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Teaching the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its Legacy through Critical Pedagogy in a Taiwanese High School

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The University of San Francisco

TEACHING THE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND ITS LEGACY
THROUGH CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN A TAIWANESE HIGH SCHOOL

A Dissertation Presented
to
The Faculty of the School of Education
International and Multicultural Education Department

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Ming-Kuo Hung
San Francisco
December 2017

ABSTRACT

Teaching the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its Legacy Through Critical Pedagogy in a Taiwanese High School

This dissertation analyzes a Taiwanese learning experience about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. Taiwanese formal education includes this topic in secondary education. However, a paucity of previous studies described the racial and social meaning of this learning experience. Launching an educational project with a critical-pedagogy approach, this study invited 18 Taiwanese high school students to discuss their understanding of race, racism, and social justice in Taiwan, after learning about the U.S. experience. The rationale of analyzing student participants' comments rests on critical race theory.

This study applied a critical-ethnography approach to qualitative research to analyze student participants' learning experiences. The data include video and radio recordings in classes, individual interviews of participants, writing texts from participants' assignments or from class activities, and field notes, based on researcher's observation and reflection.

After analysis, this study found that Han ethnocentrism functions as a hidden identity and value system to influence student participants to respond to racial issues. Color-blind racism and Whiteness worship occur because Han ethnocentrism prevented participants from understanding the world. However, the result of this research also indicated that with a proper introduction, participants were willing and capable of developing racial sensitivity and affirmative attitudes about social justice toward minorities in Taiwan, such as Taiwanese Aborigines and Southeast Asian migrant workers.

The results of this research led to several suggestions: (a) Adjustment of the existing U.S. Civil Rights Movement curriculum in Taiwanese formal education should focus on racial sensitivity and social justice. (b) Antiracist and racial-sensitivity education will benefit Taiwanese society, increasing people's awareness of Han ethnocentrism and its accompanying dominance and harm. (c) Cooperative relationships are expected between U.S. and Taiwanese educators to work on transnational education, sharing the U.S. experiences to achieve racial and social justice in the Taiwanese educational forum.

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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DEDICATIONS

To my wife, Wei-Yi, for accompanying me to study overseas and to share this period of life together in our marriage.

To all Taiwanese who are eager to know the world and to make this island known by the world, while we keep our pride as Taiwanese, even under political uncertainty.

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Consistent support for this study came from the University of San Francisco. In the academic sphere, Dr. Taylor led me to understand Black experiential knowledge, patiently granting me time and space to think and understand issues of which I was originally unaware. In my overseas study, Dr. Taylor taught me how to practice cultural competency and emotional intelligence, which led me to overcome the language barrier and cultural shock. In this period of time, learning Black collective knowledge, my advisor served as a model of how to be a professor, a kind elder who cares others, and a respectful figure who fights against injustice in many ways.

I also give thanks to my dissertation committee members. Appreciation to Dr. Fuentes, whose classes constructed my understanding of critical race theory and brought me knowledge of much crucial literature used in this dissertation. Thanks to Dr. Mitchell, who shared her precious experience attending the March on Washington. This experience revived my passion to research the Civil Rights Movement and its legacy, after reading frustrating literature about racism. Both professors gave me significant comments that led to finishing this dissertation.

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I thank teacher Chuan-Yi Hsu at Taichung First Senior High School in Taiwan. Without his help and trust, researching in the high school would have been impossible. Thanks to all the student participants in this research. Your voices were carefully analyzed and treasured in this dissertation, in hopes that your authentic thoughts and willingness to engage in social justice will bring changes.

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Teaching the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its Legacy
Through Critical Pedagogy in a Taiwanese High School

CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

As a Taiwanese, the researcher first learned racial discourse in Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s (Dr. King¹) famous speech, "I Have a Dream," in high school days. In the teenage years, the researcher did not really understand the meanings in the speech, but could feel the idealism described in the words. The idea of "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character" (King, 1963, August 28) impressed me and led me to write a master's thesis in Taiwan about Dr. King's inspirations. This dream also impressed many other Taiwanese teenagers, even though they may not see the image of Dr. King, hear his voice, or meet any African Americans in their lives.

My experience indicates that the African American freedom struggle influences not only people in the United States but also those who have cross-cultural and transnational backgrounds. In my master's thesis, writing about Dr. King's inspiration for Taiwanese education, the researcher found racial insensitivity in Taiwanese society. The researcher also felt the self somehow not escaping from that racial insensitivity if not

¹ How to refer to Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. shows different meanings and respect of him. This dissertation follows most Taiwanese usage calling him 金恩博士, which is translated literally as Dr. King, to represent the perspective of Taiwan.

paying attention to it. This racial insensitivity may be shared by many Taiwanese, due to the social context and education; it is worthy of researching and will be beneficial for Taiwanese society and for those who are interested.

Statement of the Problem

The Civil Rights Movement brought about an important cultural and social transformation of U.S. society in the 1960s. During that time, many significant events occurred, such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Greensboro sit-in, the March on Washington, Freedom Summer in Mississippi, and the Selma to Montgomery March. As a key leader and organizer of these events, Martin Luther King, Jr. played a key role in the development of the rights of African Americans and inspired the whole nation (Carson, 2001; King, 1963, 1958/1986, 1963/2000, 1958/2001, 1968/2010; J. Williams, 2013). His leadership led to being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964 (King, 1964, December 10). The subsequent commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day across the United States made his figure a symbol to the world of the legitimacy of African American freedom struggles during the Civil Rights Movement (Okafor, 2015).

As a result, Dr. King's life and speeches have been used in the curriculum of many U.S. classrooms (Alridge, 2002; California Department of Education, 1995; Connecticut State Department of Education, 1988; Early & Terry, 2002; Guarneri & Davis, 2008; New York State Education Department, 1985; Wills, 2005). King's influence has been felt far and wide. Overseas in Taiwan, people respected Dr. King as the person representing the Civil Rights Movement and have included his speeches in English as a Foreign Language teaching since the 1960s. Speeches were taught as formal lesson plans in Taiwanese English textbooks beginning in 1986. In the 1990s, Taiwanese

formal curricula also added the Civil Rights Movement as a world history topic, focused on King's life, events, and speeches. These curricula are still used today.

The Taiwanese educational system divides formal curricula into many subjects. The U.S. Civil Rights Movement curriculum in Taiwan is the main focus in two high school subjects (students aged 16 to 18): English and History. The Movement is also mentioned in several grades and subjects, such as Civics in middle schools. In High School English, the Civil Rights Movement topic emerged in textbooks beginning in 1971. The texts used in English were excerpts from Booker T. Washington's autobiography (1901/1995), articles referencing nonviolence, and speeches by Dr. King such as "I Have a Dream" (King, 1963, August 28) and "What is your Life Blueprint?" (King, 1967, October 26). The one that continues to be used in most English textbooks is "I Have a Dream." Literature indicated that learning English as Foreign Language by using Dr. King's speech in Asian classrooms had positive effects (Shannon, 2007). High School history in Taiwan began to cover the Civil Rights Movement in 1995 under the topic of "the 1960s era." This topic covers not only the Civil Rights Movement but also movements such as the hippies, antiwar activities, and student protests in France.

At this time, the researcher has found no scholarly literature related to the U.S. Civil Rights Movement as a teaching and learning experience with cross-cultural implications for Taiwanese education in racial or social considerations. This study attempted to fill this gap. Findings from this study address the deficiency in the research literature and explore the cross-cultural approaches to teach Taiwanese students about the Civil Rights Movement and African American collective knowledge, impacting Taiwanese society and international educators.

This study explored Taiwanese high school students' learning experiences about the Civil Rights Movement. Prior research suggested that teaching the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and the history of African Americans was a viable way to learn democracy in a cross-cultural context (Lake & Reynolds, 2008; Minchin, 2010). However, a paucity of information concerns the Civil Rights Movement taught in Taiwan. Thus, attempts by educators or researchers to understand how African American collective knowledge influences and inspires Taiwanese society are also rare. Even though the Civil Rights Movement has been included in Taiwanese formal education since the 1960s, the underlying principles and social impacts of this curriculum upon society have not been discussed. Although scholars have discussed the issues of racism, ethnocentrism, and nationalism in Chinese and Taiwanese society in the fields of politics and history (Y. Cheng, 2011; Dikötter, 1992, 1997; Hsiau, 2000; Johnson, 2007; Karl, 2002; Mosse, 1995), antiracist education and racial equity discussions are rare in educational forums in Taiwan.

Therefore, this study aims to explore the social and cultural impacts of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, as taught in Taiwan. The educational experiences of Taiwanese students are important to study. Since the Civil Rights Movement contributed to social justice in racial, economic, and educational aspects by criticizing the inequity between Blacks and Whites, a curriculum talking about this history should benefit its learners to understand racial equity and social justice.

However, Taiwanese interpret group identity without the awareness of race, due to social background and context. Most discussions about Taiwanese group identity focus on language and ancestral origin (Hsiau, 2000) rather than skin color and appearance that

connect the racial, social, and economic injustice that underlie the core issues in the Civil Rights Movement. Does the Civil Rights Movement curriculum in formal education help Taiwanese form their own group identity, the vision of group equity, and a cross-cultural understanding, or is it merely taught as a story of foreign history and as past events?

Although research (S.-J. A. Cheng, 2004; Johnson, 2007; Kowner & Demel, 2013; Loveband, 2004; Tierney, 2008, 2011) indicated that racism occurred in Taiwan, it was not often discussed in schools. Minchin (2010) pointed out that Australian scholars used the U.S. Civil Rights Movement as a way to teach and to promote racial equity in their society. Therefore, it is important to know whether teaching the U.S. Civil Rights Movement in Taiwan has had a similar impact.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the learning experiences of an educational project, teaching about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its legacy in a Taiwanese high school. This educational project was developed through discussions with a high school's curriculum committees, the assisting teachers in that school, and the University of San Francisco (USF) faculty, along with the research process. This research complements the knowledge currently available and provides a cross-cultural understanding of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement taught in Taiwan. Furthermore, by analyzing and understanding the ethos of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, awareness of student participants to critique the dominant ideology of ethnocentrism in Taiwan and to engage in a social justice dialogue emerged.

Background and Need

The social and cultural history of Taiwan

As a Taiwanese, writing a history of Taiwan, ironically, is difficult. The history of Taiwan is influenced, or twisted, greatly by politics and totalitarianism. When the researcher was young, the researcher received history from the perspective of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang [KMT]) in schools. The KMT had ruled Taiwan with an iron fist, including the educational system. However, when the researcher was in college, the history taught in schools was changed by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) when they claimed power in 2000–2008. Both versions of history influenced me significantly. The former laid my foundation of knowledge in my teenage days, and the latter brought me inspiration to appreciate the island's history, rather than that of an imagined China. The different versions of history represent a division of Taiwan, based on different political ideologies. Even in travel guidebooks for Westerners about Taiwan, the influence of politics on history is still obvious. Cannon's (2011) writing inclined to the KMT perspective; Kelly and Chow (2014) represented point of view from the DPP viewpoint. Although history is divided into mainly two explanations, the unwillingness to harm relationships of friends and families because of different ideologies is shared among Taiwanese, and the researcher is no exception. Therefore, the researcher continued to think about how to write a history that is acceptable by both groups.

Taiwan has contended with the challenge of three different occupations over the last 300 years: Occupation by Holland in the 1600s, occupation by Japan, 1895 to 1945, and occupation by the KMT from 1945 to 2000 (*BBC News*, 2017). From 2000 until the present, Taiwan experienced three power shifts of ruling parties. For most Taiwanese,

these shifts represent democracy and an end of autocracy. However, the historical debate remains because of the two divided political ideologies. Because this dissertation aimed to analyze the discussions of race and social justice in a Taiwanese classroom, the race/ethnicity history in Taiwan should be introduced first.

The race/ethnicity categories in Taiwan

Weiner (2012, p. 333) indicated that “Avoiding ‘race’ by calling groups ‘ethnic’ does not diminish the consequences of racialization, exploitation, oppression, or essentializing dehumanization, particularly given the many ways in which ethnic groups can be racialized.” Taiwanese tend to discuss group identity with ethnicity rather than talking about race. This tendency toward racial blindness indicates a need to use the terms race and ethnicity as interchangeable in this dissertation because the blindness is racially constructed and has meaning.

Contemporary Taiwanese group identity is constructed aligned with political ideology (Baran, 2014). The main discourse of ethnic groups identifies Taiwanese as four groups: Hoklo, Hakka, Aborigines (Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian), and Mainlanders (Crook, 2014; Kelly & Chow, 2014; Wilson, 1970). These categories were developed and spread on the island by the DPP, especially in its governance between 2000 and 2008. At that time, a newly formed group identity, based on Hoklo experiences, asserted themselves as Taiwanese and refused to recognize any Chinese identity. This group identity, or Hoklo nationalism, mainly constructs the green-oriented (the color of DPP) history to emphasize Taiwan’s independence and authenticity. The opposite perspective, commonly known in Taiwan as blue-oriented (the color of KMT) ideology, was formed by the KMT after World War II (Crooks, 2014, p. 22). The KMT and its

followers, who retreated from China after 1949, along with their descendants born in the mainland or on the island, are defined in the four-group theory as Mainlanders (*BBC News*, 2017).

Hoklo, Hakka, and Mainlanders, taken together, constitute 98% of the population in Taiwan and are Chinese rooted, or racially Han peoples; differentiated from the 2% Austronesian-originated Aboriginal people. The division between Hans and Aboriginals is unclear. Although 98% of Taiwanese citizens claim to be descendants of Han immigrants, most (60%) have Aboriginal blood; however, they usually deny this heritage. Researchers highlighted and discussed discrimination against Aboriginals, such as marginalizing knowledge of Aboriginals (Balcom & Balcom, 2005) and stereotyping Aboriginals as lower class citizens or as mere entertainers (Yu & Bairner, 2011).

From the above short introduction of Taiwanese group identity, the blue–green debate has emerged. The DPP raised the four-group theory in Taiwan to include the KMT identity in the Mainlanders category, thereby already undermining Chinese cultural roots in Taiwan from the blue point of view. This difference in viewpoints represents the difficulty of writing a history of Taiwan when the researcher is within the debate. Based on the background mentioned above, a brief Taiwanese history written with ideology awareness follows.

A Taiwanese history deconstructed

Ancient times

“Taiwan’s earliest years of human settlement are shrouded in mystery” (Cannon, 2011, p. 62). Shared events in literature include that archaeologists asserted human behaviors on this island began 10,000 years ago or earlier, using the carbon-dating

technique. Pottery culture emerged around 6,000 years ago, found along the western coastline, and the Aborigines in Taiwan were Austronesians originating on the island (Cannon, 2011; Crook, 2014; Kelly & Chow, 2014). Based on different ideologies, the literature emphasized a connection with isolation of the island from the mainland. For example, blue-oriented history emphasizes the pottery culture in Taiwan, similar to other ancient Chinese pottery cultures. The history of China includes description of an island in the southeast, Taiwan, or even proclaimed that ancestors in Taiwan were all immigrants from the mainland. In contrast, green-oriented history would highlight the authenticity of Aborigines in Taiwan, affirming that human culture on this island was self-developed instead of migrating from other areas.

The western maritime powers in Taiwan

The Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) established a small colony on Taiwan's southwest coast, located today in Tainan, to connect their commercial business with Japan and southeast China in the early half of the 17th century (Cannon, 2011; Crook, 2014; Kelly & Chow, 2014). The controversial part of history about this time period was the connection with the Ming regime in China. The Dutch established their colony originally on Penghu, the isles on the Taiwan Strait between the Fujian province of China and Taiwan, but relocated to Tainan later. The blue-inclined history emphasizes authorization from the Ming regime, allowing the Dutch to establish the colony in Taiwan (Cannon, 2011). However, the green-inclined history describes the story as conflicts between the Chinese and Dutch, indicating that the former drove the latter out of Penghu and caused them to relocate their colony to Taiwan: a place out of Chinese control at that time (Kelly & Chow, 2014).

Portuguese traders named Taiwan as “Ilha Formosa” (Cannon, 2011; Kelly & Chow, 2014) which meant “beautiful island” when they sailed by the island. This story and name are well known by Taiwanese because green-inclined ideology emphasized Formosa as the “original” name of this island before the “Taiwan” term emerged. Green advocates criticized “Taiwan” as an outsider term, brought by Chinese immigrants, and were eager to find another name to replace it. In Taiwan, people can easily distinguish green-oriented companies or organizations when they read the term “Formosa” on their logos. However, it is ironic that proclaiming Formosa the name of the island falls into the myth of cultural colonialism (from the Western powers) when supporters assert it represents the authenticity of Taiwan?

The Spanish established colonies in northern Taiwan but were expelled by the Dutch. Then the Dutch established colonies in what is today Tamsui, Taipei, and Keelung. Fort San Domingo in Tamsui, originally built by the Spanish and later ruled by the Dutch, is well-known as a historical site. However, the Chinese official name of Fort San Domingo is 紅毛城 (Hong Mao Chen, Red Hair Fortress; New Taipei City Government, 2016), referencing red-haired people living in this building in the 17th century. This name is still in use today and contains apparent racism, but most Taiwanese are unaware. This phenomena is another example of racial/color blindness in Taiwan.

Cheng family kingdom (Koxinga dynasty) rule

In 1662, admiral Cheng Ch'eng-Kung (Zheng Chenggong in Pinyin), known as Koxinga (lord of imperial surname) in Western literature, defeated the Dutch in Taiwan and built the Chinese-style administration in today in Tainan (Crook, 2014). His child, Cheng Ching, ruled southern Taiwan as the regime of Tungning Kingdom (東寧王國

1661–1683). In this period, 25,000–30,000 Chinese migrated to the island, adding their number to local residents who were mostly Aborigines (Kelly & Chow, 2014). Cheng kingdom emphasized agriculture as well as the military, asking that soldiers also be farmers.

Blue-inclined history would describe in great detail how Cheng conquered the island and his loyalty to the Ming dynasty, indicating his continuing confrontation with the Qing dynasty (Cannon, 2011). They would emphasize Cheng's attempt to settle Taiwan as a base to reclaim authority back to the mainland, similar to the KMT regime retreating to Taiwan. In contrast, green-inclined history would mention his birth in Japan and mother as Japanese (Crook, 2014), depicting his role and behavior as a pirate rather than a war hero (Lai, 2015). On the ascension of the third ruler of the Cheng kingdom, his grandson, Cheng Ko-shuang, the Qing Empire sent a former general from the Cheng kingdom to defeat them and ended the long-term disturbance of smuggling along China's southeastern coastline. In 1683, the Cheng kingdom surrendered to the Qing Empire without much resistance.

Qing dynasty rule in Taiwan

After taking over the island, the Qing Empire paid little attention to it until France defeated China in the Sino–French War (1884–1885). After that war, the Qing Empire finally viewed Taiwan as a province and appointed the first and only governor, Liu Ming-Chuan, to the island. Although Liu established many modern facilities in Taiwan, such as the telegram system, railroad, and other transportation, the Qing Empire gave its governance to Japan not long after Liu's efforts. During their governance, the Qing's

policy urged Chinese immigrants in Taiwan to move back to the mainland, but the immigrants actually increased in number because trade interests were more attractive.

The Qing administration never controlled the whole island, leaving most eastern parts of the island to self-governance by Aborigines. In the western plains, ethnic conflicts occurred regularly among the Chinese immigrant communities. The different home provinces (Fujian or Guangdong) and languages (Hoklo or Hakka), or even the different city origins in the same province (Zhangzhou or Quanzhou) caused turmoil among the immigrants. Under Qing rule, rebellions were common on the island. Therefore, residents on the island never became self-sustaining under Qing governance. As for the blue–green debate in this period of history, the controversial part was whether the Chinese had become the dominant group on the island, whether the island belonged to China because most eastern parts were out of Qing’s control, and whether the Chinese majority discriminated against Aborigines.

Japanese rule in Taiwan

After the Qing Empire lost the war against Japan in 1895, the Qing Empire ceded Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), Taiwan, and Penghu to Japan. Aware of the cession, former Qing officials in Taiwan declared independence under the name of Republic of Formosa. However, this regime lasted only a couple months before the Japanese army conquered the island. Under Japanese rule, Taiwan developed many urban facilities, such as railroads, bridges, schools, and hospitals. The blue–green debate is extreme about this period of history. Green-oriented literature emphasizes Aboriginal and Han rebellions, asserting that among the rebellions, the Taiwanese identity (apart from Japanese and Chinese) formed. The Kominka Movement, begun in 1937, was also covered by green-

oriented history, and a former president in Taiwan, Lee Ten-Hui, emphasized his Japanese name (Crook, 2014; Kelly & Chow, 2014). Blue-oriented history focuses on stories related to the Chinese identity of the Republic of Formosa and tension between Chinese and Japanese armies on the mainland. The Kominka Movement was neglected. Blue advocators would depict that Han Taiwanese wanted to retain their Chinese identity, even under pressure from the Japanese government (Cannon, 2011). Blue-oriented media would also highlight that the Japanese army recruited Taiwanese women as wartime sexual slaves (Chiao, 2016).

Another debate is whether to use Japanese “occupation” or “rule” to describe this era (H.-F. Lee, 2013). The former usage is favored by the blue-inclined supporters because they thought Taiwan was temporarily occupied by Japan between Qing governance and the KMT regime. However, the latter would interpret that Japan, as well as the Qing or KMT, were all occupiers of the island; therefore no need exists to use another term to describe Japan’s ruling era.

The Chinese Nationalist Party’s regime

In 1945, Japan surrendered in World War II and gave the governance of Taiwan and Penghu to the KMT. In 2000, the first ruling-party transition brought the DPP to power, through elections. Over 55 years, the KMT ruled Taiwan autocratically. At the beginning of its rule, KMT officials, who came from mainland China, intensified the tension between them and local residents, because they had bias against Japanese culture, having just experienced the war; however, in many ways, local residents identified with Japanese culture, due to Japan’s 50 years of rule.

The KMT government also held the monopoly on selling salt, tobacco, alcohol, and gasoline on the island. On February 27, 1947, governmental monopoly inspectors beat a widow because she was selling illegal cigarettes. An angry crowd gathered in front of the monopoly bureau after the beating, met with gunfire and several were killed. An accumulated dissatisfaction, protests, uprisings, and revolts emerged throughout the island in the following days. Taiwanese Governor Chen Yi called for support from the mainland China army and suppressed the revolts, killing thousands of people. This event is called the 228 incident and its interpretation is still debated between KMT and DPP supporters.

In 1949, Chiang Kai-Shek and his army retreated to Taiwan, following defeat by the Communist army of Mao Tse-Tung. After his arrival, Chiang declared martial law on the island and suppressed all political dissent. Many Taiwanese victims were imprisoned or killed, due to political persecution. “White Terror” is the term indicating the sad memory of that period. Under the rule of Chiang Kai-Shek, Taiwan received U.S. military and economic aid, practiced land reform, became industrialized, and the per capita income increased. However, totalitarian governance still remains a scar in Taiwanese memory because their basic freedoms were taken away from them during that time.

The end of authoritarian governance and contemporary Taiwan

Chiang Kai-Shek died on April 5, 1975, and his son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, took power from 1978 until his death in 1988. In blue-oriented history, the KMT would emphasize the economic and social reforms of this era. The term “Taiwan economic miracle” celebrated the rule of the second Chiang (Cannon, 2011). Green-oriented history

would emphasize Chiang's authoritarian governance, like his father, depicting the emergence of the opponent political party, which later became the DPP (Crook, 2014). However, both these perspectives of history would recognize the change in the latter days of the second Chiang's governance, including banning martial law and appointing a Taiwanese-born politician, Lee Teng-Hui, as his successor.

Lee was appointed to his first term by the former leader, but in his second term (1996–2000), was elected directly by Taiwanese. This election was a major advance in Taiwan's democracy. After Lee, Taiwan experienced three power transitions. The first was in 2000 when Chen Shui-Bian was elected president; the first president of Taiwan not coming from the KMT. The second transition happened in 2008 when Ma Ying-Jeou was elected president and the KMT regained governance. The third transition occurred recently, when Tsai Ing-Wen from the DPP won the presidential election in 2016. After each transition, Taiwanese society experienced changes according to the two ruling parties' different priorities. In Chen's term, de-Sinicizing of Taiwanese society was a major issue, including name rectification of many governmental facilities from Chinese to Taiwanese. For example, the post system's name was changed from Chunghwa (a synonym of China) post to Taiwan post, but then changed back after Ma's rule, emphasizing re-Sinicizing.

In policies opposing the People's Republic of China (PRC), the two political parties bifurcate significantly. The KMT tends to maintain one China but under two different authorities' governance; the DPP tends to not recognize any Chinese-tie with the mainland but emphasizes Taiwanese localization. The two parties' competition influences not only political inclination among Taiwanese but also economic and social spheres. For

example, the blue-oriented economic policy or businesses would not reject cooperation with Chinese companies, but the green-oriented policy would emphasize not depending on the potential enemy's market. In the educational fields, how historical textbooks explain China is also debated much in contemporary Taiwanese society. Blue-oriented teachers and scholars would see China as the cultural root of Taiwan, but green-oriented ones would see China as an invader and outsider. Since the politics of two parties was emerged in recent decades, the duality of society and historical explanation are still in construction. The way of depicting Taiwanese social and political history in a dual and coexistent point of view is desirable and attempted in this dissertation.

Historical Issues About the Need for the Research

The Civil Rights Movement is part of the collective knowledge of African Americans and their struggle for freedom and racial and social justice. African American collective knowledge not only contributes significantly to U.S. history, democracy, and racial justice (Anderson, 2003; Carson, Lapsansky-Werner, & Nash, 2011; Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011; Jackson, 2007; Olsson, 2013; Terkel, 1992; J. Williams, 2013), but also represents a global critique of the hegemony of Whiteness (Lake & Reynolds, 2008; S. J. Lee, 2005; Prashad, 2001).

This research contributes to the influence of the African American collective knowledge in Taiwan, focusing on an educational project about the Civil Rights Movement in one high school. As previously mentioned, the inclusion of teaching the Civil Rights Movement in English as Foreign Language and history classes in Taiwan is common, but research that looks at how Taiwanese students understand the Civil Rights Movement through racial and social lens is rare. Why does Taiwanese education tend to

ignore racial and social meanings of the Movement? That background is addressed in this dissertation.

Taiwanese perspectives of race and ethnicity are influenced by nationalism, political ideologies, and Confucianism (Johnson, 2007). Taiwanese political history can explain nationalism and ideologies. Confucianism can be understood as a value system that underlies social and cultural norms in Taiwan (C. Y. Chen, 2010; Johnson, 2007; Yu & Bairner, 2011).

The history of political tension between the PRC and the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan formed the ideology dominating Taiwanese society in the martial law era (1949–1987). In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek's KMT was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party and retreated to Taiwan. After the retreat, fighting back to the mainland was a major goal of the Nationalist government. Under the military goal, the KMT announced martial law in Taiwan to maintain coercion and prepare an anticipated war with the PRC. Following the allied relationship in the Pacific region of World War II and Cold War tensions, the Nationalist regime continued to maintain an ambivalent political tie with the U.S. government (Gallicchio, 2000; Roy, 2003). In the martial law era, the government mandated Taiwanese curricula, greatly influenced by the Nationalist ideology (C. Y. Chen, 2010). The U.S. Civil Rights Movements curriculum entered the Taiwanese educational system under the pro-U.S. atmosphere and is still taught today.

Confucianism influences Taiwanese educational philosophy, system, and practice, especially in primary and secondary schools (Huang, 2010). Hwang's (2001) attempt to reconcile human-rights education with Confucianism also highlighted the significance of Confucianism in the educational system. Confucianism influenced values in the

Taiwanese educational system, causing misunderstanding and difficulties in promoting human-rights education (Hung, 2010). Huang described the influence of Confucianism as a “cultural conservatism” (2010, p. 29) to resist challenges to authority. This conservatism explains well why new thoughts or values were hardly introduced in a Confucian-influenced society. This conservatism caused Taiwanese teachers to misunderstand the rights discourse as a spirit of rebellion and rule-breaking; therefore they were unwilling to teach that knowledge that could cause tension or conflict (Hung, 2010). Hung suggested “a form of pedagogy by acknowledgement” to welcome difference and otherness to resolve the conservative tendency in education (2012, p. 50).

Just as human-rights education encountered obstacles from Confucian conservatism, radical discourses encountered resistance as well. The messages of the Civil Rights Movement regarding political activism, racial talk, and social justice are radical thoughts challenging the status quo, and these thoughts caused alarmed for people who held cultural-conservatist ideas. Cultural conservatism explains why racial and social meanings of the Civil Rights Movement are rarely taught, discussed, and researched in Taiwan. A new understanding of African American collective knowledge will transmit to Taiwanese students the ethos of the Civil Rights Movements and African American political activism through this dissertation. A proper and deeper understanding and interpretation of the Civil Rights Movement, introduced to student participants, enlightened their thoughts about Black collective experiences and connected learning to their own Taiwanese experiences.

Theoretical Framework

This research study rests on the theoretical framework of critical race theory (CRT, Arudou, 2013a, 2013b; Hughes & Giles, 2010; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Yosso, 2005; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009) and Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy (1968/1992, 1994, 1998; Shor & Pari, 2000). Creswell (2014) indicated that a critical approach to research was "concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class, and gender" (p. 65). Through a critical lens, a Taiwanese high school classroom is no longer a place to transmit color- or racial-blind knowledge but can be a research field of racial and social justice as well.

Critical Race Theory

CRT has five tenets to implement in the educational field (Yosso, 2005; Yosso et al., 2009): (a) The intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination: racial issues and racism occur to a wide extent and interweave with other forms of injustice such as sexism, xenophobia, and class discrimination; (b) The challenge to dominant ideology: CRT rejects the claim of color blindness and objective discourse, arguing that these conventional norms and values are based on the dominant ideology; (c) The commitment to social justice: the implementation of CRT aims to transform society toward social justice; (d) The centrality of experiential knowledge: the experiences of people of color or any other subordinate group are the main resource to understand racial issues and racism; (e) The transdisciplinary perspective: CRT explains racial issues and racism with a cross-boundary approach to discover the experiences of subordination more completely.

According to CRT, color blindness is another form of racial dominance (j. a. powell, 2012; Yosso, 2005; Yosso et al., 2009). To challenge possible color blindness in Taiwanese society, this dissertation research mainly explored racial discussions in a Taiwanese high school classroom and tried to empower student participants to critique dominant ideologies, such as ethnocentrism. Because study participants came from the mainstream and probably did not have many subordinating experiences in Taiwanese society, the focus was not on their experiential knowledge but on their awareness of dominant ideology and social justice.

Critical Pedagogy

Freire (1998) revealed the pedagogy of freedom as a means to criticize ideology and authority. The main idea of the pedagogy of freedom is to develop students' self-confidence about their own past, present, and future position, thereby helping them achieve greater autonomy of decision making that leads to freedom. Freire's (1998) thoughts about generosity explained well this pedagogy of confronting authority. Freire said that generosity was an ethical ground on which teachers' authority and students' freedom could be laid. The demonstration of freedom was letting students make their own decisions, though they took the risk of making mistakes. Freire (1998) said, "I can never learn to be who I am if I never decide anything" (p. 97). Teachers, playing a key role to lead students to be free and to be independent thinkers, need to acquire their own self-confidence, constructed from their professional competence, continuous study, and generosity. The process of this dissertation research is an attempt at the pedagogy of freedom. The researcher and participants seek to acquire self-confidence by criticizing the ideology imposed by authority displaying ethnocentrism.

Freire (1998) also pointed out that “right thinking” is an attitude to accept what is new.

Proper to right thinking is a willingness to risk, to welcome the new, which cannot be rejected simply because it is new no more than the old can be rejected because chronologically it is no longer new. The old is capable of remaining new when it remains faithful through time to the experience of original and founding intuitions and inspirations. (p. 41)

For this interpretation, what is new is not chronologically defined; an old thing may be new, and whether a thing or thought is new relies on its ability to arouse originality or inspiration. In this sense, the Civil Rights Movement, chronologically speaking, is a historical event, which is old. However, it can be new in inspiring a cross-cultural society through a new perspective, or in Freire’s words, right thinking. This dissertation research is also risky and is the first step in right thinking.

Also, Freire’s thoughts on problem-posing education (Freire, 1985, 1968/1992, 2005) was employed in educational practice in this research. In the data-collection phase, the researcher was a teacher with Freire’s “teachers-learning and learners-teaching” notion in mind to facilitate a class discussion. Seeing Taiwanese ethnocentrism as a problem that needs to be discussed, participants were expected to develop an awareness and willingness to challenge the problem.

Research Questions

1. How do the participants view U.S. society after experiencing the Civil Rights Movement educational project developed in this research?

2. How do the participants view Taiwanese society after experiencing the Civil Rights Movement educational project?
3. In what ways do the participants conceptualize the connections between the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and social justice in Taiwan?

Definition of Terms

The following terms were operationalized for this study:

African American collective knowledge: Knowledge is defined in a critical way as living and experiential capacity, as CRT indicates. African Americans develop a group identity, culture, and community through a long-term fight against racism and structural oppression. This knowledge is shared and inherited in their collective experiences and sense of belonging.

African American freedom struggle: Some scholars thought the term Civil Rights Movement limits and removes African American resistance into a period of time and as an integrated ideology. This term covers more authentic African American collective knowledge, fighting against racism and structural discrimination.

Civil Rights Movement: The movement at the center of this dissertation describes a series of resistance acts of African Americans from 1939–1965, circling Dr. King’s life and roles in different periods and forms of movements.

Han: The Taiwanese government and the Chinese government share an ambivalent political tension. The Taiwanese government today continues to proclaim itself as the ROC, defeated by Communist China, the PRC, before 1949. Therefore, some Taiwanese retains their Chinese identity, though others proclaim a new Taiwanese identity without any Chinese connection. In this dissertation, the researcher used Han

identity to indicate the Chinese identity or cultural roots in Taiwan to avoid mixture with Chinese identity in the PRC. This term is the name of an ancient Chinese dynasty and commonly used by Taiwanese when referencing Chinese culture.

Delimitation

This study was limited to a Taiwanese high school and one classroom. The findings and discussions in this study were appropriately interpreted only in its contextual considerations, which are confined to an urban, elite, academically centric public school. The outcome of this study can only explain the Taiwanese high school students' learning experiences about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement in this school, and with the researcher's participation. However, this study can be compared to all Taiwanese high school students' learning experiences with expansion and further research regarding teaching of racial identities, social justice, and human rights in Taiwan.

Limitation

The research site is an elite public high school in central Taiwan. This high school has a single-gender tradition as an elite boy's school. In the phase of selecting a research site, the willingness to cooperate was the primary facet of selection. Two schools expressed willingness to cooperate and were both elite boy's high schools. The researcher chose the one from which the researcher graduated, about 17 years ago. The administrators of this school were willing and welcoming to provide a research opportunity for alumni.

Although the single-gender practice is changing in this school, the ratio of male to female students is still highly unbalanced: 90% of the students in this school are boys.

This school also participates in many scientific research projects in cooperation with Taiwanese universities; therefore the administrators and students are used to and welcome a new research program about education. This researcher committed to including the female voice. However, the heavily male population of this school needs to be highlighted and is a limitation.

Due to transnational research practice, language is also a limitation of this study. Through translation, some cultural elements of the raw data may be missed, and some detailed meanings may not be interpreted perfectly in English. However, the language issue is also a key element of ethnographic research. Madison (2012) pointed out the importance of recognizing language hybridity in fieldwork. This study was unlike a typical ethnographer who faces the barrier of understanding local language because the researcher shares the same native language with participants; rather, this study's limitation was maintaining the authenticity of the voice of participants when depicting them in English.

Summary

Taiwanese share a learning memory of Dr. King's speech as an impression of African Americans. However, they lack deeper understanding and meaningful transformation from the transnational and transcultural knowledge. Literature indicated that English learning can be achieved using Dr. King's speeches in Taiwan and throughout Asia. However, racial and social meanings of the educational experiences of Taiwanese learning from the Civil Rights Movement and its legacy were not described in any research. To mitigate this gap, this dissertation launched an educational project in a Taiwanese high school classroom, introducing African American collective knowledge

through the mediation of the researcher as a teacher, and employed CRT and critical pedagogy as theories to design the research. Following the theoretical rationale, this study aimed to analyze how African American collective knowledge inspired student participants to obtain transcultural and transnational understanding of U.S. society, and to develop capacities to sense and discuss racial equity and social justice in Taiwan.

CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW

Restatement of the Problem

The U.S. Civil Rights Movement has been included in Taiwanese high school curricula for almost 3 decades. However, research focusing on discussions of the impact of teaching the Movement in the Taiwanese context is rare. Literature indicated that sharing and teaching African American experiences in cross-cultural contexts will inspire learners and the cross-cultural society as well (Carson, Spero, & Mohnot, 2009; Dierenfield, 2004; Feagin, 2010; Guarneri & Davis, 2008; Ke, 2012; Lake & Reynolds, 2008; S. J. Lee, 2005; Minchin, 2010; Newman, 2004; Prashad, 2001; Shannon, 2007). Still, research discussing the social and cultural impacts of teaching the U.S. Civil Rights Movement in Taiwan is scarce. Therefore, to explore, understand, and advocate the learning outcomes of Civil Rights Movement teaching in Taiwan and its potential social and cultural impacts is significant academically and educationally.

Overview: The U.S. Complex and the Significance of Black Discourse in Taiwan

The U.S. Civil Rights Movement, especially the figure and speech of Dr. King, is a shared experience of Taiwanese because the high school curricula include them; thus, the U.S. Civil Rights Movement influences not only U.S. society but also Taiwanese society. The emergence of the Civil Rights Movement in Taiwan has its historical context. The influence of U.S. culture in Taiwan can be traced to the post-World War II era. In the Pacific War, the KMT regime, also called the ROC, allied with the U.S. to fight against Japan. After the war, the alliance continued in the Cold War to confront Communist China, the PRC (Gallicchio, 2000).

In this allied relationship, the U.S. government provided financial aid from 1951 to 1965, military aid for defense, and technical assistance for civil policies toward the ROC. In contrast, the ROC provided the U.S. government with a defense against Communism, a pro-U.S. member seat in the U.N. for 2 decades, and support for the U.S. global strategy with many African governments (Roy, 2003). U.S. aid supported economic growth and civil policies to ensure the KMT stabilized its governing power in postwar Taiwanese society (Wilson, 1970). This allied relationship ended in 1979 when the Carter administration recognized the Beijing regime and broke official relations with Taipei. During the 3 decades of U.S. alliance, the KMT propagated the U.S. culture islandwide. Even after the official relationship was abolished, the admiration for U.S. culture remained in Taiwanese society. This tendency of adoring U.S. culture led to Whiteness worship.

Bonilla-Silva (2003, p. 270) mentioned that “three new ‘racial spaces’ are developing (white, honorary white, and collective black)” in contemporary U.S. racial categories. Due to lack of personal contacts with actual U.S. society, Taiwanese built their understanding mainly from the media. Their imagination of U.S. society rests on a blueprint depicted by the White-oriented media, and Taiwanese tended to act as honorary Whites. Therefore, the tendency to interpret White culture as the whole U.S. culture occurred easily. In addition, the elitism advocated in the postwar era of Taiwan also fostered the tendency to assimilate with Whiteness.

Under the myth of English as a dominant international language, learning English equaled learning the U.S. White culture (Ke, 2012); Taiwanese elites tended to illustrate that imitating White culture was an indication of being a global person who had the

ability to communicate with others internationally. After a period, the concept of imitating White culture as the ability to be international was strengthened and not questioned. Whiteness worship spread as high culture since elites were the people who started this tendency (Johnson, 2007).

Freire (1907/1992) mentioned that some oppressed, especially the middle classes, tend to imitate or follow the oppressors. Freire criticized this admiration as a mindset of colonized people and an alienation of humanity. Whiteness worship functioned as a mindset of colonized people in Taiwan for a period of time. From this perspective, Taiwanese are somehow under the oppression of globalization and hegemony of Western White frameworks.

Under the tendency of seeing White culture as the whole of U.S. culture, Taiwanese lack panoramic understanding of U.S. society, which includes immigrant diversity, class divisions, and multiracial/ethnic identities. Among the diverse population in the United States, the collective experiences and knowledge of African Americans are most appropriately interpreted as a discourse counter to the dominant White culture. Feagin (2010) deconstructed conventional U.S. history as a production of the White racial frame, recognizing that the Black counterframe and civil rights struggles did play an essential role in challenging the White racial framework and moving U.S. society toward real democracy. This counterframework works not only in U.S. society as a consistently supervising voice, but also as a model that can inspire a transnational society to resist White hegemony.

African American Collective Knowledge

Their knowledge was about life, not books

—Moses & Cobb, 2001, p. 82).

Regarding the collective knowledge of African Americans, it can be imagined as a cultural treasure describing how humans fight against other humans' malice. From slavery, abolition, civil rights struggles, self-cherishing movements, and individually successful figures, to the resistance of racist police brutality and color-blind racism in contemporary U.S. society, African Americans have displayed a continually innovative presence in the country, serving as the conscience of this country (King, 1965). Hooks (2005) described the collective knowledge as "powerful survival strategies" (p. 61), handed down from generation to generation, even from the slavery era (H. A. Williams, 2005). Hooks said:

Having lived in a segregated southern black world and in an integrated world, where black people live with and among whites, the difference I see is that in the traditional world of black folk experience, there was (and remains in some places and certainly in many hearts) a profound unshaken belief in the spiritual power of black people to transform our world and live with integrity and oneness despite oppressive social realities. In that world, black folks collectively believed in "higher powers," knew that forces stronger than the will and intellect of humankind shaped and determined our existence, the way we lived. (hooks, 2005, p. 2)

The struggling experiences of African Americans represent resistance to racism and may overcome it. From the 1990s on, conceptualizing race as socially constructed

rather than naturally or genetically defined is recognized (Hamer, 2012; Kim, 2000; Omi & Winant, 2015; j. a. powell, 2012; Smedley, 2007). Prashad (2001) described racial awareness as a U.S. ideology, broadly discussed and bringing about reformation in U.S. society. The United States built on 350 years of extreme racial oppression, which formed White privilege (Feagin, 2010). Racial awareness brings to U.S. society a way to discuss and resolve social ills. Although racial awareness and racism closely tie, the former works exactly to confront the latter and can be a positive contribution to form people's identities (j. a. powell, 2012).

Racial awareness, based on U.S. experiences, also inspires cross-cultural societies. Minchin (2010) and colleagues practiced a teaching program with Australian college students to learn about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and to construct racial-justice awareness in their own society, such as rights of aboriginal Australians. As the editor of the King Papers Project, Carson (2013) is a Kingian scholar committed to sharing Dr. King's legacy internationally. After bringing Dr. King's legacy to many countries, he saw Dr. King "less as merely an African American civil rights leader and more as an international symbol of struggles for social justice and human rights" (Carson, 2013, p. 245). Dr. King started in a role of a speaker in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, then became a representative of the U.S. nonviolent movements and received the Nobel Peace Prize. He is now a symbol of the legacy of the African American freedom struggle around the world (Akhtar & Blue, 2012; Harley, Middleton, & Stokes, 1992; Smiley & Ritz, 2014).

Minchin (2010, p. 1104) described that "race may be ... the 'American Obsession' ... that many foreigners clearly share," pointing out that many scholars

outside the United States were committed to teach U.S. history, focusing on the Civil Rights Movement and racial relations. Although Terkel (1992) used the term “American Obsession” with a negative meaning to criticize hidden racism in the 1920s, Minchin quoted it with a positive meaning, indicating that the American Obsession can be a reminder to examine whether a cross-cultural society had a similar obsession. For global consideration, the experiences and knowledge of the African American freedom struggle awoke a universal consciousness of race in the world. Lake and Reynolds (2008) analyzed struggles around the world with the lens of Whiteness study, quoting W. E. B. Du Bois’ explanation of Whiteness as a supremacy intended to retain privilege. This racial awareness is commonly known by people of color around the world under the oppression of racial discrimination and White supremacy. From this point of view, racial awareness indicates not only a group of people’s collective memories but also a possibility of giving hope to the oppressed globally.

The Civil Rights Movement

What is usually called “the civil rights movement” was only one element—albeit a crucial, necessary element—of what many persons considered a larger, deeper, historically-grounded movement: the struggle—often led by black people—to transform America, its values, institutions, and people toward a more perfect union.

—Harding, 1987b, p. 180

Most writings introduce the Civil Rights Movement starting from the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955. However, this boycott aimed to challenge the segregation system and the injustice accompanying it. Therefore, the origin of

segregation needs to be mentioned first (Facing History and Ourselves, 2006; Vecchione, 1986/2010; J. Williams, 2013). The *Plessy v. Ferguson* case established the separate-but-equal doctrine in 1896. In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court announced that the separation of races was constitutional as long as equal accommodations were provided for Blacks. This doctrine existed for a period, and many Blacks did fight to gain equal accommodations at that time. However, the segregation system still existed with much discrimination, and its existence was itself harmful for African American youth for generations.

In 1939 and 1940, Dr. Kenneth Clark and his wife Mamie Phipps, performed the Dolls Test to prove that segregation itself was harmful. The Black students attending segregated schools in Washington D.C. had lower self-esteem than those in New York who attended unsegregated schools. In the 1950s, Clark tested 16 Black children again in Clarendon County, South Carolina. The participants were aged 6 to 9; Clark showed them Black and White dolls and asked them which dolls looked nice or were bad. Of the 16 children, 11 said that the Black ones were bad; nine indicated the White dolls looked nice; seven said that they saw themselves as the White dolls. When they were asked to show which doll was most like them, they became emotionally upset to identify themselves as those dolls they rejected (J. Williams, 2013). This test was part of the evidence submitted in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case to argue that segregation was unjust.

Brown was consolidated with many other school-desegregation cases: *Briggs v. Clarendon County*, *Davis v. Prince Edward County*, *Bolling v. Sharpe*, and *Gebhart v. Belton*. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an

integrated civil rights organization founded in 1909 “to achieve, through peaceful and lawful means, equal citizenship rights by eliminating segregation and discrimination in housing employment, voting, schools, the courts, transportation, recreation” (J. Williams, 2013, p. 46), coordinated the group lawsuit. This consolidation represented that the segregation problem was not limited to the South but was a national issue. On May 17, 1954, the judges of the Supreme Court announced, “We conclude, unanimously, that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” (J. Williams, 2013, p. 34). The Supreme Court allowed segregation to be dismantled gradually rather than to immediately, to achieve a unanimous verdict. The ambiguous practice of demolition of segregation aroused many debates and was disputed following the verdict. Still, *Brown* set in motion a new doctrine to achieve racial equity. Significantly, it brought an awareness of African Americans fighting against racial injustice through the judicial system and buoyed confidence in U.S. democracy.

In 1955, 1 year after the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation of public education, Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Chicago teenager, was murdered by White racists in Mississippi when he went to visit relatives. His death and the photo of horribly damaged body were reported by Black media and triggered Black communities to fight for justice. With the NAACP’s help, Mose Wright, Till’s uncle, pointed out the two White suspects who murdered his nephew in front of a White judge, an all-White jury, and armed White guards. This was a courageous act at that time in Mississippi because it threatened Wright’s life, as a Black person, to do so. Although the verdict still favored the White suspects as not guilty, the reactions of Black communities for the justice of a

teenager's death fueled them to stand together to fight against the unjust system (Carson, Garrow, Gill, Harding, & Hine, 1991; J. Williams, 2013).

Another famous movement in Black communities' fight for justice was the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955–1956. For most people, the boycott began with an innocent woman, Rosa Parks, spontaneously refusing to give up her seat to a White man, after her long day of hard work. After that event, the young leader, Dr. King, led the masses to coordinate under the doctrine of nonviolence and achieved a successful boycott. The boycott lasted 13 months with many Blacks sacrificing their usual transportation of bus, replaced by walking and carpools with patience, endurance, and communal assistance. This perspective of the Montgomery struggle is generally right but superficial, ignoring the context and the long-term efforts in fighting against segregation and injustice in Montgomery.

Mrs. Parks was a diligent seamstress in a department store located in downtown Montgomery, and also worked as a secretary in the local branch of NAACP. In 1955, not long before her arrest, a 15-year-old teenager, Claudette Colvin, was arrested by police for not giving up her seat in the middle section, which could be occupied by Blacks or Whites if not already occupied. Mrs. Parks, serving as the NAACP's Youth Council advisor, was worried about this case and attended a racial-equality workshop at Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee. That school was established to train poor people in the South to help themselves. Before her arrest, Mrs. Parks had participated in the struggle to some extent and developed a strong will to fight against segregation and racial injustice.

After Mrs. Parks's arrest, the Women's Political Council, a local organization formed in 1946 fighting against the arrests and humiliations on segregated buses, reacted immediately. The president of the Council, Jo Ann Robison, who was an English teacher at Alabama State College, mimeographed 35,000 handbills and distributed them throughout Montgomery to launch a 1-day bus boycott on Parks's trial day to protest the ill treatment on segregated buses. Robison passed out these handbills in elementary, middle, and high schools. The Women's Political Council also passed the handbills and shared the plan with Black ministers, letting them organize the latter part after the 1-day boycott. Jo Ann Robison, Rosa Parks, the Women's Political Council, and all those nameless handbill passers were prepared to challenge the status quo because Black people suffered from discrimination and humiliation by the system. When the time came, their long-term political activism developed their courage, and the sudden indignation of an unjust event put them into action quickly. "Many people think that the Montgomery Bus Boycott was a spontaneous act. ... In truth, the boycott was anything but spontaneous" (J. Williams, 2013, p. 70). Although women had great influence in this movement, they were often neglected by patriarchal history. Many Black domestic servants in White families fought in this movement by walking, and endurance to win White women's respect, and to build allied relationships in feminism to resist White male dominance (J. Powell, 2016).

The success of the 13-month bus boycott lifted the spirits of Black people in Montgomery and elsewhere. The well-organized Blacks volunteered transportation to replace buses, developed a sense of community, and filed lawsuits to win peacefully; these were key strategies to sustain the movement. The boycott lasted such a long period

because of communal networking. One aspect was local Black taxi companies' support. Another was the carpool transportation based on Black-church resources. Yet another was the continuing weekly mass meetings to collect funds and keep the passion of crowds upraised. During the 13 months, the tension in Montgomery was high, and many bombs exploded in Black leaders' houses, including Dr. King's. However, the nonviolent philosophy taught throughout the movement helped maintain order in Black communities. Dr. King himself recognized the importance of nonviolence in the boycott (Carson, 2001) and generalized six tenets of nonviolence:

1. [N]onviolent resistance is not a method of cowards; it does resist;
2. [N]onviolence ... does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding;
3. [T]he attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil;
4. [N]onviolent resistance is a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation, to accept blows from the opponent without striking back;
5. [N]onviolent resistance ... avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit;
6. [N]onviolent resistance is ... based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. (King, 1958/1986, p. 90–95)

The eloquence of Dr. King in the movement was also important in encouraging people to maintain solemnity. After this movement, Dr. King obtained a national reputation and was seen as a spokesperson for unfolding civil rights movements. In January 1957, Black ministers gathered at Martin Luther King, Sr.'s Ebenezer Baptist

Church. They decided to establish a formal organization dubbed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)” to continue the civil rights struggle, and elected Dr. King as the president of this newly formed organization.

Regarding the success of the boycott, judicial efforts cannot be neglected. On February 1, 1956, attorney Fred Gray filed suit in the U.S. District Court to challenge the constitutionality of bus segregation. After several appeals, the case reached the Supreme Court, and on November 13, 1956, the Supreme Court outlawed segregation on public buses. This decision affirmed desegregation, although actual desegregation depended on the minds and behaviors of people. Segregationists’ counterattacks continued after the Supreme Court decision was announced. However, the success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott brought a new meaning to racial equity and inspired later movements.

After the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Fellowship of Reconciliation printed thousands of copies of a comic book entitled *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, to spread the ideas of passive resistance and nonviolence. Before Dr. King promoted Gandhi’s nonviolence with Christian pacifism, the Fellowship of Reconciliation had promoted Gandhi’s thoughts as a tool for Blacks’ freedom struggle. They sent two leaders, Glenn Smiley and Bayard Rustin, to help the Montgomery movement. Smiley was the White minister who accompanied Dr. King, sitting side by side on the first integrated bus of Montgomery. Before the boycott, James Lawson had already brought Gandhi’s thoughts of nonviolent resistance from his missionary days in India, launching a series of workshops teaching Southern Blacks how to confront segregation with nonviolent resistance in the 1950s (J. Williams, 2013).

From the flourishing development of nonviolent workshops, young Black generations were inspired and launched a series of passive resistance actions in Southern cities in the 1960s. On February 1, 1960, Joseph McNeil, Franklin McCain, David Richmond, and Ezell Blair, Jr., sat and asked for service at a Woolworth Department Store lunch counter in Greensboro. The service was not provided, but they sat there for more than half an hour. That was the first sit-in, inspiring other similar movements in over 15 cities. Among these sit-ins, the Nashville Movement, led by Diane Nash, encountered White resentment and violence on February 27, 1960. However, the police arrested the Black demonstrators rather than the violent White adolescents. In court, the judge literally turned his back when the attorney defended Black students' standpoint. These situations showed hardships and risks when Black students took action.

The various sit-ins continued for months and caught national press' coverage and Black adults' attention. Ella Baker, in the SCLC at that time, thought the young activists needed leadership and arranged a meeting with student activists on Easter weekend 1960 in Raleigh, North Carolina. Baker suggested student activists have their own goals and directions to maintain student movements. This conference ended with the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a student-led civil rights organization (J. Williams, 2013).

Baker's grassroots efforts contributed much to the Civil Rights Movement. She joined the NAACP, SCLC, and SNCC in succession. In the NAACP days, Baker's efforts focused on raising Blacks' awareness to engage in the movement: "to get people to understand that in the long run, they themselves are the only protection they have against violence and injustice" (Crass, 2013, p. 153; Moses & Cobb, 2001, p. 33). Baker spent

2.5 years in the SCLC and laid the groundwork for the organization. Baker's work aimed to promote voting rights, passive resistance, and mass direct action in Black communities, establishing and organizing resistant traditions (Crass, 2013; Moses & Cobb, 2001). After the founding phase, Baker's connection to the SCLC weakened because the patriarchal and hierarchical style of the SCLC failed to recognize her leadership as an executive director, regardless of her many works. The lack of recognition of Baker's leadership and efforts to build community consciousness was a loss to the SCLC.

Baker's theory of implementing grassroots movement was understood as participatory democracy, which contained three parts: (a) The appeal of grassroots involvement by people, (b) the minimization of hierarchy and emphasizing leadership based on expertise and professionalism, and (c) direct action as an answer in demanding change (Crass, 2013). Bob Moses described Baker's philosophy of movements: "If you really want to do something with somebody else, really want to work with that person, the first thing you have to do is make a personal connection" (Moses & Cobb, 2001, p. 32). Concurring with Baker's philosophy of leadership, Moses asserted that a true leader does not create consensus but finds it by building relationships with people.

Baker's contribution to SNCC laid its foundation. In the Raleigh student activists' conference, Southern students gathered to discuss how to develop and coordinate the burgeoning sit-in upsurge. Originally, the SCLC hoped students could form a youth wing under the adult organization, but with Baker's advice, students built their own organization: SNCC. SNCC contributed many key efforts in the Civil Right Movement, such as the *jail no bail* strategy and Freedom Schools in Mississippi to educate the locals

to become empowered and politically active. SNCC practiced Baker's philosophy of participatory democracy by making basic efforts to serve people in movements, including welfare agencies, teaching, transportation, negotiation, law suits, and building a sense of belonging. Baker's participatory democracy aimed not only at organizing and politicizing masses but also at consciously transforming people to engage in the struggle of making the world better (Crass, 2013).

Student sit-in movements yielded various reactions. Some Black leaders did not agree with sit-ins. They thought the battles were in court and voting booths rather than in the streets. Dr. King took a supportive standpoint about the student movements and joined a sit-in in Atlanta as a participant, not a leader. In that movement, he was arrested with students and was sentenced to 4 months in jail, due to a violation of his probation from driving without a Georgia license. This arrest influenced the presidential campaign of John Kennedy, who called Coretta Scott King to express concern about the jailing and arranged the bail of Dr. King. After that, many Black voters supported Kennedy: 68% of Black votes was key for Kennedy's presidential victory in the closest presidential election in U.S. history (J. Williams, 2013).

Between the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott and the 1960 student sit-ins, another significant event occurred in Little Rock Central High School, Arkansas in 1957. Following the *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* decision, the school board had decided to integrate Little Rock Central High School in 1954, but delayed until September 1957. However, in August 1957, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus assembled White segregationists, initiating a series of activities to prevent the integration. In the anti-integration activities, violence against Blacks occurred: on September 4, 1957, eight

of the nine Black students enrolled in Central High, known as the Little Rock Nine, met Daisy Bates, president of the local branch of the NAACP, to arrange escort by police to attend the school. However, Elizabeth Eckford, whose family had no phone, was not reached by Bates and took a public bus to her new school by herself. She met a White mob threatening to lynch her. After that incident, Eckford “sometimes woke up in the night, terrified, screaming about the mob” (J. Williams, 2013, p. 102). In the end, the Little Rock Nine could not enter Central High on the first school day because Governor Faubus ordered Arkansas National Guardsmen to prevent the Black students entering the school.

On September 23, 1957, the Little Rock Nine attempted to go to the school again and were scared away. One accompanying Black journalist, Alex Wilson, was knocked unconscious by the mob: 2 days later, President Eisenhower ordered the 101st Airborne Division to escort the Black students to school. With the troops’ escorting, the Little Rock Nine finally entered Central High. Nevertheless, although they entered the school and started their study, harassments continued throughout the semester. Minniejean Brown was the first to fight back against the White harassment and was expelled by Central High. She then transferred to a New York high school. After 1 academic year, in 1958, Ernest Green graduated from Central High with police and federal troops guarding. However, Governor Faubus closed all public high schools in Little Rock in the summer of 1958. When students in Little Rock were to return to school, half of the White students attended private schools and a third of the White students studied outside the city. The remaining students, including the rest of Little Rock Nine, did not attend any school.

In 1959, the public schools in Little Rock reopened with integrated operations following the Supreme Court's decision. The Little Rock event represented the White segregationists' resistance and the federal government's decision to enforce the Supreme Court order. Among these political and judicial debates, Black people won their rights step by step, with the endurance of nonviolence, despite facing difficulty and violence.

In December 1960, the Supreme Court ordered that bus stations and terminals should be integrated for all interstate travelers. This order encouraged the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to launch the Journey of Reconciliation again to integrate bus stations and terminals, 14 years after their first attempt. This time, they called themselves Freedom Riders. The strategy was that Blacks sat in the front seats of the bus and Whites in back. At every rest station, Blacks entered the Whites-only facilities and Whites went into the colored ones. They wanted to reveal the tension between the court integration order and the bias of Southern racists, making the government enforce the law. The trip began on May 4, 1961 from Washington, D.C., and the riders planned to arrive in New Orleans on May 17th. On May 14th, the Riders divided into two groups heading to Birmingham from Atlanta. A White mob attacked one group of the riders with stones, and a bus tire was slashed in Anniston, Alabama. When the bus driver stopped to fix the flat tire, the mob threw a firebomb into the bus, which burst into flames later, whereas all the passengers fled the bus through the emergency exit. The burning bus soon became the cover image of front pages across the country. The other bus group was severely attacked by a White mob when they arrived in Birmingham without police intervening against the violence.

Despite facing severe resistance, the riders were willing to continue their trip, but the bus company refused to carry them. Therefore, the activists flew to New Orleans. However, a group of students who had experienced the Nashville sit-ins went to Birmingham to continue the Freedom Ride. They explained that if violence stopped the Freedom Ride, it would bring an image that all movements could be cut short because of violence. At first attempt, they were arrested by police and left beside the highway on the Tennessee state line. They returned to Birmingham to continue the Freedom Ride. At the same time, the federal government was negotiating with the Alabama Governor, who promised to protect any traveler in Alabama. With the promise of protection, on May 20, 1961, the new Freedom Riders started their journey from Birmingham to Montgomery with a private plane and several state patrol cars along the highway between the two cities. When the bus reached the city limits of Montgomery, the plane departed and the patrol cars disappeared, replaced by a White mob that attacked the riders with bricks, clubs, and pipes. Many riders were knocked unconscious and sent to hospitals later. After this assault, the Kennedy government sent 600 federal marshals to Montgomery to protect the riders. Dr. King also flew to Montgomery that evening to address a rally at the First Baptist Church to support the riders. That night outside the church, the mob attacked with bottles, and the federal marshals defended people in it with tear gas. Dr. King called Robert Kennedy, then Kennedy called Governor John Patterson, who was reluctant to respond at first, but finally declared martial law in the state, ordering state troops and police to disperse the crowd and escort Dr. King and the people in the church to safely leave. The next day, federal troops also came to prevent further turbulence.

During the conflict, the Freedom Riders decided to continue their journey, heading to Jackson, Mississippi from Montgomery. When they arrived in Jackson, only police waited for them. The riders were asked to “keep moving” after they exited the bus, through the bus terminals, into the paddy wagons, and into the jails. In court, a scene similar to Nashville occurred: the judge turned his back when the attorney argued the rights of the riders and sentenced them to 60 days in the state penitentiary. When these riders were in jail, more and more Freedom Riders arrived in Jackson to support those in jail and to integrate bus terminals. More than 300 Freedom Riders were arrested that summer to test the Supreme Court’s integration order. Many years later, people in the deep South would call those who were eager to fight for their rights as Freedom Riders (Moses & Cobb, 2001; J. Williams, 2013). The spirit and courage of Freedom Riders were remembered and honored by later generations.

In November 1961, civil rights activists launched another movement in Albany, Georgia. Dr. William Anderson, a local osteopath, was the president of the movement. Dr. King had participated in this movement as a leader representing the SCLC. Many arrests and conflicts happened in this movement as in other civil rights movements. For example, Mrs. Slater King, wife of the vice president of the movement, was pregnant at that time and was beaten by the police when she went to visit the activists in prison. After the beating, the baby died in utero. This event enraged the Black community in Albany. For the first time, they attacked police with bricks, rocks, and bottles on July 24, 1962. The movement was commonly thought to end in August 1962 when Dr. King left Albany. Dr. King later commented that the movement’s purpose “so vague that we got nothing and the people were left depressed and in despair” (J. Williams, 2013, p. 178).

However, the mass meetings in Albany continued for 6 years after Dr. King's departure. Dr. Anderson announced the movement as "an overwhelming success, in that there was a change in the attitude of the people involved" (J. Williams, 2013, p. 178). This movement brought a moral and spiritual victory to Blacks, and experiences to the SCLC and SNCC for their later movements in Birmingham and Freedom Summer in Mississippi.

After the Albany movement, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth invited Dr. King and the SCLC to launch the next movement in Birmingham. The movement was called Project C, which meant confrontation, aiming to desegregate downtown businesses. The Public Safety Commissioner, Theophilus Eugene "Bull" Connor, attacked activists with dogs, clubs, and fire hoses several times, sending them into local jails. Project C planned a nonviolent action by sending Dr. King to jail on April 12, 1963. After his arrest, the local newspaper published a full-page advertisement signed by local White clergy calling Dr. King a troublemaker. In jail, Dr. King wrote a letter to respond to the White clergy's statement. This letter was originally written in the margin of a newspaper, known as the "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." In this letter, Dr. King asserted that delayed justice was not justice, and freedom was never given by the oppressor but demanded by the oppressed.

When Dr. King was in jail, Coretta Scott King called President Kennedy to express worry about her husband's safety. The President later assured her husband's safety. Dr. King and Rev. Abernathy were released on bond on April 20th. After that, the leaders of Project C planned to bring Birmingham's Black children to demonstrate. On May 2, 1963, the first group of children marched in the street, aged 6 to 18. The students in the demonstration were arrested and attacked by dogs and water streams. When the

children were ill-treated, the Black community consolidated. More and more people joined the marchers, and the press covered the demonstration and news in Birmingham nationally.

On May 4th, the Kennedys wanted a quick settlement of Birmingham's conflict and sent a negotiator, Burke Marshall, to the city. Marshall helped both sides talk and Dr. King said that desegregation of lunch counters in downtown stores was the least they would settle for. On May 10th, White merchants agreed to the demands. However, Bull Connor condemned the decision, saying that the decision was a surrender of weak Whites to Black violence. That night, the Ku Klux Klan rallied outside the town and bombed civil rights leaders' houses and the motels in which they stayed. Angry Blacks gathered in the bombed places. State troopers and city police came also, and a riot erupted. The Kennedys sent federal troops near the city, requesting conciliation. Finally, the new mayor of Birmingham approved the agreement between White merchants and Black activists. The movement, which lasted for months in Birmingham, ended with the goal achieved.

In June 1963, a new civil rights bill had been delivered to the Congress. Civil rights organizations seized this opportunity, calling for a national march on Washington. The elder civil rights leader, A. Philip Randolph, saw this march as an opportunity to demand equal jobs. The historic march became a unity of Black activism, claiming racial harmony, desegregation, job justice, and passing of the civil rights bill. The march ended with Dr. King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech (King, 1963, August 28). The speech recognized the democratic spirit of the United States and proclaimed the ideal of racial integration. The March on Washington, at that time, "was the largest demonstration for

human rights in the history of the republic” (J. Williams, 2013, p. 199). Later generations who long for freedom and democracy also honor this historic event. However, resistance still happened in severe forms. Just 18 days after the March, a bomb exploded in a church in Birmingham, killing four young girls who attended a Bible study. No surrender to violence, the March represented a strong symbol of unity, humanity, and hope in the journey of pursuing freedom and justice.

In the summer of 1964, the Civil Rights Movement had another struggle in Mississippi, known as Freedom Summer. SNCC held the activity, aiming to gain voting rights for Blacks in Mississippi. This event was a shift in the Civil Rights Movement from specific desegregation demands to political power. Freedom Summer led to the establishment of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which challenged the long existing White delegation of the Mississippi Democratic Party in attending the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Although the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party failed to represent Mississippi, people showed the determination and power to challenge the status quo, setting a model for future freedom struggle. In Freedom Summer, many White students came from the north as volunteers to help the movement. Moses and Cobb (2001) described integration as an issue that launched many debates. That summer, many Black families received White volunteers into their houses. However, the experiences of Freedom Summer also brought out a larger issue—Black Power—which erupted from Mississippi.

In December of the same year as Freedom Summer, Dr. King received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway. After receiving the prize, he announced activities in Selma, aiming to obtain Black voting rights. In January 1965, Dr. King arrived in Selma and

planned demonstrations on the two voting-registration days each month. In 1963, two years before Dr. King arrived in Selma, SNCC had promoted voting registration in this city. Despite facing much harassment and economic retaliation from White police and employers, many Black residents of Selma remembered the slogans “One Man, One Vote” and “Register Now for Freedom,” arousing courage and consciousness among those in Black communities. Upon Dr. King and the SCLC’s arrival, the long-term efforts of political consciousness erupted into action.

On many occasions, demonstrators in Selma conflicted with Sheriff Jim Clark and police. The scenes of police brutality captured by the press raised attention nationally and pushed the federal government to intervene. Among the conflicts, a state trooper shot to death Jimmy Lee Jackson, a young activist. In mourning Jackson’s death and expressing anger, local leaders decided to bring Jackson’s body to the governor in the capital of Alabama. This idea later became a famous march: the Selma to Montgomery march, which originated from the sorrow of losing brothers and sisters to racism.

However, on March 7, 1965, marchers faced severe violence when they attempted to cross Edmund Pettus Bridge. State troopers attacked demonstrators with clubs and tear gas. Dubbed Bloody Sunday, the attack shocked U.S. society. Dr. King, who was absent on Bloody Sunday, encouraged people coming to Selma to march together. However, to most people’s surprise, in the second attempt to cross the bridge, Dr. King led the marchers, knelt down, and turned around, going back to Selma. Many participants felt betrayed.

During those disturbing days, President Johnson announced the new Voting Rights Act on March 15, 1965. On the same day, the Supreme Court ruled that the march

from Selma to Montgomery was legal and constitutional. Therefore, on March 21th, the marchers got their way, heading to Montgomery with an escort of FBI agents and federal marshals. On Thursday, March 25th, they arrived in Montgomery and had a mass meeting in front of city hall. In the speech of the mass meeting, Dr. King said that through voting rights, Blacks can join the society with Whites peacefully and build a country with a conscience (King, 1965, March 25). However, violence followed the rally. Klansmen shot to death Viola Liuzzo, a white volunteer from Detroit, on her way to drive marchers back to Selma.

In August, the President signed the Voting Rights Act to assure voting rights for Blacks. Surrounding him to witness in the White House were Rosa Parks, Dr. King, and other civil rights leaders. “Securing the Voting Rights Act was a major victory for the civil rights movement. But it was only one part of the larger struggle for dignity, equality, and justice” (J. Williams, 2013, p. 285). In their work on African American history, Franklin and Higginbotham (2011) analyzed the Civil Rights Movement in three dimensions. First, they introduced important figures and events in the Movement but not any specific details of any person or event, summarizing the Movement. Second, the authors highlighted the contributions of women in the Movement, indicating them as front-line activists, coordinators between local and national civil rights organizations, and the moral voice of the Movement. The third dimension was the unique role of the government in the Movement. The executive, legislative, and judiciary systems interacted in debates of democracy, then indirectly contributed to the success of the Movement.

From an international perspective, British scholars wrote about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. Different from the perspectives of U.S. Whites and Blacks, British

scholars tended to describe the Movement as an objective fact without any evaluation. Newman (2004) wrote about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement from the perspective of an outsider, trying to describe the story merely as a description of the names, events, and outcomes, rather than describing participants' feelings and thoughts. Dierenfield (2004) connected the Civil Rights Movement to the origin of Black slavery and discussed the role that the U.K. played in the history of slavery. These two books represented discourses based on their readers' backgrounds and needs. They also showed the significance of the Civil Rights Movement in a global context.

Black Power

The civil rights movement managed to bring about enormous political shifts, which opened doors to people previously excluded from government, corporations, education, housing, etc. However, an exclusively civil rights approach—as even Dr. King recognized before he died—cannot by itself eliminate structural racism. What the civil rights movement did, it seems to me, was to create a new terrain for asking new questions and moving in new directions.

—Davis, 2005, p. 29

After the Civil Rights Movement, the African American collective knowledge went through another era that proclaimed secular power and the importance of self-respect. Black power originated before the Civil Rights Movement, since Marcus Garvey and A. Phillip Randolph had asserted similar concepts (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Though not proclaiming Black power himself, Malcolm X was thought to be a representative of Black power. As a practicing Muslim, Malcolm once said,

There is nothing in our book, the Koran, that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. (Breitman, 1965, p. 12)

From Malcolm's point of view, nonviolence and those passive resistance days were over. African Americans should stand firm to obtain power, lands, and reparation rights. Blacks should achieve those goals through revolution. Malcolm proclaimed that George Washington's revolution was a militant revolution, not a nonviolent one. If Washington was honored as a hero, African Americans' demands for land and independent rights was not wrong at all. "Africans in general and Muslims in particular love militancy" (Breitman, 1965, p. 61). Despite proclaiming militancy, Malcolm's thoughts of revolution meant not necessarily physical conflicts or political replacement, but mindset renewal. Malcolm did not reject integration wholeheartedly; rather,, integration or separation were only "methods to obtain freedom, justice, equality and human dignity" (Breitman, 1965, p. 51).

In a symposium discussing hate gangs in 1964, Malcolm described the connection between capitalism and racism: "It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism" (Breitman, 1965, p. 69). From a disgust of White racism and capitalism, Malcolm had another vision of homeland instead of the reality in the United States, averring the United States "is not home" (Breitman, 1965, p. 130), and assigned Africa as the image of homeland, though Malcolm never lived there. This proclamation was more like inserting an ideal homeland image onto a faraway but ancestral place. With this image in mind, Malcolm built a coalition with African

countries and aimed to solve the problem for Black people in the United States. In a memorandum submitted to the heads of African states, Malcolm wrote, “[t]his is a world problem; a problem for humanity. It is not a problem of civil rights but a problem of human rights” (Breitman, 1965, p. 75). In this memorandum, Malcolm also asked the heads of African states to “recommend an immediate investigation . . . by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights” (Breitman, 1965, p. 77). After attending the Organization of African Unity conference, Malcolm described the attempt to shift the African American freedom struggle from the domestic level (civil rights) to the international level (human rights; Breitman, 1965, p. 83–84).

Despite indicating the U.S. government was wrong, Malcolm described it as others’ government and was not anti-American. What Malcolm criticized were wrongdoings of the U.S. government, such as deceiving to Black people and conducting militant activities in Congo and Vietnam (Breitman, 1965, p. 149). These descriptions showed Malcolm had an ambivalent attitude toward the United States, on one hand criticizing what the government had done and on the other hand preserving pro-American stands. Despite continuing to criticize the U.S. government and support African countries’ independence, Malcolm could not disentangle the U.S. context. Rather, Malcolm advocated allying with political powers around the world to solve African Americans’ problems. Some would argue Malcolm affirmed a Black independent nation, departing from the White United States and undermined U.S. integrity. However, Malcolm actually averred that Black people need to gain power to fight oppression (Breitman, 1965, p. 150).

Despite applying sharp words, Malcolm never practiced violence, and proclaimed nonviolent except in self-defense. Malcolm said, “if his language is with a shotgun, get a shotgun. ... But don’t waste time talking the wrong language to a man if you want to really communicate with him” (Breitman, 1965, p. 108). Malcolm called this philosophy “the law of justice,” like teachings of the Bible: “as ye sow, so shall ye reap” and “he who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword” (Breitman, 1965, p. 112). Malcolm also said that one should “have power base among people who have something in common with you” (Breitman, 1965, p. 129) and to be among those who have “some kind of cultural identity” similar with one’s own. From this point of view, Malcolm employed cultural nationalism to form political power, leading to some literature portraying Malcolm as a Black nationalist (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011; J. Williams, 2013).

Proclaiming militant revolution is highly sensitive and causes public alarm. Malcolm understood that if bloodshed occurred, two sides would be harmed. Malcolm asserted that if the White majority did not respond to racism more actively, the revolution would come, warning the White majority that the rage of Black people was at a critical point. If the majority maintained injustice, Blacks were ready to fight for justice by themselves. At that time, Blacks would not fear both sides being harmed because they ready to discontinue discrimination. This militant inclination made Malcolm unwelcome in integrated groups but honored in Black male politically oriented groups. Although a literal revolution did not happen, the Black nationalism Malcolm proclaimed achieved shared dignity psychologically, culturally, and spiritually among African Americans

(Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). In Malcolm's own words, it was a "bloodless revolution" (Breitman, 1965, p. 57).

Malcolm also indicated that the press was dangerous for African Americans because it formed images of hating oneself but loving one's enemies (Breitman, 1965). The press depicted Malcolm as an extremist and undermined his influence, taking the words beyond Malcolm's meaning. What Malcolm practiced was an authentic U.S. way to address public issues, believing in freedom of speech and democracy and using strong language to gain influence and power. The hostility of anti-Malcolm factions indicated that what Malcolm warned is real. Those assumptions, thoughts, and mindsets from the hostile groups, though abstract, portray the existence of racism to despise an eloquent speaker of people of color.

In later days, Malcolm wrote letters while on a pilgrimage to Mecca. In the letters, Malcolm shifted viewpoint from condemning Whites as foes to proclaiming that Islam was a remedy to cure racism. These letters contained hope of transformation and willingness to form coalitions with people of color globally, known as Pan-Africanism. This philosophy brought out many followers who admired Malcolm's militant and courageous thoughts. The activism of African American students to demand diversity in the university curricula in the late 1960s was Malcolm's legacy rather than Martin's (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). The subsequent curricula of Black Studies was "the academic manifestation of black power" (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011, p. 563).

Tracing militant spirits of African Americans to the early 20th century, Robert Charles illustrated an image of solidarity of self-defense and courage of self-sacrificing. Charles, a native Mississippian, was devoted to the Africa-emigration movement. In July

1900, Charles did not endure three White police officers' arrogance and refused an arbitrary arrest, resulting in violent confrontation, firing at White police officers, causing five deaths and dozens of wounded. This revolt incurred the White community's fury. Thousands of White mobs joined White police to hunt Charles, killed him, and burned his body. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a civil and women's rights activist, commented on this event: "[T]he white people of this country may charge that he was a desperado, but to the people of his own race Robert Charles will always be regarded as 'the hero of New Orleans'" (Harding, 1987a, p. 9).

In 1917, when the United States decided to send troops to fight in Europe for the safety of the world, Black troops in Houston, Texas struck out against White arrogance and caused several deaths of White civilians. They were secretly tried and executed. However, their stories were applauded by their people for "the war to make America safe for its black citizens" (Harding, 1987a, p. 14). These figures were memorialized by their courage and militant spirits to fight against injustice and inhumanity. Black power originated and was practiced to confront White arrogance and to overcome living difficulties.

The term Black power emerged when Stokely Carmichael cried it out at the "March Against Fear from Memphis to Jackson" led by James Meredith in June 1966 in Mississippi. The meaning of this slogan at the beginning was unclear. Carmichael later explained the "significance of 'Black Power' is that for once black people are going to use the words they want to use—not just the words whites want to hear" (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011, p. 558). To be more precise, Carmichael pointed out that Black

power was an attitude to face problems in reality, painfully but proudly, without fear of White retaliation. Carmichael said,

Black power can be clearly defined for those who do not attach the fears of white America to their questions about it. We should begin with the basic fact that black Americans have two problems: they are poor and they are black. All other problems arise from this two-sided reality: lack of education, the so-called apathy of black men. Any program to end racism must address itself to that double reality. (Carson, Garrow, Harding, & Hine, 1987, p. 195)

Ruth Turner Perot listed what Black power meant for CORE as six categories: “1. growth of political power, 2. building economic power, 3. improvement of self-image, 4. development of Negro leadership, 5. demanding federal law enforcement, [and] 6. mobilization of Negro consumer power” (as cited in Carson et al., 1987, p. 197). In the 1968 Olympics, two Black sprinters raised their arms with a clenched-fist, representing Black athletes’ support of Black power (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011).

Black power also meant that Blacks took back leadership of Black organizations. Two significant civil rights organizations—SNCC and CORE—expelled their White members, representing reformation in this direction. In 1965 Alabama, with reformed SNCC’s help, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization established an all-Black political party, famous for advocating armed self-defense and its symbol of a black panther.

Inspired by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the Black Panther Party of Self Defense, a California-based Black political party established in Oakland in 1966, also used the image of a black panther as its symbol. “As a Black revolutionary cadre

organization, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was committed to the self-defense and empowerment of African American people” (Jones & Jeffries, 1998, p. 26). Their fully-armed costume illustrated their backgrounds of urban context and beliefs of masculinity and Black nationalism. They brought another style of protests with tension and militancy and attracted national attention. The 10 points of “What we want, what we believe” announced by the BPP listed their stance vividly.

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present-day society.
6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny. (Carson et al., 1987, p. 220)

The seventh point became a focus issue of the BPP and caused a biased public image of them. On many occasions, the Panthers armed with weapons when police officers' guns were drawn. The manslaughter conviction of the party's cofounder, Huey P. Newton, kept this party under the spotlight. Though the proclamation of Black masculinity and armed revolution raised many doubts and critics in public, the BPP's services in the local Black communities were remembered and respected. The BPP's "survival projects" (Abron, 1998, p. 179) included police-alert patrols, a newspaper, free breakfast for children, free medical services (clinics, ambulance, and sickle cell anemia testing), educational programs including a school, free busing to prisons, free food, clothing, shoes programs, a free pest-control program, and a seniors service program. Jones (1998) indicated an ambivalence of researchers about the BPP with two extreme approaches. One was dismissing the efforts of the party by criminal-laden interpretations, and the other was "romanticizing the Panthers uncritically as error-free super Black revolutionaries" (Jones, 1998, p. 12). This also showed the significance of the BPP existence as an image of revolt in an oppressive structure.

Black power is not a fixed idea but an attitude indicating that Blacks will construct dignities and identities by empowering themselves instead of obtaining rights or freedom from others. Many subjects show the spirit of Black power, such as politics,

leadership, arts, aesthetics, sports, and economic autonomy. Thus, a spirit of self-pride and handling their own lives in Black communities are signs of power awakening.

Black Feminism

Sexism was another issue discussed due to the masculinity celebration of the BPP. Though the BPP, based on its socialist philosophy, theoretically proclaimed the equality of women, the male members actually practiced patriarchal norms in their organization (Booker, 1998). The controversial slogan “pussy power,” delivered by Eldridge Cleaver, explained the issue well. BPP gender bias was not limited to a single male leader. Sexual harassment, lack of respect or following of the female leaders’ orders, and even viewing female comrades as sexual objects tarnished the party (Jones & Jeffries, 1998). Although Huey Newton publicly announced the equality of all party members and some male members were expelled because of their chauvinism, gender bias persisted in the BPP. Not only the BPP but also many other civil rights organizations were under sexist critique, including Dr. King’s SCLC, criticized as male-oriented. In general, Black feminism questions the depiction of the Civil Rights Movement as several charismatic male leaders’ success. In addition to the critique, Black feminism provides another lens to understand Black collective knowledge, especially of the voices neglected by the male mainstream.

In hooks’s book *Sisters of the Yam: Black Women and Self-Recovery* (2005), the author described that Black women continually resist a multiple oppressive system prevailing under White supremacy, capitalism, and patriarchy. The “yam” in the book title “was a life-sustaining symbol of black kinship and community” (hooks, 2005, p. 6). This symbol depicted a profound meaning of the collective lives of Black people.

However, the White-supremacist patriarchy wounded Black people not only as victims of racial discrimination but also through intensified self-hate, causing low self-esteem in their self-images.

Economic gaps between rich and poor Blacks made the community and kinship ties harder to maintain. “Such wounds do not manifest themselves only in material ways, they effect our psychological well-being. Black people are wounded in our hearts, minds, bodies, and spirits” (hooks, 2005, p. 4). To heal the wounds, hooks (2005) suggested Black people need to talk more, “to name our pain, our suffering, and to seek healing” (p. 8), highlighting, that “[w]ithin white-supremacist capitalist patriarchal culture, black people are not supposed to be ‘well.’ This culture makes wellness a white luxury” (hooks, 2005, p. 19). Black women who were honest and open to talk about their hurts, what they saw, and what they experienced, without shame but with courage, would feel free and healed.

Following hooks’s (2005) thought of talking out as healing, many dimensions of Black lives need to be talked out, such as the parent–child relationship. Black parents would criticize their children harshly when they pursued White culture. Because they knew that the White-dominated society would not treat their children well, they wanted to make their children tough enough by delivering harsh critiques to ensure their survival. However, hooks thought the harsh critiques reflected the former slave–master relationships and should be examined and changed to process self-recovery, critical affirmation, and positive life attitudes.

The second dimension was about work. Hooks (2005) indicated that most African American women thought having a job was necessary. Jobs brought honor, meaning, and

self-affirmation, which were attributes to which one should aspire. However, some African American women would take jobs as an obligation, and could not enjoy the work but felt the work was a burden. Some would feel that working for their family and community was a responsibility, and would overcompensate at the expense of their health. Hooks (2005) suggested a “right livelihood” (p. 38) to inspect the reality, the labor, and the way to do work to become affirmed by working.

The third dimension was about stress. Hooks (2003, 2005) pointed out that African Americans received much stress from living experiences, such as life-threatening stress, racism in integrated settings, and compulsive working. Positive thinking was a good solution to loosen stress. Releasing emotions and thinking good outcomes were suggestions to reduce stress. Some Blacks would consider positive thinking to be unrealistic. However, because negative thinking could improve life, people turned to positive thoughts. African Americans faced and experienced various aspects of racism and domination, however, they found positive thinking could overcome human malice.

The fourth dimension was addiction. Black lives engaging in addiction mostly related to stress from White supremacist society. Addiction was a way to release pain and forget exploitation. Addiction appeared differently in Black men and women. Black men engaged more easily in alcoholism and drugs while Black women ate large amounts and sweets. The male addiction was noticeable because drug abuse often led to crimes. However, sugar abuse also represented Black women’s needs and comforts. Hooks suggested (2005) Black people should not feel shame in seeking assistance when they were addicted. An addiction was a sign of need and people could achieve recovery through appropriate therapies.

The last dimension was aesthetics. Black women faced many assumptions of beauty in White supremacist society, devaluing their natural appearances. Beyond skin color, hair texture was the strongest issue Black women faced in their body identities. The preference of blonde and straight hair was constructed in the 20th century and influenced Black women's psyche. Hooks (2005) described a Black mother who worried about her daughter who put a yellow mop on her hair after school to pretend she was blonde. Even though parents kept reminding children to cherish their beauty of Blackness, the influence from schools and White cultures was tremendous. Black women also confronted the difficulty of finding suitable shoes and clothes because White fashion always celebrated thin and tiny. They were forced to put their feet into smaller shoes and persuaded themselves to neglect uncomfortable feelings to adopt mainstream culture. Also, Black women were frustrated by their weight. Moreover, when Black women asserted that their bodies needed to take a rest, some people would respond with hostility and anger. This response reflected another White patriarchally supremacist assumption that Black women should always serve. Hooks (2005) argued that the "personal power" of Black women came not only from serving others but also from caring for oneself. "Black women's body esteem is strengthened by good nutrition, exercise, and positive thoughts affirming that we deserve to be well—that our bodies are precious" (hooks, 2005, p. 73).

Besides the emotional and identity difficulties, Black women also suffered from loss and depression. Black people in White supremacist society encountered inferior health care, system-biased criminal justice, and wars drafting Black men; these made loss of relatives not uncommon. However, Black people tended to repress feelings to develop

solid and strong characters. Hooks (2005) suggested letting emotions out because bottled emotions could result in illness. The repression of emotions also indicated a tendency to not show love. Hooks (2005) traced this tendency to slavery. At that time, Black people suffered from separation from family and witnessed their brothers and sisters punished in front of them. Therefore, the concept of showing love was a negative factor, eschewed for generations in Black lives. To respond to this problem, hooks (2005) advocated that love had healing power. When people love, they can recover from the past, transform the present, and dream the future. In Black lives, love action exists not only in family but also extends to community. Traditionally, Black community is a place of healing. Whenever Black people hurt from White supremacist society, they come to the communities to seek comfort. The sense of belonging constructs Black lives. Black communities provide not only racial pride and political power, but also feelings of wholeness and integrity. Black people connect their individual concerns with institutional issues. “The civil rights movement is a grand example of the way working to transform society can sweeten and strengthen community bonds” (hooks, 2005, p. 122).

Another characteristic Black women share is kindness and forgiveness. “In their historical role as caretakers, Black women practiced the art of compassion and knew that forgiveness not only eased the pain of the heart but made love possible” (hooks, 2005, pp. 126–127). Hooks (2005) mentioned that the partial accomplishment of the 1960s struggle caused many Blacks bitterness and hatred toward White people and Black women comforted many broken hearts. Hooks (2005) argued that the claim of loving enemies as a display of weakness by Black nationalists was a product of bitterness and affirmed Dr. King’s thought that love is a revolutionary power to build a universal loyalty to the world

community. Love power uplifts people's capacity to forgive and to be compassionate. True forgiveness brings changes, not only to attitudes but also to surroundings (hooks, 2005).

Post-Civil Rights Era

Although the Civil Rights Movement was known as a success of U.S. democracy to end racial segregation and to ensure Black voting rights, racial equity in the United States was still in process after the Movement. In the 1980s, the Reagan–Bush years, the unemployment rate of Blacks stayed twice as high as that of Whites. Under certain presidents, the social-service budget was cut, impacting poor Black people, especially elders and families without a breadwinner. However, progress continued toward Black freedom in this conservative era. When Jesse Jackson competed in a Democratic presidential primary, the Black voting rates increased. Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday was signed into law in 1983 with efforts of King's family and public demands (Franklin, & Higginbotham, 2011; Okafor, 2015).

Starting in the 1990s, racist police brutality caught U.S. public attention. One famous case in 1991, Rodney King, an African American middle-aged driver, was beaten by police officers after a high-speed chase. An observer videoed the beating and sent it to the media, which televised it nationally. This event spurred public demand for justice through the judicial process. However, the judicial verdict by a jury of 11 Whites and one Latino acquitted the police officers. This outcome enraged Black communities and caused a protest that turned into a riot in Los Angeles. Though the federal court adjudicated that two of the four officers were guilty of civil rights violations the

following year, this event still indicated that the judicial system failed to deliver justice to victims of racist police brutality (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011).

In 1997, Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant, was beaten and sodomized by Brooklyn police officers. In 1999, the New York City police shot to death Amadou Diallo, a Guinean immigrant, due to mistakenly interpreting his attempt to get his wallet as reaching for a gun. In 2012, an unarmed 17-year-old African American teenager, Trayvon Martin, was shot to death by George Zimmerman, a neighborhood-watch coordinator. The gunman originally denied any legal responsibility but was finally arrested and sent to a trial after a lengthy protest across the United States. However, still in July 2013, Zimmerman was acquitted of the charges of second-degree murder and manslaughter (Roig-Franzia, 2013). The verdict provoked “a greater public outrage across U.S. cities” (Okafor, 2015, p. 46). In August 2014, another unarmed Black teenager, Michael Brown, was shot to death in Ferguson, Missouri. This shooting raised protestors’ grief and indignation.

Among these police brutality cases, “authorities moved quickly to hide evidence and exonerate the killers. Media outlets rushed to blame the victim and smear his or her reputation. Protestors were dismissed as people playing the race card” (Lipsitz, 2015, p. 119). Lipsitz (2015) explained how the fear of Whites distorted public judgment. In many police-brutality cases, the “[W]hite officers who kill black ‘suspects’ need only invoke fear as a motivation for the killing, and they will be let off. The officers become seen as the injured victims in these incidents, not the people they kill” (Lipsitz, 2015, p. 120). Statistics also indicated racial profiling in Ferguson:

While the population of Ferguson is 67% Black, its police force is 94% White. An annual state report on racial profiling in Ferguson notes that last year [2014], 86% of police stops and 92% of police searches were on Black people. (Hansford & Jagannath, 2015, p. 129)

Blacks in Ferguson are nearly twice as likely to be searched and twice as likely to be arrested as whites, even though searches of black found contraband 21.7 percent of the time compared to whites, who when searched had contraband 34 percent of the time. (Lipsitz, 2015, p. 134)

Inquiring of police brutality, Rabinowitz (2015) argued that from the beating of Rodney King to the killing of Michael Brown, a structural flaw existed in the White police system. Police failed to serve and protect Black citizens because of racial bias and tended to criminalize Blackness (*UN News*, 2014).

Racist police brutality and biased judicial acquittals happened not only after the 1990s in an urban context. Moses and Cobb (2001) described racist brutality in the 1960s Mississippi of the Civil Rights Movement era. E. H. Hurst, a White state legislator, killed Herbert Lee and was acquitted after proclaiming that Lee had a tire iron and was attempting to attack him. Lee was a local activist, working to promote Black voter registration and Hurst described him as a trouble maker due to Hurst's White supremacist bias. The shooting happened when Lee drove a truck to a cotton gin, and Hurst pulled behind him to dispute Lee's civil rights efforts with a .38 pistol drawn. Lee asked Hurst to put the gun down; then Lee would leave the truck to talk with Hurst. Hurst put the gun back under his coat. However, when Lee left the truck, a shot happened. Louis Allen, a witness of Lee's death who testified that Lee had no tire iron in his hand, was also killed

2 years after giving the testimony. Such racial injustice happened in police and judicial systems before the public noted it. Contemporary protests, such as Black Lives Matter, are demanding change and deserve proper responses and respect.

Regarding criminalizing Blackness, Alexander (2012) traced its roots to the policy of the War on Drugs in the Reagan administration (1981–1989), criticizing that the policy used propaganda to publicize horror stories involving Black crack users, dealers, and ghetto communities. Under the racially discriminatory policy, harsher punishments were given to the possessors of crack cocaine (mostly Black users) than those of powder cocaine (mostly White users). Disproportionate numbers of Black people were condemned as drug offenders and were put into jails or other forms of incarceration. The racial bias of the U.S. criminal system caused another form of segregation. Alexander (2012) asserted this contemporary segregation through the injustice of criminal courts as a new form of Jim Crow.

Davis (2005) used the term “prison-industrial-complex” to explain how a structural flaw functions as a punishment system toward people of color, based on White racial prejudice. Davis argued that mass incarceration was a reproduction of slavery. Lynching would be used as punishments for undomesticated Blacks on plantations. Similarly, in the contemporary United States, punishments for undomesticated Blacks are implemented through the law and prison system. The prison industry is similar to the plantation system in exploiting Blacks for economic gain. How ironic that people who condemn slavery on one hand affirm another exploitative system on the other hand (Davis, 2005).

Davis (2005) also mentioned that the prison-industrial-complex and the military-industrial-complex were quite similar. These two complexes were both profitable by maiming, killing, and devouring social resources. Another connection between these two complexes was that young people of color who enlisted in the military were those who were suffering from poverty, drugs, and illiteracy, which would also lead them into prisons. Though criticizing the prison system, Davis did not argue that those in prisons were committing no crime. The point was to highlight the myth that most people feel safe because the prison system exists but fail to admit its flaws and discriminatory operation. This myth represents a false mindset to avoid facing social problems but to imprison (disappear) the people trapped by problems, rather than to help them. The logic of the prison-industrial-complex is that when people were entrapped by social problems that were not easily solved, condemning them as criminals and incarcerating them solved the problems. This practice overlooked the notion that this system mostly incarcerated people of color.

The same discrimination occurred in gender issues. Davis (2005) argued that when women enter a prison, guards would search their vaginas, which is an obviously sexual assault, but this behavior would be legitimized because the tag as prisoners took priority over considering them as women. Davis (2005, p. 99) said that the United States practiced “racial democracy.” In this practice, individual people of color may be honored as role models in the fight against the structure of racism, but does not represent that racism has been eliminated. Rather, racism is more apparent in the present day because of the inclination to deny racial background. The false thinking of denying racial context in the system is a form of color-blind racism, eliciting much discussion.

Davis (2005) also pointed out that racism enforced the antiterrorist ideology of U.S. society, especially after the 9/11 event. The ideology of seeking an enemy of the state fit into antiterrorist, anticriminal, and previous anticommunist campaigns. For example, Dr. King was depicted as a communist not “because he was actually a member of the Communist Party but because the cause of racial equality was assumed to be a communist creation” (Davis, 2005, p. 119). Among all the state-enemy-forming campaigns, racism emerged with White collective emotions to condemn imagined enemies and minorities. Therefore, building allies between Black and other minority groups in the United States is a desirable way to fight the false ideology of enemy seeking.

The African American Freedom Struggle and Human Rights

Malcolm advocated a shift of the African American freedom struggle from a national base to an international human-rights ground (Breitman, 1965). Malcolm criticized that the United States not only deprived African Americans’ civil rights but also their human rights: the right to be recognized as human beings.

We have to keep in mind at all times that we are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings. We are fighting for the right to live as free humans in this society. In fact, we are actually fighting for rights that are even greater than civil rights and that is human rights. (Breitman, 1965, p. 51)

Malcolm criticized that the judicial system of the United States could not solve the problems African Americans were facing because it served as a subordination of a

larger White system. Rather, the problem should be examined in front of the world judicial system: the United Nations. However, this accusation of the U.S. government's ill-treatment of African Americans was not well addressed because the United Nations was another political stage and the United States has the power to sequester the accusation (Anderson, 2003). Though not achieving a political outcome at the United Nations, the shift of the African American freedom struggle to a universal human-rights issue rather than a U.S. regional one is still significant today. Many nongovernmental organizations practice the strategy Malcolm used to shame governments in front of a global assembly, pushing governments to implement global human rights and adjust their flawed policies. Despite criticizing the U.S. government and politics, Malcolm still believed in the possibility of voting rights to change U.S. society. Malcolm was proud of being a Black American and advocated building a vision of a global people-of-color community based on the sense of belonging to the African American community.

Prior to Malcolm's advocacy, the NAACP attempted to bring the issue of African American freedom to the international human-rights forum after World War II. In 1947, the NAACP submitted a petition to the United Nations assembly in Geneva. However, the Cold War atmosphere and the anticommunist ideology in U.S. society at that time made the U.S. majority see the African American human-rights appeal as a coalition with the Soviet-led communist ideology. Therefore, when the Russian members supported the issue, the U.S. delegation became alarmed and rejected the petition (Anderson, 2003). After that, the NAACP adjusted their terminology and goal of civil rights to gain acceptance from the public. Anderson (2003) indicated that the adjustment was a sacrifice and caused African Americans to give up a higher prize—human rights. The

compromise of demanding civil rights rather than human rights foresaw the Civil Rights Movement's limitation and explained why the proclamations of human rights by Malcolm X were easily dismissed (Anderson, 2003). Even at the present time, the discourse of human rights regarding African Americans is still marginalized in human-rights discussions. This status quo indicates that the idealism of human rights is still deficient.

Davis (2005) addressed another human-rights issue related to African American experiences: the correlation between racism and capital punishment. As previously mentioned, Davis explained the prison-industrial-complex was a racist structure that continues to practice discrimination on people of color in the contemporary United States, including capital punishment. Eliminating capital punishment was a major issue in international human-rights discussions. The Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1990) aimed to abolish capital punishment. Davis (2005, p. 97) pointed out that the United States was "the only advanced industrialized nation" that still executed its citizens regularly, whereas the European Union made abolition of the death penalty a criterion for a country to join the Union. Davis argued that the death penalty still exists in the United States because of the vestige of slavery lynching, a racism imprinted into the law system that was not easily challenged and abolished. In an explanation of Du Bois's abolition democracy, Davis said that slavery, capital punishment, and the prison system should be abolished to attain real democracy.

Color-Blind Racism

The color-blind ideology assumed that the problems of racism and segregation were solved in the Civil Rights Movement era. What blocked one to achieve successes were individuals' motivation and cultural barriers (Burke, 2012). Under this assumption, people in the United States believed in equal opportunity and condemned failures as hailing from a culture of poverty, ignoring continuing injustice based on race. Neglecting different racial backgrounds would cause "new" racism, known as "symbolic racism, modern racism, subtle racism, laissez-faire racism, and most recently color-blind racism" (Burke, 2012, p. 8).

Regarding color blindness, Prashad (2001, p. 37) quoted Du Bois's proclamation that "the problem of the twentieth century would be the problem of the color line," and continually argued that "the problem of the twenty-first century, then, is the problem of the color blind" (Prashad, 2001, p. 38). Color blindness, broadly discussed in the United States, was criticized by CRT as a form of dominance (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Yosso, 2005; Yosso et al., 2009). CRT rejects the assumption of racism as a product of a distant past or a private illness but recognizes that "racism, both structural and personal, is alive and well and adds intense complexity to the notion of democracy that most folks cling to as desirable and ideal" (Hughes & Giles, 2010, p. 47). "CRT challenges claims of ... color blindness, race neutrality ..., asserting that these claims camouflage the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups" (Hughes & Giles, 2010, p. 663).

Bonilla-Silva (2003, p. 26) indicated that "color-blind racism has four central frames. The four frames are abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism." The first frame is abstract liberalism, which involves concepts

of equal opportunity and individual choice, assuming one can make any choice they want to change lives and diminish discrimination. But this assumption neglects structural oppression and difficulties for minorities to challenge the existing system. The second frame is naturalization, which means that Whites (the majority) tend to explain racial phenomena as natural occurrences. For example, Whites may tend to claim segregation as a natural phenomenon because people will “gravitate toward likeness” (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p. 28) but fail to understand how this separation further marginalizes minorities. The third frame, cultural racism, attributes subordination of minorities to their culture, condemning failures of people of color as a culture of poverty rather than criticizing oppression. Fourth, minimization of racism refers to discourses such as “it’s better now than in the past” (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p. 29). Under the protection of color blindness, Whites can condemn people of color by criticizing their morality, values, or work ethic, or declaring themselves victims of reverse racism, which blames people of color for using racial issues to gain advantages. Lipsitz (2015) criticized that U.S. society formed a racial order to accuse the oppressed rather than the oppressors, requiring people who lived in the evil racist system to lie about it. This lie emerges as color-blind racism in contemporary U.S. society.

After a long-term fight to abolish apartheid in South Africa, Desmond TuTu also recognized the neutrality of injustice as another form of supporting the oppressor. Tutu said, “If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor” (as cited in Fine, 2007, p. 214). After the tragedy of the Charleston shooting, where a young White man full of racial hatred shot nine African Americans to death (Foner, 2015; Talbot, 2015), an organization of Black study announced they would

“[c]onduct meaningful study and research of black lives that impacts policy and ultimately impact the lives of our community—through our lens and not through the lens of people who seek to explain the hate away” (Montgomery, 2015). This announcement represents why some people deny the existence of racism in the present day, and how this kind of attitude hurts African Americans’ feelings, livings, and dignity.

Against Whiteness

To understand color-blind racism and to criticize it, one needs to understand how Whiteness contributes to color blindness through the perspective of Blacks. Fundamentally, Whites and Blacks see race and racism in different ways. Dr. King mentioned this difference between Blacks and Whites to describe racial equality:

There is not even a common language when the term “equality” is used. Negro and white have a fundamentally different definition. Negroes have proceeded from a premise that equality means what it says. . . . But most whites in America . . . proceed from a premise that equality is a loose expression for improvement. White America is not even psychologically organized to close the gap—essentially it seeks only to retain it. (King, 1963/2000, p. 8)

In Smiley and Ritz’s (2014) book about the last year of Dr. King’s life, the authors described that White America saw Dr. King as “[w]e have allowed you to be the leader of your people for your cause” (p. 95). The “allowance” indicates the supremacist assumption and most African Americans continue fight against it. The arrogance of holding power and authority to grant Black people or other minorities benefits constructs an essential element of Whiteness.

Malcolm's idea of Whiteness related to a thought of a global community of people of color. Malcolm criticized Europe as well as White America as oppression across borders, asserting that people of color can no longer endure racial intolerance (Breitman, 1965). Rabaka (2007) employed Malcolm's thought of Whiteness to analyze several significant events in Black history, such as the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, Reconstruction, and the Civil Rights Movement. Rabaka indicated that merely changing laws could not achieve social-justice transformations. The social views and values of White supremacists, along with laws, also need to change. The traditional law-study approach was limited to consider "the fact that white supremacy is an international or global racist system" (Rabaka, 2007, p. 3). Rabaka indicated that White supremacy connected racism with colonialism and capitalism and traced the history of White supremacy to European and Christian-centered culture to see their ways of life as "civilized," but non-Whites' way as wild and savage. Rabaka argued that the concepts of Whites and non-Whites did not exist before the imperial expansion of European modernity and applied racial constructionists' point of view to criticize imperial assumptions, explaining how social connections, racial rules, and ethical values work together to decide who was White (conforming to the European ways) and who was not. That is to say, Whiteness can be interpreted as a hegemony spread by colonialism and capitalism globally.

Burner (1996) wrote about the Civil Rights Movement and Black power, covering important events in the Movement but emphasizing Dr. King's European-rooted theologian education and concept of integration. Following emphasis on integration, Burner described Black power as a collective anger that "diminished the support" and

“muddled the goals of civil rights” (p. 49). Burner’s depiction of the Civil Rights Movement and Black power was defined as a form of color-blind racism, held in Burner’s White perspective to refute Dr. King’s Blackness and Black power. The stance of blaming Black power as a collective anger corresponded to two aspects of color-blind racism: cultural racism and minimization of racism. According to these two false assumptions, Black people should behave “calmly” to achieve integration instead of showing dissatisfaction with the status quo because “racism was diminished” after the Civil Rights Movement (Burner, 1996). Acting “calmly” was the way the White majority expected Blacks to behave rather than Blacks using their own way to voice.

Blaming Black people for constructing racial pride and group identity in their own way as a “collective anger” was a judgment that showed lack of understanding of Black culture and interpreted this culture as undesirable, based on Whitecentric values. This was cultural racism. Proclaiming racism had diminished after the Civil Rights Movement and refusing to communicate or understand Black culture was a more practiced minimization of racism. Condemning blackness as a “narcissistic absorption in the group content of self-identity” (Burner, 1996, p. 50) was condemning victims, neglecting the needs of Black people to build pride and meaning for themselves, not for Whites. The lack of understanding of Black culture and criticizing Black activism in Burner’s book reflected color blindness and White privilege.

The reason for choosing Burner’s (1996) book as an example of Whiteness and color-blind racism is because of researcher’s experience. When writing a master’s thesis about the legacy of Dr. King, the researcher read the Chinese translation of Burner’s writing. At that time, the researcher could not distinguish Burner’s White-oriented

ideology. However, after reading texts of Black scholars and talking with African Americans in person, the researcher detected personal blindness constructed in the Taiwanese context. This blindness was probably shared by other Taiwanese. That was why Burner's writing was translated in Taiwan as a reference to the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. Taiwanese academics lacked literature about Black experiential knowledge and racial awareness because they mainly studied with White scholars and followed them. The understanding of African American freedom movements and their collective knowledge was limited. Criticizing color blindness and introducing African American collective knowledge to Taiwan is one way to complement the paucity.

In contrast, Lipsitz (2015), a White scholar of Black studies, criticized police brutality, saying, "In our society, white vanity is more highly valued than black humanity" (p. 119). This statement spoke more clearly than any attempt to justify White privilege or deny color-blind racism. U.S. Whites received unfair gains and enrichment through a system rigged by their cultures. The system depreciated others like Blacks, causing Black communities to be stuck by White arbitrary manipulation. Through the depreciation, Black people's lives were threatened because of Whites' supremacy and fear. "Proclamations of white innocence and imagined incidents of white injury combine to create a whiteness protection program that elevates the comfort and illusions of whites over the constitutional and human rights of people of color" (Lipsitz, 2015, p. 120). Lipsitz's comments represented that through learning and listening, Whites could understand Blacks' points of view instead of maintaining Whitecentric thoughts.

The comparison of Burner (1996) and Lipsitz (2015) provides a good example of the existence of Whiteness. Burner tended to defend Whiteness in academic writing; in

contrast, Lipsitz represented that Whites can understand their own privilege and criticized such privilege as long as Whites relinquish their defensiveness and listen to the voices of people of color earnestly (Rossatto, 2011). Although Lipsitz (2015) represented that White people can understand White privilege from studying Black experience and listening to Black voice, Black people understood Whiteness in a different way from liberal Whites.

Hooks (1992) wrote about a collective experience confronting Whiteness vividly as “black folks have, from slavery on, shared with one another in conversation ‘special’ knowledge of whiteness gleaned from close scrutiny of white people” (p. 338). Hooks described Whiteness in Black life as a power that wounded, hurt, frightened, and tortured. Hooks quoted James Baldwin’s essay, *Stranger in the Village*, to explain how Whites saw Blacks with self-centered and superior mindsets, and how Blacks saw Whites with powerlessness and anger coexisting. Black people understood the power of Whiteness with a sense of unsafety. From the early lynching memory to job and economic loss and any other kind of retaliation, Black people learned “to wear masks,” being silent to keep them safe (hooks, 1992, 2005). Similar to the wearing-masks metaphor, Moses described his experiences in college, graduate school, or even in work; whenever he felt humiliated, he needed to hide these feelings (Moses & Cobb, 2001). And he asserted that “I think many African Americans becoming deeply involved with white society for the first time do this. You don’t demonstrate your feelings, you put yourself in the role of an observer” (p. 27). Many Black people pretended to be comfortable confronting Whiteness but when they turned back to the Black community, expressed discomforts and upsets. Moses described a feeling of relief when he first time found a way to challenge the prejudice and

racism by participating a local movement. Du Bois mentioned this kind of hardship early in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903/2007).

Hooks (2005) indicated that Black children would be socialized to value and feel comfortable in an illusion rather than to face reality, and would be trapped in a state of denial if they did not resist Whiteness. “Collective unmasking is an important act of resistance” (hooks, 2005, p. 16). To take the risk of telling the truth and facing reality will result in a commitment to freedom. Hooks (1992) applied personal childhood experience to explain a threatening feeling to a Black girl when Whiteness invaded the living surroundings, as White officials broke into and investigated hooks’s family. Whiteness, practiced as governing or economic power permeated the Black community, household, or even private space. This invasion represented how Whitecentric colonizing rules became a shared Black experience to confront Whiteness. “All black people in the United States, irrespective of their class status or politics, live with the possibility that they will be terrorized by whiteness” (hooks, 1992, p. 345).

Confronting color-blind racism, Black people still feel uncertainty in contemporary U.S. society. They are pressured to be silent because of reverse racism and critiques of Black people while being accused of benefitting from race to demand special treatment. As an example of this White denial, hooks (1992) wrote about personal experiences attending a White-rule conference and confronting rejection when trying to explain personal feelings of fear. However, hooks still recognized that White liberals were willing and capable of understanding racism and practiced their cultures without reproducing guilt or denial. In the conclusion of the article, hooks (1992) pointed out that

critically examining Whiteness as oppression of Blacks would lead people to deconstruct it and to achieve decolonization in their minds.

As a Black psychiatrist, Hamer (2012) analyzed Whiteness with psychological insights, mentioning that once a White patient felt uncomfortable because the patient was not paying on time. After deconstructing the anxiety of the patient, Hamer described,

I was made aware of the ways in which the real facts of his being white and my being black constructed the surface content and form of our immediate relationship—we were scripted somewhat into a particular relationship by a more general social history and then by a specific history having to do with our individual racial experiences and identifications. (p. 225)

In this description, Hamer pointed out how race, in a specific historical context, influenced one's identity and psyche in the immediacy of their meeting. Recognizing different racial backgrounds, Hamer categorized Whiteness into three psychological concepts: idea, ideal, and ideology. First, as an idea, Hamer described that Whiteness was attributed to privileged appearances such as light skin and straight hair. These body appearances were a general image of those coming to the United States from northern Europe. However, a White person might have dark skin but still be White because of other characteristics (Yancey, 2003). That is to say, "being White" does not necessarily relate to light skin but is constructed to link these appearances. "And any one, light skin or dark, has the capacity at certain times to 'act white'" (Hamer, 2012, p. 220). Second, as an ideal, Whiteness represented some idealized qualities coming from Whiteness ideas. Those qualities may be ethnic values, aesthetics, or mainstream cultures. In the process of pursuing ideals of Whiteness, non-Whites will become upset for never

achieving those ideals. In contrast, those who benefit from being White would feel betrayed when non-Whites did not act according to the ideals of Whiteness. Third, Whiteness as an ideology meant that people would build a system based on ideas and ideals to compose White privilege, such as creating theories to argue that humans were divided naturally according to physical differences, or even asserting that some physical traits represented inferiority, and the given status of White privilege was a general principle over time. These Whiteness categories, Hamer argued, may occur singularly or interwoven, and will cause racial prejudice against non-White people, their cultures, and their ways of living.

Chinese Color-Blind Racism

Literature (Dikötter, 1997; Hsiau, 2000; Johnson, 2007; Tierney, 2007, 2008, 2011) indicated that why racism happened in Taiwan closely related to Chinese culture. Therefore, this paragraph discusses racism in Chinese culture to describe what might happen in China and Taiwan. In Chinese cultures, racial languages are rarely used in public, and antiracist education is not popular (Y. Cheng, 2011; Johnson, 2007). The reluctance to talk about race in Chinese society was due to political and ideological reasons to form racial nationalism among Chinese (Y. Cheng, 2011). This tendency influenced Chinese scholars and academics to reject discussions of possible racism to maintain face and prestige (Johnson, 2007). This tendency of racism denial in Chinese culture displayed color/racial blindness, which originated from different historical and political contexts than color blindness in the United States. The tendency to privatize racism rather than systematically consider it happens in the United States (Prashad, 2001), whereas Chinese people deny racism to maintain national self-esteem (Y. Cheng,

2011; Johnson, 2007). However, devaluing minorities exists in the same expression of color/racial blindness as contemporary racism in both societies, as CRT criticized that racism happened not only in U.S. society but also in cross-cultural societies with color blindness.

CRT also emphasized the centrality of experiential knowledge of people of color (Bernal, 2002; Noboa, 2014; Yosso, 2005; Yosso et al., 2009), which was appropriate and crucial to understand racial subordination. Johnson's book (2007), as experiential knowledge collected from many Africans and African Americans living in the Chinas—the PRC and ROC (Taiwan), was a key reference to understanding Chinese racism. Johnson depicted, unreservedly, the negative experiences of Africans and African Americans living in the Chinas. Pollock (2004) indicated that unwillingness to discuss and resistance to recognizing racism were ways to reproduce racial patterns. Therefore, with reluctance to discuss race, color/racial blindness is consistently reproduced in Chinese and Taiwanese societies.

Johnson (2007) argued that media mainly constructed racism in the Chinas in the early 20th century and the internal racism of Chinese received from the White media caused a White-worship culture in the present day. In ancient China, racism or Black depreciation did not exist. Johnson used examples like Bao Zheng (包拯), a just judge in the Song Dynasty with a Black face and the masks of Jinju (Peking Opera, 京劇), which expressed Black faces as justice and solemnity to prove that racism in Chinese culture was recently constructed.

Racism towards Black people in the PRC happened when the Chinese encountered Africans. In December 1988, the “Nanjing incident” climaxed the implicit

racial tension between Chinese and African students with violent conflict. Y. Cheng (2011, p. 561) indicated that “anti-African racism reflected the feelings of Chinese discontented elite who regarded Africans as racially inferior yet were upset by China’s own lack of modernization.” In the 20th century, Chinese nationalism operated as ethnocentrism and caused collective emotion to devalue competitors or foreigners with racial bias (Buck, 1997). Y. Cheng (2011, p. 574) described that “both campus racism and cyber racism developed along the line of the global racial hierarchy that was rooted in Chinese ethnocentrism and constructed with social Darwinism, but survived since 1949.” In the 1950s, the Chinese government actively launched diplomacy with African countries to consolidate its position on the international stage. These diplomatic relationships opened opportunities to Chinese merchants and students to connect with Africans and their cultures. However, the lack of antiracist education and racial sensitivity in China made racism unavoidable (Y. Cheng, 2011; Han, 2010).

Racism in Taiwan

Racism in Taiwan occurs mainly about migrant workers. The Mailiao protest in 1999 was an evident example of the problem. Multinational migrant workers launched a strike protesting unreasonable management and discrimination in Taiwan, including violent conflicts with local police officers. Tierney (2011) analyzed this protest and asserted that racism existed in Taiwanese immigrant policies, labor unions, and police treatment. The victims of this event were mainly Thais and Filipinos. Tierney (2011) indicated that civil nationalism, which emerged in the 1980s, was the origin of Taiwanese racism. This civil nationalism constructed Taiwanese group identities by specific groups

dividing people into different ethnic groups to gain political power.² This civil nationalism indirectly justified xenophobic mindsets and contributed to racism when Taiwanese encountered migrant workers of various races, ethnicities, and nationalities.

In another study, S.-J. A. Cheng (2004) interviewed 12 Taiwanese employers and 35 migrant domestics and recorded much racist discourse of employers toward migrant domestics' appearances, mainly about skin color. Some Taiwanese employers thought migrant domestics' dark skin was a sign of danger, inferiority, and stupidity (S.-J. A. Cheng, 2004). Those attitudes were obviously racist and were harmful to their migrant employees and themselves.

Hsiao (2000) also discussed cultural nationalism in Taiwan, similar to the civil nationalism mentioned earlier, and asserted it formed from a fear of living with "difference," which caused a game of hunting "outsiders." Mosse (1995) explained that when nationalism connected with racism, this hunting of outsiders would occur: "When nationalism allies itself with racism discrimination is no longer the issue, but instead war has to be waged against the 'outsider' defined as the enemy both of nation and race" (p. 171). That is to say, Chinese (Han) ethnocentrism rooted in culture was used as a tool to seize power through the ideology of nationalism. In a Hancentric society, nationalism associated with xenophobia caused racism toward outsiders. Hsiao explained that many Chinese governments shared nationalism (the Imperial, early Republican, Nationalist, and Communist) in the 19th century to confront Western invasions. Dikötter (1997, p. 6) described that "Myths of origins, ideologies of blood and theories of biological descent have formed a central part in the cultural construction of identity in China and Japan

² See *race/ethnicity categories in Taiwan* in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

since the nationalist movements of the late nineteenth century.” Also, Y. Cheng (2011, p. 578) pointed out a conclusive argument that “racism and nationalism have long been tied together in modern Chinese history.” That is to say, Chinese racism originated from nationalism and ethnocentrism but was practiced in various ways on particular issues and in different societies.

In contrast, racism happens in Taiwan not only as a practice of devaluing minorities but also giving privilege to Whites. Johnson (2007) described Whiteness worship (the worship of White culture) in China and Taiwan. S.-J. Lee (2005) indicated that Asian Americans were called “honorary Whites” when they assimilated with the mainstream American culture (White, middle-class culture). Lake and Reynolds (2008) quoted Du Bois’s explanation of Whiteness as ownership of the earth forever and ever, pointing out that White privilege spread globally. Under the influence of this global White privilege, Taiwanese assimilated their lives and values with an imagined White culture constructed mainly by media.

Lan (2011) interviewed several Whites living in Taiwan to reveal White privilege, which ranged from exemption of responsibility from violating minor traffic rules to receiving special treatment or speedy service in post offices or banks, more ease in operating a business, and receiving more attention when speaking and fundraising in public. Lan (2011, p. 1681) argued that “[t]his ‘cultural halo’ connotes symbolic images about Western modernity, values and lifestyles as products of superior civilization and advanced development.” Most Taiwanese misidentify Whiteness as a desired way of living and form Whiteness worship. In contrast, they think that cultures of people of color or non-Whites are not the way of living they appreciate, even though they scarcely know

these cultures. Furthermore, Hancentrism accompanying xenophobia actually constructs racism to devalue people they do not categorize as “Western culture” (Whiteness) and maintains self-satisfaction in assimilating with the imagined global Whiteness.

This researcher experienced racial awareness after learning African American collective knowledge in the United States and sensing the existence of Hancentrism in Taiwan. Even though literature discussing Taiwanese racism is rare, several key references provided evidence of the problem. That is, the shortage of research on Taiwanese racism represents color- or racial blindness in the Taiwanese mainstream. Therefore, launching research of racial awareness will benefit Taiwanese society to understand ethnocentrism in Chinese (Han) culture.

Education addresses not only reality but also idealism. Learners are always expected to be better after receiving an education. As Dr. King (1964, December 10) advocated in social transformation, education should aim at *oughtness* rather than *isness*. Discussions about why and how racism exists are important but not the priority in education. The focus here is on how to remedy such priorities. This research project focused on antiracist education in Taiwan and deconstructing the ideology formed by Hancentrism. In doing so, increasing numbers of Taiwanese can develop racial awareness and build antiracist idealism. Confucius (n.d.) said, “Understanding shame, you approach courage.” Criticizing Hancentrism aims at enabling social reformation toward a better society. Hancentrism should be guided in the direction to maintain self-esteem for those who treasure it, but also learn to treat others warmly and justly. King’s (1963, August 28) words were, “treated people based on their characters” rather than on the color of their skin or any social construction based on their appearance. In consideration of human

morality, King's and Confucius's words provide a similar direction that educators can try to accomplish.

Critical Pedagogy

This research was an educational project in a Taiwanese high school based on critical pedagogy theory. The concepts and thoughts of critical pedagogy used in the educational project mainly came from Freire's writings. In the well-known book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1968/1992) indicated that pedagogy of the oppressed was a strategy formed "with" people of the oppressed group to reflect their obstacles toward freedom and to prepare them to engage in struggles for liberation. "The pedagogy of the oppressed, which is the pedagogy of men engaged in the fight for their own liberation, has its roots here" (Freire, 1968/1992, p. 39). Anyone who wants to be a developer of this pedagogy should be among the oppressed, accompanying them to reveal oppression and to intervene on problems with action. Oppressors can never be aware of oppression by themselves because they are entrapped by thoughts of maintaining the status quo. The only way oppressors will make a change is based on their generosity. Generosity cannot achieve real liberation because generosity presumes that receivers of generosity are envious and unsatisfied, and this presumption devalues the receivers. This kind of superior presumption cannot lead to a true transformation to freedom and humanity. That is why pedagogy of the oppressed matters: it aims at equity and humanity.

To implement this pedagogy, the oppressed should understand their states of exploitation and should be willing not to conform to the way of oppressors. That is a challenge because the oppressed suffer from "fear of freedom," a fear implanted into the

minds of the oppressed by oppressors' rule and role expectation. The oppressed will be afraid of being free, being different from others, and especially different from their comrades. They will choose to stay in the status quo to maintain good relationships. Therefore, liberation is a painful birthing process, aiming at humanization of people rather than focusing on the oppressor–oppressed contradiction. The oppressed must have a perception that the oppressing world is able to transform by making interventions. This perception cannot be purely intellectual but must be accompanied with action. However, mere activism without serious reflection also cannot lead to liberation. Freire (1968/1992) called the combination of intellectual reflection and immediate action a praxis, used to intervene against oppression; to intervene and to make transformation benefit not only the oppressed but also the oppressors, restoring their humanity which was lost in the exercise of oppression. Names of the oppressed may be different according to their contexts. They will be called fellow countrymen, “other” people, masses, savages, barbarians, or natives. In oppressors' eyes, they are wicked, uncivilized, unpredictable, and violent. How can the oppressed be violent when they are under oppression? They have only struggles, reactions, and counterattacks against oppressors' violence.

Regarding the role of educators, Freire (2005) argued that those who prepare to teach should start by studying. The best way to study is through reading: reading the word and the world, which means reading texts in context. Freire emphasized that commonsense knowledge, which comes from people's sensory experiences of daily lives, are not separate from systematic knowledge, there by indicating school experiences. Reading cannot be a pure entertainment nor a mechanical memorization but a synthesis of practicing knowledge and thinking knowledge. “Reading is searching for, seeking to

create an understanding of what is read” (Freire, 2005, p. 34). Another aspect of reading is to read one’s body: a combination of reading a text and the world. “My presence in the world, with the world, and with other people implies my complete knowledge of myself” (Freire, 2005, p. 95). The authoritarian practice in schools makes schools a space belonging to educational authorities: the teachers. This practice causes students to be in the space but not with the space. “We must redefine our understanding of the world; though it is historically produced in the world, this understanding is also produced by conscious bodies in their interactions with the world” (Freire, 2005, p. 96). Freire (1998, p. 91) said that education “as a specifically human experience, is a form of intervention in the world.”

Educators need to partake in creative reading through comprehension and communication, transforming their readings into cultures. Teaching is a process of creating and giving meanings of cultures. Freire (1968/1992) indicated that the process of recreating knowledge is co-intentional education. Creative knowledge, to a broader extent, is individuals interacting in the world, or writers influencing readers. All these relationships imply various types of educator and educated (teacher and student). Freire (2005) interpreted history as mechanistic and idealistic: a dialogue between conscience and the world. Therefore, a “critical reading of the texts and of the world has to do with the changes in progress within them” (Freire, 2005, p. 46). Participating “with” the educated, whether they are the oppressed, students, texts, or world, is a common key element in Freire’s educational philosophy. Participation means no gap exists between teachers and students, activists and the oppressed, readers and texts, the inner minds and the world. A true education, for Freire, means all participants gain meaningful

experiences to enrich their lives and share the experiences with each other in the process as partners rather than any subordinate or separate relationship.

Knowledge, in Freire's (1968/1992, p. 58) interpretation, "emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other." With a high appreciation of invention knowledge, Freire (1968/1992) depreciated the "banking" style of education, characterizing teachers as depositors and students as depositories. In this style, good teachers are those who "fill" students well, and good students are those who receive it. In this relationship, students are seen as ignorant and dependent on teachers. "Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as process of inquiry" (Freire, 1968/1992, p. 58). In banking education, people are not conscious beings but possessors of consciousness. The world is deposited to them and they are trying to adopt to it rather than to change it. This kind of mindset is beneficial for oppressors because it causes people to fit into the status quo that oppressors created instead of questioning it.

In contrast, educators committed to liberation should develop "problem-posing" education, which emphasizes people to gain consciousness of the world and remain in consciousness. Problem-posing teachers work with students to create metaknowledge, as evidence of being conscious. The relationship between teacher and students in problem-posing education is dialogical. "Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers" (Freire, 1968/1992, p. 67). In dialogical relationships, teachers can learn from students and students from teachers. The shift of power relationship and

authority is a key element of pedagogy of the oppressed. Through revolutionary practices, problem-posing education can realize a humanist and liberating praxis, which combines critical reflection and action to achieve not only understanding of reality but also changes of reality.

Summary

African Americans' collective knowledge is rich and only narrowly covered in a review. However, this review built a knowledge base for the researcher to construct the educational project in this research, starting from history of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, through Black power and Black feminism, to contemporary discussions of color-blind racism and Whiteness. This review introduced a basic understanding of Black collective knowledge for cross-cultural researchers and readers.

The second part of this review discussed Chinese and Taiwanese racism. Both societies that share Chinese cultural roots incorporate varying degrees of racism. Practices and attitudes of racism harm victims and perpetrators. Therefore, antiracist and racial-sensitivity education should be developed and taught in Taiwan, and in China as well. This project does not cover China, but such work can be expected in the future.

Racism in Taiwan occurs especially toward southeastern Asian migrant workers. Civil nationalism and Hancentrism are mainstream causes of racial insensitivity and the devaluing of minorities in Taiwanese society. In contrast, White people in Taiwan are not only exempt from suffering from Hancentrism but also are granted privilege. That is to say, Hancentrism functions as a group identity that should be questioned through the lens of CRT and critical pedagogy. This question is the main issue discussed in this educational project when launching problem-posing education.

The third part of this review discussed how Freire interpreted critical pedagogy. Freire's philosophy of "teachers learning and learners teaching" (Freire, 1968/1992, p. 67) is that teachers and students are partners sharing experiences and benefit each other in the process of education. Therefore, the researcher plays not only an observer role, but also a teaching role in the school of interest, paying much attention to serving as a facilitator of discussions rather than a unidirectional lecturer.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Restatement of the Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore learning experiences about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its legacy in a Taiwanese high school through a social and cultural lens. This perspective complements the gap in extant research and provide a cross-cultural understanding of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and African American collective knowledge taught in Taiwan. Furthermore, by analyzing and understanding the ethos of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, some student participants became sufficiently aware to be able to criticize the dominant ideology and engage in social-justice dialogue.

Research Design

Applying the approach of critical ethnography

The approach of qualitative research with the elements of critical ethnography were employed in the research design (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Have, 2004). Following the critical-theory rationale, Madison (2012, p. 14) explained that “[i]n this sense, ethnography becomes the ‘doing’—or, better, the performance—of critical theory.” Noblit, Flores, and Murillo (2004) described the 30-year history of critical ethnography. They recognized that critical ethnography was not a monolog but a set of thoughts, ideas, and practices from different scholars in diverse contexts, but that key elements of being critical were shared in those various works. Hytten (2004) highlighted three elements of critical ethnography: (a) educative: the focus of research shifts from the interest of the researcher to problems and concerns of the researched (Carspecken, 1996; Jocson, 2014;

Souto-Manning, 2014; Thomas, 1993), (b) emancipatory: the foundation of research is to build on a vision of reciprocity of the researcher and the researched (Madison, 2012), and (c) empowerment: the researched can obtain the ability to solve problems or become knowledgeable, which can empower them to transform their community through participant research (Carspecken, 1996; Hytten, 2004; Madison, 2012; Thomas, 1993).

Creswell (2014, p. 65) explained that the critical approach includes perspectives that are “concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class, and gender.” With a critical perspective, Thomas (1993) depicted a stairwell as no longer merely an avenue for moving between floors but a space of gender tension, where women protected their space, body, and identity. This was an example of a critical perspective viewing a stairwell aligned with the issue of gender. Similarly, through a critical perspective, a Taiwanese high school classroom is no longer a place of transmitting color-blind knowledge but can be a research field of racial and ethnic discourse. Thomas also argued that the ontology of a critical ethnography was an assumption of “something else there that will take us beneath the surface world of accepted appearances and reveal the darker, oppressive side of social life” (1993, p. 34). This dissertation study attempted to reveal ethnocentrism and the dominant ideology under the surface in a Taiwanese high school classroom and to propose an education caring more about social justice, racial sensitivity, and antiracist consideration.

Creswell (2005) indicated that an ethnography aims to research a group of people of different cultures. The student participants in this study, Taiwanese high school students, are a specific cultural group, in many ways dissimilar from groups in U.S. society. The findings from this study provide U.S. readers an example of transnational

and cross-cultural education. By intersecting ethnography and critical thinking, the researcher discovered if student participants learned more about the depth and breadth of the content of the Civil Rights Movement, facilitating a gained awareness they can use to improve Taiwanese learning experiences, especially on social-justice issues.

However, in applying ethnography, letting the data speak to the researcher and readers is essential (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Thomas, 1993). The researcher's predisposition was to criticize color blindness in Taiwanese high schools. Critical researchers are usually politically minded, seek to change society, and recognize that all research is value-laden (Creswell, 2005; Rogers, 2016). Thomas (1993) argued that

the question for critical ethnographers is whether one can begin researching with a set of values without distorting the research process. ... The penetration of values is unavoidable, and the solution is not to try to expunge them from research, but rather to identify them and assess their impact. (p. 21)

The researcher is value-laden to believe that when Taiwanese students learn more completely about the contents of the Civil Rights Movement and its legacy, they will gain awareness and ideas to change Taiwanese society, especially against ethnocentrism. Thomas (1993, p. 68) suggested that a critical researcher “announces, rather than hides, the intention to engage in a visibly value-laden project” but does not impose the researcher's values on the data and audience. Critical researchers should keep their minds open to accept changes as a part of the research. “When done well, however, the final product can be exciting and rewarding, because we are no longer the same person as when we started” (Thomas, 1993, p. 68). The researcher could not avoid having values to

bring to the educational project and to the participants; the thoughts of participants influenced and fulfilled this project.

Social scientists discussed and debated the political dimensions of an ethnography. “In contrast to the assumption of universal, value-free knowledge, critical alternative epistemologies assert that all knowledge is partial, situated, constructed in practice, and tied to relations of power” (Nygreen, 2005, p. 11). With a critical approach, recognizing and revealing the political elements of an ethnography was necessary and was fundamental to address. The stories of the participants were no longer to be discovered, but shared by an ethnographer with the power to tell (Madison, 2012; Nygreen, 2005; Wolf, 1992). Freire had a similar discourse indicating that “[s]cientific and humanist revolutionary leaders, on the other hand, cannot believe in the myth of the ignorance of the people” (1968/1992, p. 129). True knowledge of the causes of reality come from the combination of empirical knowledge of people and critical knowledge of revolutionary leaders. Revolutionary leaders should implement a cultural synthesis rather than a cultural invasion. A synthesis recognizes the difference between cultures and affirms the possibility of supporting one another, but an invasion assumes superiority. The researcher of this study, in this sense, was a revolutionary leader for the student participants and was willing to learn from them. The educational project was a research combining critical ethnography and critical pedagogy.

Applying the approach of critical pedagogy

As for educational practice, Freire (1968/1992, p. 117) raised an example to explain how dialogical education proceeds. Freire said that an educational dialogue starts with an anthropological concept of culture, in which participants express themselves in

their own words. Their explanation of concepts represents their awareness of understanding. From the initial conversation, educators can broaden discussions to perpetuate dialogue. Critical ethnography and critical pedagogy emphasize understanding of participants' authentic voice.

In *Pedagogy of Freedom*, Freire (1998) used the term "democratic education" to represent a desirable education. In discussing democracy in education, Freire (1998) argued that a teachers' presence was political, and teachers would definitely influence students' thoughts and attitudes. A classroom is also a form of governance (Freire, 2005). Freire (2005) asserted that all educators should commit to becoming democratic educators, because educators can never avoid the responsibility of decision making, which influences not only themselves but also their students. Being democratic educators can bring a shared relationship with students, making decisions together instead of acting as an authority.

One dilemma in educational fields is a political presence between authority and limitless freedom. One example is parents' choice to use parental authority and children's freedom to decide how to structure their own lives. Parents should remember that their children's lives are their own. Parents cannot and should not make decisions for their children, who should learn to be responsible for their own decisions. However, this does not mean that parents can escape their roles of offering advice in the process of their children's decisions. Taking care and giving advice are appropriate ways to practice parental authority.

Freire (1998) celebrated a life with tension and conflict, representing struggles from authority to freedom: "[C]onflict shares in our conscience. Denying conflict, we

ignore even the most mundane aspects of our vital and social experience. Trying to escape conflict, we preserve the status quo” (Freire, 2005, p.83). Democracy is the right attitude. Only in democracy can authority respect freedom and vice versa. This argument is similar to Rizvi’s (1993) conclusion:

We cannot deny the existence of authority, but our challenge must be to work with and to work through the contradictions of this authority to create new patterns of pedagogic relations more consistent with the goals of social justice and democratic education. (p. 178)

Freire (1998) and Rizvi (1993) recognized the solution to the dilemma between authority and freedom is democratic education. They developed an important approach to addressing authority in education. Freire (2005) said educators should obtain two virtues: courage and tolerance. With these two virtues, educators can conquer their fear to listen to those they teach without being authoritarian. Without these two virtues, true democratic education cannot happen.

This educational project aimed to involve democratic education. However, the U.S. Civil Rights Movement happened nearly 6 decades ago and is foreign history for Taiwanese high school students. Time and space isolation may dilute the ethos and meanings of the Movement. Thomas (1993) argued that all critical thinking has a conception and moral obligation to believe “there is something better, and that the goal of knowledge should include working toward it” (p. 70). This research, despite employing critical ethnography or critical pedagogy, aimed to make the Taiwanese experiences of learning the Civil Rights Movement better.

Freire (2005, p. 55) mentioned that “reading critically is ‘re-writing’ what one has read.” That means when educators introduce texts to students, whether from books or from the world, students construct the meaning of the reading and understanding of the world. In the process of this research, student participants constructed their own understandings of the Civil Rights Movement and social justice to contribute to Taiwanese society in the future.

Research Setting

This study entailed launching a semester-long course in a Taiwanese high school classroom discussing the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its legacy. The required research data were collected in the process of the course. The participating school is an elite boy’s high school in central Taiwan. The principal and teachers of this school were willing to provide an opportunity to develop an educational project designed by the researcher in coordination with them. The course focused on teaching and discussing racial and social issues in the Civil Rights Movement, African American collective knowledge, and the Taiwanese context. The key contact in the researching school is a history teacher who cares about Taiwanese social justice and provided many suggestions for developing the course.

The research course opened in the spring of 2016, running from February to June following the Taiwanese school schedule, and involved 18 students. Because it was an elective course, the voluntary nature of the students was a criteria to participate in this course. All students in this class could choose to attend this course without participating the research. In this way, comments of those students who chose to attend the course but not participate in the research are not shown. Each class was 2 hours long, once each

week for 16 weeks. The researcher, as a teacher facilitating the discussion, introduced a topic each class and provided related information about the topic, including texts, videos, or lectures, leading students to discuss the topic. The teacher provided guiding questions for discussion but students' question or comments were encouraged in the course.

Discussion was the main concern in this course. After each class, the researcher invited a student to take part in an interview, asking about the class discussions and learning experiences more deeply and individually. Visual and audio recordings were used in every class and interview to aide in analysis. Considering Taiwanese students' culture of not wanting to talk too much in public, written activities were also included in the course to gain students' voice. The researching data mainly came from the visual and audio records, supplemented by the researcher's field notes and the students' written texts from class activities and assignments.

Role of the Researcher

Freire (1968/1992) indicated that a teacher using critical thinking would practice problem-posing education, and dialogue was the way to practice problem-posing education. In this study, the researcher attempted to launch a dialogue with the student participants to awaken participants' critical consciousness and to empower them to commit to social-justice discussions. Madison (2012, p. 11) explained that "it is through dialogue and meeting with others that I am most fully myself."

Madison quoted Conquergood's thought of "dialogical performance" to explain how critical ethnographers present their findings: "Dialogical performance means one is a cop performer rather than a participant-observer" (2012, p. 186). Freire (2005) argued that the first quality of being a teacher was humility, which caused teachers to listen to those

who came to them, regardless of intellectual level. Humility is a basic quality to be a democratic educator and can prevent educators from being entrapped by elitism. During the research process of dialogue, participants were expected to experience mindset shifts from the racial blindness of ethnocentrism to empower themselves to adjust their thoughts and attitudes toward social justice. In contrast, participants' comments about racial sensitivity and social justice represent the authentic voice of Taiwanese teenagers about what they received from years of Taiwanese education. This voice, in critical pedagogy, is precious to the researcher, educators, and the Taiwanese educational forum, as sustenance to develop further democratic education in Taiwan.

The transnational background of the researcher of this study provided a critical element to an ethnography. Unlike a conventional ethnographer in an unfamiliar cultural group, the researcher brought the voice of student participants with a shared culture and language to a cross-cultural audience. The background as an international student from Taiwan helped the researcher more easily retrieve hidden messages from participants, but has the additional challenge of transmitting them to audience. Thomas (1993) indicated,

A good rule of thumb is to remember that all ethnography is a dual translation process. We are translating the cultural codes of our subjects into a symbolic form that we can understand. We then translate our understandings into a form that the audience can understand. (p. 66)

This research employs a critical approach of ethnography by describing participants' comments with the perspective of an insider rather than an outsider. The researcher's transnational research background also benefits from the ethnographic methodology itself because most ethnographers face a barrier of understanding the

researched group's language and its accompanying culture. However, the researcher of this study shares with participants the same native language. This similarity strengthens the interpretive reading of the cultural experiences in language (Thomas, 1993).

Therefore, this researcher is good at translating the cultural codes of participants into a symbolic code (English text) but was challenged to translate it into understandable insights for the audience. Robinson-Pant (2005) indicated that international-student researchers always play the role of an advocate by introducing new research approaches to their homelands. Taiwanese academics will benefit from this study, due to bringing an ethnography with a critical approach to the field of educational.

The researcher gained a bachelor's degree from National Taiwan Normal University and a master's degree from the School of Education, University of Taipei. Both these schools were former teacher institutions and continue teacher-training projects. The researcher was trained and expected to be a teacher in Taiwan and obtained credentials to teach in secondary education: middle and high schools. This credential qualified the researcher to launch the educational project in Taichung Municipal Taichung First Senior High School. Before studying at USF, the researcher taught health education in a middle school in northern Taiwan for 5 years. During master's study, racial sensitivity and human-rights issues became of concern. Therefore, the researcher was interested in study antiracist education. The educational project developed in this research will be used continually after the researcher's graduation from USF and returning to teach in Taiwanese higher educational institutes. A Taiwanese governmental scholarship that aims to support students learning abroad, returning to Taiwan, and teaching in Taiwanese higher educational institutes also supports the researcher to study

at USF. This research will bring back and continually educate more Taiwanese learning in the International and Multicultural Education community, USF academics, the Civil Rights Movement history, and African American collective knowledge.

Data Collection

Procedure

The data-collection protocol included the following procedures:

1. Presentation of topical events occurring in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and the application or connection with the Taiwanese context;
2. Questions and conversations with student participants;
3. Observation and documentation of the procedure and process by visual and audio recording.

This procedure of documentation was the main resource for data collection.

Because the phenomenon of interest is the learning experience of student participants about the Civil Rights Movement and its legacy, the records documented observable events in the classes. The interpretation of the events and activities happening in class is important in an ethnography. Therefore, this procedure of data collection was necessary to interpret the meanings of what happened in the classroom. The researcher's field notes and interviews of student participants after each class complement the interpretation of the meanings of the events.

Process

At first, presentation of topics started in class. Topics, educational goals, activities, and media are outlined in Appendix A, Week 1 through 16. Then, conversation

between the researcher and the student participants was mainly practiced in class. Following the presentation of topical events, the researcher asked a series of questions or arranged activities related to the topic to guide students' dialogue and conversation. Students were encouraged to divide into groups to discuss questions and to share their thoughts freely with group members and with the class. In this practice, students taught each other and the researcher, following the thought of teachers' learning and learners' teaching in critical pedagogy (Freire, 1968/1992, 1998, 2004). Samples of questions to facilitate class discussion are listed below:

1. What are the struggles or approaches in the events?
2. Please describe briefly the events you learned about.
3. How do you feel about the people experiencing the events and their reactions?
4. Would you support the actions or thoughts in the events?
5. Did any similar event, action, or injustice happen in Taiwan?
6. Do you feel it workable applying similar strategies in Taiwan?
7. Do you have any suggestions or recommendations about how the people or characters in the event may have acted differently?

This educational project was practiced on a weekly basis. The researcher invited one student participant to interview after each class. The interviews gave student participants opportunities to share more deeply and personally their view of the topical event and class experience. The questions were designed to help them recall the class experience and their comments. For example,

1. How do you feel about the class?
2. What did you learn and are most impressed about in the class?

3. Please name at least one of the important events or people mentioned in the class.
4. I saw you had much expression on your face or body. Would you want to talk more about your feelings at that time?
5. How do you feel when you (or the teacher or other students) talk about the topic issues?
6. I am interested in what you talked in the class. Could you explain more about your thoughts or point of view?
7. Did you sense any racial/ethnic content in our class discussions? Please share with me why you did or did not.
8. Do you have any thoughts about race, ethnicity, or group identity revealed in the class? How do you think about them?

Analysis protocol

The analysis of the data included visual and audio recordings of classes, texts in writing activities and assignments, interviews, and the researcher's observations as field notes. Madison (2012, p. 43) indicated that "[c]oding and logging data is the process of grouping together themes and categories that you have accumulated in the field." The data were transcribed into four categories, based on CRT: (a) connection with African American collective knowledge with Taiwan; (b) racial sensitivity and confirming minority rights; (c) Hancentrism and color-blind racism, and (d) social-justice discussions in the Taiwanese context. Transcription included participants' verbal and nonverbal messages. As a critical ethnography, writing the meaning of the data is the main practice. Ethnography is a creation of text, based on rhetoric and science (Hammersley &

Atkinson, 1995). That means, a good ethnography contains writing and reasoning. Ethnography has no right or wrong, but a persuasion and high quality. The meaning of data were interpreted with cultural consideration in this dissertation. Quiroz (2013) launched an urban educational ethnography in a Chicago elite high school, depicting how 15 male African American students fought against racism on a contemporary, color-blind U.S. urban campus. The writing style and analysis interwove with participants' discourses, describing dramatic real scenes on campus, and contained the voice of participants. Similar to Quiroz's work on campus and participants' experiences, the researcher interwove written ethnography as dialogue analysis in this dissertation.

The writing of this dissertation followed the "Dissertation Format Guidelines" in *Doctoral Student Handbook 2015-2016, USF School of Education* in consultation with the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (6th ed.; American Psychological Association, 2010; Angeli et al., 2010).

Protection of Human Subjects

Before the educational project began, the researcher communicated with the principal, the administrators, and the teachers of the research school to let them know the plan and the goal of this study, obtaining their approval. Because student participants were younger than 18 years, their parents signed approval for their child's participation on a written letter. Participants also designated their approval to participate. Because the research site is a high school, the educational project functions as an elective course in their formal curriculum system, enhancing the schools curriculum and benefitting the researcher. The initial communication and agreement was achieved in May 2014 with the principal, and written approval was obtained in October 2015 from the academic dean of

the research school. At USF, the USF Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects must review any research involving human subjects to ensure the protection of participants. This research was approved by the Review Board on December 9, 2015.

In the process of collecting data, the researcher was aware of avoiding “going native” bias, or siding with the participants (Creswell, 2013, p. 60). An ethnographer reports multiple perspectives, especially contradictory ones. During discussions in the educational project, talking about sensitive topics should not be avoided. The privacy of participants was accomplished by masking their names. A clear expression of the research intention and a positive report about the research findings were necessary to prevent participants feeling uncomfortable and to avoid possible misunderstandings. The researchers practiced direct and straightforward communication with participants in the data-collection phase. Participants and the research school will receive copies of this dissertation following publication.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Overview

Set the stage: A central Taiwan elite boy's school classroom

Before entering the scene in the Taiwanese classroom this ethnography wants to bring to readers, a contextual understanding about the student participants is helpful, to comprehend the meaning of their dialogues. The research site is a central Taiwan public elite high school that generally serves male (more than 90%) high school students with the highest rank on the Comprehensive Assessment Program (CAP) for junior high school students in central Taiwan. The CAP is historically understood as a social-selection process and is highly competitive. Many Taiwanese junior high schools set educational goals to help their students achieve higher scores on the CAP. This goal is widely accepted or even encouraged by parents because they think a higher score leads to a better school, followed by a well-paid job, to secure economic success for students. Students in this school share a sense of pride, due to their past success on the CAP and receive much affirmation or even privilege from their parents, relatives, and teachers (S. Y. Chen & Lu, 2009). With this highly affirmative background and successful experience, the students in this school always have high achievement expectations and are willing to express themselves, compared to other teenage Taiwanese.

Introduction of the participants and the anonyms

This research uses the names of buildings in the research school and the street names in the neighborhood as the anonyms of participants. These names are contextually

meaningful and familiar to the student participants. Their spelling is formatted as real Chinese names for English-speaking people. The 14 student participants who actively talked in this research are introduced as follows:

Ching-Yeh: The most engaged student in this course, who showed racial sensitivity and social-justice concerns in his final project.

Chuang-Ching: A student full of passion and humor, always bringing laughter to the class. He spontaneously interviewed his Aboriginal classmates as a final project in this course.

Jin-Ping: Did not talk much but spoke with meaning.

Kuang-Chung: A student whose comments reflected racial awareness and sensitivity through the process of the class.

Li-Tse: A highly committed student who provided many significant comments and enriched the discussion.

Li-Xing: A shy student who was willing to participate in this course and provided many comments through writing.

Ru-De: A student who showed eagerness to learn about racial sensitivity but was unwilling to be pressed about his thoughts. To respect his choice, the researcher quoted his words only when he discussed the topic with others and his comments are needed to make sense of the whole dialogue.

San-Min: A good participant in this research who made many racially sensitive comments but was also sensitive to and influenced by peer pressure.

Shen-Si: A highly committed student who liked to discuss questions with philosophical and logical critique.

Shuang-Shi: Originally shy and spoke with a low voice but then felt encouraged to speak out in the latter sessions of this course.

Tai-Ping: A highly committed discussion participant who commented from many different perspectives, compared with other students.

Wu-Quan: The only student who has Aboriginal identity in this class but was silent and marginalized under peer pressure.

Yu-Cai: A student representative in the student union of the research school, was highly committed to union activity and showed eagerness to be a leader.

Zun-Xian: A student with much critical thinking about the course content, showed an affirmative attitude about color blindness, and appreciated free discussion.

Three Sessions of Data Analysis

First session: On the Civil Rights Movement (February–March 2016)

Taiwanese high school students know about the U.S. 1960s Civil Rights Movement because they learned about it in their formal curriculum as a topic of world history. Students may also have read Dr. King's speech as part of textbook lessons in English classes, depending on the schools' choice. However, when this educational project began, the researcher asked the student participants if anyone had read Dr. King's "I Have a Dream" speech (King, 1963, August 28) and no one said yes. However, they did learn about the Civil Rights Movement in History or Civics classes. Therefore, the researcher gave them the text of the speech as a reading assignment for our class discussion after our first class. The dialogue that followed among the student participants and me depicted their rough understanding of segregation in the 1960s southern U.S.

Me: Does anyone know what African Americans fought for in the Civil Rights Movement?

Yu-Cai: Black people had experienced something on buses. The (Taiwanese) civics textbook has written that White people and Black people were separated severely at that time.

Me: Does anyone know the name of the system about racial separation at that time?

Li-Tse: Caste system?

Me: No, that is from India.

Jin-Ping: Segregation.

Li-Tse mistakenly named segregation as the Indian caste system, probably due to language issues. Segregation is translated in Taiwan as “種族隔離” (literally race separation) and the caste system is translated as “種姓制度” (a system that tells race by last name); readers can easily find that the first Chinese character of both terms is the same “種” (race). In their past learning experience, participants learned these two systems as a similar topic when talking about racism. Therefore, they may be confused about the two systems.

In the first session of five classes, students discussed some significant African American historical events such as the Dolls Test, the case of Emmett Till, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the sit-in movements, the Little Rock Nine, the Birmingham campaign, Freedom Riders, Dr. King’s experience of humiliation on segregated buses, King’s thoughts of nonviolence, Black Power, an introduction to the thoughts of Malcolm

X, Stokely Carmichael, Angela Davis, and the Black Panther Party. The comments of the students tend to support African Americans' rights and standpoints in the Civil Rights Movement. They had learned about Dr. King as a moral figure to fight against racism in the United States and these experiences influenced their comments. On Dr. King's thoughts, Li-Tse said he knew Dr. King employed nonviolence to fight against segregation. Shen-Si expressed they had learned from other classes about nonviolence. San-Min and Shuan-Shi knew that Dr. King's nonviolence was inspired by Gandhi. Ching-Yeh said,

I think being nonviolent [to protest] is a more reasonable way compared to others. For example, regarding the segregation in restaurants, if you did not apply the tactic of sit-ins, would you engage in oral fights with the restaurant owners? ... Nonviolence seemed to be a rational and peaceful way to achieve consensus at that time.

However, when they learned about the thoughts of Black power, some students were hesitant. On Malcolm X's thoughts of fighting back when somebody wants to hurt a person, San-Min said: "With a good conscience, you can fight back." Yu-Cai seconded this comment, saying: "Right, you should not knock somebody unconscious and proclaim that I am doing this because this guy killed my brothers." San-Min also commented about how Dr. King's and Malcolm's thoughts differed:

I think the backgrounds of Dr. King and Malcolm X were very different. Why Malcolm proclaimed an eye for an eye principle was due to his gang background: The thought that you should fight back when people want to hurt you.

On the Black Panther Party's 10-points announcement, Kuang-Chung said that "this was too radical, and some of the announcements were too extreme." San-Min said, "It's more like a dream." Zun-Xian said, "They could not even achieve easy attempts but they announced those far away. The first few points were fine, but the latter parts were really overstating."

In most comments, they expressed lack of understanding or appreciation of Black power, but made some positive responses when they learned about it. One student (in an anonymous group presentation) commented he liked Malcolm's thoughts because he believed "Malcolm's thoughts were full of masculinity and U.S. spirit." When seeing an excerpt of a documentary about the Black Panther Party, San-Min sang along with the Party's songs in their children's program. When the researcher asked why some African Americans felt upset and embraced Black power, Li-Tse quoted Angela Davis' words, saying that condemning Black victims did not make any sense. Kuang-Chung said, "White people do not understand them." These comments and behaviors showed that the participants had positive views about Black power. Along with the hesitation previously mentioned, these comments rested on student participants' lack of contextual understanding of Black power. Unlike affirmative consensus on Dr. King and a positive impression of the Civil Rights Movement, student participants either accepted or hesitated about Black power. The key to influencing their attitudes depended on the way these events and thoughts were introduced.

Based on a naïve assumption, students asked why African Americans were experiencing racism. They could not understand why some White people would treat Black people disrespectfully or even cruelly. On the Dolls Test, San-Min said,

What I cannot understand is why the children would point out the Black dolls as bad dolls? These dolls were exactly human-like. They have the same noses, ears, and mouths. Why would they point out that White dolls were good but Black dolls as bad? That is the part I think as unreasonable.

On the Emmett Till case, Ching-Yeh commented on why White racists existed:

Maybe their (the white racists) parents taught them that Black people were bad people. In reality they probably did not see many Black people doing bad things. In contrast, the possibility that they saw White people doing bad things was much higher. However, under the social atmosphere and education they received from their parents, they would think that Blacks and Whites were different.

The student participants were innocent of race and racism in the Taiwanese context. They commented on U.S. racial issues with a lack of background knowledge, and also revealed a similar racial insensitivity when they commented about Taiwanese racial/ethnic issues. This naiveté, or blindness, is the main focus of this research and will be discussed further.

Taiwanese Hancentrism and color-blind racism

Influenced by the previously mentioned racial insensitivity in Taiwan, student participants discussed racism in a way they thought was value neutral but actually was color blind. When Yu-Cai presented their group discussion, he said,

Our thought about racism is that when you take down barriers of races and languages, you will find that everyone is the same. Therefore, will you see the

Chinese [PRC] with prejudice? Or will you see a Black person and think he is vicious or a bad guy, as TV shows depict? I will leave these questions for you to think about.

In this statement, one can tell that Yu-Cai, or his group, had assumptions that most Taiwanese would see Chinese with prejudice because of political tension and would see Black males as dangerous because of the influence of White media. Although he wanted to express that racism could be avoided when people relinquished their prejudice, in reality he revealed assumptions of the Taiwanese mainstream. He had no sense that saying these words was color-blind racism, assuming Chinese were unwelcome and Black males were dangerous. Yu-Cai's comment was not merely an individual's color-blind racism but also represented a system of insensitivity inherited from the Taiwanese mainstream.

In another class activity, discussing social justice in Taiwan, Chuang-Ching responded to Shen-Si's comment that some people would like to understand the gang culture in Taiwan.

Those who want to understand gang culture are quite few. Most people see things that most people care about. For example, when you see a foreigner who comes from a developed country, you will feel pleasant; in contrast, a person who comes from an underdeveloped country, such as India, will give you a sense of committing sexual assault. But it's not for sure; there are also good people.

This comment was really offensive toward Indians when people read it literally. However, when Chuang-Ching said this in the context of debating in a Taiwanese male

high school classroom, most student participants did not feel it was inappropriate. The prejudiced sentence saying that Indians were sexual-assault criminals was due to Taiwanese media, which had broadcast much sexual-assault news in India and it seemed most students heard about it. When he made this comment, the researcher was astonished and wondered where the prejudice came from. When the researcher went home for a quick search on the Internet on Taiwanese websites, the researcher could easily find articles talking about Indian sexual assaults.

Chuang-Ching's comment pointed out an inclination of Taiwanese as "most people see the things that most people care about." The inclination of integrating with mainstream and being afraid of rejection by the majority is common among Taiwanese. This inclination explains why ethnocentrism occurs in Taiwan and why racial insensitivity is unnoticed: most Taiwanese do not care and do not have opportunity to learn to care. For this example, if an Indian classmate was in this classroom, Chuang-Ching's negative comment about Indians would be noticed and protested. However, no Indian was in this class and few Indians live in Taiwan. Therefore most Taiwanese do not care if their comments offend Indians. This mainstream viewpoint influences high school students as well. They learned racial insensitivity from the media, the environment, and people around them at a very young age. This inclination also explained why Yu-Cai would make color-blind racist comments about Black men. If most Taiwanese do not feel their thoughts or comments are inappropriate, they will think these comments are not offensive. The line of measurement is quite self-centered. This inclination of integrating with mainstream thought also influenced racist comments toward Taiwanese Aborigines

in this class, although the students had an Aboriginal classmate. The color-blind racism toward Taiwanese Aboriginals will be discussed further.

Conforming minority rights and intercentricity of racism

As previously mentioned, student participants were influenced by mainstream viewpoint and expressed color-blind racism with a lack of background knowledge; however, the naiveté of student participants could serve a positive function in discussing African American history. For example, when a group of students presented the 1950s Dolls Tests and asked others about the outcome of the experiment, Li-Tse and Tai-Ping answered that Black children would choose Black dolls as good and White ones as bad. The following dialogue took place directly following Li-Tse and Tai-Ping's comments:

San-Min (one of the group presenters): What I cannot understand is why the children would point out the Black dolls as bad dolls? These dolls were exactly human-like. They have the same noses, ears, and mouths. Why would they point out that White dolls were good but Black dolls were bad? That is the part I think is unreasonable.

Li-Tse: If it is you who chooses?

San-Min: That depends on if the dolls are adorable.

Li-Tse: They are exactly the same, just Black and White is the difference.

San-Min: I want them both!

In this interchange, San-Min expressed equally color-blind sentiments to the different dolls. Why San-Min assumed that treating the dolls equally was vividly revealed from his comments. He did not understand the U.S. racial context and said he thought the

outcome was unreasonable. When San-Min made this comment, he had already learned about Dr. King and the Civil Rights Movement in other Taiwanese classes. However, he still said he could not understand why the outcome of the Dolls Test would occur. That meant that classes about the Civil Rights Movement did not impart enough about the context in which racial injustice was the main appeal in that movement. Students only learned about Dr. King and the Civil Rights Movement as successful in overcoming racism but did not understand why they fought and for what they fought. In this sense, student participants could also give positive comments to Black communities when the story was properly introduced, such as what Li-Tse and Tai-Ping said. Zun-Xian's comment about Dr. King and Black communities also reflected the above argument.

I do not know much about things in the past (1960s). Just according to the handouts (about Dr. King's negative experiences of segregation) and some information I looked up on the Internet. I think nobody would accept this kind of system (segregation). For living on that land (the U.S.), they (Black people) needed to endure malicious treatments. Few (Black) people had the power to overthrow the policy. I feel they were willing to change but unable to achieve change. I have a feeling that one person cannot change much, especially against laws or judgments opposing Black people. They needed to gather together when they felt unable to do something.

Naiveté about the U.S. racial context is the basis of student participants' knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement. This innocence may be shared by other Taiwanese high school students because Taiwanese classes teach the U.S. Civil Rights

Movement in a color-blind way. This tendency is due to the Taiwanese context itself and reveals a broader problem.

Second session: On Taiwanese group identity (March–May 2016)

In the second session, the class was designed to focus on Taiwanese racial/ethnic group identities. In this session, student participants talked a great deal about Hancentrism and its accompanying color blindness. The perspective to understand racism through CRT was also introduced to student participants in this session through class handouts, leading questions, and class discussions. Participants generally received the perspective of CRT but some expressed hesitation or silence, which could be interpreted as a means of resistance in Taiwanese students.

Racial insensitivity and racist talk in the course

Based on naiveté about race, participants expressed racial/color-blind racism in the course. Most of the time, they made negative comments toward minorities (Aboriginals and migrant workers) by analyzing how most Taiwanese thought, because that was the way the researcher encouraged class discussion to take place. In this way, they felt more comfortable discussing others' thoughts rather than their own. However, this phenomenon explained how ethnocentrism and the mainstream influence student participants, making them feel it is appropriate to comment on minorities in negative ways as long as under a banner of "most people's thoughts." That is to say, any racist talk presented here represented how the Taiwanese mainstream influenced high school students' thoughts rather than their personal opinions. This dissertation aims to point out the systematic bias in Taiwanese society rather than blaming participants, who the

researcher appreciates for their willingness to share their thoughts about this sensitive issue.

The minority group receiving most negative comments was migrant workers. For example, Kuang-Chung said, “most people feel that migrant workers are more dangerous, thinking their backgrounds are complicated, and the complicated backgrounds cause their intention to do bad things.” Ching-Yeh said, “I commented about Taiwanese thoughts regarding migrant workers. They feel that migrant workers come to Taiwan as illegal workers or prostitutes.” In addition to general negative comments about migrant workers, student participants discussed another bias toward them: smell.

Chuang-Ching: There is truly a smell on migrant workers.

Li-Tse: A strong smell.

Chuang-Ching: Just like the British have a strong smell of cologne. That kind of perfume is to be recognized (making it easier to have people recognize them as British because of the smell).

Li-Tse: Sometimes when I am on the bus, I smell the perfume of the migrant workers. It's a sweet smell, but too sweet. It seems to be a very complicated perfume, mixing different kinds of fragrance. A very strong perfume smell.

In this discussion, although they used “sweet smell” to comment on the smell of migrant workers, they actually expressed a feeling of unfamiliarity and discomfort in the context. In a positive way, they showed that using negative words to comment on the smell were undesirable; however, their discussion still expressed a negative feeling about the smell of migrant workers. Another dialogue happened 1 month later that also revealed the feeling of discomfort.

Me: Living in Taiwan, does anyone feel that some people are different from you?

Li-Tse: There is a strong sweet smell in the back on buses.

Yu-Cai: Why?

Li-Tse: Because of a strong smell from the perfume.

Yu-Cai: Is that so?

Li-Tse: Very strong.

Shen-Si: You mean a smell of sweat?

Li-Tse: No, it's about migrant workers. I don't know why they put lots of perfume on them.

Chung-Ching: They use perfume in the wrong way. They put it all over their body.

Li-Tse: They really put a lot on them, and they like to sit in the back of buses. I also like to sit in the back and I'll smell a very strong sweet smell.

Shen-Si: Isn't it good? A strong sweet smell is good.

Li-Tse: No, it's an uncomfortable strong sweet smell.

Me: Have you ever talked with them?

Li-Tse: No.

Me: Just sit together? And?

Li-Tse: And I get off the bus.

Additionally, the discussion of smell brought out hidden Whiteness worship from the Taiwanese mainstream:

Kuang-Chung: If you smell perfume from France and compare to another from Thailand, your feeling would be different. (Many students laugh).

Me: Maybe the smell is similar?

Kuang-Chung: When you see a French girl and a Southeast Asian girl, even though they use the same perfume, your instinct will tell you that it's normal for the French girl to do this.

Ru-De: It's not about the perfume. It's about the person.

Kuang-Chung: It's simply because of the race, I guess.

Me: You mean there's an impression that some people should use perfume and some should not?

Kuang-Chung: It's kind of like a feeling that the perfume of French girl is better.

Shen-Si: All people buy perfumes from France. Who would bother to buy perfumes from Thailand? (Many students laugh).

Ru-De: Does that mean the goods that White people use are better?

This discussion tells much about Taiwanese Whiteness worship and different treatment because of race or nationality. Kuang-Chung used the word "instinct" to describe the thought that a White girl using perfume was desirable but not a Southeast Asian girl. They did understand the difference between races and preferred Whites, pointing to the existence of Whiteness worship. The explanation of Whiteness worship as an instinct provided a safe zone to discuss it. That is, this argument assumes everyone has the same inclination to prefer Whites and attributes this inclination to an irresistible force, which diminishes their anxiety. The logic of color blindness functioned in this dialogue in that participants had different treatments or feelings toward Whites or people of color. They may believe that, because many Taiwanese feel or behave in the same way, this kind of feeling or difference comes from nature because everyone shares it.

Because this difference comes from nature, no one can blame others for having these same feelings.

This dialogue also depicted that some student participants sensed racial issues. Ru-De said, “It’s about the person,” or Kuang-Chung said, “It’s simply because of the race.” However, they did not want to discuss this further. Ru-De asked a critical question: “Does that mean the goods that White people use are better?” No one replied to this question and the dialogue ended.

Another aspect worthy of mention was that few discussions in this course brought out humor. Two jokes (racist and sexist) occurred in this short dialogue and indicated that participants had higher emotional responses when they talked about this issue. Perhaps they wanted to ease the nervous atmosphere, or they just thought it was funny to question the assumption that White culture was better. Either situation indicated they could feel the sensitivity of this issue but were reluctant to explore it more deeply to avoid hurting their self-esteem and feelings. Their unwillingness to discover more or more deeply explore Whiteness worship could be interpreted as a way to avoid discomfort from experiencing low self-esteem or cultural colonialism. The data from this research only showed silence when student participants talked about Whiteness worship. Further research to understand what reasons and mindsets caused this silence is needed.

Taiwanese Hancentrism and Whiteness worship

The tendency toward color blindness includes Whiteness worship in the Taiwanese mainstream, assuming that most Taiwanese treat every foreigner equally but are actually blind to White privilege. In one class, the researcher brought up this topic in discussion and most participants denied it. This phenomenon represented the assumption

of Taiwanese color blindness, that foreign cultures or values are value neutral and equal, and that Taiwanese appreciate White cultures simply because they are good. In class, the researcher raised some White privilege examples from Lan (2011) as discussion material and below are the participants' responses:

1. About English teachers:

Me: Taiwanese like to look for White people to teach English. Do you agree with that?

Sheng-Si: Never see anyone with Black skin.

Kuang-Chung: They are all Whites.

Chung-Ching: That is nonsense. If parents cannot communicate with foreign teachers, parents do not speak English.

2. About the aesthetic that having White skin is beautiful (Goon & Craven, 2003; Gram, 2007; Li, Min, Belk, Kimura, & Bahl, 2008):

Yu-Cai: That's true. One White can cover three uglinesses (一白遮三醜 A Chinese saying).

Me: Do you think this relates to White culture?

Yu-Cai: Of course not.

Li-Tse: I think that originated from Chinese culture. Didn't men need to put white powder on their faces to see the Emperor in ancient times?

3. Whether Taiwanese do pay more attention to a White person's words:

Ching-Yeh: I think why Taiwanese listen to a White person is not because he or she is White but because he or she is a foreigner. Taiwanese are curious about foreigners. Once when I took bus with my friend, there was a foreigner and my friend went to talk with the person. It was not because the person was White and people treat the person nicely but because the person is a foreigner.

4. White people are easier to do business with in Taiwan. An example indicated that when a mixed-race couple launched a business cooperative, their Taiwanese partner wanted the White husband to lecture rather than his Taiwanese wife because the partner thought a White person was more persuasive for Taiwanese consumers.

Zun-Xian: That depends on if the White man attractive or not. If he is poor looking, then nobody would buy it.

Kuang-Chung: That doesn't surprise me. Because most people would think that things coming from abroad are better. Those goods that White people use are better.

5. Showing a house-sale advertisement leaflet that showed a White family smiling.

Me: Do you think that White people are the main customers to buy this house?

Zun-Xian: No.

Me: Then why do the sellers put a White family picture on this advertising leaflet?

Zun-Xian: More warm? I do not see any difference about skin color. And you can

choose not to see the advertisement for a house sale.

Ru-De: So we need to receive news from Southeast Asian countries. We need to receive them together. Not only White culture. And we should not think that those goods from White people are much better.

Shen-Si: But only goods from White culture are imported into Taiwan. If I am an international trader, choosing to sell the Western or White cultural goods is more beneficial than selling goods from Southeast Asian countries. The interest matters.

Ru-De: That's why we need to know those countries that are underdeveloped.

The above discussion happened in one class. Readers can tell that most student participants did not recognize the existence of White privilege or would explain the scenarios as individuals' choices or random events. Hancentrism worked in this assumption like Zun-Xian's comment of "I do not see any difference about skin color." Although most Taiwanese saw White people in advertisements as high culture, others would receive it and see no difference. This can be a further research topic: asking about replacing the picture of the family with Taiwanese Han people, Aborigines, migrant workers, or non-White foreigners, would students continue to respond with "I do not see any difference about skin color?" When the researcher raised additional examples of White privilege in Taiwan, some student participants became aware of the message and were willing to discuss it. However, students' lack of vocabulary and an awkward atmosphere occurred in this discussion. Most student participants chose to be silent. This silence actually stopped the researcher's attempt to ask further questions in each example, believing that continually asking these questions would cause students to feel uncomfortable.

The hidden messages from the surroundings when participants talked about this issue are worthy of analysis. In the field notes, the researcher wrote,

The class discussion I led is not quite successful. Discussing the concept of Whiteness brings low energy to the students. It seems that the students understand what I want to point out when I present those White privilege cases in Taiwan. However, they have some degree of hesitation and defensiveness. From Ru-De's answer, I feel he wanted to receive the value I tried to express but was not quite sure how to respond. The silence of this class can be interpreted as a response that Taiwanese would experience when they learn to understand the status quo through the perspective of critical race theory.

The unwillingness to recognize and discuss Whiteness worship in Taiwan is worthy of further research. Does this silence represent that Taiwanese feel low self-esteem when discussing it? Or like the student participants mentioned, Taiwanese color blindness actually originated from Chinese cultural roots or other positive mindsets. From this perspective, the silence represented that talking about Whiteness was nonsense in Taiwan.

Because the goal of this research was to depict and analyze student participants' learning experience about African American collective knowledge, discussing Whiteness and criticizing it to uplift Taiwanese racial awareness is desirable in class. However, Whiteness is not the main topic in this research. Therefore, finding the silence as a response and leaving it as a further question to be answered is quite acceptable.

Third session: On social justice in the Taiwanese context (May–June 2016)

In this session, participants expressed their willingness to engage in social-justice discussions. Although naiveté about color blindness still influenced their opinions, students displayed a tendency to respect minorities and gain racial sensitivity. When participants talked about social justice issues in Taiwan, they mentioned several topics including migrant workers, Aborigines, how Taiwanese saw Africans, and Muslims in Taiwan. Participants discussed these topics intensely and debated in class. In the activity, student participants roleplayed human-rights committees to discuss if violations of minorities' rights happened in Taiwan. Some students roleplayed officials from the Taiwanese government and defended their standpoints against the accusations of representatives of minorities, also roleplayed by students. The following were some debates that arose from the activity:

About Taiwanese Aborigines

In the beginning of the activity, Li-Xing and Shen-Si roleplayed as representatives of minorities to launch a prologue saying that Aborigines were suffering from disadvantages and racism.

Li-Xing: Educational resources and budgets in the mountain Aboriginal areas are few. Many Aborigines need to take a long-distance bus to school in their elementary years. Their resources are few and their facilities are insufficient. Therefore, their knowledge is not capable of competing with Hans. ... The government takes more care of Hans living on the plains, paying little attention to Aborigines living in the mountains.

Shen-Si: When we talk with foreigners about Taiwanese culture, we always introduce Taiwanese Aboriginal culture. However, Taiwanese always neglect this perspective in our daily lives. When you think about Aboriginals, you feel they are far from our daily lives. The cultures of Aboriginals seem to be tribal cultures, cultures left behind. ... Superficially, we seem to feel ourselves like Aboriginals as Taiwanese; in reality, we separate them completely in our society. Taiwanese Aboriginals' lives are not easy, due to the views and thoughts of others. It seems to be that Taiwanese Aboriginals are different from us, in general. They are another kind of peoples; totally different. Therefore, we treat them not as we treat Taiwanese, ourselves, but as another ethnic group, and this would cause discrimination.

Tai-Ping and Kuang-Chung roleplayed as Taiwanese officials to respond to this issue. The original debate was lengthy; some key comments on both sides were analyzed in the following. Tai-Ping and Kuang-Chung argued that Taiwan has the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law to protect the rights of Aboriginals. Based on that law, Aboriginals have equal rights to Hans. Tai-Ping quoted statistics of the Aboriginal unemployment rate, which decreased in March 2014 compared to March 2013 to strengthen his proclamation of equal treatment of Aboriginals.

In this debate, the researcher guided Wu-Quan speak out because he was the only student in this class who expressed an Aboriginal identity, although most of time he chose to be silent in the class. Most students in the class did not know his Aboriginal identity. In response to Tai-Ping's argument of the Aboriginal unemployment rate decreasing, Wu-Quan said,

The decrease in the unemployment rate of Aboriginals may be due to the change of denominator instead of the numerator. It might be the total population of Aboriginals decreased instead of a real increase in employment. [He was describing the employment rate instead of the unemployment rate. The denominator is the total population and the numerator is employers.] And getting employed doesn't mean everything. If the jobs of Aboriginals are always hard labor, does this kind of employment really benefit them? This problem should be discussed more.

According to CRT, the experiences of minorities are crucial to understanding racism. Wu-Quan's response and comment represented the perspective of a minority insider in this research. His silence and marginalization indicated that the Aboriginal voice was still neglected in this class. He chose to be integrated rather than being different when getting along other students, using a Han-style name and hiding his Aboriginal identity in public. Not until the researcher launched an anonymous writing activity to express students' group identity did the researcher find that an Aboriginal student was in my class. He wrote,

I am a Taiwanese. My grandmother is an Aboriginal. I feel that Aboriginals are not treated well in Taiwan. However, I think that being an Aboriginal is good for me. Although the resources for Aboriginals are limited, I still like to be an Aboriginal.

The responses to his writing after another classmate read them aloud explained why he chose to be silent in this class. When the researcher repeated his message and emphasized that Aboriginals were not treated well,

Tai-Ping replied: No, I feel being an Aboriginal is quite privileged.

Li-Tse: Doesn't he get a test score-plus because he is an Aboriginal?

Chung-Ching: So good!

Their comments expressed that they cared more about scores than how Aboriginals felt. These comments vividly show how Hancentrism functioned in the class. When a minority voice spoke up, the repressive voice ended the discussion. The three students took it for granted they could utter the comments unsupportive of Wu-Quan's standpoint, and did not feel the comments were inappropriate. If not for the anonymous writing activity, the researcher would not have found the minority voice in the class. Fortunately, the interview in the following class helped me discover who wrote the note. In the interview, Wu-Quan described his Aboriginal identity and pride at being an Aboriginal by affirming family experiences on his mother's side.

I think [my maternal grandmother] felt helpless, not resistance, just helpless, for she had already received so many civilized living ways. ... Living in the mountains, she speaks Bunun (an Aboriginal language in Taiwan) to my mom and my grandpa. Only when she talks to me, or other younger relatives my age, she speaks Mandarin. When she talks in Mandarin, she needs to think awhile or she may forget the terms she wants to use. ... I think Aboriginal languages should be inherited. That's the most important part. I am thinking, but not quite sure, to

learn Bunun because I cannot speak a word in Bunun. But my mom speaks Bunun well.

Wu-Quan clearly expressed a sense of pride to be an Aboriginal and wanted to speak the same language with his beloved family. He also shared that his grandmother felt helpless because Han culture invaded her life. By indicating Han cultural ways of living as civilized, he implied that traditional and aboriginal ways of living were uncivilized. From this discourse, the hidden influence of Hancentrism was obvious and caused internalized racism in Wu-Quan's mind. Without realizing it, he uttered words that undermined his own Aboriginal dignity because of living in an atmosphere of Hancentrism. In Wu-Quan's short interview and words, one can hear the voice of a proud Aboriginal who can also feel helpless in contemporary Taiwanese society. However, these comments and sense of pride were hardly spoken in the class. This phenomenon explains much about how the mainstream structure silences minorities' voices.

Wu-Quan's willingness to talk with me about his Aboriginal identity encouraged the researcher to realize that this research moved in the right direction: to empower minorities and reveal the oppression of Hancentrism. However, his response also showed how hard it is to fight against a biased structure. If one does not pay much attention, one will be devoured by the structure. Both the attempt to launch an antiracist course in this research and Wu-Quan's pride of being an Aboriginal are under the pressure of the structure.

In the class debate, Shen-Si told a case story from the Internet: a Taiwanese Aboriginal girl was forced to work overtime, 17 hours per day, humiliated by the employer with racist words, and did not get payment for her work. Pushed to the limit of

endurance, the Aboriginal girl killed the employer. The students who told about this case were roleplaying representatives of minorities to illustrate discrimination toward Aboriginals; however, this case was an instance of color-blind racism. This case superficially depicted an Aboriginal girl suffering from inhumane treatment. It was not hard to understand that this story was written for Han people to reproduce stereotypes and racism, seeing Aboriginals as violent and uncivilized. Shen-Si interpreted this story as a defense of Aboriginals representing that Hancentrism was not easy to be aware of if one did not pay much attention to privilege and blindness. The case also showed how easy it would be to find a color-blind racist story disguised as a value-neutral one in the Taiwanese mainstream media. This problem will be discussed continually in the following paragraphs.

About Africans in Taiwan, discussing a case of a toothpaste brand called “Darlie”

Ru-De: I’d like to raise an issue about a brand of toothpaste called “Darlie” in Taiwan. In many countries, products of this brand are off the shelf because it uses a comparison of the dark skin and white teeth of a Black person as its advertisement, trying to impress consumers that using their toothpaste can bring you white teeth. We (the representatives of minorities) assert that the behavior of consuming the appearance of Black people is wrong, and we accuse the Taiwanese government of not facing this problem to take products of this brand off the shelf. ... The name and the logo are the problem. Although its English name had changed from Darkie to Darlie—maybe a small improvement—its Chinese name is still ‘黑人牙膏’ (toothpaste of Black people). ... In Taiwan, you

can find this product easily in supermarkets. We propose to take this product off the shelf or to change its name. Taiwanese seem to be insensitive to this kind of issue: racism. Therefore, we propose the accusation here.

Tai-Ping and Kuang-Chung, who roleplayed as Taiwanese officials, responded:

Tai-Ping: About the toothpaste issue, according to our (Taiwanese) Constitution, we cannot forbid people to use any kind of toothpaste. The seller also has right of freedom to name its own products. I believe in freedom of speech, especially for the logo of a product, which is an important right. People have the right of freedom. We cannot set limits on freedom of speech according to our Constitution. ... And the logo they use currently is not a Black person. Obviously, its logo has improved.

Ru-De: I agree that people have right of freedom. However, we (roleplaying Black people in Taiwan) talk about our rights being violated; thus, using our skin color as an advertisement and earning profit from it. ... What we protest and your response seem not to be on the same level (You did not really answer our accusation).

Tai-Ping: So you think that the toothpaste really undermines the rights of Black people? ... Facts about the toothpaste undermining Black people's rights or benefits need to be investigated. Unless you can provide evidence of undermining rights or benefits in this case, merely proclaiming this brand of toothpaste giving a bad impression to people tells nothing about a real loss to Black people.

Kuang-Chung: What you mentioned is more related to inner feelings of Black people. However, the government can only investigate facts. Although you feel that this product produces racism, the reality is that it is just a brand of commercials. The government cannot quantify harm of feelings and cannot help about your feelings.

Shen-Si (roleplaying as another representative of minorities): This issue does cause inner hurt to Black people. It causes many people to have a fixed impression of Black people, a stereotype. Like sexual-harassment cases, when a person has suffered from sexual harassment, the key point is not what “facts” perpetrators have submitted, but is about if victims feel harmed or not. If a victim feels she is under sexual harassment, then it is sexual harassment; no matter if the harm is inside or outside, it is a harassment. This case is similar to the situation of sexual harassment.

Tai-Ping: I'd like to end discussion on this topic. Allow me to quote the words of a scholar. He said that racism actually originated from the feeling of inferiority by the proclaiming race. I doubt anyone will generate stereotypes toward Black people just because of a brand of toothpaste. I myself am not. And may I ask all of you present, do you have any stereotypes about Black people because of the toothpaste?

This debate did not last long, shorter than on the issue of Taiwanese Aborigines. The outcome of this class activity favored the Taiwanese officials' side. Less than half of the student participants voted that this case caused racism and racial discrimination. This

outcome saddened me and still indicated a fixed influence of Taiwanese mainstream and color-blind racism. Several factors were worth highlighting in this debate.

First, Ru-De's choice of the case of toothpaste brand impressed the researcher. Because the researcher only asked them to bring some cases of rights violation to minorities in Taiwan, the researcher expected they would bring migrant worker and Aboriginal cases but not Black people in Taiwan. The selection of this case represented that Ru-De and other participants obtained certain racial sensitivity after several classes of the researcher's fieldwork course. Second, when Shen-Si analogized racism to sexism, he showed the sense of intercentricity of racism proposed by CRT as a perspective to understand racism today. Third, Tai-Ping quoted a racist scholar's words to enforce his roleplaying standpoint; this represented how easily one found a racist's comment in Taiwanese media, because his quotations or references came from an Internet search mostly on his cellphone. How a racist comment can easily be found on Taiwanese web resources is another problem to research further. However, this phenomenon indicated that color blindness already existed in Taiwanese media and in the mainstream culture.

The researcher also experienced how racist comments easily could be found on Taiwanese websites. When preparing the class, this researcher found a discussion thread asking about the connection of intelligence quotient and race. Many Taiwanese replied with racist comments to prefer Whites and devalue people of color. Apparently they thought they were out of this kind of "racial discussion" and pretended they were "honorary Whites." They did not have the awareness that they quoted racist comments to condemn themselves as having a lower IQ than Whites. One even quoted an English White scholar's speech to concur with the racist assumption of condemning darker skin

colors, but no one tried to discern how Black people or scholars think or criticize those racist comments. Therefore, the researcher replied in the thread, pointing out that this question itself was racist and discussing it in this way, by not respecting and showing the oppressed voices, would replicate racist comments and be a form of color-blind racism. The researcher also wrote an e-mail to the Taiwanese company that maintained the website, informing them that this thread involved racism and the company should intervene to maintain their reputation. However, as expected, they did not respond. The researcher suggested that people who wanted to understand racism reference Black scholars' works rather than that of White racists, serving as another way to fight Taiwanese color-blind racism in the process of this research.

The last highlight of the debate in class was the influence of racial blindness. Even though the representatives of minorities put forth good analysis of the intercentricity of racism, most student participants were persuaded by color-blind discourses and favored Taiwanese officials' standpoints. Students' naiveté and feeling as outsiders of racism caused this outcome, although participants heard about CRT a couple of weeks earlier. The structure of racial insensitivity in Taiwan is not easy to transform and needs further efforts to challenge it.

About migrant workers from Southeast Asian countries

In discussion of social-justice issues about migrant workers, most student participants accepted that racism did occur. Different from the debate on Taiwanese Aboriginal issues, student participants admitted culture should change or be modified to treat migrant workers better. Even those participants who roleplayed government officials

concurred with the disadvantages of migrant workers and promised to improve migrant workers' status.

Tai-Ping (roleplayed as a government official): As for the issues of migrant workers, my response is similar to the issues of Aborigines. The government promises to preserve their rights. However, serving Taiwanese takes priority over serving migrant workers or foreigners for the government. You mentioned that migrant workers should have Taiwanese agents as intermediaries when they work in Taiwan. Is that true?

Shuang-Shi: Yes. That's why intermediary agents make so much money.

Tai-Ping: We'll consider amending the law about agency.

Above was the only comment about migrant workers in the debate, and the official side immediately agreed to amend the law. In the final class, student participants also expressed their affirmative attitudes to modify unjust treatment toward migrant workers in their presentations.

Zun-Xian: Migrant workers come to Taiwan today. We do not pay them much. We do not give them a good salary; we bully them, or even suppress them. I think that is part of reason some migrant workers flee from their employers. Maybe one reason is that they do not want to go back to their home countries. They may not find jobs easily there. Another reason may be that some Taiwanese employers do not treat migrant workers well; therefore they are unwilling to stay with the employers and they flee.

Ching-Yeh: Here was a story from the Internet that described migrant workers gathering together in a rail station to celebrate their religious festival. A Taiwanese woman who carried an expensive bag saw the migrant workers who sat on the ground and said to her child, "If you are naughty again, I'll leave you here to be homeless like them." That woman, who could afford an expensive bag, labeled those Southeast Asians who were celebrating a festival as homeless.

Compared to the harsh debate about Aboriginal social-justice issues, the consensus among student participants regarding racism toward migrant workers was achieved more easily. Although student participants debated much on Aboriginal issues with viewpoints representing others, the reason seemed to be a feeling of competition through observation. Not once did student participants mention the test score-plus policy for Aboriginal students. Even though some participants argued this policy would not influence Han students attending colleges, the feeling of competition and envy of score-plus still influenced these elite high school students. This issue raised another question to research: does this affirmative-action policy really benefit Taiwanese Aboriginals or does it actually cause envy among the majority and lead to social pressure and oppression toward Aboriginals?

Most migrant workers are laborers in Taiwanese society. When their working contracts are up, they must return to their home countries. The living experiences of elite high school students are far from those of migrant workers. They encounter migrant workers only on buses or in public spaces, such as train stations or parks. The sense of distance makes it easier for student participants to stand with migrant workers. However, this innocence is a double-edged sword. In a negative way, students pay little attention to

the social injustice around them; in contrast, in a positive way, their innocence provides a good opportunity to learn and understand migrant workers. Students accepted affirmative action to treat migrant workers better when they were introduced to a proper education about racism and social justice.

Summary

From the analysis, Hancentrism in Taiwan clearly influenced student participants and caused many comments of color blindness. Although they learned of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and racism issues from Taiwanese formal lessons, their understanding of U.S. Black and White issues was limited. The understanding of racism they brought into the research course was vague and they assumed racism was a past issue. Their naiveté about racism and racial insensitivity rested on Taiwanese mainstream thoughts and assumptions: Hancentrism.

Most student participants showed racial sensitivity and willingness to talk about racism after participating in several classes. Even though they could not fully engage in social-justice discussions through the perspective of CRT, they did demonstrate high curiosity and willingness to learn about racism and social justice. This phenomenon indicates that with a proper introduction to racial issues, Taiwanese high school students can learn and benefit. Despite the assumption of the nonexistence of racism from Hancentrism, a positive learning outcome can be achieved when Taiwanese high school students learn about race, racism, and social justice.

As for social justice, student participants discussed Taiwanese Aboriginal issues more easily but did not connect this issue with Black collective knowledge. That meant student participants sensed racial tension between Hans and Aboriginals, but their

previous learning experiences from Taiwanese formal education about racism could not help them connect knowledge and reality. A gap in understanding race and racism existed in student participants between what they learned and what they experienced. Even though they discussed racial issues and injustice in the Taiwanese context in the research course, they could not connect with their previous learning experiences from formal lessons. The racial and social meaning of the existing U.S. Civil Rights Movement curriculum in Taiwan and racial-sensitivity education are insufficient and need to be reformed.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Summary of the Research

This research built on a Taiwanese racial and social context to discover how the existing Taiwanese curriculum about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement influences Taiwanese high school students' thoughts of race, racism, and social justice. Because the existing Taiwanese curriculum about the Civil Rights Movement is only a few lesson plans and limited, this researcher developed an educational project to extend student participants' learning experience about the Civil Rights Movement and its legacy after the 1960s, which is lacking in the Taiwanese curriculum. The literature review in this research covered African American collective knowledge ranging from the Civil Rights Movement to present-day racial discussions. The review also included racism and ethnocentrism in Taiwan and discussed how they hurt the oppressors and the oppressed. The review functioned as a framework to develop the educational project practiced in the research field.

The research questions covered how Taiwanese high school students understand U.S. and Taiwanese society after they experienced the educational project. Considering that the research setting was a weekly course, the data mainly came from video and audio recordings through the course, accompanying written texts of class activities and assignments, and individual interviews with student participants after each class session. A qualitative research study with a critical ethnography approach was employed as the methodology in this research, defining the researcher as a teacher, a partner, and an observer of student participants. Through an ethnographic style of analysis, this

researcher described not an outsider's observation but an insider's commentary with participants. Sharing a similar background and using the same language with participants, the researcher was in a good position to perceive hidden messages and to portray student participants' learning experiences and comments. This researcher discussed not only participants' opinions but also their thinking frame as part of Taiwanese culture, revealed in a classroom. In this sense, an ethnography was a proper way to introduce cross-cultural research to readers.

In the analysis, this research presents student participants' comments and thoughts in three sessions. The process of three sessions demonstrated how student participants increased their racial awareness and willingness to talk about social justice. In the first session, they only displayed a cursory understanding of racism but were willing to learn; through the second session, their engagement in class discussion revealed racial insensitivity and color blindness, influenced by Taiwanese Hancentrism; in the third session, they gained racial sensitivity, developed an antiracist discourse, and affirmed minority rights.

Discussion and Findings

This research found that naiveté about race and racism was common in student participants in comments on U.S. and Taiwanese issues. This naiveté functioned in negative and positive ways for participants to understand race and racism. In negative ways, this naiveté prevented students from learning and understanding the issues profoundly and caused them to deny racism because they were unfamiliar with and felt uncomfortable discussing the topic. In a positive way, this naiveté assisted student participants to reject counternarratives that are different from those they assumed. With a

proper introduction, student participants developed racial sensitivity and were willing to obtain it.

The existing U.S. Civil Rights Movements curriculum in Taiwan does not function as a medium to develop students' racial sensitivity and capabilities to resist racism. However, an educational project developed based on African American collective knowledge in this research did achieve students' awareness. Therefore, educational reformation is suggested to Taiwanese curriculum about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement to fulfill the educational goal of improving students' understanding of race and preparing them to reject racism instead of replicating ethnocentrism to maintain color/racial blindness.

In the literature review, this dissertation found that research regarding the social meaning of the existing Civil Rights Movement curriculum in Taiwan is poor. This phenomenon, augmented by findings of naiveté about race, indicated that Taiwanese society shares naiveté about race. Taiwanese academics emphasize English learning from the Civil Rights Movement history rather than its social-justice achievements. Student participants received the Civil Rights Movement curriculum from instructors who shared their racial naiveté. Therefore, although they came to the educational project in this research after receiving the Civil Rights Movement curriculum, they were still naive about many racism issues. This phenomenon does not mean that the existing Civil Rights Movement in Taiwan has no educational value. The curriculum functions as an introduction to lead student participants to obtain an idea of racism and develop their interest to learn the topic in a positive way with a willing attitude. However, the curriculum fails to connect students' learning experiences with their living context about

Taiwanese racial/ethnic identities and living experiences when meeting foreigners with different appearances and backgrounds. Furthermore, the curriculum does not encourage students to think critically and appreciate the value of problem solving in the Civil Rights Movement, but emphasizes racial harmony and celebrates a postracist ideology. Therefore, the existing Civil Rights Movement curriculum in Taiwan has much space to improve to fulfill its goal of developing students' awareness of racism and ability to resist it.

Another finding also relates to racial naiveté. Although originating from Hancentric assumptions, student participants responded differently to issues about Aborigines, migrant workers, Blacks in Taiwan, and White privilege. Their awareness and resistance were higher when talking about issues surrounding Aborigines than talking about issues of migrant workers. The reason for the different responses from student participants may be due to a sense of competence, but needs further research to verify.

As for commenting on Black experiences in Taiwan, student participants were more aware and willing to discuss racism constructs based on different appearances than to question a color-blind discourse in mainstream assumptions after participating in the educational project. However, their thoughts of social justice were still influenced by the mainstream. The feeling of distance and lack of personal contact caused their comments to maintain the status quo about people of color living in Taiwan. Although they recognized that inner disturbance may occur to Blacks living in Taiwan and they learned CRT as a "theory" to understand racial issues, they still considered that causing inner disturbance did not meet the criteria to name something racism. Their awareness

increased in understanding and standing for Taiwanese minorities but not for people of color in Taiwan and in global consideration. The educational project developed in this research assisted student participants to increase their racial sensitivity about existing issues in their living context but did not establish their perspective as global people of color to fortify themselves against White hegemony. This educational goal can be expected to accrue from additional educational projects developed based on this study's findings.

As for the response of student participants to White privilege in Taiwan, silence and tension occurred when they discussed the issue. This response was quite different from what their comments on Aborigines, migrant workers, and Blacks in Taiwan. Students displayed a sense of insecurity and uncertainty when facing issues of White privilege and Whiteness worship. This kind of uncertainty and tension is another form of negative influence brought by the blindness of Taiwanese ethnocentrism. If the color-blind discourse really depicts Taiwanese society accurately, how come student participants responded to Whiteness awkwardly and significantly differently from other racial issues? The silence and feeling of uncertainty indicated that Whiteness worship in the Taiwanese mainstream color-blind assumption indeed has a negative influence on student participants, causing them fail to understand the counternarratives against White hegemony and fail to learn the world completely, instead focusing on White Western cultures. Taiwanese will benefit from increasing their racial awareness to promote social justice, to maintain the health of younger generations, and to construct a comprehensive worldview. This research argues that African American collective knowledge will provide Taiwan the desirable learning outcomes.

Implications

Educational implications

This research provided an example of critical pedagogy in Taiwan. As Freire (1985, 1968/1992, 1994) mentioned, critical pedagogy emphasis is not a fixed style of teaching but a revolutionary attitude. From Freire's critique of banking education and promotion of problem-posing education, a critique of colonialism from oppressors and affirming local knowledge of the oppressed, and critique of submission of students and asserting partnership of teachers and students, one needs a critical attitude to question the existing power structures and criticize an education that replicates oppressive structures (Freire, 1985, 1968/1992, 1994). Following critical thoughts, this dissertation questioned Hancentrism and traditional teaching styles in Taiwan. However, as many revolutionary attempts faced difficulties and structural resistance, the educational project practiced in this research had many problems associated with critical pedagogy, such as facilitating dialogue with students, especially discussion on issues that the mainstream ignores. The attempt to implement critical pedagogy was attempted and achieved. Most student participants' comments about the educational project itself were positive and they felt differently about this project compared to a traditional one. In application to Taiwanese education, this dissertation featured an example of a teacher as a discussion facilitator, teaching issues neglected by the mainstream, and facilitating discussions about social justice.

This study also has the potential to influence Taiwanese teachers, students, educational academics, and cross-cultural educators. First, Taiwanese teachers can adjust their teaching content and style on the U.S. Civil Rights Movement after reading this

study. Second, this study increased participating students' racial awareness and developed their willingness to engage in a social-justice dialogue. Similar educational projects can be developed to inspire more students. Third, this study provided an example for Taiwanese educational researchers to implement critical pedagogy, which is uncommon in the Taiwanese educational tradition. Last, the study can stimulate more discussions between academics in cross-cultural education between the United States and Taiwan.

For U.S. readers, this dissertation examined how U.S. values were taught in a cross-cultural society. The U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its legacy were discussed much in the United States and were transmitted to Taiwan specifically. However, racial contexts and perspectives from Blacks were missed when Civil Rights Movement values were transmitted overseas to Taiwan. Taiwanese society and educational forum, as well as many cross-cultural societies, welcomed U.S. values and experiences against racism but needed insiders' perspectives to enrich their understandings. Although teaching English is still the main consideration for U.S. educators seeking international teaching opportunities, experiences sharing about racial and social justice is another option to benefit the global community. Even though every country, like Taiwan, has its own cultural and racial/ethnic background, racism and discrimination occur if the majority do not pay attention to their privilege. Similar to this dissertation, inspired by Black collective knowledge, a global consciousness of the oppressed, of people of color, and of minorities can be established and promoted internationally. U.S. readers, educators, and activists come into play as mediums to transmit racial and social justice from a local standard to an international context.

Social implications

Student participants in this research were elite high school students in central Taiwan. Their influences on the future have potential in many areas. An experience to discuss social justice against racial/ethnic oppression will help them gain sensitivity and have interest in similar issues. However, further and extensive educational programs based on this research are needed to maintain students' awareness. In the process of this research, the researcher built cooperative relationships with teachers in the research school, a local Aboriginal activist, and participating students. Further programs aiming at social change for justice in Taichung are expected.

As for the U.S. context, although this research mainly discussed color blindness based on Hancentrism in Taiwan, it also provides a reference to understand Asians' group identity, especially for Chinese/Han immigrants. One issue is language; for example, racism and racial discrimination are translated as a same term in Chinese. The different language usage may obstruct Chinese immigrants from understanding racial issues in U.S. society.

In addition to the language issue, cultural self-esteem following Han identity and its ethnocentrism may also occur in Chinese communities in U.S. society. This dissertation can inspire readers with Chinese/Han identity, which presents a study discussing how Han identity encounters Black collective knowledge. Chinese/Han immigrants can benefit from seeing themselves as part of people-of-color communities and fighting for their own dignity as minorities together. That is to say, an awareness of racial sensitivity and minority pride in Chinese communities in the United States entails building a coalition with Black and Latino communities, bringing tremendous benefit to

all. This tendency toward social change is expected for activists from Chinese communities who obtain the capacity of racial sensitivity and critical sense of color blindness.

Recommendations

Recommendations for further research

Based on the findings of this dissertation, several categories of future research are recommended. The first category is the extension of this dissertation. Because this research aimed to understand student participants' learning experience about racial sensitivity and social justice from the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its legacy, further research can employ a similar approach to understand Taiwanese teachers' thoughts and experiences about the same topic. Also, research about Taiwanese racial and social-justice issues in the educational fields is expected. Similarly, educators who are interested in launching critical pedagogy in similar contexts can also consult this dissertation.

The second category of recommendation is for social implications in Taiwan. In the process of this research, a silence and unwillingness to discuss Whiteness in Taiwanese high school students emerged. However, this research did not delve more deeply into this issue because Whiteness was only a part of the research; not the main focus. Further critical research about Whiteness worship in Taiwan is worthy and can explain more about Taiwanese color blindness. More importantly, research in this category can help Taiwanese prepare themselves to confront global White hegemony and build coalitions with people-of-color communities.

The third category of recommendation is about Taiwanese high school Han students' thoughts and attitudes toward Aboriginal students. This dissertation found that

many student participants expressed envy and an unappreciated attitude toward the test score-plus policy for Aboriginal students. Does this kind of affirmative action policy help Aboriginal students or bring them undeserved resentment from the envious majority? Or, does this policy meet Aboriginal students' needs and consider their feelings or public images? Do affirmative-action policies in Taiwan really function as assistance to minorities or as an eliminator of guilty from the privileged? These questions deserve further research. This research approach can also explore why affirmative-action policies exist in Taiwan, from the generosity of privileged Hans or authenticity of Aboriginals' struggles. Further research will reveal whether affirmative-action policies in Taiwan are sufficient or need to be modified.

The fourth category of recommendation is understanding racial awareness in Asian Americans with Han identity. In this research, Hancentrism in Taiwan functions as the source of color blindness and influences a tendency toward Whiteness worship. Does this finding contribute understanding of Asian Americans' racial attitudes in U.S. society? Further research using this approach can help build Asian Americans' self-esteem and connections with other ethnic communities, rather than focusing on integrating with the White majority. That is to say, further research should discern if Asian Americans keep their heritage identity and how much a connection between their new identity and heritage identity from their parents' generation will help U.S. society understand them better. Furthermore, this dissertation attempted to prove that sharing Black collective knowledge with Asian Americans will help them inspect themselves more accurately as a proud minority and fight against racism.

Recommendations for educational practices

First, at the least, existing Taiwanese curriculum about Civil Rights Movement should include the perspectives of CRT. The texts taught in classes should connect the historical events of the Civil Rights Movement with contemporary color-blind racism issues. The contents of teaching should cover insiders' voices rather than emphasizing harmonious integration. From the perspective of the intercentricity of CRT, the antiracist discourse should connect to oppressions occurring in Taiwanese society, such as gender and class inequity. Teachers and educators can achieve the shift from the existing curriculum by using CRT as a lens to understand the Civil Rights Movement and its meaning to Taiwanese social justice.

Second, to empower Taiwanese teachers to teach racial sensitivity and antiracist awareness, knowledge about race and racism should be added to the teacher-training system in Taiwan. Topics like race and racism in education or contemporary racial/ethnic issues in Taiwan should be included in teacher-training courses. To prepare those teacher training courses, Taiwanese educational academics should endeavor to research and construct knowledge in corresponding fields.

Third, Taiwanese college students have many opportunities and tend to travel or study abroad in the summer. After studying abroad, educational institutes or agents can hold a short conference to review learning experiences. Encouraging young Taiwanese to share their study-abroad experiences and multiracial understanding of culture is feasible. By comparing and thinking about the differences in countries and cultures, students will discover the blindness in the Taiwanese mainstream, especially about the privilege of Whites and White cultures. However, a critical educator and facilitator is needed to

facilitate students' discussions to prevent replication of color-blind racism and ethnocentrism.

Therefore, the fourth recommendation for educational practice is to build transnational cooperation, inviting teachers of color and students of color to visit Taiwan. Teachers and students of color can not only be the critical facilitators mentioned in the previous paragraph but also bring authentic international teaching and learning experiences back to the United States, thereby strengthening multicultural and transnational perspectives in the U.S. educational forum. Under the reality that foreigners in Taiwan teach English as a major job, teachers and students of color can teach English as well to inspire Taiwanese to understand and criticize White privilege. The author of this dissertation is willing to build cooperative relations and educational fields for teachers and students of color to come to Taiwan.

The last recommendation for educational practice is that as teachers and students of color develop cooperative relations in Taiwan, this cooperation will be difficult because of the resistance of Taiwanese ethnocentrism but will be meaningful and is expected to gain positive educational outcomes. Launching educational projects in Taiwan to increase racial sensitivity and social justice will be a good way for those students and teachers to reflect on situations in the United States. Thus, if Black collective knowledge can inspire and is appreciated by transnational society, it should be more meaningful and inspiring for U.S. society as well. Building a cross-cultural educational project is a good way to detect the blindness in the home culture and will benefit both societies.

Conclusion

This research found that the existing curriculum on the U.S. Civil Rights Movement in Taiwan only provides student participants a cursory understanding of racism. Most participants interpreted racism as a past malice and felt it was far from their lives. They could not connect their learning experiences with contemporary Taiwanese racial/ethnic issues. That is to say, the existing curriculum about the U.S. Civil Rights Movement in Taiwan functions as mere knowledge for students to memorize, but does not provide constructive meaning to their lives. Freire's theory of critical pedagogy questioned this kind of knowledge as banking education and should be reformed by problem-posing education. When an educational project of Black collective knowledge was brought to student participants, they displayed racial sensitivity and willingness to engage in social-justice discussion about race and racism in Taiwan. This outcome indicates that, with proper adjustment and training, the Taiwanese curriculum can still introduce the Civil Rights Movement and its legacy to assist students in understanding racism in their living contexts and to develop antiracist awareness. Although proper adjustment and change involve many practical difficulties, to reform the existing curriculum and to develop new educational programs different from the existing ones is necessary.

A problem found in this research indicates that Hancentrism functions in Taiwan as a hidden value system that influenced student participants greatly, even though they were willing to affirm minority rights. Further research about Hancentrism in Taiwan and its accompanying color-blind racism is expected to reveal hidden problems and will benefit Taiwanese society. Another problem found was silence and denial of White

privilege and Whiteness worship in Taiwan among the student participants. Why they behave in this way and what they thought when talking about Whiteness needs further research. Questions to be addressed include How does Hancentrism function when Taiwanese encounter global Whiteness? Do Taiwanese experience low self-esteem or internalized racism when they receive Asian depictions in White media? and Does learning CRT and Black collective knowledge help Taiwanese build pride to confront global whiteness? These questions emerged from analysis and findings in this research.

U.S. educators and activists who are interested in promoting international awareness of social justice about race and multicultural identity can consider going to Taiwan and building a cooperative relationship with local activists. Many cross-cultural societies are eager to learn U.S. experiences, and Taiwan is no exception. Sharing social-justice-pursuing experiences with the world will help the United States earn a global reputation and build cooperation with cross-cultural educators and activists. Successful teaching experiences about racial sensitivity and antiracist education in a transnational context will also provide examples for U.S. educators to compare and address problems. Furthermore, exchanging experiences and viewpoints with Taiwanese society can also help U.S. educators and activists understand Asian Americans with Han identity or Taiwanese immigrants. U.S. and Taiwanese societies will receive reciprocal benefits from launching cooperation overseas to advocate for social justice about races and antiracist education.

Closing Remarks

The last section of this dissertation is for Taiwanese readers and for people who are concerned about Taiwanese identity in the global community. The political tension

between Taiwan and China is probably the key issue when talking about Taiwan. For Taiwanese, this tension is more intense and influences many aspects of our lives, including foods, sports, national identities, politics, education, or even entertainments. That is to say, political uncertainty, the hidden threat from the nearest big power, and an ambivalence of sharing Chinese cultural roots with this big power, drive Taiwanese to live with high political activism. In background, Taiwanese were torn apart by the DPP and KMT political ideologies mentioned in Chapter 1. A major concern about the division caused by these two ideologies is their standpoints in confronting China. Between the divided ideologies, ethnic identities and nationalism function as tools for political parties to gain publicity and support; that is the origin of four-ethnicity theory in Taiwan and the beginning of discussion on Hancentrism as a dominant racial discourse.

Though this research focuses on Taiwanese high school students' thoughts and experiences about race and racism, it also connects to the big issue of political tension across the Taiwan Strait. The most questioned Hancentrism in this research influences not only social-justice issues in society, but also Taiwanese self-identity problems. Han identity in Taiwan brings not only the mainstream, which oppresses minorities, but also causes Taiwanese to develop a controversial and confrontational attitude about China. That is, Han identity recognizes Chinese culture as a root culture. The name itself tells much: Han is a famous dynasty in Chinese history. Taiwanese with Han identity face ambivalence in affirming ancient or cultural China but trying to disconnect with the PRC because of the political reality; more or less undermining Taiwanese self-esteem.

In contrast, this research suggested developing educational projects with minority affirmation and understanding global people-of-color communities to strengthen

Taiwanese understanding of themselves and the world. Being aware that not all people living on this island obsess about Chinese culture and cherish the voices of Aborigines and other minorities will help Taiwanese build new group identities. Similarly, Taiwanese need to become aware of connecting with the world not only through the views of Whites or integrating with global White hegemony, but also through personal contacts with migrant workers or integrating with wider global people-of-color communities. Eliminating blindness from ethnocentrism and Whiteness worship can grant Taiwanese a broader worldview and a healthier self-identity.

Early Chinese immigrants and the outcome of the Chinese Civil War indeed influenced Taiwan to become a Hancentric society. History brings people to where they are at present but does not tell them where to go. People construct the future themselves. Recognizing Han identity as the mainstream but respecting and cherishing minorities' identities will bring Taiwanese a new confidence to confront political tension with China. In contrast, recognizing Whiteness worship exists but remedying it through learning and hearing from global people-of-color communities can bring a more accurate worldview. These suggestions can be achieved by learning collective Black knowledge from the United States and will help Taiwanese become affirmed and self-cherished.

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APPENDIX A

Outline of the Educational Project in Taichung First Senior High School

	Topic	Educational goal and activities	Texts and media
Week 1	Introduction	To understand the pre-knowledge and expectation of the student participants. Self-introduction. Talking about the U.S., the racial issues, and the school context.	
Week 2	Segregation	To understand in what context the Civil Rights Movement would happen. Group discussing about the case of Emmett Till, Dr. Clark's Dolls Test, Rosa Parks' and Dr. King's experiences on segregated buses.	1. Text and audio recording of the <i>I Have a Dream</i> speech; Handouts about the four discussion groups.
Week 3	Re-knowing Martin Luther King, Jr.	A multi-perspective understanding about Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., including his Christian backgrounds, his Nobel Peace Prize, anti-Vietnam War standpoint, and his negative images (plagiarism and extramarital affair).	1. Photos: Montgomery Bus Boycott; 2. Texts of Dr. King's works; 3. <i>Selma</i> , the movie trailer.
Week 4	The Civil Rights Movement: basic and significant events	Let the students understand that the Civil Rights Movement was not limited to Dr. King and his efforts. Roleplaying significant events: Freedom Riders, Greensboro and Nashville sit-ins, the Little Rock Nine, and the Birmingham Campaign.	1. Excerpts of <i>Eyes on the Prize</i> , the documentary; Excerpt of Birmingham bombing scene from <i>Selma</i> .
Week 5	Black Power	Introducing Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Angela Davis, and the Black Panther Party to students and discussing their standpoint and challenge.	1. Videos and texts of Malcolm's speeches and interviews; 2. Text of Carmichael's thoughts; 3. Excerpt of <i>Malcolm X</i> , the movie; 4. Excerpts of <i>Black Power Mixtape</i> , the documentary.
Week 6	Critical Race Theory	Introducing critical race theory to students and leading them to discuss racism through the experiences of African Americans, a practice of the centrality of experiential knowledge.	1. Texts of critical race theory.

	Topic	Educational goal and activities	Texts and media
Week 7	Racism in contemporary U.S.	Introducing racial issues and social justice debates in contemporary U.S. and discussing them. Leading students to deconstruct hidden messages of racism in White media.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Videos and news of racist police brutality cases and racist shootings, including Rodney King, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Peter Liang, and the Charleston shootings; 2. Excerpt of <i>Crash</i>, the movie; 3. Video of the racial joke from Chris Rock in the Oscars, 2016; 4. News of Jeremy Lin's experience about racism.
Week 8	The U.S. imagination of Taiwanese	Introducing experiences of different races and ethnicities in the U.S. and discussing how Taiwanese imagine the U.S. society.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Quotes from <i>A Large Memory</i> (Takaki, 1998), the book.
Week 9	Whiteness in Taiwan	Introducing and discussing literature and events of Whiteness and White privilege in Taiwan.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Text of <i>The Souls of White Folk</i> (Du Bois, 1920); 2. News of a European esports player using a racist ID in Taiwan; 3. Examples of White privilege in Taiwan (Lan, 2011).
Week 10	Race and Ethnicity in Taiwan	Introducing and discussing Four Ethnic Group Theory in Taiwan.	Books about the four ethnic groups.
Week 11	Color-blind racism	Discussing what is color-blind racism. Activity for students to write down their group identity.	Examples of color-blind racism in different scenes of the U.S.
Week 12	Racism in Taiwan	Introducing some color blindness cases in Taiwan to discuss if racism happening in Taiwan.	News and web information of Africans' and Aborigines' racial experiences in Taiwan.
Week 13	Visiting Library: Preparing for the Human Rights Council activity.		
Week 14	Human Rights Council, A Taiwanese High School Version. Discussing issues regarding Africans, Aborigines, and migrant workers in Taiwan.		<p><i>International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.</i></p> <p>(General Assembly of the United Nations, 1965)</p>

	Topic	Educational goal and activities	Texts and media
Week 15	Guest Speaker: A Taiwanese Aboriginal's (Paiwan) experiences.		
Week 16	Final Projects Presentation.		
	Exploring the roots of racism in Taiwan.		
	Muslims in Taiwan and discrimination against them.		
	Group 3: Racism in Taiwan.		
	Group 4: Taiwanese Aboriginals and their experiences.		
