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**Equal Education, Unequal Identities:
Children's Construction of Identities and
Taiwanese Nationalism in Education**

Hung-Chieh Chang

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2012

Declaration

I confirm that all this work is my own. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or qualification.

Name:

Date:

Hung-Chieh Chang

Abstract

Children have been marginalised in nationalism studies, particularly in the discussion of education. The process of education was taken for granted while children's agency and their construction of national discourses were neglected. This thesis was to examine and compare children's national discourses and those in pedagogical materials in the context of recent Taiwanese nationalism since 2000.

This thesis concerned children's discourses and pedagogical discourses in four areas: (1) the nation; (2) national identity; (3) ethnicity; and (4) being a minority. Data was collected through individual interviews, documentary research and observations. Individual interviews were conducted with a sample of 28 primary school children (aged 8-11) in a selected primary school in Taiwan. The participants were recruited from children of Chinese immigrants, children of Vietnamese immigrants, and children of native Taiwanese to compare their various experiences and perspectives.

The findings showed that children's discourses did not necessarily correspond to pedagogical discourses although they partly match to each other. The nation was portrayed as 'Taiwan' consistently in the textbooks and by children, while the 'Republic of China' was being 'forgotten' by children and marginalised in textbooks. In addition, a Taiwanese identity is prevailing among children. However, children challenged the existing concepts of ethnicity and the language policy at school. Finally, this thesis found that the national discourses in pedagogy was rather exclusive than inclusive. Therefore, the minority groups, such as children of immigrants, Hakka, and the Aborigines, felt being the 'others' in the discourses of Taiwanese nationalism. In conclusion, children are not objects of pedagogical national discourses. Instead, the pedagogical discourses rely on students' interpretation and performance. Therefore, children are active subjects who are able to challenge pedagogical discourses and construct their own national discourses.

Acknowledgement

I am very grateful to the children who took part in this study for their openness, as well as the teachers for their acceptance and help. My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisors, Mr. Ross Bond and Professor Lynn Jamieson, for their careful reading, constructive advice, and encouragement throughout the PhD process. I also want to thank the external and internal examiners, Dr. Michael Wyness and Dr Jonathan Hearn, for their helpful commentaries and suggestions.

I would like to say a heartfelt thank-you to my colleagues, Yu-Hsiang, I Lin, Margarida, Ruth, Unai and the ENNIN group, for their idea exchange and support. I appreciate my dear friends, particularly Yu Yi, Pei Chun, Yu wen, Hsin Yi, Chairry, Elma, for their company and comfort. I am grateful for the heart-warming support from the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. They give me the strength to overcome the challenges in the writing process. I especially thank Richard Connelly and his wife who came to Scotland to serve as couple missionaries and read the manuscripts. Finally, I thank my Heavenly Father for His love and everything.

I cannot express enough gratitude to my family, especially my mom and my aunt, for their unconditional love and support to me. This thesis is dedicated to my beloved grandparents. Two of them, Chang Tzu Chung and Lin Huang Ching Bao, passed away during the process of this thesis. There would not be me and this thesis without all of them.

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1 Introduction

The Republic of China (ROC), also known as Taiwan, celebrated its 100th birthday in 2011. In the past 100 years, the national identity of people in Taiwan has changed dramatically from Japanese, to Chinese, and, now, to Taiwanese. In 1895, the Manchu Empire¹ conceded the Taiwan Island to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki², which led to Japanese colonialism in Taiwan for the next 50 years. Under Japanese colonization, residents of Taiwan were taught to be Japanese (Ching, 2001). When Taiwan was returned to the Republic of China (ROC) in 1945, the “Orphan of Asia” (Wu, 2006) metaphor portrayed well the confusions and struggles of the residents of Taiwan over their identities - whether they were Japanese, Chinese, or Taiwanese (Ching, 2001; Chang and Holt, 2007). The continuous change of national identity reflects not only a complex history of Taiwan, but also the hegemony of the national discourses from the government, and the centralised education is a major channel.

Nationalism in Taiwan also changed from a Chinese nationalism to a Taiwanese nationalism over the past six decades. Since Taiwan was returned from Japan to the ROC in 1945, the Kuomintang (KMT) led government promoted a Chinese nationalism and Chinese identity (Wilson, 1970). The curriculum was overwhelmingly China-centred. Students learned Chinese history, geography, and literature from school, and Taiwanese history, geography and literature were left with

¹ (清朝) The ruling dynasty of imperial China from 1644 to 1912, also called ‘Ching Dynasty’, the last dynasty of Imperial China.

² Also known as the ‘Treaty of Maguan’ (馬關條約). It was signed on April 17, 1895 between Japan and Manchu Empire of China, to end the First Sino-Japanese War.

a very small proportion in the curriculum (Liu and Hung, 2002). Mandarin Chinese was the only language that was allowed to be used at school.

After the martial law was lifted in 1987, Taiwanese nationalism prospered rapidly along with the development of democratisation (Lynch, 2002), and a Taiwanese identity has been growing. Lee Teng-hui won the first direct presidential election in 1996, and became the first Taiwan-born president. During his office, Taiwanese nationalism was advocated in a mild and symbolic form. In 2000, Taiwan went through the first party rotation. Chen Shui-bien, who was called the ‘son of Taiwan³’, led the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) to win the presidential election. The Taiwanese identity was enhanced by an intense Taiwanese nationalism to acknowledge the nation as an island country, and to differentiate Taiwan from the People’s Republic of China (PRC) not only politically, but also culturally.

One major campaign in Taiwanese nationalism was the curriculum reform to construct a new nation and to cultivate the new generation of citizens for the new nation. Primary school children stand at the frontier of the new pedagogical narratives of the nation in the education system. They are pioneers in the new nation that Taiwanese nationalism aims to construct. Children, as active subjects of the society, do not just receive the top-down nationalist ideologies passively, but are respondents and participants who actively involve themselves in the nationhood building process by challenging or resisting the pedagogical narratives. The voices of children are frequently absent from these public debates, especially on the issues of

³ Chen Shui-bien was born in a working-class native Taiwanese family. Therefore, he is regarded as the representative of native Taiwanese.

nationalism. There is a need to explore the diversity of children's attitudes, experiences, and actions in relation to nationalism.

This study explored children's construction of the nation and national identity in Taiwan. Two important factors were considered here for children's identities. The first one is the ongoing Taiwanese nationalism manifested in the pedagogical narratives. Hence, it analysed the relationship and tension between the pedagogical narratives and children's narratives in terms of the nation, ethnicity and identities. The second one is children's interaction with important others, which is crucial for identity formation. Particular attention was placed on children of immigrants, which is a growing group in Taiwan. Immigrants and their children used to be subject to stigma and social exclusion in Taiwan. The narratives of Taiwanese nationalism draw new boundaries of national and ethnic identities. This study examined the discourses and interactions between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese who grew up in the context of recent Taiwanese nationalism to understand how the concept of 'Taiwanese' is understood and interpreted, and how the national narratives are related to their identity construction.

1.1 Aims

The principal aim of this thesis was to examine and compare the narratives between primary school children's construction of the nation, national identity and ethnicity, and pedagogical materials in relation to Taiwanese nationalism

Primary school children experience varying degrees of Taiwanese nationalism from a

range of sources, including the lessons at school, their interactions with family members, friends, peers and teachers, and the media. Among the sources, education is an important channel to disseminate national narratives. The highly centralized education in Taiwan is an ideal case to explore the relation between children's identity construction and national narratives in education. This thesis involved questions about whether recent educational policy in Taiwanese nationalism significantly affects national identity among the new generation.

Children are active social agents who perform nationalism in their everyday life. They adopt, challenge, or resist Taiwanese nationalism in the pedagogical materials that are imposed on them. Their opinions reflect how they react to contemporary Taiwanese nationalism in the education system. Through comparing national discourses between children and the pedagogy, this study investigated the interactions, as well as the tensions, between individuals and institutions in terms of nationalism and identities.

Another focus of this thesis lies in the comparison between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese because immigrants challenge the existing boundaries of national and ethnic identities. Previous nationalism studies about children either focused on the majority (Scourfield et al., 2006; Cheney, 2007), or the minority only (Vireull-Fuentes, 2006; Oikawa and Yoshida, 2007; Li, 2008). It was not until recently that some studies started to draw attention to the interaction between children of the majority and the minority (Zembylas, 2010). This study concerned the interaction between children of native Taiwanese and children of immigrants to understand their construction of national and ethnic identities, as well

as how they draw the boundaries to include and exclude people.

1.2 Research Questions

The research questions were formulated through reviewing the existing literature (see Chapter 2) and the main projects of Taiwanese nationalism since 2000 (see Section 1.3). The questions were designed to explore primary school children's perspectives and pedagogical materials on four themes: (1) the nation; (2) national identity; (3) ethnicity; and (4) being a minority.

1. The Nation: How do primary school children perceive the nation? How is the nation presented in the pedagogical materials, such as textbooks? What are the symbols children use to represent the nation?
2. National Identity: What is the national identity that children claim for themselves? What are the markers that children use to claim their national identity? How do children judge others? What is the national identity presented in the textbooks?
3. Ethnicity: How is ethnicity presented in the textbooks? How do children describe the traditional 'four ethnic groups' in Taiwan? How do children classify people within Taiwan?
4. Being a minority: How do the native Taiwanese children talk about children of immigrants? What are the exclusion experiences that children of

immigrants encountered? How is the exclusion related to current Taiwanese nationalism?

1.3 Taiwanese Nationalism

Taiwanese nationalism (or Taiwanization) is a poorly defined but widely used concept with complex forms (Rigger, 2006). The difficulty lies in that people interpret and define Taiwanese nationalism differently, and its form changes over the time period (Wong, 2001; Lo, 1994). The content of Taiwanese nationalism has continuously been shaped by various historical forces. Wong (2001) analyses the development of Taiwanese nationalism through five historical periods: the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan (1895-1945); the reunion of Taiwan and the mainland China (1945-1949); The KMT national building with the confrontation of the ROC and the PRC (1949-1970); the development of a democratic state (late 1980s to early 1990s); and the trend toward a civic nationalism (1990s- 2000). Taiwanese nationalism has different aims and forms throughout these periods. This thesis drew attention to the recent Taiwanese nationalism since 2000.

In 2000, Taiwan went through the first party rotation when Chen Shui-bien from the DPP came to power. His presidency was the first political transition from the KMT to the DPP in the history of the ROC. Taiwanese nationalism has different direction under the ruling of the pro-unification KMT and the pro-independence DPP. Taiwanese nationalism since 2000 has been implemented in a rapid and forceful way. The government has endeavoured to de-Sinicise through implementing campaigns about “Taiwanization” and “localization,” which were launched to differentiate

Taiwan from China (PRC) and advocate a Taiwanese identity. A series of policies and campaigns were initiated to make political, cultural and symbolic changes. To list a few, they included gaining accession into international organizations; promoting native language, literature, and tourism; renaming campaigns; and curriculum reform (Kaeding, 2009). All these policies paint a new picture of the nation, ethnicity and national identity for the new generation. This process continues under the current president, Ma Ying-jeou from the KMT.

The policies which directly relate to children were curriculum reform, language policy, and renaming campaigns. Firstly, the “nine-year integrated curriculum⁴ (九年一貫課程)⁵”, introduced in 2001, integrated the curriculum of primary school and secondary school into a nine-year curriculum. The curriculum focused on Taiwanese native history, culture, literature, nature and geography to build up Taiwan as the “homeland (*Jiaxiang* 家鄉)”, while the curriculum before was China-centred, lacking the materials of Taiwan (Liu and Hung, 2002; Hughes and Stone, 1999).

Secondly, language policy has a profound influence in the construction of national identity. The nine-year integrated curriculum introduced the native language (鄉土語言) curriculum, including Minnanese/Taiwanese, Hakka, and aboriginal languages. Before that, students learned Mandarin Chinese as the national language and English as the foreign language only. Other vernacular languages were once banned at school.

⁴ The aim of “nine-year integrated curriculum” was to improve the disadvantages of the traditional education, from central, rigid, knowledge-oriented, and disciplinary education to a school-based, flexible, student- and ability-oriented, and experience-centred education.

⁵ I put Chinese characters of the key terms along with the English translation in this thesis.

All schools in Taiwan are Mandarin-medium schools. However, Minnanese/Taiwanese has been the most widely used vernacular language outside school because it is the language that the largest ethnic group (Hoklo) use. In addition, nationalists of the DPP view Mandarin Chinese as the hegemonic language imposed by the former KMT government. This lingual policy aims to replace the hegemonic national language (Mandarin Chinese) with multiple languages and therefore establish a Taiwanese identity.

Thirdly, the renaming campaigns made a profound symbolic change aiming at de-Sinicisation in the Taiwanese society. Since Chen Shui-bien was the mayor of Taipei, he had adopted renaming policies to make symbolic change, such as the removal of the statues of Chiang Kai-shek⁶ (Corcuff, 2002a), transformation of Taipei New Park into 2/28 Peace Memorial Park and Taipei 2/28 Memorial Museum to commemorate the 2/28 Incident⁷, and renaming of the Chieh-shou Road⁸ in front of the Presidential Building to an aboriginal name, Ketagalan Boulevard (Kaeding, 2009).

Since 2000, more changes were undertaken nationwide. The English word “TAIWAN” was added to the cover of passports apart from the original title “Republic of China” in 2003. The titles of state-owned companies and buildings that relate to Chiang Kai-shek and China were replaced with Taiwan-related words. For

⁶ Chiang Kai-shek was the leader of the KMT during the civil war. He brought the ROC government from China to Taiwan and become the president of the ROC from 1948 to 1975. He is viewed by nationalists of the DPP as a symbol of Chinese nationalism.

⁷ See Chapter 1.5.

⁸ This road was named to commemorate Chiang Kai-shek.

example, the largest airport “Chiang Kai-shek International Airport (CKS International Airport)” was renamed “Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport” in 2006; the English title of the central bank was changed from “Central Bank of China” to “Central Bank of the Republic of China (Taiwan)”; “Chinese Petroleum Corp.(CPC)” to “CPC Corporation, Taiwan”, and “Chunghwa Post” was changed to “Taiwan Post” despite the protest from the employees in 2007 (Zhang, 2007). The monument erected in memory of Chiang Kai-shek, “National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall” was also renamed to “National Taiwan Democracy Memorial Hall”.

Some of these titles were kept after Ma Ying-jeou was elected as the president in 2008, but some were renamed again soon after he got into office, such as Chunghwa Post and the National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall. The bilingual sign on stamps was also renamed from “中華民國郵票 REPUBLIC OF CHINA” to “臺灣 TAIWAN” by Chen in 2007, and changed again to “中華民國郵票 REPUBLIC OF CHINA (TAIWAN)” in 2008.

All these campaigns aim to build a new nation and reconstruct a Taiwanese national identity. Therefore, it redefines what ‘Taiwanese’ means and who are ‘Taiwanese’. In the meantime, immigrants and their children are a growing group in Taiwan (See Section 1.6). By examining how the national narratives describe children of immigrants, and their subjective feeling to the narratives, we are able to understand the nature of Taiwanese nationalism, whether it is inclusive or exclusive.

Taiwanese nationalism in this thesis is regarded as a nationalism that enhances a Taiwanese identity politically, culturally, and ethnically, in contrast to the Chinese

nationalism that promotes a Chinese identity in Taiwan. This thesis focuses on the identities and perceptions among children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese in primary school who live in the context of Taiwanese nationalism after 2000. It also concerns children's opinions in relation to Taiwanese nationalism by examining the national narratives in the pedagogical materials.

1.4 Contesting National Identity

Taiwan is usually used as the synonym of the ROC. Nevertheless, Taiwan, the ROC, and 'China' have a complicated relation in history. Taiwan was originally the name of the island, instead of a name for the nation. Taiwan Island was colonised by Japan from 1895 to 1945. Under Japanese colonization, the Japanese government initiated a movement to develop Taiwanese into Japanese (Ching, 2001). During this period, Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Ching Dynasty, establishing the Republic of China (ROC) on mainland China in 1912. In 1945, half a century of Japanese colonialism on Taiwan came to an end and Taiwan was returned to the ROC. However, the Chinese Civil war was occurring on the mainland at that moment.

In 1949, the KMT led government vacated the mainland and took refuge on the island of Taiwan. The capital of the ROC was relocated from Nanjing (in mainland China) to Taipei (in Taiwan). China was divided into two sovereign entities. The nationalists ruled the Republic of China (ROC) on the Taiwan Island and its offshore islands. The communists established People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland. Both of them can be abbreviated to 'China'.

In 1971, the ROC withdrew from the United Nations in anticipation of a General Assembly vote to give the 'China' seat to the PRC. Since withdrawing from the United Nations, the ROC has been facing a difficult situation in the international arena while the PRC states that Taiwan is a part of 'China' (the PRC), and that the PRC is the only legitimate government of 'China'. This statement obstructs international acceptance of the ROC as an independent sovereign state. The PRC also threatened to use armed force if the ROC moves toward formal announcement of independence.

As a result, now in all sporting events, Taiwan can only use the term 'Chinese Taipei', instead of the more official name such as 'Taiwan' or 'Republic of China'. Otherwise, Taiwan might lose its right to participation under the PRC's intense objection. Therefore, this country has at least three different names, Republic of China, Taiwan and Chinese Taipei, that are used in various situations. Usually, only the title Chinese Taipei is seen in international events.

The name of the nation is related to people's national identity. Using the name 'Republic of China' maintains a Chinese identity while using the name 'Taiwan' creates a Taiwanese identity. In the last decade, the name 'Taiwan' was used more widely than the ROC under Taiwanese nationalism. According to a survey (Election Study Centre, 2011), about half of informants claimed themselves with a dual identity as both 'Taiwanese' and 'Chinese' in 2000, but more people claimed themselves as 'Taiwanese' only since 2005. Children of primary school age in Taiwan grew up in the context of Taiwanese nationalism. The relationship between their national identity and current Taiwanese nationalism needs more examination.

1.5 Ethnic Groups in Taiwan

The ethnicity in Taiwan is usually classified into four ethnic groups: the Hoklo, Hakka, Mainlander and the Aborigines. They are estimated to comprise 69%, 14%, 10% and 2% of the population respectively⁹ (Council of Hakka Affairs, 2008). Hsu and Chen (2004) estimated that the population of Hoklos, Hakkas, Mainlanders and Aborigines were 76.9%, 10.9%, 10.0% and 1.4% respectively in their study. Even given the different years when the studies were published, the estimation gap between these two studies reveals a difficulty in classifying the ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Language can be seen as the major feature to distinguish the four ethnic groups. The primary language that Hoklo use is Minnanese (also known as Taiwanese). Hakka use the Hakka dialect. The common language for the Mainlanders is Mandarin, which has become the official language of the ROC. The Aborigines do not use one single language; rather, each tribe uses their own unique tribal language.

There is social stratification among the four ethnic groups in their social economic status. The Mainlanders achieve higher levels of education and have higher income in general; by contrast, the Aborigines are the most disadvantaged among the four ethnic groups. Hsu and Chen (2004) showed that Mainlanders (29%) had the highest proportion obtaining higher education, followed by the Hoklos (18%), Hakkas (14%)

⁹ Another 4% claim themselves as 'Taiwanese' rather than any of the ethnic groups. The rest were 'others,' 'refuse to answer', or 'don't know.'

and Aborigines (7%). Moreover, they also illustrated that 17% of the Mainlanders earned more than NTD 50,000 per month, compared to 11%, 12%, and only 1.8% for Hoklo, Hakka, and Aborigines, respectively.

Claiming an ethnic identity in Taiwan is mostly based on a subjective identification. Hsu and Chen (2004) posed the problem of ethnic classification, which derives from lacking objective classifications of ethnicity in Taiwan and the prevalent intermarriages among these groups. The Aborigines are the only group that requires ancestry to claim their statutory aboriginal identity¹⁰ since 2001. Nevertheless, according to Manthorpe (2005), intermarriages between the Han and Aborigines over the past few hundred years have resulted in about 70% of the population having aboriginal blood, but these intermarriages are not acknowledged by law or by themselves. This raises the questions that if the Aborigines can use an objective criterion (ancestry) to distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups.

I argue that the idea of 'four ethnic groups' is problematic as it was introduced by legislators of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) (the Hoklo dominated party)

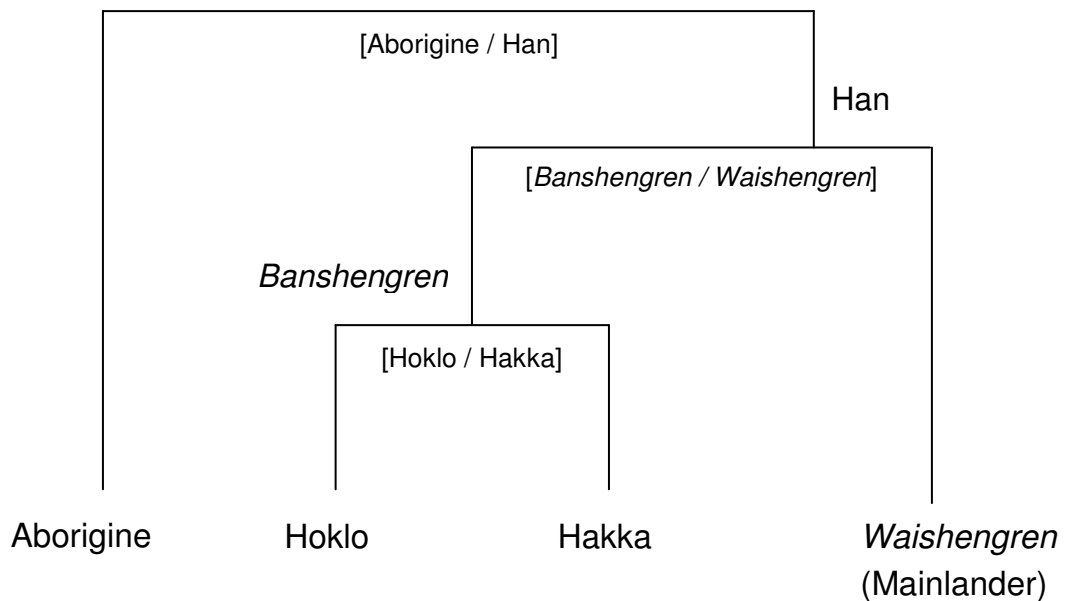
¹⁰ The aboriginal identity is according to the 'Status Act for Indigenous Peoples' implemented in 2001. In article 2: The term "indigenous people" herein includes native indigenous peoples of the mountain and plain-land regions. Status recognition, unless otherwise herein provided, is as provided in the following:

* Mountain indigenous peoples: permanent residents of the mountain administrative zone before the recovery of Taiwan, moreover census registration records show individual or an immediate kin of individual is of indigenous peoples descent.

* Plain-land indigenous peoples: permanent residents of the plain-land administrative zone before the recovery of Taiwan, moreover census registration records show individual or an immediate kin of individual is of indigenous peoples descent. Individual is registered as a plain-land indigenous peoples in the village (town, city, district) administration office.

in 1993, and has been widely used in Taiwan without being critically examined (Wang, 2003). The four ethnic groups are results of three ethnic divisions in different periods in history (Wang, 2003). These divisions came from the interactions and conflicts among ethnics groups. According to Wang's (2003) investigation of the development of the four ethnic groups and their relative relationships, the four ethnic groups belong to different layers of the hierarchy of ethnic divisions (Figure 1-1). The first division is the Han/Aborigine division. The second division is the *banshengren/waishengren* division, and the third division is the Hoklo/Hakka division. These divisions will be discussed in the following.

Figure 1-1. The composition of the four ethnic groups in Taiwan



Source: Wang (2003) *Ethnic Imagination in Contemporary Taiwan*. (p.57)

Among the four ethnic groups, the Aborigines are the earliest inhabitants in Taiwan. Hoklos and Hakkas were early immigrants from the mainland China in the last three hundred years, and the Mainlanders usually refer to those who migrated to Taiwan

around 1949. The Aborigines in Taiwan have been living in this island since the prehistoric era. They are considered to be racially Austronesian peoples, in contrast to the Han people. The Aborigines and the Han can be distinguished by their physical features. The Aborigines are thought to have darker skin colour, big round eyes, and deeper face outline. The Aborigines are composed of different tribes¹¹. Each tribe has its own unique culture and uses its distinctive tribal language.

The Han people are those who migrated from China to Taiwan over the past few hundreds years. The Han people can be divided into *Banshangren* and *Waishangren*. ‘*Waishangren*’, also known as ‘Mainlanders’, can be literally translated to ‘people from other provinces’ or ‘people from the outer provinces’ (Corcuff, 2002b). ‘*Banshangren*’, are literally ‘people of this (Taiwan) province’. *Waishangren* is a specific title that refers to those later arrivers who retreated from China to Taiwan around 1949 and their offspring. The *Banshengren* are earlier settlers who migrated from the southeast coast of China hundreds of years ago. The division between *banshengren* and *waishengren* is a conventional classification based on province of registration for the purpose of administration, not by subjective ethnic identification (Marsh, 2002).

The division between *banshengren* and *waishengren* can be traced back to their conflicts in the 1940s. In 1945, Japan lost World War II and finished its 50-year colonialisation of Taiwan. The KMT-led ROC government sent troops from mainland China to administrate the Taiwan Island. Not long after the troops took control of

¹¹ Up to 2011, the Taiwanese government has recognised fourteen tribes.

Taiwan, serious conflicts occurred between the local Taiwanese people (*Banshengren*) and the newly arrived troops. In 1947, KMT troops bloodily suppressed the conflicts and thousands of local people were massacred by the troops, known as the “2/28 Incident” or “2-28 event” (Lo, 1994). The 2/28 Incident intensified the ethnic cleavage between *banshengren* and *waishengren* (Wang and Liu, 2004).

Demographically, the *waishengren* were not a dominant group but they were dominant in political power during the KMT ruling period. They were soldiers and civilians from all over China who migrated to Taiwan after the KMT lost the civil war in 1949. They lived collectively in residential military communities, and occupied most of the vacancies in government and public services (Lin and Lin, 1993). A language policy to use Mandarin Chinese was reinforced while other dialects and languages were forbidden in public places. Language is a symbol of domination (Horowitz, 1985). The language control revealed the political domination of the *Waishengren*, but also deteriorated the relationship between *Banshengren* and *Waishengren*.

Finally, within the category of *Banshengren*, both Hoklos and Hakkas are early settlers since the seventeenth century. Hoklos are mostly from Fujian Province of China, and Hakkas are from Guangdong (GIO, 2010). After they arrived in Taiwan, clashes between Hoklos and Hakkas over territory and resources caused relocation of communities, but intermarriages also took place in varying degree. Up to now, the Hakkas still clustered together in some towns, in which the Hakkas would outnumber the Hoklos.

Wang (2003) examines the emergence of ethnic groups in Taiwan and their relative majority/ minority relationship. It is interesting that the dominant ethnic group in Taiwan changed dramatically over time. As shown in Table 1-1, the underlined groups are the subjective minority groups in relation to the majorities. The ethnic groups in Taiwan used to be the division between *benshengren* and *waishengren* in the 1970s while *benshengren* thought they were the minority oppressed by *waishengren*. Since 1980s, the oppression of the Aborigines by the Han people came to attention. The dominating and subordinating relationship of these groups changed over time while Hoklo was viewed as the majority by Hakka and *waishengren* in sequence since the mid-1980s.

Table 1-1. The emergence of ethnic classification in Taiwan

Relative ethnic classification	Time
<u><i>Banshengren</i></u> / <i>Waishengren</i>	Since 1970s
<u>Aborigines</u> / Han	Since early 1980s
<u>Hakka</u> / Hoklo	Since the middle of 1980s
<u><i>Waishengren</i></u> / Hoklo	Since 1990s

Note: Underlined group is the subjective minority group in relation to the majority.

Source: Wang (2003) Ethnic Imagination in Contemporary Taiwan. (p.63)

The ethnic division in Taiwan is the product of competition and repression in different periods. When there are conflicts between two groups, the minor difference would be amplified. When two groups have the same interest to fight for together, even the great difference would be eliminated (Wang, 2003). For example, the Aborigines in Taiwan are comprised of more than ten tribes. They do not share the

same culture and ancestry but they are all classified as ‘Aboriginal peoples’ in the power competition of ethnic classification. The only feature that they have in common is their common interest to fight for their rights against the dominant Han. Likewise, ‘Mainlanders’ are people from all provinces in China. They do not share the same culture and ancestry. It was the historical event that forced them to migrate to Taiwan in the civil war and their similar life experiences in Taiwan that connects them together. Therefore, the formation of ethnic groups in Taiwan is more ‘instrumental’ than ‘primordial’.

1.6 Children of Immigrant Women

Since the lifting of the martial law in 1987, there was a new influx of immigrants from China and Southeast Asia as marital immigrants and migrant workers. Nine out of ten (93.1%) marital immigrants are female. China and Vietnam are the major sending countries, followed by Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines (National Immigration Agency, 2010). Their offspring are usually coined with these terms: ‘new Taiwanese Children (新台灣之子)’, ‘children of new immigrants (新移民子女)’, or ‘children of foreign spouses (外籍配偶子女)’.

These immigrant women fulfill two important roles in the Taiwanese families they marry into. Firstly, these women themselves became the supplement of family labour, especially in the rural area. Secondly, they prolonged the family tree through reproduction (Wang, 2001). Taiwan is one of the countries with the lowest fertility rate, with an average of less than one child per woman in 2010 (Department of Household Registration, 2010). The immigrant women in fact helped the fertility rate

in Taiwan. The number of primary school students has decreased in the past few years, but there is a dramatic increase in the number of children of immigrants enrolling in primary schools (Table 1-2). Now one in every ten children in primary school comes from an immigrant family. The new immigrants and their children have outnumbered the Aborigines, and are called the “fifth major ethnic group” (United Daily News, 2004). Immigrant women reproduce not only members of their families, but members of ethnic and national collectivities. Both the immigrant women and their children are signifiers of national and ethnic difference in the ideological discourse of construction of national and ethnic categories (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and Campling, 1989).

Table 1-2. The enrollment of children of new immigrants in primary schools

Year	No. of Primary school students	Children of new immigrants	
		N	%
2004	1,883,533	40,907	2.17
2005	1,831,913	53,334	2.91
2006	1,798,436	70,707	3.94
2007	1,753,930	90,958	5.19
2008	1,677,303	113,173	6.75
2009	1,593,398	133,272	8.36
2010	1,519,456	148,610	9.78

Source: Ministry of Education (2011) The Statistics of the Enrollment of Children of Foreign Spouses in Primary and Secondary Schools.

In the studies of children of immigrants in Taiwan, much attention has been given to the learning and adjustment of these children at schools (Wang and Tsai, 2008; Chung, 2004; Huang, 2004; Chen, 2004; Tsai, 2005; Ho, 2006; Tsai, 2007). Little research has focused on their identity (Li, 2008) or belongingness. Being a child born

into a family that is based on cross-national marriage, s/he might have encountered more challenges about national and ethnic identity because of the tensions between two cultures, ethnicities, and nationalities. They also experience racial differences and being stared at by other people in the school setting or in public (Alder, 2001; Oikawa and Yoshida, 2007). Sometimes, when they claim an identity, they might receive direct rejection from other people (Oikawa and Yoshida, 2007). They are more likely to be marked as 'different' and be treated as outsiders, which cause their inner conflicts when developing their national and ethnic identities.

Mixed marriages and their offspring can be a potential threat to the national boundaries and the nation itself (McCrone, 1998). These new immigrant women and their children have been stigmatised as social problems for the Taiwanese society (Hsia, 2007). For example, the media uses dramatic scripts and pictures to report them with the caption, 'Fake Marriages, Real Prostitution (假結婚真賣淫)' (China Times, 2011; TVBS, 2007). The former Deputy Minister of Education, Chou Can-de (周燦德), publicly warned new immigrant women 'not to give birth to so many babies' with the concern that they will become the burden of the education system. Legislator Liao Ban-yan (廖本煙) suggested inspection of Vietnamese women since he suspected that these women's bodies might have chemical remnants which the US army used during the Vietnam War (United Daily News, 2006). He claimed that the remnants might deteriorate the next generation in Taiwan.

These negative statements constructed the new immigrant women and their children as a social problem in Taiwan. Children of immigrant women are regarded as less competitive than children of native Taiwanese in mental development, language, and

academic achievement (Wang and Tsai, 2008; Chung, Wang, and Chen, 2006). The stigma that children of immigrants received is a multi-dimensional issue that relates to class, education, nationality, and policy.

The prejudice to children of immigrants is shown from a surveillance system targeting children of immigrants. The Ministry of Education constructed an online report system specifically for foreign and Chinese spouses and their children (教育部外籍與大陸配偶及其子女教育通報系統). Teachers need to report and update the details of children of immigrants to this system. It was terminated on 30th September 2011, but was integrated into the Official Business Report System (定期公務報表網路填報作業系統) so surveillance continues. Each year the Ministry of Education publishes an annual report of the children of immigrants. This group is marked as a high risk group in education that needs extra attention and support.

In summary, children of immigrants, as a minority group and an emerging group in Taiwan, face stigmatization and encounter more challenges in the process of identity construction. Studies in other countries (Zembylas, 2010; Devine, Kenny and Macneela, 2008) indicate that nationalism in education and racism at school are significant for minority children's negotiation around inclusion and exclusion in their peer groups. Taiwan is a homogeneous society where collectivism still prevails (Ali et al., 2005). How do the discourses of Taiwanese nationalism situate children of immigrants? Are children of immigrants viewed as insiders or outsiders under Taiwanese nationalism? From analysing the discourses toward children of immigrants, we can investigate whether Taiwanese nationalism is inclusive or exclusive.

It is of great interest in this thesis to explore children of immigrants' experiences and their strategies to negotiate these issues. This study examines the social network between children of native Taiwanese and children of immigrants, as well as the national narratives in the pedagogy to put together the mosaic of social inclusion and exclusion of children in Taiwanese nationalism.

1.7 Structure of this Thesis

This thesis gives an overview of literature of nationalism and childhood studies in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the methodology of this study, and Chapter 5 to Chapter 8 provides the research findings. Finally, Chapter 9 gives an overall conclusion, and suggestions to policy and future research.

Chapter 2 focuses on the literature of nationalism. Theories of 'personal nationalism' (Billig, 1995; Cohen, 1996; Jean-Klein, 2001), 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995), 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), and Bhabha's (1990) concepts of 'pedagogical narration' and 'performative narration' are discussed for the theoretical rationales of this thesis.

The following chapter discusses the paradigm of sociology of childhood which is adopted in this thesis. It goes on to identify the problem that children and childhood have been neglected in nationalism studies and the reasons for this. It also reviews some key debates on how children can be included in nationalism studies.

Chapter 4 presents the research methodology. As children's voice is the main focus of this study, it illustrates the methods to gain access to the perspectives of children. Individual interviews combined with three child-friendly activities (Mind Map, Card-sorting Exercise, and Circles of Relationship) are used to do qualitative research with children. The ethical issues of doing research with children are addressed. In addition, the researcher's role determines the power relationship and the dynamics between researcher and the researched. Different types of researcher's roles are compared before the researcher chooses the role as an older sister. The details of conducting the fieldwork are presented as well.

A major work of Taiwanese nationalism lies in the notions of nationhood. Chapter 5 analysed how the nation is narrated in the textbooks and by children, and the gaps between these narratives. It also compares the national symbols in the textbooks and the symbols that children use to represent the nation.

Chapter 6 discusses the construction of national identity in the textbooks, followed by the children's national identification and the markers they use to make their claims. The concept of 'Significant other' is influential in constructing national identity. Chinese was the 'other' in shaping Taiwanese as 'us.' It is related to the process of de-Sinicisation in Taiwanese nationalism.

Chapter 7 investigates the ethnicity in the textbooks and children's ethnic identification. On the one hand, it presents the ethnic relationship constructed in the pedagogical narratives, which is crucial means to create the ethnic imagination in the new generation. The ethnic category presented in the pedagogical materials manifests

the ethnicity that Taiwanese nationalism constructs. On the other hand, it examines children's interpretation of ethnicity and the existing 'four ethnic groups' in Taiwan. It explores the extent that children adopt the concept of ethnicity and the four ethnic groups. Finally, it highlights that children have their own way, instead of using ethnicity, to categorise people. Place is a salient marker for children to classify people in Taiwan.

Chapter 8 focuses on children's experience of 'otherness' in their interaction with others in everyday life. Taiwanese nationalism is redefining who 'Taiwanese' is. This process also draws new boundaries between insiders and outsiders. It discusses how the majority and the minority interact and negotiate their identities. Particular attention is given to the exclusion experience that children of immigrants have at school and at home. In addition, the Hakka and the aboriginal children also feel they are minorities at school because of the hegemonic language curriculum. A discussion links this issue to personal interactions, as well as the structural problems embedded in school curriculum.

Finally, Chapter 9 reviews the research questions again and gives an overview of the findings in this thesis. I also reflect the limitations of this thesis. It concludes with some suggestions to education policy in terms of Taiwanese nationalism.

This thesis uses bilingual excerpts of both Chinese and English because it is unavoidable that the English translation would miss out some of the meanings in their original excerpt. Yet, this study aims to give voices to children; therefore, their original excerpts are highly valued in this study. In addition, sometimes the

vocabulary that they use cannot find an equivalent English word. Therefore, their original Chinese excerpts were kept.

2 Nations and Nationalism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theories of nation and nationalism. The formation of Asian nations takes different routes from the Western world; therefore, this chapter differentiates Western and Eastern nationalisms, and discusses the problems of applying Western theories to the case of Taiwan.

This chapter outlines the key theories adopted in this thesis. Theories of ‘banal nationalism’ (Billig, 1995), ‘personal nationalism’ (Cohen, 1996), and ‘self-nationalization’ (Jean-Klein, 2001) are discussed to understand the nationalism in children’s everyday life. The differences of these three theories are also presented.

It goes on to apply Hobsbawm and Ranger’s theory of ‘invention of tradition’ (1983) to explain the national traditions that might be created in the education system in Taiwan. Education is a vital tool to disseminate national ideology, and children are the target audience. Taiwan has a highly centralised education system. The role that the education system plays to indoctrinate students in nationalism is therefore presented. Also, Bhabha’s (1990) notion of ‘double writing’ of the nation provides a framework to examine and compare the narrations between pedagogy and individuals.

Moreover, it reviews the literature of national identity and gives an overview of the issue of national identity in Taiwan. Finally, this chapter addresses that ethnicity is

fluid and optional. In addition, it is formed through social interaction. Therefore, it interrogates the discourses of nationalism in relation to the identity of children of immigrants, as well as children of native Taiwanese.

2.2 Nation

To examine the relationship between nationalism and children in Taiwan, the meaning of nation and nationalism needs to be clarified. When talking about ‘nation’, some scholars start with making the distinction of *state* and *nation*. According to Connor, the state is ‘the major political subdivision of the globe’ (1994b: 92), which is tangible and geographical; whereas the nation is intangible and psychological.

What is essential to a nation? Objective bases like language, and religions are thought insufficient to define a nation (McCrone, 1998). This thesis agrees that nations should be under the psychological and subjective aspect of it (Renan, 1990; Connor, 1993; Anderson, 1991). For example, Ernest Renan emphasized that a nation is a moral conscience in his famous essay, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? (What is a Nation?)*, that was firstly published in 1882.

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One is in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. (Renan, 1990: 19)

This definition highlights the importance of spirit as the essence of a nation and history for its formation. Following the subjective perspective, Benedict Anderson (1991) gives 'nation' a definition: 'it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (Anderson, 1991 [1983]: 6). In his definition, nation is imagined as a community that has limited boundaries with sovereignty of which people define themselves as a member of a nation and feel the communion with other fellow-members whom they might never know, meet or hear of. Similarly, Connor claims that "the nation *must* be self-defined" (1994b: 43), and it is more about what people believe rather than what it is (Connor, 1994a). He stresses that it is a subjective perception rather than the objective fact.

Although Smith (1991) values the ethnic dimension of a nation, he claims that the ethnic bond can be a collective myth (including shared memories, and traditions). He proposes a multi-dimensional definition of a nation: 'a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members' (1991:14).

Nationalism studies in Taiwan have focused on nationalism and national identity (Corcuff, 2002); there is little research discussing about the nation. In Mandarin Chinese, the term *guojia* (國家) is the combination of two Chinese characters, "guo" and "jia." "Guo" can mean state, country, or nation, and "jia" means family or home. While Anderson (1991) defines the nation as a 'imagined community', this concept in Chinese language shows a more intimate meaning and relationship that the nation

can be regarded as an imagined 'extended family' (Connor, 1993). This concept echoes to Connor's notion of the nation, which is 'a group of people who *feel* that they are ancestrally related' (1993: 382).

The family tie is reflected in some ancient stories about the relationship between individuals and the nation. In the traditional Chinese culture, a child should repay the nation, like s/he repays the parents (Stafford, 1995). For example, in the classic ancient story of the general *Yue Fei*, his mother tattooed on his back four Chinese characters, *jin zhong bao guo* (盡忠報國), meaning 'serve the country with utmost loyalty' with the expectation that he used his filial obedience to serve the nation. In contemporary discourses, the notion of the family tie deriving from a single common ancestors is still being used in the national discourses in China (PRC) to proclaim their rights to Taiwan (Connor, 1993). Taiwan, by contrast, endeavours to cut off any family tie that can be related to China to form its own nation through Taiwan nationalism, which will be introduced in the next section.

This thesis concerns how children in Taiwan describe the nation. It is interested to investigate the subjective perceptions (Connor) and the collective myth (Smith) that children and the pedagogy use to construct the nation. It examines the gap between these two discourses too.

2.3 Nationalism

There are different approaches and perspectives in nationalism studies. Most theories and debates of nationalism can be broadly categorised into three paradigms:

‘primordialism’, ‘modernism’ and ‘ethno-symbolism’ (Özkırımlı, 2000).

Primordialists hold the belief that the nations are predetermined and formed naturally from the attachments to ethnic, language and kinship origins. Modernists, on the other hand, usually regard nations as products of modernity which are historical and social constructions for political, economic and cultural reasons. Histories and traditions are thought to be tools that respond to current needs, especially for political purpose (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). However, modernists have been criticised for neglecting cultural aspects of nationalism. The final position, ethno-symbolism, is thought to be the ‘mid-way’ of the previous two paradigms that focuses on both pre-existing ethnic ties and the construction of modern nations (Özkırımlı, 2000). This paradigm believes that modern nationalism cannot be understood without reference to the ethnic and cultural ties (Smith, 2009; McCrone, 1998). The national identities in Taiwan have been constructed and shifted for political and historical purposes. Hence, this thesis holds a modernist position to discuss Taiwanese nationalism.

In terms of the nature of Taiwanese nationalism, there is considerable literature that applies the existing concept of civic and ethnic nationalism from the Western literature to explain Taiwanese nationalism, or try to use these two concepts to capture the nature of Taiwanese nationalism (Song, 2009).

The ethnic Taiwanese nationalism focuses on the distinctive historical-cultural experiences of local Taiwanese; the civic Taiwanese nationalism emphasises equal citizenship as the basis of the construction of nation (Wong, 2001). The nature of

Taiwanese nationalism, like other nations, move between ethnic and civic in the spectrum in different periods. Taiwanese nationalism is considered to have moved from ethnic to civic with the democratization process, especially in the mid-1990s (Song, 2009; Wong, 2001).

During Lee Teng-hui's presidency, his concept of 'New Taiwanese' embraced the civic nationalism that valued equal citizenship and embraces all ethnic groups in Taiwan. It focused on the unity of all people living on the island and their shared experience of living in Taiwan, as well as their commitment to it (Kaeding, 2009; Bedford and Hwang, 2006). This inclusive 'New Taiwanese' identity is not affected by their ethnic background or time of arrival.

The nature of Taiwanese nationalism changed when the DPP came into power. Schubert considers Taiwanese nationalism became a 'civic-cum-ethnic' form (2006: 26). Taiwanese nationalism advocated by the DPP has a tendency to move from a civic nationalism toward an ethnic nationalism, which emphasises the distinctive historical and cultural experience of local Taiwanese. The DPP have put much emphasis on the 'blood' in their political campaigns. In the election campaigns, the DPP called for 'native' Taiwanese electorate to vote for 'native' Taiwanese candidates (Ogasawara, 1998). Chen Shui-bien also urged the electorate to support him because he was the 'son of Taiwan,' being born of 'native' Taiwanese and in Taiwan.

However, using either ethnic or civic nationalism to explain Taiwanese nationalism overlooks its cultural and historical component. Kymlicka (1999) stresses that both

civic and ethnic nationalisms have cultural components. Neilsen (1999) argues that all ethnic nationalism is cultural, but not all cultural nationalism is ethnic. Adopting from Neilsen's definition, 'cultural nationalism defines the nation in terms of a common encompassing culture.' (1999: 125). Cultural nationalism aims to generate the national community by creating, sustaining, or strengthening a cultural identity (Befu, 1993; Yoshino, 1992). Cultural nationalists regard the distinctiveness of the cultural community as the essence of the nation (Yoshino, 1992). Cultural nationalism has played an important role in East Asia (Befu, 1993), including Japan (Starrs, 2004; Yoshino, 1992), China (Guo, 2004), and Taiwan (Hsiau, 2000). In Taiwan, it has been analysed in the realms of language, literature, and history (Hsiau, 2000).

It is not the intention of this thesis to analyse the nature of contemporary Taiwanese nationalism because I believe Taiwanese nationalism contains all these elements (ethnic, civic and cultural) to some extent. Nevertheless, the nature of contemporary Taiwanese nationalism does affect individual's attitude and interaction with some minorities, especially the immigrants. Consequently, it can be influential for the identity formation among children of immigrants.

Nevertheless, using the theories of nationalism that are developed in the Western world to study the cases in Asia should be careful. The literature of nationalism is mainly Anglo-Saxon literature (Özirimli, 2000). Kohn (1994) suggests that Western and Eastern nationalism arose in different patterns. He argues that in the Western world, west Europe and the US, nationalism rose in the political and civic form for the formation of national state. In the Eastern world, Central and Eastern Europe, and

Asia, nationalism arose later than the establishment of the state, and usually in a cultural and ethnic form.

Brubaker (1996) suggests the new mission of nationalism is to study 'other cases', meaning non-Western settings, such as post-colonial and Third world. Nationalisms in these regions manifest phenomenon different from Western nationalism. Chatterjee (1993), however, questions that if the 'other cases' choose to use the framework set up by the Western school, what else is left for them to imagine? He separates national culture into material and spiritual domains. He also connects these two domains to the concepts of outer/inner, world/home, and male/female to provide a solution to the conflicting claims of nationalist ideology in the post-colonial societies like India. Chatterjee argues that the western power has colonised the non-western peoples by their superior material culture. The East, however, is superior in its spiritual culture. Therefore, the West fails to colonize the inner, the essential identity of the East. While the public realm has been the domain of the male, the private realm belongs to women. The national elites learn the Western national ideology to rule the public world; home becomes the principal site to express and preserve the spiritual culture of the nation. His argument highlights the role of gender in the discourse of nationalism. Yet, it neglects children's role in the national project. The roles of children in the discourses of nationalism will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Studying nationalism in Taiwan does face a fundamental problem not only in terminology and semantics, but in ideology. The concept of nation is embedded in the Christian world that the usage of the word 'nation' can be found in the Old

Testament¹². In the Chinese culture, however, there are not equivalent vocabularies or concepts for ‘nation’. In Chinese vocabulary, the word *min-zu* (民族) can mean ethnic group, race or nationality (Rigger, 1997). The term *guo-tsu* (國族) for the English word ‘nation’ and *tsu-chun* (族群) for ‘ethnicity’ were created by social scientists in Taiwan very recently to communicate with Western scholars (Chen, Chuang and Huang, 1994). These terms are not commonly used by people (including children) in Taiwan, which brought challenges to talk about this issue with children in Taiwan. Therefore, this study used card-sorting exercise (see Section 4.3.1) to facilitate the discussions of ethnicity and national identity with children.

2.3.1 Nationalism in Everyday Life

Linking the theories of nationalism to the purpose of this study about children and the nation in contemporary Taiwan, I found the nationalism studies in everyday life are particularly useful (Billig, 1995; Cohen, 1996; Jean-Klein, 2001). In contrast to the mainstream top-down nationalism in the literature, some scholars (Billig, 1995; Cohen, 1996; Jean-Klein, 2001) focus on the everyday nationalism in a micro level. This perspective argues that nationalism is not just a top-down process; instead, it is an active process that people engage to incorporate, reinforcing or rejecting the hegemonic discourses. Individuals use narratives, stories, and symbols to construct their own nationalism and national identity in their daily life.

¹² The scriptures talking about ‘nation’ can be found at the very beginning of the Old Testament. For example, Genesis 10:32: “These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.” (King James Version)

Michael Billig (1995) uses 'banal nationalism' to emphasise nationalism works in an implicit way, usually unconsciously and unnoticed, to remind who we are. He takes national flags as an example. Aside from the national flags we raise in ceremonies, there are countless unwaved national flags raised unceremoniously in our everyday life. Those national flags we use consciously or unconsciously in our daily life are reminders of nationhood, as well as our national identity. Billig's arguments focus on the social reproduction of social categories (Hearn, 2007). His notions help us to critically examine that national identity is not 'naturally' possessed. It is through repetitive reinforcement everyday that we habituate nationalism. The social reproduction can range from the language policy to the national emblems on a small coin. However, banal nationalism, which is shown as the reinforcement or affirmation of national identity, is criticised as inauthentic because it is not initiated by people or co-authored (Jean-Klein, 2001).

In contrast to 'banal nationalism, Anthony Cohen's (1996) 'personal nationalism' concerns how people *do* national identity. He attempts to provide explanation of how individuals relate to nationalism to construct their identities (Hearn, 2007). Cohen highlights the active role that individuals engage in the national practice in everyday life. Jean-Klein's (2001) 'self-nationalization' endeavours to locate the "dissemi-national" voices, which emphasizes that "oppositional practices" to display the refusal and resistance to the top-down nationalism. Her opinion echoes Bhabha's (1990) perspective of a 'doubling' of the nation. Bhabha addresses that the ambivalence of the nation lies in the tensions between the pedagogical discourses and the performative discourses of the collective voices of the people.

This study attempts to use ‘banal nationalism’ to examine the social reproduction in pedagogical materials, and Cohen and Jean-Klein’s theories to investigate children’s perspective and practices of nationalism. However, the literature of nationalism has little to say about children. How do children incorporate nationalism to produce their identity while they have different lifestyle from adults, and limited resources, citizen rights and mobile space? This thesis explores the personal nationalism that children *do* in their everyday life to understand how they incorporate themselves into the nation-building process. It also investigates how children challenge national discourses

2.3.2 Nation as a Construction

In the book of ‘the invention of traditions’ with a collection of essays edited by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), they take suspicious attitudes to the traditions that people think to be the legacy from the past. Instead of being the product of the past, histories and traditions might be created and used as tools that respond to current needs, especially political purposes. For example, the Scottish garment, the kilt, has been a symbol of this nation and was thought as a convention with long history in Scotland. Yet, Trevor-Roper (1983) argues that the kilt is a modern invention designed by an English Quaker industrialist after the Union with England. Inventing traditions, in Hobsbawm and Ranger’s (1983) words, is “essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition.”

In Taiwan, one example of the construction of the nation is shown in redefining its territory. In the 1980s, the territory of the ROC in the geography textbooks in Taiwan still covered the Taiwan Island and the whole mainland China. Now, it has been revised to include only the region of Taiwan Island and its offshore islands, usually called Tai-Peng-Jing-Ma (Corcuff, 2005). Contemporary Taiwanese nationalism since 2000 is an active process to construct Taiwan with a new identity and a new nation by eliminating Chinese symbols in Taiwan and embracing native and aboriginal cultures. One of the crucial channels is the change in curriculum and materials in the education system to indoctrinate a new national ideology to the new generation. National discourses in education will be discussed in the following section.

2.4 Education and Nationalism

Education plays a crucial role in the establishment of nationhood (Gellner, 1983). In Europe, the rise of nationalism is accompanied with the decline of feudalism and the rise of the modern industrial system. At the same time, the control over of the education system shifts from the church to the central education system of the state. (Gellner, 1983). Education system becomes the central institution in the modern industrial society. Gellner's notion about education is criticised for taking the education process for granted, and without consideration of the agency of the individuals in education (Stanbridge, 2011).

Using literary concepts as metaphors of the nation in his essay of *DissemiNation*,

Homi Bhabha (1990) attempted to examine the complex relationship of subjects and objects between 'pedagogical narratives' and 'performative narratives'. Pedagogical narratives are the narratives of the nationalist pedagogy which is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin. Performative narratives are the narratives that people produce based on contemporality. He argues that people are not just historical 'objects' of national pedagogy; they are also 'subjects' in the process of national culture reproduction through the very act of narrative performance in their daily life. I argue that Gellner's (1983) notion about the role of education play in the establishment of nationhood neglects the fact that education works only when people practice it. The power of the pedagogical narratives, lacking the capacity to 'perform', relies on people's interpretation and action. Performative narratives, on the contrary, have the force to signify the alternative contentious, unequal interests and identities through people's capacity to 'perform'. In Bhabha's words, "it is through this process of splitting that the conceptual ambivalence of modern society becomes the site of writing the nation" (1990:297). Children, as the target audiences of the national pedagogy, are the best narrators. They provide instant reactions and comments to the national narratives in pedagogy, as well as their own interpretation and performance of nationalism in their daily life.

2.4.1 Centralised Education in Taiwan

Education system is part of the state project of nation-building, rather than an autonomous process of knowledge dissemination (Hughes and Stone, 1999; Chun, 2005). Taiwan is no exception. According to the constitution, children in Taiwan

have the right to compulsory education¹³. The six-year compulsory education was extended to nine years during the constitutional reform in 1968. Since then, primary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools used the monopolistic textbooks which were edited and printed by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT, 國立編譯館). The policy of using monopolistic textbook was criticised for serving the role of implanting the Chinese nationalism agenda and doctrines to Taiwanese children.

The high degree of centralization of the education system in Taiwan can be analysed in four aspects: curricular design, textbook, the spatial organization of campus, and the hierarchical relationships between teachers and students. They are explained in the following.

A. Curricular design

The current curriculum of primary school in Taiwan is based on the ‘nine-year integrated curriculum’ implemented in 2001, not long after the party rotation in 2000. The political party, DPP, has proposed to develop the Taiwanese consciousness and identity through education (Su, 2007). All the curriculum and textbooks that primary

13 In Article 160 of the Constitution of the Republic of China, “all children age six to twelve years old have the right to compulsory education without a tuition fee. In addition, the poor are provided books from the government. And, older citizens who have not received an adequate amount of education during their youth are entitled to supplementary education without tuition fee, and the books are provided by the government free-of-charge as well” (六歲至十二歲之學齡兒童，一律受基本教育，免納學費。其貧苦者，由政府供給書籍。已逾學齡未受基本教育之國民，一律受補習教育，免納學費，其書籍亦由政府供給。).

schools use are based on this national standardized curriculum guideline. One of the main changes in the new curriculum is to add the native languages and native culture into the curriculum. According to the curriculum guideline, students are able to learn Hoklo, Hakka and Aboriginal languages as native languages, apart from the national language (Mandarin) and the foreign language (English). Language, which confers the national and ethnic identities on an individual, mainly depends on the education (Gellner, 1983).

B. Textbook

Textbooks for both primary and secondary school used to be compiled and edited by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) since 1968. For three decades, all primary and secondary school students used the monopolized textbooks that were published by the government. Not until 1996 was the publishing market opened to the private publishers with the implementation of the 'One guide – Multiple Text' policy. This policy provided private publication of textbooks in which content is based on a curriculum guideline issued by the government. This policy allows more flexibility in the content of the textbooks. Primary schools are now allowed to select textbooks from various publishers to use in classes.

Due to the specific feature of the publishing process of primary school textbooks in Taiwan, the textbooks can reflect not only the perspectives of the government, but also the public opinions and social atmosphere. Some scholars have analysed the national ideology in the textbooks (Liu and Hung, 2002; Corcuff, 2005; Su, 2007), but all these studies analysed the textbooks and curriculum before 2000. This study

focuses on the current Taiwanese nationalism in the textbooks and curriculum.

The centralization of the education system is reflected in teacher manuals as well. The textbook system includes teacher manuals, student manuals and exercise book. The teacher manual elaborates the aims of a lesson, gives definitions and details of the contents, provides examples or references, and highlights important teaching points. Therefore, the standardised teacher manuals do not allow much space for teachers to give alternative or multiple interpretations.

C. Spatial Organization of Campus

In his ethnography in a secondary school, Chun (2005) explored the architecture space of school in relation to disciplinary aspects of the school timetable, as well as the social hierarchy between students and teachers. The spatial design in the school does not allow much freedom and privacy for both children and teacher. It is designed in a military way to maintain central control to some extent. The spatial structure forms the basis of normative power for a nationalised identity. His ethnography was conducted in the 1990s and the setting was a secondary school. After the curriculum reform, the atmosphere in schools became more open but the architecture did not change much so his study is valuable for us to understand the centralization of Taiwanese education from an architecture aspect because most schools in Taiwan have similar spatial arrangement.

D. Confucianism and Hierarchical Relationships

The hierarchical relationships between teachers and students are derived from Confucianism that is embedded deeply in the culture. Students are taught to *zun shi zhong dao* (respect teachers and value knowledge). 'Respect' is usually expected to be shown in the obedience to one's elders, superiors and teachers. Critically challenging teachers and the knowledge they deliver is not encouraged, especially in primary school. Education is more a one-way implanting than a two-way interaction. The education in Taiwan has become a 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961) without much free space and choices for students. It is therefore an ideal site to investigate the degree that children accept or resist the national narratives from the education system and how children actively participate in narrating the nation.

The highly standardized and centralized education system in Taiwan raised the question of what and whose knowledge has been transmitted to students, and to what extent the pedagogical materials serve as a national and political tool. Most importantly, how students accept, challenge, or reject the pedagogical narratives, and the relationship between the pedagogical narrative and children's construction of identities need to be explored.

In the analysis of education in Taiwan, there are also some scholars focusing on documentary analysis of nationalism in the textbooks (Liu and Hung, 2002; Corcuff, 2005; Su, 2007). These studies draw attention to the impact of the top-down education system and take the socialisation process in education as granted, but they neglect the agency of individuals. Chun (2005) discussed the role that agency plays in education system but his discussion limits to the agency of teachers and parents that get involved in reproducing of national narration. This study concerns the

national discourses between children and pedagogy to understand the interactions and gaps between them.

2.5 National Identity

Identities are socially constructed and negotiated through everyday experiences and social interaction (Brown, 2004; Goffman, 1963). Castles and Miller (2003) highlight the importance of shared experience on national identity. They claim that shared experience is more influential than ethnicity, religion, language and territory to build nations or induce nationalism. They take Japan and America for example. Both of the countries have strong national identities. Yet, Japan is one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries and the United States is one the most ethnically heterogeneous countries. Therefore, national identity does not really fluctuate by ethnic diversity within a nation. Instead, 'forgetting' is crucial in the creation of a nation (Renan, 1990), people of different ethnicities are taught to forget their difference, and remember they all belong to one nation (Gellner, 1983).

The national identity among people in Taiwan has been changed dramatically in the last one hundred years. Looking back the history of Taiwan, the sentiments and struggles among people in Taiwan are more complex than the ambivalence between Chinese and Taiwanese. In the last one hundred years, different national identities (Japanese, Chinese, and now Taiwanese) have been propagated under different ruling regimes and parties. The historical and political forces have constructed and reconstructed hybrid and multiple identities in post-colonial Taiwan, especially in the older generations. The reconstructing process is manifested in the ex-president Lee

Teng-hui who acknowledges in an interview that being born in Taiwan during Japanese colonialism, he was Japanese before 1945 (Ching, 2001), and his identity continues to change from communist, Chinese to Taiwanese (Lee, 1999). With the accumulation of many layers of history in Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui publically articulated the idea of “the new Taiwanese” to create a new and inclusive understanding of people in Taiwan to embrace both the “mainlanders” and “Taiwanese” and to terminate the long-lasting conflicts between them (Brown, 2004).

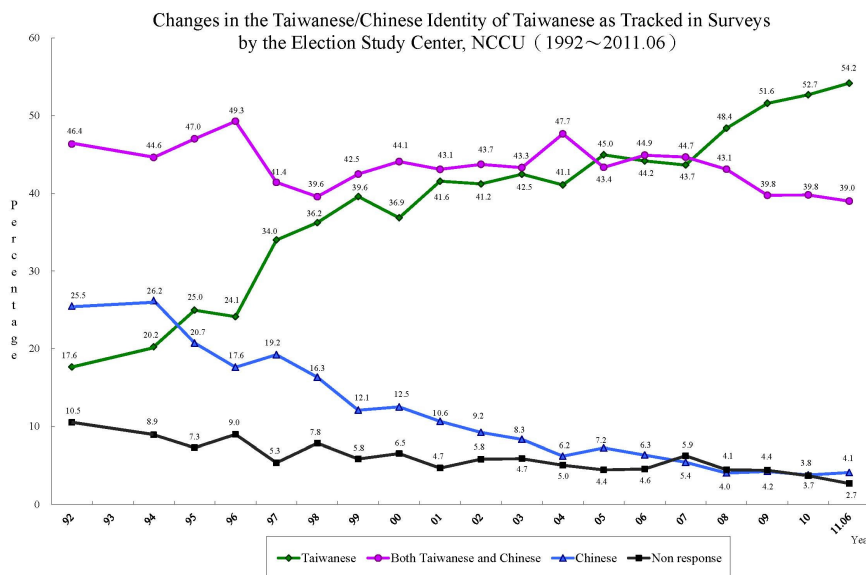
The “new Taiwanese” who will create a new Taiwan include the original aboriginal people, those whose ancestors came here four hundred years ago, and those who arrived only recently. Anyone who lives in and loves Taiwan is a “new Taiwanese” (Lee, 1999: 200)

In the studies of national identity in Taiwan, two issues are usually researched together. One is the Chinese/Taiwanese identity, and the other is the attitude toward independence/unification. It seems that these two issues are intertwined and consistent with each other, but this notion is problematic (Wang and Liu, 2004; Riggers, 2006). Riggers (2006) challenged the myth that the steadily increasing ‘Taiwanese Nationalism’ would mean higher tendency for independence, particularly common among the younger generation. She uses generational analysis in the attitude toward national identity and cross-strait relations among Taiwanese of four different generations. She finds that holding a Taiwanese identity does not equate to supporting independence or opposing better cross-strait relations. In addition, the attitude toward Taiwanese identity and cross-strait relations vary among generations. The most destructive attitudes to cross-strait relations are held by older generations

while youngest generation tend to hold a more pragmatic and flexible attitude to cross-strait relations. For the younger generation, ‘loving Taiwan does not mean hating China’ (2006: iix).

One longitudinal survey (Election Study Centre, 2011) provided the long-term trend of Taiwan people’s Taiwanese/Chinese identity, and their attitude toward independence or unification (Figure 2-1).

Figure 2-1. Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese

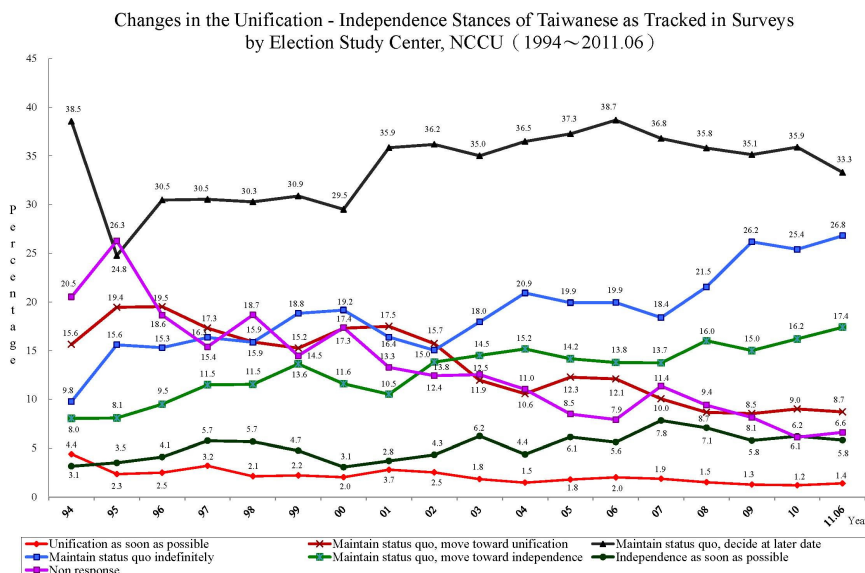


Nearly half of the respondents have been holding Chinese/Taiwanese dual identities in the 1990s, but the percentage has been dropping. In addition, the percentage of people who claimed themselves as Chinese only dropped from 25% to less than 4% only. On the other hand, people opted for a single Taiwanese identity has kept increased from 17% in 1992 to 54% in 2011, and they have outnumbered people who hold dual identities. Wu (2004) provides several explanations for the rise of this

exclusive Taiwanese identity. The engineering from the top leadership through educational policies is one of them.

Despite the growing Taiwanese identity during the period, the percentage of people who favour maintaining status quo has been the highest one since 1994 in the attitude toward independence or unification (Figure 2-2).

Figure 2-2. The trend of the change in Taiwanese's attitude toward unification and independence stance



This survey shows the rising Taiwanese identity is becoming the dominant opinion in Taiwan. Yet, it asks participants about their attitude toward cross-strait relationship with a presumption that Taiwan is not yet independent so that the status of Taiwan *will* be independent, unified or any other options. For the ex-president Lee Teng-hui, Taiwan does not need to claim independence because it is already independent.

Hsu (2004) illustrates a different and interesting picture about Taiwanese/Chinese identity when he analyses three “political generations”, which are based on three historical events (Taiwan’s retrocession in 1945, Compulsory Education since 1968, and *Meilidao*¹⁴ Incident and the United States changing its diplomatic recognition of China from the ROC to the PRC in 1979). Among these generations, the youngest generation demonstrated highest proportion to claim themselves as “Both Taiwanese and Chinese” and lowest proportion to claim either “Taiwanese only” or “Chinese only.”

Hsu’s study looks contradictory to previous longitudinal survey which demonstrates a rising Taiwanese identity, but Wang and Liu’s study (2004) offers an explanation. They further examine the Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity from a cultural and political perspective. They find that about half of the respondents subscribe to an identity of Chinese culturally and Taiwanese politically. In addition, the youngest generation (20-29 years old) shows the highest percentage (61.2%) that claims this kind of identity. Also, the Mainlanders are traditionally thought to hold a Chinese identity, claiming Chinese both culturally and politically. Yet, in this study, less than one-fifth of Mainlanders hold a Chinese identity. Instead, nearly half of the Mainlanders have an identity of culturally Chinese and politically Taiwanese. Some Mainlanders (12%) even hold the identification of both culturally and politically

¹⁴ Mailidao Incident is also known as the Formosa Incident, which triggered the democratic movement in Taiwan. The magazine called Meilidao (Formosa) was published privately by the initiators of the DPP to demand and promote democracy in 1979, before the DPP was officially established. On the Human Rights Day in 1979, these people led a march but it became a clash with the troops of the KMT government. These people were put into jail and sentenced for 12 years to life imprisonment but with pressure from various parties, the sentences were reduced.

Taiwanese.

Therefore, in previous studies, the researchers did not differentiate national identity from cultural identity underlying these terms. When participants chose both Chinese and Taiwanese, they do not necessarily mean that they hold a dual national identity of both Taiwanese and Chinese. They might hold a national identity of Taiwanese and a cultural identity of Chinese. It is necessary for researchers to explore what participants mean about Taiwanese and Chinese to distinguish if they are talking about national identity, cultural identity or any other identities.

National identity is related to ethnicity in Taiwan. Examining Taiwanese/Chinese national identity from an ethnic perspective, Hsu (2004) shows that intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic marriage is related to national identity. Among different marital groups, participants from Hoklo families show highest proportion of Taiwanese identity; those from the Mainlander families show highest Chinese identity; those from families of blending Hoklo and Mainlander show highest proportion of choosing “Both Chinese and Taiwanese” during 1992-2001. More discussions about ethnicity are presented in next section.

Hughes (2000) argues that the domestic crisis in Taiwan lies in lacking a consensus of what constitute the Taiwanese identity among people in Taiwan. Therefore, I explore how children from different backgrounds (children of native Taiwanese and children of immigrants) describe ‘Taiwanese’. The role of cross-national marriages plays in the construction of the national identity among children of immigrants is explored in this study. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, identities are

socially constructed and negotiated through everyday experiences and social interaction (Brown, 2004; Goffman, 1963). Children's construction of their national identities in relation to social interaction and national discourses in education is examined.

2.6 Ethnicity and nationalism

Ethnicity and nationalism are closely related. Walker Connor (1994a) uses 'ethnonationalism' as the synonym of nationalism because nationalism without talking about ethnicity is empty. In many new states, ethnicity is the most salient factor of internal conflicts (Young, 2001), and Taiwan is no exception. A better understanding of how people imagine their identity in racial, ethnic and national groups has been an urgent response to conflicts over belonging and nationality (Gilroy, 1997). Some scholars think ethnicity is "a connection to a particular group through hereditary ties" (Keats, 1997: 6). In this sense, ethnicity is what a person *is*. Ethnic identity is, therefore, objectified as fixed and closed. People can not exercise their agency to act, communicate and make choices about their ethnicity. Bloody conflicts have been caused by absolute ethnicity. For example, the ethnic conflicts within Rwanda had led to genocide, a massacre of millions of people. Today, ethnic conflicts persist and people are still suffering from ethnic differences.

Current scholars tend to agree that ethnicity is fluid depending on the context. It may be negotiable and flexible from one situation to another. In some cases, ethnicity is 'the label a person prefers' (Thomas, 1986: 372). Baumann (1999: 21) speaks of "shifting identity" or "contextual identity." He argues that ethnic identification can be

frozen as the social climate gets colder; it can unfreeze and melt into new forms when the social climate gets warmer. Since ethnicity is context dependent, the degree of flexibility depends on the cultural context and social situation, which means that in some situations, ethnicity is flexible, but in some situations, ethnicity may still not be negotiable. People may not have a choice (Jenkins 2002). Ethnic identity is the result of political force, social experience and people's choice.

Ballard and Banks (1994) gives an example of choosing ethnic identity of a British-Bengali boy to show that ethnic identity is context-dependent. It may change according to needs and adversity. The British-Bengali boy who grew up in London was expecting a trip back to his parents' country of origin, Bangladesh. When he arrived in his father's village in Bangladesh, the cultural shock and the poverty there made him rather call himself British.

Brown (2004) proposes that identity is formed on the basis of common social experience, including economic and political experience, rather than culture and ancestry. She investigates how the ethnic identity of residents in Taiwan changes from non-Han to Han. The descendants of intermarriage between plain Aborigines and Han people thought they were Han people. They were not aware of their aboriginal heritage until they heard their grandmother talking it. Brown argues that although intermarriage is a primary means for ethnic and culture change; however, a social intervention, population registering for tax purpose, is required for ethnic identity change to occur. The influence of social power and demographic conditions is greater than hereditary ties and cultural force.

From an anthropological perspective, Eriksen (1993) rejects the commonsense view that cultural difference is the decisive feature of ethnicity. He highlights that ethnicity is about social relationship. He suggests that 'ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group' (Eriksen, 1993:11). Ethnicity is created and recreated through social institutions and through people's coping with demands and challenges of life (Eriksen, 1993). Identity is concerned with 'belonging', as well as 'differentiation' (Cohen, 1982), and when people have a sense of belonging, this also entails that they differentiate their self from other people and things, so identity has 'something to do with the *classification of people and group relationships*' (Eriksen, 1993:4).

The identity among mixed people and migrants is more complex. Humanity has a long history of migration and intermarriage, which in sequence brings bi-ethnic or multiple-ethnic offspring. In the case of ethnic identity, these people are more likely to be marked as different and hard to find belongingness.

From an interactionist perspective, labelling theory (Becker, 1963) provides theoretical rationales to explain how the processes of exclusion of which children of immigrants experience relate to formation of their identities. Labelling places individual in circumstance that makes it hard for him to continue normal routines in the everyday life, and provoke him to behave in a way that is labelled (Becker, 1963). When children of immigrants or other minorities are narrated and labelled as outsiders in Taiwan, it can be hard for them to claim a Taiwanese identity.

An example of 'otherness' experience and its relation to identities is illustrated in

Oikawa and Yoshida's study (2007) in Japan. Using the idea of 'looking-glass self' as a theoretical framework, Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) explores how bi-racial adolescents and young people are marked as 'others' in Japan and their reaction toward this. They research young people aged 15-25 years old, having one Japanese biological parent and having lived in Japan most of their lives. The participants recall that they start out thinking themselves as Japanese in their early life, but they experience stereotypical expectations of them, and they reacted in different ways to cope with their identity. They stand out not because they act differently; rather, it is the Japanese society considers them as different. No matter how much they look or act like Japanese, whenever other peers find out they have a foreign parent, they become foreign. Sometimes the discrimination is not overt, but the message is clear that they do not belong because they are not 'pure' Japanese. These bi-ethnic adolescent are viewed and labelled as different by others, so it is hard for them to claim a Japanese identity. Consequently, they have to reconstruct their identities to cope with it.

Another exclusion experience of immigrants is exemplified in Viruell-Fuentes' (2006) research on the second generation of Mexican women who were born in the United States or migrated to there before the age of 12 shows that they found identity on their trip back to Mexico. Nearly all of the second-generation women were aware of belonging to a marginalized group in the United States. This was gained through exposure to messages that marked them as different early in their lives. These marginalizing messages came from multiple sources. In their schools and neighborhood, Mexican American women learned that their peers considered them outsiders. Bearing witness to the oppressive treatment of other Mexicans also made

the women aware of their stigmatized status. They found further experience about their status as 'minorities' came from everywhere in the society where the message was loud and clear. However, the transnational contact, particularly in the form of in-person visits, was a valuable resource for the construction of their ethnic identities. Some women felt that their trips to Mexico nurtured their ethnic pride and helped them hold on to a positive sense of themselves as Mexicans.

The above two examples show the experience that the offspring of immigrants have as outsiders and how they cope with the situation to construct their identities. Taiwan is a homogenous society like Japan. Under the context of current Taiwanese nationalism, it is the interest of this study to examine the new generation's attitude and discourse toward children of immigrant, and how the discourses relate to the formation of identities among children of immigrants. In addition, transnational practices and personal visits to the country of origin are important for identity formation and reformation. Transnational interactions may nurture a sense of belonging and connect people to some cultural and psycho-social resources that they can use to handle the tension and contradictions of constructing an ethnic identity.

In summary, ethnicity is fluid rather than fixed. It can be the result of personal choice, social interaction, and broader socioeconomic context. Individuals with mixed ethnicity encounter more exclusion experiences that challenge their identity construction. The discourses of nationalism can be a source that excludes or includes them. Children of immigrants in Taiwan are particularly vulnerable to this situation because of their mixed background and stigmatised image. This study investigates ethnicity in Taiwan through the perspectives among children of immigrants and

children of native, as well as the interaction between them. In addition, it examines the presentation of ethnicity in pedagogy, and compares that to children's perspectives.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter began by addressing the lingual and ideological problem of research nationalism in Taiwan with the Western theories. The concept of the nation in Chinese language and culture is more like an imagined extended family that Connor (1994a) claim. Taiwanese nationalism has different aims and forms in different historical periods; therefore, this thesis adopts a modernist approach to examine Taiwanese nationalism. It examines the discourses about the discourses and traditions of the nation that the current Taiwanese nationalism is creating, focusing on those materials in primary school education.

Education is a vital channel to propagate national ideology to the new generation. The highly standardized and centralized education system in Taiwan is an interesting case to investigate Taiwanese nationalism manifested in pedagogical materials. However, in the studies of nationalism in the curriculum and textbooks in Taiwan, there is a lack of research about the Taiwanese nationalism after 2000 because these studies focused on the pedagogical materials before 2000.

In addition, the process of education has been taken for granted, and the perspectives from the students have been under-researched. I used 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 2005) to examine the mundane nationalism in children's life. This thesis explores

children's interpretation, observation, and practice of nationalism by applying 'personal nationalism' (Cohen, 1996) and 'self-nationalisation' (Jean-Klein, 2001). Moreover, it investigates children's reaction to the pedagogical national narratives, and identifies the gaps and tensions between the individual narratives and pedagogical narratives with Bhabha's framework.

Children and childhood has been absent in the nationalism literature (Stanbridge, 2011). Chapter 3 will address this issue, and bridge the gap between the literature of childhood and nationalism studies.

3 Research with Children

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by introducing the key concepts of the sociology of childhood, which has become a new paradigm to discuss children and childhood from a different angle that challenges the conventional perspective from developmental psychology. It goes on to outline the problem that children have been marginalised in nationalism studies, but in reality they usually become part of national projects. The absence of children in research might derive from the lack of acknowledgement of their full citizenship. Cockburn (1998) suggests an interdependent social model regarding the problem of citizenship. In the analysis of children in relation to the nation, the concept of 'generation' is discussed to understand children's relation to society and history. Finally, this chapter locates children's construction of identity in the modern society in which globalisation has changed people's subjective feeling of time and space. It opens new possibilities to build up interpersonal relationship and form identities.

3.2 Sociology of Childhood

It is a misunderstanding that children are too young to talk about and act upon nationalism. This misunderstanding, however, reflects the powerful influence of the developmental paradigm on our conceptions of children and childhood, as well as how children think of themselves, and the relationship between adults and children

(Woodhead and Faulkner, 2008). Products and services for children, such as toys, books, social work, law, and education, have been provided according to the stages of development. This body of work made a significant contribution to the knowledge of children; ironically, perhaps it is also related to the exclusion of children in contemporary societies (Jenks, 1996). Developmental psychology has the fundamental assumption that children and adults are qualitatively different, that different ways of thinking predominate at different ages that correspond with the progressively cognitive development (Burman, 2008). In addition, developmental psychology also suggests a universal childhood, which has been criticised for lacking the consideration of historical, racial, and cultural differences (Turmel, 2008; Burman, 2008). The developmental paradigm, therefore, is just one way to think of children and childhood.

From a historical view, the idea of childhood is never a constant and universal entity, but a product of power competition (Turmel, 2008). In the classic work of the *Centuries of Childhood*, Aries (1973) argues that childhood is presented and constructed in a variety of ways under different contexts. He contends that the concept of childhood is a rather new concept, which did not exist in Western Europe until the 16th and 17th century in the upper and middle class. He argues that children were not distinguished from adults in previous societies. They were treated as miniature adults with the same capacity and rationality as other adults, but only in smaller sizes. Everyone was a member and took part in the society except the infants because they are too fragile because of the high mortality rate. Education at that period was not differentiated by age, which is now considered as an indicator of cognitive development in developmental psychology.

However, Aries's argument is claimed to be problematic that he has a presumption that having a *concept* of childhood means having a modern *conception* of childhood (Archard, 1993). Archard (1993) introduces a distinction between a 'concept' and a 'conception' of childhood, which allows us to see what different aspects are involved to think about childhood.

The *concept* of childhood requires that children be distinguishable from adults in respects of some unspecified set of attributes. A *conception* of childhood is a specification of those attributes. In simple terms to have a concept of 'childhood' is to recognize that children are different interestingly from adults; to have a conception of childhood is to have a view of what those interesting differences are. (1993: 22)

Therefore, all societies at all time have a concept of childhood but they have different conceptions of childhood. Social constructions makes the concept of childhood varies in different time. For example, Rousseau's *Émile* (1956) portrayed children as pure and innocent in the eighteenth century. He also emphasised the importance of education to children. Children were viewed as 'natural' and 'uncivil'. In the twentieth century, children were gradually removed from public spheres in Western countries. They are kept in the family and school with the concern of protecting them from the dangerous, contaminated and rotten adult society (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998). Childhood is therefore characterized as a period of dependency, learning and free from economic responsibility.

However, Song's (1996) and Zeiher's (2001) studies about children's involvement and contribution to maintain their families questions the notions of 'dependent'

children and ‘providing’ parents in the parent-child relationship. Morgan (1996) also highlights children’s active role by arguing that children are ‘doing’ family rather than ‘being’ in the family. Hetherington’s (2003) study gives another example of ‘competent’ children. Children grow faster in single-parent family, in which they could be protective toward their lone parent. In step-families, children show their resilience and competence to adjust to new family relationships. These studies above acknowledge children’s contributions in the families and portray a reciprocal and interdependent relationship between children and adults.

In the field of Sociology, children were marginalized because of their subordinate position in societies (Qvortrup, 1993). The conventional sociological studies of children and childhood focused on the exclusive framework of socialisation with the assumption that children come into the world like an empty cup to be filled with the social ideas of the groups into which they are born. This framework, however, overweighed the power of socialisation and obscured the agency of individuals (Waksler, 1991). For example, identity is viewed as the socialized part of the self. If the socialisation theory is true, the socialised children would grow up with a common national identity through the same socialisation processes. Yet, individuals develop and choose their own diverse identities. The socialisation framework also assumes that children are dependent on other categories, such as families or schools. It is not to say that families and schools are not important to children, but children themselves should be the centre of analysis.

Scholars in Sociology of Childhood see children as the basic units and categories of study (Corsaro, 2005). Here I would introduce two key features of this paradigm.

First, childhood is a social construction rather than a natural and universal process. It is rather a social artifact than a biological term (Postman, 1982). It is closely related to the structure and culture in a society. There are childhoods under different contexts rather than a single and universal childhood (James and Prout, 1997; Freeman, 1998). Therefore, although UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is viewed as a crucial document for children's right, it is also criticised for using a universal standard to think about children and childhood.

Second, sociology of childhood values children as social actors who are active subjects in their own right rather than passive objects of societal force (James and Prout, 1997; Freeman, 1998; Corsaro, 2005). James and Prout (1997) claim that children *are* and *must* be seen as active in the construction of their own social lives. Therefore, children are worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspectives of adults.

James and Prout (1997) suggests that ethnography is a useful method to research with children, compared to survey and experiments. Yet, the choice of research methods still depends on research questions. Ethnography is not the answer to all research questions. In addition, in response to the need to listen to children, scholars have developed innovative methods to involve children in research. Therefore, there are more choices than ethnography. This issue of research methods will be further discussed in Section 4.2.

Two analytical approaches are helpful to understand childhood: constructionism and structuralism (Qvortrup, 2000). Constructionism adopts a pluralist position that no

one discourse is better than the other. It doesn't assume that professionals know better than the researched (Stainton-Rogers, 2001). There is not a unique truth. It tolerates uncertainty and allows different perspectives and voices. Therefore, involving children into research, instead of research them from their parents or guardians, enable us to get a new understanding of their lives. They are experts and best informants of their own lives. In addition, listening and researching with children allow children to (re)construct their own childhood.

Structuralism views 'childhood' as a structural category like gender, race and class (Qvortrup, Corsaro and Honig, 2009; James and Prout, 1997; Wyness, 2006). It locates 'childhood' in a macro-level (Qvortrup, 2000). This perspective puts childhood and adulthood in equal status. In addition, it allows us to compare childhood within a wide range of cultural, geographical and historical contexts. The concept of 'generation' is a structural perspective to connect childhood to wider social and historical contexts. It will be elaborated in Section 3.4.

3.3 Including Children in Nationalism Studies

The ideas and theories of nationalism can be traced back to the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Ozkirimli, 2000). However, the classical debate of nationalism marginalised many social groups, such as ethnic minorities, women, blacks (Özkırımlı, 2000), and children. I argue that among these marginalised social groups, children play a key role in the legacy of nation and nationalism because they are the junctions that produce and reproduce nationalism and pass it on. However, children remain under-researched in the debates of nationalism while studies about other

marginalised social groups have started being produced in the 1990s to compensate this decades-long neglect (Bhabha, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 1997).

Feminist scholarship and gender studies have been helpful for us to understand children and nation. Children and women used to be portrayed as in need of protection and were invisible in the discourse of nationalism. In Hutchinson and Smith's (1994) *Nationalism*, gender was placed in the last part of the book, and called 'Beyond Nationalism'. In its introduction, it says, 'the entry of women into the national arena, as cultural and biological reproducers of the nation and as transmitters of its values, has also redefined the content and boundaries of ethnicity and the nation' (1994: 287). In response to this comment, Yuval-Davis (2001) argues that "women did not just 'enter' into the national arena—they were always there and central to its constructions and reproductions, biologically, culturally and symbolically!" (2001: 121).

Children were more marginalized than women in nationalism such that childhood was not included in collections of nationalism essays until 2011 (Stanbridge, 2011). I would like to argue that children are not outside of nationalism arena. On the contrary, they are living and facing nationalism everyday, and they have been neglected in nationalism studies.

In Taiwan, 'children are future masters of the nation (兒童是國家未來的主人翁)' and 'children are the future pillars of the nation (兒童是國家未來的棟樑)' are in everyday discourses. These sayings show the undividable relationship between children and nations. Yet, it also implicitly suggests that children belong to the future

rather than acknowledging their current being.

Children need to be included into nationalism studies because they are not separated from nationalism. First of all, children are not free from national and international conflicts. Armed conflicts affect children in different ways: displacement, physical and psychological trauma, death, being orphaned, starvation, sexual vulnerability, and being child soldiers (Boyden and de Berry, 2004). According to SOS children's villages (2010), there have been armed conflicts involving child soldiers in at least 36 countries since 1998. During the Chinese civil war in the 1940s, the slogan of recruiting youth soldiers to fight for the nationalists against the communists was 'one hundred thousand youth, one hundred thousand soldiers (*Shí wàn qīng nián shí wàn jūn*, 十萬青年十萬軍).' Youth were enlisted one after another no matter it was voluntary or forcible. Eventually, more than one million youth were displaced from the mainland China to Taiwan along with the KMT and became the so-called 'mainlanders'. Because a martial law was enforced in Taiwan for thirty-eight years, and visiting China was banned during that period, they had no choice but grew old in Taiwan, being separated from their families.

Secondly, children are involved in activities related to nationalism in their everyday life. Education is an important channel to propagate nation-building projects (Arnott and Ozga, 2010; Bénéï, 2005; Gellner, 1983; Young, 2001). Curriculum and textbooks delivers the concepts of national territory, history and identities as part of knowledge. Children, rather than adults, are exactly the audiences of pedagogical discourses. In addition to the pedagogical materials, rituals at school have symbolic function to implant the national ideas into children's heart. Billig (1995) gives an

example of the United States. Since 1880s, American pupils stood before the national flag to start their days. The ritual display of national unity in the ceremony everyday reminds student pupils of their nation and national identity. Schools in Taiwan also have flag raising ceremony as a daily routine.

Outside of the education system, the Scout movement, which was originally designed to provide military training to children and youth of UK, has become a worldwide movement. When *Scouting for Boys* was published in 1908, the author estimated that only one quarter of boys were ‘under good influences’. The mission of scouting is to extend school values to a wider social pool to guide the remaining boys to be good citizens. Most importantly, the main purpose to cultivate good and peaceful citizenship was to protect their nation, Great Britain. Therefore, scouting is a form to deliver to children the value of self-discipline, as well as obedience and loyalty to the nation.

The ‘Notes for instructors’ of *Scouting for boys* explicitly shows the nation needs children.

The Empire wants your help. Bad citizenship, which ruined the Roman Empire, is creeping in among us to-day. The Future of our Empire will much depend on the character of the rising generation. For this too little is at present being done in the way of development. Peace Scouting is suggested as an attractive means towards developing character and good citizenship. (Baden-Powell, 2004 (1908): 295)

Scouting and children played a crucial part in the national reform of the ROC. In the “New Life Movement” (新生活運動) launched by Chiang Kai-shek in 1934,

children, characterized with “new”, “hope”, and “future”, were regarded as the core of the national reform (Liang, 2010). Therefore, intellectual comments and national policy statements put much emphasis on reconstructing children’s body and thinking to reform the future citizens, with the ultimate goal to reform the nation. During that period, Children’s Day was introduced as a national holiday, and 1934 was promoted as the ‘Year of Children’. Scouting became the organisation for the KMT to organize children and young people, and it was introduced into school curriculum. Children were requested not only to take the scout lesson at school, but also to gather together to serve in the community at weekends. The militarized and disciplinary training at school aimed to construct children with healthy body and strong mind for a powerful nation. The military management continued in the education system until the education reform in the 1990s in Taiwan, but some rules can still be found in schools today.

Cheney’s ethnography, *Pillar of the nation* (2007), explores how nationhood and childhood in Uganda were informing and constituting each other mutually. In the construction of a new nation, children became a central trope in the discourse of national development because children are treated as symbolic embodiments of the future. Ugandan children actively entered into nation-building projects as respondents and participant despite that in many ways the national discourse was constructed from top down, and that children’s participation was still constrained by the traditional adult notion of childhood as a passive role. Cheney’s work echoes Stanbridge’s (2011) essay: “Do nationalist have navels? Where is childhood in nationalism theory?” She reminds us that the ‘socialization’ in the education process has been taken for granted. The dynamics between education process and the

recipients need to be explored further. Her standpoint, however, still views children as having a passive role in the education process. This thesis argues that children's narratives of the nation play a role as important as the pedagogical narratives.

Children and youth can be powerful in national movements. One extreme case was the Red Guard (Hong Weibing, 紅衛兵) during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) in China. The majority of the Red Guard were made up of high-school-age youth. They played a crucial role in the Cultural Revolution, as to eradicate the 'Four Olds' of Chinese society (old customs, old culture, old habits and old ideas), and the 'class enemies' - the bourgeois and the intellectuals (Chan, Rosen, and Unger, 1980). Therefore, children and youth are usually involved in or became part of national projects. Children were neglected in nationalism studies not because they have no relation to it, but because the adult researchers did not acknowledge them.

One main reason that children are neglected in the theories and debates of nationalism derived from denial of full citizenship of children. Children are considered as 'citizens becoming' rather than 'citizens now' (Invernizzi and Williams, 2008). In most definitions of citizenship, it requires maturity, independence, competence and moral capacity for a citizen to fulfil their obligations and to assert their rights. Following feminist understandings of 'others', Cockburn (1998) described the common discourse about children regarding citizenship:

Children today can be described by their 'otherness'. Children are almost everything that the non-citizen is: they are irrational, incapable, undeveloped or dependent and are defined in terms of what they are not, that is adult, responsible, rational and autonomous. (Cockburn,

According to Cockburn (1998), children were active in the social and economic life but they have been gradually excluded from the areas of public life over the past 150 years to prevent children from 'moral danger'. Such exclusion derived from state legislation of restriction on paid work, compulsory education, and proscribing the use of tobacco and alcohol. Children are squeezed from an independent and self-support role in the public sphere into a dependent role in the family.

The over-emphasis of protection can hinder children's participation. With the concern of protecting children in the 'risk society', children pay the price by losing their freedom and rights (Qvortrup, 2000). Consequently, children are categorized as unworthy of citizenship in current society. In addition, current laws and regulations also constrain the possibility of children to use their agency in the name of protecting them. Finally, children are regarded as 'incapable' juristically.

For example, in the Civil Code of the Republic of China (Taiwan), Article 13 indicates, "The minor, who has not reached their seventh year of age, has no capacity to make juridical acts. The minor, who is over seven years of age, has a limited capacity to make juridical acts." The lack of legal status of citizenship also pushes children out of the field of nationalism. Therefore, children's actual capability and contribution to the society are currently underestimated and devalued. To locate children within the idea of citizenship, Cockburn (1998) suggests an 'interdependent social model', which emphasizes that different kinds of people are connected to each other rather than being viewed as individualised, autonomous and separated

individuals. Therefore, adults need children, just like children need adults. They are socially *interdependent* to each other. This discourse provides theoretical grounds for arguing that all children carry some responsibility and duties in the society so there is no reason to exclude children from citizenship. This thesis intends to extend children potentials and their participations in research under the existing framework of protection.

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the research of children and nation (Scourfield et al., 2006; Cheney, 2007; Stanbridge, 2011). In *Children, place and identity*, Scourfield and his colleagues (2006) examine how Welsh children relate themselves to places in different levels: domestic, local, national, supranational, and how children's sense of their relation to space is intertwined with how they define themselves and others, as well as their national identities. Children interpret and construct their own national identity with limited resources in their daily life. These children use place of birth, language, and sports as markers to define their national identity. In the research of ethnicity, Van Ausdale and Feagin's (2001) fieldwork in the kindergarten finds that children as young as three years old already start to use ethnicity and race in their play and conversations. They also applied their racial and ethnic knowledge to conduct discriminatory behaviours. This thesis examines the resources that children in Taiwan use to construct their national identity, as well as how they differentiate 'self' and 'other' in terms of ethnicity.

3.4 Generation

Some scholars (Alanen, 1994; Mayall, 2000; Qvortrup, Corsaro and Honig, 2009)

suggest that generation is a key concept to understanding the interdependent relationship between childhood and adulthood, as well as between children and social change.

Mannheim (1952) is credited as the scholar who brought 'generation' into sociology. Individuals sharing the same year of birth are endowed with the 'generational location' in the historical stream. Although the same birth year is essential for a generation, individuals sharing the same birth year can only be credited as a cohort. To share the same generation location, collective experiences and events in a specific cultural and historical context is crucial to develop a common consciousness, or identity. Those who share a generational location involved in shared experiences or historical events become an 'actual generation'. Sometimes concrete bonds are made among some members of an actual generation, and they make 'generational units'. Mannheim suggested that the questioning and reflecting ability of an individual emerges at about the age of seventeen; therefore the analysis of generation should be examined among groups older than that age. His argument excluded children from his analysis of generation. Childhood studies, however, provide empirical evidence that children have their agency to act upon, as well as to challenge existing social orders.

Alanen (1994) introduced the concept of generation into the discourse of childhood. She stresses that childhood is a relational concept. Childhood exists only in relation to adulthood. Parallel to the gender agenda that connects women's issues to men, the generational agenda relates children's lives to the adult world. The concept of generation combines two components in understanding social phenomenon (Alanen,

2001). The first one is historical. Generation not only embraces the experience of people belonging to the same age group, but also shows their shared location in a historical time (Pilcher, 1998; James and James, 2008). The other component is social. It is the shared experiences that connect members of a generation together to develop a commonality. Therefore, the historical location of a generation reflects a construction of narratives of the imaginary of the nation in a certain period.

Generation can be viewed as a social structure that distinguishes children from other social groups. Although the analysis of generation is not widely used in childhood studies, it is used in comparative study for childhoods in different social conditions, as well as for intergenerational analysis (Alanen, 2001; Qvortrup, 2000). However, Flacks (2007) warns that to fully understand the attitudes and behaviours of individuals, we should be careful when we are using the concept of generation, avoiding over-generalizing children and young people, because their responses to a shared experience may be multiple and varied. We should also be aware of the various adaptations that different children make to their shared circumstances.

The concept of generation has been used in the analysis of national identity among adults in Taiwan¹⁵ (Rigger, 2006; Hsu, 2004). These studies contribute to the understanding of the dynamics of national identity among different generations; however, children and young people are excluded in their samples. This thesis focuses on children, hoping to provide children's perspectives in national studies.

¹⁵ See Section 2.5.

This study centred on the generation who grow up in the period of a large scale Taiwanese nationalism since 2000, and therefore researched primary school aged children. This thesis explores the nationalism in the educational system and how children of this generation narrate the nation and their identities, as well as accept or reject the nationalism in education. Comparisons between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese are made to understand how different children cope with the common national discourses.

3.5 Children's Construction of Identities in Modern Society

Children use various resources to form their identities. Scourfield and his colleagues (2006) find that place of birth, language, and sport are key resources for Welsh children's national identity. Some children define themselves as Welsh if they were born in Wales, even when none of their parents are Welsh. Accent and language emerged as the most immediate marker of different groups of people in their research. Sport, football in their case, is an important example of banal nationalism for people to mark national boundaries.

In the era of migration, the ethnic composition at school is getting complex. Children interact with peers from different religions, ethnicity, race, and etc. Discrimination and racism might be more common without enough understanding of each other. There are examples of racism among schools in relation to ethnicity and nationalism (Devine, Kenny and Macneela, 2008; Zembylas, 2010), and these experiences have an impact on children's identity development. With a more complex composition of the society, Zembylas (2010) uses 'intersectionality theory' to examine majority and

minority children's construction and experience of racism and nationalism in the primary schools in Cyprus. 'Intersectionality theory' emphasises that subjectivity is constituted by mutual reinforcing 'categories' such as race, gender, ethnicity, class, and etc. This theory helps to understand that categories (race, gender, ethnicity, class and etc.) as separate; instead, they are interconnected.

In the era of global consumerism, television, video and the Internet provide children a wider range of cultural and material artefacts that become another source of identity-formation (Wyness, 2006). With the rapid transportation, mass media and the Internet, the perception of time and space are changed in modern society (Giddens, 1991). The phenomena of 'time-space compression' started with increased mobility and internationalization of capital since the 1970s (Harvey, 1990). People's subjective feeling about distance becomes shorter and compressed. In the era of globalization, children have the access to know what is happening on the other side of the earth immediately through the mass media. They can connect with their extended family members and friends abroad through different technologies. Because of the change in space and time, the way people categorize 'us' and 'others' are changed. Those people who used to be far away are not so far away anymore.

Children in Taiwan grow up with the Internet and other technology that make possible a more dense and intense interaction with their family members far away. They might give new meaning to home/away and relate themselves to those who are present and absent in a different way (Agnew, 1989). Transnational practices and the visits to the country of origin are important for the identity formation of the descendants of immigrants (Viruell-Fuentes, 2006). This is particularly important for

the identity of children of immigrants, while they are more likely to grow up in Taiwan but have transnational practices, which allow them to choose their identities.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter argues that children and childhood are social constructions rather than biological terms. From a historical view, children are constructed in different images and characteristics under different contexts. Sociology of childhood values children as active subjects in societies, and advocates researchers to allow children to (re)construct their own childhood by listening to children.

Children have been marginalized in nationalism studies for lacking recognition of their citizenship and their involvement in nation-building process. However, they are usually in the centre of national projects as they are characterized with ‘hope’ and ‘future.’ In order to include children into nationalism studies, this chapter discussed an interdependent social model (Cockburn, 1998) to acknowledge children’s citizenship, and the concept of ‘generation’ to locate childhood into historical and social contexts.

This chapter finally examined the resources that children use to construct their identities in the contemporary society. The media, increased mobility and new technology have changed people’s subjective perception of distance. People are able to contact and see people far away through new technologies. These mediums create the opportunity to build up interpersonal relationships that were impossible before. Therefore, this thesis explores the mechanism of identities formation among children

of the new generation, especially children of immigrants. Chapter 4 will continue to introduce the methodology in this thesis.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the methodological approach in this study. It evaluates the strengths and weaknesses of employing different approaches in doing research with children, and presents a rationale for adopting the interview method combined with children-friendly activities as the major research method in this study. Documentary research and observation are also used for data collection. This chapter goes on to discuss the research sample, drawing particular attention to the issues of research ethics and the researcher's role to gain a better understanding and establish a quality relationship with participants. Finally, it outlines the process of data collection and data analysis.

4.2 Research Methods to Research with Children

Children were previously excluded from research because they were thought to be unable of providing valid information so researchers used to investigate their parents, guardians, and teachers, rather than researching children directly. Children's ability to respond, however, is no less than adults' ability but they require different approaches from adults' (Waksler, 1991). Children can be the best informants of their life when researchers use child-friendly research methods.

This study adopts a qualitative approach which focuses on how the social world is

viewed, experienced or produced by children in regarding to the issues of the nation and identities. Qualitative researchers endeavour to produce social explanations of society (Mason, 2002). Qualitative research is more flexible and sensitive to the social context in which the data is produced while quantitative approach is criticized for the rigid instruments. A questionnaire, for example, limits children's responses within the framework that the researcher provides. Nevertheless, quantitative approach has its merits if researchers provide questions that are meaningful to children. Children can provide valuable and reliable responses in quantitative research (Scott, 2000). Scott (2000) suggests that the standard questionnaire is inappropriate with preschool children, but it can be useful for school-aged children. Some important surveys have been conducted with school-aged children (Currie et al., 2008; Yen et al., 2002). The principle is that the researcher make children's interest the first priority and use children-friendly research methods.

In qualitative research, Mauthner (1997) suggests that small group interviews combined with ethnography can be conducted for children aged 5 to 6, while individual interviews are more appropriate for children older than 7 years old. In the process of deciding the research method, it is preferable that the researcher give careful consideration to these factors: children's age, gender, cognitive development, social economic status, and ethnicity (Scott, 2000).

Interview is the primary method used in this study to gain information from children. The interview method is contended as one of the strongest methods of exploring children's own interpretation of their lives (Eder and Fingerson, 2002). It values the subjective meanings of the participants (Bryman, 2004), and allows children to voice

themselves directly rather than rely on adults' interpretations. In an interview, participants can provide not only current information but also historical information (Creswell, 2003), which is lacking in ethnography. In addition, it is useful for the issues that are salient but do not usually occur in daily conversations (Eder and Fingerson, 2002). Although national and ethnic identities, the main themes of this study, are embedded in our everyday life, it is not an issue that is common in children's everyday conversations. Meanwhile, people might not be aware of the national practices they perform in their daily routines (Billig, 1995). Therefore, interview is a more appropriate approach than observation in terms of the research questions in this study.

This study involves children's identity and their experiences of inclusion and exclusion, which they might not want to make known to their classmates. In comparison with group interviews, individual interviews provide a safe and confidential environment that ensures the conversations would not be heard by others. It also allows both the researcher and the participant to clarify, elaborate and probe (Connolly, 1998). The interview strategy can help the researcher to explore and understand children through conversation and interaction with them. The traditional interview, which relies on continuous verbal conversations between the researcher and the researched, however, does not really fit children's interest. Visual stimulus and activity interaction works better than oral expression to help children to concentrate and to express themselves (Scott, 2000). Eder and Fingerson (2002) suggest creating a natural context to reduce the power imbalance between the adult researchers and child participants. It is therefore vital to develop and use methods that are suitable for children's interests and abilities. Using the activities they are

already familiar with would be particularly helpful.

Researchers have successfully developed child-centred research methods, using videos (de Leeuw and Rydin, 2007), photographs (Wright et al., 2010), pictures (Coates, 2004), puzzles (Rutherford, 1993), performance (Woodson, 2007), internet (Richman, 2007), drawing and writing (Christensen and James, 2000). Some use the mosaic approach to combine different methods to gather various forms of data so that they can get a better picture of children's opinions (Clark, 2004). The mosaic approach is useful because each child might have different ways to express themselves: some are good at expressing themselves through talking, some writing, some drawing, and some through activities. To improve children's participation in research, researchers need to transform complicated academic concepts into simple and interesting activities to attract children's interests and attention. This study uses three activities to facilitate the interviews with children. They are mind-mapping, a card-sorting exercise, and circles of relationship. They will be discussed in detail in Section 4.3.

Finally, when interviewing children, a researcher should be sensitive to the use of language (Mauthner, 1997; Davis, Watson and Cunningham-Burley, 2000), and the power relationship (Eder and Fingerson, 2002). Two aspects should be considered regarding the issue of language. First, the researcher should use a language that the child is familiar with or good at rather than the language that the researcher prefers. By doing so, it allows the young participants to express themselves more easily. Different languages are currently used in Taiwan. While Mandarin is the official language in Taiwan, the vernacular languages include Minnanese/Taiwanese (臺語),

Hakka (客語), and tribal languages used by the Aborigines (GIO, 2010). The mother tongues of the participants in this study are not necessarily Mandarin. Therefore, when I talked to children, I firstly found out what language they are comfortable with. All participants in this study were fluent in Mandarin, and it is possibly because Mandarin is the medium at school. The interviews were therefore conducted in Mandarin, and sometimes mingled with Minnanese.

Second, the researcher should consider the vocabulary when talking with children. Children have their own vocabulary which is different from that used by adults. For example, Thorne's (1993) fieldwork in a primary school finds that children tend to use the term 'kids' to describe themselves while adults usually use 'children'. Even if children and adults use the same word, they might convey different meanings. Inviting children to explain the meanings of some words that they use is helpful. Therefore, in order to understand the children's culture, it is preferred that researchers spend time observing and learning 'kid's language' before they start the fieldwork (Davis, Watson, and Cunningham-Burley, 2000). I used the opportunity of pre-pilot and pilot study to familiarise myself with children's vocabulary.

4.3 Methods Adopted in this Study

This study obtained data from three different sources: individual interviews, documentary analysis, and participant observation. This allows comparisons to be made between children's narratives and pedagogical materials.

4.3.1 Interview

One-to-one semi-structured interviews were conducted. Semi-structured interviews provide the researcher a guide of topics and allow flexible space for both the interviewer and interviewee to develop further conversation themes at the same time. An interview guide (Appendix 1) was used for the interviews. In order to answer the research questions in this thesis, the interview guide is comprised of the following issues: (1) social relationships; (2) language; (3) nation; (4) identities; (5) perspectives about minorities and immigrants; (6) transnational experiences; and (7) questions for children of immigrants about their contact with their extended family members abroad, and cross-cultural experiences.

Three child-friendly activities were used to facilitate the interviews. These tools, which are introduced in detail in the following sections, helped the researcher to build rapport with children, calm their nerves, and engage their interest in this study (Chang, 2010). These activities also served as mediums to facilitate our conversations so that the participants could share their thoughts in a comfortable atmosphere.

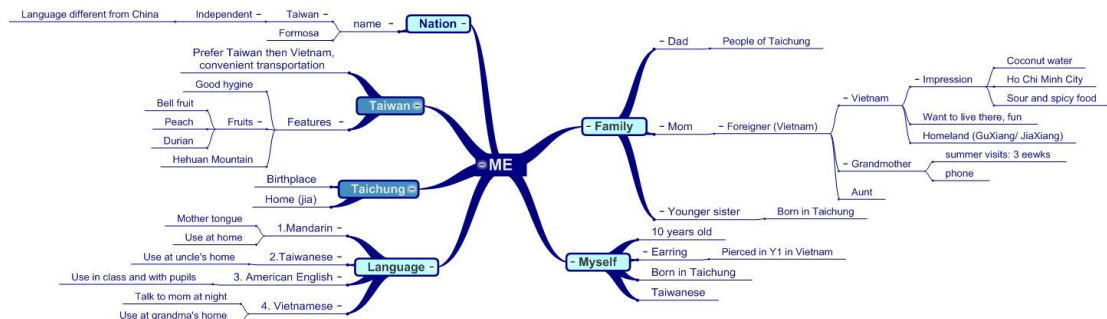
A. Mind Map

The Mind Map is a diagram developed by Tony Buzan (1974), and has been widely used to take notes or to summarise. It challenges the traditional linear thinking and

noting that spreads from top to bottom. Rather, it introduced a radiant thinking by putting the core concept in the centre rather than the top. Sub-concepts are radiated from the centre concept in the form of tree-like branches. It uses words, numbers, graphs, colours, hierarchies, and associations to make relations among concepts or ideas easy to organize and read.

In this study, the Mind Map was used throughout an interview for the researcher to jot down notes. The letter, *wo* (ME, 我) was put at the centre of a paper. New keywords were added and connections were made between concepts derived from the conversation (Figure 4-1). It was originally used for note taking by the researcher, but it was helpful in many other ways. It helped children to focus in the interview, improved the validity of the study, and assisted data analysis.

Figure 4-1. The Mind Map from an interview of a girl



When I was making the Mind Map, the interviewee was able to see what was written down. Mind Map uses keywords and makes links between keywords, which are activities that children at this age do in their schoolwork. It helped the children to concentrate on the conversations because children paid attention to the words and linking lines that I made.

The Mind Map can serve as a function of respondent validation. Sometimes researchers give the report or transcription to the informants in order to check if it is consistent with their experiences and opinions. It helps to improve the accuracy and credibility of a study, as well as the cooperative relationship between the researcher and the informants (Bryman, 2004). However, giving children long pages of report and asking their opinions is inappropriate. By using Mind Map, the participants in this study were able to quickly browse and check the information they provided. Mind Map is not challenging for children to read. If any information was wrongly recorded, the child was able to correct it immediately.

Mind Map was useful to recall memory. Most children in this study had more than one interview. In the follow-up interviews, the Mind Map helped both the researcher and the child to recall the issues discussed in previous interviews easily. Finally, the researcher was able to jot down the main points of the interview in the Mind Map. It helped the researcher to browse, recall, organize, and compare ideas efficiently in data analysis.

B. Card-sorting Exercise

National identity and ethnic identity are not easy issues to talk about, no matter whether the informants are adults or children. A card-sorting exercise was used in this study to facilitate the discussion regarding children's identification. This exercise was used by Scourfield and his colleagues (2006) in their study with Welsh children

about place, nation and identity. This exercise is helpful to know the children's identity and the most important identities to them. This exercise was modified to fit into the social context of Taiwan and the themes of this study.

The card-sorting exercise uses a batch of cards with labels (Figure 4-2). These labels represent different identities regarding each person's own affiliation to national identity, place, gender, life course, religion and ethnicity. The labels include '*Yazhou ren* 亞洲人 (Asian)', '*Zhongguo ren* 中國人 (Chinese)', '*Taiwan ren* 臺灣人 (Taiwanese)', '*Taichung ren* 台中人 (A person of Taichung)', '*Yuenan ren* 越南人 (Vietnamese)', '*Nansheng* 男生 (boy)', '*Nusheng* 女生 (girl)', '*Xiao peng you* 小朋友 (kid)', '*Ching shao nian* 青少年 (adolescent)', '*Daren* 大人 (adult)', '*Jidu jiao* 基督教 (Christian)', '*Dao jiao* 道教 (Taoist)', '*Fo jiao* 佛教 (Buddhist)', '*Kejia ren* 客家人 (Hakka)', '*Minnan ren* 閩南人 (Hoklo)', '*Waixing ren* 外省人 (Mainlander)', and '*Yuan zhu min* 原住民 (Aborigines)'.

A few cards were left blank so that the researcher and the participant could add labels that were not included in the batch, but were important to the participant. The purpose was to prevent the interviewer and interviewee from being constrained by the framework that the interviewer provided. The blank card provided more flexibility for the exercise. For example, some children's identity was attached to their birthplace. Although this study was conducted in Taichung city, not all children were born in this city. The researcher added labels according to the information that the participant provided in an interview.

Figure 4-2. The labels of the card-sorting exercise

Place & National Identity	Ethnic Identity	Gender	Life course	Religion
Asian	Hoklo	Boy	Child	Buddhist
Chinese	Hakka	Girl	Adolescent	Taoist
Vietnamese	Aborigine		Adult	Christian
Taiwanese	Mainlander			
A person of Taichung				

This exercise was implemented in the following steps:

1. The researcher placed the cards one by one and discussed the meaning of the labels with the child. If the child had never seen this label or did not understand what the label meant, the label would be removed from the batch.
2. The child was asked to keep cards that describe her/him. The researcher discussed with the child why s/he kept these cards.
3. The child chose one card only (the most important one) from the cards s/he kept before, and we discussed the reason.
4. The child was asked to choose cards for his or her father, mother, best friend, and most students in her/his class. The child chose one card for each of them.

The researcher discussed the meaning of the labels with the children in step 1 because, as adults, we take the meanings of these labels for granted, but it was not the case for children. Some labels might have never appeared in their lives before, or

children had their own interpretation about the labels which might be different from the adults' interpretation. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify how children interpret the meaning of the labels.

C. Circles of Relationship

The construction of identities depends on the interaction with other people (Jenkins, 2008). Children's experiences base largely on family and school at their primary school age. Family and friends are important for children's sense of belonging (Nette and Hayden, 2007). It is necessary to investigate the social network that children keep to understand how it is related to their lives and their identities. A child's social network might involve many people in their daily life but people in this network impact on the individual differently. Some people, like a classmate, might appear in a child's life everyday, but have only very minor emotional attachment to the child. Some people, like grandparents, have a great meaning to children even if they don't see them often. In this study, the research considers the subjective significant others in children's life. They might be extended family members, neighbours, pupils, or friends.

The Circle of Relationship (Figure 4-3) is a valuable tool to explore the quantity and quality of social networks by placing people in the circles according to closeness. It has been used in research about both children and adult groups (Smart et al. 2001; Sturges et al., 2001; Spencer and Pahl, 2004). Sturges and her colleagues (2001) researched the perceptions of family relationship among young children (aged 4-7).

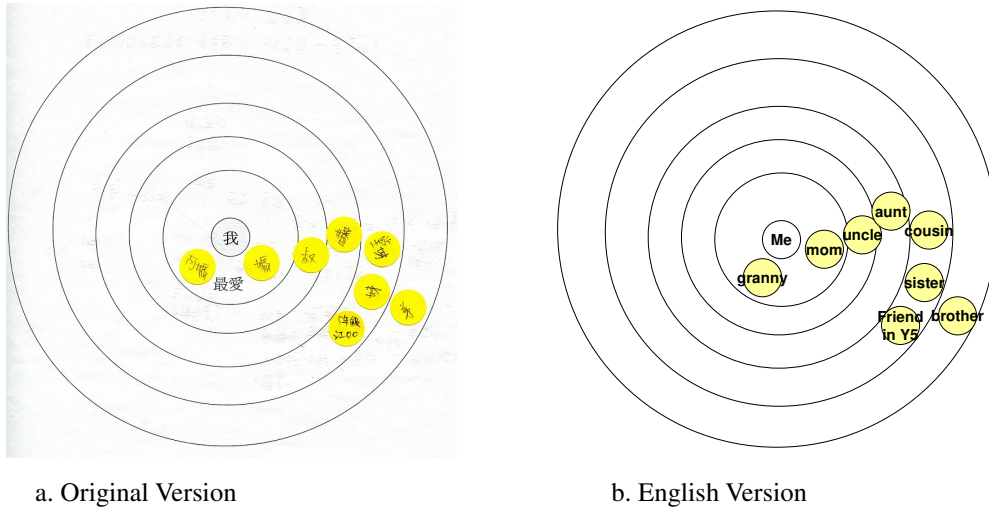
They segmented the concentric circles into four fields to explore children's social relationships in four domains: family, school, relatives, and friends/neighbours. Children placed people that they really loved, loved, liked, did not like in the circles from the centre, respectively. In the outer circle, they were told to place any negative contacts. In another study, Smart, Neale and Wade (2001) segmented concentric circles into two fields (family and friends) to understand varying degrees of emotional closeness that children in post-divorce families have with their family members. These scholars segmented concentric circles into different fields, but the pilot study of this research found that a map of concentric circles without segmentations is easier for children to understand and use.

The blank concentric circles were applied to explore children's social relationships in this study. The materials included a blank concentric circle, pen, and blank round stickers. In the centre of the concentric circle was placed 'me' to represent the informant. Children were requested to list the people whom they felt close to. Each of these people they mentioned was written down on the stickers. Children placed these stickers in one of the circles according to the level of closeness. Those they loved most were placed in the inner circle, and in the outer circle where those of less emotional closeness.

Children in this study showed great interest in this activity, which is easy and fun for them. More importantly, it provided emotional support for the child. A girl expressed that she liked this activity because it was about her loved ones. Another girl thought this activity allowed her to talk about the things in her heart. Using stickers was particularly useful to draw children's attention, enhance their participation and

improve the interaction between children and the researcher.

Figure 4-3. The Circles of Relationship from a girl in Year 4



Finally, the order in which to use these activities was considered. The interviews started with the simple and interactive Mind Map activity to build rapport between the researcher and the participant. I was able to understand the children's character and abilities through the interactive activities. Afterward, the Circles of Relationship was used to understand the significant others and their relationships. Finally, children's identities was explored and discussed by using the Card-sorting Exercise. This activity was placed last because it was more complex, and the knowledge that the researcher gained from the previous two activities was helpful in the discussion about children's identities.

4.3.2 Documentary Research

Documents can represent and produce different meanings to a researcher. The researcher can use documents as lens to the constituents of the 'real' social world, or as representative of the practical elements for which they were constructed (May, 2001; Mason, 2002). This thesis does not take documents as neutral products that reflect realities; rather, documents are viewed as social artifacts that express constructed social realities. They are the media through which social power is expressed (May, 2001). Therefore, they can never be read alone. Researchers should engage with the meanings embedded in the document and locate it within a wider social and political context to understand the intention of the authors. In addition, what is left out from the documents might be as important as what they contain. The particular people and events being left out might reflect the intentional marginalization (May, 2001). Nationalism in textbooks is particularly the case when the national narratives in pedagogy are usually tailored to fit the national agenda.

Scott (1990) advises a researcher to approach a document in terms of three levels of meaning interpretation. First, the meanings that the author intend to produce. Second, the meanings that audience receives in different social situations. Third, the internal meanings that semioticians exclusively concentrate upon. As Agger points out, documents 'tell us a great deal about the societies in which writers write and readers read' (Agger 1991: 7). This thesis used documents and interviews to compare the message between the authors (education system) and audiences (children). It examined the pedagogical documents in order to understand how the nation is being constructed and Taiwanese nationalism is conveyed through the documents.

Sadker and Zittleman (2010) suggest us to evaluate pedagogical documents critically

in relation to seven possible forms of bias, which are discussed as follows.

(a) Invisibility: Invisibility is the bias that some groups or events are omitted in the textbook, which became *null curriculum* –what schools do not teach (Eisner, 1985; Flinders, Noddings, and Thornton, 1986). Students are therefore not offered the knowledge and perspectives concerning the groups and events at schools. Therefore, this study quests that what is omitted in the textbooks in terms of Taiwanese nationalism.

(b) Stereotyping: we should examine if documents reproduce the stereotype of some groups. There have been stereotypes of the Aborigines that are portrayed as alcoholics (Cheng and Jacob, 2008) and athletes (Yu and Bairner, 2011) in Taiwan. This study investigates the textbooks about the presentation of stereotypes of any groups, especially immigrants and their children.

(c) Imbalance and selectivity: pedagogical documents sometimes present only one interpretation of an issue or a group of people. A complex issue would be simplified and distorted by not presenting different perspectives. The status of the nation in Taiwan and its name has been controversial. Two major political parties in Taiwan, the KMT and the DPP, posit different views on it. This study investigated how the pedagogical documents address this issue, as well as if the narratives favour the claim from one political party.

(d) Unreality: pedagogical documents might romanticize the nation with a harmonious image, but neglect the social problems like ethnic conflicts and

inequality.

(e) Fragmentation: sometimes the pedagogical documents discuss some groups or issues in a separate inset or column, which is presented as fun facts or ‘other’ cases. It implies that these interesting people and issues do not constitute or belong to the mainstream culture. This study concerned if there was any ethnic group in Taiwan being separated as the ‘other’ in the textbooks?

(f) Linguistic bias: it reminds us that language use, like word order or choices, can be a powerful way to construct how we think about the nation. Special attention was placed on how the pedagogical documents use ‘us’ and ‘them’ to set up boundaries of national and ethnic identities in Taiwan.

(g) Cosmetic bias: even if pedagogical documents offer equal exposure of the majority and the minority to avoid the bias of invisibility, it can still be an illusion if they fail to provide enough information or to acknowledge the contribution of the minority. Therefore, what students learn about the minority from the documents still stays at a shallow level.

In order to understand Taiwanese nationalism in the textbooks, the Mandarin and Social Studies textbooks used by the selected primary school in the 2009 academic year were examined, focusing on how the concepts of nation and ethnicity are constructed and presented in the textbooks. Appendix 2 lists the publishers of these textbooks that were analysed. These textbooks were edited according to the Nine-year integrated curriculum guideline 國民中小學年一貫課程綱要 (2003

edition).

In Taiwan, primary school students study native languages since Year 1 and English since Year 3. Native languages contain Mandarin and local languages (Minnanese, Hakka and Aboriginal languages). The Mandarin textbooks contain people, stories, and cultures relating to the nation.

Social Studies class starts from Year 3 onwards in the primary school. In the Social Studies, students learn basic knowledge about culture, history, geography, law, ethics, society, environment, politics, economic activities, personal interaction, and civil duties. The scope ranges across self, family, school, community, hometown, the society in Taiwan and the international society. The contents in the Social Studies textbooks centre on various themes in each year. In Year 3, the themes focus on family, school, gender, friendship, neighbours and hometown; in Year 4, the textbooks talk about culture, economic activities, population, and government; in Year 5, the themes are about geography and history of Taiwan; and finally in Year 6 are economics, law, social change, transportation, environment, and international relationship.

The nation and ethnicity portrayed in the textbooks were investigated by considering the following: (1) the frequency and the way of presentation of these ideas in the textbooks; (2) the presentation of the history of the nation; and (3) the way that national identity and ethnic identity were constructed in the textbooks. Both the texts and pictures in the textbooks were examined. Finally, this study paid particular attention to *Renshi taiwan* 認識台灣 (knowing Taiwan), which has been considered

as an important theme that was added into the textbooks to construct Taiwan-centred cultural and national identities (Corcuff, 2002a; Kaeding, 2009).

4.3.3 Observation

Observation is a method commonly used in childhood studies (Thorne, 1993; Corsaro, 2003; Hadley, 2007; Palaiologou, 2008). It documents children's life in their daily settings and allows their direct voice and participation in the data production (James and Prout, 1997). In order to gain detailed observation to understand the context and atmosphere in the school setting in regard to nationalism, it was necessary to observe the daily routines of the school.

Observations were conducted at the free time during the period of interviews. Observations were made during the flag raising ceremony, sports day, as well as the everyday life at school. I took photographs and made field notes about the symbols and rituals concerning the issues in this study.

4.4 Research Participants

Primary school children are the main research participants in this study because although identity is a fluid process and could change across an individual's whole life, 'primary identities' (gender, ethnicity, kinship) which are established in early life are stronger and more resilient to the changes in later life (Jenkins, 2004). Primary school children usually face the challenge to think about their identity when they

learn the lessons at school and meet pupils from different backgrounds, especially minority children and children with mixed ethnicity (Viruell-Fuentes, 2006; Oikawa and Yoshida, 2007).

The children in this study were comprised of three groups, according to their mother's original nationality: Chinese, Vietnamese, and Taiwanese (Table 4-2). China and Vietnam are the major sending countries of marital immigrant women in Taiwan. This study researched children of female immigrants only because the majority (93%) of the marital immigrants in Taiwan were female (National Immigration Agency, 2011). This thesis took children of immigrant women as a heterogeneous group rather than a homogeneous group because of the differences in language, religion and living style of sending countries. Immigrants from different countries face different challenges when they moved to Taiwan. Therefore, it is worth researching these children separately.

Children in Taiwan usually enter primary schools around the age of six. This study researched children from Year 3 to Year 6 (ages 8-11). This study chose children from Year 3 because pupils started to learn the Social Studies in Year 3, which is the subject about society, history, law, and geography. This subject played an important role in the construction of children's conception of the nation and ethnicity. In addition, children of this age are more literate than younger children. Children at Year 3 had at least two years in the primary schools so they are more literate and able to participate in individual interviews and answer the questions about the nation and relating identities (Scourfield et al., 2006).

Table 4-1. The characteristics of the participants in this study

Group	China		Vietnam		Taiwan		Subtotal
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Year 3 & 4	1	3	2	3	3	3	15
Year 5 & 6	3	0	1	4	1	4	13
Subtotal	4	3	3	7	4	7	28

The research participants of the interviews in this study comprised 28 children (11 males and 17 females) coming from a variety of social backgrounds (age, gender and parent's origin). The interview participants were four children in Year 3, eleven in Year 4, six in Year 5, and seven in Year 6. Eleven children were children of native Taiwanese, ten were children of Vietnamese immigrant women, and seven were children of Chinese immigrant women. There was not any girl of Chinese immigrants studying in Year 5 and Year 6 who participated in this study because there are only three girls in this category at this school and none of their parents gave a positive consent for participation (See Section 4.5). More than half (four) of the children of Chinese immigrant women were born in China, and three out of the ten children of Vietnamese immigrant women were born in Vietnam. Among the children of native Taiwanese, one child claimed to have a Hakka background, and two children had aboriginal backgrounds.

4.5 Ethics

Ethical issues arise from every stage of research with children. Generally speaking, it is important to prioritise children's rights and best interests when researchers make

every decision in a study. Children's rights are addressed in the UNCRC in three areas (3Ps): provision, protection, and participation. Applying the 3Ps to this study, the researcher has the obligation to provide children participants a safe place to participate in the study. This study took place in the school, which is a familiar space for children. To protect children, the researcher considered any possibilities that might be harmful to children during the research process, including dissemination. For example, identity might become a sensitive issue if the child has been bullied or discriminated against because of his/her minority or mixed background. The researcher was careful about the language and wording that might cause negative feelings among children. It is very hard to identify in all circumstance what would be harmful, but the researcher tried to think about any possibility that might harm the participant and prevented it.

This study passed the assessment of the Research and Research Ethics Committee Level 2 at the University of Edinburgh before fieldwork. There are three levels of research ethics assessment in the School of Social & Political Science at the University of Edinburgh. All research projects must carry out a Level 1 self-assessment of ethical risks. Because this study involved children, Level 2 of scrutiny was required to ensure that participants' right was protected and prevent participants from adverse effects from research. This research proposal was sent to Research & Research Ethics Committee for examination. This study provided satisfactory consideration about ethics and got agreement from the committee to conduct fieldwork.

Other research ethical issues include confidentiality, reward of involvement

(Alderson and Morrow, 2004), informed consent, privacy, and whether deception is involved (Bryman, 2004). Maintaining confidentiality is an important but complex issue in childhood studies. The researcher should assure confidentiality by not revealing what the participant says in an interview to the teacher and parents. Nevertheless, if children disclose that they are exposed to any danger, the researcher should help to seek out protection (Iwaniec and Pinkerton, 1998). Children in this study were informed before they participated in this study that the researcher would not disclose any conversations to their teacher and parents. If the researcher found out that there was anyone who needed help, the researcher would explain the situation to the children before she discussed with other adults. I did not identify any urgent issue in the fieldwork.

In this study, the data were gained from the interviews, textbooks and observations. No further personal data was collected. The study sought informed consent from both the children and their parents to join this study. The details of informed consent are discussed in Section 4.5.1. The participants were informed about the degree of the invasion of privacy. The names of the participants and the school were anonymised. The names used in this thesis are pseudonyms.

The researcher was obligated to be honest throughout the study, not only to the children, but also to all gatekeepers involved in the research, such as school teachers, and parents. The researcher explained the study to all relating people so that everyone understood this study. Finally, the participants received a non-cash compensation for their time. Stationery was given to the participants at the end of the interview.

4.5.1 Informed Consent

Before participating in this study, informed consents were sought from both children (Appendix 4) and their guardians (Appendix 5). To recruit the participants, I gave out information to help them make their decisions to join or to reject. The information included the aim of the study, the rights of the participants, the procedure of data collection, confidentiality, the use of data and contact information.

The researcher sought guardians' consent before further seeking children's consent. It adopted an opt-out access in guardians' consent and an opt-in access in children's consent. Opt-out access is the way that researchers contact people through phone, knock on doors, or send out a letter, to invite them to take part in the research. Only those who actively reject will be excluded from research sample; otherwise, they are approached by the researcher. Opt-in access is the way that researcher sends out a letter to invite people to the research, and only those who agree to participate will be approached. Opt-out access usually obtains higher return rate, while opt-in access provides better protection and respect to people's privacy (Alderson and Morrow, 2004).

The researcher firstly gave a letter to the parents to introduce the research project and to seek their consent. Only when parents replied that they did not want their children to participate in this study did the researcher make no further contact with their children. Ten parents in this study replied that they did not want their children to

participate. After getting consent from parents, the researcher provided another letter (Appendix 3) to children to explain the aims of the study, procedures of the interview, and their rights. The children read the letter themselves first. The researcher explained it again orally to make sure that they fully understood and they had the opportunity to ask questions. In Taiwanese society, children are used to obeying adults, especially at school. While the study took place in school, it was important to give children the opportunity to ask questions, leave enough time and space for them to make the decision, and also respect their decision of refusal.

Before the interview, all participants gave their 'active consent,' which requires each participant to sign their name on the consent form to participate in the research (Corsaro, 2005). Alderson and Morrow (2004) suggests that all school-aged children should be assumed as competent to consent to participate in research. The research subjects of this study were primary school students aged 8-11, and thus able to give signed consent. On children's consent form, children ticked the YES or NO boxes to ensure they were fully informed of the following issues (Appendix 4):

- You have read the letter that Big Sister Chang gave you.
- You know that this interview is about how you perceive yourself.
- Did you have the opportunity to ask questions?
- Were your questions answered?
- You know that this interview is voluntary. If you refuse to participate or decide to withdraw, you will not be punished or lose any benefit.
- You know that if there are any questions that you don't want to answer, you can say 'Pass'.

4.6 Researcher's Role

The researcher's role decides the power dynamics between the researcher and the participant and it represents different epistemological assumptions about adults and children (Mandell, 1988). Fine (1979) suggests the research roles can be differentiated by the extent of direct contact and authority between children and adults. He proposes four possible roles for adult researchers: leader, friend, supervisor and observer. He advocates the friend role which is based on mutual trust so a close relationship is more achievable. The friend role is a situation where direct contact exists and direct authority is absent. This role draws attention to the similar features between the researcher and the participant. Fine recognizes age could be a dimension to separate adults from children so that it requires more time and explanation to build a friend role with a younger child than an adolescent.

The 'friend' research role (Fine, 1979) and the 'least-adult' role (Mandell, 1988) were used in ethnography, but these roles were not feasible for interviews in this study. Therefore, I adopted a 'big sister' role. When doing interviews, it is crucial to build rapport with participants in a short time. The least-adult role is advocated and used by researchers conducting participant observation and the researchers put adult-like behaviours aside and make commitment to join children in their activities (Mandell, 1988; Hadley, 2007). Hadley (2007) points out, however, that adults can never become children while the physical size, generational difference, adult privileges and power inequalities do set adults apart from children. It usually causes confusion to children at the beginning when the researcher enters their life as the role of a least-adult. This role takes a period of time for children to get used to an adult

who does not act or react like an adult.

I started the research with trying the least-adult role but found it was not feasible for interviews because rapport and relationship building in interviews needed to be established in a very short time, such as five minutes. In addition, I explained procedures and gave instruction to the participant to do some activities during the interview. The instructive role made it difficult to establish a friend role with equal status with children.

When I arrived at the school, children passing by assumed me to be a teacher without a thought because most of the adults in the school are teachers. Even some school teachers introduced me as a teacher to the children. When I got the chance to talk to children privately, I immediately explained to them that I was also a student, just as they were, and they could call me “Big Sister Chang” (*Chang jie jie*, 張姐姐). This role did not cause much confusion and made sense to children that an adult could still be a student. Some of the children shared their secrets to me, such as their secret crush on their friend. When I walked by the classroom of the children I interviewed before, the participants were eager to say hello to me and called me ‘Big Sister Chang.’ Yet, some children still called me ‘Teacher Chang’ and I would remind them again that I was ‘Big Sister Chang’.

4.7 Doing Research at School

This study was conducted in the Little Mountain primary school, a medium-size public school located in Taichung suburb with approximately 1,600 students. This

school was selected because of its ethnic composition and my social network so that I was able to get access to it. In the 2008-2009 academic year, the Little Mountain primary school had 75 children of immigrants, while the average number of children of immigrants enrolled in the same scale primary schools was 80 (Ministry of Education, 2009). Among these children, 60% of their mothers' origin is China, about one quarter come from Vietnam, and the remaining are from Malaysia, Cambodia, the Philippines and Indonesia.

When conducting the study at schools, the children who do not go to schools are excluded from the population. In Taiwan, however, more than 99% of school-aged children enrolled into primary schools, and 98.5% of primary schools are publicly run (MOE, 2011). This school can represent the typical primary schools in Taiwan. As most of the areas in Taiwan, this school is located in the area that Mandarin and Minnanese are the main languages.

Choosing school as the research site has some impacts on the research. School is a location that is familiar to children. They might feel less nervous to participate in the research in their own school. However, children might interpret the research as schoolwork when doing research at schools (Fraser et al., 2004). Since most of the adults in the schools are teachers, children tend to assume the researcher as another teacher. On the one hand, they were less likely to refuse to participate. In this study, only one child in the pilot study refused to take part, and all children agreed to participate in the interviews. On the other hand, I needed to break down the traditional hierarchy and unbalanced power relationship between adults and children at school to build up the research role I took.

In order to conduct a study in a school, negotiation with multiple gatekeepers in the school was needed. Through social network, I contacted the Little Mountain primary school directly with the help of my friend who is a teacher in this school. After seeing the principal and getting her permission, I talked to the class teachers to seek their permission to talk to potential participants in the classes.

4.8 Fieldwork

Children's perspectives are central to this study. This section gives details of the preparation and implementation of interviews with children. This study conducted a pre-pilot study and a pilot study to test the interview procedures and get familiar with talking to children. Finally, this section explains the procedures of the interviews that were conducted for data collection.

4.8.1 Pre-pilot and Pilot Study

Before the fieldwork, a pre-pilot study and a pilot study were conducted in the same school. The pre-pilot study was conducted in the form of group discussion in February 2009 and the pilot study through individual interviews in March. The purpose of the pre-pilot study and pilot study was to narrow down research questions, test research methods, and gain experience of communicating with children. Children in Year 2 were recruited for pre-pilot group discussion to understand children's comprehension level and language skills. The pre-pilot study recruited children in

Year 2, one year younger than those for fieldwork, for the consideration that if children in Year 2 can understand the procedures, children in Year 3 are more competent to do so.

In the pre-pilot study, two group discussions were conducted according to the origin of children's mothers, Taiwan and China. Each group had three children. All the questions and exercises were modified after the pre-pilot study to fit the ability of children in Year 2 so that when doing fieldwork, children in Year 3 would not have problems with the difficulty level. In the pilot study, three children of native Taiwanese and one child of Chinese immigrants in Year 4 participated in the individual interviews. The interview guide and the exercises were revised again according to children's feedback from the pilot study.

4.8.2 Data Collection

Interview data in this study was collected during a seven-month period spanning from June 2009 through January 2010, and another month in June 2010. The interviews were individual interviews that were audio recorded. Interviews usually happened in a spare classroom. An interview guide and three assisting exercises (introduced in Chapter in 4.3.1) were used. The interviews were conducted in Mandarin because most of the children pointed out that they spoke Mandarin best. Only two children indicated that they could speak Minnanese as well as Mandarin. The interviews were conducted during school hours but not during the main courses so that children would not lose their learning opportunities when they participated in

the research. I negotiated with both the teachers and the participants about a suitable time for an interview. Each session in the primary school is 40 minutes. However, it usually took longer to finish all the questions and activities. If we could not finish the discussion in one session of time, I arranged another interview with the participant. Each child usually had two interviews.

4.9 Data Analysis

After each interview, I immediately wrote fieldnotes about the participant and the interaction. The audio records of the interviews were all transcribed by myself as soon as possible after the interviews to add facial expressions or body language into the transcripts when the memory was still fresh and to identify any necessity of follow-up interview. Doing transcription by myself enabled me to familiarise myself with the data, which is important in the process of analysis. Laughter, pause, silence, and body language were noted in the transcripts. Each transcript was read through several times for me to develop emerging themes within the data.

In order to organize and manage data, this thesis used the three approaches that were suggested by Mason (2002) to sort and organise data. They are: (1) cross-sectional and categorical indexing; (2) non-cross-sectional data organization; (3) the use of diagrams and charts. Cross-sectional and categorical indexing is used to set up a systematic index for a data set to find out common principles. Non-cross-sectional data organization is to focus on the distinctive features in the data rather than the consistency. The third approach, diagrams and charts are useful for analytical thinking and display.

The data in this study includes textual documents, interview transcripts made from audio records, field notes, mind maps, card-sorting exercise, and circles of relationship. Data were indexed by using thematic coding which was based on literature review and research questions. Afterward, thematic analysis and comparative analysis were used to form the concepts derived from the data. Reading and re-reading the data was implemented accompanied with the literature review so that the literature could deepen and reshape interpretations and arguments.

Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) is becoming popular to assist data analysis (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). NVivo (version 8) was used to organise the rich text data, and facilitate coding process. All records were indexed with unique id number rather than interviewee's names to keep confidentiality.

5 Without a Country, How Can There Be a Home?

5.1 Introduction

In the lyrics of a Taiwanese patriotic song, “guojia 國家 (country)”, the first line asks, “without a country, how can there be a home?” The sovereignty of the ROC is recognised only by a few countries in the world. Connor (1994a, 1994b) claims that the nation is self-defined rather than other-defined. What matters for a nation is not what it is but what people believe it is. Nevertheless, the national identity and even the name of this nation are still debated within Taiwan. In Chapter 1, I mentioned that the renaming campaign was a focus in Taiwanese nationalism, especially during Chen Shui-bian’s period of office in 2000-2008. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) have highlighted the power structure embedded in naming and the meaning created through the act of naming. In the case of Taiwan, evidence shows that renaming the nation relates to the national identity significantly (Harrison, 2008). Harrison noted that a key site of identity politics is the education system, which provided an institutional field for the legitimization of a narrative of Taiwanese history and social life. Textbooks are the major medium through which school students learn about the national narratives. What name of nation is used in the textbooks and what kind of identity do the textbooks constitute? Also, what is the nation that school students understand and present?

This chapter starts with outlining the image of the nation being constructed in the textbooks through the names of the nation, its history and culture that manifest the

ongoing Taiwanese nationalism. Secondly, it goes on to discuss how different names of the nation are perceived and described by children. Thirdly, it compares the current symbols of the nation which are presented in the textbooks, as well as those perceived by children. Finally, it examines the status of Taiwan and its relationship to China from children's perspective and textbooks.

5.2 The Nation in the Textbooks

This section starts with the examination of the frequency of the names of the nation being used in the Mandarin and Social Studies textbooks. In Mandarin textbook, each volume contains twelve to fourteen lessons. In the Social Studies textbooks, each volume contains six lessons. Table 5-1 shows the number of lessons in which different names of nation appear. In the textbooks, the term 'Taiwan' was used much more frequently than other terms while the textbooks were centred on Taiwan in its stories, people, history, geography, culture and so on. Taiwan is portrayed as a place, a homeland, and a state.

Table 5-1. The number of lesson that contains the names of the nation in textbooks

Year	1-1	1-2	2-1	2-2	3-1	3-2	4-1	4-2	5-1	5-2	6-1	6-2	Sub-Total
Mandarin textbook													
Taiwan	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	3	-	-	2	2	12
ROC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Formosa	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Social Studies textbook													
Taiwan	/				2	2	3	2	6	6	6	6	22
R.O.C					-	1	-	2	1	1	-	1	6
Formosa					-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1

5.2.1 The Nation in the Mandarin Textbooks

The Mandarin textbooks provide students the knowledge of famous people in Taiwan, places, cultures through stories. In Year 3, *Beautiful Taiwan* (美麗的台灣), the specific theme focusing on Taiwan, provides a useful lens through which to view the illustrated nation. It is comprised of three lessons: ‘*The Home I Live in* (我住的家)’, ‘*A Friend from Far Away* (有朋自遠方來)’, and ‘*Love from Taroko* (太魯閣寄情)’.

‘*The Home I live in*’ praises the beauty of Taiwan, emphasising the beautiful natural scenery, bountiful animals, and agricultural products in Taiwan. As the excerpt below, the meaning of ‘home’ here has expanded from a family to a nation.

我的家在台灣, 台灣景色秀麗, 物產豐富, 人情溫暖, 生活美滿, 是幸福的家呀!

[*My home is in Taiwan. Taiwan has beautiful scenery, rich natural resources, hospitable people, and satisfactory life. It's a happy home!*]

I discussed in Section 2.2 that the idea of the Chinese term, *guojia*, is the combination of the characters representing ‘nation’ and ‘family’. While Anderson (1991) defines the nation as a ‘imagined community’, this concept in Chinese language shows a more intimate meaning and relationship that the nation is an imagined extended family. The content of ‘*The home I live in*’ conveys a territorial nationalism that focuses on place. At the end of this article, it welcomes good friends from all over the world to live here.

'Friend from Far Away' is an article about the author's friend from Britain who visited him in Miaoli (a county of Taiwan) and their experience of travelling together for sightseeing and the night market¹⁶. This article focuses on the tourism, local culture, and food in this county. Taiwanese food and scenery became the most unforgettable memory for the British friend. In this article, food and scenery are therefore served as symbols of Taiwan.

'Love from Taroko' starts with a postcard that is posted by a student to his teacher in his trip to Taroko, an area in the east coast of Taiwan. The story goes on to introduce the walking trails and the Aborigines. The Aborigines are portrayed with face tattoo as a symbol of glory and adulthood. It describes that only when women learn to weave and men learn to hunt are they qualified to make face tattoo. This lesson portrays the Aborigines with a distinct and traditional life style, which is very different from the Han people. I argue that this lesson can serve for two contradicting purposes. It highlighted the aboriginal culture as an unique Taiwanese culture so that Taiwan could make distinction from China culturally. However, it also gives an impression that the Aborigines are very different from the Han, and therefore, make distinction between the Aborigines and the Han. However, I doubted how much it is close to the current reality while the young generations of the Aborigines have adopted the modern lifestyle. There are aboriginal students in this school but they don't live the lifestyle that the textbook

¹⁶ A kind of market operated at night as a leisure activity for families and friends. Night markets involve stands and shops that offers fresh-made food, leisure activities, and shopping. Some night markets in Taiwan are well-known for tourism.

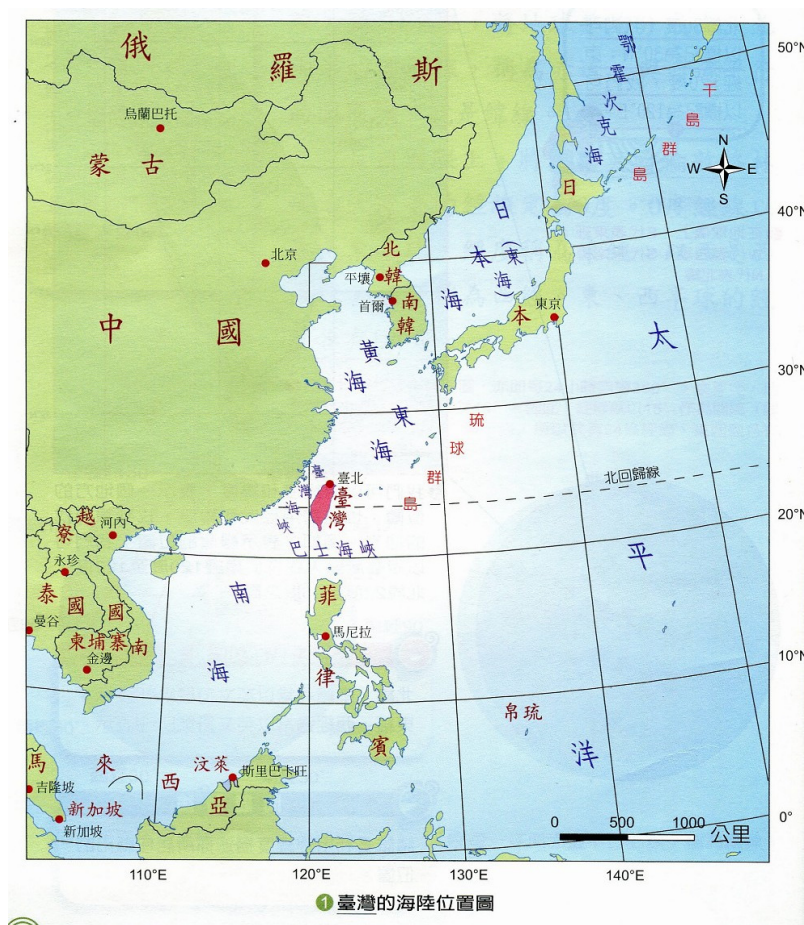
described.

These three articles overall convey the message to portray Taiwan as the home with attractive scenery, food, and aboriginal cultures, which became cultural symbols to represent Taiwan. In addition, the articles are constructing a territorial nationalism that focuses on the ideology of place.

5.2.2 The Nation in the Social Studies Textbooks

This section discusses the presentation of nation in the textbooks from three aspects: territory, history and the concept of the nation in the textbooks. The territory of the nation was not discussed explicitly in the textbooks. Therefore, I examined it by analysing the discussion of geography in the Year 5 Social Studies textbook. The lesson describes the geographical location of Taiwan, the formation of the Taiwan Island, and its geology, topography, climate, and resources. The map in the lesson (Figure 5-1) not only demonstrated the geographical location of Taiwan, but also implies that the territories of the nation. This presentation is in accordance with the territories that Taiwanese nationalism advocates and most Taiwanese people understand now. They are Taiwan and its offshore islands, which constitutes *Tai-Peng-Jing-Ma* (Corcuff, 2005).

Figure 5-1. The geography location of Taiwan in the Year 5 Social Studies textbook



However, the territories presented in the textbook do not correspond to those in the laws. The ‘Constitution of the Republic of China’¹⁷ stipulates the territory is within the national boundaries, but it does not explain what the boundaries are. Therefore, it leaves space for interpretation. The ‘Act of Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area’¹⁸ defines the territories include Taiwan and Mainland China¹⁹. Nevertheless, the pedagogical

¹⁷ It was published in 1947. The Article 4 says: The territory of the Republic of China within its existing national boundaries shall not be altered except by a resolution of the National Assembly.

¹⁸ This Act was published in 1992, and I refer to the latest version that was updated in 2011.

¹⁹ In Article 2, it says, 1. "Taiwan Area" refers to Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu, and any other area under the effective control of the Government. 2. "Mainland Area" refers to the territory of the

narratives are presenting the territories that are closer to current situation, and deliver this knowledge to the new generation. This shows that Taiwanese nationalism is creating a new image of the nation through redefining the territories through education.

In terms of the history, the textbooks describe a history of Taiwan focused on the history on the Taiwan Island, instead of a history of the Republic of China that usually traces back to the Imperial China. Taiwan is presented as a place going through different periods, from the occupying of the Dutch and Spanish, having migrants from the Mainland China, being ceded to Japan, to the period of Republic of China. The history of Taiwan was traced back to prehistoric period as early as fifty thousand years ago, when Taiwan had already been inhabited. In the 17th century, Taiwan stepped into the historical times in which written records can be found. The Dutch, Spanish, and Han people colonized Taiwan in succession since 1624. Taiwan was included as a part of the empire of the Ching Dynasty in the 19th century, but it was ceded to Japan for fifty years between 1895 and 1945 after the defeat of the Qing dynasty in the first Sino-Japanese war. After Japanese colonization, Taiwan became a province of the Republic of China, stepping into ‘The period of Republic of China’ in the textbooks.

The history in the textbook presents a history of suppression and resistance. Since the Dutch and Spanish colonialism, Han and Aborigines have been exploited, and finally revolted. Meanwhile, with more Han immigrants from South-east China

Republic of China outside the Taiwan Area.” According to the second point, the territory includes the Mainland.

during the Qing dynasty, the Aborigines' life and space were threatened. Conflicts among Han people from different areas (Hakka and Hoklo) also happened. Under Japanese colonialism, Taiwanese people tried to set up a "Democratic Republic of Taiwan (*Taiwan min zhu guo*, 台灣民主國)" to resist but failed. Uprisings from Han and Aborigines continued because of the unfair treatments during Japanese colonialism. Finally, Taiwan was returned to the Republic of China but the 2/28 Incident caused the political and ethnic conflicts in Taiwan afterward.

The formation of the nation and national identity usually accompany with the construction of 'self' and 'other' (Alonso, 1994; Triandafyllidou, 1998). The discourses in the Social Studies textbooks strengthened the national identity by describing several 'others', including the Dutch, Spanish, Japanese, as well as the 'significant other' (Triandafyllidou, 1998), China. The history in the textbooks describes the unfair treatments from the colonialism of these nations but the textbooks do give credit to the economic development brought by these nations, except China.

In the textbooks, the concept of '*guojia* (nation)' was not discussed until Year 6 in the lessons about international relationships. The lesson introduced the yearly survey conducted by Freedom House to rank nations in the world according to their democracy and political freedom. Taiwan was categorised as a country with full freedom. In addition, it discussed the political challenge of the nation: "Taiwan is one member of the international society but Taiwan usually cannot participate in international organizations and activities because of the obstruction from China." From these narratives, Taiwan is regarded as the nation in the textbooks.

In other cases, the textbook use the term ‘our country’, to avoid using any name of the nation. For example, it describes that ‘our country’ cannot participate in international activities because China often blocks ‘us’ from getting involved since ‘we’ are forced to withdraw from the United Nations in 1971. This pushes ‘our country’ into a tough situation internationally and infringed peoples’ rights. It uses the example that Taiwan could not get information and help from the WHO to manage severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2003 because Taiwan was not a member of WHO. This is contradictory to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the charters of the United Nations. In the textbook, it leaves questions for students to think if they know any other events where China suppresses the international relationship of ‘our country’ and how it would affect ‘our country’. But what is ‘our country’? The textbook does not explain ‘we’ and ‘our country’, but usually it does not need explanations. These small words like ‘we’, ‘our’, ‘us’ are usually crucial words of banal nationalism as reminders of the homeland and national identity (Billig, 1995). Billig (1995) argues that the context (‘deixis’ in his word) is important for making the meaning of these words in national discourses which we take for granted. From the contents of the textbook, it is clear that ‘we’ are not China (PRC) but a country called ‘Taiwan’.

In addition, the economical interdependent relation between China and Taiwan was omitted in the textbooks. On the one hand, Taiwan is one of the major foreign investments in China (Duara, 2009). On the other hand, China is one of the most important trade partners of Taiwan. It is estimated that about one million Taiwanese businessmen are working in China to raise their family back in Taiwan.

Yet, the partnership was not mentioned in the textbooks. Finally instead of viewing Taiwan as the nation that inherits the Chinese culture, the longest continuous history in the world, the textbook links the origin of the nation to the Aboriginal culture. These narratives indicate that the textbooks construct China as the ‘other’ not only in nationality, but also in culture.

5.3 The Nation from Children’s perspectives

Naming is powerful because it brings something into existence (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). The name of the nation connects it to its history, territory, myths, and symbols associated with its name (Triandafyllidou, 1998). In this section, I present children’s perspectives on the different names of the nation.

Most children listed one or two names of the nation. The participants described the nation in several names²⁰, including “Taiwan”, “Formosa”, “*Baodao*”, “the Republic of China (ROC)”, “*Meilidao*”, and some names they created by themselves, such as the country of good people (*haorenguo*, 好人國) and the Republic (*gongheguo*, 共和國). The details of names that these children listed are shown in Appendix 6.

Among these names, “Taiwan” was the most popular name mentioned by the participants and it was usually the first one that came to their mind. The second popular name for them was “Formosa”. In Appendix 6, we can see that several

²⁰ The meanings and the origins of these names will be discussed later.

children provided the names of cities or other states. This might be because they mixed different scales of place, but also might just be because they misunderstood my question. The cities they provide are usually where their home is so they might think that I was asking about their home. As mentioned earlier the idea of *guojia* in Chinese language is like an imagined extended family. It is why the lyrics mentioned at the beginning of this chapter asked this question, ‘without a country, how can there be a home?’ *Guojia* conveys the ideology of the home of the individual’s home.

Each of these names represents different meanings. The ROC can be regarded as the representative of Chinese nationalism, while the others (Taiwan, Formosa, *Meilidao* and *Baodao*) are symbols of Taiwanese nationalism. The ROC is the only name that does not directly relate to the idea of the Taiwan Island while the other four names all describe and relate to the Taiwan Island. Taiwan can refer to the geographical Taiwan Island. Using the major island, it also represents the nation as an island country. Formosa is the “beautiful island” in Portuguese. Formosa is related to the history that Portuguese discovered the Taiwan Island in the 16th century. Formosa is the name promoted by the DPP because it is the Western or pre-Chinese name for the Taiwan Island before it was ruled by the ROC regime (Cabestan, 2005). Originated from “Formosa”, “*Meilidao*” is literally “Beautiful Island” in Mandarin. *Meilidao* has also become a political term because it is closely related to the DPP and its political movement.

“*Baodao*”, meaning “Treasure Island” in Mandarin, also centres on the Taiwan Island itself. This name shows the abundant natural resources in the Taiwan Island.

Taiwan had a period of gold rush, and provided metal, timber of cypress, cane sugar, fruits to Japan during its colonisation. It is hard to trace when this name became popular but one of the oldest watch companies established in 1956 used “*Baodao*” as its Chinese name and the shape of the Taiwan Island as its trademark. “*Baodao*” has long been a popular informal name being used widely in different ethnic groups although it is not particularly promoted by any political parties. It survived without contradicting the discourses in both the Chinese nationalism led by the KMT and the Taiwanese nationalism since 2000.

After explaining the historical meanings of different names of the nation, next sections present the children’s understanding and description of the contesting names of the nation, Taiwan, Formosa, and the Republic of China, in the order of popularity among the participants.

5.3.1 Taiwan

Taiwan, formerly the name of the island, is becoming the name of the country, especially after the promotion of Taiwanese nationalism. Most children described ‘Taiwan’ as the name of the country. Peggy (Taiwan, Y4)²¹ used “island country” to describe it. Her description reveals her perception of the status of the nation and its territory.

²¹ Each participant in this thesis is presented with their pseudonym, mother’s original nationality, and the year of study.

Jessica: 你覺得我們台灣是國家嗎?

Peggy: 當然是阿, 是一個島國

[Jessica: Do you think Taiwan a country?

Peggy: Of course. It is an island country.]

However, not every child thought Taiwan referred to the country. Nemo (Taiwan, Y4) had a different opinion. Like the following excerpt, he thought Taiwan is the name of a place rather than the name of a country. Nevertheless, later in our conversation, I asked him about the name of the nation again, and he answered “Taiwan.”

Jessica: 你有聽過台灣嗎?

Nemo: 有阿

Jessica: 嗯哼, 那你覺得台灣是一個地方的名字還是國家的名字?

Nemo: 。。地方

Jessica: 是一個地方

Nemo: 台灣是一個小島

[Jessica: Have you ever heard of Taiwan?

Nemo: Yes.

Jessica: Uh-huh. You think Taiwan is the name of a place or the name of a country?

Nemo: ...place.

Jessica: a place.

Nemo: Taiwan is a small island.]

How do children learn that Taiwan is a country? Like most other children, Lily (Taiwan, Y4) could tell that Taiwan is the name of the country but she could not provide the source she knew it. I argue that the discourse of Taiwanese nationalism is overwhelmed in constructing Taiwan as the nation in all kind of media, including textbooks, so that Taiwan is taken for granted as the country name by the new generation. Only one girl, Tina (Taiwan, Y4), indicated that she came to know

that Taiwan was a country through the class when her English teacher was making comparison among Taiwan and other countries.

Jessica: 你在哪裡學到台灣?

Tina: 就是英文課的時候, 老師會說國外阿, 然後我們台灣有什麼什麼

[Jessica: Where do you learn about Taiwan?

Tina: It was in English class. The teacher said something foreign and what we have in Taiwan.]

Children use ‘Taiwan’ to describe the nation. When they portrayed it as an island country and an island, the territory of the nation is constructed as well. Growing up in Taiwanese nationalism, most children took it for granted that Taiwan was the nation. Therefore, the construction of Taiwan as the nation in Taiwanese nationalism is powerful for the new generation.

5.3.2 Formosa

Formosa is the second popular name that children use to describe the country and they know about Formosa basically from school and textbooks. They cited the story that this name was given by Portuguese to admire the beauty of Taiwan when they sailed by the island. Shelley (Taiwan, Y6) pointed out this story was presented in the textbook of Social Studies for Year 5, the volume introducing the history of Taiwan. In this textbook, a paragraph said, “At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese sailed around the sea by the southeast of mainland and saw an island with green hills and clear waters. They called it ‘Formosa’, meaning ‘beautiful island’.” This lesson was provided for Year 5

students, but Emma (China, Y3) in Year 3 also mentioned this story. She noted that there is a section of ‘Beautiful Taiwan’ in the Mandarin textbook. Her teacher talked about this story in the class although there was not any direct description about Formosa in this section.

Jessica: 你覺得我們國家叫什麼名字阿?

Shelley: 國家? 國家叫什麼名字?

Jessica: 恩

Shelley: 台灣阿

Jessica: 他有沒有別的名字?

Shelley: 福爾摩沙, 以前的名字

Jessica: 恩, 你從哪裡知道他以前叫福爾摩沙阿?

Shelley: 五年級的社會課本

[Jessica: What is the name of our country?

Shelley: Country? The name of the country?

Jessica: En.

Shelley: Taiwan.

Jessica: Does it have any other names?

Shelley: Formosa, the previous name.

Jessica: En. Where do you know that it is called Formosa before?

Shelley: The Social Studies textbook in Year 5.]

In addition to the story about the Portuguese, Harry (Taiwan, Y4) connected Formosa to a story about Dr. George Leslie Mackay in the Mandarin textbook for Year 4. Examining the textbook Harry mentioned, there was a lesson to commemorate Dr. MacKay who came to Taiwan for his mission and finally devoted his life to the medicine, public health and education in Taiwan. This lesson started with this sentence, “Dr. George Leslie Mackay is a priest, a doctor, and an educator who dedicated his life to Formosa-Taiwan.”

Jessica: 那你是在哪裡學到台灣是叫 Formosa?

Harry: 課本

Jessica: 課本喔，是社會課本嗎？

Harry: 是國語

Jessica: 國語課本喔，什麼時候上到的阿？

Harry: 就是馬偕博士阿

Jessica: 喔～ 那還有其他，那他是在講什麼？

Harry: 就講他到 Formosa 奉獻

[Jessica: How did you learn that Taiwan is called Formosa?

Harry: From textbook.

Jessica: Textbook, from Social Studies textbook?

Harry: Mandarin.

Jessica: Mandarin textbook. How did you learn it?

Harry: It talked about Dr. Mackay.

Jessica: En, what did the lesson talk about?

Harry: It said that he devoted himself to Formosa.]

Apart from these two stories in Social Studies textbook and in the Mandarin textbook, there is no other content in textbooks that mentioned Formosa. Despite its relatively low exposure in the textbooks, 'Formosa' is formally introduced and promoted with explanation of its origin and meaning through the pedagogical materials and teachers. Therefore, children remember vividly that Formosa is the synonym of Taiwan, even if it is a translation name from Portuguese.

There has been a rise and fall in the use of the name Formosa. The island of Taiwan used to be better known as Formosa internationally in the 1940s (Chen and Reisman, 1972). In addition, Formosa was used by early independence activists and they referred to the island's people as Formosans to retain its distinctiveness and a historical legitimacy to resist the KMT's legitimacy of ruling this island, but the name Formosa fell into disuse since the late 1950s (Harrison, 2006).

Nevertheless, Formosa is now being promoted in the textbooks again although the identity being promoted is no longer Formosan, but Taiwanese. In contrast, the Republic of China (ROC), which is discussed in next section, appeared more in frequency in the textbooks (see Table 5-1), but children's understanding of the ROC is vague and unclear.

5.3.3 Republic of China (ROC)

Republic of China is the current official name of Taiwan. This year (2011) the ROC is celebrating its 100th anniversary. This fieldwork was conducted in 2009 before the country celebrated its 99th and 100th anniversary vigorously in 2010 and 2011. Nevertheless, to what extent do children understand the ROC when they have learned that the nation is Taiwan in Taiwanese nationalism?

Less than half of the participants could connect the ROC to the country. Only two girls, Peggy (Taiwan, Y4) and Yumi (Taiwan, Y5), spontaneously described the ROC as one of the names of the country. Another six children said that ROC was equal to Taiwan when I mentioned the ROC, but it was not the name that came to their mind in the first place. Shelley (Taiwan, Y6) listed most names of the nation, including Taiwan, Formosa, Meilidao and Baodao, but the ROC was left out.

Mia (Taiwan, Y6) pointed out that 'Taiwan' was more common and she was not familiar with the name 'Republic of China'. Her excerpt shows the ROC is disappearing in the pedagogical materials.

Jessica: 你們現在教我們這個國家是中華民國還是台灣?

Mia: 你說社會課本還是...?

Jessica: 你理解到的, 中華民國這個詞有聽過嗎?

Mia: 中華民國, 有(呵)...怎麼辦, 我送回去了

Jessica: 哪個比較常用?

Mia: 他(台灣)吧

[Jessica: What is the name of our country that you are taught? The Republic of China or Taiwan?

Mia: You mean in the textbook of social studies or...?

Jessica: In your understanding. Have you ever heard of the name, Republic of China?

Mia: Republic of China. Yes (hehe)...I have sent it back (to the teachers)²².

Jessica: which one is more common?

Mia: Probably this one (Taiwan).]

One girl described the ROC as the previous name of the nation and said it was no longer used. This shows that the idea of the ROC begins to disappear in the new generation. As Renan's famous comment "for the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, but also that they have forgotten many other things" (1990: 11), Taiwanese nationalism in the educational system has removed the ROC as the nation so that the new generation forget about it, in accompany with creating a new nation, Taiwan.

Jessica: 你知道什麼是中華民國嗎?

Shelley: 恩。。。就以前台灣的名字

Jessica: 喔, 那現在台灣還叫這個名字嗎?

Shelley: 沒有了

[Jessica: Do you know what the Republic of China is?

Shelley: Hmm...it is the former name of Taiwan.

Jessica: Oh...Is Taiwan still called this name now?

Shelley: Not any more.]

²² It means that she forget what the ROC means although she learned about it before.

Six children²³ said that they had heard of the ‘Republic of China’, but they did not know what it meant or where it is. Another five children²⁴ referred the ‘Republic of China’ to China (People’s Republic of China). For example, Steve (China, Y4) described the ‘Republic of China’ as a place different from Taiwan.

Steve: 我覺得中華民國就是屬於中國大陸那一部份，但我覺得台灣是獨立的，就是台灣自己是台灣，他不是中華民國的地方

Jessica: 所以中華民國跟台灣是不一樣的

Steve: 嗯，對

[Steve: I think the Republic of China belongs to China, but I think Taiwan is independent, that is, Taiwan is Taiwan. It is not a part of the Republic of China.

Jessica: So the Republic of China is different from Taiwan?

Steve: En, Yes.]

Analysing the usage of the ROC in the textbooks, it is not hard to understand why children are not familiar with this term. In the textbooks, the ROC is usually not presented in its full name, but in its abbreviation form, *minguo* 民國. *Minguo* is used to represent the civil calendar, ROC year, rather than connecting to the concept of the nation. The ‘ROC year’ is calculated from 1912, which is the founding year of the Republic of China. Therefore, the year 2011 is the 100th year in the civil calendar. In Taiwan, this civil calendar ‘ROC year’ is used in official documents and for ordinary usage, including in the education system. In the Mandarin textbooks, only the ‘ROC year’ was used, and the full name of the ROC

²³ Cinday (Y3, China), Ray (Y4, Taiwan), Gina (Y4, Vietnam), Bruce (Y5, Vietnam), Mike (Y5, Taiwan) and Mia (Y6, Taiwan)

²⁴ Steve (Y4, China), Nemo (Y4, Taiwan), Joanna (Y4, China), Oliver (Y5, China), and Cathy (Y6, Taiwan)

never presented.

The usage of the ROC spread in a wide range of volumes in the Social Studies textbooks but most of them are still used for the 'ROC year', except in Year 5. It is the only explanation of the ROC. The contents were limited to two paragraphs. The first paragraph mentioned that the ROC was established by Dr. Sun, Yet-sen in 1912, and the other paragraph described ROC as the current regime ruling Taiwan. Therefore, it was not until Year 5 that there is an explanation about the ROC in the textbooks. Compared with 'Taiwan' that is portrayed as the home in Year 3 textbook and 'Formosa' as the synonym of Taiwan in Year 4 textbook, the 'ROC' is presented later and not linked to the idea of home or country. It is difficult for children to connect themselves emotionally with the ROC.

While the ROC is barely discussed formally in the pedagogical materials, the participants still learn or hear about the ROC from various channels, which are the (1) civil calendar, (2) songs, (3) class, (4) stamps and coins, (5) everyday discourses. They are discussed respectively below.

Firstly, the civil calendar is the most common channel that the participants came to know about the ROC. The participants indicated that the 'ROC year' is used and seen to show the date on the banner of the sports day, contact book (聯絡簿)²⁵, blackboard²⁶, and forms. For some of them, the ROC is a form of time only. Some of them did not know what these words meant and why the ROC year was used.

²⁵ The contact book is a booklet to facilitate teacher and parent's communication on a daily basis.

²⁶ On the blackboard in the classroom, there is always the date of the civil calendar.

Jessica: 你在哪裡聽到過中華民國?

Cindy: 開運動會的時候

Jessica: 運動會的時候, 運動會的哪裡會有中華民國?

Cindy: 嗯...講台上

Jessica: 真的喔, 他怎麼寫?

Cindy: 嗯...中華民國...九十八年運動會

Jessica: Where do you hear about the ROC?

Cindy: On sports day.

[Jessica: On sports day. Why there is the ROC on sports day?

Cindy: Hmm...on the speech platform.

Jessica: Really? What does it write?

Cindy: Hmm..The 98th ROC Year Sports Day.]

Jessica: 中華民國是什麼?

Harold: 代表年月日

[Jessica: What does the ROC mean?

Harold: It means year, month and day.]

Secondly, four boys²⁷ expressed that they learned about the ROC from the national anthem, the national flag songs in the flag-raising ceremony, and a patriotic song -*wo ai chunghua* 我愛中華 (I love (Republic of) China). Thus, I examined the lyrics of these songs. In Mandarin, the Republic of China is composed of four Chinese characters, *chung hua min guo*. These three songs all show the ideas of the nation and patriotism but only the patriotic song has the full name of the Republic of China in the lyrics. The lyrics of the national anthem only used its abbreviated form in the last two characters, *minguo* (meaning “the Republic”). In the national flag song, there is not any Chinese word relating to the ROC.

²⁷ Ray (Y4, Taiwan), Harry (Y4, Taiwan), Kevin (Y5, China) and Oliver (Y5, China)

The lyrics of the national anthem came from a speech delivered by the national father, Dr. Sun, Yet-sen as an exhortation to the Whampoa Military Academy (黃埔軍校) in 1924. The exhortation was firstly designated as the party song of the KMT in 1928, and then used as the national anthem of the ROC since 1937 (GIO, 2010). It starts with talking about the Three Principles of the People (三民主義), the fundamental doctrines that Dr. Sun Yet-sen held when he established the ROC, and then he encouraged people to unite and to strive hard to follow the principles. In the end, the lyrics mention blue sky, white sun and red land, the three features of the national flag (Appendix 7). They are also the symbols of the blood shed for freedom and equality, and for revolutions that overthrew Imperial China and established the ROC.

The patriotic song, *wo ai chung hua* (我愛中華), is literally ‘I love China’. The lyrics praises that the nation has a long Chinese history and how great it is that different ethnic groups can be in the same family. It also encourages people to fight against the communists and to restore the Republic of China in the Mainland. Hence, even the lyrics of these three songs do not necessarily link to the ROC directly or explicitly, they are generally related to the ideology of Chinese nationalism focusing on the ROC.

Children are performing nationalism through the national songs and patriotic songs because national flag raising ceremony is a ritual display of national unity (Billig, 1995). Taiwanese students used to gather and stand in front of the national flag every morning, but this everyday ritual has been cut down now. In this primary school, according to Mia (Taiwan, Y6), they gathered together on the playground

for flag raising ceremony on Monday only. The students sang the national song and saluted to the national flag when it was raised. On Wednesday and Friday, instead of gathering on the playground, they stood outside of their own classroom to participate in the ceremony.

The decrease of the frequency of national flag raising ceremony and its flexible form is also an act of Taiwanese nationalism to resist Chinese nationalism in the ceremony. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) views the national flag and the national song as the symbols of the KMT. The national flag contains the party symbol of the KMT, and the lyrics of the national song tell to obey 'my' party, which refers to the KMT. In addition, the nation that the national flag and national song are designated to is the Republic of China, which is thought by the DPP as a foreign regime or colonial regime that ruled Taiwan and imposed Chinese nationalism before.

Thirdly, two participants expressed that they learned about the ROC from class, teacher and textbook. Tim (Taiwan, Y3) indicated that he learned about it from the Social Studies textbook. Yumi (Taiwan, Y5) knew it because her teacher talked about the story about Chiang, Kei-shek in the class but she also expressed that she has never learned about it from the textbooks. Another nine children directly expressed that they have never learned about the ROC from the textbooks. This indicates that the ROC was marginalised in the current pedagogical narratives.

Fourthly, some participants know about the ROC from national objects, such as stamps and coins. The stamps in Taiwan used to have "REPUBLIC OF CHINA" in

both Chinese and English. During Chen Shui-bian's office, in the name of the 60th anniversary of the 2/28 Incident, the words on the stamps had been changed to "TAIWAN" in both Chinese and English in February 2007. The sign on the stamps was changed to "REPUBLIC OF CHINA (TAIWAN)" shortly after Ma Ying-jeou's presidency in a low key in 2008 (Now News, 2008) This renaming movement was one of the campaigns that the independence-leaning government initiated to segregate from the PRC and to declare sovereignty.

As children noted, coins and banknotes usually bear national emblems (Billig, 1995; Corcuff, 2002a). The current coins in Taiwan are shown in Appendix 8. On the front side of each coin, there is the issue year of the coin and a symbol, usually a portrait. The issue year is based on the civil calendar, the ROC year. A symbolic change of Taiwanese nationalism can be found on the portrait on the coins. The coins used to use the portrait of Chiang Kai-shek, and the Central Bank published the coins with the aboriginal hero, Mona Rudao, in 2001. Afterward, the coins start to use other portraits. Reducing references of former leader, Chiang Kai-shek, who led the ROC regime to Taiwan, and use other figures serves a symbolic transformation in accompany with replacing the ROC with Taiwan in Taiwanese nationalism.

In addition to the sources mentioned above, the participants mentioned that they knew the ROC from the everyday discourses, such as their parents, and baseball games on the TV.

To sum up, even when children have these resources to know the ROC in their

daily life, they do not have clear ideas about what the ROC represents. Instead of recognising that the ROC is the name of the nation, many children thought the ROC is a way to represent the year. Comparing children's response to the name "the Republic of China" with "Taiwan", children are more familiar with "Taiwan". When I discussed "the Republic of China" with the participants, most children showed uncertainty, unfamiliarity, or even confusion about the meaning of this term, which indicates that this name is being forgotten among the new generation. Nationalism is not just about remembering, but also about forgetting (Gellner, 1983; Renan, 1990). In the case of Taiwanese nationalism, it is successful in letting the new generation forget the ROC.

5.4 The Symbols of Taiwan

This section discusses and compares the symbols used in the textbooks and those used by children to represent Taiwan. In the textbooks, the national symbols, such as national flag, national song, national emblem, were not formally discussed or presented. Rather, the textbooks use the national flag to discuss the challenge that Taiwan faced in the international society. For instance, the flag of the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee was presented to demonstrate that Taiwan cannot receive equal rights in all international sports events because of the oppression from China (Figure 5-2). Another picture (Figure 5-3) shows that a Taiwanese athlete held the national flag when he won an international competition. This picture demonstrates the effort and desire to show Taiwan to the international society.

Figure 5-2. The flag of the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee



Text: My country can only use the flag of the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee to represent the country when attending Olympics so we cannot receive equal rights.

Figure 5-3. National flag held by a Taiwanese athlete



Text: Kevin Lin took the national flag when he won the champion in the 2006 RTP Four Desert Marathon, raising the visibility of Taiwan.

The Social Studies textbooks used a number of cultural symbols to outline Taiwan. They include local cultures, tourism, food, literature, music, Taiwanese opera, and festivals. Festivals, especially Aboriginal festivals, are offered not only to represent aboriginal cultural, but also a symbol of traditional culture. For example, the cover page of the lesson of the ‘population of our hometown,’ uses a photo of an aboriginal ‘life bean festival’ to bless the newlyweds (Figure 5-4). The text explained that ‘life bean’ grows seeds even in tough environments so it is usually

given as a gift in the weddings of this tribe. The symbol originally used only in an aboriginal tribe was extended to represent the whole population in Taiwan.

Figure 5-4. 'Life bean festival' was introduced in the lesson on population.



To explore children's opinions about the symbols of the nation, the participants were asked what they would like to talk about if they were going to make a short film to introduce Taiwan. Their responses can be categorised into national and cultural symbols. For national symbols, children used the national flag, the president, and 'the shape of Taiwan' as symbols of Taiwan. In terms of cultural symbols, children usually talk about tourist attractions, famous buildings (Taipei 101, Fort Zeelandia), food, and language. Harold expressed that Taiwan used Chinese as subtitle on the TV. Mike used 'guo zi 國字' (Chinese character) as a symbol for Taiwan. Some popular attractions include Jade Mountain, Ali Mountain, Sun Moon Lake, Yehliu²⁸, Kenting²⁹. The participants revealed that they learned

²⁸ It is a cape on the north coast of Taiwan. It is a geological attraction famous for the stones, especially a stone's shape looks like the Queen's head.

²⁹ Kenting is a national park located in southeast part of Taiwan. Its beach is a popular attraction.

some of the attractions from the textbooks, rather than visiting there in person. They also mention some local parks or hills of Taichung, the city where they lived.

Food was a salient symbol of the nation that was used by the children. The participants provided a long list of local cuisine that are available in night markets, such as beef noodles (牛肉麵), ginger duck soup (薑母鴨), oyster omelette (蚵仔煎), bawen (肉圓), and the suncake (太陽餅), which is a popular dessert originally from the city where this study was conducted, Taichung. The ginger duck soup, oyster omelette, and bawen can be viewed as food that is originally from Hoklo culture because they were Minnanese words being translated into Chinese Mandarin characters. Therefore, Hoklo culture is dominant in the Taiwanese culture.

Jessica: 你會怎麼介紹台灣給沒有來過台灣的人呢？

[Jessica: How would you introduce Taiwan to people never been to Taiwan?]

Anne: 小吃，台北的101，跟那個高鐵和火車，還有捷運

[Anne: local cuisine, Taipei 101, Taiwan High Speed Rail, Taiwan Railways and Mass Rapid Transit]

Mia: 可能就跟他說台灣的小吃，例如那個蚵仔煎（台語），還有臭豆腐之類的都很好吃，不然就是我們台灣人覺得那裡很好，就帶他們去那邊觀景看看

[Mia: Maybe tell them the Taiwanese local cuisine, such as oyster omelette and stinky tofu, which is very tasty, or show them around]

Cathy: 台灣的小吃很好吃，還有地方特色都還不錯，可以去爬山。還有那個大肚山，晚上夜景很不錯

[Cathy: Taiwanese local cuisine is very delicious and some local places are nice. They can go mountain hiking...and the Dadu Plateau, with very beautiful night scenes.]

These symbols outlined by the participants can particularly reflect the

‘performative narrations’ from children and the gap between then and ‘pedagogical narrations’ (Bhabha, 1990). While the textbooks use many aboriginal symbols to represent Taiwan, none of the participants mentioned aboriginal symbols. The participants used the symbols in their own lives and the things they do to sketch the nation in their eyes. It is the ‘personal nationalism’ (Cohen, 1996) the participants do in remembrance of the nation and their national identity.

Food is not just for daily nutrition; rather, food is an important medium for social relations, and, therefore, shaping identity in Taiwan (Stafford, 1995). Food culture has been an important national symbol of Taiwan but it was neglected in the literature of Taiwan studies. In Taiwan, the most common greeting would be ‘have you eaten yet?’, rather than ‘how are you?’ (Stafford, 1995). Food is the starting point of a conversation and relation building. Stafford (1995) highlighted the food symbolism embedded in the Taiwanese culture in his ethnography in a fishing community. For a Taiwanese family, food serves as a reflection of the family to the outside world. The wealth and well-being of this family is reflected in their ability to serve food to someone from the outside. Also, sharing food is a way to build and to highlight relationships. As I discussed earlier that the nation is like an imagined extended family in Taiwan, food symbolism can also be used to show the the nation to the outside world.

Food is an essential part of the shared memory and the national culture so it is where nationalism manifests in everyday life (Holtzman, 2006; Caldwell, 2002; Wilk, 1993). In the case of Taiwan, food is a representation of the nation to the outside international society. One example of food symbolism can also be seen in

the 21th Summer Deaflympic Games³⁰ in Taipei in 2011. Cuisine of Taipei was transformed into a dance show in the opening ceremony and typical ceremonial rites in the closing ceremony were replaced by a big Taiwanese-style banquet which allowed all athletes to taste local cuisines.

When I discussed about the difference of countries, children in this study usually refers to the food difference. I present three examples here that how children use food to described the difference between Taiwan and other countries, like China, Korea, and Vietnam. Firstly, when I asked Oliver (China, Y5) about the difference between Taiwan and the city he visited in China. He spontaneously enquired if he could talk about food. Secondly, Peggy (Taiwan, Y4) also used food, such as Kimchi, to differentiate Korea and Taiwan when she recalled her visit to Korea. Thirdly, Tim (Vietnam, Y3) indicated food as one of the features of Vietnam. These examples show that food is a salient symbol that children use to identify and differentiate Taiwan from other countries.

Jessica: 還會想到什麼?

Oliver: 嗯...吃的可以嗎?

Jessica: 可以阿

Oliver: 就綠豆糕吧

[Jessica: What else do you think of (about the difference)?

Oliver: Hmm...Can I talk about food?

Jessica: Sure.

Oliver: Mung bean cake.]

Jessica: 那你有沒有覺得韓國跟台灣有沒有什麼不一樣?

³⁰ It was the world games for the deaf. Unlike the athletes in Olympics, the Deaflympians cannot be guided by sounds.

Peggy: 有阿, 吃的東西不一樣, 泡菜, 還有那個冬粉阿, 然後都很粗

[Jessica: Is there any difference between Koras and Taiwan?

Peggy: Yes, what they eat is different, such as Kimchi and the bean thread is thick.]

Jessica: 你會怎麼介紹越南, 你覺得越南有什麼特別的地方?

Tim: 越南的名產, 還有好玩的地方, 還有建築物跟公園

Jessica: 他們有哪些名產阿?

Tim: 有那個。米苔目, 還有河粉, 跟那個...生春捲

[Jessica: How would you introduce Vietnam? What is special in Vietnam?

Tim: The local products, fun places, buildings and parks.

Jessica: What local products do they have?

Time: They have...short rice noodles, hofan, and the raw spring rolls.]

Sports is never merely sports, rather, it has a political and social significance. It is a way to wave flags to 'our victories' and 'our heroes' that signifies nations (Billig, 1995). Sport is the site where national identity is shown in the adult world (Young, 2001; An and Loh, 2010), as well as for children in Wales (Scourfield et al., 2006). In Taiwan, baseball and taekwondo usually become the time to arouse strong emotion in relation to 'our' nation. Nevertheless, sports played a minor role among Taiwanese children in this study. None of the participants talked about sports to represent Taiwan. Only one girl mentioned that she learned the name the Republic of China from baseball games.

5.5 Is Taiwan Independent?

Independence of Taiwan is a controversial issue, and even a taboo under China's threat of force. I discussed with children whether Taiwan is independent or a part of China. Most children are not sure about the relation between Taiwan and China. Nevertheless, eighteen children claimed that Taiwan is independent or not a part of

China, and three children thought Taiwan is a part of China. There is no salient difference in their school year, gender and mother's origins with regard to their opinions on this issue.

Peggy (Taiwan, Y4) was an extreme case who held a strong position on the independence issue. She disagreed that Taiwan belongs to China strongly.

Jessica: 你覺得台灣是中國的一部份嗎?

Peggy: 不是, 堅決反對

Jessica: 你反對

Peggy: 抗議

[Jessica: Do you think Taiwan is a part of China?

Peggy: No, oppose firmly.

Jessica: You oppose to it.

Peggy: Objection.]

Children have various reasons to support their standpoints. For those who believed Taiwan was independent, the reasons were oriented from history, language difference and geographical separation. Tina (Taiwan, Y4) and Kat (Vietnam, Y6) believed Taiwan was independent from a historical perspective. Both of them indicated that Taiwan used to belong to China but Taiwan is independent now. Tina used the Chinese Civil War in the 1940s to explain that Taiwan became a new country after the war. In Kat's interview, she mentioned Taiwan is her country when she chose 'Taiwanese' as one of her identities so I continued to use the word 'country' in the conversation. In the excerpt below, she said Taiwan used to be a part of China but Taiwan has separated from China so Taiwan should be independent now.

Jessica: 有些人會覺得台灣是中國的一部份，有些人覺得台灣是獨立的，那你覺得呢？

Tina: 台灣獨立啦！

Jessica: 那你覺得台灣人跟中國人有什麼不一樣嗎？

Tina: 就是爸爸說，中國人他們，因為台灣是那個逃過來的阿，所以他就說，之後我們就成立一個國家，所以台灣應該，台灣是自己獨立的

[Jessica: Some people think Taiwan is a part of China and some people think Taiwan is independent. How do you think?

Tina: Taiwan is independent!

Jessica: What's the difference of Taiwanese and Chinese?

Tina: My dad said...Those Chinese...because those people fled to Taiwan so he said that we set up a country afterward. Hence, Taiwan should be, Taiwan is independent itself.]

Jessica: 中國是一個國家，台灣也是一個國家嘛，不過你覺得台灣是屬於中國的對不對？

Kat: 就是因為台灣算是屬於中國，但是台灣現在獨立了阿

Jessica: 所以你說是他以前屬於中國還是。。

Kat: 以前吧

[Jessica: China is a country and Taiwan is a country. Yet, you think Taiwan belong to China, right?

Kat: The thing is...Taiwan belongs to China but Taiwan is independent now.

Jessica: Do you mean that it used to belong to China or....?

Kat: It used to be.]

The linguistic differences, accent and the written words, were referred to by Lindsey (Vietnam, Y4) and Mike (Taiwan, Y5) to claim that Taiwan was independent.

Lindsey: 台灣是獨立的

Jessica: 恩，為什麼？

Lindsey: 因為中國的...那個說話的語言，有點跟我們不像

Jessica: 恩恩，他們的講話是怎麼樣的？

Lindsey: 好像有捲舌

[Lindsey: Taiwan is independent.

Jessica: En, Why?

Lindsey: Because China's....the speaking language is slightly different from ours.

Jessica: Uh-Huh, how do they speak?

Lindsey: It seems that they roll the tongue.]

Jessica: 台灣跟中國，有些人會覺得台灣是屬於中國的，有人覺得台灣和中國是兩個獨立的國家，你覺得呢？

Mike: 他們是簡體

[...]

Jessica: 那你會覺得我們是屬於他們的嗎？還是我們自己是一個國家，他們自己是一個國家？

Mike:... 我們是屬於我們的

[Jessica: Taiwan and China...some people think Taiwan belong to China and the others think Taiwan and China are two independent countries. How do you think?

Mike: They use simplified Chinese.

[...]

Jessica: Traditional, En, Do you think we belong to them? Or we are a country itself, and they are the other country.

Mike: ... We belong to ourselves.]

Both Oliver (China, Y5) and Sean (China, Y6) visited China because their mothers are from China. They thought Taiwan was independent from a geographical perspective, which reflected a territorial nationalism. Oliver thought Taiwan is independent because it is an island. Sean thought Taiwan was independent and he visited China every summer. I discussed with Sean that when he visited China, he might have faced the situation that Chinese people told him that Taiwan is a part of China and asked how he dealt with it. He said he would refute them with geographical separation, that is, people need to take an airplane to transfer from one country to the other.

Jessica: 台灣是獨立的，還是台灣是中國的？

Oliver: 台灣是獨立的吧

Jessica: 獨立的，嗯哼，為什麼你會覺得我們台灣是獨立的？

Oliver: 獨立的。。。獨立的。。。因為我們台灣是一個島嶼

[Jessica: Taiwan is independent or belong to China?]

Oliver: Taiwan is independent.

Jessica: Independent. Uh-huh. Why do you think Taiwan is independent?

Oliver: Independent...Independent...because Taiwan is an island.]

Jessica: 他們會跟你說台灣是中國的一部份，有人會這樣跟你講嗎？

Sean: 有阿

Jessica: 那你怎麼辦？

Sean: 我就說。。如果台灣是中國的一部份，那為什麼還要坐飛機

Jessica: 那他們會說什麼？

Sean: 他們就沒有說什麼

[Jessica: They (Chinese) might have told you that Taiwan is a part of China. Has anyone ever told you that?]

Sean: Sure.

Jessica: How do you respond?

Sean: I just said, if Taiwan is a part of China, why we need to take an airplane.

Jessica: Then what did they say?

Sean: They did not say anything.]

Three children, Elizabeth (China, Y3), Ray (Taiwan, Y3), and Anne (Vietnam, Y6), agree that Taiwan is a part of China or Taiwan is the same as China. The main reason was that they don't think Chinese people and Taiwanese people are different. Elizabeth visited her mother's hometown, Fukien, China. She thought Taiwan belongs to China because Chinese people and Taiwanese people are very similar. Yet, she felt Chinese speak more loudly when she visited there. Ray thought Taiwan is separated from China but Chinese people and Taiwanese people are the same. Anne thought Taiwan was a part of China because, in her words, "if there is no China, there is no Taiwan."

Yumi (Taiwan, Y5) and Gina (Vietnam, Y4) changed their opinion about

independence during the interview. Yumi thought Taiwan is geographically separated from the Mainland China because of an earthquake but she cannot see any difference between China and Taiwan so her opinion is that Taiwan is the same as China. She agreed Taiwan and China are two individual countries but she thought Taiwan is inside of China.

However, she cannot agree if people call her Chinese because she thought Chinese is dirty. Her teacher once told her a story about a Chinese child peeing on the tram. I asked her again why she thought Taiwan belonged to China, she changed her opinion and said she didn't think Taiwan belonged to China anymore. The shift might be because originally she didn't think there was any difference between Taiwanese and Chinese but she found out there was cultural differences between Taiwanese and Chinese during the interview, and, therefore, she changed her mind.

Children have their own opinions even if they are different from their parents'. Steve's (Y4, China) mom came from China and his parents had contradictory opinions about whether Taiwan is independent or not. His father thought Taiwan is independent and his mom thought Taiwan is a part of China. He believed Taiwan is independent but he would show his agreement to his mom's opinion in case she got annoyed.

Steve: 我媽媽跟我說台灣也是大陸，就是中國

Jessica: 那你覺得呢？

Steve: 我覺得。。我爸爸之前跟我說台灣是獨立，不是中國；媽媽又說台灣是中國，所以這個。。

Jessica: 那你自己覺得呢？

Steve: 我自己覺得喔，台灣不是中國

Jessica: (笑) 喔，那如果你媽媽又跟你說台灣是大陸，那你會怎麼說

Steve: 我就跟他說恩恩恩

[Steve: My mom told me that Taiwan is the Mainland, namely China.

Jessica: How do you think about it?

Steve: I think...my dad used to tell me that Taiwan is independent, not China, but mom said that Taiwan is China, so...

Steve: How do you think about it yourself?

Steve: Myself.. Taiwan is not China.

Jessica: (Laugh) Oh, When your mom tells you that Taiwan is Mainland China, what would you say?

Steve: I would say, 'uh-huh uh-huh,']

5.6 Conclusion

Naming is a competition of symbolic power (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). Renaming is an important campaign in Taiwanese nationalism; therefore, this chapter started with the investigation of the competing names of the nation being presented in the textbooks, as well as children's usage and interpretation of the names. The official name of the nation is the Republic of China (ROC), but this name is barely used in the current textbooks. The ROC is used only for the civic calendar and the full name of laws in the textbooks. The textbooks illustrate Taiwan as the nation instead, and portray Taiwan as the home.

In the debate of the name of the nation, the pro-independent nationalists view the ROC as a foreign regime lead by the KMT to colonise Taiwan. The nationalists endeavoured to promote the renaming campaign to replace any name relating to China. There is also a fear that using the ROC would be misunderstood as the PRC, while both can be abbreviated to 'China'. From interviews with children, Taiwan is the name that children usually use for the nation, followed by Formosa. According

to children's perspective, they learned Formosa from the textbooks. Children had unclear ideas about the name -the Republic of China- because it is barely used as the country name in the textbooks, but they still saw it in their daily life, such as the civic calendar and stamps. I conclude that there is a strong relation between pedagogical national narratives and children's understanding the nation, especially the name.

I also discussed the pedagogical narratives of the territories, history and the concept of the nation. The territories in the textbooks were Taiwan and its offshore islands, which constitutes *Tai-Peng-Jing-Ma* (Corcuff, 2005). However, there is a gap between pedagogical narratives and the legal territories, which still cover the mainland China. Nevertheless, the territories from the children's perspectives corresponds to the pedagogical narratives, which means that Taiwanese nationalism does successfully disseminate a new image of the nation to the new generation through education.

In addition, the history in the Social Studies textbooks is a history of Taiwan that can be traced back to the aboriginal cultures in the pre-historical period on the island of Taiwan, rather than a history of the Republic of China that links back to the ancient Chinese history. The case of Taiwan nationalism is an example of construction of the common myth in the creation of the nation. It not only embodies the renaming campaign, but also focuses on the construction of a common myth of the history and tradition (Smith, 2009).

Finally, the concept of the nation was explained in Year 6 Social Studies textbook

by referring to Taiwan. In other cases, textbooks usually use ‘we’, ‘us’, and ‘our country.’ These words are crucial words of banal nationalism as reminders of the homeland and national identity (Billig, 1995). It is clear that ‘we’ are not ‘China’ but a country called Taiwan. On the other hand, the nation can also be illustrated through talking about the ‘other’ (Triandafyllidou, 1998). In regard to the relationship between Taiwan and China (PRC), China (PRC) is constructed as the ‘other’ that suppressed Taiwan’s international status in the textbooks.

In terms of the current status of Taiwan, the majority of children thought that Taiwan was independent. Rather than using politics to support their opinions, children referred to cultural resources available to them to differentiate Taiwan from China. They use language (accent and the usage of traditional Chinese) and separated territory (Taiwan is an island) to claim that Taiwan is independent.

Interestingly, in contrast to the textbooks that promote the aboriginal culture as the symbols of Taiwan, none of the children used it as a symbol of Taiwan. They usually use cultural symbols (food, tourism, and Chinese character) for Taiwan, in addition to the national symbols, such as the national flag, president, and the shape of the Taiwan Island. I emphasised that food has been an important but neglected symbol in the studies of Taiwanese nationalism. Food is an essential part of the shared memory and the national culture so it is where nationalism manifests in everyday life (Holtzman, 2006; Caldwell, 2002; Wilk, 1993). In addition, food is an important medium for social relations, and, therefore, shaping identity in Taiwan (Stafford, 1995). Food is used by children in this study to differentiate Taiwan and other countries, including China (PRC).

6 Equal Education, Unequal Identities

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore how children in Taiwan perceive and choose their national identity. Richard Jenkins (2008) argues that all human identities are social identities because identities involve interactions between us and others to create meanings. In addition, Jenkins (2008) and Brubaker (2004) do not agree that identity should be treated as something that simply *is*. Brubaker (2004) argues that identity should not be understood as something that someone can *have* or can *be*; rather, identity is what someone *does*. In this sense, identity can only be understood as a dynamic process of being or becoming (Jenkins, 2008). Identity is not fixed, but it is not a matter of choice only. Identity formation is a process of social negotiations in a particular social and cultural context (Barth, 1969).

Melissa Brown disagreed that ethnic and national identities are based on common ancestry and/or common culture. Instead, identity is formed with the foundation of common social experiences, including economic and political experience. For her, “the specific identities that form for individuals are the negotiated product of the interaction between what people claim for themselves and what others allow them to claim” (2004:14) .

Brown (2004) uses the idea of “variability” to indicate the changes in the content of identity. She suggests that the social, cultural and physical features for a

particular identity can change over time and across space. Therefore, the boundaries of an identity may shift and change. Political change is one of the conditions that the boundaries are redefined. When the content of an identity is redefined, individuals may therefore change their identity accordingly. This concept is useful for investigation of the current content of Taiwanese identity. The government has been promoting Taiwanese nationalism since 2000. On the one hand, the government is redefining and shaping new boundaries of a Taiwanese identity by propagating top-down narratives. On the other hand, individuals are building a new understanding of their identities from their own life experience and accessible information. This brings contestation over what it means to be a “Taiwanese.” The content of the Taiwanese identity raises the question of who would be included or excluded from being a ‘Taiwanese’. I will discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 7. In this chapter, I focus on what kind of Taiwanese identity is promoted through the educational system. Also, how do children define a ‘Taiwanese’? Do children from different backgrounds interpret ‘Taiwanese’ differently? By examining these questions, I will compare the Taiwanese identity promoted by the government and the Taiwanese identity perceived and constructed among children.

Homi Bhabha (1990) distinguishes and highlights the importance of investigating the tension between the pedagogical narrations of nationalist traditions and the performative narrations in everyday life. Echoing his argument, this chapter explores the Taiwanese identity through investigating the narratives from children, as well as the narratives in the textbooks. I start with the national identities that are portrayed in the Social Studies textbooks. Secondly, I investigate the national

identity children choose, as well as the key markers they use for a national identity. Identity markers are “social characteristics presented to others to support a national identity claim and looked to in others, either to attribute national identity, or receive and assess any claims or attributions made” (Kiely et al., 2001: 33). Furthermore, this chapter goes on to explore how children use different extent of ‘Taiwanese’ to describe different people in Taiwan, especially children of immigrants while immigrants and their children are a new and emerging group in Taiwan. By doing so, we can have a further understanding of how children build up the boundaries of ‘Taiwanese’. Finally, as explained in the previous chapter, China is presented as a ‘significant other’ in the textbook. I am concerned about how children perceive the Chinese, and the Chinese identity, which has been a contested national identity opposite to Taiwanese identity.

Although I intended to discuss children’s national identities in this chapter and ethnic identities in the next chapter, I hold the assumption that children’s collective identity operates in different levels (Scourfield et al., 2006), rather than with clear boundary of national and ethnic identity. The boundaries between national and ethnic identity are sometimes blurred, and even overlap with each other. For example, Taiwanese can be viewed as a national identity, but it can also be interpreted as an ethnic identity if we define Taiwanese as a distinctive ethnic group. In the real world, it is hard to distinguish whether people refer to ‘Taiwanese’ as a national identity, ethnic identity, or any other identity. Therefore, even though I discuss the Taiwanese identity as a national identity in this chapter, I would keep an open mind not to constrain ‘Taiwanese’ to national identity only.

The discussion of children's identities was facilitated by a card-sorting exercise that I introduced in Chapter 4. By using the exercise, we discussed the meaning of the identity labels, and through their selection of the labels, I explored the identities that children think they belong to or relate to.

6.2 Taiwanese/Chinese identity in the Social Studies textbooks

Naming is not merely about descriptors, it serves as symbols that show strong political power to bring something into existence (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). Therefore, naming constructs national identity (Chang and Holt, 2007). In chapter 5, the contested names of the nation were discussed. In terms of national identity, Taiwanese and Chinese are two contested identities within Taiwan. This section examines how these two identities are presented in the Social Studies textbooks.

The usage of 'Taiwanese' (*taiwan ren*) in the textbook is rare. The textbook usually uses 'the people of Taiwan' (*Taiwan ren min*) to refer to the people living in Taiwan. 'Taiwanese' (*taiwan ren*) appears in only two paragraphs in all Social Studies textbooks. In the first paragraph, it describes that the Han did not fear difficulties and continuously adventured from southeast China to Taiwan in the 17th century, striving hard to create a new world in Taiwan. It described that the spirit of adventurous, hard-working and painstaking has become one of the features of the 'Taiwanese'. This narrative of using earlier settlers from China to represent Taiwanese constructs an image that Taiwanese are Han-based. The description also marginalised the Aborigines from the category of Taiwanese for two reasons. First, they did not migrate from China. Second, they are not ethnic

Han. It is paradoxical that the textbooks use Aboriginal culture to represent Taiwan on the one hand (Discussed in Chapter 5), but do not include Aborigines as Taiwanese on the other hand.

The term of 'Taiwanese' appeared in the content about Japanese colonisation. Here, Taiwanese identity was constructed against the Japanese, instead of the Chinese, as the 'other' (Triandafyllidou, 1998). The content described that Taiwanese were discriminated against and treated differently from those Japanese in Taiwan in politics, education and employment. Furthermore, the colonial policy of Japanisation was implemented since 1937 to establish a Japanese identity among Taiwanese people through Japanese education, and policies of speaking Japanese, having a Japanese name, wearing the kimono, and adopting Japanese customs. Japanisation aimed to transform the colonised Taiwanese into Japanese so that they could be loyal to Japan, fighting for Japan during World War II. The textbook also listed some heroic events of the Taiwanese fight against Japanese colonisation. It also presented a heroic event where the Aborigines fought against the ruling Japanese, as well as political and cultural movements led by Taiwan's elites. The narrative highlights that the Taiwanese consciousness was aroused during Japanese colonisation. This narrative designated the first wave of Taiwanese nationalism (Wong, 2001). It highlights the collective identity of 'Taiwanese' from resisting Japanese as the 'other'.

In the entangled triangular relationship among Taiwanese, Japanese, and Chinese identity, the textbook makes clear that the Japanese is foreign. The textbook emphasises the deprivation and discrimination under Japanese rule but it

acknowledges the development in economy, health, and social order. Yet, it minimizes the history that people in Taiwan later accepted Japanese rule (Brown, 2004), as well as the identity transformation of ‘becoming Japanese’ (Ching, 2001).

The textbooks never use the term ‘the Chinese’ (*Zhong guo ren*) to refer to Taiwan’s inhabitants. The avoidance of using the term ‘the Chinese’ to refer to either people in Taiwan or those earlier settlers from China in the pedagogical manuals started in the 1990s (Liu and Hung, 2002). The absence of ‘the Chinese’ can be seen as avoiding to construct a Chinese identity, which is the ‘invisibility’ bias (Sadker and Zittleman, 2010) in the textbooks. The textbooks use “the Han” (*han ren*) to describe those settlers from China to Taiwan hundreds of years ago instead.

In the volume about history, the textbook uses different terms to name the inhabitants in Taiwan in various periods. The textbook describes that it has been proved that there were *humans* living in Taiwan around fifty thousand years ago. The textbook states that there were *aborigines* and the *Han*, who migrated from Mainland China, living in Taiwan. Since Japanese colonialism, the textbook started to use “the people of Taiwan”.

In summary, the current textbooks avoided the contents that might link to a Chinese identity. Meanwhile, a Taiwanese identity is constructed though linking to the Han, and opposing Japan colonialism.

6.3 The Choices of Children's National Identities

In order to discuss national identity with children, I used card-sorting exercise for children to select the labels that can describe themselves. They could keep as many cards as they want. Table 6-1 shows the national identities that were chosen by children in three groups, children of Chinese immigrants, children of Vietnamese immigrants, and children of native Taiwanese, which are categorised by their mothers' origin.

The majority chose 'Taiwanese' only. Compared with the surveys conducted among Taiwan's adult sample, the results here show different patterns. In the survey of adult sample (Figure 2-1), people choosing 'both Taiwanese and Chinese' usually account for the highest proportion. My sample is very small and with a very high proportion of children of immigrants, who usually have dual identities, but, still, most children chose 'Taiwanese' as their single national identity.

Table 6-1. National identity selection among the participants

Identity\ Group	Taiwanese only	Chinese only	Vietnamese only	Taiwanese+ Chinese	Taiwanese+ Vietnamese	Asian
China	5	1				1
Vietnam	5		1		4	
Taiwan	9			2		
Subtotal	19	1	1	2	4	1

Most of the children with Taiwanese parents chose 'Taiwanese' as their national identity, and two of them felt 'both Taiwanese and Chinese'. Ray (Taiwan, Y4)

perceives Taiwanese the same as Chinese, and the Chinese he refers to are those people in Taiwan. Lily (Taiwan, Y4) kept Taiwanese and Chinese because she thought they are similar in language. She kept many other cards including Aborigines, Hakka, and adults because she connected these labels to herself with the similarity in physical appearance and language. Later I asked her to choose one label that can represent her most, and she chose 'Taiwanese.'

The choices of national identity among children of Chinese immigrants are interesting. It is the only group that do not choose multiple national identities. None of the Chinese immigrant children chose 'both Taiwanese and Chinese', although some of them were born in China, and contacted their extended family members living in China regularly, even in personal visits. There is a salient contrast between their choices and the choices made by children of Vietnamese immigrants who are more likely to choose both Taiwanese and Vietnamese. I suspect that the choices that children of Chinese immigrants made derived from the fact that they are more sensitive to the political tension between Taiwan and China.

In the previous chapter I mentioned that China in the textbook is constructed as the most significant other that suppresses Taiwan. In the public discourse of Taiwanese nationalism, it is also obvious that things relating to China are thought to betray Taiwan and neglect the welfare of Taiwanese people. For example, the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), a preferential trade agreement between the governments of China and Taiwan that aims to reduce tariffs and commercial barriers, is criticised by pro-independent nationalists as selling Taiwan

to China because of the tendency of depending on China economically.

Under the prevalent Anti-Chinese atmosphere in Taiwanese nationalism, some children in this study also showed negative attitudes toward Chinese (see section 6.7). I do not have direct evidence to show that children of Chinese immigrants intentionally hide their Chinese identity because of the anti-Chinese atmosphere in Taiwanese nationalism. Nevertheless, the contrasting choices of children of Chinese and Vietnamese mothers reminds us that children of new immigrants in Taiwan should not be taken as a homogenous group. They face different situations and challenges in their construction of national identity. In addition, more attention should be put onto how the narrative of Taiwanese nationalism influences the national identity of children of Chinese immigrants.

Kevin's choice is a salient case that shows the struggle and reluctance that children of immigrants have to take side. He chose "Asian" to avoid choosing Taiwanese, Chinese, or both of them. He expressed that he did not 'dare' to choose any of them because it is hard to decide so he finally selected "Asian" as an umbrella identity to cover both Taiwanese and Chinese. His reaction of denial to choose one identity over another and its association with a feeling of guilt to choose identities is not uncommon for multiethnic individuals (Poston, 1990). It is regarded as one of the stages of identity development for multiethnic people. More directly, Kevin's sentiment reflects the inner conflicts of people living between the political tension of China (PRC) and Taiwan (ROC). These people range across generations, from the first and second generation of the Mainlanders to the children of Chinese immigrants now. A previous study (Schubert, 2006) shows that

the Mainlanders felt that they were different from both Taiwanese and Chinese. Moreover, Corcuff (2002b) argues that the Mainlanders had ethnic or cultural identification with Chinese, but national identification with Taiwanese, which were not yet reconciled with one another. Like many children of Chinese immigrants, Kevin was born in China, growing up in Taiwan, and had some opportunities to visit China. As mentioned earlier, children of Chinese immigrants might feel pressured not to reveal their Chinese identification under the current de-Sinicisation in Taiwanese nationalism.

Among all participants, three children did not choose 'Taiwanese' as one of their identities. These three children are: Sean (China, Y6) who chose 'Chinese' only, Joyce (Vietnam, Y4) who chose 'Vietnamese' only, and Kevin (China, Y5) who chose 'Asian' instead. What they have in common is that they have mixed origin and they were not born in Taiwan³¹. Sean (China, Y6) is the only child in this study who did not feel attached a Taiwanese identity. He felt himself lacking the Taiwanese accent as the marker to claim himself as a Taiwanese. He was born in China. His father (a Taiwanese) is now working and living in China and they own a house in China where he usually spends his school holidays. For him, the home in China where his father lives is the real home in his heart. He spent most of his time residing in Taiwan but he felt closer to his family and friends in China.

6.4 What Make a Person a Taiwanese?

I have discussed in the previous section that Taiwanese was the main national

³¹ Joyce (Vietnam, Y4) was not sure if she was born in Taiwan.

identity that most participants in this study claimed. This section examines the markers that children used to define a Taiwanese.

Studies conducted in Scotland have identified identity markers such as place of birth, ancestry, place of residence, length of residence, upbringing/education, name, accent, physical appearance, dress, behaviour and commitment/contribution to place (McCrone, 2002). A study with Welsh children specified three key markers: place of birth, language, and sport (Scourfield et al. 2006). In addition, Kiely et al. (2001) further suggest that identity rules need to be examined to get a better understanding of how identity markers are used to construct national identity.

There are two dimensions to analyse identity markers (Kiely et al., 2001): the first dimension is to examine that the individual treats the markers as fixed or fluid and changeable over time. The other is whether the identity marker is accessible to others, especially significant others, who would claim or judge an individual's identity. In this study, Joanna (China, Y4) claimed herself as a Taiwanese with the marker of place of residence. Yet, because place of residence is a changeable marker so it is not the most important identity for her. The most important identity is being a girl. She thought gender is the only marker that is fixed and constant, which makes it important. Other identities, such as being a child, a person of Taichung, or a Taiwanese, might change over time.

In this study, birth place and place of residence are two key markers for children to claim themselves as Taiwanese.

Jessica: 你爲什麼選台灣人?

Emma: 因爲我住在台灣

[Jessica: Why would you choose 'Taiwanese'?

Emma: I live in Taiwan.]

Jessica: 你爲什麼選台灣人?

Ray: 因爲我在台灣出生

[Jessica: Why do you choose Taiwanese?

Ray: I was born in Taiwan.]

Place of birth has been shown as a crucial marker to claim national identity in Scotland (McCrone and Bechhofer, 2008), and among Welsh children (Scourfield et al. 2006). The fact that many children in this study use birth place or place of residence as the markers suggests that they tend to use a civic perspective to claim their national identity, rather than an ethnic perspective. This might be related to the current narrative in the textbook which constructs a territorial and civic nationalism. It is shown in the structure of the contents of the Social Science textbooks that base on place, from home, neighbourhood, community, hometown, Taiwan, and to the international society.

With regard to the linguistic markers, children stated that speaking Mandarin and Taiwanese/Minnanese are markers of being a Taiwanese. Mandarin is the language promoted by the Chinese nationalism of the KMT, and Taiwanese/Minnanese is the language promoted in Taiwanese nationalism. In the Chinese nationalism that was promoted by the KMT in the past few decades, Mandarin is created as the lingual orthodox in Taiwan and Taiwanese/Minnanese was suppressed. Taiwanese nationalism questions Mandarin as the hegemonic national and official language of

the government. It promotes to have co-equal national languages: Mandarin, Taiwanese/Minnanese, Hakka, and Austronesian languages used by the Aborigines (Huang, 2000).

Some participants use the language marker along with other markers to define a Taiwanese. Kathy (Taiwan, Y6) used speaking Mandarin, as well as place of birth, as the markers of being a Taiwanese.

Jessica: 你覺得怎樣的人可以算是台灣人?

Kathy: 會講國語的人

Jessica: 那一定要在台灣出生嗎?

Kathy: 一定要吧

Jessica: 那他一定要在這裡長大嗎?

Kathy: 不一定

[Jessica: How do you regard people as Taiwanese?

Kathy: People who can speak Mandarin.

Jessica: Do they have to be born in Taiwan?

Kathy: I think it must be.

Jessica: Do they have to grow up here?

Kathy: Not necessary.]

Harry (Taiwan, Y4) started with a language marker (Taiwanese/Minnanese) to define a Taiwanese, but he added that place of residence is essential later.

Jessica: 你覺得怎樣的人可以算是台灣人?

Harry: 講閩南語的

[Jessica: How do you regard people as Taiwanese?

Harry: People who speak Minnanese.]

Children's responses show that Taiwanese/Minnanese is gradually gaining a

competitive status in Taiwan, from a suppressed dialect to a status of one national language. However, other languages, such as Hakka and Austronesian languages, remain in a marginal status. Although the current Taiwanese nationalism uses the slogan of promoting equal status of multiple languages in Taiwan, but it is another concern that it would eventually promote Taiwanese/Minnanese only as another monolingual orthodox in Taiwan.

The markers that children indicated for a Taiwanese are listed in Table 6-2. Among the civic markers, as mentioned earlier, birth place and place of residence are essential markers for a Taiwanese in this study. Parents' origins are usually used by the children of immigrants only as a marker of Taiwanese. When children use ethnic or cultural markers, they always accompanied with civic markers. Nevertheless, civic/territorial markers are used to define a Taiwanese without the presence of ethnic markers. Therefore, civic/territorial markers are more crucial than ethnic/cultural markers to define a Taiwanese for children in this study.

Table 6-2. The markers that children use to define a Taiwanese

Civic/territorial markers	Ethnic/cultural markers
Born in Taiwan (birth place)	Speak Mandarin (language)
Live in Taiwan (residence)	Speak Taiwanese/Minnanese (language)
Recognise Taiwan and love Taiwan	Parents are Taiwanese (parents' origins)
	Physical appearance

6.5 More or Less Taiwanese

In the discussion of defining a Taiwanese, children located a Taiwanese in different levels like a spectrum: someone is more like a Taiwanese, and someone is less like a Taiwanese. Through children's perceptions of who are more or less Taiwanese, we can further our understanding of how children make sense of a Taiwanese.

6.5.1 More like Taiwanese

Some children thought that there were people who were more Taiwanese than themselves. Cathy (Taiwan, Y6) explained those who were more Taiwanese from a political perspective. She associated people who are more Taiwanese with those showing strong enthusiasm to support Taiwan.

Jessica: 你覺得有沒有人比你更像台灣人的

Cathy: 更像，有吧

Jessica: 怎樣算更像

Cathy: 就是超支持台灣一大堆的，就是台灣的粉絲

Jessica: 台灣的粉絲喔，就是很愛台灣

Cathy: 很熱愛台灣，對阿，我目前還沒有至於那麼非常非常的愛

[Jessica: Do you think there are people who are more Taiwanese than you are?]

Cathy: More Taiwanese...perhaps.

Jessica: Who are more Taiwanese?

Cathy: Those who support Taiwan very much. The fans of Taiwan.

Jessica: Taiwan's fans, which means love Taiwanese a lot.

Cathy: Love Taiwan fervently. Yes. I don't think I love Taiwan very very much right now.]

'Love Taiwan' (愛台灣) has been a discourse initiated by the DPP in Taiwanese

nationalism. Individual's personal opinions on various issues, from the choice of a national identity to the issue of nuclear plants, are linked to be an expression of 'loving Taiwan.' If people claim themselves as 'Taiwanese', it is thought as an expression of loving Taiwan. If people claim themselves as 'Chinese', it is said that they betray Taiwan and do not love Taiwan. This discourse can be a chauvinism that causes a pressure when individuals choose their national identity. In Cathy's case, she thought she was less like a Taiwanese because she was not so enthusiastic about patriotism. In Section 6.3, I discussed that children of Chinese immigrants did not claim themselves as Chinese. It might relate to this discourse.

The Aborigines were thought to be more Taiwanese by Sophie (Vietnam, Y6). She learned from the Social Studies textbooks that the Aborigines were the earliest inhabitants of Taiwan so she thought Aborigines in Taiwan are more Taiwanese than herself. Although she is the only one who thought the Aborigines were more like Taiwanese, her statement is direct evidence that the textbooks have an impact on children's construction of Taiwanese.

Jessica: 你覺得同學有沒有比妳更像台灣人?

Sophie: 有, 這一個 (Mia)

Jessica: 爲什麼?

Sophie: 因爲原住民

Jessica: 你從哪裡知道原住民是...

Sophie: 社會課本

[Jessica: Do you think there is any classmate more Taiwanese than you are?]

Sophie: Yes, this one (Mia).

Jessica: Why?

Sophie: Because aboriginal peoples

Jessica: How would you know that aboriginal peoples are...

Sophie: Social Studies textbook.]

Quite a few children of immigrants reflected that they thought their friends were more like Taiwanese than themselves. The excerpt below shows that Kevin (China, Y5), as a child of immigrants who was born in China, thought that people who could speak better Taiwanese/Minnanese and who were born in Taiwan were more Taiwanese than himself. The identity of members of minority groups is usually problematic because of the externally imposed and self-imposed limitations that are placed on them (Bond, 2006). Here, Children of immigrants are imposing limitation to themselves for claiming being Taiwanese.

Jessica: 像是誰你會覺得比你更像台灣人啊？

Kevin: 很會說台語的人

Jessica: 很會說台語的人喔，恩，還有嗎？

Kevin: 還有要在這邊出生的

[Jessica: Who is more Taiwanese than you?]

Kevin: people who can speak Taiwanese very well.

Jessica: speak Taiwanese very well. Uh-huh, anyone else?

Kevin: And those who were born here.]

An extreme case of limiting self from claiming a Taiwanese identity was Sean (China, Y6) who excluded himself from being a Taiwanese at all. He disqualified himself from being a Taiwanese by lacking the markers, a Taiwanese accent and being born in Taiwan. He perceived himself as Chinese because he was born there, despite the fact that he spent most of his life living in Taiwan. His father was working and living in China. They had a house in China. During holidays, he always visits China to get together with his father. Therefore, he thought his home is there.

Jessica: 那你覺得會有人比你更像台灣人嗎？

Sean: (點頭)

Jessica: 哪些人你會覺得比你更像台灣人

Sean: 比如說像你阿

Jessica: 我，爲什麼？

Sean: 腔調吧

Jessica: 你覺得你講話腔調不像台灣人嗎？

Sean: (搖頭)

Jessica: 爲什麼？要有閩南語腔嗎？你覺得因爲我講話腔調喔；那你爲什麼覺得你沒有那麼像台灣人

Sean: 因爲不是在台灣出生的

[Jessica: Would you think there is someone who is more like Taiwanese than you?]

Sean: (Nodding.)

Jessica: Who are those you think are more Taiwanese than you?

Sean: Such as you.

Jessica: Me. Why?

Sean: Probably the accent.

Jessica: Do you think your accent is not like a Taiwanese?

Sean: (Shaking his head.)

Jessica: Why? Does it have to do with a Minnan accent? You thought it's because my accent. Why would you think you are less Taiwanese?

Sean: Because I was not born in Taiwan.]

Emma (Vietnam, Y3) directly indicated that she thought native Taiwanese children are more like Taiwanese because both of their parents are Taiwanese.

Jessica: 哪些人比你更像台灣人？

Emma: 他 (Emma 的朋友)

Jessica: 他，爲什麼？

Emma: 因爲她的爸爸媽媽都是在台灣出生的

[Jessica: Who is more Taiwanese than you are?]

Emma: She. (Emma's friend)

Jessica: She. Why?

Emma: Because her dad and mom were both born in Taiwan.]

To sum up, people who are politically enthusiastic, Aborigines, people who speak Taiwanese well or have Taiwanese accent are thought to be more Taiwanese. For those children of immigrants, they perceived people whose parents were born in Taiwan were more like Taiwanese. They therefore limit themselves from claiming a Taiwanese identity.

6.5.2 Less like Taiwanese

Children in this study perceived four types of people were less like Taiwanese. They are *foreigners*, *immigrants*, *immigrant children* and *Aborigines*. The *Foreigners* in children's eyes are those who come from other countries, and are different in skin colour. Being Taiwanese equated with being Chinese ethnically. Their perceptions of foreigners usually refer to white people, and only one boy indicated foreigners could be darker.

In the foreigner issue, children also use American to describe foreigner. For example, Lily (Taiwan, Y4) added American as an example after she described what foreigner is like. Some children indicated that foreigners were not just less like Taiwanese, but not Taiwanese. Although in the previous section children perceived place of residence as a marker of national identity, foreigners living in Taiwan are still alien for children. This suggests that these children differentiate foreigner and Taiwanese from physical appearance. In addition, the image of foreigner for these children is mainly based on being White. Children's perception

of foreigners as 'others' can help us to understand their boundaries of defining Taiwanese.

Jessica: 在台灣的人，妳有覺得有比你不像台灣人的嗎？

Lily: 恩。有一些從別國來的有看過，有時後買東西就看到

Jessica: 喔，那她們跟我們長得跟我們差不多嗎？還是不一樣

Lily: 沒有，他們很高，然後很像美國人之類的

[Jessica: Do you think anyone in Taiwan is less Taiwanese than you?

Lily: En, I have seen some people from other country when sometimes I buy things in the shops.

Jessica: Oh. Do they look similar to us? Or different?

Lily: No, they are very tall, and look like American.]

Jessica: 你有沒有在台灣人看過哪些人，你覺得他不是台灣人的？

Oliver: 在機場有看過

Jessica: 他們是怎麼樣的人

Oliver: 他們那個，頭髮都會很黃，然後鼻子很尖，然後那個眼睛有一些是藍色的

[Jessica: Have you ever seen anyone in Taiwan that you don't think he or she is Taiwanese?

Oliver: I have seen them in the airport.

Jessica: How do they look like?

Oliver: They have blond hair, sharp nose, and some of them have blue eyes.]

Two children of immigrants pointed out that their mothers are less like Taiwanese. Cindy (China, Y3) thought her mother was less like Taiwanese because she cannot speak Taiwanese/Minnanese well. Tim (Vietnam, Y3) indicated that his mother is Vietnamese; therefore, she is less like Taiwanese.

In addition, when choosing identity for their mother, native children tend to choose *adult* or *female* for their mothers, but children of immigrants tend to choose *Vietnamese* or *Chinese* for their mothers instead. These contrasting choices show that children of native Taiwanese usually take their national identity for granted.

Yet, children of immigrants perceive their own mothers as foreigners, despite that these immigrant women have resided in Taiwan for a long time. Defining parents as a non-Taiwanese can therefore put these children's national identities into question.

While children of immigrants thought their mother were less like Taiwanese, children of immigrants were viewed as less like Taiwanese by native children. Mike (Taiwan, Y5) is a classmate of Bruce (Vietnam, Y5). He thought Bruce was less like Taiwanese because he looked slightly different and Mike thought Bruce could not speak Taiwanese/Minnanese well. From Mike's viewpoint, to be a 'proper' Taiwanese is to be able to speak 'proper' Taiwanese/Minnanese. This case shows the importance of Taiwanese/Minnanese, rather than Mandarin, in the discourse of Taiwanese identity.

Mike is an interesting case here. I did not particularly feel Bruce looked different from other children; instead, I found Mike looked different. The first time I saw Mike, the first thought came to my mind was 'mixed child' because he looked like a child with one white parent. During his interview, he expressed that many people told him that he looked like a mixed child although he was not. He said that both of his parents were Taiwanese and his Taiwanese identity did not waver when other people question about his origin. Because of his physical appearance, he encountered many occasions when people questioned his origin, but he reacted differently from children of immigrants.

Some children see children of immigrants as less like Taiwanese for other reasons.

Nemo (Taiwan, Y4) described one of his friends, who is a child of an immigrant, was less like Taiwanese because of his parent's origin only. He indicated that it's not because of the language problem. The child's language ability was fine. It was the parents' origin only that made him think his friend less like Taiwanese.

Shelley (Taiwan, Y6) thought children of immigrants are mixed children and they are half Taiwanese, who are less like Taiwanese than she is. She suggested that parents' origin affected the extent of how much an individual can be a Taiwanese.

These three cases above show the 'externally imposed limitation' (Bond, 2006) that were put on children of immigrants, which might constrain them from claiming a Taiwanese identity. The double effect of externally imposed limitations and self-imposed limitations (see Section 6.5.1) have revealed the exclusion of children of immigrants from being a Taiwanese and claiming a Taiwanese identity.

Finally, the Aborigines are thought to be less Taiwanese for some children. Harry (Taiwan, Y4) thought they are less like Taiwanese because they are different in language, clothing and residential places. The Han standard was used by Harry to define a Taiwanese and exclude the Aborigines as less like Taiwanese. Different from Mike, who used Taiwanese/Minnanese as the marker for being a Taiwanese, Harry used Mandarin as the linguistic marker for being a Taiwanese.

Jessica: 有沒有比你好像台灣人的?

Harry: 有

Jessica: 例如說。。

Harry: 原住民

Jessica: 原住民比你好像台灣人？

Harry: 對阿

Jessica: 恩。那他們是台灣人嗎？

Harry: 應該算吧

Jessica: 恩，所以你所謂的台灣人，怎樣算是台灣人阿，爲什麼你會覺得原住民比較不像台灣人阿？

Harry: 語言阿，可是他們現在他們也學中文，還有衣著，還有住的地方都比較高山，像水里

[Jessica: Is there anyone who is less Taiwanese than you?]

Harry: Yes

Jessica: For example?

Harry: Aborigines

Jessica: The Aborigines are less Taiwanese than you?

Harry: Yes.

Jessica: hmm...Are they still Taiwanese?

Harry: Perhaps.

Jessica: hmm...so what kind of people do you think are Taiwanese? Why would you think Aborigines are less Taiwanese?

Harry: Language. But they learn to speak Mandarin now. And clothing. And the places they live are around the mountains, like Shui-li.]

Lily (Taiwan, Y4) thought Aborigines are not Taiwanese but she failed to give a reason. I presume she might base on the same reason that Harry held. More discussions about children's narratives of the Aborigines are presented in Chapter 7 that focuses on ethnic groups in Taiwan and children's ethnic identities.

Nemo (Taiwan, Y4), as an Aborigine himself, also expressed that he did not think Aborigines are Taiwanese. He defined Taiwanese as people residing in Taiwan but not including Aborigines because Aborigines had different lifestyle from Taiwanese. He described Aborigines as living in the mountains and using wood to build houses. He originally thought he was a Taiwanese because he is living a Taiwanese lifestyle. Yet, since he was informed by his mother that he had an

aboriginal origin, he accepted it and changed his Taiwanese identity to an aboriginal identity despite the contradiction.

From children's perceptions of who is more Taiwanese and who is less Taiwanese, we can have a further understanding about how children differentiate people in Taiwan and their understanding about a 'true' Taiwanese. Children's perceptions of Aborigines are worth mentioning. Aborigines are perceived as both more Taiwanese and less Taiwanese. This reflects Aborigines' ambivalent position in the discourse of Taiwanization. I discussed in Section 5.2.1 and Section 5.4 that the textbooks portrayed the Aborigines as the earliest inhabitants in Taiwan, but they have their own language, religion, family system, culture, which are different from the Han, the major group in Taiwan. Aborigines are both insiders and outsiders.

6.6 Are Children of Immigrants Taiwanese?

In the age of globalisation, transnational marriages are becoming a common phenomenon in many countries. Yet, children from the families of transnational marriage are more likely to encounter the challenges of belongingness and identity construction (Viruell-Fuentes, 2006; Li, 2008; Scourfield et al., 2006; Louie, 2006). Subjectively, their parents' different origins, their transnational travelling experience and interacting with people in different countries could cause their inner conflicts in regards of their identities. Objectively, other people's judgement and labelling them as outsiders could be another reason (Viruell-Fuentes, 2006; Adler, 2001; Devine, Kenny and Macneela, 2008).

In this section, I will examine how children of new immigrants, as well as native children, perceive children of new immigrants. I used a scenario to ask children whether a child is Taiwanese if this child was born in Taiwan and had a Taiwanese father and a Vietnamese or Chinese mother.

I mentioned in a previous section that children tend to use civic markers to claim their own national identity. Place of birth is often thought to be the marker upon which people claim and accept other's claiming (McCrone and Bechhofer 2008), and the results in this study also support this argument when children make their own claim and when they think about Taiwanese in general. Nevertheless, when I asked them about how they think about children of immigrants who were born in Taiwan, some children thought children of immigrants were half Taiwanese because they have only one Taiwanese parent even though they were born in Taiwan. For example, Peggy (Taiwan, Y4) claimed herself as a Taiwanese because she lived in Taiwan. She described Taiwanese are those who are either born in Taiwan or live in Taiwan. Place of birth and place of residence are equally important for her as the identity markers. Yet, when we were discussing children of immigrants who were born in Taiwan, she described children of immigrants as neither Taiwanese nor Vietnamese. In this case, ancestry became the salient marker when she thought about children of immigrants.

Jessica: 他在台灣出生, 台灣長大阿, 然後他在你們班, 他媽媽是越南人, 他爸爸是台灣人, 那你覺得他會因為這樣而被欺負嗎?

Peggy: 挖吾災

Jessica: 那你覺得他是台灣人嗎?

Peggy: 我覺得...他是不越南不台灣

[Jessica: He was born and grows up in Taiwan. He is in your class. His mom is a Vietnamese and

his father is a Taiwanese. Do you think that he would be bullied?

Peggy: I don't know.

Jessica: Do you think he is a Taiwanese?

Peggy: I think...he is neither Vietnamese nor Taiwanese.]

Shelley (Taiwan, Y6) claimed herself as a Taiwanese because she was born in Taiwan but she thought children of immigrants were half Taiwanese. For her, children of immigrants were less like Taiwanese than she was because they had only one Taiwanese parent. She referred to different markers when she made her own claim and judged other people.

These two examples suggest that they apply different markers to different people. Kiely and his colleagues (2001) proposed the concept of 'identity rules' that are 'probabilistic rules of thumb, guidelines to how these identity markers are interpreted, combined or given precedence over others within these three processes" (p.33). There are 'rules of claim' and 'rules of attribution.' They claim that when respondents have sufficient knowledge of their peer's identity markers, they prioritise these markers in an identical manner. In the case of this study, parent's nationality is prioritised as an important marker in national identity claims. Meanwhile, the exclusion of children of immigrants as a Taiwanese reflects an ethnic nationalism behind their opinions.

Nevertheless, some children are consistent when they use identity markers. They agreed that the child in the scenario was a Taiwanese with the justification of birthplace and residence. Some children particularly indicated that the child in the scenario could be a Taiwanese because the father is a Taiwanese. For example,

Tina (Taiwan, Y4) thought identity is what you inherit from your father.

Jessica: 你會認為她是台灣人嗎?

Tina: 恩

Jessica: 恩，為什麼呢?

Tina: 因為遺傳父親阿

[Jessica: Do you think she is a Taiwanese?]

Tina: En.

Jessica: En. Why?

Tina: She inherits from her father.]

Tina's excerpt is an example of the Han patriarchal practices. The blood tie has played an essential role in the Taiwanese society. Temples and organisations of the same clan are prevalent in Taiwan so that the earlier Han settlers can trace their ancestors according to their family name. Yet, the blood tie therefore could put children of immigrants' claiming of Taiwanese identities into question because they are thought to be 'half-blood' Taiwanese.

Children's perspectives about children of immigrants reflect whether they adopt a civic or ethnic perspective. The perspective of civic nationalism, the law of the soil, claims that all residents in Taiwan could be citizens of Taiwan. The perspective of ethnic nationalism, the law of blood, bases on ancestors. Ethnic perspective put children of immigrants' status into question because they do not fully meet the criteria (Brubaker, 1992). In this study, some children hold the perspective of ethnic nationalism, and some hold the perspective of civic nationalism.

6.7 Chinese in Children's Eye

The KMT previously propagated Chinese identity in Taiwan, but since the DPP came to power in 2000, the DPP has endeavoured to create a Taiwanese identity through a Taiwanese nationalism by de-Sinicising and replacing the Chinese identity. Children in my study is a generation growing up in the period of Taiwanese nationalism in which Taiwanese identity has been promoted. I examined how the new generation perceive and describe “the Chinese” under this context.

First of all, it is necessary to examine the meaning of the ‘Chinese.’ Chinese is a vague concept that can refer to different contents, such as the Chinese as a citizen from the PRC, the Chinese as a race or ethnic group that is descended from the Yellow emperor in the ancient Chinese empire, and the Chinese as a cultural identity. What are the content and boundaries of the Chinese identity that children construct and perceive?

I started with the question of who the Chinese are. The majority of children described Chinese as different from Taiwanese. Cindy (China, Y3) described Chinese as those who can speak Mandarin but are different from Taiwanese who also speak Mandarin. Peggy (Taiwan, Y4) specifically indicates that Chinese are those who live in China. For these children, Chinese is an exclusive other with a clear boundary with Taiwanese. In this sense, Chinese and Taiwanese have become labels occupying different and mutually exclusive spaces (Chang and Holt, 2007).

Jessica: 那你覺得怎樣的人算是中國人？

Cindy: 中國人。可以講中國話

Jessica: 那你覺得中國人阿，是比台灣人還要大，還是台灣人跟中國人是不一樣的

Cindy: 台灣人跟中國人是不一樣的

[Jessica: What makes a Chinese?]

Cindy: Chinese...who can speak Chinese.

Jessica: Do you think Chinese is a concept that is larger than Taiwanese, or Taiwanese are different from Chinese?

Cindy: Taiwanese and Chinese are different.]

Jessica: 那中國人你知道嗎?

Peggy: 中國人就是住在中國的人

[Jessica: Do you know 'Chinese'?

Peggy: Chinese are those who live in China.]

Ray (Taiwan, Y4) was the only one boy who thought Chinese are people in Taiwan. He didn't know about China. For him, Chinese are people in Taiwan. Chinese and Taiwanese are interchangeable. For him, Taiwanese and Chinese share the same identity boundaries and content.

Jessica: 你在哪裡有看到過這個，中國人?

Ray: 中國人，在台灣

[...]

Jessica: 那台灣人和中國人一樣嗎?

Ray: 一樣

[Jessica: Where have you seen any Chinese?

Ray: Chinese, in Taiwan.

[...]

Jessica: Are Taiwanese the same as Chinese?

Ray: The same]

No matter whether the children support independence or unification, they resist being labelled as Chinese when I used the label “*Zhong-guo ren*” (Chinese 中國

人) to ask them if they would choose it as one of their identities. Peggy (Taiwan, Y4) was a girl supporting independence and she showed her objection to being labelled as a Chinese. She said: “I don’t agree that I am a Chinese.” Kat (Vietnam, Y6) thought Taiwan is a part of China but she still would not use Chinese to describe herself.

Jessica: 如果你覺得台灣是中國的, 那你會不會想選一下中國人?

Kat: 恩...但是...可能不會吧

Jessica: 爲什麼?

Kat: 因爲台灣就是跟中國好像有距離的感覺阿.. 然後就是很少接觸阿之類的, 所以就選台灣人

[Jessica: Since you think Taiwan belong to China, would you like to choose the label “Chinese”?

Kat: hmm...but...probably not.

Jessica: Why?

Kat: There seems to be a distance between Taiwan and China and I have few opportunities to be in touch with them, so I choose Taiwanese.]

In Li’s (2002) study about Mainlander’s dilemma of Taiwanese or Chinese identity, he indicates that although Mainlanders claim themselves as ‘Chinese,’ they do not deny they are also Taiwanese. In this study, however, some children resisted to be labelled as ‘Chinese.’

Finally, some children lacked the knowledge and ideas of who Chinese refers to. The great scale of de-Sinicisation in Taiwanese nationalism and the omission of using the term ‘Chinese’ in the textbooks have already had an impact on children in this generation. Lacking the information and knowledge of the concept of Chinese, a Chinese identity is barely an option in terms of identity for the new generation.

6.7.1 The Image of the Chinese

Children's descriptions about the Chinese are basically negative. Sophie (Y6, Vietnam) had a negative attitude toward Chinese. She defined Taiwanese as those who speak Mandarin so I went on to ask her whether Chinese people can be Taiwanese if they come to Taiwan. Her response showed her hatred of Chinese, but she could not give a reason.

Jessica : 如果中國人來到台灣，可以算是台灣人嗎？

Sophie : 不行，我恨他們

[Jessica: If Chinese come to Taiwan, can they be Taiwanese?]

Sophie: No, I hate them.]

Her reaction is an extreme case but several children have shown their negative impression toward the Chinese. For example, Harry (Taiwan, Y4) visited China before and he felt the streets and the toilets were dirty. Emma (China, Y3), as a child of Chinese immigrant, also complained that she felt the Chinese speak too loudly when she visited China.

The negative emotions and feelings toward the Chinese are not uncommon in Taiwan. Where does the hatred come from? At school, the textbook says nothing about Chinese people, but it does mention that Taiwan is isolated in the international community because of China's suppression. The teacher could be a

source. Yumi's (Taiwan, Y5) teacher shared her personal experience when traveling in China of witnessing a mother allowing her child to urinate on the tram so she thought the Chinese was dirty. Therefore, she thought Taiwanese and Chinese are different.

Mass media is another source for children to learn about the Chinese. Shelley (Y6, Taiwan) indicated that what she knew about China was about piracy products, and she knew it from the news on TV and her teacher.

Shelley: 我覺得中國給我的印象就是一些山寨版仿冒品那些的

Jessica: 那你是從哪裡知道關於中國人的事情，就是他們是怎樣的人，從哪裡知道的，例如說他們都有仿冒品之類的

Shelley: 新聞新聞

Jessica: 主要是新聞嘛，就是電視

Shelley: 對，還有老師上課的時候也會講到

Jessica: 老師也會講喔，老師講什麼？

Shelley: 就是大概會講一些關於台灣的歷史，然後就會想一些課外的

[Shelley: I think my impression of China is about piracy stuff.

Jessica: How do you know things about the Chinese? Where do you know what they are like, such as they have piracy stuff?

Shelley: The news.

Jessica: Mainly the news, from TV?

Shelley: Yes, and my teacher would talk about it in the class as well.

Jessica: The teacher talked about it as well. What does the teacher say?

Shelley: The teacher probably said something about Taiwan's history, and added something extracurricular.

Nationalism is not simply creating love to fellow nationals; it is also sometimes about hating the other (Alonso, 1994). The Chinese have been a “significant other” (Triandafyllidou, 1998) in the creation of a Taiwanese identity. During the KMT

regime, which promoted a Chinese nationalism in Taiwan, the hatred was made toward the communists and sympathy was shown to the Chinese. In current Taiwanese nationalism, the differentiation of the Taiwanese and the Chinese detached Taiwanese people's identity from the Chinese, and reinforced a negative emotion toward the Chinese.

Section 5.2 discussed the construction of China as the 'significant other' in Year 6. Nevertheless, children's negative emotion toward the Chinese developed before they reached Year 6. Hence, their negative opinions are based on other sources, rather than the textbooks. This section indicated that such sources might be personal experiences, other people's experiences, and the mass media.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined children's national identity. Taiwanese is the dominant national identity for native children and children of immigrants in this study. Children mostly perceive the Chinese as 'the others' who are different from Taiwanese. Their explaining of Chinese shows that they perceive Taiwanese and Chinese are two different identities, which have exclusive boundaries. Children's descriptions about Chinese are mainly negative. This might relate to the prevalent anti-Sinicisation atmosphere in Taiwan. However, I would argue the construction of a strong Taiwanese national identity does not entail hating the Chinese. It is also not necessary to marginalise Chinese culture to create Taiwanese culture and ethnic groups.

The pattern of national identity choices varies between children of Chinese immigrants and children of Vietnamese immigrants. None of children of Chinese immigrants chose dual identities, while nearly half of the children of Vietnamese immigrants acknowledged and chose both Vietnamese and Taiwanese to represent themselves. This might reflect the 'anti-Sinicisation' atmosphere produced by Taiwanese nationalism. We have seen the negative attitudes that children hold toward the Chinese in the results. The contrasting choices that children of Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants made reminds us that children of new immigrants in Taiwan should not be taken as a homogenous group.

Most importantly, this finding supports Carrington and Short's (1996) argument that children of the marginalised groups are more conscious of their collective identity as a result of political influence. The choices that children of Chinese immigrants made might indicate that the discourse of current Taiwanese nationalism is a kind violence especially toward Chinese immigrants and their children. Derrida (1976; 2001) demonstrates that discourse itself can be violent. The notion 'Chinese' is receiving persistent exclusion in the narratives of Taiwanese nationalism, and consistently being constructed as the 'other'.

The aim of Taiwanese nationalism is to centralise Taiwan in the discourses and to create a Taiwanese identity in accompany with a process of de-Sinicisation, even sometimes a radical anti-Sinicisation. How the narrative of Taiwanese nationalism affects Chinese immigrants and their children's belongingness and national identity needs further exploration.

In general, birth place and place of residence are the key markers of Taiwanese identity in this study. Yet, the markers are not always consistent when children claim their own national identities and other people's national identities. I used three different questions. The first is why the child claims himself or herself as a Taiwanese to examine the marker the respondent used for self. The second is what makes a Taiwanese to understand the markers which are used in general. The third question is if the respondent thinks a child having a Taiwanese father and an immigrant mother and was born in Taiwan is a Taiwanese. By using this question, I examine what markers children use for children of immigrants who are more likely to be excluded. Some children use the same marker for different people, but some children use different markers to judge children of immigrants' national identity. Therefore, identity markers alone cannot explain how children define a Taiwanese because the markers are used for different purposes and situations.

Immigrants and their children, as a minority in Taiwan, face more challenge in this social negotiation process to build up their national identity. Identity formation is a process of social negotiation in a particular cultural and social context (Barth, 1969). Bond (2006) used the externally imposed limitations and self-imposed limitations to investigate national identity. This study found that that children of immigrants not only received external limitations that other people impose on them, but also imposed limitations on themselves in regards of claiming a Taiwanese identity. In children's discourses, children of immigrants are still excluded from being 'full' Taiwanese.

Apart from children of immigrants, the Aborigines were another minority group

that were viewed as less like Taiwanese. In this sense, the discourse of 'Taiwanese' is mainly based on the Han people. Children's discourses here reflect a standpoint of ethnic nationalism. Does it indicate that current Taiwanese nationalism is an ethnic one that contains Han chauvinism? The presentation of different ethnic groups in Taiwan is discussed in Chapter 8, which can offer different angles to this question.

7 Imagined Ethnicity

7.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter 2, ethnicity and nationalism are closely related. Walker Connor (1994a) uses ‘ethnonationalism’ as the synonym of nationalism. He argues that nationalism without talking about ethnicity is empty. Jenkins also argues that “*all nationalisms are, in some sense, ‘ethnic’*” (1997: 145-6). He argues that the boundary between ethnicity and nationalism is indeterminate. Hobsbawm holds a different opinion about this. He argues that nationalism and ethnicity are ‘different, and indeed non-comparable, concepts’ (1992: 4). In this view nationalism is taken as a recent and programmatic political philosophy, while ethnicity expresses authentic or primordial group identity (Jenkins, 1997: 143). I agree that ethnicity and nationalism are different concepts, but it is undeniable that they share common characteristics. In addition, the changing ethnic labels in Taiwan (see Section 1.5) show that the case of Taiwan is rather more constructed than primordial. Both national identity and ethnic identity are closely bounded to history and politics in Taiwan.

Although Smith’s definition of an ethnic group is that it is a unit of population with common history and culture, Barth suggests that it is “the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses” (1969: 15). From the social constructive perspective, the boundaries and identities are also shifting with history and events (Jenkins, 1997). The authors of *Ethnicity in Taiwan* (Chen, Chuang, and

Huang, 1994) argue that ethnicity in Taiwan is perpetually bound up with historical events. The category and meanings of ethnicity have been changing and fluid throughout Taiwan's history. The power relationship of ethnic groups in Taiwan has been changing in the last four decades. I have discussed in Section 1.5 that the ethnic groups were actually the products of group conflicts in different times (Wang, 2003). Political power is one of the main factors that influence ethnicity in Taiwan. These groups in Taiwan became the so called "four ethnic groups" with a proposal from some legislators in the 1990s, and it is now common to categorise Taiwanese ethnic groups without critical examination.

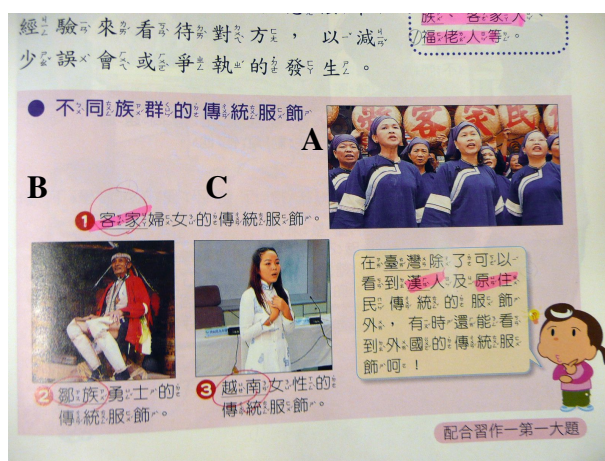
Taiwanese nationalism is shaping new ethnicities and ethnic relations, in accompany with the construction of a new national identity. New symbols have surfaced to serve the purpose of ethnic mobilization. Individuals, however, can reject ethnic labels that are imposed on them. Ethnicity is therefore a matter of contestation (Baumann, 1999: 57), which echoes Bhabha's (1990) pedagogical narrations and performative narrations. Drawing attention to children in Taiwan, it's the concern of this chapter to investigate how children make sense of ethnicity and to what extent do they accept or challenge the ethnicity that Taiwanese nationalism constructs.

This chapter firstly analyses ethnicity in the textbooks, which are viewed as the products of the current Taiwanese nationalism. Through examining ethnicity in the textbooks, I will identify the ethnic groups and ethnic relations that are propagated. It goes on to explore children's understandings of the four ethnic groups, as well as the way they classify people in Taiwan.

7.2 Ethnicity in the Textbooks

The term *zuqun* (ethnicity) was explained in the first volume of Social Studies textbooks in Year 3. It states, “Ethnicity is a group of people who have a common language, custom and lifestyle. For example: Amis tribe, Atayal tribe, Hakka and Hoklo” (Kang Hsuan, Vol.1, p.71) These examples in the textbook covered three (Aborigines, Hakka and Hoklo) of the four ethnic groups in Taiwan, but the Mainlander was omitted. New immigrant women were also shown in the pictures of traditional clothes of the Aborigines, Hakka and Vietnamese women (Figure 7.1). Yet, new immigrant women are regarded as ‘foreign’ in the narrative that “not only the traditional clothes of the Aborigines and the Han, but also foreign traditional clothes could be seen in Taiwan” (p.71).

Figure 7-1. Traditional clothes of ethnic groups in the Year 3 Social Studies textbook



- A. Traditional clothes of Hakka women
- B. Traditional clothes of the man in Tsou tribe
- C. Traditional clothes of Vietnamese women

Table 7-1 illustrates the number of pages of the four ethnic groups shown in the Social Studies textbooks. The presentations of the Aborigines outnumber the other ethnic groups greatly, and the second most common is the Han. There were gaps

between the presentation in the Social Studies textbooks and the reality of Taiwanese society in terms of ethnic groups. According to a survey in Taiwan (Council of Hakka Affair, 2008), Hoklo composes about 69% of the population in Taiwan, Hakka 14%, Mainlander 10%, and Aborigines around 2%. The Aborigines, which were a minority group in Taiwan, are emphasised in the textbooks. The majority group, the Hoklo, was barely mentioned, and the Mainlander is totally absent in the textbooks. The following sections discuss the presentation of each ethnic group in textbooks.

Table 7-1. The number of pages that contains ethnic groups in the Social Studies textbooks

Concept\ Volume	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Subtotal
The four ethnic groups									
Aborigine	2	3	8	2	3	18	11	-	57
Hakka	1	1	1	-	2	-	3	-	8
Hoklo	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Mainlander	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Other ethnic groups									
Han people	3	3	5	-	1	24	1	-	37
New immigrants	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	4

7.2.1 Aborigines (*Yuanchumin*)

One interesting presentation in the Social Studies textbooks is the concept of the Han. The Social Studies textbooks go to great lengths to describe the differences between the Han and the Aborigines. For example, the textbooks introduced that the Han society was a patrilineal society, while the Aborigine societies include matrilineal, patrilineal and aristocratic societies in different tribes. The Han and the Aborigine were also illustrated as different in festivals (Figure 7-2), clothing (Figure 7-3),

language, name, life styles, etc. In Figure 7-2, the festivals of the Aborigine were related to hunting, harvest and worshipping their ancestral spirits. The textbooks showed festivals of the Han with the couplets that are used for decoration of the Spring Festival, abundant food offered to worship ancestors and ghosts in the Ghost Festival, and releasing water lanterns in the I-min Festival.

Figure 7-2. The festivals of the Han and the Aborigines in the Y4 Social Studies textbook



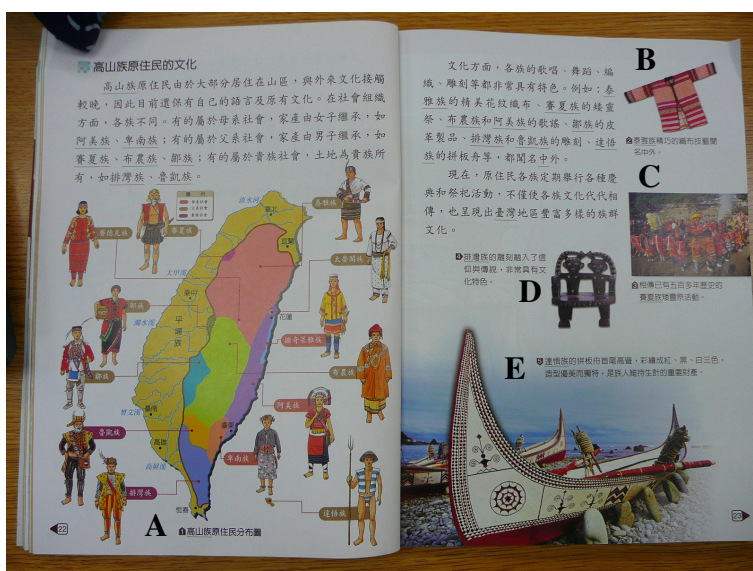
- A. Traditional festivals of the Aborigine
- B. Timetable of the traditional festivals of the Aborigine
- C. Traditional festivals of the Han
- D. Timetable of the traditional festivals of the Han
- E. I-min Festival

Figure 7-3. The traditional clothes of the Aborigines and the Han in the Y4 Social Studies textbook



The Aborigines in the textbooks are presented in relation to the face tattoo, weaving cloth, fishing, hunting, festivals and ancestor's spirit (Figure 7-4). The image of the Aborigine is traditional and different from the ordinary people in their dress, lifestyle and language. The massive attention on the Aborigine was found not only in the Social Studies textbooks, but also in the Mandarin textbooks. Two lessons were specifically about the Aborigines and their cultures. No other ethnic groups were mentioned explicitly like the Aborigines in the Mandarin textbooks.

Figure 7-4. The aboriginal tribes in the Y5 Social Studies textbooks



- A. The distribution of the 'Mountain Aborigines'
- B. Weaving cloth of the Atayal tribe
- C. The festival of the Saisiyat tribe
- D. A carving of the Paiwan tribe
- E. The fishing boat of the Tao tribe

The construction of Aborigines in the textbooks is paradoxical. Chapter 5 discussed that the textbooks use aboriginal symbols as the representation of the nation. Taiwanese nationalism is creating an attachment to the land and to the native culture. Aboriginal cultures, as the native cultures of the land, are becoming the new symbols of Taiwan. The aboriginal cultures are distinctive, and can be distinguished from the Chinese culture, which was promoted in Chinese nationalism before. Here we see the

narratives in the textbooks are detaching the Aboriginal culture by introducing the difference between the Han and the Aborigines. When the textbooks convey the message that Han are different from Aborigines, how could the majority Han children develop an emotional bond to what they are not?

The reason that the textbooks spent a large amount of space differentiating the Aborigine and the Han might be to establish a Han ethnic identity that can be detached from Chinese ethnic identity, as well as an aboriginal cultural identity as a Taiwanese identity. The usage of the Han was to replace the Chinese (Liu and Hung, 2002) or Chinese settlers (Su, 2007) that were used in old textbooks. It could serve as establishing a Han ethnic identity to substitute a Chinese ethnic identity. Although Corcuff (2005) questioned that the usage of the Han to replace the Chinese in the curriculum reformation raised the problem of what it meant to be a Han, the purpose to detach from the Chinese ethnic identity in the textbooks was apparent.

7.2.2 Mainlander (*Waishengren*)

The Mainlander is absent in the textbooks. Li (2002) suggests that the ethnicity of the Mainlander is a product of a unique historical circumstance. He argues that the Mainlanderness is rather a mentality embedded in historical contexts than a cultural unity. Therefore, the idea of Mainlanderness might not necessarily be transmitted from generation to generation. Even intermarriages between the Mainlanders and other ethnic groups might lead to varying degrees of assimilation, but there are still intra-marriages among the Mainlanders. 'Mainlanders' is still commonly used in the

ethnic label in the current Taiwanese society. Therefore, one explanation for the absence of the Mainlander in the textbooks might be to marginalize the Mainlander in the ethnicity of Taiwan by not recognising them as one of the ethnic groups in Taiwan, as part of the de-Sinicisation movement in Taiwanese nationalism.

7.2.3 Hoklo (*Minnanren*)

The Hoklo was mentioned only twice among all Social Studies textbooks. The first description was presented in the example when the textbook explains the concept of ethnicity in Year 3. The other one was presented in the discussion of funeral customs of different ethnic groups in Year 6. It described the Hoklo and Hakka have similar funeral customs to collect bones a few years after burial, and the Aborigines have under-home burial to bless the offspring. In other parts of the textbooks, Han is used to represent both the Hoklo and the Hakka.

The Hoklo, the majority group which is rarely shown in the textbooks can be seen as the 'minus-one' ethnicity that 'the dominant group insists upon its power to define; members of that group perceive themselves not as ethnic but as setting the standard by which others are to judged' (Banton 1983:65). Banton's argument suggests that the dominant group view other groups as ethnic, but themselves as non-ethnic. I argue that the textbooks are written basically from the viewpoints of Hoklo people that the Hoklo culture and tradition are taken for granted as 'our' Taiwanese culture. The aboriginal and Hakka cultures are introduced because they are 'other' cultures.

7.2.4 Hakka (Kejiaren)

The Hakka still live in groups in certain areas in Taiwan, such as Hsinchu and Miaoli (Council of Hakka Affairs, 2008). The Hakka culture was introduced along with places in the textbooks. For example, Meinong, a southern area in Taiwan, is introduced with its Hakka museum and the famous Hakka handmade oil paper umbrellas that are made in this area. In addition, Hakka traditional clothes are also portrayed as a symbol of Hakka culture in the textbooks.

7.2.5 Immigrants

In the lesson of multiculturalism in Taiwan in the Y3 Social Studies textbook, Immigrant women are introduced with the description that more and more people immigrate to Taiwan for education, work or marriage. The multiple cultures in Taiwan in the textbook are illustrated as comprising of the culture of Han, Aborigines, and new immigrants through photos. The textbook uses photos and pictures to illustrate Southeast Asian people and their cultures in Taiwan, which reflects that immigrants from this area are the major immigrant group, in comparing with immigrants from other areas. For example, Figure 7-5 shows that new immigrants is shown as the representative of multiple cultures in Taiwan.

Figure 7-5 The illustration of multiculturalism in the Y3 Social Studies textbook



Note: The boy says, “My mom is an Indonesian so I can speak Mandarin and Indonesian.”

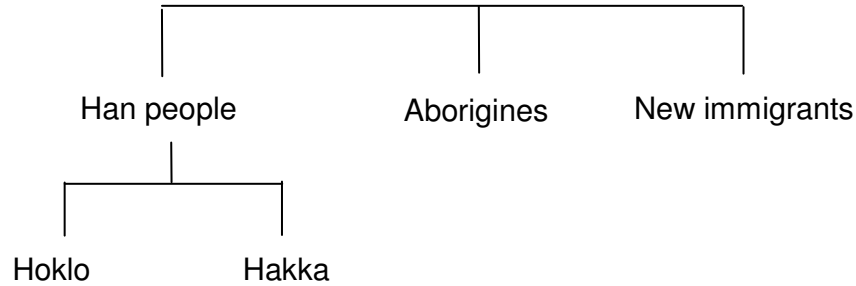
The textbooks introduced new immigrants as new-comers who have different languages, cultures, and lifestyles. The textbooks described that the society should accept the difference and help them to adjust to this country’s culture and language. It also implies that the society does not intend to accept their cultures as part of Taiwanese culture yet.

7.2.6 New Ethnic Structure in the Textbooks

According to the materials in the Social Studies textbooks, I constructed the ethnic categories in Taiwan (Figure 7-6). Compared with the existing ethnic groups in Figure 1-1, new ethnic boundaries and groups were constructed in the textbooks. The division of *banshengren/waishengren* was removed while the concept of *waishengren* was absent in the textbooks. New immigrants and their children are included in the social context as a new group in Taiwan. This demonstrates the ‘selective tradition’ (William, 1989) in the curriculum, which is a “selective version

of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification” (1989: 58)

Figure 7-6. The constructed ethnic groups in Taiwan in the Social Studies textbooks



7.3 Children Talking About the Ethnic Groups in Taiwan

The previous section discussed the constructed ethnicity in the textbooks, which presents a new picture of ethnicity in Taiwan. Children, as active agents in their lives, might not simply accept these ethnicity ideologies from pedagogical narratives. The extent that the new generation who grow up in the context of Taiwanese nationalism relate themselves to the four ethnic groups remains unexplored. This section discusses children’s interpretation of the four ethnic groups, and the extent that they grasp, challenge, or resist the ideology of the four ethnic groups.

7.3.1 Aborigines

The participants were familiar with this label ‘*Yuanzhumin* (Aborigines).’ This is

probably because the Aborigines and their cultures received extensive coverage in the textbooks. It is the only label that none of the participants required explanation of its meaning. Most children indicated that the Aborigines were different from them, and different from the Han. They were able to make a long list of features to show the differences of the Aborigines from them, including clothing, bare feet, dark skin, language, life style (hunting, living in the mountains), good at dancing and singing, face tattoo, harvest festivals, and weaving. These cultural symbols correspond with the image constructed in the textbooks, and some children also expressed that they learned it from the Social Studies textbooks.

Jessica: 你知道什麼樣的人是原住民嗎?

Peggy: 就本來就住在台灣, 不是像什麼漢人那個

[Jessica: What kind of people are the Aborigine ?

Peggy: Those people who have been living in Taiwan, not the Han.]

The Aborigines are viewed as particularly different from other ethnic groups in Taiwan. Joanna's (China, Y4) class had a diverse ethnic composition, comprised of all ethnic groups discussed in this thesis, such as Hoklo, Hakka, Aborigines, children of Chinese immigrants and children of Vietnamese immigrants. She did not feel different from the peers from other ethnic groups, except the Aborigines. However, when I probed what the distinction was, she replied that she did not really think that they act or talk differently. She felt they were different simply because the textbooks say so. Her response echoes the division of the Han and the Aborigines in the narratives of textbooks.

Jessica: 這兩個(原住民)對妳來講會不一樣, 那其他的呢?

Joanna: 嗯。沒有

Jessica: 沒有，其他的你就覺得都一樣？

Joanna: (我們)都差不多

Jessica: 就是原住民會不一樣，可是他們在言行舉止真的有跟你們不一樣嗎？

Joanna: 沒有

Jessica: 都一樣，只是因為你們上課有上到嗎？

Joanna: 嗯！

[Jessica: You think these two (Aborigines) are different. What about the others?]

Joanna: Humm...no.

Jessica: No, You think you are the same with the others?

Joanna: (We are) similar.

Jessica: Only the Aborigines are different. Do they really talk or act differently from you?

Joanna: No.

Jessica: The same. Is it because you learn it from the school lessons?

Joanna: Hum!]

As Joanna had indicated, most of the new generation of the Aborigines, especially those who live in cities, live a Han lifestyle. She indicated that she thought the Aborigines should have tattoo on their faces but her aboriginal classmate did not look like what she imagined.

Joanna: 可是不是太像，長的也不像

Jessica: 喔...那你覺得原住民應該長什麼樣

Joanna: 可能就...臉上有刺那個

[Joanna: But he does not look like an aborigine.

Jessica: Oh, what do you think aborigines should be like?

Joanna: Maybe...tattoo on the face.]

A stereotype of the Aborigines being violent was shown from Mia's interview. She is an Aborigine herself. She said that if she had a chance to introduce Aboriginal culture to her classmates, she would like to tell them that Aborigines are neither violent nor labour workers. The stereotype of being violent was raised by Ray (Taiwan, Y4)) as

well. He felt angry when he thought of the Aborigines in his class because ‘the Aborigines tend to hit people (原住民很愛亂打人)’.

Jessica: 如果你要跟你同學介紹(原住民的文化), 你會怎麼介紹?

Mia: 原住民還蠻會搞笑的, 然後唱歌, 大部分人都會唱歌, 唱歌還不錯聽, 然後原住民大部分的人不是那個的壞, 就是還不錯, 就是很好, 沒有想像中那樣暴力之類的

Jessica: 為什麼你會覺得原住民是暴力的?

Mia: 因為有些人覺得原住民力道超有勁的, 然後做事情可能說, 比如說很會搬很重的東西

Jessica: How would you introduce (the aboriginal cultural) to your classmates?

Mia: Aborigines are funny. And singing...most of them can sing well. Most Aborigines are not bad. They are nice. They are not as violent as people think.

Jessica: Why would you think Aborigines are violent?

Mia: Some people think Aborigines are very muscular and they can carry very heavy stuff as work.

7.3.2 Mainlander

Traditionally, *waishengren* (Mainlanders) refers to those people who retreated from China to Taiwan with the troops around 1949 and their offspring. Although the definition of *waishengren* has been questioned (Corcuff, 2002b), the usage of *waishengren* in the adult population in Taiwan is still common. I have noted in the previous section that the concept of *waishengren* is totally absent in the textbooks. When talking about *waishengren* with the participants, the majority had a difficult time to identify what *waishengren* referred to. Around half of the children expressed that they did not know what *waishengren* was or they have never heard of it before. The others interpreted *waishengren* with various meanings. Some children explained that *waishengren* were people from outside; some related *waishengren* to new immigrant women and their children; some understood *waishengren* as *waiguoren* (foreigner).

Emma (China, Y3) described *waishengren* as ‘people from outside’. Those people who did not live in Taiwan originally. It designates the otherness of this group that they are not native. Kevin (China, Y5) explained *waishengren* as people from another country, such as from China. He categorised *waishengren* as late arriver and Taiwanese as earlier settlers. He added that he and his friends whose mothers were from Vietnam and China were *waishengren*, while other classmates were Taiwanese.

Kevin’s remarks revealed that the boundaries and content of what *waishengren* means has changed, which is what Brown (2004) called ‘variability’. For the older generations, *waishengren* means people from mainland China especially those retreated to Taiwan after the Chinese civil war. For this new generation, *waishengren* is used for new immigrant women and their children. In this study, four out of seven children of Chinese immigrants use *waishengren* to describe their own mothers. Oliver (China, Y5) explained that *waishengren* meant “people from other country,” adding his Chinese mother as an example of *waishengren*. *Waishengren* used to refer to people who migrated from China only, but for these children, the sending country is not limited to China anymore. Harold (Vietnam, Y3) also used *waishengren* to describe Vietnamese.

Jessica: 外省人你有聽過嗎？

Oliver: 有阿，我媽就是外省人

Jessica: 那爲什麼你會稱你媽媽是外省人，你在哪裡看過外省人這個用字？

Oliver: 外省人，外省人就是。從別的國家來的

[Jessica: Have you ever heard of *Waishengren*?

Oliver: Yes, My mom is a *waishengren*.

Jessica: Why would you call your mom *waishengren*? Where do you learn it?

Oliver: Waishengren, waishengren are....people from other country.]

Jessica: 怎樣算外省人?

Harold: 越南人那些的

[Jessica: Who is the Waishengren?

Harold: like those Vietnamese.]

Although children use *waishengren* to label new immigrant women and their children, the new definition is not necessarily created by children. More often than not, it is the label that other people impose on this group. Emma (China, Y3) indicated that *waishengren* was not the title that her mother used for herself; instead, it is the title that people gave her mother when she went to some activities for new immigrants. Therefore, she chose the label of ‘*waishengren*’ for her mother, rather than ‘Chinese’.

Jessica: 那媽媽呢? 。 。 。 外省人 。 。 他會說 he 自己是外省人嗎? 還是別人會說 he 是外省人嗎?

Emma: 別人會說

[...]

Jessica: 例如誰會說 he 是外省人

Emma: 就是有時候去辦什麼東西的, 或是參加什麼東西, 就是有些是外籍配偶

[Jessica: What about your mom? (she was asked to choose an identity label to describe her mother)... Weishengren. Did she describe herself as waishengren, or it was other people call her waishengren?

Emma: Other people said that.

[...]

Jessica: Do you have any example that people called her waishengren?

Emma: When she went to handle something or attend some activities, for foreign spouses.]

Some children equated *waishengren* to *waiguoren* or *laowei* (foreigner), which are only one character different in Mandarin. They also have some similarity in their

meanings. *Waishengren* literally means people from outer provinces or people from other provinces; *waiguoren* literally means people from other country. Both *waishengren* and *waiguoren* contain the Chinese word ‘*wai*,’ which means ‘outside’, ‘external’ or ‘foreign.’ Oliver (China, Y5) believed *waishengren* and *waiguoren* were the same.

Jessica: 從別的國家來的，外省人跟外國人一樣嗎？

Oliver: 應該一樣吧

Jessica: From other country, Is waishengren the same as waiguoren?

Oliver: Probably the same.]

Kat thought *waishengren* were not native. She gave an example of Anglo-Saxon American.

Jessica: 那你所學的外省人，他們長相會跟我們差不多嗎？還是會不一樣？

Kat: 會有些會不一樣

Jessica: 像是怎樣的不一樣

Kat: 大概就像，美國人吧，美國人就皮膚比較黑，\皮膚比較白，然後就是可能會吃很多油膩的，有點胖胖的感覺

[Jessica: Do the waishengren you learned look similar to us? Or they look different?

Kat: They have some differences.

Jessica: What kind of differences?

Kat: They are probably like...American. American have darker skin, oh, whiter skin. And they maybe eat much oily food and look a little bit fat.]

To sum up, people are giving new meaning and new boundaries to the category of *waishengren* by including new immigrant women in this group. In some cases, children mix or equal the concept of *waishengren* to foreigners.

7.3.3 Hoklo

While *Minnanren* (Hoklo) is thought to be the biggest ethnic group in Taiwan, it is rarely discussed in the textbooks. How do children understand and describe Hoklo then? Almost half of the participants didn't know what 'Hoklo' means or had never heard of it. Some of them 'guessed' that Hoklo were those who speak Minnanese, which showed their uncertainty about this label. Two participants referred Hoklo to 'Taiwanese', and others described Hoklo as people who speak Minnanese.

Peggy (Taiwan, Y4) explained that the Hoklo were those who spoke Minnanese. Since she expressed that she needed to communicate with her grandparents in Minnanese, I believed she came from a Hoklo family. I continued to ask her if she thought she could be a Hoklo. Yet, she did not think she was a Hoklo because she did not like to speak Minnanese. Her example revealed two things. Firstly, the traditional way to define ethnic groups, such as Hoklo and Hakka, used to be related to not only the ability to speak its language, but also the place that their ancestors came from. For children of the new generation, however, they related the Hoklo to its language only. Secondly, ethnic identity is a choice rather than a fixed identity for these children. Peggy did not claim herself as a Hoklo because she did not *like* to speak this language.

Jessica: 你那時候不是說閩南人是說閩南語的人嗎?

Peggy: 對阿

Jessica: 那你會不會覺得自己有可能是閩南人?

Peggy: 不會覺得，因為我不愛講(閩南語)

[Jessica: Did you say that the Hoklo spoke Minnanese?]

Peggy: Yes.

Jessica: Would you think you might be a Hoklo?

Peggy: I don't think so because I don't like to speak (Minnanese).]

Her unwillingness to label herself as a Hoklo is not exceptional. For those participants who can speak Minnanese and define Hoklo as people who speak Minnanese, only one participant claimed herself as a Hoklo because she is proficient in Minnanese. Other participants would rather not make this claim and don't want to put this label on themselves although they agree that their parents are Hoklo. Most of them thought that they can speak some Minnanese only.

Kevin (China, Y5) referred to the Hoklo as the 'Taiwanese' (*taiwanren*). His comment brought up the question of who the 'Taiwanese' are. In a narrow definition, the Taiwanese also refers to the Hoklo, partly because the Hoklo is the majority group, and partly because the Minnanese in Taiwan is also called Taiwanese (*taiyu*), the language of Taiwan. It is not uncommon to be expected to speak Minnanese to be recognized as a Taiwanese in Taiwanese nationalism. Nevertheless, a Hakka legislator criticised this narrow definition and proposed that Taiwanese (*taiyu* or *taiwanhua*) should include the Hakka dialect, Minnanese, Aboriginal languages, and the languages that new immigrants bring to Taiwan (Public Television Service Foundation, 2003).

Sometimes, the Taiwanese (*taiwanren*) are thought to be the *banshengren*, in contrast to the *waishengren*. This was reflected in the later interview with Kevin. When we were discussing the classification of people in Taiwan, one way of classification that he mentioned depended on the time people arrived in Taiwan. He described those

earlier settlers as the Taiwanese, and the later arrivers as *waishengren*. In addition, he added that Hakka were also included in the earlier settlers. Most children, however, use the term the ‘Taiwanese’ in an inclusive way that people who were born in Taiwan are Taiwanese. This was discussed in chapter 6.

Jessica: 閩南人你有聽說過嗎?

Kevin: 就是那個台灣人

[Jessica: Have you ever heard of the Hoklo?

Kevin: They are those Taiwanese.]

Kevin: 那個比較早來台灣，比較晚來台灣的

Jessica: 恩，那比較早來的叫什麼?

Kevin: 台灣人阿

Jessica: 那比較晚來的呢?

Kevin: 外省人

Jessica: 喔~好，那客家人呢?

Kevin: 客家人，就是比較早來的

[Kevin: Those people arrived Taiwan earlier, and those arrived Taiwan later.

Jessica: En, what do you call those who arrived earlier?

Kevin: Taiwanese.

Jessica: What about those arrived later?

Kevin: Waishengren.

Jessica: Oh, OK, what about the Hakka?

Kevin: Hakka are also those arrived earlier.]

7.3.4 Hakka

In this study, about one third of children did not know who the *Kejiaren* (Hakka) refer to. For example, Sean (Chinese, Y6) had never heard of ‘Hakka’ before. His had no relatives living outside of Taichung. Taichung is not a place where Hakka people and Hakka language are prevalent. Meanwhile, most Hakka people can speak

Minnanese so their ethnicity is not easily to be distinguished if they don't claim their Hakka identity or speak Hakka publicly.

Several children characterised Hakka with its food, such as Hakka-style stir fry, Hakka mochi, and Hakka flat noodles. Food is a cultural symbol for the Hakka.

For those who knew Hakka, language was mainly how these children define the Hakka. Sophie (Vietnam, Y6) was excited when she saw the label 'Hakka'. She expressed that her mom could speak Hakka because her maternal grandfather was a Hakka. She, therefore, could understand some Hakka but she was unable to speak it. Consequently, she chose Hoklo as one of her identities, instead of Hakka, because she spoke some Minnanese. For her, language is more important than blood lineage to claim an identity.

Another example was that Tina (Taiwan, Y4) identified herself as a Hakka because her father was a Hakka. She regarded patrilineal blood lineage as important for individual's ethnic identity; however, she identified her sister as a Hoklo because she spoke Minnanese well. Her comment on her sister's ethnicity showed that although she used both blood lineage and languages as markers of identity, language is more crucial than blood lineage for her.

Jessica: 那媽媽是閩南人，可是你不覺得你是閩南人阿

Tina: 因為那個不是都遺傳父親

Jessica: 喔，因為爸爸是客家人，所以你覺得你是客家人

Tina: 嗯，但是我覺得姊姊應該是閩南人

Jessica: 爲什麼?

Tina: 因為他台語說的很好阿

[Jessica: Your mother is a Hoklo but you don't think you are a Hoklo?]

Tina: Because it is inherited from father

Jessica: Oh, because your father is a Hakka, you feel yourself a Hakka?

Tina: En. But I think that my sister is probably a Hoklo.

Jessica: Why?

Tina: She speaks Minnanese very well.]

In summary, children in this study are familiar with the ethnic label, Aborigines, which was regarded as different from them. In terms of other ethnic groups, some children have never heard of the Hoklo, the Hakka, or the Mainlander. Their responses correspond with the narratives in the textbooks to some extent. Nevertheless, although the Mainlander is absent in the textbooks, the participants are still able to give us the new meanings that are added to the categories of the Mainlander. The Mainlander used to refer to people from China, and now they also refer to immigrants from other countries.

In addition, language is a crucial marker for these children to define the Hoklo and the Hakka. They use language to choose if they would like connect themselves to an ethnic identification. This is more important than blood lineage for them. Their responses support the argument that ethnic identity is the label a person prefers, instead of what they are (Thomas, 1986).

7.4 Children's resistance to ethnic labels

The usage of ethnicity varies among children in different groups: children of native Taiwanese, children of Chinese immigrants, and children of Vietnamese immigrants. There was not a significant trend for children of different ages and genders.

For children of native Taiwanese, the concept of ethnicity has a significant meaning for children of Hakka and aboriginal backgrounds. All Hakka and aboriginal children choose ethnic labels as their most important identity, but none of the other children of native Taiwanese (presumably Hoklo) chose any ethnic labels for either themselves, their parents or their classmates. Children of Chinese immigrants do not use ethnic labels for themselves, but some of them chose the Hoklo for their fathers, and one girl chose the Mainlander for her mother. Children of Vietnamese immigrants are the only group of the three that would use Hoklo for themselves. Three out of ten chose Hoklo as one of the labels that can describe them, although Hoklo is not the most important identity for them.

The above findings indicate that children of different ethnic background have different levels of awareness of ethnicity, and ethnicity has different meanings for them. Section 7.1 discussed that the textbooks are written from a Hoklo perspective. The Hoklo, is the 'minus-one' ethnicity (Banton, 1983) who perceive themselves as non-ethnic and other groups as ethnic. From the interviews, Hakka and aboriginal children are most aware that they are different in ethnicity. They feel 'ethnic' because they are minority groups. Children's awareness of ethnicity shows the subjective ethnic relation. Hoklo is the dominant group in contemporary Taiwanese society, and the other groups are minorities.

In general, children resisted labelling themselves with any of these four ethnic groups, except the Hakka and the Aborigines. For example, Judy (Vietnam, Y5) had friends from the four ethnic groups. Therefore, I asked if she thought they are different. She

shook her head to indicate disagreement. In addition, she did not apply these ethnic labels to herself either.

Jessica: 你自己有這麼多朋友，有客家人，閩南人跟原住民的朋友，你覺得他們彼此之間有什麼差異嗎？

Judy: (搖頭)

Jessica: 所以那你會把自己放到這三個其中一個嗎？

Judy: (搖頭)

[Jessica: You have many friends, friends of Hakka, Hoklo and Aborigine. Do you think they are different?

Judy: (shake head).

Jessica: So would you put yourself into these three categories?

Judy: (shake head).]

Ray (Taiwan, Y4), on the other hand, thought that the four ethnic groups are groups of people who are different from him, and he has nothing to do with these groups, let alone feeling belonged to any of the ethnic groups.

Jessica: 客家人、原住民、外省人跟閩南人，跟你有任何關係嗎？

Ray: 沒有

Jessica: 那你覺得他們跟你一樣嗎？

Ray: 不一樣

[Jessica: Hakka, Aborigine, Mainlander and Hoklo, what's their connection with you?

Ray: None.

Jessica: Do you think they are the same with you?

Ray: Different.]

In another case, Harry (Taiwan, Y4) described Hoklo as people who spoke both Minnanese and Mandarin. Although he could speak both Minnanese and Mandarin, he preferred not to use Hoklo to describe himself. These examples that children refused to label themselves into the four ethnic groups showed children's resistance

to the existing ethnic categories that were given to them.

Harry: 閩南人，就是會講閩南語跟國語

Jessica: 恩，那你可以算閩南人嗎？

Harry: 我會講一些

Jessica: 會講一些，所以這樣可以算閩南人嗎？

Harry: 還是不要好了

[Harry: Hoklo, they can speak Minnanese and Mandarin.

Jessica: En, do you think you are a Hoklo?

Harry: I can speak some [Minnanese].

Jessica: You can speak some [Minnanese]. Do you count yourself into Hoklo then?

Harry: I would rather not.]

Two participants used ‘Hoklo’ to label their classmates: Tina with a Hakka background, and Sean as a child of a Chinese immigrant. Language was the reason that they chose this label for their classmates. Tina and Sean labeled their classmates as Hoklo because they subjectively perceived that their classmates spoke better Minnanese. Ironically, all the other children also thought they did not speak Minnanese well and did not perceive themselves as Hoklo either, except Gina (Vietnam, Y4) who perceived herself as a Hoklo because she was good at Minnanese .

7.5 Children’s Classification of People in Taiwan

This section discusses children’s classification of people by using the card-sorting exercise to ask which labels the participant would choose to describe themselves, as well as his or her parents and classmates.

While children resisted the imposed ethnicity from the society, what classification systems do they use to classify people? And, what are the most important identities for children? This study found that gender and place are the major identity markers that children use to classify themselves and other people. Being boys or girls, and being a person of Taichung or Taiwanese were most important for them.

Place is the identity marker that children use to classify people within Taiwan. Kathy (Taiwan, Y6) could speak Minnanese as well as Mandarin. While she revealed that her grandmother and her parents spoke Minnanese, I asked if she thought her family could be Hoklo. She replied that her family simply connected themselves to cities and places rather than ethnic groups.

Jessica: 那你會覺得你們家是閩南人嗎? [...] 應該說你曾經想過用這個來描述你們家的人, 或是你們都以嘉義人和雲林人來稱呼自己

Kathy: 對阿, 我們都以嘉義人和雲林人

[Jessica: Do you think that your family are the Hoklo? [...] Maybe I should say that if you ever use this (the Hoklo) to describe your family or you always use people of Chiayi and people of Yunlin for yourselves,

Kathy: Yes, we always use people of Chiayi and people of yunlin.]

Children usually connected people to the places where they were from. Almost all children of Vietnamese immigrants chose 'Vietnamese' for their mothers. In addition, children usually used 'Taiwanese' to describe their classmates. One girl precisely used the small town where her father was born as the identity for him. Despite the limited mobility these children had, they were able to use their geographical knowledge to understand where their classmates came from and therefore classify them. Most of them said that although the school was in Taichung, they knew that not all of their classmates came from or lived in Taichung. Therefore, they usually

used 'Taiwanese' to label their classmates.

Jessica: 你們班大部分的同學呢?

Nemo: 台灣人

Jessica: 台灣人，恩，為什麼是選台灣人?

Nemo: 我們班沒有。沒有那種外國人，就是像外面出生的

Jessica: 恩，那你為什麼沒有選台中人?

Nemo: 因為我們班有些人住在彰化

[Jessica: What about most classmates in your class?

Nemo: Taiwanese.

Jessica: Taiwanese. En, why would you choose 'Taiwanese'?

Nemo: There is no foreigner, like those who was born outside, in my class.

Jessica: En, why don't you choose 'people of Taichung'?

Nemo: Some of my classmates live in Changwha.]

Gender is another important identity for children. More than half of the participants chose being a boy or a girl as the identity they would like to have if they can only have one. Joanna (China, Y4) thought all these labels can describe her: 'Taiwanese', 'Person of Taichung', 'Child', and 'Girl'. Afterward, she kept 'Girl' as the most important identity because she thought other identity labels might not fit her in the future. Gender was important for children because it is less likely to change, while other identities might change with time.

Jessica: 為什麼你最後想要留女生?

Joanna: 因為兒童，我以後可能會長大

Jessica: 喔，那這兩個(台灣人和台中人)呢?

Joanna: 這個 (台灣人)，我可能以後會出去，然後雖然在台中出生，可是很多人都是台中人阿

[Jessica: Why did you finally choose 'Girl'?

Joanna: Because 'Child' ...I will grow up.

Jessica: Oh, what about these two ('Taiwanese' and 'Person of Taichung')?

Joanne: This ('Taiwanese')...I might leave here in the future. Although I was born in Taichung, many

people are also from Taichung.]

Thorne (1993)'s ethnography in school about gender suggests that gender is not only an individual identity, but also a dimension of social relations and social organization. The organization and meaning of gender vary from one social context to another. When children get together in situations where age and ethnicity is at the fore, gender becomes less or differently significant. This study, however, found that gender is more important than ethnicity for children at school age in Taiwan.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter compared the ethnic classification presented in the textbooks and that perceived by children. The so-called 'four ethnic groups' were presented imbalanced in the textbooks. The textbooks highlighted the Aborigines and focused on describing the difference between the Han and the Aborigines. The Hakka culture was introduced as a local culture, while the Mainlander are absent in the textbooks. The Hoklo was rarely discussed in the textbooks because the textbooks were written from the standpoints of the Hoklo. They are the 'minus-one' ethnicity that perceives themselves as 'non-ethnic' and other groups as 'ethnic' (Banton 1983). The Mainlander might be omitted with the purpose of marginalization under Taiwanese nationalism.

The current pedagogical materials create a new ethnic category and relationship in Taiwan. A Han/Aborigines division is emphasized. Creating the Han ethnicity might raise some problems. First, as Corcuff (2005) questioned, that the usage of the Han to

replace the Chinese in the curriculum reformation raises the problem of what it means to be a Han. Second, using Han as an umbrella ethnicity for ethnic groups like Hakka and Hoklo might cause the marginalization of the minority. In this case, the significance of the Hakka culture and the Hakka people is blurred in category of Han.

Children's description about the ethnic groups in Taiwan is mainly based on language difference. Therefore, language is a crucial marker for children to identify ethnicity in Taiwan. From the findings of the interviews, however, this study argues that the four ethnic groups was an arbitrary invention imposed on people while children usually distance themselves from the usage of the four ethnic groups. They learned the ethnic groups from the textbooks. This chapter illustrated that the Aborigines were highlighted in textbooks and children knew about this group much more than other ethnic groups. Yet, the narratives in the textbooks were ambivalent. The Taiwanese nationalism intended to create the Aborigines and the aboriginal culture as the symbols of Taiwan but the narratives in the textbook also emphasised that the Aborigines are different. It was creating an 'other' in Taiwan. The children also think the Aborigines are different from them.

Instead of ethnicity, place is an important indicator that children use to classify people. This echoes the finding of the study that Scourfield and his colleagues (2006) did with Welsh children. They use their spatial knowledge to classify people into different categories. Gender, however, is the most important identity for children themselves in this study, followed by place as individual identity. I conclude that place is a collective identity and gender is an individual identity for children. Both of them are shown to be important for children, but if they have only one choice, they

still tend to choose gender as the unique identity.

8 Being Different

8.1 Introduction

New immigrants and their children are an emerging group in Taiwan during a period of intense immigration, and they are sometimes called the ‘fifth ethnic group’ in Taiwan. In primary school, one out of ten children came from an immigrant family in 2010 (see Table 1-2). This new group brings challenges to the existing ethnic boundaries and relationships, and primary schools are at the forefront of these challenges. The negotiation of boundaries and their identities happens when these children interact with people, such as their classmates and teachers at school.

Children with mixed backgrounds face more challenges in the process of identity formation as they are subject to being labelled ‘outsiders’. Oikawa and Yoshida (2007) use Cooley’s (1983) ‘looking-glass self theory’ for biethnic young people in Japan. This theory highlights the importance of the production of self from the other. In other words, the way we see ourselves is influenced by the way others see us. In their study the participants *all* started with the identity of “Japanese” but others kept pointing out their biethnicity to them. It is the imposed limitations from outside that force the participants to cope with the situation and to re-shape their identities.

In another study, Bond (2006) examines externally imposed limitations and self-imposed limitations on claims to national belonging in Scotland. He finds that both externally imposed limitations and self-imposed limitation would undermine the

national identity of those who lack one identity marker, such as birth place or Scottish ancestry.

Children's experience of otherness at school is closely related to nationalism (Zembylas, 2010; Devine, Kenny and Macneela, 2008). The otherness experience derives from the social interactions between the majority and the minority groups, as well as the narrative in the pedagogical material, teachers' attitude, and everyday practices at school.

In this chapter, I consider children's construction and experience of 'otherness' at school and at home, which could influence their identity formation. This chapter starts with the children of native Taiwanese's discourse on children of immigrants. It then turns its focus to the 'otherness' experienced by children of immigrants at school and at home and examining its relation to the narratives of 'otherness' in Taiwanese nationalism. In addition to children's personal discourses, their social network is examined to understand the social boundaries and social exclusion among children. Finally, I discuss how language curriculum at school relates to the construction of otherness, which causes children of different ethnic backgrounds to perceive themselves as minorities.

8.2 The Discourse on Children of Immigrants

I discussed in Section 6.6 that children of immigrants are partially acknowledged as Taiwanese. Some children agree that children of immigrants are Taiwanese, but some do not. Therefore, this section focuses on the discourses of exclusion about the

children of immigrants from children of native Taiwanese

The stigmatisation that immigrant women receive is manifested in Yumi's (Taiwan, Y5) usage of the term 'foreign bride' (外籍新娘). Scholars in Taiwan, such as Hsiao-Chuan Hsia (2005), have endeavoured to promote respectful titles for immigrant women to replace this stigmatised term which is widely used in Taiwan. The term of 'foreign bride' neglects the roles that immigrant women play as women and mothers in Taiwan, but focuses on their role as a bride and a wife in the marriage and their foreign status. Yumi expressed that she learned the title 'foreign bride' from the textbooks. The textbooks, however, use the term 'foreign spouse' (外籍配偶), instead of 'foreign bride'. Therefore, she probably learned it from other source, which shows that the usage of 'foreign bride' is still common in the Taiwanese society.

Jessica: 你有聽過外籍配偶?

Yumi: 有

Jessica: 有, 在哪裡聽到過?

Yumi: 上課

Jessica: 上什麼課? 社會課?

Yumi: 社會課

Jessica: 那她們是怎麼講?

Yumi: 就是講說, 有的人, 他們會娶外籍新娘來配偶, 因為他在這裡得不到適合的老婆, 然後就會去找外籍新娘

Jessica: Have you heard of 'foreign spouse'?

Yumi: Yes.

Jessica: Yes. Where did you heard of it?

Yumi: In the class.

Jessica: What class? Social Studies?

Yumi: Social Studies.

Jessica: What did it say?

Yumi: It says that some people marry foreign brides as their spouses because they cannot find a suitable wife here. They go for foreign brides.

In terms of children of native Taiwanese's discourses about children of immigrants, Ray (Taiwan, Y4) claimed that children of immigrants would not be bullied at school, but they might be teased.

Jessica: 小強是外籍配偶的小孩，就是他有一個爸爸或媽媽不是台灣人那樣子，他媽媽是越南人，他爸爸是台灣人，那你覺得他在學校會被欺負嗎？

Ray: 不會

Jessica: 你覺得他會因為他媽媽不是台灣人，而被別人取笑嗎？

Ray: 會

[Jessica: John is a child of immigrant, which means that his father or mother is not a Taiwanese. His mother is Vietnamese, and his father is a Taiwanese. Do you think that he would be bullied?

Ray: No.

Jessica: Do you think that he would be teased because his mother is not a Taiwanese?

Ray: Yes.]

Cathy (Taiwan, Y6) and Mia (Taiwan, Y6) said that their classmate Sophie (Vietnam, Y6) was often teased. Cathy disclosed that some boys nicknamed Sophie 'doghead (狗頭),' Cathy said that Sophie (Vietnam, Y6) had a strange accent.

The exclusion of children of immigrants may be derived from two aspects. One aspect is what Ray mentioned above that a child might be teased because one parent was not a Taiwanese. The other aspect might be the language or the accent as Cathy mentioned before. I gave a scenario to the participant that a child transferred to his/her class but the child could not speak Mandarin very well. A few children of native Taiwanese said that if a child could not speak Mandarin very well, they might be bullied or teased.

Peggy: 他國語講不好應該會被笑

Jessica: 那爲什麼國語講不好會被笑?

Peggy: 因爲我們班幾乎每個人國語的發音都很好

[Peggy: He would be teased if he could not speak Mandarin well.]

Jessica: Why would he be teased because he could not speak Mandarin well?

Peggy: Almost everyone in my class has good pronunciation of Mandarin.]

Jessica: 爲什麼他國語不好會被人家欺負?

Ray: 因爲無法跟人家溝通

[Jessica: Why would he be bullied for not speaking Mandarin well?

Ray: He cannot communicate with people.]

According to children of native Taiwanese, a child might be teased or bullied because of his or her ability to speak good Mandarin. Children of immigrants are vulnerable in this situation. Children of immigrants are evaluated as poor in language performance (Chung, 2006; Chen, 2006), but they are usually examined in Mandarin only. However, this thesis argues that it is a myth caused by the single standard. This study found that children of immigrants were competitive in speaking multiple languages. One girl of an immigrant in this study could comprehend five languages, but this talent was not appreciated in the Mandarin hegemonic education.

8.3 Children's Experience of Exclusion

This section draws attention to children of immigrants' subjective experiences of exclusion. It discusses their exclusion experiences in two settings: school and home.

8.3.1 School

School is usually the setting that children leave home and start to interact with people from different ethnic backgrounds. Through the interaction with other classmates, children learn the difference of social characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, and class. Gina (Vietnam, Y4) had felt being different from other children since Year 1.

Jessica: 你從什麼時候開始覺得自己跟別人不一樣?

Gina: 應該是從。一年級

[...]

Jessica: 然後咧?

Gina: 就剛升一年級的時候，就遇到一個外籍配偶的，媽媽是外籍配偶的

[Jessica: When do you start to feel different from other people?

Gina: Probably since.. Year 1.

[...]

Jessica: And?

Gina: When I get into Year 1, I met another child of foreign spouse. Her mother is a foreign spouse.]

Her excerpt shows that children of immigrants easily stand out as different at the very beginning when they enter school. In Taiwan, these children of immigrants have no obvious difference from children of native Taiwanese in physical appearance and skin colour. Therefore, what made them stand out was not the observable physical appearance. They are different because of their ancestry, which is not an identity marker that is easy to distinguish from outside.

What make them stand out as different? The Ministry of Education established a report system specifically to monitor new immigrants and their children. This

surveillance system structurally makes children of immigrants different. In addition, school teachers lack sensitivity toward ethnic issues can make the situation worse. According to one immigrant child, her teacher publicly surveyed the number of children of immigrants by asking them to raise their hands in class. She felt that everyone in her class knew that she was a child of immigrants because of it. Some children of native Taiwanese also confirmed that they knew that there were children of immigrants in their class because teacher surveyed them publicly.

Moreover, the differences that children of immigrants felt might reflect the exclusiveness at school. Viruell-Fuentes's (2006) study with the second generation of Mexican women in the United States shows that it is the intangible atmosphere at school that makes these women feel excluded. The experience of exclusion can be latent and implicit. And, this kind of exclusion could be more prevalent than those obvious behaviours, such as bullying (Devine, Kenny, and Macneela, 2008).

Racist statements and practices have been found among children at the age as young as three (Van Ausdale and Feagin, 2002). When children leave their family and get into the education system, they start to interact with children from different backgrounds. In the process of interacting with the pupils at school, they are constructing and negotiating their identity. In Taiwan, 94% of children (MOE, 2011) get two-year preschool education in the kindergartens before entering primary school (Appendix 9). Therefore, primary school is the second institute since they enter the education system. However, children in this study expressed that the feeling of being different started since primary school, rather than Kindergarten. None of the children mentioned any racist experiences in the kindergartens.

Some children of immigrants perceived themselves as Taiwanese, but their classmates did not accept their claims and told them that they are half-Taiwanese only or not Taiwanese. Steve (China, Y4) regarded himself as a Taiwanese but his friend said that he was half-Taiwanese and half-Chinese so he was very unhappy about it. Another case, Judy (Vietnam, Y5), perceived herself as a Taiwanese but her classmates claimed that she was a Vietnamese. Their endeavours to claim a full Taiwanese identity was obstructed by the limitations imposed by others (Bond, 2006).

Steve: 有時後會聊天，他們都說什麼，我是半台灣人，然後半中國人
[...]

Jessica: 那他們這樣講的時候，你會覺得怎麼樣？

Steve: 恩。。很不高興

Jessica: 你後來怎麼處理阿？

Steve: 沒有理他們

Jessica: 那你自己覺得你自己是。。不是一半一半

Steve: 我覺得我是台灣人

Steve: Sometimes when we are chatting, they would say that I am half-Taiwanese and half-Chinese.
[...]

Jessica: How do you feel when they say it?

Steve: hmm...very unhappy.

Jessica: How did you deal with it?

Steve: I did not respond to them

Jessica: You perceive yourself as....not half-half.

Steve: I perceive myself as a Taiwanese.

Jessica: 你覺得你會留下哪一張，對你來講是最重要的？

Judy: 恩，這個

Jessica: 台灣人，為什麼他最重要？

Judy: 恩。。因為我在那個台灣出生的阿，我覺得同學阿，同學都是台灣人，如果同學都說，如

果我是那個越南人阿，我就有點那個

Jessica: 有點怎樣

Judy: 就不喜歡

[Jessica: which card would you like to keep? The most important card for you.

Judy: hmm...this one [Taiwanese].

Jessica: Taiwanese. Why it is most important?

Judy: hmm...because I was born in Taiwan. I think that my classmates are all Taiwanese. If some classmates say that I am a Vietnamese, I would feel a little bit "that."

Jessica: A little bit what?

Judy: Annoyed.]

We should not take for granted that children with mixed heritage would possess multiple identities. Judy and Steve's examples show that some mixed children started with a single identity but other people rejected their claims. They were frustrated about the situation and they had to cope with it. This result supports Oikawa and Yoshida's (2007) finding and argument about biethnic individuals in Japan. Their study shows that the respondents with mixed backgrounds started with a Japanese identity, but they turn out regarding themselves as biethnic after people pointing it out to them persistently.

It upset Judy when she was viewed as a Vietnamese while she thought herself as a Taiwanese. Most importantly, it affected the way she viewed herself and claimed her identity. She confided that originally she thought she was a Taiwanese, but she doubted her Taiwanese identity because of others' opinion. Her classmates claimed that she was a Vietnamese so she felt she was less like a Taiwanese and believed that those classmates whose parents are both Taiwanese are more like Taiwanese. Judy's case reflects the 'looking-glass self theory' (Cooley, 1983; Oikawa and Yoshida, 2007) that opinions from others influence the way Judy sees herself and her

Taiwanese identity.

Jessica: 你覺得爲什麼你沒有那麼像台灣人？

Judy: 因爲。有時候同學會說你是那個越南人，所以那個

Jessica: 所以是因爲同學講的關係嗎？

Judy: 應該是吧

[Jessica: Why do you think you are less like a Taiwanese?]

Judy: Because...sometimes my classmates would say, 'you are a Vietnamese'. That's why.

Jessica: Is it because what your classmates said?

Judy: I think so.]

Gina (Vietnam, Y4) is a friendly girl and a good conversationalist. She has a good social life at school. Her friendship network is comprised of children from different ethnic groups. I had four recorded interviews and some other informal conversations with her. I found it is difficult for children in Taiwan to share their unhappy experiences about their classmates. Children in this study tend to share positive experiences and avoid gossiping negatively about their classmates. From the first interview, Gina gave me the impression that she had no problem making friends with her classmates. But by the end of the second interview, she disclosed that she felt different from other children since she entered primary school. Some classmates would say something bad to her. She complained about it to her father, but her father told her not to care about what they said. Therefore, now she found her way to cope with it. She felt fine with being different now, but it implied that it used to be a problem for her.

Jessica: 你會覺得你自己跟其他小朋友不一樣嗎？

Gina: (點頭)

Jessica: 怎樣不一樣？

Gina: 就是他們爸爸媽媽都是在台灣出生的，我不知道

Jessica: 那這樣會對你造成困擾嗎？

Gina: 最近還好

[Jessica: would you think you are different from other children?]

Gina: (nods)

Jessica: What kind of difference?

Gina: That is their dad and mom were both born in Taiwan...I don't know.

Jessica: Does it bother you?

Gina: it's alright recently.]

Taiwan is more collectivist than individualistic (Ali et al., 2005). Exclusion is neither direct nor violent in this study when compared with studies in other countries, such as Ireland (Devine, Kenny and Macneela 2008), Cyprus (Zembylas 2010) and America (Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001). In Cyprus, for example, racism at schools was intense and became physical conflicts between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-speaking children. They also directly told the researchers that they didn't like each other. Nevertheless, children in this study tried to protect their classmates, even if they were the perpetrator of bullying.

When I interviewed children of immigrants about their witnessing of bullying or their experience of being bullied, their response was usually a silence, followed by a 'no,' but it was not necessarily true. For example, I gave Sophie (Vietnam, Y6) a scenario that whether a classmate would be teased if he has a Taiwanese father and his mother comes from another country. She said the child would not be teased if s/he did not reveal it to other pupils. I continued to ask if she heard of any bullying or name-calling events. She shook her head without speaking. Yet, her classmates expressed that Sophie was often teased. Nevertheless, they also tried to protect their classmates. One explained that it was normal for children at their age, especially

boys, to make fun of people. She added that the boys just want to play and didn't have bad intentions. Another one said those boys were just joking, it is not racism. In the Taiwanese society, children might feel pressured to disclose negative things about others, in case they put their classmate into trouble, and they would be regarded as informers. Even when they are the victim of being unfairly treated, they would rather endure it silently.

Teachers can also become a source of exclusion at school. In Cyprus, Turkish-speaking children feel their teachers are not supportive of them and act as bystanders who tolerate and allow racism in the class (Zembylas, 2010). Earlier I discussed that teachers lacking sensitivity could cause children of immigrants be marked as different. These cases exclude the minority in a passive way. Sometimes teacher can exclude children of immigrants actively and directly because of what they say. In this study, a teacher made fun of a child of an immigrant with her immigrant background and started name calling. Judy (Vietnam, Y5) faced an embarrassing situation when her teacher called her '*vietnam mei* 越南妹 (little Vietnamese sister)' in front of the whole class. Being called *vietnam mei*, Judy was labelled as an outsider from Vietnam by using the word "Vietnam" without acknowledging her Taiwanese heritage and the reality that she was born and grew up in Taiwan.

Jessica: 他們怎麼會知道(你媽媽是越南人)? 我很好奇他們怎麼一開始會知道? 是自我介紹的時候?

Judy: 就是老師會說, 那個三年級的時候, 老師就說, 老師知道我媽媽是越南人, 然後他就會說, 那個同學阿, 你媽媽是越南人, 所以你叫越南妹! 對, 然後老師大家一起說

[Jessica: How would they know (your mom is a Vietnamese)? I am curious how they find out in the first

place. They found out when you introduce yourself?

Judy: The teacher said that. When I was in Year 3, the teacher knew my mom was a Vietnamese and then s/he said that, 'hey student, your mom is a Vietnamese so you are called "Vietnam mei"! Ya, and then the teacher and my classmates start to say that.'

Mei 妹 means 'younger sister' in Mandarin. The name *vietnam mei* might originate from *dalu mei* (little sister from the mainland), a slur for women from China (Xu and Huang, 2009). *Dalu mei* may be an analogy of a kind of sweet lettuce in Taiwan that is also called *Dalu mei*, which is a cheap and delicious. In the Chinese family relationship, the younger sister not only refers to someone younger, but also represents a lower hierarchy than the person making this claim. On the contrary, if a person is called *jie* 姐 (older sister), it might be because the woman is older, but it can indicate that the person making this claim wants to show their respect to this woman. In Taiwan, immigrant women from China and Vietnam are always called *vietnam mei* and *dalu mei*, rather than *vietnam jie* or *da lu jie*, no matter how old they are. This kind of label is not used for women from other countries, such as Japan or the UK. The notions of *vietnam mei* and *dalu mei* contain multiple dimensions of discrimination towards women from these countries.

Feminist studies argue that Black women suffer from 'triple oppression' from ethnicity, gender and class as Blacks, women, and members of the working class (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Those *vietnam mei* receive discrimination and stigma of being Vietnamese (poor country), women, working class, and having less education (Tsay, 2004; Wang and Chang, 2003). The stigmatization to the immigrant women from China and Southeast Asia is prevalent in Taiwan because some cross-border marriages are facilitated by profit-pursuing brokers and most immigrant women

marry disadvantaged men in Taiwan (Wang and Chang, 2003). As discussed in Section, 1.6, these immigrant women are usually constructed by the Taiwanese media as social problems that they are a threat to the economy in Taiwan, and that they would deteriorate the ‘quality’ of Taiwanese (Hsia, 2007). ‘Commodified transnational marriages’ are not unique in Taiwan; rather, it is a wide-spreading phenomenon that people cope with the inequality and marginalisation caused by global capitalism (Hsia, 2000).

8.3.2 Family

Family usually is the place that children find a sense of belonging, but it sometimes becomes another source of exclusion for children of immigrants. Harold’s (Vietnam. Y3) family lived together with his paternal grandmother and some extended family members. When doing the circles of relationship, he put his paternal relatives who he lived with in the outer circles and his maternal relatives who lived in Vietnam in the inner circles. He felt being excluded from the paternal family because he said that they did not share food with him. Living with extended family is common in Taiwanese society. Usually these families do not just live under the same roof and work separately. They live together like a big family. The elder members of the families would help to take care of the children in the family. The unfriendly attitude that Harold’s paternal relatives showed was a sign of exclusion.

Jessica: 那爲什麼外公，舅舅，小阿姨，跟舅媽，爸爸媽媽都在第一圈？

Harold: 因爲外公，我去越南的時候，想看影片，然後外公都會放給我看

Jessica: 嗯哼，然後第二圈是越南的表弟跟哥哥，第三圈第四圈是他們[阿姨]家的，爲什麼阿媽，叔叔，姑姑會放在最外面這一圈？

Harold: 因爲。。他們買的東西都不會給我吃

Jessica: 真的喔？

Harold: 真的

Jessica: 阿媽住你家嗎？

Harold: 對呀

Jessica: 喔，是喔，都沒有給你吃喔

Harold: 恩，然後就要花錢買，還有媽媽煮的

[Jessica: Why did you put [maternal] grandpa, uncle, auntie, dad and mom in the first inner circle?

Harold: Because grandpa, when I go to Vietnam, if I want to watch movie, grandpa would put it for me.

Jessica: Uh-huh. The second circle is your brother and cousin in Vietnam. The third and fourth circle is their family [auntie's family]. Why would you put [paternal] grandma, uncle and auntie in the outer circle?

Harold: Because...they don't share with me the food they buy.

Jessica: Really?

Harold: Yes.

Jessica: Does your [paternal] grandma live with you?

Harold: Yes.

Jessica: Oh...they don't share with you.

Harold: En. We need to buy it, or mom would cook.]

Another case showed that struggles that children of immigrants faced in the broken marriage while the divorce rate of transnational marriages is three times higher than that of native marriages. Steve's (China, Y4) parents divorced. After divorce, he used to live with his father and his paternal grandparents in Tainan before his father passed away. I asked him if he would like to visit his paternal grandparents. Although he lived with them for a while, he said that he would rather not because he did not like that place and the people there. His conflicted inner emotion might be related to the inconsistent message he received in the excerpt below. There is no evidence to

show that his paternal family treated him badly. His relationship with his paternal family and his emotion toward them, however, is negative.

Jessica: 你跟台南那邊的家人還有聯絡嗎？

Steve: 沒有了，我媽媽他有跟我說，說什麼他之前媽媽要去領我們的時候，他說要把我們送到一個沒有人要養我們，有一次我阿媽他打電話來希不希望回去阿，媽媽他就直接把電話掛掉了，媽媽說那些人並不喜歡我們，反正他們要把我們送社會局，然後我媽媽說以後就不要再理他們

Jessica: 所以你在台南的時候，那些人就對你不好了嗎？是親戚嗎？

Steve: 是親戚，有我爸爸的哥哥，還有我爸爸的媽媽

Jessica: 他們就對你們不好囉？

Steve: 也不算不好，但是我討厭他們

[Jessica: Do you keep contact with the family in Tainan?]

Steve: No. Mom told me that before she picked us up. They want to send us to a place that no one wants us. My granny called to ask if we wanted to go back once. Mom hung up the phone directly. Mom said that those people do not like us. They would send us to the social welfare. Then my mom told us not to respond to them anymore.

Jessica: Did they treat you badly when you were living in Tainan? Are they your relatives?

Steve: They are my relatives. My father's brother and my father's mother.

Jessica: Did they treat you badly?

Steve: Not really bad but I hate them.]

Racism within the family is also evidenced in Japanese mixed families (Oikawa and Yoshida, 2007). Racism toward the foreign parent from the native family undermines the family relationship, and, sequentially, causes confusion and inner conflict among the mixed children. Children of immigrants, even without being the direct victims of racism within the family, feel insecure and wonder if they would be the one being excluded someday.

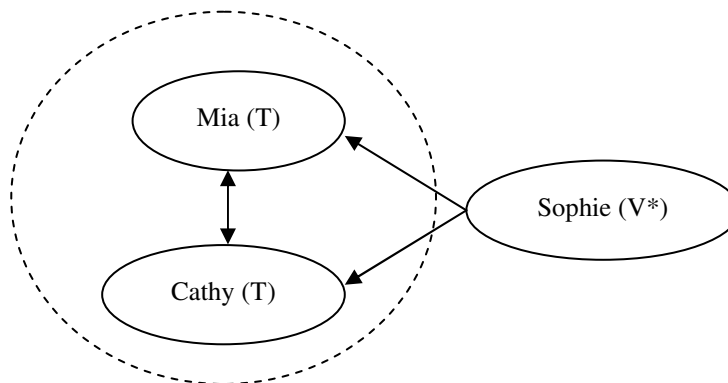
At school, children of immigrants experience exclusion from their classmates and teachers. At home, they experience exclusion from some family members. These

experiences become persistent challenges for their identities and belonging.

8.4 Social Network of Children of Immigrants

Social networks reflect the structure of an individual's social relationships. By using circles of relationship and children's interviews, I create two social networks among children. Social boundaries were found in the social network between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese. Sophie (Vietnam, Y6) was the only immigrant child in her class and she had developed a good social network with children of native Taiwanese. Sophie described her classmates, Mia (Taiwan, Y6) and Cathy (Taiwan, Y6), as her best friends. However, Mia and Cathy have different perceptions about their friendships. Mia and Cathy indicated each other as best friends. Cathy said that Sophie has a strange accent so "we cannot understand when she speaks fast." Sophie's claiming of a friendship did not receive equal responses from Mia and Cathy. Their friendships are illustrated in Figure 8-1.

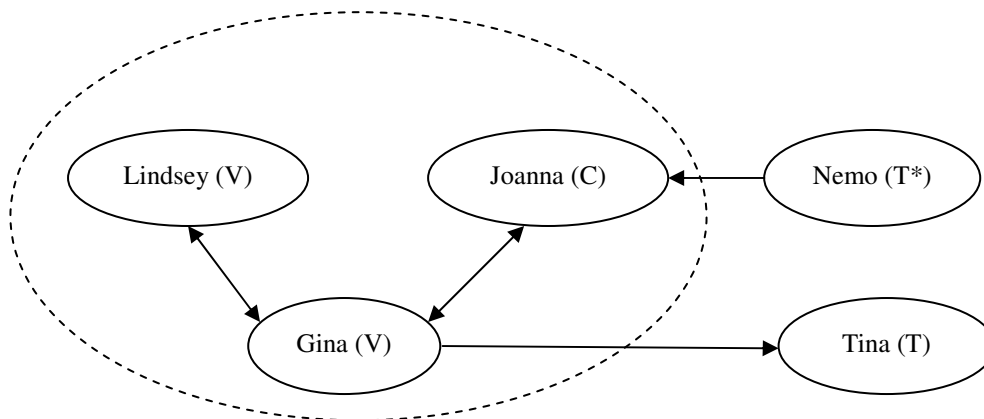
Figure 8-1. Social Network in Class A



*(T) and (V) represent mother's nationalities: Taiwan and Vietnam

Another friendship network is illustrated in Figure 8-2. This figure showed that children of immigrants who came from different original countries were able to establish friendship with each other. Their friendship, however, is hard to extend to children of native Taiwanese. Lindsey (Vietnam, Y4), Joanna (China, Y4) and Gina (Vietnam, Y4) recognised mutual friendships. Although Gina and Lindsey had Vietnamese backgrounds and Joanna had a Chinese background, they regarded each other as best friends. The friendship between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese here showed an imbalanced relationship again between Gina and Tina. Gina described Tina (Taiwan, Y4) as her good friend but Tina did not identify Gina as her good friend. Nemo (Taiwan, Y4) looks like a contradictory case as he described Joanna as his favourite friend but Joanna did not think so. Nevertheless, Nemo did not know Joanna's mixed origin. Both of the social networks in Figure 8-1 and Figure 8-2 demonstrated the ethnic boundary and the unequal relation in the friendships between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese.

Figure 8-2. Social Network in Class B



*(V), (C), and (T) represents mother's nationalities: Vietnam, China, and Taiwan

Outside of school, children of immigrants' social networks are partly controlled by

their mothers in two aspects. Firstly, children of immigrants' social networks are extended to other children of immigrants through their mothers' social networks. Secondly, the social network between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese sometimes are limited by the boundary that their mothers set. They are explained in the following sections.

For immigrants, social network is important in various ways. For immigrants in the host country, social network offers them the access to resources, exchange of information, goods, and emotional support (Menjívar, 2000). The social gathering of immigrant women is not just about friendship; rather, it can serve as a form of sisterhood working co-operatively against aspects of male oppression (Jamieson, 1998). In my study, children of immigrants were able to acquaint with each other through their mothers' social network. Joyce (Vietnam, Y4) knew a friend studying in another primary school through their mothers' social gathering. Kat (Vietnam, Y6) also extended her social network to other children of immigrants through her mother's social network.

Jessica: 他在春天國小喔；那你怎麼會認識他？

Joyce: 因為禮拜六的時候，我們都會去他們家

Jessica: 喔，所以你媽媽跟他媽媽認識

Joyce: 嗯

[Jessica: She studies in Spring Primary School. How would you know her then?]

Joyce: Because we go to their place on Saturdays.

Jessica: Oh, so you mom knows her mom.

Joyce: En.]

Jessica: 你有沒有認識她媽媽或是爸爸是從其他國家來的

Kat: 嗯，我認識一個，他媽媽是越南人

Jessica: 那你是怎麼認識她的?

Kat: 因為就是有一個, 有兩三個就是, 他媽媽都是越南人, 所以就是會比較熟, 我一個同學他媽媽就是, 有時候會去我們家附近有一個越南阿姨他們家, 所以就會知道

[Jessica: Do you know anyone whose mother or father comes from other countries?

Kat: En, I know one. Her mother is a Vietnamese.

Jessica: How do you know her?

Kat: Because I know one...two or three friends' mothers are Vietnamese so we are closer. One of my classmates' mother is. Sometimes we go to a Vietnamese auntie's place nearby so we would know each other.]

The boundary between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese is imposed not only by children of native Taiwanese, but also by immigrants. For example, Cindy (China, Y3) described that she had two close friends, Ding (Taiwan, Y3) and Angel (China, Y3). Ding lived in the same community with Cindy and they went to the same primary school. They played together in the community every day and sometimes they wrote homework together in the common room of the community. Yet, Ding had never stepped into Cindy's flat, and she only had the experience to stand by the front door of Cindy's flat. Cindy pointed out that her mom did not allow Ding to get into her flat.

On the contrary, the friendship and trust among immigrant women helped Cindy and Angel to build up and maintain their friendship. Both of their mothers came from China and they were good friends. Cindy and Angel used to be classmates at the kindergarten. Their friendship had been well maintained because they kept visiting each other's flat. Angel was allowed to stay in Cindy's flat and play with her either by herself or with her mother. Cindy explained the reason why Ding was not allowed into her flat while Angel was allowed to was because her mom did not know Ding well, but Cindy's mother knew Angel's mother so she felt alright with Angel. Cindy

and Ding could have built up a close friendship in terms of the objective conditions but their friendship did not develop further without her mother's support.

Cindy's brother, Kevin (China, Y5), used to be able to visit all his friends' flats freely until one day he played at his friend's flat until late and his mother could not contact him. After that day, he was grounded and only allowed to visit Oliver's (China, Y5) flat because their mothers were friends from China. Children of immigrants tend to develop better deeper friendships with other children of immigrants not only because their mothers support it and strengthen it through mother's social network, but also because their mothers constrain them from developing a deeper friendship with other children who "they don't know well".

8.5 Language Curriculum and the Minorities

Language is inherently linked to power and identity because it is more than a tool of communication. Bourdieu views language as a form of cultural capital (1986), or, more directly, as 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990: 72). Bourdieu suggests that the ability to speak a language, its accent, and the ways of using it are related to class. It serves as a token to gain power, as well as to exclude and marginalise people. I argue that the concept of linguistic capital can be applied to the inclusion and exclusion of all kinds of social categories, including ethnicity and nationality, while language has been an important marker for claiming a national identity (Scourfield et al., 2006).

In addition, the status of a language reflects its political power and the status of an

ethnic group who use it. Bourdieu and Thompson (1991) argue that the promotion of a language to the status of a national language would benefit those who already possessed this language. A dialect and those who can only speak it are subordinate to the national language and people who use it. Therefore, the educational system is one of the decisive factors to *normalise* a national language, while the formation of a unified labour market is the other (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991).

In this section I examine how children feel excluded subjectively in the language class. In previous sections, ‘otherness’ was experienced by children of immigrants. In the language class, however, it was Hakka and aboriginal children, rather than children of immigrants, who felt excluded.

Primary schools in Taiwan used to teach Mandarin and English only. Taiwanese nationalism challenged the monopoly of Mandarin as the national language and the official language. It advocates changes in language curriculum at schools. The current language curriculum at primary school bases on the “Nine-year integrated curriculum guideline (國民中小學九年一貫課程綱要),” which was firstly published in 2000³². In the guideline, the language curriculum is composed of four native languages, alongside English as the international language. The four native languages include Mandarin, Minnanese, Hakka, and Aboriginal languages.

³² A temporary guideline was published in 2000 and implemented in 2001. The nine-year integrated curriculum guideline” was published in 2002.

Table 8-1. Language lessons every week in the Little Mountain primary school

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6
Mandarin	5	5	5	5	5	5
Vernacular language	1	1	1	1	1	1
English			1	1	2	2

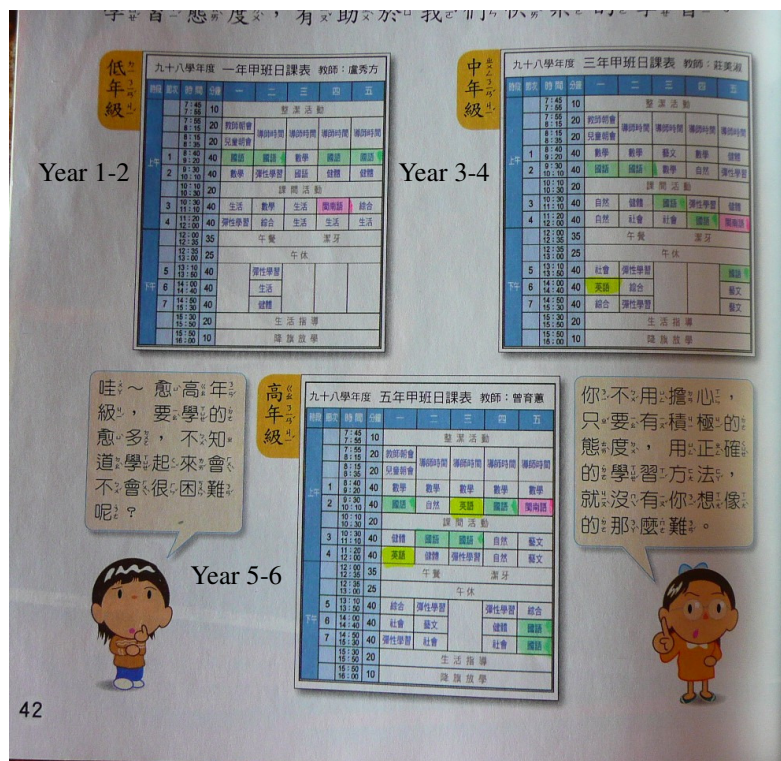
Examining the language curriculum, these languages do not receive equal status in terms of ideology and the time children spend on them. All primary schools in Taiwan are Mandarin-medium schools. Mandarin and English have always been the main subjects. Mandarin is taught as the national language and other native languages are taught as vernacular languages. Students have five Mandarin lessons³³ in a week from Year 1. They have one English lesson in Year 3 and Year 4, and increase to 2 lessons in Year 5 and Year 6. Although they learn vernacular language lessons from Year 1, the time they spend on it is little. The time distribution in the language curriculum maintains the dominant status of Mandarin in Taiwan. The increased attention to English at higher levels reflects the higher status of English in the educational contexts, as well as in the social contexts (Nic Craith, 2007).

According to the “Nine-year integrated curriculum guideline,” primary students have the right to choose one vernacular language they want to learn. In practice, however, it does not guarantee that they will have the opportunity to learn the vernacular language they choose. It depends on the demographic majority of the school and teachers available at the school.

³³ Each lesson is 40 minutes.

Minnanese was taught as the vernacular language in the Little Mountain primary school. In addition, the school promoted Minnanese as its only mother tongue and set Wednesday as the “Mother Tongue’s Day”. A signboard of “Today is mother tongue’s day” with Romanization (pinyin) of Minnanese was placed at the entrance hall every Wednesday morning to remind everyone to speak Minnanese. According to an aboriginal girl in this study, aboriginal students were offered another one aboriginal class in addition to the language class. Yet, it was more about aboriginal cultures in general rather than aboriginal languages because there are fourteen tribes in Taiwan but each tribe has its own language.

Figure 8-3. The school timetable in the Year 3 Social Studies textbook



Language Lessons:

Green: Mandarin

Yellow: English

Red: Minnanese

In addition, Minnanese is taken for granted as the ‘national’ vernacular language in the textbook. The Social Studies textbook for Year 3 introduced the timetable and

lessons for primary school students (Figure 8-3). The vernacular language course listed in the timetable was the ‘Minnanese’, instead of using the term ‘vernacular language’ that might refer to different vernacular languages.

Nevertheless, two girls in this study could speak Minnanese as well as Mandarin, and other children in this study expressed that Mandarin was their first language.

Some children did not perceive Minnanese as their mother tongue, despite the promotion from school. Mia, an aboriginal girl, pointed out the issue of lacking resources to learn her mother tongue at school. She noticed that the aboriginal languages are dying gradually. She described that her ability to speak an aboriginal language was much worse than her parents. She had the desire to learn an aboriginal language but what she learned at school was Minnanese, which was a language that her parents thought had no relationship to her aboriginal origin. Her parents complained that she should learn aboriginal languages rather than Minnanese at school. Yet, her parents held a different attitude towards English learning. English is not related to the aboriginal culture either, but since it is an international language, her parents support her in learning it. Comparing the status of English and other languages in Mia’s excerpt below, English enjoys higher prestige in Taiwan.

Jessica: 那你爸媽會不會覺得你應該要學族語？

Mia: 要要要，他有講，比如說閩南語，他就說，我覺得你們應該要學原住民的語言，怎麼可以學閩南語；英語是就不會，因為英語是國際語言嘛，所以就還好，他還想要我去學英語

Jessica: 所以他覺得你們鄉土語言應該要教原住民語言

Mia: 對

[Jessica: Do your parents think that you should learn tribe languages?]

Mia: Yes, Yes, Yes. He said that. Take Minnanese for example. He would say that, ‘I think you should learn aboriginal languages. Why would you learn Minnanese?’ English is not the case because English is an

international language. It is alright and he even wants me to learn English.

Jessica: So he thinks that your local language class should teach aboriginal languages?

Mia: Yes.]

Mia's example raises questions about language policies in the education system. Children in different ethnic groups had some opinions about the school policy that promoted Minnanese as the only mother tongue. Firstly, the case of Mia in the above excerpt shows that children from other ethnic groups do not receive the resources they need to learn their mother tongues. Secondly, children from other groups feel they are minorities at school because they are not familiar with the Minnanese so that they perform poorly in the Minnanese class. They "perceive" other students speak better Minnanese than they do. For example, Tina (Hakka, Y4) claimed herself as a Hakka and she spoke Hakka with her father at home. Since she took the Minnanese class in Year one, she had felt that most of her classmates spoke Minnanese better than she did. She felt frustrated in learning Minnanese. She had been teased by other classmates for not being able to speak Minnanese well. She wanted to learn Hakka but it was not accessible at her school.

Some children of immigrants showed their interest in learning their mother tongues. However, in contrast to Mia's opinion, none of the children of immigrants expressed that learning their mother tongues is something they expected to get from the formal educational system.

It is a misleading myth that *Benshengren* speak Minnanese and *Waishengren* speak Mandarin. It overlooks the fact that both *Benshengren* and *Waishengren* are heterogeneous groups. The use of binary identity categorization as *Benshengren* and

Waishengren in the literature of nationalism studies in Taiwan is common, and is sometimes inevitable because it is part of Taiwan's social reality (Hsiao, 2005). The voice and need of the Hakka, however, is neglected in the category of *Benshengren*, which caused them to become an 'invisible minority' in Taiwan (Adler, 2001). Hakka are described as the "Jews of Asia" by many Hakka scholars and cultural workers in Taiwan (Wilson, 2009). Tina's example evidenced the neglect of Hakka in primary school. The school constructed an atmosphere that Mandarin and Minnanese were the dominant languages which caused the minorities to be bullied because of their weakness in speaking Minnanese.

Jessica: 那你從什麼時候知道你們班很多都是閩南人？

Tina: 因為他們台語課都念的很好阿

[Jessica: How would you know that most of your classmates are Hoklo?

Tina: Because they speak well in the Minnanese class.]

Jessica: 那你會不會覺得你跟同學不一樣？

Tina: 對阿

Jessica: 會造成你的困擾嗎？

Tina: 當然會阿 [...] 我就有一次說錯啦，因為台語不好，然後有一個我的仇人他就說，台語不好是天生的，他就說一些很惡毒的話

[Jessica: Would you think you are different from your classmates?

Tina: Yes.

Jessica: Does it bother you?

Tina: Of course. [...] I made a mistake before because I don't speak Minnanese well. A foe said to me that I was born to be bad at Minnanese and then he said something bitter.]

Ironically, Gina (Vietnam, Y4), as a child of immigrant, was the only child who indicated Minnanese was her mother tongue in this study. She complained that she did not have many chances to use Minnanese at school because few of her classmates could speak it. She perceived Minnanese as her mother tongue because she was good

at it and she used it at home. It seems that the promotion of Minnanese at school marginalises students who don't speak this language, and most students do not learn Minnanese effectively either.

Jessica: 在學校也會[說閩南語]嗎?

Gina: 可是學校都沒有人會，很少人會講閩南語，我都自己在那邊講

[...]

Gina: 禮拜三上課的時候會講很多，有一次老師抽籤要我們上台，用閩南語介紹自己，可是很多人都念很小聲，就直接下台

[Jessica: Do you speak [Minnanese] at school as well?

Gina: But no one speak that at school. Few people can speak Minnanese. It is always me speaking it only.

[...]

Gina: We speak a lot in the class on Wednesday. The teacher used to ask us to stand on the platform to introduce ourselves in Minnanese by drawing, but many people spoke quietly and left directly.]

Some children of native Taiwanese described their mother tongue was Mandarin, instead of Minnanese. Gina's classmate, Peggy (Taiwan, Y4), was one of the students who was not comfortable in speaking Minnanese.

Jessica: 你們星期三是母語日對不對，就要講閩南語對不對

Peggy: 討厭講閩南語，我不講的，哈哈

Jessica: 那你覺得閩南語是你的母語嗎?

Peggy: 不是，我的母語是國語

[Jessica: Wednesday is the day of mother tongue, isn't it? Do you speak Minnanese on this day?

Peggy: I don't like Minnanese. I don't speak it, ha.

Jessica: Do you think Min-nan is your mother tongue?

Peggy: No, my mother tongue is Mandarin.]

Another two girls from different ethnic backgrounds, Yumi (Taiwan, Y5) and Kat (Vietnam, Y6), directly expressed that their mother tongues were Mandarin as well. These findings suggested that Mandarin is more likely to be regarded as the common

mother tongue by the new generation from different ethnic groups. In addition, I have noted in Chapter 7 that language is viewed as a salient marker of an ethnic group in this study. Even though the school assumed Minnanese is the mother tongue of the majority (Hoklo), children do not necessarily perceive Minnanese as their mother tongue, and they have no emotional attachment to these ethnic labels (see Section 7.4). Rather, children in different ethnic groups perceive Mandarin as their common mother tongue.

The fact that children perceived Mandarin as their mother tongue reflected a language crisis in Taiwan. Mandarin was the language imposed on people under the previous Chinese nationalism in Taiwan for decades, while other languages and dialects were banned. Hung (1992) already reminded us of the linguistic crisis of preserving languages in Taiwan because he found that the younger a Hoklo is, the less his or her ability to speak Minnanese. Taiwanese nationalism aims to revive the native languages, but children's ability to speak their mother tongue is still limited. Nevertheless, children have developed the awareness to speak their own language.

The 'four ethnic groups' in Taiwan have been mingled with each other through marriage so it is hard to differentiate and define children as from one single ethnic group. Mixed marriages are becoming prevalent in Taiwan. These marriages can be cross-ethnic marriages and cross-national marriages so it is harder to define the mother tongues of the new generation. This problem might be solved by providing multiple mother tongues at school so that children have more choices to learn their own mother tongues. Offering multiple languages is also one aim of the nine-year integrated curriculum. The reality is, however, that because of insufficient resources,

the school can only provide one native language class, apart from Mandarin.

Also, children's opinions about their mother tongue challenge the legitimacy of the four ethnic groups which are based on linguistic difference (Huang, 2000). This thesis argues that this classification is arbitrary and should be critically reviewed. In the current Taiwanese society, most families are mixed families of the 'four ethnic groups' and even mixed families with immigrants. The boundaries among these groups are blurred.

In Taiwanese nationalism, Minnanese is being promoted as an important native language, while Mandarin is still the dominant language. Minnanese is also called 'Taiwanese (台語)' in a narrow definition. It is not unusual in Taiwan for people to be expected to speak Minnanese to be accepted as a 'true' Taiwanese under current Taiwanese nationalism. People are rarely expected to speak Hakka language or aboriginal languages to be a Taiwanese. Although the language curriculum promotes multiple native languages, children in this study used Mandarin and Taiwanese for a marker of Taiwanese (See Section 6.4). This phenomenon reflects that the unequal status of the languages and ethnic groups remains. Legislator Yeh Chu-lan (葉菊蘭) has been advocating that Taiwanese, the languages of Taiwan, should not refer to Minnanese only, but Mandarin, Minnanese, Hakka, aboriginal languages, and the languages that immigrants brought to Taiwan (Public Television Service Foundation, 2003). Yeh's proposal mirrors the concept of civic nationalism, but it is still a long way for Taiwanese nationalism to reach it.

8.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, children of immigrants' experience of 'otherness' at school and at home were discussed. Children of immigrants' classmates rejected their claiming as 'full' Taiwanese and thought that they were foreign. Their Taiwanese identity is therefore being influenced. However, the 'otherness' experience is not unique among children of immigrants. Aboriginal children and Hakka children also experienced and perceived themselves as minorities in this primary school, in which Min-nan language is promoted as the mother tongue. The boundaries between insider and outsider are not clearly cut between children of native Taiwanese and children of immigrants. Under current narrative of Taiwanese nationalism, Aborigines, Hakka and children of immigrants experience and perceive themselves as minorities.

Bond (2006) argues that the claiming of national identity from minority groups who lack at least one identity marker is usually constrained by externally imposed limitations and self-imposed limitations. The exclusion experienced by children of immigrants in this study further explained that mechanism of identity formation among people of biethnic heritage. Identity formation is a process of social negotiations (Barth, 1969). The self-imposed limitations might be caused by externally imposed limitations in the negotiation process. Some biethnic children started with a Taiwanese identity, lacking one identity marker (one parent is not a Taiwanese) does not constrain them from claiming a Taiwanese identity. Nevertheless, their claims were rejected persistently in the social interaction with other children. They became doubtful about their claims and, therefore, put limitations to themselves. This result supports Oikawa and Yoshida (2007)'s finding

about biethnic people in Japan.

Examining children's friendship network, we can see the boundary between native children and children of immigrants existed. Children of immigrants view native children as their close friends, but native children do not include children of immigrants as their close friends. Children of immigrants more easily make friends and become close friends with other children of immigrants. The friendships among children of immigrants are strengthened by their mother's regulation and social network.

The construction of nationhood usually accompanies large-scale language planning through education (Hobsbawm, 1996; Barbour and Carmichael, 2000; Ayres, 2009). Current Taiwanese nationalism challenged the monopoly of Mandarin language policy for decades which suppressed vernacular languages and cultures. Therefore, multiple native languages are promoted in the current curriculum guideline, but there is a gap between policy and practice. In practice, a tendency of promoting a monopoly of Minnanese as the vernacular language was found at the school in research, which caused the exclusion of children from other ethnic backgrounds.

Most children indicated Mandarin as their first language. This implies that the decade-long Mandarin policy is getting even powerful for the new generation.

Also, all schools in Taiwan are Mandarin-medium. It takes time to revive vernacular languages in the Taiwanese society. Most children recognised Minnanese as their second language, which might be credited to the Minnanese language policy at school. However, these findings suggest that the language use among children in

Taiwan is homogenous, despite their different ethnic backgrounds. Language used to be the objective criteria to differentiate ethnic groups in Taiwan, but it might not be this case in the new generation.

Finally, promoting Minnanese reflects the problem of localization in Taiwanese nationalism. Localization does not entail single culture or language; rather, it requires a better understanding of local cultures and languages so that they can be vigorous. Therefore, it needs more efforts to create a multicultural and multi-lingual school to promote mutual respect to children from minority in the local community.

9 Conclusion: Lessons from the Children

9.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, I revisit the aims and research questions in Chapter 1. I also draw together the substantive findings which have been presented in Chapter 5 to 8, situating these within the literature to give an overall discussion. This chapter goes on to summarise the contribution this thesis makes toward understanding children's relation to the nation, nationalism, and ethnicity. It concludes with the significance of the findings for research and policy, and suggests further work that could seek to extend the existing knowledge in this area.

9.2 Revisiting the Research Questions

The primary concern of this thesis is to examine children's interpretations and personal practices in regards to the nation, ethnicity, and identity. Particular attention has been placed on the comparison between children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese to understand how Taiwanese nationalism since 2000 is related to their identities. Education is essential to propagate national discourses. Yet, the process was taken for granted and student's agency was neglected (Stanbridge, 2011). Therefore, another focus is to assess the Taiwanese nationalism presented in the pedagogical documents in order to understand the nation being constructed in them, and evaluate children's responses to the national narratives in the pedagogical documents. This thesis has presented evidence from qualitative interviews of children, document analysis of textbooks, and observations on four key issues: the

nation, national identity, ethnicity, and inclusion/exclusion.

This section reviews the research questions which were outlined in Chapter 1 and summarises the findings.

- **The Nation: How do primary school children perceive the nation? How is the nation presented in the pedagogical materials, such as textbooks? What are the symbols children use to represent the nation?**

Naming is a competition of symbolic power (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). Taiwanese nationalism has drawn attention to renaming campaigns to make symbolic changes to form a new national identity. The textbooks usually use 'Taiwan' for the nation. The official name of the nation, the Republic of China (ROC), was marginalised in the textbooks. It was used only for civic calendar and the full names of laws. Therefore, children had a vague understanding of the concept of the ROC. Children's descriptions of the names of the nation mainly correspond to the pedagogical narratives.

The history in the textbooks was a history of Taiwan that could be traced back to the aboriginal cultures in the pre-historical period on the island of Taiwan. This is in contrast to a history of the Republic of China that linked back to the Imperial China presented in the history curriculum before (Liu and Hung, 2002). The history curriculum is an example of 'invention of traditions' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) that attaches to a certain nation and national identity.

Finally, there is a contrast of the symbols of nation between children and the textbooks. The textbooks introduced aboriginal culture but none of the children use it as a symbol of the nation. Children usually use cultural symbols to represent Taiwan. This thesis emphasizes that food is a symbol of banal nationalism for children in Taiwan. In anthropology, food has been seen as an important component in nationalism and ethnicity because it is an essential part of the shared memory and the national culture (Holtzman, 2006; Caldwell, 2002; Wilk, 1993). Children in this study used food to describe and differentiate nations, as well as ethnicity.

- **National Identity: What is the national identity that children claim for themselves? What are the markers that children use to claim their national identity? How do children judge others? What is the national identity presented in the textbooks?**

Taiwanese and Chinese used to be the contested national identities in Taiwan (Figure 2-1). The majority of the children in this study referred to themselves as Taiwanese only. Children's interpretation of Chinese indicated that they perceived Taiwanese and Chinese as two different identities with exclusive boundaries.

In the study of national identity, it is crucial how the national "we" is constructed and what is meant by such construction (Billig, 1995), and sometimes the construction of national identity is also about hating the other (Alonso, 1994). The construction of the national "we" in the textbooks is vague and unclear. Yet, the textbooks used the adventurous, hard-working and painstaking features of the Han settlers from China as the characteristics of 'Taiwanese.' The construction of the other, however, is clear.

The Chinese were introduced as a “significant other” (Triandafyllidou, 1998) in the Year 6 textbook, but children revealed a negative image of the Chinese before they learned it from the textbook. This message shows that the de-Sinicisation in the current Taiwanese nationalism contains the element of anti-Sinicisation in the society so that children are exposed to it before they learn about it from the textbook.

Further evidence of anti-Sinicisation is reflected in the different pattern of the identity choices between children of Chinese immigrants and children of Vietnamese immigrants. While none of the children of Chinese immigrants expressed a dual identity and most of them chose a Taiwanese identity, a substantial proportion of children of Vietnamese immigrants described themselves with a dual identity (e.g. ‘I am part of Taiwanese and a bit Vietnamese’) or with uncertainty about their identity (e.g. ‘I am not sure if I am Taiwanese or Vietnamese’, ‘I would rather use Asian than any of them’). Children of the marginalised groups are more conscious of their collective identity as a result of political influence (Carrington and Short, 1996). The contrasting choices between these two immigrant groups might indicate the marginalised situation that children of Chinese immigrants face under anti-Sinicisation. Apart from the cross-strait tension between China and Taiwan, the current discourse of Taiwanese nationalism might have become intangible violence toward children of Chinese immigrants.

When children in this study claim their national identity, birth place is the key identity marker they referred to, followed by place of residence and language. This finding supports the studies about national identity from Welsh children (Scourfield et al., 2006), British identity from children in England (Carrington and Short, 1995),

and Scottish identity from children in Edinburgh (Carrington and Short, 1996). Although language is an important marker, there is not an agreement of what language makes a Taiwanese. Some children thought Mandarin is the language for Taiwanese, but some claimed that Taiwanese were those who spoke Minnanese. Therefore, although most children referred to themselves as Taiwanese, what Taiwanese means is still debatable.

This study suggests that different identity markers are used in various situations. This study emphasises the importance of ‘identity rules’ (Kiely et al., 2001) to understand the issue of national identity. This study addressed that some children prioritised ancestry to birth place when they talked about the national identity of children of immigrants, despite their more general claim that birth place is essential for national identity.

- **Ethnicity: What is ethnicity presented in the textbooks? How do children describe the traditional ‘four ethnic groups’ in Taiwan? How do children classify people within Taiwan?**

Traditionally, ethnicity in Taiwan is based on the classification of the four ethnic groups: Hoklo, Hakka, Mainlander, and the Aborigines. The new immigrants and their children are sometimes called the fifth ethnic group in Taiwan because they have outnumbered the Aborigines.

The concept of ‘ethnicity’ is introduced to children in the Social Studies textbook in Year 3. However, the ethnic groups are presented in imbalance in the textbooks, and

a new ethnic structure is created (see Figure 7-6). The textbooks highlight the distinctions between the Aborigines and the Han, while the Hoklo are rarely discussed and the Mainlander are totally absent in the textbooks. This thesis argues that the textbooks were written from the perspectives of the Hoklo, which is the 'minus-one' ethnicity that perceives themselves as 'non-ethnic' and other groups as 'ethnic' (Banton 1983). However, the absence of Mainlander might be to marginalize this group to serve the purpose of de-Sinicisation in Taiwanese nationalism.

The classification of the four ethnic groups is challenged in this study. When children talked about the four ethnic groups in Taiwan, language is usually how they differentiate ethnic groups. Nevertheless, most children distanced themselves from the ethnic labels, although ethnic identity is still important for children of minority ethnic groups (Hoklo and Aborigines). To classify people within Taiwan, children use place rather than ethnicity to describe them. Finally, gender is another identity that is more important for children. Therefore, ethnicity is rather politically constructed than primordial in Taiwan. If we view children as not yet socialized beings, ethnicity is what they are taught in the socialization process because it is not what they would use themselves. It is especially salient in the Taiwanese society where there is not any 'visible' ethnicity. If there is, the only one would be the Aborigines who have minor physical difference from the rest.

- **Being a minority: How do the native Taiwanese children talk about children of immigrants? What are the exclusion experiences that children of immigrants encountered? How is the exclusion related to current Taiwanese nationalism?**

By examining children's experiences, I investigated the discourse of exclusion in the current Taiwanese nationalism. The findings indicated that children of immigrants' experiences of exclusion happen not only at school, but also at home. In addition, it demonstrated that teachers, instead of being supporters, can be a source of exclusion and racism.

Exclusion is embodied in the boundaries that children of native Taiwanese set in their social networks. In this study, children of immigrants were more likely to claim children of native Taiwanese as their good friends, but children of native Taiwanese did not do the same. Their relationships are imbalanced. In addition, the social network among immigrant women also reinforces the distance between children of native Taiwanese and children of immigrants. These findings suggest the segmentation and distrust between these two groups in Taiwan.

The language policy at school creates another kind of exclusion to non-Minnanese speaking children. According to the curriculum guideline, schools should provide different vernacular language class according to students' mother tongue. There is, however, a gap between policy and implementation. Minnanese is the only vernacular language taught at this researched school, and the school promoted Minnanese as the mother tongue. Therefore, the non-Minnanese speaking children are marginalised by the school policy.

This study provides an explanation of the mechanism of identity construction among

children of immigrants. Identity formation is a process of social negotiation (Barth, 1969). Bond (2006) suggests that the national identity among the minority is more problematic because of the externally imposed limitations, as well as the self-imposed limitations. The experiences from the children in this study show that biethnic children did not start with a dual identity or a problematic identity for lacking one or two identity markers. Instead, they started with a single national identity like other children. They started to feel doubtful about their identity and impose limitations on themselves which may be related to the persistent rejections of their identity claims, as well as externally imposed limitations.

9.3 Implication for Research and Policy

One important contribution of this thesis is to foster a better understanding of children's construction of the nation and their identity, and its relation to education system. Through the evidence derived from children, it anticipates to benefit areas in sociology, education, and nationalism studies to value children's account, which has been neglected. In sociology, children used to be marginalised as not-yet-socialised and they were separated from the public issues of society. This thesis contributes to the growing literature of the Sociology of Childhood, which acknowledges that children are an inseparable part of the society, and they are competent beings who participate in public and national affairs. This thesis demonstrates that children's participation in research and policy making process is possible despite their limited access to public affairs.

This thesis used an empirical study to bridges childhood studies and nationalism

studies. Children and childhood have not yet been fully acknowledged in nationalism studies, but they deserve particular attention because they are usually a part of national projects. In the context of Taiwanese nationalism, it considers this issue with two important factors: immigration and education. I investigated children's actions and reactions to Taiwanese nationalism that manifested in the narratives in education, which can contribute to debates relating to personal nationalism and education in the field of nationalism. In practice, this thesis urges that policy makers in Taiwan listen to children and include their opinion into policy making process.

Methodologically, this thesis provided mixed methods and qualitative accounts of children in middle childhood by using three child-friendly activities: mind map, card-sorting exercise, and circles of relationship. Integrating these activities in the interviews, I created a friendlier research environment to promote children's participation in research, and provided an example to give a voice for children. This empirical study helps to build up the literature in childhood studies that allow children to construct their own childhood in relation to nationalism.

The findings have implication for education policy at national and local school level. At the national level, the curriculum design process needs to take practice into consideration. Language curriculum influences children's identity, as well as multiculturalism at school. It is beneficial that multiple native languages are included in the curriculum to promote the equality of ethnic groups in Taiwan. Yet, there is a gap between national policy and local practice in terms of teacher personnel and resources. There is a need for better vertical collaboration to bridge this gap.

At the school level, the findings suggest the single vernacular language and single mother tongue is related to the exclusion experience of children from minority ethnic groups. If multiple vernacular language class at schools is not feasible, schools can still promote multiple mother tongues and value multiculturalism to create a friendly environment for students from various ethnic backgrounds.

Devine, Kenny, and Macneela (2008) have challenged the benign interpretations adults may have of children's experience of exclusion in the primary school, and signalled the need for teacher to be sensitive to ethnic issues in their classroom practice. The findings support this argument that adults may be one of the causes of racism at school. In a period of increasing immigration, the number of children of immigrants is increasing dramatically in primary schools in Taiwan so there is an urgent need to educate the teachers to be sensitive and respect multiculturalism.

9.4 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This study was conducted in one primary school in the suburb of Taichung. The findings can be generalised to most public primary schools in Taiwan because most areas are Hoklo dominated areas where Minnanese is prevalent. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that the findings might have been different had the research been undertaken in other areas, especially in areas where the Hakka cluster, and in the Aboriginal areas. These areas might present a different picture of ethnic relationships and relatively marginal status. In addition, language policy at school is salient to children's belongingness and their construction of identities. Primary schools in Taiwan have some autonomy in deciding language policy according to the

demographic distribution although Mandarin is still the medium for all primary schools. Therefore, it is preferable to conduct research in more schools and in different areas in the future to compare and differentiate the impacts of school policy and central education policy.

This thesis endeavoured to give children a direct voice but this aim was constrained by the problem of translation. Wording is essential in the presentation and interpretation of children's life and culture (Thorne, 1993). Yet, it is unavoidable to be sacrificed in the process of translation. Therefore, this thesis presented both the original excerpts and the translated version to compensate this problem.

This study started with a focus on children of immigrants and children of native Taiwanese. The attention on ethnic groups, such as Aborigines and the Hakka, grew in the course of research. To deepen the understanding of the complex ethnic relationships in Taiwan, it is suggested to recruit more participants from various ethnic groups in the future.

This study was conducted in 2009, but in 2010 and 2011, the government had grand celebrations for the 99th and 100th birthday of the Republic of China. The celebration events might influence the new generation's understanding of the nation. This requires further research on how national events influence the nation in the mind of the new generation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview Guide

(This interview guide is typed in English, but all interviews were conducted in Mandarin)

Introduction: Mind Map

(e.g. age/ birth place/ places lived before/ people in my family/ my habits/ best friends)

Social Relationships

- Who do you live with?
- Do you have any relatives living abroad? How do you contact them?
- Who are your best friends? What do you usually do together?
- Circles of Relationship
 - (1) Who are the important people in your life? (Write their name on the stickers)
 - (2) Who would you put in the inner circles (love most)? why?
 - (3) Who would you put in the second circle? Why? (And so on)

Language

- What languages can you speak? Please sort them by fluency.
- When would you use each of these languages? What language do you usually use at home? Which language is your mother tongue?

Nation

- What are the names of the country? How did you learn each of them?
- How would you introduce the country to people from other country? What can represent this country?
- Some people say that Taiwan is independent, and some people say it belongs to China. What do you think?

Identities

- Card-sorting exercise
 - (1) Ask the participant to explain his/her understanding of each identity label (e.g. Chinese/ Hakka/ Hoklo)
 - (2) Choose the cards that fit you. Why would you choose these cards?
 - (3) Have you ever thought that you might be [the card s/he didn't choose]?
 - (4) If you can only keep one card from those cards you chose, which one will you keep? And why?
- What makes a person Taiwanese? (e.g. People who live in this place? Language?)
- Are there any people who are more Taiwanese than you? Anyone less Taiwanese than you?
- Where is your home?

Perspectives about minority and immigrants

- Do you know any friends who are children of immigrants/Hakka/Aborigines? Do you think they are Taiwanese? Why?
- [Scenario] JoJo was born in Taiwan. His mother is from Vietnam and his father is a Taiwanese. Do you think that he is a Taiwanese? Why?
- [Scenario] Bobo just transferred to this school and she cannot speak Mandarin very well so she cannot catch up with the school work. What would happen to her at school?
- Have you ever heard of anyone being bullied at school?

Transnational experiences

- What countries have you visited? How would you describe the countries you visited before?

For children of immigrants



- Have you ever visited your mother's original country? How often do you visit there? How would you describe that country?
- How do you know about China/Vietnam?
(personal visit/TV/ newspaper/ the Internet/ Radio/ book)
- What would you do help your mother?

Appendix 2. The publishers of the textbooks that Little Mountain primary school chose for 2009 academic year.

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6
Mandarin	南一 Nan E	南一 Nan E	南一 Nan E	康軒 Kang Hsuan	康軒 Kang Hsuan	翰林 Han Lin
Social Studies	-	-	康軒 Kang Hsuan	翰林 Han Lin	翰林 Han Lin	南一 Nan E









_____同學你好，

我是張姐姐，我在寫關於兒童的故事，所以我想知道現在的兒童對國家與族群的看法  以及你生活中重要的人。 

我希望能夠訪問你，我的問題都很簡單，是問你對事情的看法，這不是考試，所以答案沒有對錯，你只要放輕鬆，想到什麼說什麼就可以了！如果你有不想回答的問題，你可以說「過！」

；你也可以在任何時候問問題。

張姐姐跟很多小朋友的談話，然後把你們對事情的看法寫成一本書，這是我在大學裡的  一個大功課，因為我沒辦法記下所有的事情，所以我會把我們的對話錄音下來。  不過我保證我寫故事的時候也會把你的名字保密，我也不會和老師或是你的爸媽討論我們的談話，只有在有人遭遇困難或是危險，  我們可能需要找其他人的討論幫忙，那我會先告訴你。

你可以決定要不要被訪問，如果你願意接受訪問  ，張姐姐會很感謝你的幫忙；如果你不願意  ，張姐姐也會尊重你的決定。如果你有任何問題或不清楚的地方  ，記得要問張姐姐喔！

張姐姐



Hello _____ ,

I am Chang *jiejie* (Older sister). I am writing a story about children so I would like to know how children think about the nation and ethnicity now, and the people who are important in your life.

I hope that I can have the opportunity to talk to you. My questions are simple. They are your perspectives of things. This is not an exam so there is not any right or wrong answer. Please be relaxed and just tell me what you think about. If there is any question that you don't want to answer, you can say 'PASS.' You can ask questions any time.

Chang *jiejie* talks to many children and write your perspectives into a book. This is a huge essay at the university. Because I cannot remember everything so I will audio-record our conversations. However, I promise that I will keep your name in secret when I write it. I will not tell the teacher or your parents about our conversations. Only when someone has problems or is in danger, we might need to talk to other people for help, but I will let you know in advance.

You can decide if you want to be interviewed or not. If you are willing to be interviewed, I will appreciate your help very much. If you don't want to, I will respect your decision. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me!

Best Wishes,
Chang *jiejie*



參加同意書

請填寫這張表單(圈出合適的答案)

1. 你有看完張姐姐給你的信嗎? 是 / 否
2. 你知道這個活動跟你怎麼看你自己有關嗎? 是 / 否
3. 你有機會可以問問題嗎? 是 / 否
4. 你的問題有被回答嗎? 是 / 否
5. 你知道這是自願的，如果你拒絕參加或決定停止，
並不會受到處罰或失去利益嗎? 是 / 否
6. 你知道如果有問題你不想回答，你可以說'過'嗎? 是 / 否
7. 你願意參加嗎? 我願意 / 我不願意

姓名: _____

日期: 2009 年 3 月 _____ 日

Consent form for children (Translated in English)

Please read and fill this form (Circle the answers that apply)

1. Did you read the information leaflet that Big Sister Chang gave you? Yes/No
2. Do you know that this interview is related to how you view yourself? Yes/No
3. Did you have opportunity to ask questions? Yes/No
4. Were your questions answered? Yes/No
5. Do you know that this is voluntary and you would not be punished or lose
any benefits if you refuse to take part or decide to withdraw? Yes/No
6. Do you know that you can say PASS to the questions that you don't want
to answer? Yes/No
7. Would you like to take part? Yes/No

Name: _____

Date: 2009/ /

家長通知函



您好，

我是英國愛丁堡大學社會系博士生張弘潔，為促進各種族兒童的發聲與平等，並促使多元文化在台灣的發展，我正在文山國小進行一個研究，是關於兒童的社會關係與他們如何定位自己，本研究邀請三至六年級的各種族學生數名共同參與，貴子弟被遴選為代表之一。這個研究僅需要一堂非正課的時間，對貴子弟進行訪談，不會影響他的學習，對於個人資料也會加以匿名及保密，僅供本研究之用。若您有任何疑慮，歡迎與我聯絡，電話如下，謝謝您的協助。

張弘潔 敬上

E-mail: hc.chang@ed.ac.uk

電話: 0910-018890

網頁: <http://www.cfr.ac.uk/Research/phdchang.htm>

指導教授: Lynn Jamieson 教授 (L.Jamieson@ed.ac.uk)

Ross Bond 博士 (R.J.Bond@ed.ac.uk)

 我願意支持他參加

我不希望他參加

家長簽章: _____



Hello,

My name is Hung-Chieh Chang. I am a PhD student in Sociology in the University of Edinburgh, UK. To advocate the status and equality of children of different ethnic groups, and promote the development of multiculturalism in Taiwan, I am doing a study at the Little Mountain primary school.

This is about children's social relationships and how they look at themselves. This study recruits students from different ethnic backgrounds in Year 3 to Year 6. Your child is selected as one of the representatives. This study takes for one session of time for an interview. It will not use the time for major subjects so it will not affect his/her learning. Personal information will be anonymous and confidential, and is used for this study only. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. My phone number is listed below. Thank you for your support.

Best Wishes,

Hung-Chieh Chang

E-mail: hc.chang@ed.ac.uk

Mobile: 0910-018890

Website: <http://www.cfr.ac.uk/Research/phdchang.htm>

Supervisors: Prof. Lynn Jamieson (L.Jamieson@ed.ac.uk); Mr. Ross Bond 博士 (R.J.Bond@ed.ac.uk)

() I support him/her to participate in this study.

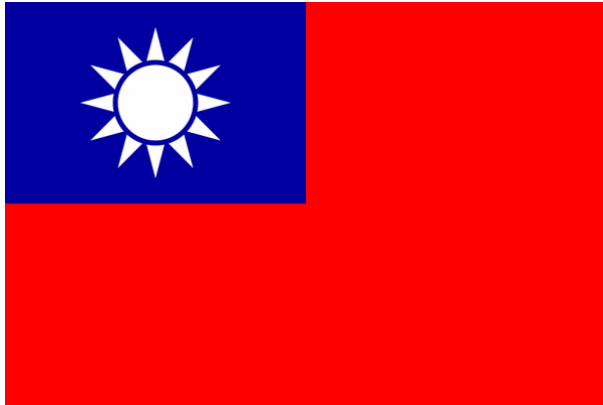
() I don't want him/her to participate.

Signature_____














Appendix 6. The Names of the Nation from Participants

Name	Group	Name of the nation			
		1	2	3	4
Harold	Vietnam	Taiwan			
Cindy	China	Taichung	Taiwan		
Tim	Vietnam	Taiwan	The country of good people	The Republic	
Emma	China	Kaohsiung	Taiwan	Formosa	Beautiful island
Ray	Taiwan	Taiwan	Formosa		
Steve	China	Taiwan	Formosa	Beautiful island	
Nemo	Taiwan	Taiwan			
Lindsey	Vietnam	Taiwan	Formosa		
Gina	Vietnam	Taiwan	US	Kaohsiung	Vietnam
Joanna	China	Taiwan	China		
Lily	Taiwan	Taiwan			
Tina	Taiwan	Formosa	Taiwan		
Peggy	Taiwan	Taiwan	ROC		
Harry	Taiwan	Taiwan	Formosa		
Joyce	Vietnam	Taiwan			
Kevin	China	Taiwan	Baodao		
Bruce	Vietnam	Vietnam	Taiwan	Taichung	Australia
Mike	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taipei		
Yumi	Taiwan	Taiwan	ROC		
Judy	Vietnam	Taiwan	Baodao		
Oliver	China	Taiwan			
Mia	Taiwan	Taiwan is more common, compared to the ROC			
Cathy	Taiwan	Usually use Taiwan			
Sophie	Vietnam	-			
Shelley	Taiwan	Taiwan	Formosa	Baodao	Meilidao
Kat	Vietnam	Taiwan			
Sean	China	-			
Anne	Vietnam	-			

Appendix 7. The national flag of the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan)

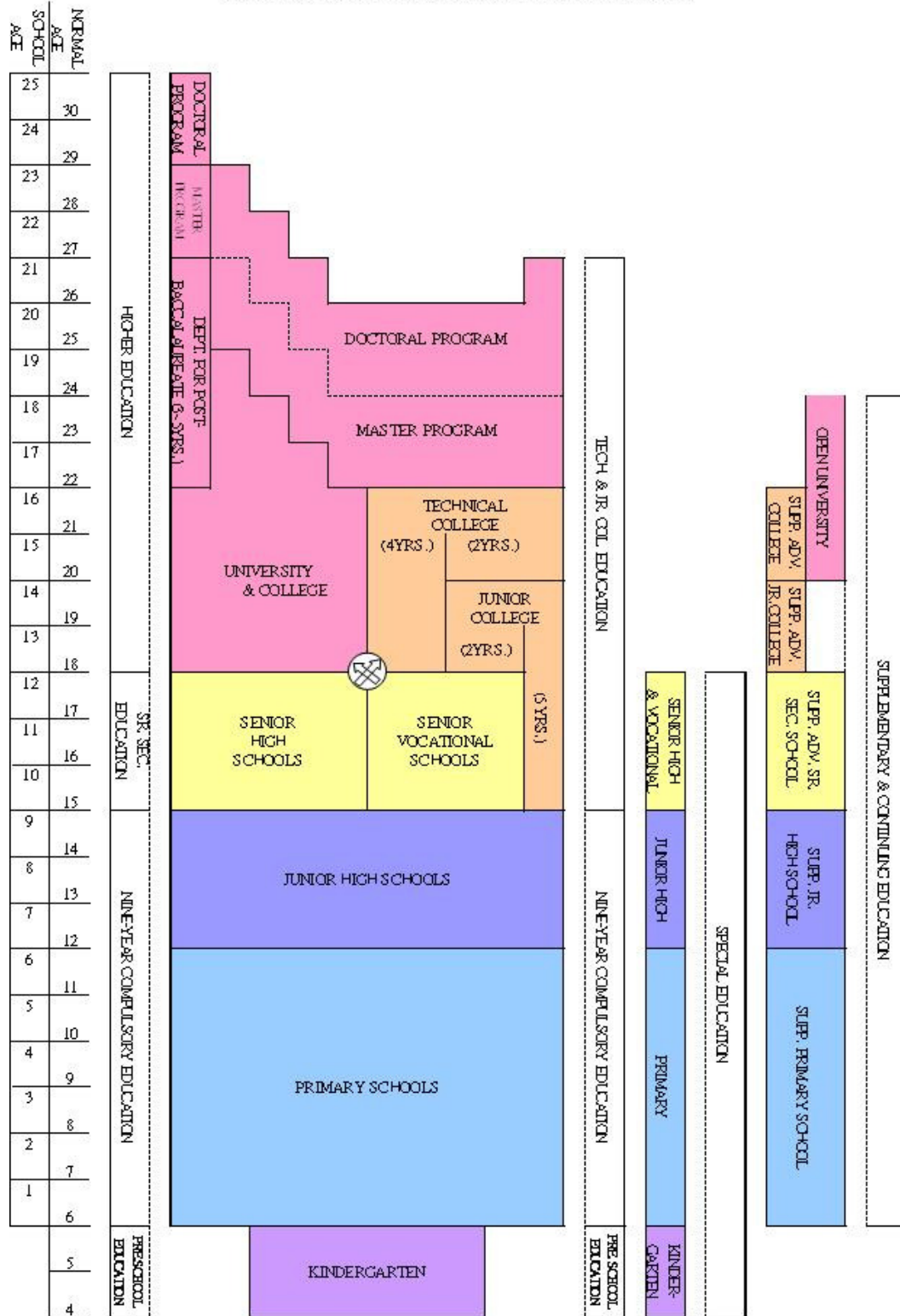


Appendix 8. The current coins in circulation in Taiwan

Value	Front side	Back side	Issue Year	Coins
1/2 Yuan	Plum flower	50 cents	1981	
1 Yuan	Chiang Kai-shek	1 Yuan	1981	
5 Yuan	Chiang Kai-shek	5 Yuan	1981	
10 Yuan	Chiang Kai-shek	5 Yuan	1981	
10 Yuan	Dr. Sun Yat-sen	10 Yuan	2011	
20 Yuan	Mona Rudao	20 Yuan	2001	
50 Yuan	Dr. Sun Yat-sen	50 Yuan & Rice	2002	
Memorial coins				
50 th anniversary of Taiwan retrocession	Earth and the map of the ROC	10 Yuan	1995	
50 th anniversary of New Taiwan Dollar	Coins in circulation	10 Yuan	1999	
Millennium Memorial coin	Dragon	10 Yuan	2000	
90 th anniversary of the ROC	Dr. Sun Yat-sen	10 Yuan	2001	
10 th birthday of Chiang Ching-Kuo	Chiang Ching-kuo	10 Yuan	2010	
Chiang Wei-shui memorial coin	Chiang Wei-shui	10 Yuan	2010	

Appendix 9. The current school system in Taiwan

THE CURRENT SCHOOL SYSTEM



Source: MOE (2011) Education Statistics. Taipei: Ministry of Education