write History (2004a, November 11), *United Daily*. (政治干預教育 (2004a, 11 月 11 日), 聯合報)
- Popper, K. (1963) *Conjectures and Refutations*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Power's Corruption, Pretense, Ching-Ju-Nan-Shu (2006q, May 23), *United Daily*. (權力的腐化：罄竹難書 (2006q, 5 月 23 日), 聯合報)
- Premier Dissatisfy the MOE: the Case of Huang Kuan-tsae (2005i, April 19), *United Daily*. (黃光彩事件主要是對教育部不滿意 (2005i, 4 月 19 日), 聯合報)
- Premier Thinks Education Minister is too Talkative (2006r, May 23), *China Post*, p. A2.
- President of Academia Sinica to Serve as Envoy at APEC Summit (2004k, October 29), *Taiwan Journal*, p. 5.
- President's Son-in Law in Sentence for 8 Years (2006b, July 11), *United Daily*. (總統的女婿判刑 8 年 (2006b, 7 月 11 日), 聯合報)
- Private Blueprint for Educational Reforms* (1996), Taipei: Times Culture.
- Professor Governs the University is Torsion Academic Freedom (2006n, November 2), *Epoch Daily*, p. A2.
- Protesters against High Tuition Clash with Police (2006i, May 14), *Taipei Times*, p. A2.
- Radcliffe-Brown (1922), *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Radcliffe-Brown (1931) *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, Melbourne: MacMillan & Co.
- Ralph, J. and R. Robinson (1980) "Immigration and the Expansion of Schooling in the United States, 1890-1970" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 46, pp. 943-54.

- Ramirez, F. (2002) "Eyes Wide Shut: University, State, and Society" *European Educational Research Journal*, Vol: 1, pp. 255-71.
- Ramirez, F. (2006a) "Growing Commonalities and Persistent Differences in Higher Education: Universities Between Globalization and National Tradition" in J. Meyer and B. Rowan (ed.), *The New Institutionalism in Education: Advancing Research and Policy*, New York: SUNY Press.
- Ramirez, F. (2006b) "The Rationalization of Universities" in M. Djelic and K. Shalin-Andersson (ed.), *Transnational Governance: Institutional Dynamics of Regulation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rasinski, K. and T. Tyler (1986) "Social Psychology and Political Behavior", *Political Behavior Annual*, Vol. 1, pp. 103-128.
- Ray, J. (1990) "The Old-fashioned Personality", *Human Relations*, Vol. 43, pp. 997-1015.
- Readings, B. (1996) *The University in Ruins*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Reconstruction Education System, Education Drawing a Line with Politics (2003m, August 6), *United Daily*. (教育重建 (2003m, 8月6日), 聯合報)
- Reisner, E. (1922) *Nationalism and Education since 1789: A Social and Political History of Modern Education*, New York: McMillan.
- Rhoades, G. and D. Smart (1996) "The Political Economy of Entrepreneurial Culture in Higher Education: Policies towards Foreign Students in Australia and the United States" in K. Kempner and W. Tierney (eds.), *The Social Role of Higher Education: Comparative Perspectives*, New York: Garland.
- Richardson, G. and J. Fielden (1997) *Measuring the Grip of the State: The Relationship between Governments and Universities in Selected Commonwealth Countries*, London: Chem.
- Riddle, P. (1990) "University and State: Political Competition and the Rise of Universities, 1200-1985" *Ph.D. dissertation*, California: Stanford University.
- Riddle, P. (1993) "Political Authority and University Formation in Europe, 1200-1800." *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 36, pp. 45-62.
- Riesebrodt, M. (1999) "Charisma in Max Weber's Sociology of Religion", *Religion*, Vol. 29, pp. 1-14.
- Rising College Tuition Sparks Protests (2003i, October 24), *Taiwan Journal*, p. 6.
- Robertson, R. (1993) *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London: Sage.
- Rodwell, S. (1998) "Internationalization or Indigenization of Educational Management Development? Some Issues of Cross-cultural Transfer", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 41-54.
- Rosenbaum, P. (2002) *Observational Studies*, New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Rubin, H. and I. Rubin (1995) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, California: Sage, p.2.
- Rubinson, R. (1986) "Class Formation, Politics, and Institutions: Schooling in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 92, pp. 519-48.
- Sadlak, J. (1998) "Globalization and Concurrent Challenges for Higher Education" in P. Scott (ed.), *The Globalization of Higher Education*, London: The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, pp. 101-107.
- Schugurensky, D. (1999) "Higher Education Restructuring in the Era of Globalization: Toward a Heteronymous Model?" in R. Arnoe and C. Torres (ed.), *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of Global and the Local*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 283-304.

- Scott, A. (ed.) (1997) *The Limits of Globalization: Cases and Arguments*, London: Routledge.
- Scott, P. (1998) "Massification, Internationalization and Globalization" in P. Scott (ed.), *The Globalization of Higher Education*, London: The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, pp. 108-129.
- Senge, P. (1990) *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*, New York: Doubleday.
- Sharpe, F. (1996) "Towards a Research Paradigm on Devolution", *Journal of Educational Administration*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 4-23.
- Shils, E. (1954) "Authoritarianism: Right and Left" in R. Christie and M. Jahoda (ed.), *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, Glencoe: Free Press, pp. 24-49.
- Six University Presidents Takes Over the Seat: Three of Six are not the First Choices by the University Committees (2004e, August 2), *United Evening Daily*3. (六個大學校長交接：三個不是教務會議的第一選擇 (2004e, 8月2日), 聯合晚報)
- Slaughter, S. and G. Rhoades (2004) *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Slaughter, S. and L. Leslie (1997) *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Smith, A. (1986) *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, London: Basil Blackwell.
- Smolicz, J. (1999) "Privatization in Higher Education, Emerging Commonalities and Diverse Educational Perspectives in the Philippines, Australian, Poland and Iran", *Development and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 28-35.
- Snyder, M. (2002) *A Question of Autonomy: The View from Salzburg*, Washington DC: Department of Education.
- Sparks Fly as Row over Education Reform Heats Up (2003c, July 22), *Taiwan News*, p. A1.
- Spencer, M. (1970) "Weber on Legitimate Norms and Authority", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 123-134.
- Spring, J. (1998) *Education and the Rise of the Global Economy*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Stake, R. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*, London: Sage.
- Stevenson, M. (2004) "University Governance and Autonomy Problems in Managing Access, Quality and Accountability", Address to ADB Conference on University Governance Denpasar, Indonesia, 26 April 2004.
- Stone, L. (1971) "Prosopography", *Daedalus*, Vol. 100, p. 46-79.
- Stromquist, N. and K. Monkman (ed.) (2000) *Globalization and Education: Integration and Contestation across Cultures*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Su Defends Planned Textbook Changes (2007a, February 1), *Taipei Times*, p. A3
- Su, J. (1997) *Higher Education Evaluation: Theories and Practices*, Taipei: Wunan Books.
- Substandard Education Products Top Cause of Consumer Distress (2006g, October 13), *The Central News Agency*, p. 1.
- Sullivan, K. (ed.) (1998) "Education and Change in the Pacific Rim: Meeting the Challenges", *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education*, Oxford: Triangle.
- Swedberg, R. (1998) *Max Weber and the Idea of Economic Sociology*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- Syue, H. (2003) *The History of Taiwanese Human Right after WWII*, Taipei: the Museum of Human Right, pp156-160.
- Taipei City Government's Statistics* (2006), Taipei: the Government of Taipei City.
- Taipei Mayor in Tit-for-Tat Renaming of Plaza (2007i, May 23), *Reuters*.
- Taiwan Educational Reform Full of Dilemmas (2005l, October 21), *Taipei Times*, p. A3
- Taiwan Leader Faces Mass Protest (2006t, September 9), *BBC*.
- Taiwan Map Turned Sideway-Education Minister Struggle with Lawmaker (2004g, May 27), *The liberty Times*; *Taiwan News*, Vol. 587, No. 14, June 2007. (台灣地圖事件：教育部長與立法委員衝突 (2004g, 5 月 27 日), 台灣時報；中國新聞, 第 587 卷, 14 號, 2007 年 6 月)
- Taiwan New-student Enrolment Dropping (2007f, January 19), *China Times*. (台灣新生註冊率降低 (2007f, 1 月 19 日), 中國時報)
- Taiwan Postgraduate Study Bid Doubles (2002c, January 25), *Taipei Times*, p. A3.
- Taiwan Statistical Data Book* (2000, 2001), Taipei: Council for Economic Planning and Development.
- Taiwan's 'De-Sinicizing' Moves Condemned (2007p, January 31), *China daily*. (台灣去中國化受到指責(2007p, 1 月 31 日), 中國日報)
- Taxpayers Could Get Higher Eductions for Education Expenses (2006k, December 15), *China Post*, p. A3.
- Ten Years Education Reform Likes a Great Culture Revolution (2003n, August 8), *China Times*. (十年教改像文化大革命 (2003n, 8 月 8 日), 中國時報)
- Ten Years Education Reform: Seven Education Ministers take Responsibility (2003e, August 17), *United Daily*. (教改十年：7 教長願為任內政策負責 (2003e, 8 月 17 日), 聯合報)
- The Bandits will Flourish if Scholars is Still Alive (2007e, December 18), *United Daily*. (學者不死 大盜不止 (2007e, 12 月 18 日), 聯合報)
- The Case of 'Sin-Ruei-Do': A Check of NTD 4.5 Million (2002e, December 4), *ET Today*. (新瑞都案 (2002e, 12 月 4 日), 東森新聞網)
- The Cram School Increase Rapidly (2007k, November 25), *China Post*, p. A3
- The Declaration by 410 Alliance on Education Refrom: Offered the Human Nature's Education Environment (1994a, April 10), *United Daily*. (410 教改聯盟宣言 (1994a, 4 月 10 日), 聯合報)
- The Declaration by Academia Sinica* (2000, March 4), Taipei: SINICA.
- The Event of Philosophy Department: Taiwan University Condemn the Political Intervention (1995a, July 1), *United Daily*. (哲學系事件：台灣大學譴責政治干預 (1995a, 7 月 1 日), 聯合報)
- The Fight for University President Again (2006s, June 7), *Min-sheng Daily*. (大學校長的戰爭再起 (2006s, 6 月 7 日), 民生報)
- The First Consultation Report for Education Reform* (1994), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- The Four Demands by 410 Alliance on Education Refrom (1995d, April 8), *United Daily*. (410 教改聯盟的四項主張 (1995d, 4 月 8 日), 聯合報)
- The Fourth Consultation Report for Education Reform* (1996), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- The List of National Policy Advises of Chen Shui-bian (2000b, March 13), *Lianhe ZaoBao*. (陳水扁國政顧問團名單 (2000b, 3 月 13 日), 聯合早報)

- The National Education Conference and the Prospect of Education Reform (1994b, June 15), *United Daily*. (全國教育會議和教改的遠景 (1994b, 6 月 15 日), 聯合報)
- The Number of University Increased is Lawmaker's Responsibility (2007b, August 10), *China Times*. (大學數量的增加是立委的責任 (2007b, 8 月 10 日), 中國時報)
- The Policy of Tsinghua Merge with Chiaotung, Because of Money (2004j, November 5), *United Daily*. (清交合併的原因是錢 (2004j, 11 月 5 日), 聯合報)
- The Presidential Avenue Add the Name of Anti-corruption (2007u, May22), *United Daily*. (凱達格蘭大道增加反貪府大道之名 (2007u, 5 月 22 日), 聯合報)
- The Record of Seventh National Education Conference* (1994), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- The Regulation of National University Operation Funds* (1999, 3 February) (88), No.8800024760" Law and Regulations Database of Republic of China, Taipei: Executive Yuan, 2007.
- The Results of Ten Year's Education Reform: Over 80% Shows Bad Viewpoint (2003g, December 11), *Minsheng Daily*. (十年教改的結果: 80%不滿(2003g, 12 月 11 日), 民生報)
- The Role of Presidential Office in the Corruption's Case of SOGO (2006h, April 14), *United Daily*. (總統府在 SOGO 案中的角色 (2006h, 4 月 14 日), 聯合報)
- The Sight of Lee Yuan-tseh's Back: Science Laurel is Plated by Politics (2006l, October 18), *United Daily*. (李遠哲的背後: 政治問題 (2006l, 10 月 18 日), 聯合報)
- The Statistic of Education* (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- The Statistics on the Quantity Cram School* (2003), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- The Story of Lee Yuan-tseh Intervened President Election (2000a, April 1), *China Times*, p. A2.
- The Structure of the Crime on Corruption and Money Laundering in Chen's Bloc and Family (2009, January 22), *United Daily*. (陳水扁集團及家族的貪污和腐化 (2009, 1 月 22 日), 聯合報)
- The Third Consultation Report for Education Reform* (1996), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- The Title of Sun Yat-sen Removed from History Textbook (2007m, January 29), *United Evening Daily*. (國父的頭銜在教科書中被刪除 (2007m, 1 月 29 日) 聯合晚報)
- Theodore, S. (ed.) (2000) *Readings in the Philosophy of Science*, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Thomas, G., J. Meyer, F. Ramirez, and J. Boli (1987) *Institutional Structure: Constituting State, Society, and Individual*, California: Sage.
- Thomas, H. (1980) *Repression in Taiwan: A Look at the Kaohsiung Rally and Trials*, New York: The Asian Center.
- Tien, F. (1996) "How education drove Taiwan's economic development", *Reform Today*, Vol. 4, pp. 13-18.
- Tien, H. (1989) *The Great Transition: Political and Social Change in the Republic of China*, California: Stanford, Hoover Institution Press.
- To Face Democratic Civil War in Taiwan (2007v, December 21), *The Liberty Times*. (台灣面對民主內戰 (2007v, 12 月 21 日), 自由時報)

- Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalization and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Trochim, W. (1982) "Methodologically-based Discrepancies in Compensatory Education Evaluations", *Evaluation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 443-480.
- Tsang, S. and H. Tien (1999) *Democratization in Taiwan: Implications for China*, New York: St. Martin's.
- Tsinghua Merge with Chiaotung University: Struggle between Money and History (2004h, November 9), *United Daily*. (清華交通合併: 錢與歷史的衝突(2004h, 11月9日), 聯合報)
- Tu Cheng-sheng Career Riddled with Slips of the Tongue (2004l, January 28), *Taipei Times*, p. A2.
- Tu Cheng-sheng says China is not the Best Answer (2005p, August 26), *Taipei Times*, p. A3.
- Tu, W. (ed.) (1996) *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and Four mini-Dragons*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Turner W. (2009), *History of Philosophy*, Vol. 3, New Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House, p. 112.
- University Abnormal (2003j, January 3), *United Evening Daily*. (大學不正常 (2003j, 1月3日), 聯合晚報)
- University Election Process Prompts Calls for Reform (2005h, April 18), *Taipei Times*, p. A2.
- University Law* (2007), Taipei: MOE, order No.: 09500186511, 3 January 2007.
- Välimaa, J. (1999) "Management a Diverse System of Higher Education" in M. Henkel and B. Little (ed.), *Changing Relationships between Higher Education and the State*, Philadelphia: J. Kingsley Publishers.
- Wade, R. (1990) *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Wakai, Y. (1996) "Decentralization of Educational Administration", *Bulletin of the Japan Educational Administration Society*, No. 22, pp. 31-44.
- Wang, F. (1995) "National Taiwan University: Radical Image, Tame Reality", *Taiwan Review*, 1 June 1995.
<http://taiwanreview.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=105&CtNode=1358> (14 May 2007)
- Wang, Y. and M. Secombe (2004) "A Study of People-Run Tertiary Education in South and West China", Educational Research Conference 2003, *International Education Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 21-29.
- Warren, J. (1998) *The Past and its Presenters: An Introduction to Issues in Historiography*, London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Watson, B. (2003) *Xunzi: Basic Writings*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Weber, M. (1947) *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weber, M. (1970) *From Max Webber: Essays in Sociology*, London: Routledge and K. Paul.
- Weber, M. (1991) "The Nature of Social Action" in W. Runciman (ed.), *Weber: Selections in Translation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 7-32.
- Weber, R. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*, California: Newbury Park.
- Weinreich, P. (1986) "The Operationalisation of Identity Theory in Racial and Ethnic Relations" in J. Rex and D. Mason (ed.), *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 299-320.
- Weinreich, P and W. Saunderson (2003) *Analysing Identity: Cross-Cultural, Societal*

- and Clinical Contexts*, London: Routledge, p. 1.
- Weinreich, P and W. Saunderson (2003a). *Analysing Identity: Cross-Cultural, Societal and Clinical Contexts*, London: Routledge, pp. 22-23.
- Weir, A. (2008) "Global Feminism and Transformative Identity Politics", *Hypatia*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 110-133.
- Welch, A. (2001) "Globalization, Post-modernity and the State: Comparative Education Facing the Third Millennium", *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 475-492.
- Weng, F. (2003) "Centralization and Decentralization in Educational Governance in Taiwan" in K. Mok (ed.), *Centralization and Decentralization: Educational Reforms and Changing Governance in Chinese Societies*, Hong Kong: the University of Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre, pp.39-58.
- White Paper on Higher Education (2001), Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Who Influence the Education Reform? Wu Jing: The Criticized is Uselessness (2003o, August 8), *United Daily*. (誰影響了教改 (2003o, 8月8日), 聯合報)
- Williams, G. (1995) "The Marketization of Higher Education: Reforms and Potential Reforms in Higher Education Finance" in D. Dill and B. Sporn (ed.), *Emerging Patterns of Social Demand and University Reform: Through a Glass Darkly*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp. 170-193.
- With Friends like Lee Yuan-tseh (2006e, November 11), *Taipei Times*, P. A2.
- World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-first Century Vision and Action* (1998), Adopted by the World Conference on Higher Education, 9 October 1998. UNESCO.
- Wright, L. (1976) *Teleological Explanations: An Etiological Analysis of Goals and Functions*, California: University of California Press.
- Wu, J. (1996) *Embracing the New Century and Developing New Education*, Taipei: Ministry of Education.
- Wu, M. (1998) "Taiwan's Environmental Policy: The Case of Bayer Company Investment", *Huan-gen Magazine*, Vol. 11, pp.34-37.
- Xiang, P. (2002) "Chinese Children's Self-perceptions of Ability in Physical Education", *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 97-105.
- Yang, D. (2008) "China's Agricultural Crisis and Famine of 1959-1961: A Survey and Comparison to Soviet Famines", *Comparative Economic Studies*, Vol. 50, pp. 1-29.
- Yang, S. (2000) "Education Reform Facing the New Millennium: Methodological Reflection and International Comparison", *Bulletin of Educational Research, National Taiwan Normal University*, Vol. 44, pp. 1-34.
- Yang, S. (2001) "Dilemmas of Education Reform in Taiwan: Internationalization or Localization?", Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Washington DC, USA, March 13-17, 2001.
- Year book* (2006), Taipei: Executive Yuan, 2007.
- Yin, R. (2002) *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*, California: Sage.
- Yun, E. (1995) "The Road to Autonomy", *Free China Review*, Vol. 45, No. 6, pp. 4-15.

Appendix 1

1.1 List of Interviewees

Organization	University and College	Position	Total
Public University	Air Force Academy	Staff	1
	Central University	Lecturer/Professor	2
		Student	8
	Changhua University of Education	Lecturer/Professor	1
	Chenchi University	Lecturer/Professor	9
		Staff	1
		Student	10
	Chengkung University	Lecturer/Professor	4
	Chiaotung University	Lecturer/Professor	3
		Student	6
	Chiayi University	Lecturer/Professor	1
	Chinan University	Lecturer/Professor	1
	Chungcheng University	Lecturer/Professor	3
	Kaohsiung Normal University	Lecturer/Professor	2
		Student	5
	Kaohsiung University	Lecturer/Professor	1
	Navy Academy	Lecturer/Professor	1
	Sun Yat-sen University	Lecturer/Professor	3
		Staff	1
	Taipei University	Lecturer/Professor	1
Private University	Taiwan Normal University	Lecturer/Professor	4
		Student	6
	Taiwan University	Lecturer/Professor	8
		Staff	1
		Student	5
	Tsingua University	Lecturer/Professor	3
		Student	5
	Taipei University of Education	Lecturer/Professor	2
		Student	5
	Chunghsing University	Lecturer/Professor	3
	Chinese Culture University	Lecturer/Professor	5
		Staff	1
		Student	5
Public Sector	Chungyuan Christian University	Lecturer/Professor	2
	Foguang University	Lecturer/Professor	1
	Fujen Catholic University	Lecturer/Professor	3
		Student	4
	Shihhsin University	Lecturer/Professor	1
	Soochow University	Lecturer/Professor	3
		Student	8
	Tamkang University	Lecturer/Professor	4
		Student	6
	Tunghai University	Lecturer/Professor	5
	Yuanze University	Lecturer/Professor	1
Public Sector	Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relation (MOE)	Staff	5
	DDP	legislator	3

	Department of Education, Kaohsiung City Government	Staff	1
	Department of Education, Taichung City Government	Staff	3
	Department of Higher Education (MOE)	Staff	4
	Department of Secondary Education (MOE)	Staff	2
	Department of Statistic (MOE)	Staff	1
	KMT	legislator	4
	Technological and Vocational Education (MOE)	Staff	1

1.2 The Departments of University

University	Department	Number
Public University	Computer Science	3
	East Asia	4
	Education	6
	History	3
	International Relation	4
	Law	5
	Mathematics	2
	Philosophy	6
	Politics	8
	Psychology	4
	Sociology	5
Private University	Chinese	3
	Computer Science	1
	Education	5
	Engineering	1
	History	4
	Journalism	3
	Law	3
	Politics	5

1.3 The Questions in Interview with University/College Teaching Staff

Item	Question
1	What is the essence of deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?
2	What role does the government play in higher education reform?
3	What is the big issue of Taiwanese higher education?
4	Who is the weighty intervener in higher education development?
5	How did the politician intervene on higher education reform
6	What is the role of Lee Yuan-tseh and Tu Cheng-sheng in higher education reform?
7	What is difference between regulation and deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?
8	Who and what things influence the policy of deregulation?
9	Do you agree with the policy of “professor governs the university” and the policy of higher education expansion since 1994?
10	Who should take responsibility on the failure of higher education reform?

1.4 The Questions in Interview with Student

1	What is the essence of deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?
2	Do you take part in the cram school in senior high school?

3	How many hours did you do in cram school?
4	What role does the government play on high education reform?
5	How did the politician intervene on higher education reform
6	What is the role of Lee Yuan-tseh and Tu Cheng-sheng in higher education reform
7	What is difference between regulation and deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?
8	Do you agree with the policy of “professor governs the university” and the policy of higher education expansion since 1994?
9	What is the big issue of Taiwanese higher education?
10	Who should take responsibility on the failure of higher education reform?

1.5 The Questions in Interview with Politician

Item	Question
1	What is the essence of deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?
2	What is the main issue of Taiwanese higher education?
3	What role does the government play in higher education reform?
4	How did the politician intervene on higher education reform?
5	What is the role of Lee Yuan-tseh and Tu Cheng-sheng in higher education reform?
6	What is difference between regulation and deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?
7	Do you agree with the policy of higher education expansion since 1994?
8	Do you agree with the policy of “professor governs the university”?
9	Who should take responsibility on the failure of higher education reform?

1. 6 The Questions in Interview with Administrative Staffs

Item	Question
1	What is the essence of deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?
2	What is the main issue of Taiwanese higher education?
3	How did the politician intervene on higher education reform?
4	Who is weighty intervener in higher education development?
5	What is the role of Lee Yuan-tseh and Tu Cheng-sheng in higher education reform?
6	What is difference between regulation and deregulation policies in higher education since 1994?
7	Do you agree with the policy of “professor governs the university”?
8	Do you agree with the policy of higher education expansion since 1994?
9	Who should take responsibility on the failure of higher education reform?

Appendix 2

University Law

Amendment promulgation by Hua-Jong-Yi-Yi-Tze (華總一義字第) No.: 09500186511

Amended 3 January 2007

Chapter 1 General Principles

Article 1

Universities shall encourage academic research, cultivating talent, enhancing culture, serving society and accelerating the development of the country. Universities shall be guaranteed academic freedom and shall enjoy autonomy within the range of laws and regulations.

Article 2

Universities referred to in this Act shall be senior educational organizations established according to the Act and granting academic degrees above bachelor's degree (inclusive).

Article 3

The competent authority of the Act shall be the Ministry of Education.

Chapter 2 Establishment and classification

Article 4

Universities are classified into national universities, universities established by municipalities (counties) (hereinafter referred to as public universities) and private universities.

The establishment, alteration or suspension of national universities shall be approved or adjusted according to the educational policies of the Ministry of Education and the situation of different locations; the establishment, alteration or suspension of universities of municipalities (counties) shall be reported by governments of different levels in order to receive approval or adjustment by the Ministry of Education. Private universities shall follow stipulations of the Private Institute Act.

To balance college education of different regions, the Ministry of Education may approve counties (cities) without colleges to establish colleges and divisions in universities.

Universities may establish branches and divisions.

Regulations of requirements, approval procedure and other proceedings for establishing standards, alteration or suspension of universities and their branches, divisions and subsidiary colleges shall be formulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 5

Universities shall regularly carry out self evaluation on teaching, research, services, instruction, academic affairs, administration, student participation and other proceedings; regulations for the evaluation shall be formulated by the universities.

The Ministry of Education, in order to promote the development of universities, shall organize an Evaluation Committee, entrust academic organizations or professional evaluators to carry out regular evaluation on the universities and publish the results as reference for educational subsidies from the government and the scale of adjustment and development of universities; methods of evaluation shall be formulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 6

Universities may organize inter university systems or research centers.

Regulations for the organization and operation of inter university systems referred to in the previous paragraph shall be formulated by the universities.

Regulations for inter university research centers shall be formulated by the universities jointly and reported to the Ministry of Education for future reference.

Article 7

Universities may formulate merger plans, which shall be approved by academic affairs meetings (for national universities) or local governments (for universities of municipalities or counties/cities) or boards of directors (private universities), and then be reported to the Ministry of Education for approval before implementation.

Chapter 3 Organization and meetings

Article 8

A university may appoint one president responsible for the overall management of the university and development of academic affairs, and represents the university externally. Deputy presidents shall be appointed by the president to assist with the promotion of academic affairs; the number, tenure and qualifications of the deputy presidents shall be stipulated according to organizational regulations.

The position of president of a university may also be taken by foreign professionals according to related laws and shall not be bound by stipulations concerning nationality and employment in Nationality Act, Private Institute Act and Employment Service Act.

Article 9

To appoint a new president to a university, the university shall organize a President Select Committee 10 months prior the expiry of the present president's tenure, after the new president is selected through public procedure, he or she shall be appointed by the Ministry of Education or the local government.

The proportion and means of selecting different members of the committee referred to in the previous paragraph shall be as follows: Representatives of the university recommended by an academic affairs meeting shall take up 2/5 of all numbers.

Institute fellow representatives recommended by the university and social justice defenders shall take up 2/5 of all numbers.

Other commissioners shall be representatives selected by the Ministry of Education or the local government.

Regulations of the organization, operation and other proceedings of the President Select Committee of public universities shall be approved by Ministry of Education (for national universities) or local governments (for universities of municipalities or counties/cities) or before being selected by the board of directors a Select Committee organized by the boards of directors (private universities), and then be reported to the Ministry of Education for approval before implementation.

The tenure for presidents of public universities shall be 4 years, and the president may be reappointed upon expiry of the tenure; the procedure, times of reappointment and methods of decommission before the expiry shall be stipulated in the organization procedure of the universities; the tenure and reappointment of private universities shall be stipulated in the

organizational procedure of the universities.

The Ministry of Education and the local government shall carry out an evaluation on the president 10 months prior the expiry of his/her tenure as reference to make a decision about reappointment.

Before implementation of the amendment of the Act, public universities or those for whom the Ministry of Education has organized a President Select Committee according to the stipulations in Paragraph 2 of Article 6 of the Act before amendment may continue the selection of presidents until the selection is completed by the Ministry of Education; the tenure of the president shall follow the original stipulations of the universities.

Article 10

Newly appointed presidents of national universities shall be directly selected by a Select Committee organized by the Ministry of Education; To appoint new presidents to other public universities, the local government shall select 2-3 candidates, who shall then be reported to the Ministry of Education and finally selected by a Select Committee organized by the Ministry of Education. To appoint new presidents to private universities, the board of directors shall select candidates and report them to the Ministry of Education for approval before appointment.

Article 11

Universities may establish colleges or independent graduate schools; colleges may establish departments or graduate schools.

Universities may offer interdepartmental, inter institute or inter college credit courses or degree courses.

Article 12

The number of students in a university shall be in accordance with the resources of the university; the standards shall be stipulated by the Ministry of Education, which may also be the basis for the universities to add or adjust colleges, departments, or institutes as well as the planning of courses and quota of student recruitment.

Article 13

Each college under a university shall appoint a dean responsible for the overall management of the college; Each department shall appoint a director and an independent graduate institute shall appoint a dean, responsible for affairs of the department and the institute respectively. The university may also appoint the degree and course director responsible for course affairs.

Academic supervisors like deans and directors adopt a tenure system, following the methods below:

Deans of colleges shall be selected from the professors according to the procedure stipulated in the organization procedure of the university, and then be reported to the president for approval before appointment.

Directors, deans of institutes and degree & course directors shall be selected from teachers above the title of associate professor according to the organizational procedure of the university and then be reported to the president for approval before appointment. However, directors of departments, institutes of arts and technology and degree & course directors may be senior specialists above the level of associate professor as a concurrent post.

Colleges, departments and institutes of a university reaching a certain scale so as to meet the requirements of the development of academic affairs may appoint deputy supervisors to

assists with academic affairs.

Procedures for the tenure, reappointment and dismissal of deans, directors and degree & course directors as well as other proceedings shall be stipulated in the organizational procedure of the university.

Academic supervisors referred to in paragraph 2 may be taken by foreign teachers as a concurrent post.

Article 14

To achieve the target referred to in Article 1, universities may establish various executive agencies or hold different meetings; Names of the executive agencies, tasks and duty of the meetings as well as division of work and qualifications of executive supervisors and other proceedings shall be stipulated in the organizational procedure of the university.

Executive posts of different levels in national universities may be taken by teaching or research personnel and shall be stipulated in the organizational procedure of the university.

Colleges, departments and institutes of a university reaching a certain scale so as to meet the requirements of the development of academic affairs may appoint deputy supervisors, who shall be teaching or research personnel to assist the supervisors with the promotion of business; qualifications and other proceedings shall be stipulated in the organizational procedure of the university.

Related laws of civil servants and educational personnel shall be applicable to the appointment of staff to national universities; appointment of personnel for human resources and accounting shall follow the stipulations of relevant regulations.

Staff of non executive posts in national universities may be contracted and shall not be limited by the stipulations in the previous paragraph, their rights and obligations shall be specified in their contracts.

Article 15

Universities shall establish academic affairs meetings organized by the president, deputy presidents, representatives of teachers, academic and executive supervisors as well as representatives of research personnel, staff, students and other related personnel to discuss important academic affairs. Representatives for teachers shall be elected and the number shall not be less than 1/2 of all participants of the meeting, teachers with professor or associate professor titles shall be less than 2/3 of all representatives of teachers in principle, other defining methods and proportion of attendants or attendants as non voting delegates of the meeting shall be stipulated in the organizational procedure of the universities.

Academic affairs meetings shall be held by the president, at least once a semester; Upon request of a temporary academic affairs meeting required by 1/5 of the attendants of the academic affairs meetings as non voting delegates, the president shall hold the meeting within 15 days.

When an academic affairs meeting is necessary, various committees or task force may be established to deal with proceedings of academic affairs; the name, tasks and means of composition shall be stipulated in the organizational procedure of the universities.

Article 16

The academic affairs meeting shall discuss the following proceedings:

Development plans and budget of academic affairs.

Organizational procedure and various important rules.

Establishment, alteration and suspension of colleges, departments, graduate institutes and auxiliary organizations.

Academic affairs, student affairs, general affairs, research and other important internal affairs. Methods of teaching evaluation.

Decisions of committees or task forces established by the academic affairs meeting.

Resolutions of the meeting and suggestions of the president.

Chapter 4 Ranking and engagement of teachers

Article 17

Teachers in universities are ranked professors, associate professors, assistant professors and lecturers, engaged in teaching, research and instruction.

Universities may offer lectures presided by professors.

Universities may be provided with teaching assistants to assist the teaching and research.

Universities may engage research personnel for research and technicians for teaching; ranking, qualifications, engagement, dismissal, suspension, refusal of reengagement, appeal, treatment, welfare, advanced study, retirement, pension, severance, annual salary, salary increase and other rights and interests shall be stipulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 18

Engagement of university teachers are classified in the initial contract, reengagement and long term engagement; the engagement shall be transacted following the principles of justice, equity and openness. Moreover, initial contract of university teachers shall be published in traditional media or academic publications. Qualifications and procedure for the engagement of teachers shall follow the stipulations of related laws.

Article 19

In addition to following the stipulations in the Teacher Act, universities may also add rights and obligations of teachers in the academic rules and formulate separate stipulations for the suspension or refusal of reengagement of teachers upon requirements of academic research and development, which shall be implemented and provided in the contracts after being approved by the academic affairs meeting.

Article 20

Confirmation for reasons of engagement, upgrading, suspension and severance of university teachers shall be reviewed by the Teacher Review Committee.

Stipulations for ranking, composition and operation of the teacher review committee shall be implemented after being approved by the academic affairs meeting.

Article 21

Universities shall establish the teacher review system for review of the achievements of the teaching, research, instruction and services as important reference for upgrading, reengagement, long term suspension, refusal of reengagement and encouragement of teachers.

Methods, procedure and specific measures of review referred to in the previous paragraph

shall be implemented after being approved by the academic affairs meeting.

Article 22

Universities shall establish the teacher's appeal review committee to review teachers' appeals against dismissal, suspension and other decisions; Stipulations on the methods of composition and operation shall be implemented after being approved by the academic affairs meeting.

Decision of the appeal review committee shall not influence the rights of parties concerned to lodge legal prosecutions.

Chapter 5 Student affairs

Article 23

Students having studied in public high schools or accredited private high schools or equivalent schools shall be entitled to study for a bachelor's degree.

Students receiving a bachelor's degree or equivalent degree shall be entitled to study for a master's degree.

Students receiving a master's degree or equivalent degree shall be entitled to study for a doctor's degree. However, graduates of the present year studying for a bachelor's degree with excellent grades or studying for a master's degree shall be entitled to apply to study for doctor's degree directly.

Standards for recognition of equivalent educational level referred to in the previous 3 paragraphs and regulations for studying for graduates of the present year studying for a bachelor's degree with excellent grades or studying for a master's degree referred to in the previous paragraph shall be stipulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 24

Student recruitment by a university shall be transacted independently or jointly with other universities following the principles of equity, justice and openness; regulations on methods, quota of recruitment (including examinations) and recognition of the examinees' identification as well as conflicts of interest, review of grades, treatment of students' appeals and other proceedings shall be formulated by the university and reported to the Ministry of Education for approval before implementation.

To carry out student recruitment or joint recruitment, universities shall organize student recruitment committees or joint boards for discussion of the previous proceedings jointly, which shall then be reported to the Ministry of Education for approval before implementation; student recruitment committees or joint boards shall entrust academic organizations or corporate bodies to carry out related examination business.

Organization, tasks of student recruitment committees or joint boards and qualifications, range of business, responsibilities of entrusted academic organizations or corporate bodies as well as other related proceeds shall be stipulated by the university or the joint board and then reported to the Ministry of Education for future reference.

For universities with departments (institutes) of arts, the qualifications of students entering the university and methods of student recruitment (including examination) shall follow the Arts Education Act and related stipulations.

Entrance examinations carried out by universities shall be provided with rules of examination and penalties of violation, which shall also be specified in the Student Recruitment Regulations.

Examinees participating in entrance examinations violating rules of examination hall and the equity of examination shall be treated according to related laws as well as the rules of examination and penalties of violation referred to in the previous paragraph and academic rules of the universities.

Article 25

Students suffering serious trauma, children of foreign service personnel of the government, students receiving excellent grades in international field or written contests, students with excellent sports achievements, veterans, overseas compatriot students, Mongolian and Tibetan students shall not be limited by the previous paragraph in terms of quota and means when entering universities to study for degrees; Regulations on the quota, means, qualifications, term of transaction, composition of the student recruitment committee, principles of recruitment and other proceedings about the rights and responsibilities of examinees shall be stipulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 26

The studying term for pursuing a bachelor degree shall be based on 4 years with exception that the department, school, college, and program can allow for prolonging one to two years, or add an extra practice term of a half to 2 years. The term for a master degree shall be 1 to 4 years while that for a doctoral degree is between 2 and 7 years.

The above-said studying term may be extended or shortened with the requirements of qualification and procedures designated by the University with approval of Ministry of Education.

The mental and physical disabled pursuing degrees may request for prolonging the studying term with maximum 4 years for special demands, exempt from quitting rules due to academic performances.

The credits and course hours for receiving a bachelor degree stipulated in Paragraph 1 shall be regulated by Ministry of Education while those and evaluations for receiving master and doctoral degrees shall be set by the University and approved by the Ministry.

Article 27

When a student completes the credits required for a credit course, the university shall award the credit certificate of the course to the student; When a student completes the credits required for a degree and passes the examinations, the university shall award the degree to the student according to law.

Article 28

A university students' minor study in the university or other universities, study of double degrees, courses, interuniversity optional courses, maintenance of admission qualifications, transference to other universities, departments, institutions and courses as well as suspension of school, withdrawal, disciplinary dismissal, grade assessment, transfer of credits and holiday courses, adoption and recognition of foreign degrees, treatment of enrollment relating to military service and going abroad, dual enrollment and other proceedings shall be listed in the academic rules of the universities and then reported to the Ministry of Education for future reference.

Principles for the adoption and recognition of foreign degrees referred to in the previous paragraph and procedure of recognition as well as other proceedings shall be stipulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 29

University students may study for degrees in domestic and foreign universities at the same time upon approval; universities shall specify related proceedings in the academic regulations according to the stipulations of related decrees and then report them to the Ministry of Education for future reference.

Article 30

Studying for degrees according to the stipulations of the Act may adopt remote education for credits for part of the subjects; Regulations on the ratio of credits adopted and recognized, requirement and other proceedings shall be stipulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 31

When carrying out extension education, universities shall follow the principle of subjects or credits of study. However, students completing credits stipulated by the departments or institutes and qualifying the examinations and at the same time passing the entrance examination may be awarded the degree according to the stipulations in the previous paragraph.

Enforcement rules of the extension education referred to in the previous paragraph shall be stipulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 32

To ensure the effect of the students' study and to establish the criteria for the students' behavior, universities shall formulate academic rules and regulations of reward and punishment, which shall be reported to the Ministry of Education for future reference.

Article 33

To enhance education, universities shall make the elected representatives of students attend the academic affairs meetings and meetings relating to their study, living and formulating of regulations about reward and punishment; The proportion of representatives of students attending the academic affairs meeting shall not be less than 1/10 of all attendants of the meeting.

Universities shall tutor the students to organize a student union and other related self ruling organizations consisting of members elected from students of the whole university to improve the students' study and ability of self rule.

The student union referred to in the previous paragraph may charge a membership fee from members; the university shall collect the membership fee for the student union.

Universities shall establish a student appeal system to receive appeals of the students; the student union and other student self ruling organizations against penalties or other measures and decisions from the university so as to guarantee the rights and interests of the students.

Regulations on the previous 4 paragraphs shall be stipulated in the organizational procedure of the university.

Article 34

Universities shall pay group insurance for students; Regulations on the coverage, amount, term of payment, period, standards of payment, rights and obligations as well as other proceedings shall be stipulated by the universities. Universities shall help the students with insurance claims in a positive manner.

Article 35

Items, purpose and amount of charges collected from the students shall not exceed the stipulations of the Ministry of Education.

To help students study at university, the governments may transact a school loan; Regulations on conditions, quantum, items, rights and obligations as well as other proceedings shall be stipulated by the Ministry of Education.

Chapter 6 Supplementary Provisions

Article 36

Universities shall formulate the organizational procedure according to the Act and then report it to the Ministry of Education for approval before implementation.

Article 37

Contents in Article 25, Article 26 and Article 37 of the Statute for Appointment of Educational Personnel in conflict with the Act shall no longer be applicable.

Article 38

To optimize education, training, research and services, universities may cooperate with governmental agencies, business entities, non governmental organizations and academic institutions; Enforcement rules shall be formulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 39

Except those kept secret according to law, information about academic affairs in universities shall be open in principle and may be provided to the people upon application.

Article 40

Unless otherwise stipulated in the Teacher Education Act and the Private School Act, the Act shall be applicable to the establishment, organization and educational faculties of universities for teacher education and private universities shall be applicable.

The central government and governments of municipalities may establish open universities, whose organization and educational faculties shall be stipulated in separate laws.

Article 41

The Enforcement Rules of the Act shall be formulated by the Ministry of Education.

Article 42

The Act shall be effective as of the date of promulgation.