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**The Creation and Recreation of  
the Imagined Community of  
Taiwan: the Critical Analysis of  
High School History Textbooks  
(1949 to 2011)**

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2015

## Declaration

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

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## **Abstract**

This study aims to explore how the imagined Chinese community, as the nation of Taiwan, was created and recreated between 1949 and 2011, to become the Taiwanese community. The theoretical concept of the ‘imagined community’, which is interconnected with the concepts of ‘invented tradition’ and ‘banal nationalism’, has been used to suggest a sociological interpretation of the transformation of people’s self-identification from ‘Chinese’ to ‘Taiwanese’, as a kind of reflection of the changing nation of post-war Taiwan.

The social phenomenon of Taiwan residents’ changing self-identification raises a key concern, namely, has the nature of the nation in Taiwan changed? Junior and senior high school history textbooks (1949 to 2011), which can be regarded as representing the officially invented history, were used as resources, and analysed together with data gathered during interviews with twenty-five history teachers, who had not been screened for age or ethnic differences. The history textbooks provided content for a case study, comparable to that of the theoretical concept of the ‘invented tradition’. This could be regarded as ‘banal nationalism’, through which the life environment is subtly shaped and reshaped to become the ‘imagined community’, namely, the ‘national’ environment. The interviews with teachers were intended to help the researchers understand how the content in history textbooks had been taught, in order to explain how, or whether, the society undermined or reinforced the officially structured ‘imagined Taiwanese community’. The two approaches – one of which could be regarded as a top-down power, while the other could be considered as a social force – jointly provided the research framework and a perspective consistent with the

changing social phenomenon of the increasing ‘Taiwanese’ identity among members of the population. This study concluded that ‘Taiwan’ has been produced and reproduced from the local identification to the national.

The research results show that the meaning of ‘China’ and ‘Taiwan’ changed during three time periods: from the 1950s to the late 1980s, from the 1990s to the 2000s, and from the 2000s to 2010 and later. Through this process, mainland China and Taiwan were identified as one Chinese nation-state, beginning in the 1950s to the late 1980s, as one nation but two states, from the 1990s to the early 2000s, and finally, as two nation-states, from the early 2000s to 2010 and later. This research explored how ‘Taiwan’, an ‘imagined community’, has been shaped over time. Teachers further manifested ‘Taiwan’ as an explicit concept of national identity by providing other examples, in addition to the content in textbooks, and noting distinctions between ‘China’ and ‘Taiwan’. Theoretical logic is coherent with this empirical investigation, and this study provided the perspective to interpret how the state worked as a top-down force cooperating with society’s bottom-up perseverance, to invent ‘Taiwanese’ national history, through which the national identity of Taiwan was manifested.

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# **The Creation and Recreation of the Imagined Community of Taiwan: the Critical Analysis of High School History Textbooks (1949 to 2011)**

## **Chapter I.**

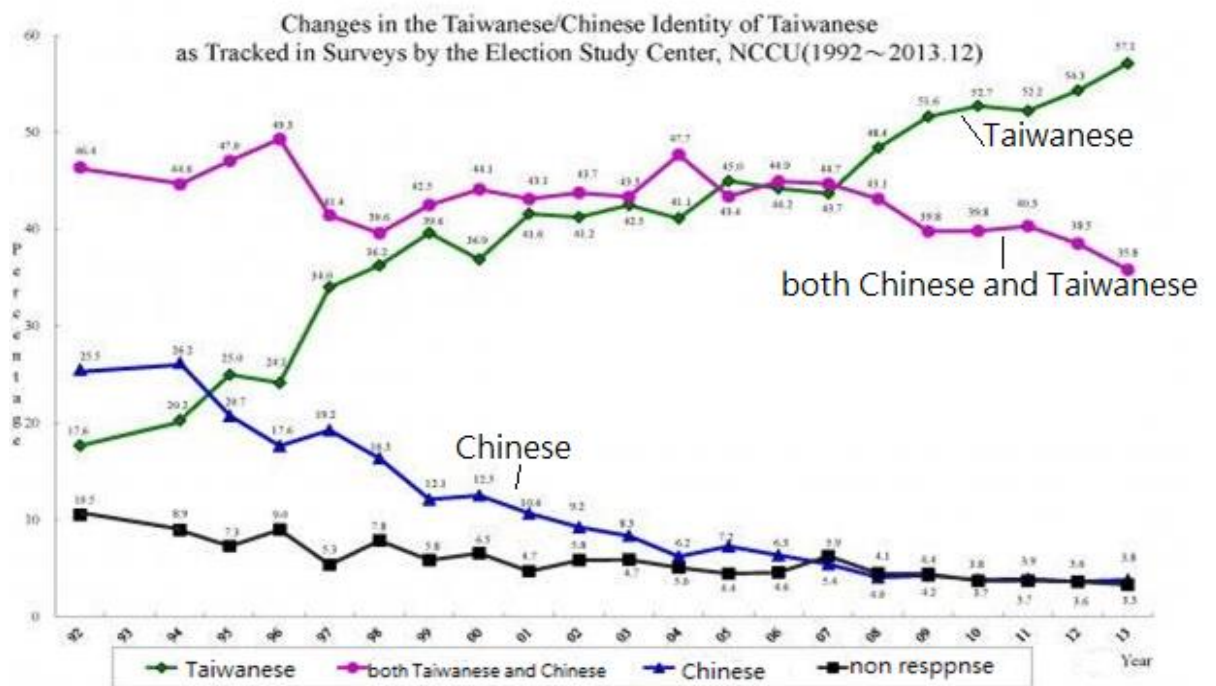
### **Introduction**

This study aims to explore the process by which ‘Taiwan’ has been gradually invented and re-invented to be an ‘imagined community’ in its post-war era from 1949 to 2011. The issue of Taiwan’s paradoxical nationality illustrated to people around the world in the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympic games, when Taiwan’s team held its ‘national’ flag aloft and walked past the platform as ‘Chinese Taipei’, and the MC introduced Taiwan as the country who was now competing with P.R.C. (People’s Republic of China). Which is the real China? Puzzlingly, Taiwan existed as a state with delineated territory, government, and citizens; nevertheless, its status was doubted, and even denied by international society, particularly when the R.O.C. government withdrew from the United Nations in 1971.

The generally accepted meaning of state is a political entity while nation is a cultural community. Under this definition, the statehood of Taiwan, which was known as ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’, coordinated by the government, has remained the same since 1949 until today; however, the people’s self-identification has been gradually changing from ‘Chinese’ to ‘Taiwanese’ according to the survey conducted by the Election Study Centre, National Cheng-chi University (R.O.C.). (see figure 1) This situation of Taiwan people’s changing attitude can also be observed from the social phenomenon

that most people around twenty or thirty years ago when going abroad and being asked about their identity would say, 'I am Chinese'. Hence, this situation provokes the sociological imagination to raise the key research question: to what extent has the orientation and nature of the nation in Taiwan changed?

Figure 1



Taiwan has a four-hundred-year documented history, according to which we have gained the idea that Taiwan had been long-term politically and culturally tied to mainland China as a part of the Chinese nation. This period of history started in the mid-seventeenth century, known as Ming-zheng (1661 to 1683), which survived in Taiwan as the last power of the Chinese Ming dynasty before it was completely conquered by the Chinese Qing Empire. The era of Ming-zheng governance in Taiwan lasted twenty-three years and was defeated by Qing troops in 1683 when Taiwan

became a domain of the Chinese Qing Empire as a peripheral area (a district under Fujian Province). During the era of Ming-zheng and Qing rule in Taiwan, more than two-hundred-years of Chinese rule, Chinese immigrants moved to, inhabited, and established Taiwan.

This period of the Qing-rule era in Taiwan continued for around two centuries until the Qing Empire lost the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, and was followed by Japanese rule in 1895. During half a century of Japanese colonisation, the Sino-based socio-cultural and political characteristic of Taiwan was reconstructed to resemble that of Japan at a certain level. The Japanese-governance era ended in 1945, when the U.S dropped two atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Japan surrendered in WWII and returned the territory of Taiwan to the Republic of China (R.O.C.) which was the government of China at the time. The long-term separated Taiwan and mainland China were re-united to be one state after WWII in 1945. Almost at the same time, the territory of mainland China had been gradually being lost by the R.O.C. government to the Chinese Communist party in the battle of the Chinese Civil War (1937-1949) with the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.). The mainland territory was completely conquered by the C.C.P. in 1949, and meanwhile, the R.O.C. moved to Taiwan, its only territory. Since then, political competition has existed between the two Chinese political entities; they were 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' and 'P.R.C. in China'. The fact was that those two political entities each had its own territory, government, and people and they existed as two independent states; however, both of them still laid claim to the whole territory that was formerly China. Against this backdrop, Taiwan was seen as the outpost bearing the nationalistic mission to re-conquer R.O.C.'s lost territory of mainland China under the official doctrine of 'one complete Chinese nation'.

Changes in international politics profoundly undermined the legitimacy of the 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' as a state in the international community when the R.O.C. government lost its place in the United Nations; simultaneously, the P.R.C. government entered the UN and gained international recognition as a state in 1971. Since then, in practice the R.O.C. in Taiwan operates like a state, but it lacks formal international recognition; however, the government of Taiwan still preserved its political doctrine of 'one Chinese nation' and continued this until the late 1980s. During the 1980s, Taiwan's society experienced sweeping social, political, and economic transformation. In politics, the most apparent case was the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 1986 which was the opposition party against the nationalist party (Kuomintang, KMT) with the purpose of pursuing the independence of Taiwan and abandoning territorial claims over the mainland. Second, Martial Law which had been imposed since 1949 was dropped in 1987 which enabled Taiwan to evolve into a civil society. The state-dominated political goal of a re-conquest has provoked debate over cross-strait relations, with the issue of the independence of Taiwan versus unification with China. This means the identity of Taiwan has since late 1980s become a subject for discussion, instead of being led solely by top-down power.

During more or less the same period, opinion polls concerning identity identification started to be conducted. The 'Chinese identity', including the self-identification of 'Chinese' and 'both Chinese and Taiwanese, was adopted by the majority of people in Taiwan in 1992. According to the report (1992 to 2013), however, the proportion of citizens identifying themselves as 'Taiwanese' has steadily increased from 17.6% to 54.5%, between 1992 and 2013 (figure 1). Over this period, the proportion of the population carrying the dual identity of 'both Taiwanese and Chinese' decreased from

46.4% to 38.5%, and 'Chinese identity' from 25.5% to only 3%. The gradual change in the self-identification from Chinese to Taiwanese revealed the transformation of people's choice regarding their identity. In this case, however, the increase in citizens identifying themselves as 'Taiwanese' can have various meanings, of national or local identification.

This research will discuss what form the 'Taiwanese imagined community' takes, and how should we understand the process of 'nation-building' in Taiwan. This discussion will start from a more fundamental question: *which* nation is to be imagined or built, and where is this nation of Taiwan? In the society of Taiwan which is, to an extent, modernized socially and politically, by what factors and in which way can people's national belongingness be shaped?

The state acts as entrepreneur to produce the sense of national belongingness to promote the formation of a national model (Giddens, 1985; Breuilly, 1993; Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1983; Renan, 1996); nevertheless, the process of state-making or nation-building involves more than the state's power. Gellner (1983) argued the creation of the modern nation-state was the result of participation by both the state and society from the economic categories. He suggested the state as the initiating point to maintain this political structure, and which was then engaged by the society; therefore, through this process those two forces mutually reinforced and re-created the state-society structure as a type of contemporary nation-state. The state and society became increasingly inseparable. This is similar to Mann's (1986) argument that the formation of the modern state was created by the cooperation of the state-driving infrastructure and the participation of citizens within this field, for example, education.



The state's power sometimes was intangible and a piece of psychological engineering which is hard to notice, but influences citizens in an 'invisible' way. This situation was like the famous case – 'census, map, and museum' suggested by Anderson (1983, 2006). Those items existed in the environment of everyday life inconspicuously, like the national flag, or a monument, but symbolically embody the nation. By the use of those items in daily routines, the state achieves its purpose of constructing a national environment in which citizens are continually and implicitly being reminded of their national identity. This is the approach of 'banal nationalism' introduced by Michael Billig (1995). Moreover, very ordinary items in the day-to-day environment are selected as resources which would not only mark the current identity but also the past (Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008; Edmondson, 2002). The monument in the city centre reminds people of their bitterness and of glorious periods in history: through these the past can be refashioned and perceived as today's common code marking people's identity (Halbawachs, 1992). Those items in daily life will be regular, but continually redrawing the frontier, addressing belongingness, stating the ancestry, and so on, such as the customary practices and state ceremonies and folksongs. The environment was designed by the government for political purposes, but this goes further. While those items became part of the citizen's life, the connection between official and unofficial, state and society, and political and social was built up (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, 2012: chp7; Migdal, Kohli, and Shue et al, 1997). The state and society converged.

In the discussion of the formation of the contemporary nation-state, the influence of top-down and the bottom-up power are equally important. For this reason, this study conducts content analysis on the high school history textbooks officially published (1949 to 2011) and interviews with teachers to discuss the case of Taiwan. In Taiwan,

the high school history textbooks, both junior and senior levels, have been officially sanctioned by the R.O.C. government (1949 to 2011). In this regard, studying the extent to which official history textbooks came to be successively re-edited to align the presentation of ‘Chinese’ and ‘Taiwanese’ history with the changing policies of the state makes it possible to examine the way in which the state consciously constructed the sense and character of an imagined ‘Taiwanese’ community.

The content of history textbooks is far more than a recorded story; rather, it is a text, historiographically edited by the government and the knowledge produced by the state for the purpose of standardizing citizens’ ideas (Bourdieu 2009: 45). The content of history textbooks narrated the past of this nation-state; Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) have argued that the history of the past may be written with the present in mind. Historical ideas, for example, ‘who we were’ and ‘where we came from’, will subtly and continually remind citizens of their identity, which is like the example of repeated flagging used by Billig (1995) in *Banal Nationalism*, and which facilitates in readers their sense of belongingness. This is a psychological process through which readers are drawn into the text and provoked by the sense of ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1983, 2006). With this concern, this research will display the way in which the national characteristics of Taiwan has been invented and re-invented by the government to foster the understanding of the social phenomena of increasing ‘Taiwaneseness’ and decreasing ‘Chinese’ self-identification.

This study also conducted interviews with teachers about how they presented the contents of the textbooks organized under the government’s direction. The content of history textbooks cannot reveal how they are used in practice; in particular, the text

could mean different things according to readers' ideological perspectives. In other words, the substance of the official ideology is open to discussion about the way the society participates in the construction of the nation (Migdal, Kohli, and Shue et al. 1997). Hence, the textbook analysis and interview with teachers should link together explore how, when, why, and by whom the 'imagined Taiwanese community' has been created, while revealing the national identity of contemporary Taiwan.

This research is organized into nine chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the research rationale. By historically introducing the association between China and Taiwan, the significance of this topic, the theoretical underpinning and empirical resources which will be used, this chapter suggests a view to sociologically reflect the case of Taiwan, as previously discussed. Chapter 2 explores how and in what ways the socio-cultural and socio-political ethos of Taiwan changed in its four-hundred-year recorded history. Taiwan's documented history starts from its brief colonial Dutch and Spanish history, and then rule by Zheng (the adherent of the Ming dynasty, China) (1661-1683), Qing dynasty (from mainland China), the Japanese government (1895-1945), and finally the R.O.C. government since 1945. This chapter will provide an overview of not only the general history of Taiwan, but also the paradoxical historical relation with China from which the issue of contemporary Taiwan's national identity is derived.

Chapter 3, the literature review, critically reflects the key theories and debates of nationalism studies and also the empirical research about Taiwan. Starting from the most fundamental concept of state and nation, and different types of nationalism – perennialism, primordialism, ethno-symbolism, and modernism, this chapter aims to provide a general perspective of nationalism studies, mark their achievements, and also

introduce the organization of the theoretical underpinning of this research framed by the concepts of ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983, 2006), ‘the invention of tradition’ and ‘banal nationalism’ (Billig, 1995). This chapter also outlines the focus and contribution of research into Taiwanese nationalism and recommends this research as a new perspective identifying contemporary Taiwan as a state-created nation and a nation-state recreated by society. Chapter 4 is the methodology which is grounded on the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 3. The research resources, data collection, research design, and analytical method which included the details, such as the selection of the textbooks, to set thematic categories, and interview design will be introduced in this chapter.

Chapter 5 is a case study of the presentation of the 28<sup>th</sup> February Incident (228 Incident) in the textbooks (1949 to 2011) and by teachers. The 228 Incident which took place in 1947 was a critical case in Taiwan’s society explained alternatively because of various ideologies. Academically and socially, this event was explained as a political oppression applied by the government to local Taiwanese people, but it can also be seen as a misunderstanding between the two sides. Because of its paradoxical nature, this case was researched to know the official and social perspectives involved in creating the past of Taiwan and the common memory. The sections of this case which are remembered and which are forgotten will be apparent through content analysis over the different editions of the textbooks and teachers’ explanations. In this case, this chapter will explore how and in which way this event has been created as the ‘Chinese’ common memory to become ‘Taiwanese’ and will argue the rise of ‘Taiwanese’ nationalism.

Chapters 6 and 7 explore the change in the content of Taiwan's high school history textbooks over editions from 1949 to 2011 to argue the creation and recreation of the 'imagined community' of Taiwan. Through comparison of the changes of the content of textbooks with the focus on the thematic categories: the composition of history, the presentation of cultural community (ancestry, custom, and people) and political entity (government and territory), the two chapters discuss how the official discourse shaped and reshaped the characteristics of post-war Taiwan to argue the creation and recreation of the 'imagined community' of Taiwan from 'China' to 'Taiwan'.

Chapter 8 argues the nation-building task happened from below. By empirically examining teachers' interpretations of the content of textbooks, this chapter will explore how they explain the officially written history of Taiwan and argue how they reproduced the officially given knowledge. Consistently with the thematic categories of content analysis of the textbooks, the interview focus is on teachers' presentation of cultural and political characteristics of Taiwan. According to the interview data, the idea of 'Taiwan' as a vocabulary of people, homeland, and ancestry with their common past, government, and territory, was stated by the teachers. The teachers' discourse goes beyond the content of the textbooks and shows that how the society acts is an even more nationalist than the state, and is the driving force in re-creating the Taiwanese nation-state.

Chapter 9, the conclusion, will analytically summarize the research results from both the textbooks and interviews findings, and suggest the research contribution of this study base on the theoretical interconnection of 'banal nationalism', 'the invention of tradition' and 'imagined community'. Empirically, this study argued the production of

‘imagined Taiwanese national community’ which was produced and reproduced over three stages - 1950s to late 1980s, 1990s to 2000s, and 2000s to 2010s/2011, and involved by both top-down driving forces and bottom-up factors. This research result answered the research question seeking a sociological interpretation on the increasing Taiwanese self-identification in contemporary Taiwan. According to the empirical study, moreover, the dynamics of top-down and social forces in creating the ‘Taiwanese’ history can be conceptualized to be the process of ethnographically produced history, and thus provide the view of the possibility of the theoretical integration of those three famous theories and facilitate social constructivism.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The shift of the national environment of Taiwan (since 1624)**

This chapter explores the four-hundred-year recorded history of Taiwan with a particular focus on how the national environment of Taiwan has been shaped and reshaped by its successive regimes. Experiencing different regimes since the 17<sup>th</sup> century -the Dutch (1624 to 1661) and Spanish (1626 to 1642), via Chinese Ming-zheng (1661 to 1683) and Qing rule (1683-1894), Japanese governance (1895-1945), the KMT party-state era (1945-1987) (when the Martial Law was lifted), to the contemporary (1987 to the present), the socio-political and socio-cultural ethos of Taiwan shifted under the power of its state and the contours of the ‘imagined community’ in Taiwan people’s mind changed more than once to facilitate the content of the plurally-structured political history and multi-faceted cultural features of Taiwan. Against this historical background of Taiwan, we can find intimate political and cultural links between mainland China and Taiwan, and which is a starting point to think about the issue of the formation of the contemporary Taiwanese nation.

#### **2.1 The prologue of Taiwan’s history: Dutch and Spanish rule**

During the long pre-historic era of Taiwan, Taiwan’s history was not recorded in written form, even though archaeological hypothesis suggested that Taiwan’s aborigines are genetically related to Austronesian-speaking peoples, e.g. Malays and Polynesians (Solheim, 2006). Its existence started to be known by Western people by the name given to it by Portuguese sailors passing Taiwan - ‘Formosa’ or beautiful island -in 1544. Not until the seventeenth century, when Taiwan (Southern Taiwan) was colonized by the Dutch (1624-1661) did Taiwan have its history recorded. The

administrative area governed by the Dutch encompassed the south-western, northern, and eastern coastal areas of Taiwan. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) built the area's first castle, Fort ZeeLandia (1624–1634), in the coastal area (An-ping Fort) as a base for trade between Japan and China, but the castle eventually facilitated a high volume of trade in deer hides to meet the Japanese and Chinese markets. They built a second castle, Sakam Tower (1633), in Southern Taiwan (today's Tainan City) in order to consolidate a Dutch colony (Lee, 2008). The Dutch (VOC) governed Taiwan's aboriginal people by setting up a tax system, churches (Protestant and Calvinist), schools, and designing roles for village leaders to implement the colony's administration (Chen, 2008). The Dutch also brought an influx of new agricultural fruits and spices, such as mango, sugar-apple, cabbage, soybean, pepper, jackfruit, and tomato, as well as introducing cattle to the region (Chen, 2008). Around the same time, the Spanish landed in Taiwan (Northern Taiwan, 1626 to 1642) and began a period of colonization that lasted for sixteen years, until 1642. They occupied northern Taiwan (today's Keelung and Tamsui) and established the administrative castle of Fort San Domingo (1642). The Spanish began their administrative colonization, including building Catholic churches, even as they competed commercially with the Dutch; however, the Dutch eventually ejected the Spanish and occupied Fort San Domingo (Wu, 2010). Contact between mainland China and Taiwan island also started at around the same time; Chinese people from the coastal Fujian area came into Taiwan in order to earn their living, or to conduct business as merchants (Wu, 2010).

## **2.2 The Ming-zheng and Qing-governance era**

The earliest record of interaction between mainland China and Taiwan was in the



seventeenth century when China Ming Dynasty admiral Zheng Cheng-kong who was an adherent of the Ming dynasty before the Qing Empire. Manchu forces (nomadic tribes) stormed the Shan-hai Pass and conquered the capital (Beijing) of the Ming dynasty, and established the Qing Dynasty in mainland China. In 1661, the naval fleet of (around 25,000 people was) led by Zheng to Taiwan in order to reclaim the lost territory of mainland China (Wu, 2010). Zheng established the first regime of Chinese people (Han ethnicity) in Taiwan after defeating the Dutch (VOC) and taking over ZeeLandia (the castle established by Dutch people in the capital city, Tainan, southern Taiwan) (Wu, 2010). He implemented an administration system to govern Taiwan by establishing the capital and dividing an administrative area along the Shin-kang river (today's Yan-shui river). To solve the food provision shortage in Taiwan, he reclaimed the wastelands of Taiwan in the south-western (Cha-nan) and southern (Pin-dong) plains; the names used to draw up the administrative areas, such as Ying (district) and Zhen (town), are still used today (Wu, 2010).

During the Ming-zheng era, Chinese social and cultural activities were advocated in the society of Taiwan. Zheng Cheng-kong died in 1662, and his son, Zheng Jing, took his place and continued the task of reviving the Ming Empire. Zheng Cheng-kong's nephew, Zheng Chi-long, surrendered to the Qing Empire (Lin, 2011). The period of Ming-zheng governance ended in 1683 (Lin, 2011). At the time, the political regime of Taiwan changed again; however, Chinese (Han) culture was introduced into Taiwan; for example, the first school - Confucius temple was established in 1665 in today's Tainan city (Chou, 1979).

Zheng established Taiwan as the outpost from which to restore the mainland territory. His military activities caught the attention of the Qing government. While facing Zheng's threats to Qing's empire, some Qing officers thought Taiwan was 'the territory with the size of a pellet; taking or not taking it, no gain and also no loss'. The Qing emperor still dispatched troops to assault Taiwan for the national security motive of offending Zheng's military activity in Taiwan (Shi, 2003). Admiral Shi Lang was assigned by the Qing Empire to dispatch troops in an assault on Taiwan.

Taiwan became Qing's territory in 1683 (Kang-xi Emperor). At the time, Taiwan was deemed part of the administrative area of the Fujian province. The central government of Taiwan: Taiwan-fu ('fu', central government) and three local governments, Chu-lo-xian ('xian', regional government), Taiwan-xian, and Fong-shan-xian, were established for dealing with local administrative affairs. The Qing government separated Taiwan into a different administrative area from the province of Fujian, upgraded its status to make it Taiwan District, and established two additional local governments, Tam-shui-ting (city hall) and Zhang-hua-xian (1723), to rule Taiwan island more effectively (Wang, 2006). Later, the Qing government set up one more local government, Pen-hu-ting ('ting', local government) in Pen-hu (Taiwan's off-shore island, 1727), and Ge-ma-lan-ting in Yi-lang (eastern Taiwan, 1812) (Wang, 2006).

In the Qing-governance era, because Fujian and Guangdong provinces (of mainland China) had more mountainous land which could support fewer crops resulting in food shortages and very hard living conditions, Chinese people living there continued to move into Taiwan. Since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century millions of people from the south-eastern

provinces of mainland China immigrated to Taiwan, there are around 73.5% Minnan people (from Fujian province) and 17.5% Hakka people (from Guang-dong province) (Leong, 1997; Li, 1998; Safran, 1991). From the Dutch colonial era (1624) to the late Ming-zheng regime (1683), approximately 100,000 to 200,000 Chinese people came to Taiwan, and in the Qing-governance era the number increased from 300,000 to 440,000 (in 1735) and to 660,000 (in 1756) (Xue, 2008). Noticing the situation of the increasing number of people going to Taiwan, the Qing Empire set limits on Chinese immigration in order to control the population growth and prevent it from becoming an outpost for overthrowing the Qing Empire as the Ming-zheng government had attempted to do. With this ban on immigration to Taiwan, only males were allowed to go; taking family to Taiwan or picking them up from the mainland was forbidden. This resulted in an uneven gender distribution within the population in Taiwan and which gave rise to the idiom which said, ‘Tang-shan (Chinese) grandfather, but no Tang-shan grandmother’ (Tsai, 2009).

In the period of Qing-governance, Taiwan’s society was made up of aboriginal Taiwanese people and mainlanders; however, it was dominated by the Chinese people socially, economically, and politically. Lin (2011) and Chen (2001) argued the Chinese immigrants contributed to promote public construction, e.g. the temple, the organization of the patriarchal clan, the townships, and inter-village relationships. The Chinese immigrants who came to Taiwan worked on cultivating the wasteland and water resource system for agricultural use (Wang, 1997). Words such as ‘ku’ and ‘fen’, which were used to identify the villages and their scale, are still used in Taiwan (Wang, 1997). These activities reflected the strata of Chinese settlement and their life in Taiwan.

Conflicts sometimes occurred between Chinese immigrants who had arrived at different times, between neighbouring villages, or between Chinese immigrants and indigenous Taiwanese people; these were usually over the water resources for irrigating farms, business benefits, or land ownership (Chen, 2001; Martin, 1998; Chen 1979). This was argued by some scholars as the reason that indigenous Taiwanese people moved from south-western Taiwan to the east and the mountains, whereas some lived with Chinese immigrants and were gradually assimilated with them into their lives (Shi, 1996). The indigenous people living in the mountains were officially called 'sheng-fen' (生番) which means barbarian' indigenous people by the Qing Empire, and those who lived with Chinese people as shu-fan (熟番), namely, the cultivated indigenous people (Shi, 1996). Territorial cohabitants formed bases for new social relationships and ethos in the society of Taiwan.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, the significance of Taiwan to the Qing Empire had inevitably become increasingly important and this can be noticed from two aspects. One was the economic importance of Taiwan. When the Qing Empire lost the first Opium War with the British (1840), and later the second (1856- 1860), the Qing government signed the Nanjing Act to open Taiwan's harbours, An-ping (southern Taiwan) and Tam-shui (northern), and then Da-guo (today's Kaohsiung/southern) and Ge-long (northern), to the British. Those business activities in Taiwan led to the rise of new cities and employment opportunities. The production of Taiwan's tea, sugar, and camphor earned rich profits for the Qing government (Su, 2002). The other was Japan's military threaten to China. In 1871, a Japanese crew (of an Okinawan ship) encountered a typhoon at sea and drifted to southern Taiwan, where they were killed

by Taiwan's (Paiwan) aborigines (in Mu-dan village). The Japanese government asked the Qing government to deal with this case, but the request was refused with the claim that barbarian aboriginal people were not Chinese people. Japan thus assigned troops to assault Mu-dan village in (Southern) Taiwan. This event was suggested by scholars as pre-test of Japanese government's territorial expansion to Taiwan (Lin, 2007).

Noticing the importance of Taiwan to the national security and development of China, the Qing government assigned a special emissary of the Emperor, Shen Bao-zhen, to manage Taiwan's administration. The many developments achieved in Shen's one year of rule included cutting into the mountains to enhance the chance of communication between the Han and the aboriginal people, abolishing the immigration ban, promoting industrialization (including coal mining by machine), and strengthening military force by, for example, establishing forts in An-ping (Tsai, 2009). Ding Ri-chang succeeded Shen in this position as the administrative officer in charge of the administrative affairs of Taiwan. One of his greatest contributions was building a telegraph network from An-ping to Fu-cheng in 1877 (today's Tainan city, southern Taiwan), which has been suggested as the beginning of Taiwan's modernization (Ku, 2008).

The Sino-French War erupted in 1884, and the Qing Empire lost this war in 1885. During the war, the French invaded northern Taiwan (Kee-long). The Qing government therefore enhanced the administrative apparatus of Taiwan making it become a province. Taiwan was re-divided into three major administrative areas (Tainan, Taiwan, and Taipei), one district (Tai-dong), eleven counties (Tam-shui, Shin-zhu, Miao-li, Taiwan, Zhang-hua, Yun-lin, Chai-yi, An-ping, Fong-san, Heng-

chun, and Yi-lan), and three city halls (Kee-long, Peng-hu, Pu-li) (Shi, 2003). Liu Ming-zhuan was the first provincial administrator of Taiwan. This period saw the first railway (from Keelung to Xin-zhu, 1881), a telegraph line from northern to southern Taiwan, a postal service, and new schools; Taipei saw its first use of street lights (Shi, 1980). Historians suggested that Taiwan was established as the most modern province in China at the time (Shi, 1980). In 1894, ten years after Taiwan became a province of China, the first Sino-Japanese war erupted which resulted from the competition for the right of political dominance in Korea. The Qing Empire lost the Sino-Japanese War and signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki (17<sup>th</sup> April 1895) to cede the territory of Taiwan to Japan.

### **2.3 The era of Japanese governance era in Taiwan**

The era of Japanese governance in Taiwan started in 1895. In order to resist Japanese governance, some local Taiwanese people established the Republic of Formosa (25<sup>th</sup> May 1895) and elected Tang Jing-song as the president of Taiwan; this group lasted for three months and then surrendered to the Japanese government (Shi, 1980). After this period, Japan completely conquered the territory of Taiwan. Numerous major and minor attempts at resistance to Japanese governance, such as the Bei-pu Incident (1907), the Dong-shi Incident (1913), the Xi-li-an Incident (1915), and the Wu-she Incident (involving Seediq aborigines, 1930) took place; nevertheless, those activities did not threaten the Japanese rule over Taiwan (Long, 1991).

The Japanese-governance era could be historically understood as being composed of three periods in terms of the political strategies held by Japanese government to Taiwan. The era began with a period of quelling local Taiwanese people's resistance

to Japanese government and paternalistic rule (1895 to 1919). In 1896, the infrastructure and police force systems started for the maintenance of social security and promotion of social establishment. In 1897, the Japanese government established fourteen (Japanese) 'language schools' in Taiwan which taught in the Japanese language. Until 1898, the 'language school' institutionally changed to become 'public school' which implemented general primary education. There were two different kinds of public school: one was funded by the local government for local Taiwanese people, and the other by the central government for Japanese people in Taiwan (Chang, 2003: 10-12). In addition to education, many social constructions were achieved in the early Japanese era; the population census was conducted (1896), length and other measurements unified (1904), the bank established (1896), and monetary services (1897) and telecommunication (1906) were set up. In 1908, Taiwan's railroad system, from northern Taiwan (Keelung) to the southern region (Kaohsiung) was built, although it was for the purpose of transporting raw material and agricultural products to Japan. In 1919, Taiwan had 146 telephone and 6 telegram lines (Hsieh, 2008).

Around 1906 to 1915, the Japanese colonial government gradually abolished the Chinese customs of foot-binding, pigtail-braiding, and Opium-smoking, changed the calendar from the Chinese lunar model to a Western form, put clocks in public areas to foster the habit of punctuality, and carried out urban-planning in Taiwan's society (Chang, 2003: 13-15; Tu, 106-108). In the 1920s, the Japanese government re-modulated Taiwan's administrative area into three levels, city, village, and block, and implemented limited local governance. In 1921, the Japanese government re-modified the law imposed in Taiwan by revising its content to be similar to Japan's civil law, as

well as commercial and criminal law (Wu, 1990: 30-35). The Sino-based culture of Taiwan had gradually changed during this period of time.

During the 1920s, Taiwanese social elites, especially those who had studied in Japan, organized numerous social movements which sought equal treatment with the Japanese. For example, Jiang Wei-shui established the Taiwanese People's Party in 1927, which was the first political party in Taiwan, with the purpose of criticizing the colonial governance, even though this party was banned by the colonial government in 1931 (Tu, 2011: 121-122). Also, Taiwan's New Literature Movement, initiated in 1920 and led by Huang zhao-qing, suggested expressing ideas by using Chinese language. Taiwanese and Japanese writers worked together to organize the Association of Taiwanese Literature and Arts, and published their magazine, *Taiwanese Literature* in 1933 (Hsu, 2004: 7).

In 1937, Taiwan entered a new era when Japan embarked on full-scale war in China. The project of Japanese imperialism was also escalated to instill in Taiwanese people the 'Japanese spirit', to inculcate loyalty to the empire and to increase the sense of Japanese nationalism, and thus induce the Taiwanese to make sacrifices for the Japanese nation (Lee, 1997: 153-164, 168-169). From 1942, around 16,000 Taiwanese people were drafted or voluntarily joined the military of the Japanese Empire; in January 1945, there were 207, 183 in the military forces (Lee, 1997: 153-154, 168-169). Being a colonial territory of Japan, Taiwan was engaged within WWII (1937-1945). In October 1944, the US air force began bombing Taiwan, which continued until August 1945, when the United States dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Zhong, 1986).



In daily life, Taiwanese people were encouraged to adopt the Japanese identity both politically and culturally; however, they were not given civil rights as citizens. Japan's institutional socialization policy followed two approaches. The Japanese language was promoted strongly to them, more than in the early Japanese era, through education; meanwhile, Chinese-language instruction, and Chinese literature and arts activities, encouraged in previous eras, were completely stopped (Hsu, 2004). In 1940, Japan formulated new social institutions, through which the Taiwanese were encouraged to adopt Japanese religious beliefs, and to stop holding memorial ceremonies for their ancestors, and middle social class people were encouraged to change their first name (Tsurumi, 1984; Peattie, 1984). The Japanese government also altered Taiwan's local customs by, for example, encouraging the people to live in Japanese-style houses and to wear kimonos (Tsurumi, 1977, 1979; Peattie, 1984). Japan's new principles, entirely distant from Chinese ancestral traditions, were difficult for many Taiwanese to accept; many rejected them outright, yet Japanese culture gradually permeated into Taiwan's society. Therefore, Japanese culture was inserted into Taiwanese people's lives and consequently transformed Sino-based Taiwanese culture into a hybrid composed of both Japanese and Chinese socio-cultural characteristics (Chu and Lin, 1999).

In 1945, Japan unconditionally surrendered by signing the instrument of surrender thus ending its reign of colonization in Taiwan. Before the end of the WWII, the status of Taiwan Island and its Pescadores-Peng-hu, Kimen, and Ma-tzu islands - had been decreed to be territory under the rule of the R.O.C. government by the Cairo Declaration announced by the US President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the R.O.C. Chairman of Military Commission Chiang Kai-shek, in 1<sup>st</sup> December 1943. The Cairo Declaration was a Press Communiqué

which could not be legitimized as a formal treaty; it did, however, determine the role of Taiwan and Taiwan's Pescadores. Accordingly, Taiwan became a province of the Chinese state ruled by the R.O.C. government in 1945 when WWII ended. At the time, the R.O.C. government led by the KMT party was still fighting with the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese civil war; during the period 1945 to 1949, the mainland territory had been gradually falling into the hands of the Chinese Communist Party.

#### **2.4 The early period of the R.O.C. regime era (1945 to 1949)**

During 1945 to 1949, the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Officer was the highest administrative unit in Taiwan, which was different from the provincial system of the mainland. Its only governor, Chen Yi, had both administrative and military power (Su, 2007). In the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, the positions of the senior officers, e.g. administrators, general secretary, section chief, secretary-general, were mostly occupied by mainlander immigrants (21 mainlanders and 1 local Taiwanese). Other positions were in the same situation: directors of the departments were all mainlanders (35 people), directors of each sector under the departments were 95 mainlanders and 7 local Taiwanese (Lao, 2000: 44). Some Chinese officers introduced their relatives to replace local Taiwanese people and to dominate senior job positions in national organisations. Lao (2000: 44) argued this was perhaps because most Taiwanese people at the time did not meet the entrance requirement of speaking Chinese language fluently. The local and immigrant labour forces were treated unequally, including in wages. For example, immigrants from China working in the national post and electricity office could be paid 6000-dollar

subsidies more than local Taiwanese workers would receive (Wang, 2002: 27-28).

Early in the era of the R.O.C. regime, although the government had started to reorganise the administration of post-war Taiwan, many institutions still inherited from the Japanese. In dealing with the economics of people's livelihoods, the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office controlled supplies of living resources, such as rice, sugar, salt and wine, based on the rules inherited from the Japanese (Lao, 2000: 42-43). As in the Japanese era, this kind of official organisation was regarded as the government competing with the people for economic profit, and a licence was required for selling those goods. (Wang, 2002: 27). Barriers thus grew between the local Taiwanese and both the mainlander immigrants and the government (Wang, 2002; Lao, 2000).

Corruption, unregulated police and military units, economic problems caused by the Second World War, and unequal social and political treatment of mainlander immigrants and local Taiwanese all resulted in local people's dissatisfaction with the government. From a socio-cultural perspective, the Chinese immigrants were distinguished from the local Taiwanese because of cultural reasons, even though the R.O.C. government set new rules in order to change the culture of Taiwan which had apparent Japanese characteristics, including banning the use of the Japanese language, funding the Chinese Language Association Committee, and teaching Mandarin in primary schools (Lao, 2000: 45).

The first island-wide protest against the government happened on 28<sup>th</sup> February 1947 (the 228 Incident), and was prompted by a conflict between the police and an illegal cigarette seller (Chen, 1994). Philip (1999) argues that this incident grew out of local

Taiwanese people's long-held resentment over the regime's institutional dominance and ideological control. This uprising lasted for five months before being entirely suppressed by military force (Shu, 2002: 57). In order to completely crack down on protests, the government assigned military personnel to 'clean up the villages', looking for those who intended to subvert the government and incited others to resist the government (Lin, 1998). Some of the protest leaders escaped abroad, and some of the elite were imprisoned or executed (Lai, Myers and Wei, 1991). Lynch (2004) argued that the ethnic distinction between provincial and local Taiwanese people in later decades triggered the ideology of the independence of Taiwan. The central government abolished the Taiwan Province Administrative Office and established the Taiwan Province Government after the 228 Incident (Su, 2008). After the incident, the R.O.C. government imposed Martial Law (1949 to 1987) and Act of Mobilization for the Suppression of Communist Rebellion (1948 to 1991) in order to stabilize the social order of post-war Taiwan.

Because of the Chinese civil war, the nationalist government lost its sovereignty over the mainland and moved to Taipei on 7<sup>th</sup> December 1949; at the time, the R.O.C. still identified itself as the only legitimate government of China, claimed its sovereignty over the mainland (Lee, 2005). The R.O.C. Constitution was implemented in Taiwan in 1947, in which Taiwan was addressed as one province of China. The R.O.C. government in 1949 was thought of as a temporary retreat in the struggle to defeat the Chinese Communist Party and retake the mainland as Lee (2005) argued. Some small-scale confrontations between the two sides (Taiwan and mainland China) occurred, for example, the Jing-men Cannon War on 23 August 1958; nevertheless, the KMT had not achieved the nationalist task of reclaiming the mainland.

From 1945 to 1949, the group of provincial people coming to Taiwan was then estimated at around 1.2 to 2 million people, representing over 10% of Taiwan's population at the time (Corcuff, 2004). The newcomers were Chiang Kai-Shek's soldiers and their families, who were loyal to the R.O.C. government. They had all been born on mainland China, and many of their relatives were still there when Chiang Kai-shek's military troops retreated from the mainland to Taiwan in 1949, but only privileged people and high-ranking officers had the right to bring their families. The national ID cards and the inhabitant register system records each citizen's province (provinces of the mainland or Taiwan) since 1947 to 1992. In doing this, the R.O.C. government created the sense that Taiwan and other provinces of mainland China are the domain of the Chinese state, even though the mainland was ruled by the P.R.C..

### **2.5 Socio-economic changes in Taiwan (1950s to 1980s)**

The KMT government moved the entire gold reserve of China when the R.O.C. government retreated from the mainland to Taiwan, and used this reserve to back the newly-issued New Taiwan Dollar (in 15<sup>th</sup> June 1949) to stabilize the currency and hyperinflation. The stabilization of economics also contributed to strengthening the R.O.C.'s governance over the society of post-war Taiwan. Taiwan's economic development can be discussed in terms of the land reform policy starting in 1951, which was imposed in order to solve the nation's economic depression and inflation after the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949. In the 1950s, the government started to implement a series of economic reforms - the '375 Rent Reduction Act' (1951), which alleviated the tax burden on peasants, and established the Farmers Own the Plant Act (1953) and re-distributed land among small farmers and compensated large

landowners with commodities certificates and stock (Lu, 1998).

Economic modernization in Taiwan started with the emergence of the manufacturing industry in the 1960s, followed by the development of heavy industry in the 1970s, which laid the foundation for Taiwan's economy in the 1980s. Import substitution policy was imposed in the mid-1950s and early-1960s by exporting agricultural products for foreign currency for importing industrial machinery to support domestic industry. Moreover, the KMT government raised tariffs to restrict imports for protecting domestic industry (Chen, 2001). At the same time, some developed countries, e.g., Japan and America, introduced their economic plan to move labour intensive industries out to other areas to costs; hence, in order to attract foreign investments, Taiwan's government encouraged export which accelerated the manufacturing industry in Taiwan (Chen, 2001). Hence, Taiwan became an export station for the manufacturing business, particularly for Japan and America; accordingly, agriculture gradually declined while industry gradually developed in 1960s (Chen, 2001; He, 2009).

In the 1970s, the Executive Minister, Chiang Ching-kuo (the son of Chiang Kai-shek) imposed 'Ten Major Construction Projects' to improve Taiwan's economy. This was the turning point at which Taiwan changed from labour-intensive manufacturing to heavy industry. The project of the 'Ten Major Constructions' focused on heavy industries and transportation: they are the national highway, the electrification of western railway line, the north-link line railway, Chiang Kai-shek International Airport, Tai-chung (central Taiwan) Port, Su-ao (East-north Taiwan) Port, China Shipbuilding Corporation, Oil Refinery and the nuclear power plant. The refinement

of transportation and industries offered work opportunities and promoted the mobility of population from rural to urban areas. In 1974, there was only 1.1% economic growth, -4.5% industrial growths and 47.8% inflation; however, those figures totally changed in 1976, when economic growth rose to the unprecedented level of 13.5%, industrial growth was 24.4 % and there was 2.4% inflation (Yu, 2002). This rapid economic growth was known as 'Taiwan's Economic Miracle' alongside Singapore, South Korea and Hong Kong, known as 'the Four Asian Tigers'. This development transformed Taiwan's socioeconomic structure one step at a time, from an agricultural economy to labour-intensive manufacturing, to high-industrial, and the foundation of the service trade sector society after the 1980s.

## **2.6 Socio-political changes in Taiwan (1950s to 1980s)**

Since the 1950s, some intellectuals requested that the government should promote democracy. The magazine 'Liberal China' was published by Re-zen in November 1949, and was supported and partly funded by the R.O.C. government. Re-zen and some intellectuals also organized the Democratic Chinese party and continued to publish this magazine; however, this party was dispersed by the government accused of spreading Communism and communist propaganda in January 1960.

Taiwan's political milieu underwent a sweeping change in the 1970s. On the one hand, the R.O.C. government encountered unprecedented challenge from the striking changes in the international sphere. It lost its place in the United Nations in 1971, and simultaneously, the P.R.C. government in Beijing was legitimized as the only holder of China's seat. On the other hand, democratization also took place in Taiwan. On 5 April 1975, Chiang kai-shek died, and Chiang Jin-kuo succeeded him as president.

Shu (2002) argued that not until Chiang Kai-shek's death were people emancipated from Taiwan's conservative socio-political milieu and allowed to criticize the government. Social movements, in the 1950s to 1970s, which challenged KMT's one-party authoritarian dominance were all outside Taiwan, such as in America and Hong Kong (Shu, 2002). In 1979, the government removed the ban on the publishing of papers set in 1978 to allow-open freedom of speech. From that time, the 'out-party' (out KMT party) intellectuals started to criticize politics through publishing magazines, and to challenge the government by social movements, e.g. the 'Beautiful Formosa Incident' (10<sup>th</sup> December 1979). This event happened after U.S. declared it would sever diplomatic relations with the R.O.C. government in 1978. Encountering diplomatic frustration, President Chiang Jing-kuo announced the termination of all elections in Taiwan at the time. This gesture caused members of Beautiful Formosa Magazine Association's dissatisfaction, as they considered this as authoritarian political dominance which was opposed to the spirit of democratic politics (Lai, 2006). This incident was the biggest social protest under the Martial Law Era (1947-1987); it was organised by people campaigning for democracy in resistance to the KMT's dominance. These people organised the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the first opposition party in Taiwan.

The first opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party, was born in 1986 with the mission of challenging the KMT government's strict national dominance. That year, the DPP was established in 1986 and warned that, if the KMT ignored the popular will and unilaterally advocated unification, they would support the independence of Taiwan in its doctrine. The DPP announcement revealed that the party had amplified its original intent to advocate freedom into a wider advocacy on behalf of 'Taiwanese'



national identity. Intellectuals begin to debate the question of 'Taiwanese' national identity publicly in journals such as 'Proceed Magazine' and 'Root Magazine' (Lai, 2006). In the following year (15 June 1987), Martial Law was lifted, and the prohibition on newspapers and parties was also stopped. The end of Martial law in 1987 marked the progress of Taiwan's democratization.

## **2.7 The presidential election and first party rotation in 2000**

In 1996, the R.O.C. government held the first direct presidential election; the candidate of the KMT party (Lee Teng-hui) won this election. This political transformation was followed by the second presidential election in 2000 and then the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won this election as the first party rotation which ended up the forty-year party-state era of KMT in Taiwan. Hsieh (2004) argued that the term 'Taiwanese nationalism' was used to describe the 'de-Sinification' strategy pursued by the DPP government and was designed to erase Taiwan's cultural association with the mainland. The DPP's policy was imposed through institutional change. Public names containing references to 'China' and 'Chinese' were all removed. For example, the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall was renamed the Democratic Memorial Hall, and the Chiang Kai-shek International Airport became Tao-Yuan (a city in North Taiwan) National Airport. Political assertion has expanded and been intermixed with cultural effects. Gold (1994) argued that this view asserts that the DPP government tied the terms 'Taiwanese' and 'Chinese' exclusively to the narrow 'independence (of Taiwan) versus unification (with the mainland)' debate. As Hsieh (2004) suggested the political mission of distinguishing Taiwan from China moved beyond the original wish to seek the 'independence of Taiwan'; rather, the de-Sinification policy was designed to

separate 'Taiwan' from 'China' not only politically, but also culturally.

On the issue of cross-strait relations, an ideological confrontation also existed between two political camps, the pan-blue and the pan-green, since 2000. The term 'pan-blue' usually includes the KMT, the People First Party, and the New Party, which emerged after the first party rotation in 2000; they all approve of Taiwan's cultural association with China and support closer Taiwan-China relations (Gold, 1994). Conversely, the pan-green camp suggested 'de-Sinification', 'Taiwanese localism', and 'Taiwanese independence' as components of a broad 'Taiwanese national identity' (Gold, 1994). The concept of 'mainland China' means different things to each party politically and culturally. To the pan-blue camp, it means a relative, from the same cultural background; to the pan-greens, it means an enemy who has always opposed Taiwan on many perspectives, e.g. cultural and political (Rigger, 2006). The ideological dichotomy between these two political camps has made the creation of a consensual 'Taiwanese' identity very difficult.

After eight years of DPP governance, the KMT party regained power in 2008. The communication in cultural, economic, or political perspective, between Taiwan and mainland China were increased, for example, more Chinese tourists to Taiwan and a direct flight airline in June 2008. President Ma Ying-jeou suggested, in his presidential inauguration speech of 2009 that stopping political competition with the mainland and paying more attention to the benefits of the relationship was the best way to conduct cross-strait affairs.

## **2.8 Cultural development in Taiwan (1950s to 1980s)**

The art performances in post-war Taiwan were greatly restricted by the government. In order to erase the cultural influence of Japanese colonization and to encourage the idea of resisting Chinese communists, the government advocated Chinese traditional culture in Taiwan and evoked nostalgia for mainland China (Liu, 2007). Some sorts of cultural activities, including music, arts, TV programs, and literature, which were considered to carry aggressive political ideas or a perceived pro-Japanese stance, were banned. The Chinese Culture Revival Association was established by the government in 1966 with the purpose of advocating traditional Chinese culture in Taiwan when, almost around the same time, the Cultural Revolution took place in mainland China. In this social climate, the repeated themes of resistance to communism and nostalgia for the mainland motherland became the main characteristic of Taiwan. In the mid-1960s, however, local Taiwanese culture started to be advocated by the literature of local Taiwanese writers, in which the impoverished nature of lower-class people's lives was presented. Modern Taiwan's literature comprising different forms, such as stream of consciousness fiction writing and poems, challenged the narrow vision of anti-communism as the only theme of Taiwan's writing (Liu, 2007).

In 1971, following the R.O.C. government's diplomatic frustration at losing the UN seat, many television programmes and movies were manufactured by the government to encourage patriotism; these became the characteristic of Taiwan's TV programmes in the 1970s (Yang, 2010). This trend of advocating local Taiwanese culture continued; however, it also provoked the debate over what was really 'Taiwanese' in 1977. Writers used their literature to present the changing society of Taiwan. In addition to

the Chinese (Beijing) opera that was encouraged by the government, Taiwan-based art performance, for example, hand puppet theatre and Taiwanese opera, which were performed using the language of Minnan, were seen much more frequently than in the 1960s and started to become one of the most popular television programmes (Yang, 2010). The multi-faceted cultural feature of Taiwan, comprising local Taiwanese and Chinese elements, was produced. The theme of Taiwan's literature and movies mostly covered the everyday lives of Taiwan's people, the social reality of contemporary Taiwan, or the old days of Taiwan and China. These constituted the content of a multi-dimensional local Taiwanese culture that began developing further in the 1980s and beyond.

In the period of the 1980s some significant political affairs occurred which landmarked the evolution of Taiwan's democratisation. The lifting of Martial Law was one of the most significant cases which occurred one year before Chiang Chi-kuo passed away in 1988. The other was that communications were re-opened with mainland China. Lee Teng-hui (1988 to 1992) succeeded as the president of Taiwan. During Lee's presidency, the cross-strait relationship underwent unprecedented change that went from being powered by a 'no contact, no negotiation, no compromise' principle to being based on mutual communication.

In October 7<sup>th</sup> 1990, the R.O.C. President Lee Teng-hui convened a meeting with representatives from major political parties and civil organizations to establish the National Unification Council (under the Presidential Office) which was responsible for formulating the guidelines for the unification process between Taiwan and the mainland. The Mainland Affairs Council, for dealing with cross-strait affairs and policy, was established in 1991; simultaneously, the Association for Relations across

the Taiwan Strait was established in Beijing. The change of the P.R.C. and R.O.C. governments' attitudes opened a new era for cross-strait relations. The National Unification Council (R.O.C.) adopted the definition of 'one-China' on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1992 which meant the R.O.C. government acknowledged the sovereign P.R.C. government over the mainland as a state. Taiwan and mainland China reached a consensus over the 'One China principle'; in the same year (1992), the registration recording a citizen's identity (provinces of the mainland or Taiwan) on the ID card was removed.

Institutional change also occurred in the late 1990s. 'Taiwan' was officially called 'Taiwan Province' in the Constitution of the R.O.C. formally implemented in 1947. The provincial administration (literally called 'the Government of Taiwan Province') was responsible for domestic affairs from 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1947 (after the 228 Incident). The R.O.C. government then proposed jurisdiction over the whole of China - a political claim that kept it tied to the mainland territory. This situation was changed in 1997, when the province administration was streamlined through a constitutional amendment. The KMT government rescinded Taiwan's status as a province of China and demoted the provincial administration to a minor department under the Executive Yuan (Branch) responsible for Taiwan's domestic affairs. At the time, all national organizations and departments with 'province' in their name dropped the word. Through the institutional change since 1997, Taiwan gained its current democratic structure. The designation 'provincial administrative unit' was removed by the government completely in 2006. Taiwan's commitment to institutional change appears to have marginalised its former self-identified as a province of China.

In July 1999, President Lee promoted the ‘two-China’ model from a ‘state-to-state’ strategy. Taiwan’s subjectivity had been reinvented and had replaced the old-fashioned ‘Chinese nationalism’ of unification propounded by the KMT. The adoption of the ‘state-to-state’ strategy in 1999 broke the ‘one China’ principle that both the R.O.C. government and the P.R.C. agreed upon in 1992 (Mao and Chu, 1996). President Lee introduced the ‘state-to-state’ strategy as a ‘two China’ alternative to the ‘one-China’ model preserved by the P.R.C.. Mainland China continues to claim sovereignty over Taiwan, but the identification of ‘Taiwan’ has changed from a geographical term to signification of a sovereignty under the ‘state-to-state’ political claim. Lin (2010) argued that ex-president Lee Teng-hui suggested the ‘state-to-state’ strategy as a way to assert R.O.C.’s national sovereignty and resist P.R.C.’s ‘one China, two systems’ principle introduced by Deng Xiao-ping in 1982, with the ultimate hope of re-orienting the cross-strait relationship. The cross-strait relation since then has gradually degraded into arguments over Taiwan’s independence.

## **2.9 Summary: Taiwan, one part of China?**

Where and what is the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan? Can we assume ‘China’ as the answer to this question in terms of the four-hundred-year recorded history of Taiwan? The socio-cultural and socio-political character of Taiwan has shifted profoundly during its four-hundred-year history because of being ruled by successive regimes, mostly, however, by the Chinese regime. Taiwan had been ruled by the Chinese empire known as the Ming-zheng rule (1661-1683) and Qing-governance era (1683-1894). ‘Ming’ was the empire overthrown by the Qing, and ‘Zheng’ were the Ming’s officers, who retreated to Taiwan for the nationalistic task of reviving the

Chinese Ming dynasty. Even though Ming-zheng might not be explained politically as a Chinese empire, it can historically be understood as a Chinese regime. In the Ming-zheng governance era, a great number of Chinese people moved to Taiwan, who built up the 'Chinese' socio-cultural and socio-political ethos which made Taiwan culturally similar with mainland China.

In 1683, the Qing Empire defeated Ming-zheng's military forces and took over Taiwan. Based on Han culture founded by the Ming-zheng government, the Qing Empire further deepened Chinese culture in Taiwan's everyday life, political institutions, ethical values, and language systems. By growing up in patriarchal clans, sharing public property, intermarriage, Chinese immigrants took root in Taiwan. They implemented their own agricultural techniques and thus brought wasteland into cultivation and gained ownership of territory. The socio-cultural and socio-political life of Taiwan was similar to that of mainland China at a certain level.

The Sino-based socio-political and socio-cultural ethos of Taiwan changed during the Japanese era in 1895 after the Qing Empire lost the Sino-Japanese war (1894). The exact extent to which Taiwan was 'Japanised' is uncertain: the institutional socialisation imposed by the top-down power of the Japanese government to Taiwan gradually changed the Chinese-based social and cultural context to Japanese. The fifty-year Japanese era ended when Japan lost World War II. Taiwan then again returned to the Chinese regime - the R.O.C. government. The nationhood of Taiwan had shifted twice within one century.

Taiwan was reconstructed as 'Japanese', to some extent, during the half century of colonial governance; however, since 1945 the R.O.C. government sought to

reformulate Taiwan's politics, society, and culture, to remove the 'Japanese' element in Taiwan's society and return to the 'Chinese'. Under the dominance of the R.O.C. government, cultural development, economic miracle, and political evolution changed the face of Taiwan from the 1950s to 1980s. The culture, society, and politics were superficially controlled by imposing Martial Law, in which the government constructed an ideologically conservative setting. Through the use of top-down power, the R.O.C. regime aimed to prevent resistance to the government and the political penetration of communism. With this aim, limits were placed on freedom of action and speech, which continued until 1987. This socio-political and socio-cultural context of Taiwan was yet again transformed in the post-Martial law era and came to be characterised by democratic politics and a vibrant and diverse culture. How do we understand the fact that 'Taiwanese' identity was increasing and the 'Chinese' decreasing? How can 'Taiwan' create, or is it possible for it to create, its own 'imagined community' to have an alternative form detaching from 'China'?



## **Chapter Three**

### **The theoretical framework of this research**

This chapter aims to achieve two purposes. The first is to review the theoretical paradigm of nationalism studies and experience researches of Taiwanese studies to argue the significance of this research. The second is to introduce the theoretical framework of this research which is organized according to the key theoretical concept of ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 2006), ‘the invention of tradition’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012), and ‘banal nationalism’ (Billig, 1995).

Conceptually, the state can be understood as a political entity administered and exercised by its government across its geographical domain, while the nation can be understood as a cultural community. The state is seen as a tangible and concrete entity, however, the nation is intangible and mutable, which is like the concept of ‘imagined community’ perceived by Benedict Anderson (1983, 2006). The contemporary state was the form of nation-state which has its political unit and the national congruent (Gellner, 1983), and nationalism could be understood as the technique to achieve this aim.

The traditional approach of state-making and nation-building from the top-down cannot be seen as the sole way. The negotiation, cooperation, contestation happened between the government and the society, and during this process those two factors mutually reinforced or denigrated, for the production and re-production of the nation. Such kind of processes can be understood from the masterpieces of Ernest Gellner’s (1983) discussion regarding the birth of the modern nation-state from the economic categories or Benedict Anderson’s (1983) research on the formation of European and

South American nations.

As the modernists suggested that the nation-state is the product of modernization and the state and society are of equal importance for the creation of the contemporary nation. Under this concern, this chapter offers a perspective as the logic by which to conduct this research. This chapter introduced a perspective in which ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1983, 2006), ‘banal nationalism’ (Billig, 1995), and ‘invented tradition’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) are interconnected to explain the changing character of Taiwan as the creation and recreation of the ‘Taiwanese’ national community. In the process of nation-building, the exercise of top-down power is the crucial factor. ‘Banal’ nationalism introduced by Michael Billig (1995) concerns how governments routinely and subtly construct everyday life to be a national environment. By the use of casual items, such as flags, in the daily environment, the state acts as a mechanism which continually shapes a citizen’s national belongingness. This idea can correspond to Anderson’s (1983, 2006) research on the existence of items - ‘census, map, and museum’ which are officially sanctioned products designed to socially and culturally fix the frontier of the ‘imagined community’. The states rely on not only the tangible and current objects to embody the nation, but also the intangible and the past. The ritual, the norm, and the common memory will be officially given with their meaning, as well as the invention of tradition, to embody the national entity (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983).

### **3.1 The meaning of state and nation**

How to understand the social phenomenon of the increasing ‘Taiwanese’ self-identification and the decreasing ‘Chinese’ in the environment with unchanging

cultural and political conditions throughout the R.O.C. era (1949-2011)? Is this social phenomenon able to serve as a cue to reflect the transformative nationhood of Taiwan? In the light of these questions, it is necessary to make clear the concepts of 'state' and 'nation' in advance. The state is generally agreed as a political entity. This concept can be defined by using the famous words suggested by Weber as 'the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory' (Weber, 1991: 78). This physical force enacted by the state acquires legitimacy and is often grounded on people's willingness to obey the authority of tradition, a paternalist monarchy, the charisma of a popular ruler, or laws and administrative domination (Weber, 1991).

Traditional states were built up and maintained mainly relying on the development of a substantial military force; nevertheless, while states evolved into the current modernist form with the step of industrialization, the subsistence of the statehood became complicated. Mann (1984) introduced two types of power of the state: despotic and infrastructural. Despotic power, he argued, the unlimited and crucial power to maintain a state, is inadequate to serve the state in the modern era because the state will be involved with increasingly complicated considerations, such as diplomatic relations with other states and negotiations with civil society, and thus the state's power, grounded on its authoritarian nature, is diluted. The contemporary state depends on the administrative system, e.g. parliament and the civil service, to legitimise its power and status, and the use of infrastructures to govern its society; Mann (1984) refers to this as infrastructural power. Through this way, the power of the contemporary state permeated people's lives from political, social, cultural, and economic aspects.

As well as Giddens (1985) suggested that the contemporary state was a 'container of power' which was achieved by the government through operating the infrastructural power. The infrastructural structure, however, functioned as more than just the strategy to sustain the states; it was also a way to communicate with the society and government. Breuilly (1993: 370) suggested that sovereignty is usually vested in parliament, in which the will of citizens is converted into the state's power. In this notion, sovereignty and citizenship are integrated into the state-society structure as the characteristic of the contemporary state. In this regard, the state's structure changed from the traditional - a military-based model grounded on 'violent' dominance - to be the institutional constitution which was coordinated by the government and citizens on its territory. In brief, the 'state' can be understood as an administrative structure coordinated by the government (legitimate power), territory and people.

If the state is known as a political entity which can be conditioned, the nation should be as a cultural community and can only be embodied. The concept of 'nation' appeared in the eighteenth century - the Enlightenment era, in connection with nationalist movements in European states seeking national self-discovery (Giesen, 1998 chp 1). Intellectuals in the Europe of the Enlightenment debated over the national identity, e.g. the English, Italians, French and Germans, from the aspects of their differences in political institutions, and everyday behaviours. The attitude of encyclopaedically summarizing the cultural differences with the aim of identifying the national distinctions became the defining perspective (Giesen, 1998:3). This is as Anderson stated that territorial boundaries can be changed by political power; however, the culture, for example, custom and language, is rooted within an individual's identity (1983, 2006 chp 3). In brief, cultural peculiarities can serve as the

substantiations for nationally defining the state and also distinguishing it from others. Unlike the state whose existence can be noticed by the political conditions at the current time, the nation is facilitated by people's imaginations and memories exceeding the boundaries of time and space.

### **3.2 The paradox of nationalism**

While the state is defined as a political entity and nation as a cultural community, 'nationalism' can be understood as the process aimed at promoting the well-being of statehood in congruence with nationhood. Nationalism conveyed four main paradigms: perennialism, primordialism, ethno-symbolism, and modernism (Smith, 2010: chp 3). Perennialism introduced the view of gradualism, development and accumulation, which emphasized the historical root and historical continuity as the starting point of the nation (Smith, 2010: 53-54). On these basic conditions, nations developed their national characteristics; France, England, and Spain are all the cases in this category, which are so different from others established under the state's intention (Smith, 2010: 54; Seton-Watson, 1977: chp 2; Gillingham, 1992; Hastings, 1997). Primordialism stressed that the nation originated from the cultural roots which resonated the sense of identity in the individual's mind as the 'organic nationalist'. The cultural attributes are the intangible characteristics, which are functionalized as the objects provoking people's consensual agreement of their 'common-ity' (Shils, 1957; Geertz, 1973). Geertz further stated, 'many peoples' notion of self is bound up in the gross actualities of blood, race, language, locality, religion or tradition' (Geertz, 1973: 259-260). Ethno-symbolism argues the cultural and social dynamics over a long time-span as the key factor to the formation of nations (Hutchinson, 1987; Smith, 1986). As time goes

by, the groups in which people are ethnographically joined together are constructed and reconstructed to be solid ethnic or national structures.

Modernists celebrate the influence of industrialization which obliquely fostered the political, economic, and ideological modernization (Gellner, 1983; Mann, 1984; Breuilly, 1993; Giddens, 1985). The watershed between modern society and tradition is the step of industrialization and modernization which brought about the division of labour and the invention of new technology. Gellner (1983) discussed how, in a traditional agrarian society, economics, including its knowledge or training, was left to families united by rituals or the social environment of trade, in which different parts, even of the same society, were unintelligible to each other. In the ancient Agrarian case, it has cultural, e.g. religious and linguistic, and political distinctions. In the modern age, the economic training became more explicit through the approach of using the generalizing idiom and manipulating context-free symbols, e.g. machines. The professionals, for example, teachers, employed by the state, therefore, are themselves also trained within this institutional structure (Gellner, 1983). This is why contemporary nation-states can be seen as the product of modernization.

According to Taiwan's history, apparently, the discussion of this research seeking to explain the changing identity of people in Taiwan cannot be understood from the perspective of perennialism, primordialism, or ethno-symbolism. The key reason is that the element of Chinese culture has been rooted long-term and continues until the present - for example, the Chinese language; nevertheless, being Chinese has gradually been abandoned by people in Taiwan from their identity. Under the heading of the paradox of modernism, numerous previous studies discussed the topic of the

national identity of contemporary Taiwan (1945-). Political modernization is considered as a significant factor in the re-creation of Taiwan's nationhood. Cook (2005) argued that increasing awareness of the political difference between Taiwan (democratic) and mainland China (communism), particularly after Martial Law was lifted in 1987, accelerated the Taiwan people's awareness of their national identity as Taiwanese, but not Chinese. Similarly, Wu (2004), Schubert (2004) and Hsiao (2005), and Tsang (1999) stated that the abandonment of Martial Law in 1987 was the beginning of Taiwan's political democratization, wherein more freedom of speech, free thinking, and political activities were conducted by citizens to challenge officially given 'Chinese-centred' national identity. Chun (2000) suggested that the elite figures had a great influence in re-shaping people's identity of being 'Taiwanese'. The ex-president Lee Teng-hui was the figure who stressed Taiwan - governed by R.O.C. government, and China - governed by the P.R.C., are two different states and this thinking became known as the 'state-to-state' strategy.

Regarding the factor of cultural modernization, studies suggested that Taiwan has gradually developed its own cultural characteristics on which 'Taiwanese' national identity was grounded. Some scholars suggested that Taiwan's national identity changed from a 'Chinese identity' (from 1949 to 1975) to a 'multicultural Taiwanese' awareness since 1975 because of cultural and ethnic integration. Even though Taiwan and China share cultural origins, for contemporary Taiwan, they suggested, 'China' means 'the other' (Gold, 2003; Lynch, 2004; Cooper, 2000). Wang (2004) and Hsiao (2000) argued that post-war Taiwan has gradually invented its own geographically-based cultural characteristics which can be seen from its own heritage, literature, and art performances; those activities all stand as proof of the national existence of Taiwan.

Wong and Sun (1998) also argued that the new middle class demanded the government impose institutional changes corresponding with the industrialization and democratization of Taiwan's society and politics, to meet people's needs through educational and cultural reforms. On the basis of those cultural objects, the environment of contemporary Taiwan has been constructed and reconstructed to be a community with its own unique character, and has evolved to be a society which is completely different from that of mainland China.

Scholars discussed the issue of Taiwan's national identity from studying the topic of ethnicity, and many of them focus on the ethnic conflict, interaction, or integration amongst the ethnic groups (Minnan and Haka people, Chinese immigrants, and indigenous groups) in Taiwan. According to the rich research results in this field, the result that the distinction between ethnic groups has gradually been eliminated was also explained as an indication of the formation of the 'Taiwanese community' can be concluded. The research pointed out the fact that people in Taiwan with different ethnic backgrounds cohabit together in the physical environment was also considered a significant factor to foster the cultural and ethnic integration which promoted the formation of a 'Taiwanese' community (Wang, 2003; Corcuff, 2002 and 2004; Tu, 2011; Chen, Chang and Huang, 1994). Take the case study of Chinese immigrants conducted by Stephance Corcuff for example. Corcuff (2004) argued that the adamant statement of Chinese identity was thus gradually changed in the minds of provincial people. 'Provincial' people (Chinese immigrants, coming in between 1945 to 1949) who thought their stay in Taiwan was temporary, and that they would return to the mainland with a victorious KMT, gradually accepted that inevitably their future lay only in Taiwan. The provincial people's 'Chinese' national identity changed obviously



in the era of Taiwan's political transformation from 1949 to the 1990s.

Economic achievement (modernization) was also considered a factor in the creation of contemporary 'Taiwanese' nationhood. Chun (2000), Shih (2007) and Chun (2000) argued that Taiwan's socio-economic achievements formed the main driving force to promote the formation of 'Taiwanese' character, which has led to the economic development that has created a high living standard parallel to Taiwan's cultural renaissance and significant progress in civil society. This situation has been apparent since the late 1980s: people had sentiments that made them stick to the geographical Taiwan, and they gained awareness of themselves and of Taiwan as one community, while working and fighting for their life in Taiwan. Rigger (2006) also suggested that Taiwan experienced a rapid economic development that led the people of Taiwan to feel that they were living in a community constructed entirely by themselves. Especially after the diplomatic frustration of the 1970s, this economic achievement psychologically supported them in the face of political isolation in international society and sustained them to consolidate the sense of Taiwan as a 'life community'. With respect to socio-economic changes, people are aware of 'Taiwanese' identity because of the differences of Taiwan's people from the mainlanders.

### **3.3 The formation of a 'new' imagined community**

Researchers argued Taiwan's characteristics from the angle of political, cultural and economic modernization; nevertheless, none of them discuss why the gradually changing identity from 'Chinese' to 'Taiwanese' in Taiwan happened in recent decades. Perhaps numerous political research has tried to answer this question of Taiwan's national status from the prism of international politics and P.R.C.'s political

threat. Rigger (2006) suggested that Taiwan's 'Chinese' national identity was put in doubt when the R.O.C. government lost its place at the United Nations in 1971. Hsieh (2005) indicated that at that moment in 1971, Taiwanese people's affiliation with the 'Chinese' national community was challenged, as people began to wonder about Taiwan's national status. Wang (2004) suggested that the fact that the R.O.C. government lost its place in the U.N. had a serious impact on the 'Chinese identity' proclaimed by the KMT government and led to a 'chaotic' national self-perception subsisting within Taiwan. Therefore, 'Mainland China' is considered as an effect on Taiwan's identification of its statehood. Cook (2005) and Dittmer (2005) argued the increasing 'Taiwanese' national identity was caused by China's military threat and political pressure. Because of the P.R.C.'s political oppression, a 'Taiwanese' sense of nationhood was becoming dominant: this is found especially among in younger people, who are more aware of the distinction between 'the people of Taiwan' and 'the people of China' as Chang and Wang (2005) suggested.

It is true that the 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' was denied as a state in the U.N.; however, the R.O.C. government has never denied its Chinese nationality and declared itself as 'Taiwanese' to abandon its sovereignty over mainland China. Relying solely on previous researches cannot lead to the understanding of why the decrease in Chinese self-identification and the increase in Taiwanese self-identification has happened in Taiwan. Before providing a perspective from which to discuss Taiwan's changing self-identification as 'Chinese' to 'Taiwanese', some fundamental questions should be made clear: since when has the nation existed, where is the nation of Taiwan, what is the nation of Taiwan, and can 'Taiwan' be conceived of as a nation? Anderson (1983, 2006: 50) raised a similar questions in asking, 'Why did the Spanish-American

Empire, which had existed calmly for almost three centuries, quite suddenly fragment into eighteen separate states'? Anderson's work of 'imagined communities' indeed evoked the 'sociological imagination' to think about Taiwan's case because of the historical analogy between Creole immigrants to South America and the Chinese to Taiwan (Mills, 2000).

Anderson addressed two factors to argue the way in which the 'imagined communities' in South America was recreated. One was that the Creole immigrants and their offspring had hybridized with South America natives. This factor, on the one hand, made Creole immigrants ethnically inferior in European eyes and led to their exclusion from significant roles in government, and thus gradually the Creoles identified themselves with local people. On the other hand, those Europeans who had been educated in South America had no sense of their motherland and no knowledge of traditional European culture and tradition as it did not intrinsically exist within their minds (Anderson, 1983, 2006: 55). Once the European immigrants used the same language to communicate with people in South America in this social environment, the language was standardized and generalized for the need of communication and through which the new social network engaged in by both them and the South Americans was formulated.

The national consciousness resonated to the creation of new communities in South America on the basis of the birth of new local-oriented norms and cultures and the case of South America triggered the rise of nationalism in European countries in the early nineteenth century. At the time, the religious belief was that society was organized around and under the form of cosmological divine dispensation; this led to

the demotion of Latin, and the growth of secular languages (Anderson, 1983, 2006: chp 2). Since Latin had been gradually declining and was replaced by the local vernacular, communication between people of each area was limited because of language barriers. Meanwhile, the growth of literacy, commerce and industry unified the vernacular languages in each area into more standardized languages, e.g. a language of literature, of business, or of science (Anderson, 1983, 2006: 77). Moreover, the invention of new technology facilitated geographical adventures in the world (i.e. South America) outside the European mainland. Print-capitalism laid the path for the rise of nationalism (Anderson, 1983, 2006: chp 2). The local news was textually presented in the printed materials, for example, newspapers and novels, and through this the plot-structure was transferred to readers. The plot in newspaper articles serves as a cue that provoked people's imaginings of temporal synchronicity and simultaneous experience, which manifests a sense of imagined community (Anderson, 1983, 2006: 63; MacInnes, Rosie, Petersoo, Condor, and Kenndy, 2007: 188).

### **3.4 The state creates the nation**

The case of Creole immigrants in South America at the end of the eighteenth century was analogous to that of Chinese immigrants to Taiwan; however, unlike the formation of 'imagined communities' in Anderson's work (1983, 2006), which relied on the birth of new culture (i.e. language), Taiwan's cultural features remained the same as those existing in 1949. In this regard, the question can be asked: how, or if, the Chinese culture in Taiwan is no longer perceived as their national culture. Under this concern, the idea of the creation of 'imagined community' should be linked to the

logic of 'the invention of tradition' introduced by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). The past is a fact; however, it can be interpreted in a different way, and thus mean something different.

The state is often considered as a key actor in creating this national environment (Breuilly, 1993; Giddens, 1985). Infrastructure created by large national expenditures, for example, railways, schools, and public institutions, constructs a framework for everyday life that conceals governmental nationalism (Mann, 1984). Those social institutions are engendered by the state as hegemony, and countered by reinforcing nationalism. Mann (1995) argued that infrastructure is the intrinsic element penetrating society and thus reinforcing the expectations of the government. Eliminating social distinctions, e.g. ethnicity, the state strategically integrates different social groups, (for example ethnic groups) to consolidate the structure of the national entity (Mann, 2004). For example, the content of textbooks is a kind of standardized knowledge used by the state to unify citizens' ideas, so those who learned the content of textbooks will gain the sense of their cultural and political identity through education. The education thus can be seen as not only the result but also the cause of the nation-building.

The history, or tradition, was the item strategically produced through the operation of state's power. Inventing traditions, as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) proposed, could be seen as a process of 'formalization and ritualization' to characterize the past for the state's purpose of maintaining territorial completion. Unlike the traditional state relying on 'legitimate violence' to achieve this purpose, modern states practice this in a subtle way. Under the state's will, daily rituals, for example, folksong, physical

contests, marksmanship, or the state-run media were all institutionalized and given their own meaning: Durkheim (1957: 79) says ‘the state is the organ of social thought’ and thus ‘all social thought springs from the state’.

Those items given named as ‘traditions’ and spreading over the environment of everyday life is the approach of state-mechanism in producing the national identity. Michael Billig considers the case of the ‘American flag’ by (1995) used in the USA as a daily ritual in schools and public buildings. Through such daily rituals, the state penetrates into every aspect of people’s lives, silently and routinely, circulating the region, and (re-)drawing the territorial boundaries, (re-)making the citizenry, and thus reclaiming the nationality of state as its physical setting. The social environment was therefore recreated as the national environment from which people gained the sense of national belongingness at all times. In the environment of an established nation, the use of national paraphernalia, e.g. the national anthem symbolizing the nationhood, continually and silently, as a form of psychological engineering, reminds, instils, and thus reinforces their national identity in people.

Anderson also proposed the creation of nationhood in daily life by discussing the example of the ‘census, maps, and museums’ which were used as a tool by the government to address the national boundary, character and identity (2006 chp 10). The census was created as a ‘structure’ organized by ethnic classifications, within which each individual was an ‘item’ that was circulated and located. The maps presented the sense of geographical ‘structure’ on which ‘items’, such as places and colonial territories, were created to portray the sense of ‘community’. The museums were established to display the story selected to embody the past which was intended

to be remembered by people. Those three items were displayed with the same aim to embody the nationhood.

From the theoretical point of view, political nationalism carries with it the aim of achieving the political ideal of constructing statehood, just as the R.O.C. government did in Taiwan during the period from 1945 to 1987. Breuilly (1993) suggested that without effective authoritarian rule, nation building can be problematic and fail. After conducting a broad investigation of the cases of eastern and middle Europe and the Arab world in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and contemporary Asia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Breuilly (1993) concluded that the contemporary state shapes nationalist politics and gives politics its objectivity. For example, he (1993) surveys China's nation building by analysing the Communist Party's successful call for workers and peasants to involve themselves in the nationalist movements between 1911 and 1937. Through that call, the party established local control and pushed back the 'local frontiers' by overcoming the occupying warlords (Breuilly, 1993: 234-235). By eliminating local hegemony, the state authority took over local control from the gentry. The state itself created a political context in which its legitimacy was reinforced.

Along with exploring this top-down process, numerous experienced researchers discussed how the R.O.C. government promoted the construction of the nationhood of Taiwan. Scholars suggested that people in Taiwan have gradually dropped their 'Japanese identity' and accepted the 'Chinese identity' given to them by the KMT from 1945 to 1987 (Wang and Sun, 1998; Rigger, 2006). Simon (2005) argued that since 1945 to 1987 (when Martial Law was lifted), Taiwan's nationhood was reformulated under the Chinese nationalism imposed by the R.O.C. government

through education and institutional socialisation. During this period of time, he suggested not only was the national environment of China in Taiwan created, but also people adopted the Chinese identity which referred not only to a political or cultural identification but also to a national affiliation. Hsiao (2005) and Wu (2004) pointed out that the local Taiwan's people of the KMT party-state period, no matter whether Chinese immigrants who came to Taiwan with the KMT (1945 to 1949) and their children or native-born, all sought a connection between Taiwan and mainland China and were eager to explain why Taiwan was a part of 'China' (the Chinese nation).

Some researchers argued that 'Chinese' nationalism imposed by the R.O.C. government penetrating into daily life successfully facilitated 'Chinese' to be accepted by people as their national identity in post-war Taiwan. Chu (1999) argued that a group of local Taiwanese people had never been to mainland China, yet, through songs, literature, movies, and the influence of maps, they thought of themselves as part of one 'Chinese' identity. Hsiao (2005) quotes a second-generation provincial Taiwanese as saying 'I have never touched the soil, never seen the blue sky, and never eaten the rice of the motherland; I could only imagine it though the map and the movie. [...] We were waiting for the horn, ringing for the restoration of the lost mainland Chinese territory, and to leave Taiwan, a place of temporary rest' (Hsiao, 2005). Moreover, Chang (1995) argues that Taiwanese people regarded themselves as the Chinese people who want to retake the lost territory and avenge the insult of Communism. According to the previous research, not only KMT soldiers and the Chinese immigrants who crossed the ocean from the mainland to Taiwan but also the local Taiwanese people carried with the same political expectation for the restoration of the mainland.



### **3.5 The history textbooks as the research resources**

In this study, the high school history textbooks are an important resource. The history textbooks are significant because they are the production of top-down power and also the embodiment of the official ideology. Historical narration has always not only been conceived as a presentation, but also as a statement regarding the past of the nation. This means the nation must be situated historically to consolidate its statement on which common memories and values was grounded for all members to follow (Kedorie, 1996; Zaretsky, 1994: 198; Smith, 1991: 14). This is similar to the words of Joseph Stalin, ‘a nation is an historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture’ (1973: 61).

Writing the national history of a country is a challenge. This can be seen from the case of Germany in figuring out the final solution of the conflict between Germans and Jewish people to re-constitute German history; two challenges needed to be conquered. Firstly, how to decide which section of the massacre of Jewish people should be remembered and which forgotten; secondly, how to create a historical continuity in the case of the conflict between Germans and Jews because of religious controversy since the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the political problems in the 20<sup>th</sup> (Smith, 2008; Berger, 1997). Writing German national history is engaged not only with political, but also ethnic and cultural debate, e.g. for left-liberal and new-right coming up each with their own viewpoint (Berger, 1997). Different historical perspectives to explain the catastrophic religious crisis intertwined with the contemporary political violence were difficult to be unified and became a great concern in writing the national history of

Germany.

Being aware of the theoretical paradigm of nationalism study, this research argues the way in which the official nationalism created and re-created the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan from a Chinese content to the Taiwanese based on the content of history textbooks (1949 to 2011). The content of textbooks was not just the records of the past of Taiwan; instead, it was organized under particular ideology and served the state’s will, as well as the imparting the invention of tradition suggested by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983, 2012). When reading the content of textbooks, readers are told their past, ancestry, compatriots, hometown, common memory, and fatality, and thus delineated the shape of the ‘imagined community’ in their mind. This is not a strict imposition of the national identity; however, the flagging, symbolically and silently addressing the nation over the whole content is a psychological approach, subtly but continually reminding readers of their belongingness. The officially sanctioned curriculum disseminated the national ideas to students and shaped them into becoming national individuals. Under this logic, the research item of textbooks theoretically connects ‘imagined communities’, ‘invented tradition’ and ‘banal nationalism’.

Several pieces of research conducting textbook analysis further support this idea regarding textbooks as the act of official nationalism. By analysing the historical expressions of the Hindu-Muslim dynamic, Guichard (2013) argues that a change in the presentation of violent episodes in the historical narrative marked the boundary of the ‘other’ for the nation of India. Deciding what should be ‘remembered’ and ‘forgotten’, the textbooks selected the content with the aim of reconstructing people’s collective common memory and thus reshaped the national identity (Guichard, 2013).

Similarly, Hau (2013) argues that the meanings of war commemorations changed over time, which has emerged from the analysis of textbooks of Mexico, Argentina, and Peru. The responsibility, the criminal, and victims were presented in a different manner in the latest editions in comparison with the earlier ones, which revealed the transformation of the official nationalism from the more political and highly elitist to more cultural and popular understanding of nationhood. Hutchins (2011) analysed the change in the presentation of national heroes George Washington and Abraham Lincoln in textbooks from the 1980s to 2003, to argue for the increasing significance of the ideology of multiculturalism advocated by the government.

The textbook could be seen as a strategic design. In those cases, some plots are selected to be included, while some are dismissed from the organization of the historical account. Therefore, some accounts are remembered by people as their past, while some are eventually forgotten (Renan, 1996). The textbooks assert 'our' belongingness and distinguish 'us' from 'others' in the process of the invention and reinvention of the national history. In the textbooks, what is 'ours'- the sense of 'common-ity', includes cultural perspectives (for example, ancestry and history), political perspectives (for example, territory and government) which will be told and the difference between 'natives' and 'strangers' and distinction between 'here' and 'out there' will be drawn. The writing of textbooks acts as not only the political, but also psychological and ideological process.

### **3.6 The society recreates the nation-state**

The high school history textbooks of post-war Taiwan have been re-edited several times. This is the impact on the ideology of Taiwan's society with the regard to

Taiwan's national identity. The history textbooks (both the junior and senior level) of post-war Taiwan were written under the curriculum implemented by Taiwan's Ministry of Education. In and before the 83<sup>rd</sup> year edition (*History*) (1997-2002), the junior high school history textbooks still focused on the accounts of mainland China which organized the story-line of the content. After the 83<sup>rd</sup> year edition, however, the textbooks of the junior level, *Knowing Taiwan (History)*, was reedited, and the storyline was focused on Taiwan's local history. Historical events of Taiwan, which were either briefly mentioned, or excluded from all the earlier editions (e.g. the period of Japanese rule and the 228 Incident), were introduced in *Knowing Taiwan (History)*. This style was preserved in the following two editions published in 2002 to 2006 and 2007 to 2011. In these latest two editions, moreover, the histories of Taiwan and mainland China were separated into two volumes; similar revisions were made in the latest senior high school history textbooks (2007 to 2011).

Can Taiwan's government achieve its ideological manipulation by this invention of Taiwan's history - the content of history textbooks, which was theoretically assumed as the political nationalism and state machinery to standardize citizens' mentality regarding their same national belongingness? Separating Taiwan's history from the mainland's history sparked fierce public social debate. The argument surrounded the issue of the historical relationship between mainland China and Taiwan which influenced the interpretation of the national history of Taiwan. Xue (2007) argued that new editions of history textbooks which were full of the political ideology of 'the independence of Taiwan' and misguide students' understanding about the historical connection between Taiwan and mainland China. Wu (2003) criticized the revision of new textbooks in which the accounts of Taiwan and mainland China were separated.

He stressed that historical education should provide students with a precise, convincing, and objective description of their past; however, the new edition of textbooks separated the history of Taiwan and mainland China, affecting the way students understood their past. Similarly, Wu (2003) and Lin (2003) argued that Taiwan and mainland China are two states within one cultural circle; separating them into two histories restricted students' understanding of the roots of their culture. Huang and He (2003) argued that the new history textbooks generalized 'Taiwanese subjectivity' through the approach of de-Sinification to imbue those ideas with the same patriotic meaning. In this regard, Wu (2004) said that history education has been used by the government as a tool for imposing ideological dominance, called 'new authoritarianism'. Under this model, the new editions of history textbooks were seen as denigrating the objective understanding of Taiwan's past.

Conversely, some people supported the government's strategy to revise the textbooks and stressed that this doing can benefit by awakening the ideology of 'Taiwanese' nation. They thought that rewriting the content of textbooks from being based on a Chinese-centred approach to being Taiwanese-centred promoted in students an understanding of the idea of homeland-based history and culture in the geographical Taiwan and revising the history textbooks was a pragmatic approach to introduce students to the past and present of their homeland (Liberty Times, 2007). Lin and Zheng (2007) criticized the earlier Chinese-centred textbooks as overstating the history of mainland China which disconnected the affairs in Taiwan. They stressed that the content of the new edition of history textbooks much more closely reflected people's lives in Taiwan and thus can guide students to notice the historical development of Taiwan on which their identity is based from observing it from the life

environment. In this regard, Cai (2003) noted that the newly edited Taiwan-centred textbooks were a great help for students to learn about the formation of contemporary Taiwan's civil society, local culture, and democratic politics. Some scholars even suggested that the historical events of Taiwan, such as the 228 Incident in 1947 and the Beautiful Formosa Incident in 1979, should be stressed in the discourse on Taiwan's history (Guo, 2003).

The two contrasting ideas about the newly edited high school history textbooks debating over the historical relations between mainland China and Taiwan and the meaning of 'Taiwanese' and 'Chinese' occurred. In face of this situation, we should ask – how does the history textbooks, as the invented history, act possibly to create the nation of Taiwan? Two factors, at least, challenge this possibility. Because of the social, political and economic development of Taiwan from 1945 to the present-day, the top-down cannot be the sole power to construct the nationhood regardless of the influence from below. In addition, the discourse of history, literally organized by texts, bearing the original meaning of the author, might however be explained by readers as having an alternative meaning (Barthes, 1967).

Nationhood is not solely a product under the state's power; bottom-up analysis is equally important with the top-down in the discussion of the nation-building of Taiwan. Since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the rise of modernization, the intimacy of society and the state was accompanied by the increasing density of social interaction. As Mann (1993) suggested, because the contemporary nation had its structure changed intrinsically from an unpreventable demand for economic funding and human resources, e.g. conscription, for society, the dual structure encompassing

the state and society was recreated. The state responds to those social needs, and thus the consequences of a homogenous social as well as national structure are felt.

Nationhood can be macro-structurally reinforced by the engaging of ordinary people in everyday activities through talking, performing, or consuming (Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008; Miller-Idriss, 2006; Edensor, 2002). Caldwell (2002) conducted the case of the Russian food market and argued that consumers do not just buy the commodities, they consume the nationhood symbolically attached to those commodities. Therefore, they manifested the national salient attributes, such as national pride. Although people live in a state-framed everyday life, the national icon is re-innovated to become a 'taken-for-granted' part of the landscape which might change its original meaning in the daily routine, e.g. routine talk in interaction (Billig, 1995: 38; Edensor, 2002: 88). In talking, thinking and acting, people ideologically position themselves, choose and state their identity, mobilize the collective persuasion, and thus reconstitute the nation (Calhoun, 1997: 5).

Society does not passively follow nor is it entirely dominated by top-down power. The elite or the middle class people as the social driving force encourage the notion of national identity and the national context. This is as Gellner (1983, 1998, 55-56) suggested, that elites will reformulate, or maintain a political community through the use of ideological power. Roger (2006) argued the negotiation between the official narratives and local elites in interpreting history to serve the national identity by conducting the empirical case study of the textbooks of the regions of Ukraine adjacent to Russia. This also happened in the post-WWII period in Asian and African countries as Anderson (1983, 2006, chp 7) argued. Bilingual intelligentsia and nationalists

reshaped the official ideology through the mass media, the educational system, and administrative system through which the popular and official nationalism linked together and reconstruct a nation-state (Anderson, 1983, 2006).

Through studying the case of India, Chatterjee developed his nation-building theory. Chatterjee (1986) argued that the construction of a nation was the result of coercion produced by domination and intellectual-moral leadership. In this case, the nation-building process of India was divided into three steps: the moment of departure, manoeuvre, and arrival of, wherein the representative characters were Bankim, Gandhi, and Nehru. India's primary consideration in nation building was how to secure independence from British imperial colonization. Bankim thought that learning from Western civilization and science was the pragmatic approach to help India become a civilized state; however, he felt thematic tradition and culture should also be preserved as a crucial part of India's fundamental spirit (1986, 54). In this context of considering both the political and cultural establishment, Gandhi envisioned intellectual and middle class people as the leaders in this nation-building movement (1986: 85). Nehru pointed out that India's nation-building task should be grounded in heavy industry and in providing sound training for a labour force (1986: 131). He saw this as the foundation for reconstructing a flourishing India. India's nation-building process followed the steps of political and economic modernization led by those three great thinkers, and later involved the middle and agricultural classes. According to Chatterjee's argument, the consequence of nation building was a result of the threat from both the opposing political authority and the domestic middle class.

Some researchers argued that the 'Taiwanese' national identity was driven by the



society. Edmondson (2002) argued that the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident was a social movement to resist against the KMT government's repression, could be understood as the initiation of the 'Taiwanese identity'. He pointed out that the sense of 'Taiwanese' identity denying that Taiwan was one part of China began to emerge after the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident of 1947. Scholars also suggested the political activity after the late-1980s, against the KMT's rule, was important as the origin of the 'Taiwanese identity' to an independent Taiwan outside Chinese sovereignty. Wang (2004) and Shelley (2001) argued that the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) established in 1986 fought against the political propaganda to be unified with mainland China dominated by the KMT party. They argued that this is the key factor in the recreation of Taiwan's national identity in the post-martial law era. Dittmer (2005) and Wang and Sun (1998) suggested that different partisan strategies and political elites have led to different understandings of Taiwan's nationalism. They concluded that the concepts 'Taiwanese' and 'Chinese' have been understood as two national identifications ('Taiwan state' versus 'China state') driven by party politics, and this has also affected Taiwan people's identity choices.

The political competition between the pan-blue (KMT) and pan-green (DPP) camps was about which party can best reveal the focus of Taiwan's national identity. Shieh, (2007) and Hsieh (2004) argued that while the KMT pursued an ideology of 'Taiwanese national identity' that is politically isolated from, but culturally associated with, the mainland, the DPP insisted the locally based culture to be the only 'Taiwanese' culture basis for the national identity. They explained that the pan-blue defines its 'Taiwanese national identity' by dwelling on Taiwan's cultural beginnings in China; conversely, the pan-green rests its ideological statement of Taiwan's identity

upon local culture (Shieh, 2007; Hsieh, 2004). In this light, this political ideology in opposition to the 'Chinese' nationalism as posited by the KMT government was raised. 'Taiwanese' and 'Chinese' gradually became two contrasting identifications. The party politics suggested a view from which to reflect on the content of 'Taiwanese' national identity in Taiwan's society.

In addition to their cultural positions, the pan-blue and pan-green political camps also have ideologically opposed views about whether to be closer to, or more remote from, mainland China. Cook (2005) and Schubert (2004) argued that the decision to draw or not to draw cultural boundaries between 'Taiwanese' and 'Chinese' is a choice between national identifications. The ideologies of Taiwan's people were thus divided into two political camps; the choice of the camp was a view about the national identity of Taiwan as a Taiwanese nation or Chinese nation. Huang, Lin and Chang (2004) also argued that while the ideology of 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese' national identity was reshaped by political parties, the need to confront cultural and historical relations and choose either a 'Taiwanese' or 'Chinese' identity caused the identity change in Taiwan. From this angle, Law (2002) argued the DPP's 'de-sinification' policy (2000-2008) through the editing of history textbooks designed to propagate the notion that the 'Taiwanese' identity is entirely indigenous. He stressed that the new historical textbooks reedited under the DPP government's policy intended to generalise a 'Taiwanese subjectivity' by centralising the idea of 'de-sinification' so as to render it equivalent to patriotism.

Partisan politics as a social driving force was implied as a significant power in Taiwan behind the promotion of 'Taiwanese' national identity. In summary, partisan politics

has reinvented and reshaped 'Chinese' 'to be two rival concepts symbolising two national identities. Those studies introduced partisan politics as Taiwan's socio-political ethos to understand the debate of national identity in Taiwan; however, the situation of the increasing self-identification as Taiwanese and decreasing self-identification as Chinese cannot be understood solely from the perspective of politics dominated by partisan competition as a political phenomenon. This situation of a changing Taiwanese identity is a social transformation that has unfolded over years, rather than just a political conscious, deliberate act marking a political statement of pro-independence or unification.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

The nationhood of Taiwan with its conditions - R.O.C. government, geographical Taiwan island, and citizens, unchanged; however, why was the 'Taiwanese' self-identification adopted and the 'Chinese' self-identification abandoned? Since the return of Taiwan to Chinese rule at the end of WWII, and the retreat of the R.O.C. government to Taiwan in 1949, along with the massive Chinese immigration it entailed, Taiwan has remained the only province of the Republic of China. Apart from the half century of Japanese colonisation, modern Taiwan developed within or under the influence of the Chinese empire. The constitution of Taiwan continues to address the state of Taiwan as the Republic of China with its territory comprising the mainland and Taiwan Island, even though in 1971 the R.O.C. government was denied by the United Nations as the sovereign Chinese state. Apparently, since the early 1990s the population of Taiwan has increasingly adopted the self-identification of 'Taiwanese'. This situation is in some ways analogous to the case of the formation of national

communities in Latin American where ‘Creole pioneers’ came to be detached from their motherland and built new nations there as they were excluded by their domestic elites (Anderson, 1983, 2006). How has a new imagined community come to be formed in Taiwan? Empirical researches on Taiwan have examined institutional change, ‘cross-strait’ relations with the P.R.C. government, cultural construction, and both economic and political modernisation. The contemporary Taiwan under the R.O.C. rule has its statehood - its - territorial region and government, remained the same as it in the early post-war era, but why and how has ‘Chinese’ gradually faded out from Taiwan people’s sense of ‘imagined community’?

This study will use the theoretical concepts introduced by Anderson, Billig and Hobsbawm and Ranger to examine one aspect of this process. Imagined communities are more powerful if they can be projected back in time, and imagined to have ancient historical roots, so that the contemporary community comes to be seen as a natural and inevitable product of history. As Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) pointed out, such historical imagination may require the ‘invention of tradition’ or new understandings of history, to bring it into line with the contemporary evolution of the imagined community. Finally Billig’s (1995) work suggests that the construction and reconstruction of national identity occurs not only through explicit political arguments, but also through the ‘banal’ way in which an audience is addressed and encouraged to imagine its community with other members of that audience, or reminded of its national character by symbols and cultural markers that may have become so routine as to be ‘unnoticed’.

Taiwan is an attractive case study for examining such ideas, since the R.O.C.

government has, since 1949, authorised the content of history textbooks used in schools. The successive editions of these textbooks thus give us the opportunity to witness directly the official invention of tradition and re-writing of history. Can we identify any relationship between changes in the policy of the R.O.C. government, its relationship to mainland China, and shifts in national identity, and the content of these history textbooks?

## **Chapter Four**

### **Methodology**

This chapter is going to explore the methodological framework organized by the research resources and research method. Research resources are the officially published history textbooks (1949 to 2011) and interviews with history teachers, which can be seen as the empirical evidence which embodies the official ideology and social discourse in shaping the national characteristics of Taiwan. The thematic content analysis method is used: this is suggested as an effective way to sort the research material of textbooks. By systematically classifying the research resource of textbooks into the categories which are the contextual unit (the composition of the content), and thematic units (cultural community and political entity), this chapter will introduce the logic to discuss the case of Taiwan's changing identity from a sociological perspective. The design of semi-structured interviews used with the teachers follows the section of content analysis of textbooks. The details of interview design, including the theme, the questions, and the background information of the interviewees will be displayed. Some technical issues, for example, questions of language translation, and the ethical concerns of the study, are also part of the content of this chapter.

#### **4.1 Research design**

This research aims to understand how and in what ways the R.O.C. government creates the character of Taiwan and addresses its national meaning, and how, or if, the official ideologies are recreated by the society. This study is designed to understand how the history textbooks authorized by the Ministry of Education (R.O.C.) presented the past

of 'Taiwan' to school pupils and how the officially written history is represented by teachers. The research questions are designed as below:

1. Which historical events are presented and which are omitted in the composition of the content of each edition? What commentary or evaluation is made upon them?
2. How is the national character of the people, culture, ancestry, ethnicity, territory and government described? For example, how are key 'national' categories such as territory (e.g. Mainland China and Taiwan) and people (e.g. mainlander, local, and aboriginal) and others represented in the textbooks, and do their natures or meanings change over time? What, or if, explicit boundaries are drawn around social groups, and are they identified as being national in character?
3. Do the boundaries of any 'Chinese' or 'Taiwanese' national community depicted in the textbooks change? For example, to what extent is Taiwan described as one province of China, amongst others, as a province of China with distinctive features, or as an entity distinct from a province of China, including a separate government, society or nation? What conclusions are explicitly or implicitly made in the textbooks about the significance of the events they describe for contemporary Taiwan? How are key 'national' categories such as China, Mainland China, Mainlander, native, Taiwan, and so on used in the textbooks, and do their meanings change over time?
4. Is it possible to determine how the readers of the textbooks (students aged from 13 to 17) are addressed? Are they assumed to be 'Chinese' or 'Taiwanese', and if the latter, is it possible to say whether this adjective is used to imply a national community, either explicitly or in a 'banal' (implicit) way?

## 4.2 Textbooks materials

The primary and secondary textbooks were edited by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (R.O.C.), which was a sector of the Ministry of Education (MOE) established in Nanjing (mainland China) in 1932 and moved to Taiwan in 1949. The content of the textbooks was written under the curriculum promulgated by the MOE which also assigned scholars as the writers of textbooks. (appendix 4) In 1949 to 1996, the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (R.O.C.) was the only organization to publish the textbooks. There was regulation of the curriculum and guidance on editing and writing the content of textbooks was given with details including the aim, storyline, terminology. Taiwan's junior high school history curriculum has been revised several times according to guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education (R.O.C.) since 1948 when the R.O.C. government was still in mainland China. The first edition of junior level was the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition textbooks (*History*) which was written under the curriculum promulgated in the 37<sup>th</sup> year of the republican era (1948) and then published during 1951 to 1953. (see table 1 for details) Between 1949 and 2011, the first edition of the senior high school history textbooks - the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition – was published during 1951 to 1953, under the curriculum guidance issued in the 37<sup>th</sup>-year of the Republican Era. (Table 2)

The publication of Taiwan's high school textbooks (both the junior and senior level) can be divided into four different periods according to censorship procedures adopted since 1949, when the R.O.C. government moved to Taiwan: 1949 to 1967, 1968 to 1988, 1989 to 2000, and 2002 onwards. During the 1949 to 1967 period, under the censorship regulations promulgated by the Ministry of Education (R.O.C.), high



school history textbooks were published by the companies; they were the New World Press (新世界) and China Press (中華). This rule changed in 1968 and then from 1989 to 2001, high school history textbooks were edited and solely published by the National Institute of Compilation and Translation (R.O.C.). After 2002, the textbook market of junior high school textbooks was opened to private publishers; however, the content of textbooks were still written by following the officially promulgated curriculum known as ‘One guide – multiple texts’ policy. The same policy was applied to the senior high school textbooks in 2007.

The subjects of the junior high school textbooks are Chinese, Mathematics, Social Studies (geography, history, and civics), and Natural Science Studies (Physics, Chemistry, and Geo-science) which are the subjects of the entrance examination to senior high level; textbooks of senior level have the same subjects and these are also the subjects of the College entrance exam. Each subject has its own censorship committee, which determines the contents of the textbooks. The committee is organized by one chair and six to eight members, including subject-matter experts, professionals, and teachers, as well as administrative representatives. In the committee, official representatives cannot occupy more than 40 percent of the whole group. Membership of the censorship committee is a two-year part-time job. The members of this committee cannot profit from or work for the industry and business of textbook publication.

After 2002, textbooks are censored through the two following steps: the committee (two or three people) will review the content of the textbooks delivered to them by individual publishers and provide feedback for the second stage of the review; the first-

stage reviewers will not participate in the second stage. The duration of reviewing the content of textbooks takes four months at each stage, with a maximum extension of one month. If the first submission fails, the revision of the draft for re-submitting should be in two months and the committee needs to finalize the censorship of the state within a two-month period. Under the censorship procedure, the company can apply to the committee for negotiation about books that are unaccepted.<sup>1</sup>

Table 1 Junior high school textbook editions (1949 – 2011)

The edition (the year that the guidance was issued)	Name	Year of publication
37 <sup>th</sup> -year edition*	<i>History</i>	1951-1953
41 <sup>st</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1954-1964
51 <sup>st</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1964-1969
61 <sup>st</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1974-1984
72 <sup>nd</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1985-1988

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<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Education (1988), National Institute of Compilation and Translation, The guidance to editing secondary and primary textbooks. The No. 131 and 132 report. [教育部（民 77）。國立編譯館改進高級中學暨國民中小學教科用書編輯方式實施要點。教育部單位主管第 131、132 次會報，部長指示事項。]

Ministry of Education (1995), National Institute of Compilation and Translation The guidance to editing secondary and primary textbooks. Document No.840605-027986 [國立編譯館（民 84）國立編譯館國民中學各科教科用書審查委員會作業要點。教育部 840605 台國字 027986 號函准備查。]

Ministry of Education (1999), National Institute of Compilation and Translation The guidance to editing secondary and primary textbooks. Document No. 881217-88153507 [立編譯館（民 88）國立編譯館國民中學教科用書審查作業程序。教育部 881217 台國字 88153507 號函准備查。]

74 <sup>th</sup> –year	<i>History</i>	1989-1996
83 <sup>rd</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1997-2002
	<i>Knowing Taiwan [History]</i>	
89 <sup>th</sup> –year	<i>Social Studies [History]</i>	2002-2006
94 <sup>th</sup> -year	<i>Social Studies [History]</i>	2007-2011

Since the 83<sup>rd</sup>- year edition, in addition to the textbooks *History*, a new curriculum *Knowing Taiwan* was added, comprising three modules each with a textbook: *Knowing Taiwan (History)*, *Knowing Taiwan (Geography)*, and *Knowing Taiwan (Civics)*. The history textbook, published in 2002 to 2006 and in 2007 to 2011, was not called by the original name - *History*, but rather, *Social Studies (History)*, contained in one volume called *Social Studies*, with other two subjects, *Geography* and *Civics*. The content of *Social Studies (History) Book I* and *II* is the history of Taiwan, and *III* and *IV* China.

Each volume of a certain edition (1949 to 2011) of both junior and senior level was the resource to be analysed. The junior high school history textbooks had their content greatly changed in the 83<sup>rd</sup>-year edition (1997 to 2002); two textbooks: *History* and *Knowing Taiwan (History)* were simultaneously taught at the time (1997 to 2002). The textbook, *Knowing Taiwan (History)*, published from 1997 to 2002, was a Taiwan-centred history book; this volume is also included in the data. Finally, the latest two editions at junior level, *Social Studies (History)* (89<sup>th</sup> and 94<sup>th</sup> editions, published since the mid-2000s), were the Taiwan-centred history; book I and II were the research resources chosen. The history textbook at senior level of the latest edition was the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition (2007 to 2011) in which the accounts of Taiwan and China were separated into two volumes. Junior and senior high schools have several publishers each. The Sam-min (三民), Kang-xuan (康軒), Zen-lin (仁林) and Han-lin (翰林) companies

published junior high school textbooks; Nan-yi (南一), Long-teng (龍騰), Han-lin (翰林) and Kang-xi (康熙) companies are the publishers of the senior high school textbooks.

Table 2 Senior high school textbook editions

The edition (the year that the guidance was issued)	Name	The publish year
37 <sup>th</sup> -year edition*	<i>History</i>	1951-1953
41 <sup>st</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1953-1962
51 <sup>st</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1963-1972
60 <sup>th</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1973-1984
72 <sup>nd</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	1985-1999
84 <sup>th</sup> -year	<i>History</i>	2000-2006
94 <sup>th</sup> -year	<i>Senior High School History</i> <i>[Taiwan]</i>	2007-2011

\*This is the year of Republican Era. The republic years of the R.O.C. state started in 1911; ‘the 37-year edition’ means the guidance of curriculum implemented in the 37<sup>th</sup> year of the republic year (1948) and had its textbooks published in 2 to 3 years later.

Since the 89<sup>th</sup>-year edition of the junior level and 94<sup>th</sup>- of the senior, textbooks were open to private sectors, however, still following the guidance issued by MOE. The textbooks of both junior and senior level published by different companies can have the same storyline accordingly (Table 3). Take the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition of the senior level for example. The content of *Social Studies (History)* published by Nan-yi and Han-lin publishing companies were composed of the same accounts of pre-historic, Ming-

Zheng, Qing-governance, Japanese era, and the Contemporary R.O.C. regime. Different syntactic expressions were used by each company; however, they presented the same historical composition. Therefore, this study will choose one textbook published by one company in each edition for analysis.

Table 3 The content table of the textbook of the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition

Nan-yi publication (2010)	Han-lin publication (2009)
I. Early Taiwan p.5 1-1 Pre-historic Age and Aboriginal People p.6 1-2 Dutch and Spanish Colonization and Ming-zheng rule p.22	1.Early Taiwan p.6 1-1 Aboriginal People p.8 1-2 Dutch and Spanish Colonization and Ming-zheng rule p.22
II.The Long Term Qing-rule p.37 2-1 The Development of the Politics and Economics p.38 2-2 The Transformation of the Society and Culture p.52 3-3 The Foreign Invasion and Modernization p.67	II. The Long Term Qing-rule p.42 2-1 The Development of the Politics and Economics p.44 2-2 The Transformation of the Society and Culture p.60 3-3 The Foreign Invasion and Modernization p.76
III.The Era of Japanese Colonization p.81 3-1 The Establishment of the Colonial Governance p.82 3-2 The Transformation of the Society and Culture p.99 3-3 Taiwan's Society in the Period of the War p.115	III.The Era of Japanese Colonization p.94 3-1 The Early Period of the Colonial Era p.96 3-2 The Transformation of the Society and Culture p.112 3-3 Taiwan's Society in the Period of the War p.130
IV. Contemporary Taiwan and the World p.127	IV. Contemporary Taiwan and the World p.144

4-1 Form the Authoritarian to Democratic Politics p.128	4-1 The Political Transformation in Post-war Taiwan p.146
4-2 The Development and Challenge of the Economics p.144	4-2 The Economic Development in Post-war Taiwan p.166
4-3 Social Transformation and Diversification p.154	4-3 Social Transformation and Cultural Diversification p.180
4-4 The Development of the Culture of Taiwan in the World of Globalization p.166	4-4 Taiwan in the World of Globalization p.196

### 4.3 Research method: content analysis

Content analysis is a research method investigating the meaning of texts. By categorizing the research resources into a variety of units according to the concepts, assertions, or semantic and indexical characteristics, this method aims to extract the meanings and textual implications. Texts are complicated constructions comprised of explicit words and implicit signs which are created for a particular context or purpose: to inform their recipients, to instil ideologies, or to invoke feelings and echoes (Krippendoff, 2004: 23). The texts can be categorized as indications of vocabulary (e.g. concepts or hard words) or as themes, depending on the needs of the research. Grounded in symbolic interactionism and ethnography, qualitative content analysis is generally understood to investigate the presence and the absence, or, more specifically, the appearance on which the non-appearance is placed, of attributes in texts (Holsti, 1969: 30). Hence, the qualifications (adjectives or hedges) used in statements about implicit symbols or explicit ideas can be analysed to indicate the intensity, strength, or uncertainty associated with the statement or ideology implied by the word or idea

(Holsti, 1969: 59).

There are numerous types of qualitative content analysis and these are applied for different research concerns. Thematic analysis investigates certain objects are represented in a particular way (Janis, 1965). Discourse analysis deals with how particular phenomena are presented at levels beyond explicit rhetorical expression (Van Dijk, 1991). Rhetorical analysis examines how messages are transferred, and with what intended or actual effects, to address how notions of a subject are changing or how facts are organized (Van Dijk, 2001). Pragmatic content analysis classifies data into units according to their probable causes or effects (Janis, 1965). Sign-vehicle analysis works by codifying data depending on the psychological properties of the signs (Janis, 1965).

The challenge for content analysis is choosing the approach to selecting units and drawing distinctions between categories. Recording units are distinguished in order to be separately described or categorized; coding units are units that are distinguished because of their unique description, transcription, recording, or coding (Krippendorff, 2004: 100; Roberts, 1989; Smith, 1992a; Holsti, 1969). Additionally, the context unit is also important for conducting content analysis. Context units are units of textual matter that set limits on the data that can be used. Context units are not counted, need not be independent of each other, can overlap, and may be consulted in the description of several recording units. Geller, Kaplan, and Lasswell (1942) suggested that the characterization of a recording unit, and ultimately the research results as well, depend on the scope of the context unit.

#### **4.4 Thematic analysis**

This research used thematic analysis to investigate the presentation of the national characteristics of Taiwan in the textbooks and in interview data. Socialization materials which take different forms across time and space are frequently investigated by conducting content analysis, (Krippendoff, 2004: 23) and the officially published textbook is such a case. Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytical approach used as ‘a method for identifying, analysing and reporting themes within data’ (Pistrang and Barker, 2012: 72-73). This method is the proper method for answering particular types of questions, for example, what are the concerns of whom about which event? First, the researcher should code features (for example, numerically or literally) of the data set systematically; second, allocate the codes into themes; third, review thematic categories and generate a thematic map as a guide to answer research questions (Pistrang and Barker, 2012: 72-73). With this approach, this study classified the content resources into thematic categories to discuss the way in which the ‘imagined community’ was embodied in the content of textbooks, and, or if, the content or the way it was presented changed over time.

While conducting the content analysis method to investigate the textbook resources, one volume of a history textbook was considered as one contextual unit. Investigating the composition of history (context unit), this study seeks to understand how the storyline of the history was organized and how the characteristics of Taiwan were presented according to the content of textbooks classified (recording units). In each contextual unit, how the episodes organized the storyline of the history presented in national terms will be examined and the way in which the accounts of Taiwan and



mainland China were mentioned in the content will be discussed. By summarising each contextual unit (one edition) and then, comparing across the other units (from the 1950s to 2010), this study aims to explore the contextual transformation of Taiwan's history to reveal how, or if, the contour of the 'imagined community' officially created was shaped and reshaped in the texts. Is it possible to determine any national meaning when the term 'Taiwan' is used?

On the basis of the definition identifying nation-states as 'imagined communities' with the congruence of the cultural and the politically unit, this research will explore what kind of 'imagined community' is embodied by the characters literally delineated in the content of textbooks. The textbook contents will be examined from two main thematic units – cultural community and political entity, which were the two fundamental elements to manifest the nation. Under the main thematic category of cultural community are the sub-categories - ancestry, ethnicity and custom; and the political entity has sub-categories of government and territory.

Conducting the data analysis, this research examines the way in which the textbook discourse created the sense of the national community of Taiwan and also drew the boundary to distinguish Taiwan from mainland China. Two analytical strands of logic were applied to deal with the data of each thematic category. The thematic category of ancestry focuses on the presentation of people's origin, e.g. common myth. Who, or which group, were considered to share the same ancestral origin served as the focus in this analysis, particularly in the latest editions in which the accounts of Taiwan and mainland China were separated. The unit of ethnicity deals with how the official discourse expressed the groups of different cultural backgrounds, e.g. Han people in

the Central Plain and Jin as the nomadic tribe. In the history across a thousand-year span of time in Chinese history and Taiwanese history, peoples with different cultural backgrounds lived in which area both on the mainland and on Taiwan Island. This study sets out to determine how the official discourse enhanced the understanding of the relationships and connections between people with different backgrounds; with whom and in which way those peoples are culturally connected will be discussed. The vocabulary used (for example, citizen, compatriot, or immigrant), and identification (for example, us and them) contribute to the meaning-making of people and will be discussed. The category of custom discusses how the official discourse presented customs, for example, the language, habits, or life style, of people of this community.

This research also seeks to arrive at an understanding of the sense of ‘state’ officially produced in the textbooks by way of contents falling into the thematic sub-categories of government and territory. The accounts of the R.O.C. government and the P.R.C. have been set under one thematic unit. This study seeks to know how the official discourse chronologically presents the history of the R.O.C. and P.R.C. governments, such as the background and development of each government. The rhetorical expression in this unit, the words used (e.g. occupy and govern, legitimate and illegitimate, or authoritarian and democratic) which syntactically organize the sentences and explicitly represent or implicitly transfer the contradictive meaning will also be under investigation. In this unit, the political identity of Taiwan will be found. The notion of territory, for example, the mainland of China, Taiwan Island, or elsewhere, was officially delineated to portray the picture of an imagined community to readers is also the key theme of analysis. This study paid particular attention to the understanding of how the geographical identification of the mainland or Taiwan Island

are described, by words such as province, local, or homeland, to address a comprehensive meaning of nationhood. In this category, this study tries to answer some questions regarding the nationality of Taiwan, such as is a distinction made between Taiwan and ‘mainland’ or other parts of China, or is Taiwan island explicitly described as part of China or not?

By comparing the similarities and differences of the textual units across different editions, this study addresses the meaning of ‘Chinese’ and ‘Taiwan/ese’ in each volume, then portrays the symbolic transformation of the term ‘Taiwan’ and ‘China’ to address official defined nationhood of Taiwan. Mapping the thematic units into to a frame, this study is able to present the picture as one of an imagined community created within the text. Research findings will be placed in this research on a continuum revealing the transformation of the data analysis process to present how, or if, the officially illustrated ‘imagined community’ was reshaped. Moreover, through mapping the representations and comparing the results on the basis of different editions of textbooks and interview resources, this study will build up the sense of how Taiwan’s national character is created and recreated by the top-down driving force of the Ministry of Education (R.O.C.).

#### **4.5 Interview design**

This study examines the hermeneutic issues of how teachers express textbooks’ contents to argue how, or if, these official texts (history textbooks) were presented and thus reshaped. While the content of textbooks is seen as the official ideology and is also used to standardize citizen’s knowledge, if this can be done because the process will involve teachers who have the freedom to interpret the content in their own way.

Teachers were assumed to carry a dual identity as people acting in the field of cultural hegemony (for example, institutional education) dominated by the government on the one hand, but also as individuals in the society with their own ideology to express themselves on the other. Gramsci (1971) suggested that the intellectual is the actor that recreates the structure of hegemony. Intellectuals, he suggested, are of two types: the first being the traditional who regards him - or herself as autonomous and thus independent of the dominant social or political groups, and the second being the organic who is 'organically' attached to the dominant groups, and thus reinforces the power of hegemony. This is similar to Gellner's (1983) reasoning which argued for the creation of 'cultural hegemony'. Hence, the teacher is considered as the crucial character maintaining and even strengthening the power of the government through schooling by which official ideologies are embedded. However, with the progression of modernisation, the educational system may relay an official sense of national identity, but can also become a source of alternative forms of nationalism and even opposition to the government. Dalsheim (2007) argues that growing scholarly concern with historical perspectives and explanations (in the case of Israel's past this had to do with its myths and heroes) challenges official nationalism. So, teachers' ideas sometimes are richer and more substantial than those in textbooks, and thus they act as the agents who can reshape official nationalism.

#### **4.5.1 Interviewee**

The semi-structured interviews were carried with teachers during April to June 2011 in Taiwan. The aims and purposes, of the interview and brief information about the research project data were explained to participants before the start of the interview.

Interviewees were asked to sign a consent form, and permission was sought to record the interview. Each interview lasted between one to two hours and was recorded. The interview was conducted like as an informal discussion taking place in the participants' office.

The interviewees have different backgrounds, ages and ethnicities which are seen by previous researchers as factors associated with people's attitudes regarding the 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese' identity. (see chapter 3) From the historical perspective, most people in Taiwan were Chinese origin. Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the first large scale number of Chinese immigrants moved to Taiwan from Guang-don (Haka people) and Fu-jian (Minnan people) provinces of the southeast mainland and the second wave comprised those coming with the KMT party (between 1945 to 1949). (see chapter 2) Due to historical factors, the first wave of Chinese people and their offspring in Taiwan experienced the Japanese era, but the second wave did not, and thus the first wave (and their offspring) was generally identified as local Taiwanese and the second as the provincials. (see chapter 2) Therefore, this research will examine the interview result of teachers with different ages and ethnic backgrounds (aboriginal, Haka and Minnan, and the Chinese). (Table 4)

Table 4 The background of interviewees

	place/ area of Taiwan	teaching/ age	ethnic background
001	Taichung/central	5 years/ 28	Minnan + Minnan
002	Taipei/ northern	8 / 32	Minnan + Minnan

003	Dou-liu/ central	16 / 40	Minnan + Minnan
004	Tai-chung/ central	18 / 42	Minnan+ Haka
005	Tam-shui/ northern	22 / 45	Provincial + Minnan
006	Tam-shui/ northern	2 / 25	Minnan + aboriginal
007	Taipei/ northern	3 / 28	Minnan + provincial
008	Taipei/ northern	11 / 35	Provincial + provincial
009	Taipei/ northern	20 / 45	Provincial + provincial
010	Taipei/ northern	7 / 30	Haka + Haka
011	Taipei/ northern	16 / 42	Minnan+ Minnan
012	Tainan/ southern	17 / 43	Minnan + Minnan
013	Dou-liu/ central	21 / 45	Minnan + Minnan
014	Taichung/ central	6 / 40	Minnan + Minnan
015	Taipei/ northern	6 / 30	Haka + Haka
016	Tainan/ southern	6 / 31	Minnan + aboriginal
017	Tainan/ southern	8 / 32	Minnan + provincial
018	Tainan/ southern	10 / 34	Minnan + Minnan
019	Tainan/ southern	16 / 45	Haka + Haka
020	Tai-chung/ central	5 / 29	Minnan + aboriginal
021	Tainan/ southern	8 / 33	Minnan + provincial
022	Tainan/ southern	20 / 44	Minnan + Minnan
023	Shin-ying/ southern	36 / 58	Provincial+ provincial
024	Taiching/ central	6 / 34	Minnan + Minnan
025	Shin-ying/ southern	35 / 58	Minnan + Minnan
summary	Northern Taiwan: 9	Age) -29: 4	Native Taiwanese : 18

	Central Taiwan: 7	30-39: 9	Provincial Taiwanese : 3
	Southern: 9	40-49: 10	Mix native + provincial: 4
		50+: 2	

The 25 interviewees were almost evenly distributed as to age and ethnic background through a snowball sampling process. The method of snowball sampling is usually conducted for hard-to-reach members. This approach relies on a response-driven force to access interviewees, and thus is criticized as a method which cannot produce accurate research results. However, snowball sampling can still also be used effectively. Coleman (1958) suggested snowball sampling can be used by using socio-matric questions to sample interviewees, for example, asking each of those interviewees who are the people they most frequently contact. In this logic, Goodman (1961, 2013: 349) argued this makes snowball sampling capable of achieving statistically precise sampling.

In this research, the teacher who had experience in teaching both the senior and the junior classes was chosen to be the interviewee who would help to examine the effectiveness of interview questions. Teacher (001) was the pilot interviewee who was introduced by my friend and took part in a face-to-face interview for two hours in March 2011 in Edinburgh. Concerns with the clarity of the interview questions can be observed from the interviewee's response, and thus helped revision of the questions and also the improvement of interview skills. Teacher (001) was one of the initial contacts, from central Taiwan, teaching history at junior and senior high school level, and was requested to look for history teachers, especially those whose ethnic

background or age/generation were diametrically different from hers. Other initial contacts were teacher (002), (003), and (021), and they were also requested to introduce teachers who taught high school history, preferably with different backgrounds from their own. The 25 interviewees were almost evenly distributed as to age and ethnic background.

#### **4.5.2 Ethical issues**

Several crucial ethical issues-‘justice’, ‘autonomy’, ‘beneficence’ and ‘non-maleficence’, and ‘fidelity’- are the concern of this research. Justice means impartial and equal treatment, including both attitude and behaviour for participants, for example, clinical and medical experiments and research. Autonomy refers to participants’ self-determination. Beneficence and non-maleficence mean to ‘improve’ and ‘protect’ the interviewees. Fidelity concerns researchers’ honesty and promises to participants, such as observance of ethical rules and explanations and use of the research purpose (Kitchener, 2000: 21). Similar to Kitchener’s suggestion regarding the elimination of the dilemma and struggle between researchers and participants, Manson (2002) states that researchers should exercise consent, anonymity, and confidentiality. It is a guarantee and assurance of respect to individuals’ values and privacy; moreover, it also protects researchers from the risk of legal disputes. In this research, moral principles and obligations were followed. Two obligations covered are confidentiality and objectivity with regard to the research and research subjects. In this concern, I first honestly explained the researcher’s obligation and participants’ rights before conducting the interviews. I explained my statement to interviewees that they are guaranteed assurance that the interview content between researchers and



participants will be used in this study. Their background, i.e. their schools, will not be made public to ensure they were treated with ethical concern. The manner of speech and enquiry when conducting the interview and the participants' emotions and feelings should also be considered: this affects the validity and reliability of the investigation (Manson, 2002). Excessive and irrelevant discussions which might cause embarrassment and psychological distress could be prevented by suggesting, before the start of the interview, to the interviewees that they can freely express their opinions and thoughts. In the interview, ethical principles of Research Policy level 1, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Edinburgh, for researchers and participants will be obeyed. (appendix 1 and 2)

#### **4.5.3 The semi-structured interview**

I often started with a question that was indirectly associated with this research to understand the teachers' concerns when they talked to the class because particular reasons could influence their teaching, for example, the students' family background – DPP or KMT - which will be related to students' response in the class. By discussing those teachers' expressions on the historical cases, I uncovered background information on historical events that may not have been included in the textbooks and influenced the reader's understanding, as the interview focused on how they filled the narrative gap in the content of textbooks. During the interviews, I would develop questions from their answers to ensure that I understood their words correctly. I also extracted the content of what they said in class by asking them about how they taught their materials (e.g. PowerPoint presentations and handouts).

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reasons could influence their teaching, for example, the students' family background – DPP or KMT which will be quite related to students' response in the class. By discussing those teachers' expressions on the historical cases, I uncovered background information on historical events that may not have been included in the textbooks and influenced the reader's understanding, as the interview focused on how they filled the narrative gap in the content of textbooks. During the interviews, I would develop questions from their answers to ensure that I understood their words correctly. I also extracted the content of what they said in class by asking them about teaching their materials (e.g. PowerPoint presentations and handouts).

The interview question was composed of a set of themes as follows (also see appendix 3, the interview schedule and appendix 5, the content table of the latest textbooks):

i) The first part of the interview was about how teachers explained the origin of Taiwan's people. In the earlier editions before 2000s, Beijing man (people of prehistoric era) in mainland China and the legend of Emperor Huang were applied as the common ancestry and myth of Taiwan's people. The historical view regarding the ancestry of Taiwan's people changed in the latest textbooks, and the legend of Emperor Huang who had been suggested as the common ancestor of Chinese people was no longer referred to. The interviews try to understand how teachers explain the ancestral relation while Taiwan and China's history was separated into two volumes in which the ancestral connection between them is implicitly addressed by mentioning Taiwan as one part of the Southeast mainland according to the archaeological view.

The interview questions are designed to ascertain how the culture of Taiwan was presented by teachers. The latest textbooks introduced that Han, namely, the Chinese

culture and ethnicity, was the fundamental element of contemporary Taiwan's culture and the plural-ethnicity of the people. In this sense, the textbooks' descriptions of Taiwan's culture will cause confusion as to whether Taiwan could be considered as being within the Chinese cultural community. Hence, I asked the teachers about the textbook content on 'Han' immigrants to Taiwan as the first generation of Taiwanese people, which literally addressed the ancestral and cultural connection between Chinese people and the local Taiwanese people, to understand how they explained it to the students. Interview questions were broadly concerned with cultural characteristics, e.g. religion, legacies, and diet, on the basis of the content of textbooks, to gain an understanding of how teachers presented the theme of Taiwan's cultures with the national name.

ii) Secondly, how teachers explain the historical periods of the Chinese regime (Ming-zheng and Qing rule), Japanese rule, and the Sino-based R.O.C. which organized the past and the present of Taiwan. In the textbooks, although those three 'Chinese' historical periods in Taiwan's history were expressed as the 'Han', instead of being given the national identification 'Chinese', the connection between the mainland and Taiwan in the contents of the textbooks was still implicitly addressed. This kind of composition of Taiwan's history in which Chinese eras (regimes) were mentioned as the part of Taiwan's past could be understood from various angles. One is the Chinese-centred viewpoint regarding Taiwan as having always been historically, culturally, and politically connected with the mainland as one community. The other is Taiwan-centred proposing 'Taiwan' as a subjectivity composed of various historical eras. Both of these two statements suggest the historical perspective, but yet, two ideologies positioned in the views suggest a diametrically opposed sense of Taiwan's identity.

This enabled teachers to flexibly explain the historical connection between the mainland and Taiwan and recreate the meaning going beyond the officially written history. For the same reason, the rule of the Japanese in Taiwan was suggested as being occupation to make legitimate the Chinese regime governing over Taiwan. The historical view of the latest textbooks was changed in which the Japanese era was no longer literally described as ‘occupation’, rather, ‘governance’. The Japanese era, which broke the continuity of the Chinese regime in Taiwan, is interpreted as having been ‘governed’, instead of ‘occupied’, which historically stressed the Chinese nationality over Taiwan. The explanation of the meaning of those historical periods will lead to different understandings regarding the identity and character of ‘Taiwan’.

iii) The history and background of the R.O.C. government were discussed in the interview. In the textbooks the establishment of the R.O.C.’s establishment and its early era (1911 to 1945) were introduced in the volume of China’s history which was separated from that of Taiwan; however, the period after 1945 was set in Taiwan’s history as that of contemporary Taiwan. This kind of historical narration might confuse the readers about the R.O.C.’s political legitimacy and sovereignty over Taiwan and about the apparatus of ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ as whether it is a Chinese state or not. Therefore, the interview concentrated on how teachers presented the role of the R.O.C. government to address the political character of ‘Taiwan’.

iv) The interviews also try to ascertain how teachers presented the accounts of contemporary Taiwan in respect of politics, culture, and society. The concept ‘Taiwan’ conveys not only the physical environment, but also a signification as socio-cultural and socio-political symbolism. The interview proceeding along the timeline of

historical events across social, political, and cultural perspectives in the R.O.C. regime era in Taiwan seeks to know how teachers expressed the historical accounts to present which characteristics of contemporary 'Taiwanese' society.

Political episodes mentioned in the textbooks constitute the political history of Taiwan: for example, the 228 Incident (1947), the Martial Law Era (1949 to 1987), the Beautiful Formosa Incident (1979), the presidential election (1996), and so on. Each of these which marked the democratic progress and political characteristics of the era from the 1949 to 2011 was the topic in the interview. The interpretation of those political cases, such as the 228 Incident and Beautiful Formosa Incident will influence students' understanding of Taiwan's political characteristics which manifested the 'imagined community' of Taiwan. Take the 228 Incident for example. In Taiwan's society, the 228 Incident was a taboo topic in the Martial Law era and is still a critical issue in the present-day because of involving various participants with very different conditions, e.g. ideological, political and cultural. Therefore, how teachers explain this case was challenging. When explaining this event in the class, they need to be concerned with many things, including the meaning of the accounts of textbooks, the words they used, and even the students' family background: for example, if students come from KMT or DPP families when particular ideologies are proposed, they might be aggressive. Facing those possibilities, how teachers expressed themselves more critically to challenge the official ideas, or preserved more conservative attitudes to limit their explanation solely on the cases of textbooks, are all under the concern of interview for knowing the way in which the officially constructed history is reconstructed from below.

This study also examines how, or if, teachers presented the cultural and social characters with the national meaning of contemporary Taiwan. This research pays particular attention to how the idea of the plural-ethnic identity and multi-faceted culture of contemporary Taiwan in the textbooks were represented to students. Chinese culture was proposed as the basis of the Taiwanese, for example, language, and Chinese immigrants coming to Taiwan in the 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were described as Taiwan people's ancestry. In the latest textbooks, the concept of 'Taiwanese' culture and people were introduced; however, the reasons why, how, and in which way various cultural elements can be considered as 'Taiwanese', instead of 'Chinese', were still unknown. In textbooks, for example, new immigrants, such as Vietnamese and Chinese brides, and Japanese culture, are referred to; nevertheless, there are not have sufficient details explaining how those cultures have been gradually created to be a new ethnic and cultural character of Taiwan. Under this concern, teachers' explanations of those concepts of the culture and ethnicity should be examined.

#### **4.6 Note on translation of resources**

Some significant points should be taken into consideration when translating Chinese resources - textbooks and interview data - into English. Linguistic, discursive, and ideological differences occur in the translation. This case takes on the challenge of the semiotic or hermeneutic translation issue in language, as well as the contextual change of culture from Chinese language to English language; and the two factors influenced each other. In this regard, there is the unpreventable challenge of how to translate a cultural phenomenon precisely, while specific weight and value have to be added to promote comprehension in the translation from the resource language to the target

language (Riccardi, 2002). As Gadamer proposed, translation is interpretation (2008); therefore, a certain amount of loss and gain occurred in translating from Chinese (resource language) to English (target language). There are circumstances in which a sentence or paragraph sits well in Chinese, but may be out of place in English, such as source texts consisting of implicit meaning, boxes, and bubbles (Valerie and Liu, 2010:13). Translating can be and should be understood as interpreting. In this manner, this study carried out the translation to identify the author's intention expressed within the text and the conventional meaning of the expressions of the source language, to achieve the aim of the communicative speakers of the resource language (Chinese) and readers of the target language (English).

This is the note discussing how the key Chinese terms were translated to be the English and used in this study.

#### 1. Using Chinese terms in the English language context

Wai-sheng-ren refers to mainlanders who went to Taiwan with the KMT when retreating from mainland China in 1945-1949 (after the Japanese era) - people who migrated to Taiwan - and has a contrastive meaning to 'native (local) Taiwanese'. The term '**wai-sheng-ren**' was translated as 'provincial people' or 'Chinese immigrant'. 'Wai' carries the sense of 'outside', 'external', or 'besides'; 'sheng', 'the province'; and 'ren', 'people', 'person', 'citizen' or 'ethnicity'. Therefore, wai-sheng-ren simultaneously revealed the social, cultural, and political identifications. In this case, the term 'provincial people' makes no sense in the English-speaking semantic context, while 'mainlander immigrant' did not completely capture the original meaning in the socio-cultural context. They were not immigrants because they merely transferred with

the KMT from the mainland to Taiwan in 1949, as both areas were considered Chinese territory. Under semantic and hermeneutic considerations, ‘provincial people’, ‘mainlander immigrants’ or ‘Chinese immigrants’ were thus translated in this study closer to the linguistic and cultural context of the target language. In the same way, Ben-sheng-ren (本省人), was translated into local or native Taiwanese people in this study. The term ‘local Taiwanese people’ has a general meaning of people in geographical Taiwan while ‘native Taiwanese’ is a cultural identification meaning people with Chinese Minnan and Haka ancestral origin.

## 2. Translating the multiple meaning of one Chinese term

The translation of individual terms not only influences the meaning of this term, but also the content of the article. The terms *zheng-hua-min-tzu* and *zheng-guo*, which are often used in textbooks to indicate ‘China’ and ‘Chinese’ should be clarified. In the Chinese language, *zheng-hua-min-tzu* usually means the concept of Chinese nation (cultural community). The word *zheng* (中) literally means central (adj.) or centre (n.); *hua* (華) is the name of an ethnic group (Han); *min* (民) is the people or citizens; and *tzu* (族) is a group, usually ethnic or national. Therefore, *zheng-hua-min-tzu* can be understood and translated as ‘Chinese nationality’ or ‘Chinese ethnicity’.

The term *zheng-guo* can be understood as a political entity (state) or a cultural community (nation). This means that these English words – nation and state - translate into the same word *guo* (國) in Chinese. To be precise, however, ‘state’ is the political entity, which usually means the territory governed by one government; the term ‘nation’ means people who share a common descent, history, culture, etc., inhabit a particular state, and are united as a group. Therefore, the term *zheng-guo* (Chinese)



used in textbooks will be translated to be Chinese nation, Chinese state, mainland China, the P.R.C. or. R.O.C. government according to it in the narrative context.

The word *guo* (國) literally means nation or state; hence, *zheng-guo* (Chinese) means ‘Chinese nation’, ‘Chinese state’, ‘the territory of China’, or ‘Chinese government’. Therefore, when *guo* (nation or state) is used with the word ‘my’ or ‘our’, which all translate into the same Chinese word ‘*wo*’ (我), literally meaning I, we, my, or our, to become the term ‘*wo-guo*’ (我國), the resulting phrase has many meanings, that is, ‘my (or our) nation’, ‘my state’, or ‘my country’. Thus, the term ‘*wo-guo*’ (我國) carries multiple meanings when used in textbooks. Furthermore, when the word *zen* (人), which literally means individual, ethnicity, or people, follows *zheng-hua* (Chinese nation) and *zheng-guo* (Chinese nation or state) to form the term *Zheng-guo-zhen* (Chinese ethnicity or people), it carries multiple meanings: political identity, citizenship, cultural identity, or ethnicity. Therefore, although the term *zheng-guo-zhen* appears in many places of the texts, it carries different meanings.

The below were the list introducing the Chinese words translated to be the English in this research:

Zhong-guo (中國): China, Chinese, mainland China, the mainland.

Zhong-guo-zhen (中國人): Chinese, mainlander (the people in mainland China, the people from mainland China, or the citizens of mainland China [P.R.C.]).

Tai-wan-zhen (台灣人) was translated into ‘Taiwanese people’ (a cultural meaning), ‘Taiwan’s people’ and ‘people in Taiwan’ (generally means people in Taiwan).

Min-zu (民族) was translated into nation (a cultural group dominated by particular power, e.g. government and government) or ethnicity (a single group based on cultural connections).

Zu-qun (族群) was translated into race (genetically based group) or ethnic group (a single group based on cultural connections).

Zen (人) was translated into people (persons in general) or citizen (people who owns allegiance to its government).

Tong-zhi (統治): autonomy (the right of self-government), rule (the political control of the government), governance (an institutional control of the government), or regime (a government in power).

She-hui (社會): society (an organized group with persons associated together for particular conditions, e.g. economic), or the environment of everyday life.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Inventing and Re-inventing the collective memory: the transformation of the history of the 28<sup>th</sup> February Incident**

This chapter aims to investigate the presentation of the 28<sup>th</sup> February Incident (228 Incident) to argue the creation and recreation of the collective memory as a kind of invented tradition perceived to embody the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan. In Taiwan’s society, the 228 Incident was a taboo subject to which there was no official reference, nor was there social discussion of it during the Martial Law era (1949 to 1987). Discussion of this case eventually resurfaced publicly in the post-martial law era and continues today. The 228 Incident (1947) was generally understood as a large-scale conflict between local Taiwanese people and both Chinese immigrants and the R.O.C. government. This event led to the imposition of Martial Law for forty years until 1987 and it also had a negative influence on ethnic relations in Taiwan’s society.

This theoretical idea of the invention of the tradition is carried on to discuss this topic with the focus on production of common memory as a way of developing the ‘imagined community’ of the nation of Taiwan. Scholars of nationalism suggested that the constructions of national myths, rituals, or other symbolic elements intimately influenced the social solidarity and the maintenance of people’s sense of ‘imagined community’ (Smith, 1991,2010; Hobsbawm and Ranger,2013). Common memory, which can be understood as the mutual memory of the members of the society to the past, was a significant attribute, as well as history, culture, or ancestry, to manifest the authentic past and the existence of nations (Smith 2010:13, 1991: 14-16; Miller 1995; Renan 1996; Halbwachs 1992; Anderson 2006; Asplant et al, 2000: 28; Wood, 2008:

261-262). Renan also suggested (1996:52) that the nation's past, no matter whether being performed on stage, represented on screen, or inscribed on monuments, could be seen as the heritage which could be individually drawn upon by people as the foundation to underpin him/herself within the community and shape his/her sense regarding it as an undivided form.

The past does not fade from people's memory; rather, the memory of the 'splendid' or 'miserable' days influences people's current perception of history and identity. In this regard, we should ask where does the sense of the memory making which can shape people's ideologies and sense of belongingness to achieve a sense of imagined community come from. Different historical views lead to the answers: the meaning of clash denotes the idea of distinctness while common memory suggests connection. Under this heading, what is the understanding of the 228 Incident? This past was more than the documented history or individuals' memories, rather, it is a historiographical representation engaged by powers (for example, the government).

This chapter tries to argue the way in which the history of the 228 Incident has been shaped by the official power in the textbooks and reshaped by teachers and through which it seeks to understand the ideology behind this 'invented' common memory. Specific questions are as follows: what is argued to be the reason for the conflict; is the 228 described as a fight between members of the same nation; if so, is it presented as a tragedy or a clash; is it presented as a conflict between those defending a 'nation' and those outside that 'nation' or opposed to it (e.g. foreigners, subversives, traitors, criminals)? In the content of each edition, this study will examine how the official discourse presented the accounts of the 228 incident concerning how the participants

were identified as victims and criminals, and finally to denote the historical meaning as either a ‘clash between two sides’ or a ‘time of suffering for one “national” community’. Through comparing different editions of textbooks, this study will promote the understanding of what events and ideas are drawn upon and what are left out to argue the way in which the history has been invented and reinvented. This study also carried out the in-depth interviews with teachers with the aim of investigating the way in which the official written history has been reproduced.

According to the content analysis of textbooks, the 228 Incident has been initially presented to be an inevitable tragedy of the Chinese nation, then an ethnic conflict between Sino-based and Taiwan-based people of China, and finally a common suffering of all people of Taiwanese community. This research result according to the content analysis shows the increasing distinction between of ‘Taiwan’ and ‘China’. In this case, teachers reshaped the official idea by suggesting that this was not only a disaster for the local Taiwanese people, but also for both Chinese immigrants and government, which reinforced the sense of ‘Taiwanese national community’.

### **5.1 The 228 Incident in 1947**

What is the 228 incident and why it can be seen as a fascinating case from which to reflect the creation of Taiwanese national identity? In 1945, when Japan lost the Second World War, the period of Japanese colonization ended. Taiwan Island was returned to the R.O.C. government led by the KMT, which was still engaged in the civil war started around 1937 with the Chinese communists. The Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office was established on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1945 as the highest administrative level of government in the post-war Taiwan and was

responsible for Taiwan's administrative affairs under the direction of the officer, Chen Yi.

Under the governance of Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, the Chinese immigrants dominated the political agenda and held the most significant positions in local and central government (Leo, 2000, Wang, 2002) (also see Chapter 2). The R.O.C. government held extensive power over not only the politics, but also the economy and society of Taiwan. As reported by the Committee of Inquiry, the eighth 'Principle' allowed for the appropriation by the government of business property left by the Japanese government in the mining industry, transportation, agriculture and fisheries, and in commerce (Lao, 2000: 29-31). Like the Japanese colonial government before it, the R.O.C. government depended upon profits gained from these businesses. In the perspective of culture, one of the top priorities for ruling Taiwan was to reform the Japanese-influenced Taiwanese society by building up the Taiwanese people's loyalty to the Chinese nation. Under the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, the Committee of Inquiry was a sector established to investigate Taiwan's society based on the law 'The Principles of Taking over Taiwan' promulgated in 1945. For example, the fourth of these principles encompassed reinforcing national consciousness, erasing Japanese culture, generalizing education, and raising cultural standards (Lao, 2000: 29-31). The fifth principle prohibited the use of Japanese language in newspapers, textbooks, and in public (ibid). Su (1986) and Chen (1972) argue that local Taiwanese people quickly lost faith in the R.O.C. government and many came to consider it as a 'second colonization' much like the Japanese with both regarded as 'outsider regimes'. Gold (1986) and Edmondson (2002) argued, different experiences, values, and memories divided the mainlander

immigrants and local Taiwanese people into two distinctive groups.

The 228 Incident was sparked on 27 February 1947, two years after Taiwan had been returned from the Japanese government. The 228 Incident can be generalized to be a dispute occurred when the officers of the Tobacco and Liquor Monopoly Bureau clampdown on tax avoiding tobacco sellers and then amplified to be a large scale protest over the whole Taiwan. The next day after the conflict happened on the evening of 27<sup>th</sup> February, a group of local Taiwanese marched to a police station demanding that the government hand over the gunman but their petition was rejected. The protestors then went to the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, which was the highest administrative level of central organization in the post-war Taiwan affairs under the direction of the Administrative Officer, Chen Yi; again, their request was rejected (Edmondson, 2002). Then anti-government riots spread across Taiwan and the number of protestors in big cities gradually increased on 28<sup>th</sup> February. A great number of protestors stormed the Taiwan Radio Building and began broadcasting over the whole of Taiwan, triggering protest activities in both large and small cities (Edmondson, 2002: 28). In the resultant conflict between the local Taiwanese and the Administration's officials, people were injured and killed. The administrator Chen Yi declared Martial Law on 28<sup>th</sup> February and implemented for three months under the reason of preventing the continuation of further conflict and fatalities (Kerr, 1965). On 8 March, national military troops assigned from the mainland arrived in Taiwan to suppress continuing protests. On 20 March, Chen Yi imposed the action of 'cleaning the village' with the aim at apprehending dissidents, searching households, and arresting offenders; numerous local Taiwanese people, particularly elites, e.g. doctors, teachers, and writers, who were assumed to be potential dissidents were put in jail and

even shouted at under the suspicion of being betrayers and communist spy offence against the national security.

In the subsequent period, the R.O.C. government suffered several defeats by the Communists in the Chinese mainland, including the capital, Nanjing, in 1949, leading to its retreat. Against this political backdrop, on 23 May 1950, the government announced the outcome of the investigation of the 228 Incident. The key findings included, firstly, the assertion that local Taiwanese people were influenced by an 'evil' Japanese education and had been misled by radical propagandists and, secondly, that the communist party and its ambitious leaders arrested the cigarette smugglers to incite an uprising in Taiwan (Lai, Myers, and Wou, 1991:5). The 228 Incident was then closed to public discussion for forty years during the entire Martial Law era imposed in 1949. Under Martial law, discussing the 228 Incident could possibly be assumed as dissent and an offence against national security. The 228 incident continued to exist as an enigma in Taiwan's society.

With the repeal of Martial Law and the evolution of political democracy after 1987, the issue of the 228 Incident came back into discussion in the public sphere of Taiwan. Take the two main political parties in post-war Taiwan, the Sino-based party, the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) and the Taiwan-based Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, established in 1986), for example. In 1988, the president Lee Teng-hui (from KMT) stressed that the 228 Incident should be memorialized as a historical tragedy for all people in Taiwan; unfortunately, it had been exploited as a political strategy by those who pursued the independence of Taiwan, such as the DPP, and thereby undermined Taiwan's social solidarity (Lee, 1989). Lee also apologized to the



victims' families in 1995, which was the first time that the government had expressed regret for this incident. On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 228 Incident in 1997, Vice President Lien Chan (KMT) also said that the 228 Incident had been a historic mistake, thereby softening the truth of history to eliminate ethnic misunderstanding and promote unity in recreating a 'Taiwanese' society (Taiwan Peace and Reconciliation Committee, 1997). Through stating the 228 Incident as a common suffering of all people in Taiwan, the KMT party sought to build up the tie between the local Taiwanese and the R.O.C. government, which was founded by the KMT, as the legitimate government of Taiwan.

In contrast, the Democratic Progressive Party stressed the 228 Incident was a holocaust of the 'outsider' government, namely, the R.O.C. government, to local Taiwanese people (Chang, 1995). This idea can be seen in 1996 when the Democratic Progressive Party presidential candidate, Peng Ming-min, argued that, 'the 228 Incident proved that Taiwan must not unify with China, otherwise an even worse historical disaster will take place' (UPI, Taiwan, 26 February 1996) (Edmondson, 2002). In the presidential election in 2000, the DPP's election slogan was 'Remember the 228 – Vote for the DPP' (Edmondson, 2002). With this aim, the DPP proposed themselves as nationalists with the aim of re-constructing the 'Taiwanese' state, and aimed to promote the construction of a local-oriented Taiwanese community which nationally distinguished itself from that of 'China'.

Some researchers suggested the incorrect policies implemented by the R.O.C. government as the key reason causing this incident and concluded this as being of the historical significance. In the case of business policy, as Lao (2000:29-31) suggested,

though gaining profits from these businesses left by the Japanese government, such as in the mining industry, transportation, agriculture and fisheries, and in commerce, the R.O.C. government held extensive power over the economy of Taiwan. In the perspective of culture, one of the top priorities for ruling Taiwan was to reform the Japanese-influenced Taiwanese society by building up the Taiwanese people's loyalty to the Chinese nation. The example was the Committee of Inquiry, which was a sector under the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office established to investigate Taiwan's society. The law 'The Principles of Taking over Taiwan' promulgated in 1945 encompassed reinforcing national consciousness, erasing Japanese culture from daily life, and prohibiting the use of Japanese language in newspapers, textbooks, and in public (Lao 2000:29-31). In the society, the group of Chinese immigrants dominated the agenda in the society and held the most significant positions in local and central government, as Wang (2002) argued. Su (1986) and Chen (1972) argue that local Taiwanese people quickly lost faith in the R.O.C. government and many came to consider it as a 'second colonization' much like the Japanese with both being regarded as 'an outsider regime which politically, economically, and socially and depreciated Taiwan's people. Gold (1986) and Edmondson (2002) argued that different experiences, values, and memories made it a challenge to the R.O.C. government to rule this territory. Those reasons, e.g. the consequence of the wars and the transformation of Taiwan from a Japanese society to Chinese, also resulted in the uneven social treatment of local Taiwanese and Chinese immigrants, and in ethnic distinction (Gold 1986, Edmondson 2002). In the labour market, for example, local Taiwanese people who undertook Japanese education were unable to speak Chinese, and thus difficult to have a position to work in the government.

## 5.2 The 228 Incident as the tragedy of China (1985 to 1999)

Being absented from the content of history textbooks for almost forty years, the 228 Incident happened of 1947 was introduced in the history textbooks (senior level) published in 1985 to 1999 – chapter 28, ‘The spirit and achievement of China of resisting Japanese aggression’. Following up the content of Japanese colonial era in Taiwan (1895 to 1945), the event of the 228 Incident was introduced:

In the early revival of Taiwan after the destruction of World War II, the consequences of social and economic chaos and the high unemployment rate caused serious problems. During this period, Chen Yi was the officer of the Taiwan Province Administrative Office who held administrative and military power. [...]The state-operated economic system, political corruption, and disorder in military rule evoked dissatisfaction among the local Taiwanese people. Taiwan’s compatriots who waited for the return to their motherland were disappointed with this situation. On 27<sup>th</sup> February (the 36<sup>th</sup> year of the Republican era), the conflict occurred between the people and officers who caught illegal tobacco smugglers, which provoked this incident. Many people were sacrificed in this incident. Later President Chiang Kai-shek recalled Chen Yi as the officer of the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office and institutionally changed it to be Taiwan Province Government. (1999: 165-166)

The 228 Incident was introduced in the context of Chinese history can be noted from two places regarding the national identity of Taiwan. One is literally mentioning the Japanese rule over Taiwan as occupation, and the other is Taiwan came to be the domain under the R.O.C. as returning to its motherland. By using the word ‘occupation’ to mean the Japanese rule over Taiwan, the discourse suggested Japanese government was the illegitimate power to rule Taiwan which was the territory of China. ‘Taiwan’ was more than territorially one part of China - a part of the Chinese statehood. The discourse of textbook terminologically identified local Taiwanese

people by using the word ‘compatriot’, which means mainlanders and local Taiwanese people are the Chinese people. According to this content, the 228 Incident was presented as the past of the Chinese nation and its people.

The whole content of the 228 Incident was only one paragraph. In the limited accounts, many details regarding the course of this event, such as the interaction between the government and people, were not provided. Two factors, one the post-war material shortage and the other the institutional and administrative deficiency of the government, were suggested as the reason triggering the 228 Incident. So, the 228 Incident was depicted as an inevitable and fatal consequence in post-war Taiwan as the national disaster of China.

During almost the same period of time, the 228 Incident was introduced into history textbooks of junior level (1989 to 1996) in Chapter 24 ‘The disorder in the post-war era’ following the history of Japanese colonial era (occupation). The content and its length was similar in the textbooks of senior level. In one paragraph (13 lines) the whole content covering this incident, the background, course of events, and historical meaning of the 228 Incident as the common suffering of China were explored:

In the early era, when Taiwan was revived, the disasters brought by World War II, including economic inflation, shortage of resources, poor living standards, and a high unemployment rate affected Taiwan. Along with the incompetent political and economic policies of the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Officer, Chen Yi, who held administrative and military power, this led to Taiwanese compatriots being dissatisfied with these policies. In the 36<sup>th</sup> year of the ear of the republic, the government apprehended tobacco smugglers, which resulted in a clash between the government and the public. Many local and provincial compatriots suffered. This Incident is known as the 228 Incident. (1987: 86-87)

According to the cause and the historical meaning organized in the textbook content, the 228 Incident was presented as the past of the Chinese nation which is positioned as a historical tragedy and hardship brought by the war and government's efforts to prevent illegal economic activity. There is no mention of the accounts of the political backdrop, where the Chinese civil war (between R.O.C. and Chinese Communist Party) was then raging, or the R.O.C.'s policy regarding Taiwan as the province of China that would become the outpost from which the re-conquest of mainland China would take place. By literally expressing 'Taiwan revived' as the historical background of the 228 Incident, the textbooks suggested the idea of considering 'Taiwan' as the territory of the R.O.C. government which succeed the Qing dynasty as the state of China. This narration not only legitimized the status of the R.O.C. coming from mainland China as the government of Taiwan, but also created the political connection between the 'mainland China' and 'Taiwan' with their same political identity as the territory of the R.O.C. state. On this basis, the 'Chinese' identity was given to Taiwan.

In the content, both the local Taiwanese and mainlander immigrants are given their identity as Chinese people. The terms 'provincial', which means people from another province of China, and 'Taiwanese compatriot', which is used to mean local Taiwanese people as the compatriots of Chinese people are employed. The texts identify both mainlanders and local Taiwanese as Chinese people. According to the contextual organization and rhetorical expression, the 228 Incident carried with it the meaning of being an inevitable post-war catastrophe for China and all its people.

### **5.3 The 228 Incident as the ethnic conflict (1997 to 2006)**

The content of the 228 Incident was substantially changed in the textbooks of the following edition published in 2000 to 2006. It was still in the first section of history of post-war Taiwan, ‘The establishment of Taiwan experiences’ of chapter 18, following the period of the Japanese era (Nan-yi, 2000). Two major changes were made in the content of the 228 Incident. First, ‘China’ was understood as the statehood, but not the nationhood of Taiwan anymore, according to the historical context of the content in which the 228 Incident was introduced. Second, the meaning of the 228 Incident seen as the consequence of WWII was reshaped to be the conflict between two ethnic groups in Taiwan. With those accounts written into the content, the plot of the 228 Incident was re-organized and re-shaped to be the local conflict between the local Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants, but not the national catastrophe anymore:

After Japan surrendered in WWII, the nationalist government established the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, and assigned Chen Yi as the officer to govern Taiwan. [...] Under the lead of Chen Yi, the performance of politics, economics, and socio-culture was below people’s expectation. In the aspect of public affairs, the most significant position of Provincial Administrative Executive Office were upheld by mainlanders, and quite few local Taiwanese people worked in the government. Many mainlanders, who were superfluous staff, relied on the nepotistic relation to get the position; local Taiwanese people who worked in the government were treated unequally by being paid much lower than mainlanders. Those were far from the expectations of local Taiwanese intellectuals to the government. In economics, Chen Yi learned experience of developed countries, inherited the policies of previous Japanese government, and discouraged private business. The low income of national business and the huge amount of resources exporting to mainland China resulted in the rapid increase in the prices of commodities in Taiwan. Under fifty-year Japanese

governance, the life, culture and custom of Taiwanese people was seriously influenced by Japan. Some officers coming from mainland China understand it as self-degraded of Taiwanese people to be the slave, and need to be re-socialized. In addition, the low-discipline of military and policemen, who frequently intimidated and extorted people, people's trust to the government was thus lost.[...] Against this background, in 27<sup>th</sup> February of 36<sup>th</sup>-year of Republican Era, the affair of catching the traffic of cigarette resulted the exploration of the 228 Incident. [...] When the protest explored, the local elite gentry elites in Taipei and the people's representatives organized 'the 228 Incident Inquiry Committee' agreed by Chen Yi to deal with the communication between the people and the central government and which requested the government to compensate and indemnify people and implement local governance. (Nan-yi, 2000: 166-168)

Regarding the cause of the 228 Incident, the account the consequence of the post-war economic and social problems mentioned in the previous edition were removed from the content of this edition. The reasons used in the textbooks of previous editions suggesting the government's wrong policies resulting in the 228 Incident were preserved but given with an alternative meaning. The domestic economic, political, and administrative deficient, were not completely explained to be the incompetent policies made by the government, rather, still the mistake by the particular the group - Chinese immigrant who politically and socially held the upper class in Taiwan's society. According to those cases in textbooks: Chinese immigrants occupied most of the positions in the government, and Chinese officer's discrimination to local Taiwanese and attempts to change local Taiwanese people's Japanese-influenced habits, plus rejection of local Taiwanese people's request to implement institutional change, the 228 Incident can be explained to be the conflict between Chinese people and local Taiwanese people. These conflicts which happened were not only from their

social distinction, but also from their Sino-based and Taiwan-based cultural norms and historical experiences, for example, the Japanese customs and language. This event has been reinvented to be a clash caused by the barrier between two ethnic groups - the mainlanders and local Taiwanese people.

Unlike in the previous edition, the 228 Incident was no longer presented as the national commemoration of China; instead, solely the local memory of Taiwan. 'Taiwan' was still treated as a region of China and this idea can be noted from the part of the beginning of the 228 Incident while the political transition of Taiwan in the post-war era was referred to as becoming the domain of the nationalist government. However, instead of expressing this event as returning to the motherland which denoted the meaning as the nationhood as seen in the previous edition, the textbook applied 'Chinese' as the statehood to address the state of Taiwan. Additionally, the term 'compatriot' used to mean the identity of local Taiwanese people their same national belongingness with Chinese people was dropped and changed to be 'local Taiwanese people'. In the content of textbooks (2000 to 2006), the 228 Incident has been re-invented from the common tragedy and memory of the Chinese nation to be that of the local Taiwan. The boundary between 'China' and 'Taiwan' was drawn. Over successive editions, the sense of the gradual detachment of Taiwan's national identity from the Chinese nation appeared.

The presentation of the 228 Incident was also substantially changed in the history textbooks of junior level, i.e. both *History* and *Knowing Taiwan [History]* (1997-2001) and *Social Studies (History)*(2002 to 2006). The textbooks of this edition presented the 228 Incident as a conflict between two ethnic groups because of their different



historical and political experience. Take the content of *Knowing Taiwan [History]* for example - the 228 Incident was in the first section, 'The initial stage of politics', of chapter nine, titled 'The political transformation of R.O.C. in Taiwan' following the history of Japanese era:

In the 34<sup>th</sup>-year of the republic era (1945), Taiwan escaped Japanese rule and became a province of the Republic of China (R.O.C.). The incompetent dominance of the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office caused the 228 Incident at the end of the 36<sup>th</sup>-year of the republic era.[...] Major government positions were predominately held by people from China with the local Taiwanese people holding minor positions. This caused resentment amongst the local Taiwanese people. The economy was characterized by high inflation, high unemployment rates, and industrial stagnation which impacted on Taiwan's society. [...] The public security disorder, language barriers, and differences in customs changed Taiwan people's expectations to disappointment. Hence, when an incident happened one day, this event stirred up protest across the island to resist the government. When this event spread over the whole of Taiwan, the representatives of local government organized a committee to deal with this urgent situation. This case, however, was exaggeratedly reported by Chen Yi to the central government: he called it armed rebellion triggered by Taiwan's people. On 8<sup>th</sup> March, the national troops from the mainland started to subdue the protest, resulting in serious disasters. A series of actions were implemented, namely, to check the population census, to report dissidents, to confiscate weapons and to encourage self-surrender. Therefore, many innocent people were sentenced to death or jail. This tragedy negatively influenced Taiwan's political development and ethnic relation. (1997: 88-89)

Unlike the narrative writing the end of Japanese rule in Taiwan as Taiwan returned to its motherland in the previous edition, it was expressed as becoming one province of the R.O.C.. It is the R.O.C. government, rather than 'China', which is used in the content, as the state of Taiwan. In this sense, the idea of 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' as the

statehood is invented.

A new perspective as the cause of the 228 Incident was drawn into the content. It was the cultural and social conflicts between Chinese immigrants and local Taiwanese but not the government's problematic rule was referenced as the main cause of this incident. The Japanese culture embedded within the 'Taiwanese' was outlined as the one of the factors causing the socio-cultural conflict between two groups – mainlanders and local Taiwanese. This cultural factor is mention in the content as the cause of the 228 Incident suggesting the idea implying Taiwan and mainland China as two sides each with its own socio-cultural norm. In this logic, considering the 228 Incident as a socio-cultural clash, the official discourse reminded the readers that the local Taiwanese and mainlanders were two distinctive groups.

In this edition, the rhetorical identification 'provincial people' which denoted the sense regarding Taiwan as a locus of China was replaced by 'people from China'; moreover, the term 'compatriot' which was used to describe local Taiwanese people was also dropped. This does not mean 'people from China' should not been seen as the compatriots of local Taiwanese; interestingly, mainlanders are given the identity as the people of Taiwan as well. In summary, the 228 incident can be understood as an ethnic conflict between two groups in the 'R.O.C. in Taiwan'.

#### **5.4 The 228 Incident as the 'Taiwanese' common memory**

Later in the edition of senior high school textbooks published in 2007 to 2011, the 228 Incident was further reshaped to be a 'Taiwanese' common memory. This case positioned at the first section of the history of the republican era – 'From authoritarian governance to democratic politics' – of the Chapter 'Contemporary Taiwan and the

world' (Nan-yi, 2010:129). Similar factors resulted in the 228 Incident as those mentioned in the previous edition (2000 to 2006): the uneven proportion of mainlanders and local Taiwanese working in the government, the monopoly of state-operated business, and Chinese officers' discriminative attitude toward local Taiwanese people, mentioned in those two latest editions, however, brought with different meanings. Therefore, this changed the meaning of the 228 Incident as the local ethnic conflict in Taiwan which was a region of China:

In the 34<sup>th</sup>-year of the republic era (1945), Japan lost WWII and the Emperor declared unconditional surrender. The R.O.C. government took over Taiwan and set in place the Taiwan Provincial Executive Administrative Office led by the officer Chen Yi. Taiwanese people were delighted to leave the governance of Japan; however, Taiwan and mainland China had been separated for fifty years and each had its own social norms. This situation was not completely aware by officers coming to Taiwan. The sectors under Administrative Office employed workers relying on the nepotism networking. The number and income of local Taiwanese people were much less comparing with those of Sino-based background. The economic system was also inherited from the Japanese; camphor, match, tobacco, and wine were sold by the government under this state-operated mode which seriously limited the development of the economic activities of Taiwan's society. Some officers thought local Taiwanese people were greatly influenced by Japan to be becoming loyalty to Japan and thus needed to be changed; this made Taiwanese people felt to be decriminalized. (Nan-yi, 2010: 129)

The 228 Incident was no longer explained as the ethnic conflict between local Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants as it in the previous edition. The competition between those two groups, for example, the uneven treatment of Chinese and local Taiwanese employers and officer's discrimination and stereotype to local Taiwanese people, which were referred to in the previous edition, were explained to

be the government's wrong policy decision, and Chinese officer's limited understanding of Taiwan. This change in the content recreated the cause-and-effect plot of the 228 Incident from the ethnic conflict between Chinese immigrants and local Taiwanese people to be a consequence from the man-made poor policy and people's misunderstanding of each other. Hence, the idea regarding the Chinese immigrants as criminals in the previous edition was changed; furthermore, the Chinese immigrants were presented as the victims, as can be seen in the short story mentioned in the textbooks:

In the morning of the next day, I went to my friend's company. Everyone there talked about the riot that had happened the day before. A mainlander said, 'we should go on strike'; another said, 'A local Taiwanese people protected me from being hurt yesterday'. (Nan-yi, 2010: 131)

By referring to the story which happened between the Chinese immigrant and local Taiwanese people, the textbooks delivered the sense that both Chinese people and the local Taiwanese encountered the same situation. People of each group were addressed as groups at two opposite sides as they were in the previous edition; conversely, they are described as helping each other. This content means the 228 Incident was a catastrophe for both the local Taiwanese and Chinese immigrants. The history of the 228 Incident had been reinvented to be the common suffering of all people in Taiwan.

In the latest edition (2007 to 2011), 'Taiwan' was the territory of the R.O.C. government; however, the R.O.C. government did not equal to the meaning of Chinese government as it was identified in the previous edition. While the term 'nationalist government' was released from the title of R.O.C., readers cannot find the label of 'China' was stick to the R.O.C. government as its national identification or the explicit

linkage between ‘China’ and the R.O.C. in the content. In this sense, the 228 Incident should only be explained as the past of the ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ where it was no longer nationally one part of Chinese nation or state.

The content of the 228 Incident in the latest edition of the junior level (2007 to 2011) was similar to that it in the senior level. The history of the 228 Incident still followed the period of the Japanese era. In the first section, entitled ‘The political development of post-war Taiwan’ in chapter 4 ‘The politics of post-war Taiwan’ (Kang-xuan, 2009: 102), the 228 Incident was presented under the context of Taiwanese history organized by various regimes (i.e. the Japanese and R.O.C). The textbooks (2007-2011) also traced the causes of this incident as being the government’s responsibility and a conflict between the locals and the government. Moreover, the identity of the ‘people in Taiwan’ was reshaped more lucidly as ‘Taiwanese’ people:

The 228 Incident ended, the central government assigned the officers to investigate the event, compensate people, and establish the Taiwan Provincial Office to replace the Executive Office. Under this gesture, the chaos of Taiwan’s society had been gradually eliminated. This historical tragedy not only resulted in enduring sorrow in the mind of victims’ families and but also negatively influenced political and ethnic relations in Taiwan. In recent years, the government apologized for its improper handling and compensated the families of victims to ease this historical scar. (Kang-xuan, 2009: 105)

While the 228 Incident was suggested as being a historical tragedy, the discourse of the textbook suggests it was a collective suffering of all people in Taiwan. While the 228 Incident was suggested as being a historical tragedy, the discourse of the textbook suggests it was a collective suffering of all people in Taiwan. Expressing the idea regarding the 228 Incident as a ‘historical tragedy of Taiwan’s society’, the text implies

that as a 'historical' event, it was more an unpreventable and inalterable case than a political crime or a socio-cultural crisis, rather, a disaster for all people in Taiwan and of Taiwan in 1947. Whose disaster is it? While the official discourse depicts the case as a historical tragedy, the text entrenches the historicity of this incident as a disaster to both Taiwan's people and government as the experience of 'Taiwanese'. The textbook of the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition has taken this further towards a more explicit idea of the 'Taiwanese' community.

### **5.5 Re-shaping the 228 Incident to be a national suffering of Taiwan**

Over the editions from the late 1980s to 2011, the general outline of the 228 Incident was initially considered as a tragedy for China resulting from the unpreventable historical outcome of WWII. In the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, it was assumed to be an ethnic conflict in China - Taiwan province. After the mid-2000s, this case was seen as fighting between Taiwan's government and people, and as a common suffering. In line with the transformation of the 228 Incident in the textbooks over the series of editions, the identity of the participants, the territory of Taiwan, and the government are changed. The local Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants who were identified as Chinese people have their identity gradually 'reinvented' to be the 'Taiwanese' in the textbooks over the editions. The ownership of the territory 'Taiwan' was initially given as a Chinese province, but yet, gradually detached from this Chinese identity as a place with an entirely different socio-cultural and socio-political difference from the mainland. In this case, the R.O.C. government was entitled as the Chinese government which was historically and politically based on the mainland; over the editions of textbooks investigated, its Sino-based origin was dropped from the

content, yet linked with 'Taiwan' as Taiwan's government. In this process, the 228 Incident has been 'Taiwanese-ized' to be a collective memory of Taiwan.

In the content of the textbooks, the 228 Incident has been addressed as a common suffering of all people in Taiwan. Due to the historical background of the R.O.C. government, it was established in 1911 and constituted the government of the Chinese state. The 'Chinese' element, however, still lay inevitably in the identity of the R.O.C. government and provincial people (Chinese immigrants), which enabled readers more space to flexibly interpret the history of the 228 Incident. With this concern, this study draws upon the data from in-depth interviews of 25 teachers with different ethnic groups in Taiwan to understand how the official version of the 228 Incident in the textbooks was presented.

Regarding the cause of the 228 incident, the textbooks presented it as being the outcome deriving from the R.O.C. government's wrong policies and Chinese officers' negligence in ruling Taiwan. Upon this point, teachers challenged those reasons provided in the textbooks as the factors resulted in the 228 Incident. Two key points emerged: the engagement of the R.O.C. government in the Chinese Civil War and the threat of Chinese communists penetrating into Taiwan dismissed by the textbooks, were pointed out by teachers. Lee (009, provincial Taiwanese, with 20 years teaching experience), raised this discussion in the class:

I did not think that the textbook provided adequate information. At the moment when the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident occurred, the KMT was still in China at the peak of Chinese Civil War fighting against Chinese Communist Party to occupy the territory. I ask you, could KMT people know about the social situation on the island of Taiwan? Thus, is it fair to say that the government should take the entire responsibility for the

## February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident?

The information on the historical backdrop in 1947 when the 228 Incident happened being dismissed by the textbooks was referred to by the teacher: for example, the account of the engagement of the R.O.C. government with the communists in the Chinese Civil War. This idea provided by the teacher changed the official view emphasizing the political negligence of the R.O.C. government. This event was therefore reshaped to be about fighting for national security which rationalized the way the R.O.C. government dealt with this protest.

The socio-cultural distinction between Chinese immigrants and local Taiwanese people, such as the Japanese colonial experience of local Taiwanese, as the cause of the 228 Incident, was also explained in a different way from that in the textbooks. Teacher (006, native + aboriginal Taiwanese, with 2 years teaching experience) criticized the view of the textbooks in which the KMT was shaped as an authoritarian government and the offender behind the Incident:

Why did the KMT and Chen Yi use violence to suppress this protest?  
Because they thought the local Taiwanese intended to rebel against their new government and return to Japanese governance. Why did the Taiwan Province Administrative Office not employ native Taiwanese people?  
Because provincial Taiwanese aimed to restore the mainland territory, while the native Taiwanese would not always support this work. Hence, the KMT did not trust the native Taiwanese and discouraged them from working for the government. Accordingly, I would ask students, if you were the KMT government officer, would you employ native Taiwanese?  
What I want to emphasize is the importance of teaching students how to reflect on history, rather than blindly accept the views of textbooks blindly.

The social conflict caused by the Chinese officer's discriminatory acts was suggested as the cause of the 228 Incident in the textbooks; however, two additional points were



referred by teachers – different political aims and expectations of local and provincial Taiwanese people – as the causes of the 228 Incident were not only excluded from, but also in contradiction to, the official texts. The image of local Taiwanese who were represented as the only victims in the textbooks, was reshaped to show them as the culprits who intended to rebel against the R.O.C. government and damage national security. This explanation also legitimized the government's social and political policies over Taiwan and diametrically changed the official ideas as unequal treatment and authoritarian rule into the opposite view. Ideas over the textbook contents were re-modified in class to reframe the cause-and-effect structure of the 228 Incident from what was officially addressed.

The influence of the political threat of Chinese communists to Taiwan and the political concern of the government dismissed by the official texts were pointed out by teachers to rationalize the government's actions. Teacher (013, native Taiwanese, with 21 years of teaching experience) suggested:

My family was a victim of the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident. It is a fact that the KMT government made a mistake; however, today, understanding history objectively is a problem. At that time in 1947, Taiwan's society was so different from mainland China's in terms of lives, ideologies, and identity. We cannot use the position of today's values to judge the KMT government as it existed at that moment. Think about a question, and pretend that you were a KMT officer. If you faced this riot, which was possibly stirred by communism, you would have thought of suppressing it violently to maintain national security.

The social differences between Taiwan and the mainland on which locals and provincials based the triggering of the conflict were introduced in the textbooks, albeit, in a different way to the teachers' discourses. The government's actions – military

oppression and political control (i.e. the implementation of martial law) – were attributed to national security purposes as they impeded the communists’ penetration of Taiwan. Accordingly, teachers reversed the negative impression of the R.O.C. government by suggesting its contribution to the defence of Taiwan against the Chinese communists seeking to conquer the island Taiwan. Simultaneously, teachers explored the idea that the R.O.C. committed the mistake while facing harsh threats from communists; however, it successfully protected Taiwan from being conquered by the Chinese communist party: in the narrative context, the sense is that Taiwan’s fate was tied with the R.O.C. government as a political entity.

Teachers also guided students to reflect on the 228 Incident from the angle of the situation of the R.O.C. government while encountering the unprecedented political challenge to rule by the Japanese-based Taiwanese society. Teacher (007, provincial and native Taiwanese, with 3 years teaching experience) challenged the official idea that the government and Chinese immigrants discriminated against the local Taiwanese people:

When Taiwan returned to being under the R.O.C. government, many Taiwanese people still refused to change their identity to become Chinese. Thus, local Taiwan people’s distrust of the KMT was caused by the identity problem left over from colonial history, not simply by the KMT’s incompetent dominance.

Unlike the official perspective considering the local Taiwanese people were the sole victims in the textbooks, this teachers pointed out that the effect of Japanese colonial experience on the local Taiwanese which led to the ethnic crisis and also negatively influenced the national unification. Because of those reasons, the 228 Incident should be understood as not only a mistake made by the government as it suggested by the

textbooks, but also a riot provoked by the local Taiwanese to threaten the national security. According to this teacher's discourse, the 228 Incident was reshaped to be an interior fight between the government and people, which reinforced the idea considering it as the commemoration and 'Taiwanese' tragedy.

What is the historical meaning of the 228 Incident? Is it a socio-cultural crisis between the 'Taiwanese' (i.e. local people) and the 'Chinese' (i.e. R.O.C. and immigrants in 1945)? In the discussion of the course of the 228 Incident, some teachers challenged the idea mentioned in the textbooks as the ideological bias which was created by over-emphasizing some points: for example, by suggesting the provincial people who dominated politics and society as the criminal element to this incident. By suggesting the sufferings of mainlanders in 1947, they drew upon cases to fill the gap of official ideology applied in the textbooks. Teacher (001, native Taiwanese, with 5 years teaching experience):

You may sense that it seems that the textbooks describe this incident emotionally. In this case, textbooks attributed the provincial people's political and social oppression of local Taiwanese people as the cause of the 228 Incident. An objective attitude to understanding history means situating yourself into the historical context—at that moment and place, and trying to imagine what kinds of ideas and emotions you might have, individually. In that social and political context, if you were a provincial person, who left your hometown to go to Taiwan in this kind of era and had no idea about Taiwan's society, do you think you should apologize for other local Taiwanese and be responsible for this Incident? How can the minority oppress the majority, the local Taiwanese?

In the textbooks, the Chinese immigrants were perceived as the people who occupied the major positions in official organizations who should take the responsibility for this incident; however, this historical explanation regarding the cause of the 228 Incident

was changed by teachers. Guiding students away from the other perspective to reflect on this version, the teacher pointed out that the suffering of those Chinese immigrants was not only physically, but also psychologically to distress Chinese immigrant positioning as the ethnic minority in the society of post-war Taiwan, but whose hardship was dismissed from the content of textbooks and thus became the past which was forgotten by people. The historical imagining that the predicament was encountered by both the locals and provincials was created to re-invent the history of the 228 Incident to be the common suffering of all people in Taiwan.

Similarly, teachers stressed that the 228 Incident should be seen as the common suffering of all people in Taiwan, instead of identifying who were the criminals or victims. Teacher (004, native Taiwanese, with 18 years of teaching experience) said,

I designed this as a subject for class discussion with various topics to guide students to reflect on this case. What ideological differences and memories would have existed between local and provincial Taiwanese people? Can we see cultural differences as the cause of the 228 Incident? How did the local Taiwanese treat those immigrants? I asked them if we can see provincial people as only criminals and local Taiwanese as the victims? Why did provincial people come to Taiwan? And so on. Such a significant event should be understood in more detail.

Some effects were dismissed as formulating the account of the 228 Incident; under this operation, this was a case illustrated as a story of provincials oppressed by the locals in the textbooks. In the teacher's discourse, various effects, such as cultural differences, the unequal social and political treatment between locals and provincials, which were dropped out from the content of textbooks, were adopted to re-organize the history of the 228 Incident. He admitted the cultural differences as an existing condition, however, he did not perceive this as the effect which triggered conflict. The

teacher raised many questions with a focus on the situation encountered by provincials, for example, being discriminated against by the local Taiwanese people, which implicitly criticized the official views and changed the structure of the plot of the 228 Incident. The case of the 228 incident initially seen as the provincials' oppression over the locals was changed to be a fight between them by the teacher. Hence, the officially written history of the 228 Incident was re-shaped to be the event of a social crisis in post-war Taiwan.

Teachers criticized the historical explanation of the 228 Incident given in textbooks regarding the fact that the Chinese immigrants had the same meaning with the nationalist government as the criminals. Teacher (016, native + aboriginal Taiwanese, with 6 years of teaching experience) said,

Provincial people were the real victims of history, forced to leave their hometown and be cooped up somewhere unfamiliar. Provincial people cannot be viewed equally as the government, but this idea was not clarified by the textbooks; this is a dangerous and misguided thing. It is true that high provincial officials dominated many political arenas; however, most provincial people were ordinary people. I would screen the movie 'The City of Sadness' for students. This movie presents the barrier between provincial and native Taiwanese and shows how they vented their anger on each other.

In the teacher's view, the textbooks had incorrectly created the negative image of the provincials and misinterpreted the history of the 228 Incident. She pointed out the situation of the mainlanders, for example, who had moved away from their homeland to Taiwan and suffered discrimination in Taiwanese society, which was not mentioned in the textbooks. Because of the teacher's explanation, the officially presented history, that the provincials as the offenders dominated both Taiwan's society and politics, was

diametrically changed. The movie 'City of Sadness' was based on the 228 Incident and its theme was the confrontation between the locals and provincials. In addition to the commonly known plot that the locals were put in jail and sentenced to death by the government, various accounts were excluded from the content of textbooks. For example, that the locals physically attacked the provincials was depicted in the movie. Hence, the history of the 228 Incident was recreated as a perplexing story underlining the common suffering of all people in Taiwan.

Teachers criticized the official content as simplifying the complexity of the 228 Incident as a crisis caused by ethnic division and chaotic social order in the early R.O.C. era. Teacher (006, provincial and native Taiwanese, with 2 years of teaching experience):

It is quite important to explain history fairly, especially political history that will influence students' ideologies. In the case of the February 28th Incident, it would be an illusion to see this as caused by ethnic conflict. Actually, provincials and locals cohabited in Taiwan's society. You can think provincials left their hometown for Taiwan's society and restarted their life, and became local Taiwanese people's neighbours. They also helped each other on that occasion and those accounts were not mentioned with enough detail in the textbooks! Textbooks intended to present this event as resulting in ethnic conflict.

Many accounts considering the ethnic relations in the early era of post-war Taiwan not mentioned in the content of textbooks were discussed by teachers with their students, and thus change the meaning of officially written history mentioning the ethnic conflict as the major factor causing the 228 Incident. By suggesting that the local Taiwanese and Chinese immigrants interacted and supported each other, this teacher stressed the trust between them, which was in contradiction to the official story. So,

she adjusted the official ideology regarding provincials as the criminals and locals as victims to provide another historical version concerned with the broad socio-political context in 1947 in order to address this event as collective suffering. The 228 Incident as the common experience of all people in Taiwan was reinforced.

Focusing on the discussion of ethnic conflict officially presented as the cause and events of the 228 Incident, teachers, even with different ethnic backgrounds, emphasised the idea of ethnic harmony which was not literally mentioned in the textbooks. Teacher (010, native Taiwanese, with 7 years of teaching experience) said,

This was neither provincial nor local Taiwanese peoples' mistake. I would tell students not to be misguided by textbooks and politicians who misrepresented the provincial Taiwanese and misunderstood the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident. Ethnic harmony was very important for Taiwan to maintain social stability.

From this perspective, the teacher from the provincial ethnic background also stressed ethnic harmony as the key theme of the 228 Incident to Taiwan's people today; such as the teacher (009, provincial Taiwanese, with 20 years teaching experience) said,

All the people in Taiwan belong to one community; we should prevent a tragedy like this from happening again. No matter whether native or provincial people, people in Taiwan are all Taiwanese belonging to one community!

The textbooks concluded that the 228 Incident was a disaster damaging ethnic relations in Taiwan's society; nevertheless, the value of ethnic harmony has remained implicit within the contents of textbooks until teachers reshaped it into explicit ideas. The story of the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident was reinforced as a common memory from the perspective seeing it was not only a consequence resulting from that era, but also really

tragic for compatriots fighting for each other. With this view, they stressed the negative influence brought about by ethnic conflict, as a social crisis, to reinforce students' sense that all people in Taiwan share the same fatality as a community.

In discussion of the 228 incident, teachers have shed light onto its historical meaning from the perspective of Taiwan's political history which was a version in different from that of the officially written history. Teacher (011, native Taiwanese, with 16 years of teaching experience) said,

The reflection on the 228 Incident in textbooks was quite vague. It was difficult to say who the criminal or victim was, and it is also meaningless to define that. So I would draw up a conclusion and tell students that we should learn the importance of democracy: good communication between the government and the people.

This teacher reflected on the 228 Incident from a broader sense of socio-political environment of post-war Taiwan which was an alternative angle in addition to that of the officially written history. By explaining this incident as a consequence resulting from misunderstanding between the government and society, this teacher raised the idea of democracy as the historical lesson taught by the 228 Incident. This is the logic to suggest Taiwan as a community embodied by its political democracy from the other side because the idea of the democratic society could be seen as a construction coordinated by both the government and citizens. In this case, the teachers' discourse dismissed the doubt of the legitimacy of the R.O.C. as a political sovereignty and the national identity of Chinese immigrants. They instead ideologically positioned the statement regarding the R.O.C. as Taiwan's government to interpret the 228 Incident as the consequence of a misunderstanding between government and the society. Based on this historical reflection, the 228 was still identified as an Incident, however, the



experience shared, and lessons learned, and the price paid by both Taiwan's government and society was a move on the way towards democracy.

Through explaining this event in the context of Taiwan's political history, the 228 Incident was conceptualized as the initial point of political evolution in Taiwan. Teacher (007, native + provincial Taiwanese, with 3 years of teaching experience) said,

Actually, this event was caused by the government's authoritative dominance; nevertheless, we need to understand the lesson that every country must pay a price for democratic evolution. What does authoritative dominance mean for us today? This is the reason to discuss the 228 Incident today.

While the idea of political evolution which carried the meaning as the formation of a 'Taiwanese' civil society co-ordinated by Taiwan's government and citizens was mentioned, this discourse transferred not only the sense of the interconnection of the government and citizens, but also the growing of the mutual-dependence between each side. Therefore, the meaning of the 228 Incident was not solely as a historical event, but rather, landmarked the starting point of the process of the formation of a 'Taiwanese' political community which was participated in by both Taiwan's people and its government.

### **5.6 Conclusion: the invention of the 228 Incident**

The event of the 228 Incident was written into the content of textbooks since late 1980s and this reflected the emergence of 'Taiwanese' nationalism which can define the 'imagined community' of Taiwan. Regarding the 228 Incident presented in the textbooks over editions, this case was invented and reinvented from a common

memory of China to be that of Taiwan solely while some accounts were abandoned from and some taken into account. In the secondary history textbooks in the late 1980s, the 228 Incident started to be introduced and was perceived as a consequence of WWII as an inevitable historical tragedy of China.

This miserable past was then presented as a local memory of Taiwan which was a province of China in the later edition published in the late 1990s to early 2000s. The textbooks referred to Taiwan having been colonized by Japan for a long time, and the resulting social, cultural, and political factors having caused the misunderstanding among the local Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants. The case of the 228 Incident which was mentioned as the result of WWII was changed to be an ethnic confrontation between local Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants because of their different historical experience, namely, Japanese-based verses Sino-based, and socio-political conditions. This historical presentation transferred the notion that Taiwan and mainland China, or local Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants, has each own past and identity which reflected the distinction between ‘Taiwan’ and ‘China’.

The 228 Incident was further reshaped to be a Taiwanese common memory in the latest textbooks of both the junior and senior levels. The 228 Incident was not only presented as a socio-cultural and socio-political crisis, but also as resulting from a small group of Chinese officers who misunderstood and discriminated against the Taiwanese. In the content of textbooks over edition, the case of the 228 Incident had its cause changed from the ethnic conflict to be incompetent rule of government. Although the government organized by the provincials was still suggested as the offender, the

ordinary provincials and locals were represented as assisting each other. From this perspective, the 228 Incident was reproduced to be the common tragedy of all people in Taiwan.

In the discussion of the content of the 228 Incident, teachers reshaped the officially written history to embody 'Taiwan' as a national community. Numerous accounts in addition to the content of textbooks were mentioned by teachers, for example, the Chinese civil war between the R.O.C. government and Chinese communists, the hardship encountered by Chinese immigrants in Taiwan, and the local Taiwanese people's resistance to the new government, were all mentioned by teachers. Various viewpoints suggested by teachers could be summed up which stressed this event as a domestic crisis between compatriots fighting for each other, and thus a common suffering and a real tragedy for Taiwan. The notion of the significance of ethnic harmony and the recreation of a Taiwanese political entity were provided to fill the gap of official ideologies. Under this theme, teachers who reshaped the officially written history reinforced 'Taiwan' as a national community.

The presentation of the 228 Incident in the textbooks over different editions reflected the invention and reinvention of the common memory of Taiwan which manifested the boosting of Taiwanese nationalism. On the other hand, teachers as a 'bottom up' force coming from the below elucidate the idea of the 'Taiwanese' common suffering. In the presentation of the 228 Incident, through official and social representations and the re-coding of historical events into a story of a 'Taiwanese' community, a new discourse of 'Taiwanese nationalism' was not only re-produced but also embodied.

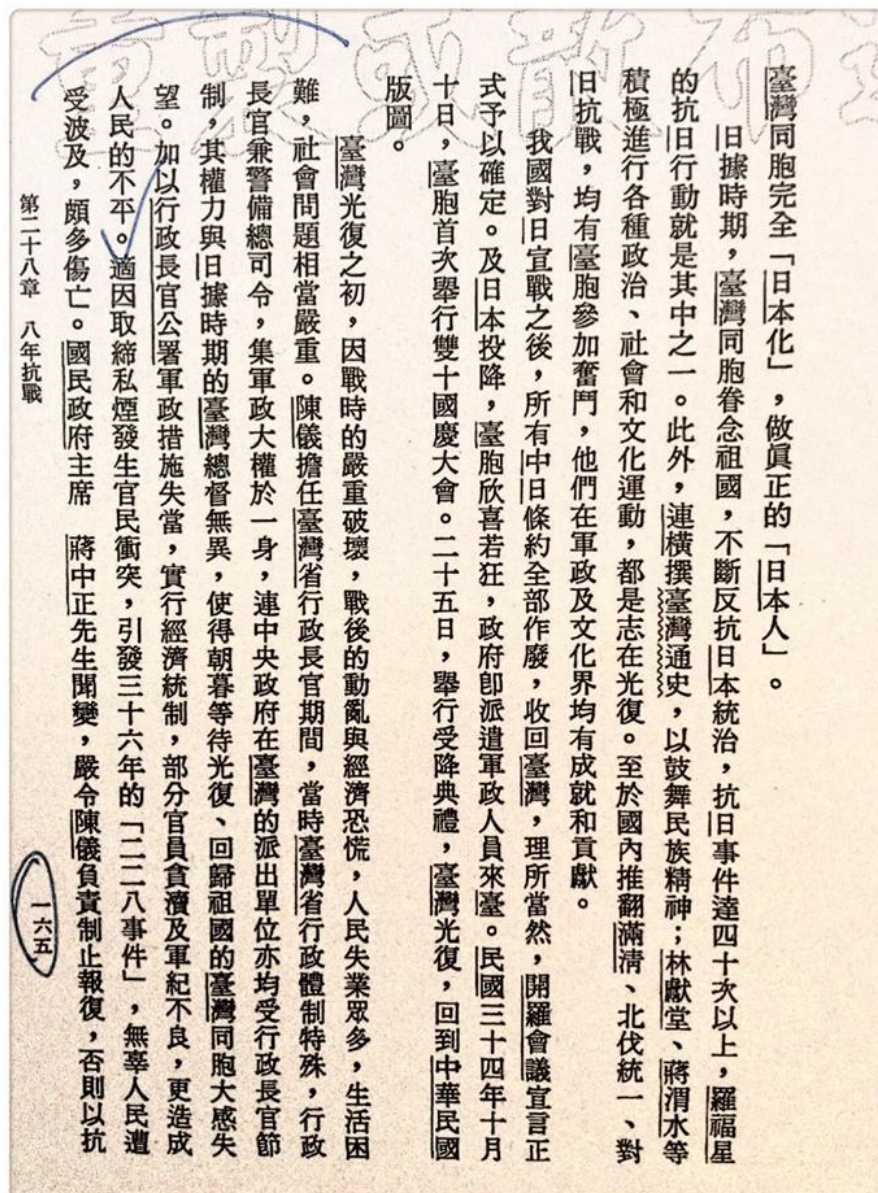


Figure 5.1 The 228 Incident in the textbook of 72-year edition (1985-1999)

This is one page of the textbook. In the post-Martial Law era, the account of '228 Incident' was introduced into the content of history textbooks for the first time, however, quite brief for just one paragraph. (The senior high school textbook, 1999)

### 三、二二八事件

民國36年2月27日在臺北一樁查緝私煙事件引發群眾不滿，次日，群眾罷工、罷市，包圍長官公署。隨後引發全臺各地的反政府群眾事件。

從2月28日到3月3日之間，如同野火燎原，民眾幾乎控制了全臺主要城市。陳儀同意民眾提出改革意見，由各地參議員與士紳組成的「二二八事件處理委員會」在3月7日提出處理大綱，要求制訂省自治法，根本改革軍事及政治制度，讓臺人可以充分參與省政高層。但是，第二天，從大陸調來的國軍在基隆登陸，展開鎮壓行動。

由於事件本身夾雜著統治者與被統治者、外省人與臺灣人的雙重矛盾，埋下了日後省籍情結與族群對立的種子，對臺灣後來的政治發展有著難以磨滅的深刻影響。

#### 學習視窗

事件初期，群眾毆辱外省人，死傷估計約千餘人。而後期的鎮壓與清鄉，臺灣人死難者合理的估計應在萬人以上，其中包括許多社會菁英。民國35年來臺任職，後來曾任經濟部次長的汪彝定在回憶錄中見證他所經歷過的二二八事件，提到與陳儀的一席談話：「我們應該公平的說，這只是一次臺灣人發洩不平的意外事件，不是以外省人為目標的暴動。」最後並如此感慨：「我今天追述這一段往事時，胸懷沉痛。臺灣已是我的故鄉……但這裡的族群分裂，卻將像我這樣熱愛這片土地、這些人民，而且對大陸根本早無認同感情的「外省人」，置於一種特殊環境下，而這個環境，到我孫兒女時或許才會消失。」（資料來源：汪彝定，《走過關鍵年代——汪彝定回憶錄》）



圖 9-6 二二八當天，臺北專賣局前聚集之民眾。



圖 9-7 黃榮燦的木刻版畫〈恐怖的檢查〉鮮活地描繪了二二八事件情景，發表於民國36年4月28日的上海《文匯報》。黃榮燦本人也死於1950年代的白色恐怖。

Figure 5.2 The 228 Incident in the textbooks of the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition (2007-2011)

Thirty year later after the lift of Martial Law in 1987, the 228 Incident was seen as a significant event marked the starting point of Taiwan's political democracy and treated seriously with more accounts than it in the previous editions.

## **Chapter Six**

### **The transformation of the nation of Taiwan: content analysis of junior high school textbooks (1949 to 2011)**

This chapter aims to argue the way in which the imagined community of Taiwan has been created and recreated from China to Taiwan on the basis of content analysis of the history textbooks (1949 to 2011). According to social-constructionists, the nation-state was not the objective criterion that existed naturally, instead, it can be seen as a product socially produced, especially under the process of modernization (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Giddens, 1985; Mann, 1993). The content of the history textbooks was historiographically written under the state's will, and thus can be seen as a kind of 'invented tradition', in which the suggested imaginary elements were embedded (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). When reading the text, the readers were continually but subconsciously reminded of 'who they were'. The nation that emerged from the texts had distinctive characteristics and appeared as 'natural' in which a frame of the 'imagined community' was delineated (Anderson, 1983). Thus, textbooks functioned as a kind psychological engineering as well as disseminating the 'banal nationalism' suggested by Michael Billig (1995).

The junior high school textbooks of post-war Taiwan were published under the curriculum promulgated by the Ministry of Education (R.O.C.) since 1948. In 2000, the textbooks were opened to the publication of private sectors; however, they were still written under the official doctrine. Curriculum revisions from the edition of junior high school history textbooks published in 1950 to 1952 to the edition in 2007 to 2011 will be examined based on a comparative approach, to document the substantive

changes in the way ‘China’ and ‘Taiwan’ are presented in the content. This chapter will focus on the presentation of cultural community (cultural and ancestral origin) and political entity (government and territory) which are the two crucial elements to embody the nation in the textbooks over successive editions. Through investigating the presentation of those two categories, this chapter discussed how the official discourse shaped and re-shaped the picture of the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan (Anderson, 1983).

According to the textbook analysis, the idea regarding the nation of Taiwan will become clear showing as the R.O.C.’s relationship to ‘mainland China’ changed, so too did its official discourse about its national character shift. This in turn required not only that the presentation of its people’s ‘own’ history change, but also that ‘who’ these people were and ‘where’ the nation was should be redefined. The officially addressed ‘Chinese’ nation-state (Taiwan and the mainland), yet gradually reproduced to be ‘one Chinese nation, two China states’, and the current ‘Chinese’ and ‘Taiwanese’ nation-states. The official ideology that has presented a picture of the ‘Chinese imagined community’ has gradually waned in the six decades of the R.O.C. regime era which reflected the decline of Chinese nationalism and the erosion of Taiwanese nationalism.

### **6.1 The rhetorical meaning of ‘China’**

The earliest junior high history textbooks, the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition (published in 1951 to 1953) stated, at the outset, the purpose and main theme of the national history curriculum as follows: ‘the national history aims at exploring the evolution of the Chinese nation (zheng-hua-min-tzu), the development of its territory, politics, and

society across dynasties for reinforcing the great national culture and spirit' (1952: 1). With a similar content, the 41<sup>st</sup>-year edition (published in 1954 to 1964) stated that the purpose of national history as 'addressing the evolution of the Chinese nation (zheng-hua-min-tzu) and the change in its territory, politics, and society for forming the national spirit and patriotism (1955: 1)'. Until the 51<sup>st</sup>-year edition, this statement underwent only minor changes. A new emphasis on 'inspiring self-awareness and a sense of reviving the Chinese nation (zheng-hua-min-tzu)' was added. Following this, the 61<sup>st</sup>-year edition stressed similar key points of history education, but with a stronger tone: 'exploring the characteristics of Chinese culture and tradition for reinforcing our national consciousness and responsibility of reviving the Chinese nation (zheng-hua-min-tzu)' (1974: 1). Thus, the theme of the junior high school textbooks, from the 1950s to the 1970s, was the increasingly stronger ideology of 'reviving China', namely, the nation of 'Taiwan'. In the 1980s and the 1990s, the 72<sup>nd</sup>-year edition and the 74<sup>th</sup>, to be precise, the curriculum guidelines included new points: 'to acknowledge the current situation and status of our nation' (1986: 1; 1997: 1). Over the period from the 1950s to 1970s and into the 1990s, 'China' was addressed as the nation of Taiwan. On the first page of the textbooks, the general tendency of the changes reflected the government's ideology regarding its national identity during the decades. The idea 'revive our nation' (*wo-guo*) often used in the textbooks leads to several questions: Who, where or what is the 'China' - the nation of Taiwan?

## **6.2 China as the imagined community of Taiwan**

### **6.2.1 Chinese history as the history of Taiwan**

In the earliest history textbook (the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition, published in 1951 to 1953), the



history of Taiwan was Chinese history which was introduced from the prehistoric era, via successive dynasties, down to the contemporary R.O.C. era till the 38<sup>th</sup>-year of the republic era (1949) in the mainland China. In the long span of Chinese history, stretching over two thousand years, 'Taiwan' was drawn into history of the Qing dynastic period, when it became the domain of the Qing Empire in the seventeenth century. The Qing conquered the Ming dynasty in 1644 to become the Chinese empire and built its capital in Beijing. At the time, Zheng Cheng-gong, the adherent of the extinct Ming dynasty, retreated to Taiwan to prepare to reclaim the Ming's lost territory:

An adherent of the Ming dynasty, Zheng Cheng-gong led his military and arrived on Pen-hu island, and then entered Taiwan in 1661, for the task of reviving the Ming empire. Unfortunately, he passed away one year after coming to Taiwan; his son Zheng-jing succeeded him and continued the task of reviving the Ming dynasty. [...] In 1683, the Qing empire assigned Admiral Shi Lang the task of attacking Taiwan, and Zheng Ke-shuang surrendered. The 23-year era of Zheng governance came to its end; Taiwan was taken into the Qing's domain. (Book IV, 1951: 6)

According to the presentation of the content, two points regarding the identity of 'Taiwan' were presented. First, the successive dynastic eras were organized as the storyline of Chinese history. The political transition of the Ming Empire being overthrown by the Qing was taken into account and the historical continuity of China from Ming dynasty to the Qing was created. In this context, the details about the 23-year Ming-Zheng governance in Taiwan was absent. The reintroduction of 'Taiwan' into the history was as part of Qing empire's territorial exploration that the peripheral regions - Mongolia, Tibet, Southwest and Northeast surrounding the area of Central Plain of the mainland, and Taiwan were gradually conquered in the mid-eighteenth

century:

The Qing policy in Taiwan was similar to that in the Northeast area. People intending to go to Taiwan must apply for an officially issued permit. Under this policy, which was implemented to prevent people from staying long-term in Taiwan, only single males were permitted, without family. This policy was relaxed by the emperor Yuang-zheng (1732), so that people already in Taiwan could move their families into the region. (Book II, 1951: 20)

In the textbooks, 'Taiwan' appeared in the history of the mid-seventeenth century (1644) for the first time; and then, it is absent in the historical context for fifty years in the middle of the period. By the second time 'Taiwan' is referenced, the textbook has already spanned over half a century, up to 1732. According to the composition of the content, Taiwan was a locality along with other areas and an historical object in the context of Chinese history. The section of the Qing Empire's territorial expansion is followed by a series of historical accounts of the Qing dynasty from mid-seventeenth century to the late-nineteenth century. They were 'the development of philosophical thoughts and culture in Qing dynasty' (1951: 23–29); 'the cultural and political interactions with foreign countries' (Britain, Portugal, France, and Russia) (1951: 30–127); and 'military invasion of foreign countries in the nineteenth century' (1951: 127–160). Amongst historical accounts, the means through which the glorious Qing empire gradually became feeble while suffering the military threat of foreign power was introduced (1951: 128–140); for example, the first and second Anglo–Sino War in 1840 and 1856. Losing the military battles with foreign countries led to the ceding of territory and renting out the harbour along the coast of the mainland for the privileged right of foreign powers to get in and out of China. In the content, 'Taiwan' was re-mentioned in the part that the Qing Empire lost the Second Opium War (Second

Anglo–Sino War) and signed the Sino–British Tian-jin Treaty in 1858:

First, China and the two foreign states British and France were accredited ambassadors to each other. Secondly, to open the harbours of Niu-zhuang, Dan-zou, Taiwan (zee-long and Danshui), Chao-zou, Qiong-zou, Zen-jiang, Hao-kou, Jiu-jiang, Nan-jing.[...] (Book IV, 1951: 141)

Taiwan was referred to, but not introduced in detail; the impact on Taiwan’s society when its harbours were opened to the foreign empires, such as the increasing business promoting social change and urbanization in coastal areas, was not presented. The historical line moved forward to talk about the riots of mainland China to resist the Qing Empire in late nineteenth century. Taiwan, in this context, was not mentioned until 1895 when the Qing Empire lost the Sino–Japanese War (Book V, 1951: 9–10):

The Qing Empire signed the Ma-Guan Treaty. There were eleven crucial points in this treaty. Firstly, the Qing must give up its sovereignty over Korea. Second, it must cede Pen-hu, Taiwan, Liao-dong island to Japan.[...] (Book V, 1951:10)

Taiwan was referred to as Chinese territory, which was ceded to Japan. In the textbook, the account of fifty-year Japanese rule of Taiwan since it was ceded to Japan in 1895 was certainly excluded. The history of China still proceeded along the timeline in which the competition of foreign powers in the mainland (e.g. the Eight-Nation-Alliance (1900), the establishment of the R.O.C. government (1911), WWI (1929), and WWII (1945) organized modern Chinese history. ‘Taiwan’ appears again at the end of WWII when Japan unconditionally surrendered:

Since the Sino-Japanese War, China had been invaded by Japan; particularly, Taiwan encountered these disasters for fifty years. [...]China announced the War on Japan partly because of Taiwan. According to the Cairo Declaration proclamation, Taiwan was the territory of China, which

had to be internationally admitted. Taiwan was not only addressed as one part of China, but also as the reason that China declared the war on Japan and engaged in WWII. (Book VI, 1951: 86)

In the content organized by accounts of mainland China, the historical discourse created the picture of an ‘imagined’ Chinese nation composed of the mainland and Taiwan. It not only rhetorically addressed Taiwan as one part of China, but also used the absence of Taiwan in China’s history, for example, the fifty years of Japanese rule, as a way to formulate the historical continuity.

In the history of the modern China (1937 to 1949), the account of mainland China - the battle between the Chinese government (R.O.C.) and warlords and the gradual loss of mainland territory to the Chinese communists was explored. However, the contemporary Taiwan’ history - the histories that the territory of Taiwan returned to the R.O.C. government in 1945 from the Japanese government and the histories in the early republic era, e.g. the 228 incident or the start of Martial Law era, were not included. The last event in the textbook was that the territory of mainland China eventually and finally fell into CCP’s hands, and the R.O.C. government moved to Taiwan in 1949. The official discourse of the textbook created the historical continuity of Chinese nation-state in which critical issues challenging the identity of ‘Chinese’ nation and legitimacy were not written into the content.



**Figure 6.1 The map of China**

This map shows the domain of the R.O.C. state. The idea of one ‘Chinese nation-state’ lasted for almost 30 years in Taiwan from 1949. (1955: 63)

### **6.2.2 China as a cultural community**

If the nation, as modernists argued, is a social production, here the question can be raised – what is a nation, or how is the concept of a nation created? Smith (1991: 83) suggested that national schooling encouraged ‘national choices’ (e.g. national holidays) that connected the individual to the national communities; this was also a banal approach that constantly reminded people their belonging to the nation (Billig, 1995). Under this concern, how did the official discourse present cultural artefacts to fix the boundary of the nation and to provoke people’s imagining of it?

The culture was referenced as starting from the legend of ‘Three Emperors’ and ‘Huang Emperor’ in prehistoric era which was seen as the cultural origin of Taiwan:

Chinese civilization developed around four to six thousand years BC in Yellow River valley, which is referred to as the era of ‘Three Emperors’: The Fu-xi clan invented Eight Trigrams (divinatory symbols) and words; the Shen-nong clan developed agriculture; and Sui-ren developed fire for people. The cultures and norms of Chinese originated from this place [...]. After this period, the era moved in to the ‘Five Monarch’ period. At this time, the Huang (Yellow) and Yan Emperors defeated the Chi-yu and annexed his tribe. Thus he was treated as the master and common ancestor of the all our Chinese people. (1952: 164)

While fictitious characters in myth were organized to become the historical plot, e.g. established housing, the mythology was no longer treated as the legend, distancing from the real world; instead, it was socially linked with people’s life, and thus won its meaning as the tradition. This means the legend no longer existed as illusory, but rather, the history, which gained its significance to mark the cultural origin of ‘Chinese’ people. A mythological legend was created, suggesting the Chinese people as being a group based on the same ancestral origin. In reality, people in the mainland and in Taiwan had no contact under the R.O.C. government’s cross-strait policy (1949-1989). By rhetorically using the word ‘our’, the political discourse pulled readers (people in Taiwan), who had never even been to the mainland, into the mainland’s historical context, to propagate the idea of sharing the same cultural origin. The content of textbooks literally provoked readers’ imaginings of ‘Chinese cultural community’.

In the textbooks of the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition, ‘Chinese’ means the ancestral origin of people living in the place Yellow River valley of the mainland. The textbooks further presented the notion of Chinese civilization and tradition shared by all Chinese people

in the geographical mainland China:

These eras were followed by the well-known Chinese dynasties: Xia, Shang, and Zhou, which mark the origin of the Chinese civilization. For example, the inscriptions on tortoise shells suggested the origin of language, and bronze-ware symbolised the appearance of social class and religious ceremonies in the Shang Dynasty. Furthermore, the feudalism of the Zhou Dynasty was constructed with more substantive social and political systems. Through the approach of political construction, Ji Dan, the Duke of the Zhou kingdom, established the principles of ritual and music to institutionalize the obligation and right of people in each social class for the purpose of consolidating the political power of the Zhou kingdom (770-256 BC). For this reason, Chinese civilization was literally called the 'Hua Xia civilization', and Chinese people were called descendants of the Huang (Yellow) and Yan Emperors. (1952: 173)

This historical discourse created the historical continuity, in which the nationhood fits into statehood as a dual structure of the Chinese nation-state. Not only the Chinese cultural tradition (e.g. the invention of Chinese words) but also the political tradition, (e.g. the successive dynasties) were historically addressed.

As a part of the expansion of the dynastic regime of China, various nomadic groups were conquered by China's military force or moved into the area of the Central Plain. They were conquered by the political power and hybridized with the Han (Hua) ethnic group to be a part of Chinese people. The official discourse further addressed the identity of 'Chinese' people by exploring the process of ethnic integration of the 'Han' group with others:

Succeeding from the Qin dynasty, the first emperor of Han (Han-kao-tzu) unified the whole of China. Emperor Wu, the emperor of Han, was strong politically and militarily and he was able to defeat the nomadic tribes; hence, the Chinese are known to be of 'Han' people. (1952:164)

In this historical frame of ethnic hybridization, the official discourse legitimized ‘Han’ as the ethnic majority of the Chinese. Based on Han people, moreover, by interacting with the other non-Chinese nomadic tribes living on the margin of Central Plains, the ‘Chinese’ became a multi-ethnic group after experiencing four large-scale ethnic hybridizations:

These happened during the Qin and Han dynasties, the Jin Dynasty (265-420, after Han), the Sui and Tang dynasties (589-907AD), and the Ming and Qing dynasties. The largest ethnic hybridization was the second and happened during the Jin Dynasty, called Wu-hu Chaos (literally Five Barbaric Tribes wreak havoc on mainland China). Non-Chinese nomadic tribes, including Xiong-nu, Xian-bei, Di, Qiang, and Jie, moved into the Central Plains and hybridized with the Chinese ethnicity (zheng-hua-min-tzu) (1952: 165). [...] This chaotic era ended during the flourishing ages of the Sui and Tang dynasties. At the time, nomadic tribes in Northern China, such as Hui-he (Ouigour), Nu-zhen, and Mongolia, moved into Central Plain. (1952: 166)

The idea of ‘Chinese’ (people) originally meant the people who lived in the Yellow River Valley with a single ethnicity, Han. With the dynastic changes and the expansion of the Chinese empire, the Han people had been hybridized with others, amplifying into a larger ethnic group. The official discourse created the logic of how many peoples, i.e. non-Chinese nomadic tribes, had been included within the group of Chinese ethnicity (zheng-hua-min-tzu). In the content, the identity of Chinese people was thus created. The group of Chinese people also comprised all people in Taiwan:

The Han, Manchu, Mongolia, Hui, and Tibetan ethnic groups (tribe/族/tzu) were unified and they had equal opportunities to participate in politics. [...] Chinese nationality (chung-hua-min-tzu) has been formed by the integration of various ethnic groups. Others, such as Mio, Yi, Yao, Zhuang, and Highland ethnic groups (tribe/族/ tzu) in Taiwan, lived and married



with Han people and were therefore hybridized during the Sino-Japanese war and post-war time when Taiwan returned to the government. (1952:167)

According to the discourse of the textbook, 'Chinese' means more than just Han people inhabiting the central mainland the Yellow River valley; it was used as the pronoun of people(s) living in both the territory of mainland China and Taiwan Island. The textbooks also mentioned the period of the Sino-Japanese war and post-war, when Taiwan was excluded from the Chinese domain, but Taiwan's people were still culturally connected with China through social activities to reinforce the idea of a singular Chinese ethnic community, both across the Taiwan Strait and over the span of a long period of history. The connection of time, space, and people was built up which facilitated the idea identifying China as a national community.

'China' means the geographical China as the nation which had the broad territory including both the whole mainland and Taiwan island. This sense was created through depicting the domain and expansion of the territory of the Chinese empires in the content:

The Chinese, originating in the Central Plains, the Yellow River Valley in the Huang Emperor Era, expanded to the territory broadly encompassing the Bo-hai Sea in the east, the Taiwan Island in the southeast, the Himalayas Mountains in the southwest, and the Siberian Highlands in the north until the Qing dynasty (1952: 172).

The official discourse described the expansion of the domain of the Chinese nation, governed by certain dynasties (which had political power) which gradually expanded to broadly encompass the whole mainland and also included the island of Taiwan. In fact, mainland China and Taiwan had been institutionally separated into two political

entities each with their own government since 1949 and the people were forbidden to communicate with each other; in the content, however, the two places were still tied as being one Chinese nation on the basis of their historical and political past.

Exploring from the perspective of the history of its Founding Father, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the official discourse claimed the R.O.C. as the authentic Chinese government:

This organization, the beginning of Sun's revolutionary career, absorbed into it people having the same political ideals. It evolved into a large-scale group, Tong-Meng-Hui (Alliance Association, 1905); on the one hand, it combined with other groups, and on the other hand, more economic and social elites joined it, such as businesspeople and students returning from abroad. [...] At the time, this association still followed the 'Three Principles of the People', originally established by Sun as the guide to this revolution; moreover, it aimed at achieving the goal to expel barbarians, revive China, establish Republic, average land ownership. (1952: 82)

According to the history of China explored by the textbooks, the 'Han', which was first glorious Chinese Empire, was addressed as the ethnicity of Chinese and the term 'Han' people was used as another pronoun for the Chinese. This officially created historical knowledge regarding 'Han' ethnicity as the origin of the Chinese nation was adopted to legitimise the R.O.C. government's power over Chinese territory. The Qing dynasty was founded by Manchu people (Jing people) which was a nomadic tribe, but not Han people. So the revolution held by Sun Yat-sen to overthrow the Qing Empire was identified to the nationalist movement of reviving Chinese nation. The discourse of textbook organized the historical logic in which the legitimacy of the R.O.C. as the Chinese regime was underpinned.

The R.O.C. government's political activities during the 1920s to the 1940s, for example, facing Japan's military aggression and the capture of territory by warlords,

were organized to be the theme of the nationalist political movement in the content. The achievement of the R.O.C. government that successfully conquered these interior revolts, foreign invasions, and finally unified China, was explored, in which the legitimacy of the nationalist government - R.O.C. led by KMT party was addressed:

In this Congress, Sun Yat-sen advocated nationalist revolution and imposed the 'Three Principles of the People' as the only way for China to survive. In this aim, he founded the R.O.C. Military Academy and appointed Chiang Kai-shek as its president and the leader of the nationalist revolution. Sun passed away in 1924, and thus Chiang Kai-shek succeeded as leader of the KMT to lead the Chinese Nationalist government in Guang-zou. (1952:2)

By referencing the R.O.C. government was established under the nationalist mission of reviving the Han ethnicity – Chinese nation, the content transferred the idea that R.O.C. was not only the legitimate government, but also the regime of the Chinese nation. The textbooks explained that Sun Yat-sen was given with the identity as the Founding Father of the R.O.C. government of the Chinese nation; his successor, Chiang Kai-shek was seen as the leader of the Chinese nation. By presenting the political activities, the textbooks addressed the fact that 'China' was a state with the territory of mainland and its government (R.O.C.) led by Chiang.

The R.O.C. was proposed as the only legitimate government of China, while its political competitor – the Chinese Communist Party who took over the whole territory of mainland China and founded the government in Beijing, was identified as a betrayer of Chinese nation:

When the Nationalist Government resisted Japan's aggression, the Communists rioted in order to subvert the Chinese Nationalist government.[...] The Soviet Union supported the Chinese communists

through its military force.[...] (1952:100) (on the other hand) the U.S. government failed to resolve the conflict between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party. [...] During this situation, the Communist Party gradually occupied the mainland; consequently, the KMT retreated to Taiwan, thus beginning the era of the R.O.C. in Taiwan. (1952:102)

In comparison with the account of the R.O.C. government, which was described to revive the Chinese nation, the R.O.C. was addressed as the government of China over the territory of mainland China and Taiwan, and the P.R.C. government was presented as being shielded by a foreign power (Russia) to subvert the Chinese government (R.O.C.). The P.R.C. government was therefore able to be understood as the betrayer of the Chinese nation. According to this presentation, the statehood of China was reinforced as the political entity with one sole government – the R.O.C..

### **6.3 The changing shape of the imagined Chinese community (1954 to 1964)**

The contour of the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan delineated in the content of textbooks was slightly changed in the edition published in 1954 to 1964. In this edition, the content of the history started from the prehistoric era to that of contemporary China. The history of contemporary China was the account of ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ organized by those topics: the leader President Chiang Kai-shek and the outpost Taiwan (1955: 91), the implementation of local government (1955: 92), agrarian reform in 1950s (1955: 93-94), the economic achievement (1955:95-96), military strength (1955: 97), and the reversal of the unfavourable international environment (1955: 98). There were only eight pages of content on contemporary China, in which it was Taiwan but not the mainland which was the subject in the storyline. Although some crucial historical accounts of Taiwan during 1945 to 1949, for example, the 228 Incident (1947), were absent, the account of the mainland after 1949 was completely

dropped from the content:

In social aspects, the government changed the ethos through completely changing the slouchy, slothful, luxurious characters in life in education, it reinforced the national and scientific education, by conducting research on world cultures and thoughts, and generalize scientific knowledge, to finally achieving a flourishing Chinese culture.[...] Those achievements will be implemented over mainland China to rebuild the Chinese nation (Book IV, 1955:96).

In the above paragraph, two points are suggested. Taiwan's society, which was in the past ruled by Japanese government, was described as a culturally backward society; nevertheless, it was revitalized by the imposition of national education. The official discourse denied the cultural legitimacy of Japanese culture in Taiwan, and simultaneously, legitimized the Chinese influence over Taiwan. The mainland was not explicitly described as one part of China; however, it was implicitly presented as Chinese territory which will be unified and ruled under the model Taiwan. The official discourse still tied Taiwan to the mainland in terms of the content, but mentioned nothing about the activities of contemporary mainland China. This did not mean that the mainland was entirely excluded from the picture of the Chinese nation. The contour of Chinese national community remained, however; the mainland as one part of the Chinese imagined community had been gradually fading out from the sense of the imagined Chinese community.

In this edition, 'China' was not only presented as one cultural community based on the same ancestral and cultural origin shared by Chinese people which was hybridized with many ethnic groups, but was also a political entity. The official discourse explained that the territory of the mainland was lost to the Chinese Communist Party,

rather, by stressing the territory was taken over surreptitiously:

In the 38<sup>th</sup> year of the Republican Era, the Communist Party went across the Yang-tze River. Nanjing and other places of the mainland were occupied gradually. The government moved from Nanjing to Guang-zhou, then Chong-qing, and finally Taipei on the day 7<sup>th</sup> December. (Book IV, 1955: 43)

The literal expression of changing the capital to Taipei (Taiwan) represented two points regarding the statehood of Taiwan. By using the word ‘occupation’ to describe the Communist Party conquered the mainland, the textbook marked the illegitimacy of the P.R.C. government and also suggested the idea that the R.O.C. was the legitimate government of China. Secondly, losing the territory to the Communist Party was presented by describing the shift of capital. In the content, the existence of the other Chinese government – the P.R.C., had become the government to rule the territory of mainland China but was not seen in the content. In this way, the official discourse not only reinforced the idea Taiwan as one part of China, but also presented the picture of ‘imagined Chinese nation’ comprising both Taiwan and the mainland.

The political discourse stressed the role of the R.O.C. led by KMT party was the Chinese government grounded on its historical tradition and political achievement. The content, as in the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition, for example, the Chinese Nationalist government led by Chiang Kai-shek and engagement in the eight-year war to resist Japan’s aggression from 1937 to 1945. In this edition, however, the textbooks stressed the statehood of China with its government and territory comprising China and Taiwan more explicitly than it in the previous edition:

The national territory, comprising the Central Plain, Northeast Area, Mongolia and Xinjiang Highlands, Tibet, and Taiwan and Hainan Islands,

was a union in which the Han, Tang, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties were dominant. The history of the Chinese nation was the history of this place. Thus, the R.O.C. bore the task of unifying people in this place to accomplish the goal of a liberal and prosperous Chinese nation. (1955: 99)

While presenting the idea unifying people on the mainland and achieving the goal of reviving the Chinese nation, the official discourse implicitly suggested that the territory of the mainland was governed by the other government, the P.R.C. However, addressing the KMT bore the national task of reviving the Han nation by subverting the Qing dynasty which was built by the nomadic tribes, the textbooks identified the R.O.C., as an inherent part of the political tradition of the real China. The idea that the loss of mainland Chinese territory or the establishment of the P.R.C. government, which reflected the sense of the splitting of one Chinese imagined community, was not introduced. The concept of ‘Chinese’ was still shaped as a nation-state comprising the mainland and Taiwan.

## **6.4 Contemporary China - Taiwan (1964 to 1969)**

### **6.4.1 Post-war Taiwan’s history as the history of contemporary China**

The storyline of ‘Chinese’ history in these two decades of the 1950s to 1960s was still maintained as it had been in previous editions which were organized by the accounts of pre-historic times and, after thousands of years of political, social, and cultural singularities, ended with the contemporary R.O.C. regime in Taiwan. In the 51<sup>st</sup>-year edition (published in 1964 to 1969), more detailed accounts of Taiwan were introduced in the last chapter of the history, than in the previous editions. The last section, which dealt with the era of the R.O.C. state in Taiwan, consisted of five parts: ‘the leader, president Chiang Kai-shek’(1966: 68), ‘implementation of local

government'(1966: 69), 'agrarian reform in 1950s'(1966: 70), 'the military strength'(1966: 71), and 'reversal of the unfavourable international environment' (1966: 71). In the content, 'Chinese' was still applied as the identity of Taiwan, even though the content of contemporary history was organized with the accounts of Taiwan but not those of mainland China:

The output of agriculture and industry, such as grain, fertilizer, textile products, cement, petroleum, and electricity, consistently increased to levels not seen in any other state of that era in history. Moreover, the establishment of other key foundational structures of the country, including education, public health, and transportation over land and sea were striking. These achievements in Taiwan showed the potential to revive Chinese nation. (Book IV, 1966:71)

The accounts were about the social characteristics of post-war Taiwan. Nevertheless, the Chinese was still addressed as the national identity of Taiwan. As we can read from the content, while those social achievement of Taiwan was given with its meaning as the way to revive Chinese nation, 'Taiwan' was rhetorically presented as one part of China. By using the word 'revive' to present this sense, the discourse of textbooks implicitly put forward the idea of the incompleteness of the Chinese nation and the loss of mainland China, but simultaneously, it illustrated the frame of the Chinese nationhood comprising both Taiwan island and the mainland. The favourable stance of the international community was added into the content to reinforce the idea proposing China as a state:

In order to end the confrontation between China and Japan and re-establish diplomatic relations, in February of the 41st year of the republic era, China and Japan held a two-month-long series of negotiations. [...] This new treaty was the foundation for future diplomatic cooperation. China and Japan upheld responsibility for Asian security in resisting the threat of



international communism. (1966:72)

The text presented two points: first, the R.O.C. in Taiwan was the ‘real China’, recognized internationally; second, the Chinese communists were identified as the antagonists challenging the security of the international community. In this view, this discourse implicated the C.C.P. on the mainland as a universal enemy, whose legitimacy was denied as the ‘other China’ in the international society. The idea of the single Chinese nation-state was addressed. In this context, although the textbooks still stressed that the territory of the Chinese nation included the mainland and Taiwan Island, they did not mention the accounts of the contemporary mainland after the 38<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic Era (1949) when the R.O.C. government moved to Taiwan and the P.R.C. was established in Beijing. The contour of the ‘imagined Chinese community’ has waned over the years as described in the content of successive editions which suggested the idea that the impression of contemporary China had gradually become vague in the Taiwan people’s imaginings.

#### **6.4.2 R.O.C. in Taiwan as the authentic Chinese nation-state**

As stated in the textbooks of the previous two editions, the content of history started from the account of Beijing Man in the prehistoric era and ended with the R.O.C. central government moving from the mainland to Taiwan in 1949. The accounts of cultural, ancestral origin, and ethnic origin were still explored as the characteristics to embody the Chinese nation as the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan which were similar to those in previous editions. The concept ‘Chinese’ was presented not only as the cultural community but also as the state with its territory broadly encompassing Bo-hai Sea in the east, the Taiwan Island in the southeast, the Himalaya Mountains in

the southwest, and the Siberian Highlands in the north and its government – the R.O.C..

Although the military corporation between Chinese and Soviet communists have already been mentioned in the previous two editions, detailed accounts explicitly pointing out Chinese communists as the enemy of the R.O.C. state appeared in the content for the first time:

During the eight-year Sino-Japanese War, the Nationalist government organized the Communist Party as ‘the eighth army soldier’ into the Chinese military. However, no one knew the communists’ conspiracy was to invade China from Soviet Russia. Rather than obeying military orders, they occupied many places and enlarged the span and strength of communism. After the war, Soviet Russia supported the communists’ military activities in northeast China. Supported by Soviet Russia with weapons left behind by six hundred thousand Japanese military when retreating away from the mainland in the end of WWII, the Communist Party’s military force increased and occupied many military strongholds in northeast China: He-bei, Shan-dong, and Shan-xi Provinces. (Book IV, 1966: 64)

The content that the communists’ conspiracy invaded China from Soviet Russia means the Chinese Communists supported by a foreign power - Soviet Russia to subvert the Chinese government (R.O.C.), cannot not be seen as the authentic Chinese government. In this regard, the political competition between the R.O.C. government and Chinese Communists can be understood as the confrontation between the Chinese government (R.O.C.) and the camp which was organized by the foreign power (Russia) and Chinese communist party.

## **6.5 The peak of Chinese nationalism (1974 to 1984)**

In the textbooks of the 61<sup>st</sup>-year edition (published in 1974 to 1984), the accounts of the mainland remained the focus; however, the content at the end of the textbooks underwent some obvious changes. Many historical events of Taiwan that had never been discussed were introduced for the first time, particularly in the section on contemporary history, even though Taiwan's history has still not been compiled fully, and some historically significant cases, such as the 228 Incident in 1947, are still absent from textbooks. The history of the Japanese era is an example:

In the fifty-year colonial era, Taiwanese patriots continually resisted the violent Japanese rule. [...] Chiang Wai-shui organized the revolution to overthrow the Japanese government, revealing the determination of the Taiwanese patriots to return to their motherland. (1984:112)

According to the rhetorical expression and the account of Japanese rule in the content of the textbook, Japan was presented as an illegitimate government to govern the territory of China. The readings, such as local Taiwanese people's resistance and willingness to return to their motherland, were organized to be the history of Japanese colonization in Taiwan. The textbooks created the sense that Taiwan was forced to be politically ruled by the Japanese government, but was still nationally connected with China.

Two chapters on the Chinese Communist Party and the establishment of Taiwan were added at the end as the history of contemporary China. In addition to the contents of 'implementation of local government', 'economy', 'agrarian reform', 'reinforcement of the military', which were already mentioned in the previous 51<sup>st</sup>-year edition, new accounts of contemporary Taiwan during the thirty years under the rule of the R.O.C.

government were introduced. Take the presentation of the social establishment for example:

The government devoted more than thirty years to improve education, research, and Chinese culture, which achieved a certain level of success. Our nation established the 'Chinese Cultural Revival Association' with a particular concern for cultural activities. This establishment was based on ethics, democracy, and science to advocate Chinese culture. [...] The government also devoted resources to social welfare. In this endeavour, social assistance, labour insurance, community development, career training, and consulting were offered. The government also addressed the areas of public health, social-economic activities, and socio-cultural activities to raise the living standard and help society to flourish. (1984 III: 138)

While 'Taiwan' is treated as the most advanced province of China, the official discourse still notes 'Chinese' as the national character of Taiwan. In the content, however, the obvious change was that the accounts of contemporary mainland China started to be introduced. The expansion and deceitful activities, for example, the Cultural Revolution, of the Chinese Communist Party and the social and political disasters in the mainland were introduced. The content included the 'compatriots in the mainland were oppressed' (1984: 97-98), 'competition within the communist party' (1984: 98), 'the torture of compatriots in the mainland' (1984: 98-99). The accounts of mainland China and Taiwan composed the history of contemporary China. The contemporary history of the mainland history is treated as a common experience to be shared by the people of Taiwan in Taiwan's history textbooks. The historical discourse re-created the frame for the Chinese community by claiming that both Taiwan and China were the national territory in this way.

The content of the 'Chinese' cultural community, including the history, people,

culture, were addressed in a manner similar to previous editions. The content that appeared in previous editions was still introduced in this one: for example, the origin of the Chinese culture in the prehistoric era when a man from Peking (Beijing) discovered fire (1984 I: 1) or the invention of Chinese words in the Shang dynasty at around BC.16C. (1984: 13). In this edition, the Huang and Yan emperors were also described as the common ancestors of the Chinese people (1984: 9), and all people on this territory were the 'Chinese' ethnicity hybridised by various groups.

'China' was also illustrated as a state which encompassed the whole of the mainland and Taiwan as it is shown on the map in the content of textbooks (1984: 112). In previous editions, the term 'communist' indicated both Soviet Russia and the Chinese communists; however, in this edition, the literal expression 'Chinese bandit' was coined, which replaced 'Communist Party' and assumed the identity of Chinese communists. In the content, simultaneously, the role of Soviet Russia was downgraded and relegated to the background of the competition between it and R.O.C. government while the Chinese Communist Party emerged from the shadows. The Chinese Communist Party was regarded as the sole antagonist of the R.O.C. government:

Since the communist party occupied the mainland, people have lived in deep distress [...] from a psychological perspective, our Chinese compatriots are oppressed by communist politics, manipulating people's thoughts and activities. Dissidents are reformed by labour but physically abused at the same time. Communist bandits aimed in breaking our traditional Chinese culture, creating jealousy and competition between people, who were divided into five black and red sorts. The five red types of people own the privileges in the society, while the black live like slaves for generations. Such a disaster is unprecedented in our history. In contrast, we enjoy our free, prosperous, and peaceful lives in Taiwan, Pen-hu, Ki-men, and Ma-tzu. For saving our tortured compatriots in the mainland, we

should stand firmly to resist the Communists, and bring the Three Principles back to the mainland.(1984: 124)

The official discourse still proposed 'China' as not only a nation but also a state. Not only the word negatively marked the characteristic of C.C.P., such as 'communist bandit', but also accounts, e.g. C.C.P. broke the traditional Chinese culture, the textbook literally created the understanding that mainland China was occupied by an illegitimate and violent government. The official discourse also rhetorically delivered the sense that China is a unified cultural community by using the words 'us', 'we', and 'compatriot' to build up the connection between Taiwan's readers and the mainlanders. Through doing this, the official discourse can create the sense that this territory mainland China was 'temporarily' occupied by another political group- communist. This means that the mainland and Taiwan were parts of the national territory and people on the mainland China and Taiwan Island were compatriots, and only the R.O.C. was the Chinese government, even though mainland China was not governed by it. The ideology of Chinese nationalism reached its highest pitch in this edition.

#### **6.6 'China' as one cultural community but two political entities (1985 to 1988)**

In the textbooks of the 72<sup>nd</sup>-year edition, more accounts of contemporary Taiwan encompassing the significant events during 1949 to 1980s were introduced and the storyline of contemporary China is organized. They were - political establishment (1986 III: 104-105), the establishment of national defence (1986: 105-106), economic establishment (1986: 106-107), cultural and educational establishment (1986: 107-109), contemporary society (1986: 109). Instead, the advent was seen of passages describing a prosperous Taiwan's social community and stressing its political, economic, and social achievements:

During those thirty years, the government was concerned with and had great achievements in the generalisation of national education, development of academic research, and enhancement of the Chinese national culture (1986 III:137).

In accordance with the presentation of history and culture, the officially written history still stated 'Chinese' in which Taiwan was comprised. Under this logic, Taiwan was presented as the place inheriting the 'Chinese' culture. The account of the mainland was mentioned and fragmentally embedded within the storyline of contemporary China contextually constituted by Taiwan's history. Events of mainland China are included in the content of contemporary China: the emergence of the Chinese Communist Party, the loss of the mainland, and the achievements in Taiwan, more details of the Cultural Revolution (1986: 122-124) and the suffering of the Chinese people under the rule of the Chinese communist in the 1950s to late 1970s were all negatively addressed. According to the composition of the history of contemporary China, it is Taiwan, but not the mainland, that was assumed as the historical subject. Over successive editions, 'Taiwan' had been invented and re-invented to be the successor of Chinese nation.

The shape of the Chinese cultural community created in previous editions remained in the 72<sup>nd</sup> editions. The content on Peking (Beijing) man of the pre-historic era found in Hei-bei province (chapter I, 1986 I:12), followed by the era of 'Three Emperors' (1986: 21) and successive dynasties were still structured as Chinese history. In this edition, however, the statement assuming China as one state in previous editions was changed. The notion of the illegitimacy of the Communist Party was no longer emphasized even though the status of the R.O.C. as the only Chinese government was still referred to:

The mainland was occupied; the government moved to Taiwan. [...] We look forward to unify with the territory of the mainland by following the Three Principles of the People (nationalism, democracy, and social well-being) in the future. This was hoped for by people on both sides of the Taiwan-strait. Only in this way can China be strong and prosperous. (1986 I: 127)

While the official discourse literally expressed the P.R.C. rule over the mainland as ‘occupation’, it legitimated the R.O.C. as the sole Chinese government. In this created historical context, ‘China’ was addressed as the government and state of ‘our nation’. The rhetorical expression ‘we’ and ‘people’ strategically presented the sense of one Chinese community of ‘Chinese people’, including people in the mainland and Taiwan.

In 1971, the R.O.C. government lost its seat at the U.N., which meant its status in Taiwan was no longer that of a state in the international community. The textbooks of the 72<sup>nd</sup> -year edition which were published around this era still presented ‘China’ as a state with its territory comprising the mainland and Taiwan and with a R.O.C. government. This can be seen in the content of the diplomatic frustration of the R.O.C. retreating from the U.N.:

In the 60th-year of the republic era, the Secretary of State of the US, Henry Kissinger, secretly visited Beijing and colluded with the CCP. Not long after, the UN accepted the CCP and denied the status of our state. Our state’s representative resolutely announced our withdrawal from the UN. (1986:128-129)

The fact is that the international community admitted the P.R.C. as a legitimate government of China in 1971; simultaneously, the status of the R.O.C. was denied. In the textbooks, the official discourse still historically insisted that the R.O.C. as the



government representing China, however, it also furthers the notion of two sovereign Chinas:

The growing of the R.O.C. government in Taiwan illustrates several crucial historical facts. First, Taiwan was the model symbolising successful modernization in China. Second, Taiwan was, thus, able to be compared by people in mainland China with their own authoritarian government. Third, the R.O.C. was the hope of the Chinese people to retain their nationality.[...] In thirty years, the KMT imposed the ‘Three Principles of the People’ established by the Founding Father, Sun Yat-sen, to achieve political democracy, economic freedom, and social prosperity. [...] Those achievements proved the inference that the Three Principles were the correct way for developing culture and managing society. Hence, we should obey the ‘Three Principles of the People’ in order to prepare Taiwan for unifying with the mainland in the near future. (1986:140-141)

The textbook continued the idea regarding China as the imagined community of Taiwan. The idea that Taiwan was the model of modernization in China suggested Taiwan was one part of Chinese nation. Moreover, mainlanders were identified as Chinese people - compatriots of Taiwan’s people. Hence, although the official discourse did not explicitly address the P.R.C. as the other Chinese government, it has suggested that the one Chinese nation was composed of two separated China sovereignties. This means that the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan is China but that was composed by two sections of ‘P.R.C. in China’ and ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’.

### **6.7 One Chinese nation, two Chinese states (1989 to 1996)**

In the 74<sup>th</sup>-year edition (Published in 1989 to 1996), ‘Chinese’ was still presented as the national community. As in the earliest textbooks of the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition, the textbooks introduced the culture and norms of that era of Huang and Yan emperors were lasted by next generations as the tradition and civilization of China. As we can

read in the textbooks, Chinese people means more than the offspring of Huang and Yam emperors who inhabited in the Yellow River Valley, but also all people living on the geographical mainland China and Taiwan who were culturally and ethnically interconnected with each other. The imagined Chinese national community was thus invented in the history of Taiwan.

The narrative is still organized around the mainland; however, more historical accounts of Taiwan are introduced in the section on the contemporary era. Taiwan was still presented as a society with Chinese features; however, more accounts about the process of Taiwan's socio-cultural and socio-political formation which was greatly different from the development of mainland China were introduced. The 228 Incident which happened in 1947 was the case taken into account which suggested the meaning of the beginning of the political democratisation of post-war Taiwan.

The contour of the Chinese imagined community is presented as it was in previous editions. In this edition, however, the official discourse does not only address the idea that the Chinese nation split into two sovereignties, but also explicitly into two states. The P.R.C. government is no longer presented only with vague identification, but explicitly as a state:

In October the 38<sup>th</sup> year of the republic era, the Chinese Communist Party established the 'People's Republic of China' in Bei-ping (Beijing). In the following decades, the CCP implemented a series of 'movements'. Numerous people suffered in every one of those. The property of landlords and farmers was confiscated; they were even killed or reformed through forced labour. (1987: 93)

The establishment of the P.R.C. government and its rule over the mainland were introduced into the text for the first time. In comparison with the previous editions,

the terms used to describe the illegitimacy of the P.R.C. government, e.g. puppet regime, and the Chinese Communist Party, e.g. ‘communist bandit’, were not used in the 74<sup>th</sup>-year edition textbooks. Thus, the mainland and Taiwan were not only presented as two societies as they were in the previous edition; rather, two political entities governed by each own government, namely, two states. The ideology that the Chinese nation was split into two political entities with two different governments – R.O.C. and P.R.C. with each own territories: Taiwan and mainland China has been re-invented in the content.

‘Chinese’ was presented as two Chinas; however, still one national community, and this idea can be found in the content:

The peaceful unification of China was expected by all Chinese people. If Taiwan preserved stability, glory, and democracy in its society, and C.C.P. gave up the one-party authoritarian governance to democracy and promised not to invade Taiwan by using military force, this ideal of unification can be achieved earlier. [...] In the National Unification Committee<sup>2</sup> in February in the 80<sup>th</sup> year of the republic era, president Lee Teng-hui passed the ‘Guideline of National Unification’ for the prosperity of the Chinese people and for achieving the peaceful unification of the Chinese nation with the principles of freedom, democracy, and common wealth. (1987:109)

The literal expression ‘restoring the lost territory of the mainland’ in previous editions was replaced by ‘peaceful unification with the mainland’ in the textbooks. This means the official ideology regarding the nation of China has been changed from regarding ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ as the sole Chinese state to admitting the legitimacy of both the

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<sup>2</sup> The National Unification Committee was the official organization responsible for promoting the unification of Taiwan and the mainland. The last meeting was hold in 1999.

R.O.C. and the P.R.C. as Chinese states. The idea of 'two Chinese states' was reshaped into an even more explicit meaning. In this sense, however, the idea: 'peaceful unification of China', literally suggested the sense that mainland China and Taiwan were as two political subjectivities, however, belonging to one nation - China.

### **6.8 China as the nation of the mainland and Taiwan (1997 to 2001)**

The Chinese cultural community was still addressed as the nation of Taiwan according to the content of textbooks (the 83<sup>rd</sup>-year edition, published in 1997 to 2001). Chinese culture stretched from the prehistoric era via successive dynasties to the era of the R.O.C. regime which was illustrated with similar content, for example, the invention of the Chinese language as the origin of Chinese culture (2001 I: 16), the arts, customs of successive dynasties.

Both contemporary mainland China and Taiwan have been introduced as the history of contemporary China in this edition which was structurally different from that of the previous edition solely focusing on the account of Taiwan. In this edition, the first section of Chapter 15 ('Post-war China'), was the accounts of contemporary mainland China. These included the establishment of the P.R.C. in 1949 (1997 III: 163), the Cultural Revolution and the famine of the 1960s (1997:166), and Deng Xiao-peng's succession to lead China after Mao (1997: 171). The second section then followed with accounts of Taiwan, including the R.O.C. government moving to Taiwan, the Martial Law era (1997: 175), the agrarian reforms (1997: 177), the economic miracle (1997: 177-178), and the democratization between the 1970s and 1990s (e.g. the end of Martial Law era) (1997: 179-180). These accounts of the mainland provided the organizational basis for the storyline of Chinese history before 1949.

The Chinese history after 1949 focuses upon both the mainland and Taiwan. In this sense, ‘Chinese history’ has not only been the story and past of mainland China, but also of Taiwan. Historically, Taiwan and mainland China were linked together on which the frame of China – the imagined community of Taiwan was delineated.

### **6.8.1 Two Chinas: R.O.C. in Taiwan and P.R.C. in China**

The statement of a ‘Chinese’ cultural community as presented in the textbooks from the 37<sup>th</sup> - to the 74<sup>th</sup> - editions remained in the 83<sup>rd</sup>-year edition with, however, changes in the statement regarding the statehood of China. On the one hand, the Communist Party in the 74<sup>th</sup>-year edition (1989 to 1996), has been represented as a legitimate government, even though some cases, such as the Cultural Revolution and the Chinese people’s suffering, were simultaneously introduced to shape the P.R.C. as the government of violence. The idea that the P.R.C. government was founded in 1949 and led mainland China appeared in the 74<sup>th</sup>-year edition (1989 to 1996), and was then reshaped to the even more explicit idea of being a state in the textbooks of the 83<sup>rd</sup>-year edition:

The Communist Party won the territory by the strong military force. The People’s Republic of China was established in the 38<sup>th</sup>-year of the Republic Era, with its capital in Bei-ping, which was renamed as Beijing (Northern capital). (1997:163)

In textbooks of the earlier edition (74<sup>th</sup>-year), the P.R.C. government built by the Chinese Communist Party had been addressed as a political entity; however, it was identified as the ‘Chinese state’ in this edition. The discourse that the P.R.C. ruled over the territory of mainland China, as rhetorically expressed by the terms ‘gained’ and ‘capital’, suggested the legitimacy of the P.R.C. as the government over mainland

China. The idea of ‘two Chinas’ was explicitly stated in the text.

Extending from ideological basis regarding ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ and ‘P.R.C. in China’, the textbooks explored the relation between mainland China and Taiwan as the ‘cross-strait’ relation:

Historical reasons resulted in the separation of Mainland China and Taiwan. Those two sides were in a military confrontation in the beginning and then changed into a state of peaceful political competition. Establishing a new relationship based on unification or separation was a test for the leaders and people of both sides. (1997: 189)

How to conceptualize the concept of ‘Taiwan’ and ‘China’ in terms of the text of this paragraph? This paragraph suggested a new meaning concerning the status of Taiwan and its relation to the mainland. First, the reason of the political separation of mainland China and Taiwan was presented with the vague literal expression as ‘historical reason’. This discourse represented sentiments of regret toward the split of the Chinese nation. This logic of the discourse delivered the sense that ‘China’ was a community but was divided into two segments because of the inevitable factor literally called as the ‘historical reason’. Second, the literal expression ‘peaceful political competition’ used in the textbooks carried more meaning than the indication of two governments in rival status, but the indication of two ‘Chinese’ governments – the R.O.C. and the P.R.C. governments meant that ‘China’ was explicitly reshaped into the idea of one nation but two states.

### **6.8.2 ‘Taiwan’ as a state?**

If ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ can be understood as a state according to the content of this edition, can it be known as a nation? The idea that ‘Taiwan’ has its socio-cultural and

socio-political character and which make it so different from the society of mainland China were raised:

In the cultural aspect, the government promoted the establishments of Taiwan's local culture. Through the integration of the cultural characteristics of each ethnic group, the government enriched the multi-cultural nature of the society and increased civilians' consciousness of a 'life community'. (1997 III: 115)

Although Taiwan and the mainland were still considered to be part of one national community grounded on shared ancestral and cultural traditions, the local-oriented culture of Taiwan came to define itself. In the content, 'Taiwan' was perceived as a 'life community' that suggested the sense of gradually detaching process from the imagined Chinese national community, which is framed by both the mainland and the island of Taiwan. Taiwan was not completely characterized as 'Chinese' as it was in previous editions. Following this logic, the textbooks of the 83<sup>rd</sup>-year edition focused more on Taiwan's domestic affairs, in which the concept 'Taiwan' took on the meaning of a 'true' community instead of its traditional role as a part deemed to the Chinese nation. Take the account of Taiwan's politics for example:

In the era of Chiang Kai-shek, 'regaining the mainland', and 'resisting Soviet Russia and Chinese communists' were the national policy, adopted as the main goal of the establishment of Taiwan. In the Republic's 67<sup>th</sup> year (1978), when Chiang Jing-kuo succeeded to the presidency, the slogans he suggested - localization and internationalization' and 'Taiwanese people govern Taiwan' - reinforced the people's sentiments toward Taiwan and pushed the progress of democratization. (1997 III: 179 -180)

The role of Taiwan as the base or 'outpost' for the regaining of the lost mainland was replaced by the idea of the construction of Taiwan as a political, social and cultural community. This reflected the idea that the Chinese nationalism regarding Taiwan as

the outpost for reclaiming the mainland had been marginalized. Moreover, the term - 'Taiwanese', which means the people in Taiwan, was adopted by the textbook for the first time. While this picture of the imagined 'Taiwanese' community which was organized by both Taiwan's citizens and Taiwan's government has been articulated historically, the sharp distinction between contemporary mainland China and Taiwan has also been drawn:

Taiwan returned to the R.O.C. in 1945 and attained local self-government and elections of political representatives, agrarian reform and ten key infrastructures in economics, public health and labour insurance in society, education, the popularization of Chinese culture, and reviving movements in culture. For thirty years, the government successfully built Taiwan to be a prosperous society. [...] Party politics and the beginning of a direct presidential election reflect the mature political democracy that had emerged, achieving the dream of Chinese intellectuals for the past one hundred years. As R.O.C. government in Taiwan for long, cross-strait relations and the question of unification and independence became issues of increasing interest for Chinese people on both the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. (1997 III : 182)

While the official discourse said Taiwan was lingering between the dilemma of unification and independence in terms of the mainland, it suspends Taiwan's national identity as neither attached nor detached from mainland China. However, the official discourse explored the way in which 'Taiwan' has been developed as a community by using the case of Taiwan's socio-political progress between 1945 and the 2000; it distinguishes Taiwan from the mainland. In this way, the content created the sense that the shape of this 'imagined Chinese community' became hazy according to historical narration, and no longer existed as clearly as it had done in previous editions.



## **6.9 ‘Taiwanese’ community**

In addition to the textbook *History*, the other curriculum, *Knowing Taiwan (History)*, which was also implemented under the guidance of history curriculum in the 83<sup>rd</sup>-year, focused on Taiwan-based history. This volume comprised six main subjects: the pre-historical age, Dutch and Spanish Colonization, Ming-zheng Era, Qing Settlement, Japanese colonization, and the R.O.C. in Taiwan. Under this aegis, the history of Taiwan developed its own focus separate from *History*, which was mainly constructed by the histories of mainland China. *Knowing Taiwan* offers instruction to help students to think about what does ‘Taiwan’ mean? In this edition, the textbooks declared, ‘the study guide gives students historical facts about the contribution of local peoples to Taiwan. This was intended to promote the spirit of cooperation and the notion of love for their hometown and country, to help students in Taiwan treasure their cultural legacy and cultivate patriotism and global horizons in them’ (*Knowing Taiwan[History]*, 1997). In this edition, the official text stated the aim of promoting a sense of cooperation and love of the homeland as the key theme of the curriculum of *Knowing Taiwan (History)*. However, how to understand the concept ‘homeland’ – Taiwan in this historical context?

### **6.9.1 The construction of ‘Taiwanese’ history**

*Knowing Taiwan (History)* was the Taiwan-based history textbook which explores history by suggesting the formation of the geographical Taiwan approximately twenty million years ago. The storyline was constructed based on the historical accounts of geographical space: Taiwan Island. In the content, the history of Taiwan was introduced from Old Stone Age and then shifted to the recorded four-hundred-recorded

history of Taiwan. This content started from that Dutch and Spain competed to colonize Taiwan and Ming-zheng regime era in the seventeenth century, and then moved forward to discuss the Ming-zheng era in Taiwan, Qing Dynasty, Japanese era, and finally the R.O.C. government in Taiwan (1945 to the 1990s).

What is the 'imagined community' of Taiwan when the history of Taiwan has no longer been composed by the mainland China-based accounts? Especially, the history of the R.O.C. regime, from its establishment in 1911 to its transfer to Taiwan in 1945, was excluded in the content of *Knowing Taiwan (History)*, the Japanese colonization used to be addressed as an occupation, and thus as an illegitimate sovereignty and an attempt to rule Taiwan under a Chinese-centred historical framework in the history textbooks of all previous editions. In *Knowing Taiwan (History)*, the Japanese rule was written to be part of a historical era of Taiwan. The textbooks explored that although those developments promoted were for the purposes of colonization, and as a result reshaped Taiwan's culture, such as people's habits (e.g. punctuality and dietary habits) and society (e.g. the legal system):

In this era, the population increased, society was transformed, people and cultures changed. (1997: 79) [...] When Japanese government came to Taiwan, it positively engaged in establishing public health, medical care, tap water, and a sanitary sewer system. The government promulgated the law that each house should have a litterbin and position it in front of the door. Moreover, the government implemented rules about cleaning the living environment regularly, injecting vaccines, disinfecting, catching mice, having blood tests, and providing medicine [...]. Those implements effectively prevented illness. (1997: 79-80)

The Japanese stayed in Taiwan for fifty years, and their legacy in education, industry, and infrastructure pushed Taiwan into becoming a modern society. The kind of

positive descriptions of the Japanese era were presented in the textbooks for the first time, even though the Japanese government was not addressed as a legitimate government of Taiwan. When the Japanese experience was addressed to be the past of Taiwan, 'Taiwan' in the content was presented to be an entity constructed and reconstructed a diversity of socio-cultural and socio-political characteristics that reached beyond the frame of the 'Chinese imagined community'.

Based on the previous reasoning, the four-hundred-year documented history of Taiwan was the 'Taiwanese' history, and plurally organized various historical elements, in which mainland China was included. Ironically, the usage of the discourse, 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' stated that the R.O.C. government was a regime coming from outside Taiwan; therefore, the R.O.C. government did not completely carry the same meaning and identity as the 'Taiwanese'. On the basis of the composition of historical context of *Knowing Taiwan (History)*, can contemporary Taiwan still be understood as part of the Chinese nation?

### **6.9.2 'Taiwan' as a cultural community**

*Knowing Taiwan (History)* presented the ancestral origins of people in Taiwan in a different way from previous textbooks, although the textbooks [*History*] published in the same period (1997 to 2001) mentioned that the Beijing man and the Huang emperor were the common ancestors of the Chinese people. The uniqueness of Taiwanese ancestry was addressed in *Knowing Taiwan*:

Archaeologists found a site of ancient cultural remains in Tai-dong (eastern Taiwan). Moreover, in 1974, human fossils were found in Zou-shen (small town in southern Taiwan). Those unearthed legacies were similar to the stone implements of the south China area; thus, archaeologists believe that

Taiwan's old stone culture and part of the Taiwanese aboriginal people possibly came from China. [...] Because of this geographical proximity, primitive men coming from Mainland Asia to Taiwan might be the earliest people in Taiwan. Scholars defined their lives as being part of the Old Stone Age, the pre-history of human beings' activities in Taiwan. (1997: 6-7)

The rhetorical expression 'Taiwanese' was used to present the ethnic identity of the aboriginal people of Taiwan for the first time. However, the official discourse still suggested that Taiwan's peoples were possibly associated with those of mainland China. Although this was presented with an uncertain attitude as a hypothesis, it nonetheless implied that the Taiwanese were ethnically connected with the mainlanders, and thus could be considered as part of the Chinese people.

The official discourse of *Knowing Taiwan* also stated that the ethnic origin of the Taiwanese people can be known from the history of the Han (Chinese) immigration in the 17<sup>th</sup> century:

Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Han people have defied hardship and danger to go across the Taiwan strait to Taiwan to earn a living. This bravery was a unique characteristic of the Taiwanese people. (1997: 3)

The official discourse presented the account Han people moved from China to Taiwan to explore the sense of the way in which the 'Chinese' (Han) people came to be a part of the 'Taiwanese'. Those 'Han' people who came to Taiwan were explained to have a 'unique' character, and were the ancestors of 'Taiwanese'. The official discourse distinguished between those two groups - Chinese immigrants in Taiwan and mainlanders in the mainland. The term 'Taiwan' can be understood as a geographical identification. 'Taiwanese' (Tai-wan-zen/台灣人) was rhetorically used to indicate 'people in Taiwan'. People in Taiwan can be presented as 'Taiwan's people' (Tai-

zen/台人/Taiwan people). However, in this case, 'Taiwanese' was represented to be a particular ethnic group that differed from the mainlander.

The meaning and identity of 'Taiwanese people' can be noticed with an even clearer sense in the historical context of the Qing-governance era. The textbooks explained that the Chinese immigrants (Han people) and aboriginal Taiwanese people built up relationships in Taiwan's society:

In the Qing-governance era, a great majority of Chinese, especially the Fujian and Guang-don provinces, moved to Taiwan to earn a living, and thus brought Han people's culture, for example, religion, into Taiwan at the same time. [...] Because the policy of extradition only allowed males to go to Taiwan, social problems arose due to the uneven sex ratio in Taiwan society. Marriages between Han males and Taiwanese aboriginal females reshaped kinship in Taiwanese society. (1997:42)

In this paragraph, the text explained how the ethnic boundary between (Han) Chinese and (aboriginal) Taiwanese was broken through intermarriage, business, and cohabitation. The logic of the formation of a 'Taiwanese' ethnicity was established to address this ethnicity, especially as it was formed as a result of the Han and aboriginal Taiwanese peoples. The historical perspective identified local Taiwanese as part of the 'Chinese' people. In contrast, the official discourse reformulated the identity of Taiwanese, in order to encompass the 'Chinese' as part of the 'Taiwanese' people. Thus, the 'imagined' community of the Chinese to which Taiwanese people belonged was reformulated as a Taiwanese community to which Chinese could belong.

The official discourse also explicitly addressed the identity of Taiwanese ethnicity:

Taiwan is a plural-ethnic society. Although ethnic barriers existed during the early decades of the R.O.C. era, they gradually decreased through long-

term marriage and cohabitation. (1997: 111)

The expression 'multi-ethnic' was adopted to address and characterize the 'Taiwanese' people for the first time. This concept of the multi-ethnic Taiwanese differed from the typical expression of these people as part of the 'multi-ethnic Chinese ethnicity', which broadly indicated an ethnicity that was hybridised over a long period of time. The official discourse thus shaped a sense of 'Taiwanese' cultural community. Peoples from heterogeneous ethnic groups are interconnected to be one homogeneous Taiwanese category.

The meaning of 'Taiwanese' culture was also identified and this can also be seen in *Knowing Taiwan* which was historically explored from the pre-historic era of Taiwan:

The Island of Taiwan was even, at one time, part of Mainland Asia. By experiencing the changes in the earth's crust, it gradually separated from the Mainland. Archaeologists predicted that people have lived in this place, from the late period of Old-Stone age, Long-beach culture was found in Tai-dong (eastern Taiwan). (1997: 5)

In this textbook, 'Taiwan' was no longer addressed as sharing the same culture and ancestry with the mainland to be as one part of the Chinese nation. This was in contrast to *History*, in which Taiwan was an entity that was culturally a part of the Chinese nation. This means the Chinese culture in Taiwan was like other cultures within Taiwan and was seen as only one element of the 'Taiwanese' culture. This official discourse therefore constructed 'Taiwan' as a community culturally and socially independent from the Chinese mainland.

The sense of a locally-oriented 'Taiwanese' culture was gradually built up in the

content of history beginning from the Dutch and Spanish colonial era and Ming-zheng governance in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century:

The first regime was called the Ming-Cheng era built by Han people. [...] During his twenty-two years of governance, the Han people's culture, including Confucianism and other religious beliefs, were introduced to Taiwan as an essential part of Taiwan's culture. (1997: 25)

In previous editions (*History*) before *Knowing Taiwan*, 'Chinese' was identified as the culture shared by both the mainland and Taiwan's culture. Although Han culture was suggested as the fundamental part of Taiwan, the official discourse recreated the history in which Chinese culture was a topic comprised within the subject of 'Taiwanese culture'. The culture of the Japanese era, which was not introduced in previous editions, was introduced following that of the Qing era, and those contents reinforced the idea of local-oriented Taiwanese culture:

The 'Emperor People Movement' (1936) intended to completely change Taiwanese political and cultural identities, including convincing them to abandon their original language, family names, and their religious beliefs by adopting Japan's. Japan's policy changed to one of 'island extension', or 'blurring Japanese and Taiwanese; both were treated equally', to consolidate Taiwanese people's identity as being loyal to the Japanese government and to be scarified to Japan's. (1997: 65)

Although 'Taiwanese' was not addressed as a Japanized culture, it was described as having changed from its original status as a Han (Chinese)-based culture to one mixed with the Japanese. The textbooks introduced how Taiwan's culture and society changed tremendously in the Japanese era, making it different from that of the Chinese. The meaning of the 'Taiwanese' culture was created in the narration of the textbooks.



**Figure 6.2 The indigenous people's clothes and bowl.**

The Taiwan locally-oriented culture and people started to be introduced as the ethnic origin of 'Taiwanese'. (*Knowing Taiwan [History]*, 2002: 12)

Although 'Taiwan' was presented as a community with its own characteristics, the official discourse still identified 'Chinese' culture as the essential part of the 'Taiwanese':

In the 80<sup>th</sup> year (1991), the Chinese Cultural Revival Movement Committee was reorganized as the General Association of Chinese



Culture. In addition to continually advocating for Chinese culture, this association also studied and promoted the local cultures of Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen, and Matsu. [...] Local governments started the work of editing and writing chronicles, building cultural centres to represent local cultures, and arranging art and folk performances to improve the quality of life and the quality of the humanities. (1997:110)

On the one hand, the official discourse raised the idea of Taiwan's cultural separation from China. On the other hand, Chinese culture was suggested as the crucial element constituting the foundation of Taiwan's traditions, which were also continually promoted and preserved by local governments. This kind of ideology, indeed, no longer identified Taiwanese culture as being only one part of Chinese culture. Rather, it delivered the sense concerning the Sino-based and local-oriented Taiwanese cultures as heterogeneous cultural subjectivities. Comparing the depiction of the Taiwanese culture in previous editions, the official ideology presented a new perspective that Taiwan has been gradually detaching from 'Chinese' cultural community.

### **6.9.3 Taiwan as a political entity**

In *Knowing Taiwan [History]*, the 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' was introduced as a political entity, and presented from three perspectives: 1. politics (The political transformation of the R.O.C. in Taiwan, 1997: 86-100), 2. economics, society and culture (the economics, culture and education, and society of the R.O.C. in Taiwan, 1997: 101-113), and the perspective on the future (1997: 114-116). This section began from the 228 Incident in 1947. The 228 Incident was introduced as a socio-political crisis occurring in the era when Taiwan was under the authoritarian governance and the incident. According to the historical context regarding the political development of Taiwan, this case was perceived as the initiating event of Taiwan's drive for

democracy:

The military force from the mainland arrived in Taiwan on 8 March and suppressed protests, resulting in heavy casualties. [...] In recent years, the government implemented a series of policies as compensation for the historical scar to Taiwan's society. In order to maintain national security to prevent the permeating of communists, the government imposed Martial Law. This policy limited freedom of speech, publication, assembly, and association for a long time and was thus criticized by the people. (1997: 90-91)

The 228 incident in 1947 was presented as a historical event that happened in the early R.O.C. regime era and resulted in the implementation of the forty-year-long era of Martial Law. Not only this incident itself, but also its consequences, the Martial Law era, is seen as a common collective memory - experienced, borne, and reflected on by both the government and people in Taiwan. This case was followed by a series of political activities over the 1950s to 1990s, for example, the implementation of local government, direct elections of public representative and the president:

Beginning in the late 1960s, social movements advocated lifting the Martial Law; therefore, president Chiang Jing-kuo promulgated its lifting in the 76<sup>th</sup> year. Lee Teng-hui succeeded Chiang Jing-kuo to the presidency. He struck down the Temporary Provision for Mobilizing Forces to put down Rebellions, amended the constitution, enacted elections for public representatives and direct mayoral and presidential elections, which benefited the progress of democratization in Taiwan. (1997: 92)

These political activities were organized to display Taiwan's democratisation which began from the case of 228 Incident. According to the structure of this historical context, the textbook not only portrayed process of the political revolution but also suggested that both the government and the citizens were involved in this process. Readers, the people of Taiwan were invited into the historical context as being

engaged in the construction of the Taiwan's politics and thus played a role as one part of this political community.

In addition to the content of the political development, the textbook simultaneously presented the transformation of the cross-strait relations that took place between the 1950s and the 1990s in which the identity of 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' was addressed:

The 'pragmatic diplomacy': President Lee no longer insisted that the R.O.C. was the only legitimate government of China; rather, he stressed the 'R.O.C. and P.R.C.' as two sovereignties. He asserted R.O.C.'s sovereignty as an independent country, breaking through China's diplomatic bottleneck through strong economic power. (1997: 97)

On the one hand, the official discourse explicitly suggested that the R.O.C. and the constituted P.R.C. were two sovereignties. On the other hand, the expression 'diplomatic relations' were adopted to describe the interaction between the R.O.C. and the P.R.C. governments which suggested that the R.O.C. in Taiwan and the P.R.C. in mainland China were two political entities and states.

The idea of two 'Chinas' was presented; however, those two 'Chinas' still belonged to one nation – Chinese, pursuing the same political goal of unification:

In the 80<sup>th</sup> year of the republican era, the (R.O.C.) government passed the 'Guidance of National Unification' and declared the end of 'the period of national mobilization suppressing the communist rebellion', and expected to achieve the unification of China through collaboration, trust, cooperation, communication, and negotiation. However, the Chinese Communist Party ignored the fact that there were two governments involved and insisted that it was 'one China, two systems' cross-strait relations were frozen. (1997: 100)

In textbooks, the mainland is treated as a particular theme accompanying accounts of

Taiwan over the span of history. In this case, while official discourse suggests that unification with the mainland is a long-term goal, the idea that the Chinese nation comprises two places across the Taiwan Strait remains. This means that although the ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ is presented as a political community with sovereignty, it is still treated as one part of the Chinese nation.

## **6.10 The Invention of ‘Taiwanese’ nation (2002 to 2011)**

### **6.10.1 The composition of ‘Taiwanese’ history**

In the textbooks of the 89<sup>th</sup>-year edition, *Social Studies [History]* (2002 to 2006), the accounts of mainland China and Taiwan were separated into two volumes for the first time. The first page of the textbooks introduced the aim of this volume as to ‘study Taiwan, then China, and finally the world, to seize an awareness of our home and the world’. In this historical context, what do ‘China’ and ‘Taiwan’ mean?

The composition of the contents of *Social Studies[Taiwan]* was the same as *Knowing Taiwan [History]*, examining prehistory, Dutch and Spanish colonization, Ming-zheng and Qing-governance, the Japanese-governance, and the R.O.C. regime in Taiwan. According to the content of *Social Studies [History]*, I and II, the distinction between ‘China’ and ‘Taiwan’ was drawn more explicitly as not only two states, but also two nations. ‘Chinese’ was constituted under ‘Ming-zheng’ and ‘Qing-governance’. With regard to the national identity of Taiwan, whereas earlier editions had used the ambiguous expression ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’, suggesting ‘R.O.C.’ as meaning Chinese sovereignty over the territory of Taiwan, this edition instead literally expressed ‘Taiwan in the post-war era’. Moreover, the Japanese era was expressed as ‘Japanese-governance’, which is hermeneutically addressed as a politically legitimate regime. So

the concept ‘Chinese’, which had been adopted to mark the national identity of Taiwan in earlier editions from (the 1950s to 2002) was dropped in this edition. ‘Chinese’ has now become one of many elements of the plural-historical background of ‘Taiwanese’ history.

In older editions published before *Social Studies [History]* (2002 to 2006), the history of Taiwan was Chinese history which comprised the accounts of the mainland and Taiwan, starting in ancient times, through successive Chinese dynasties, to the contemporary R.O.C. state in Taiwan. This structure of the composition was completely changed in *Social Studies [History]*; the account of mainland China was relegated to a separate volume called *Chinese History*. In the of *Chinese History*, the legends of the ‘Three Emperors’ and ‘Huang and Yan Emperors’, which appeared in the textbooks of the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition to the 83<sup>rd</sup>-, was introduced as the origin of Chinese civilization and ancestry. (Nan-yi, Book III, 2003: 68-78) The history of China ended with the R.O.C. state (1911 to 1949) and the development of the P.R.C. since 1949. The R.O.C.’s history before 1949, including the establishment of the R.O.C., conquering the Bei-yang government and the warlords, resisting the Japanese invasion, and the unification of China by the Nationalist Government (KMT party), were included in the history of China, but excluded from Taiwan’s history. In this sense, the P.R.C. was presented as the inheritor of the Chinese nation. For the first time, ‘Chinese’ history means the national history of the mainland. ‘China’ and ‘Taiwan’ were historically presented as two communities with its own past.



**Figure 6.3 The domain of China.**

This is the content of the textbooks of the 89<sup>th</sup>-year edition. In this edition, ‘China’ has its meaning as the cultural and political community of the territory of mainland China, ruled by its government – the P.R.C.. (Nan-yi II, 2003: 9)

### 6.10.2 The cultural distinction between ‘Taiwan’ and ‘China’

‘Beijing man’ was no longer introduced as the ancestral origin shared by both the mainlanders and Taiwan’s people. *Social Studies [History]* carried with an uncertain attitude toward the origin of the people in Taiwan as well as the content of *Knowing Taiwan [History]*. The discourse of *Social Studies [History]* explored the idea of the formation of the Taiwanese ethnicity from the introduction of Chinese immigrants in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century to Taiwan, their marriages to indigenous Taiwanese people, and the formation of kinship in Taiwan’s society. In *Social Studies [History]*, the idea of a ‘Taiwanese’ ethnicity was explicitly identified in the contents for the first time:

To recognize the native identity of Taiwan: Han people immigrating from China in the early Qing era often distinguished each other through their

ancestral home, e.g. ‘Chang-chou’ and ‘Chao-zhou’ (the towns of Fujian province in the mainland) people. However, they developed the patriarchal clan based on the kinship, or a community based on the neighbourhood. Those Han people were the first generation of Taiwanese people. (Nan-yi (I), 2003: 150)

In the presentation of the Ming-zheng and Qing-governance eras, textbooks explored the way in which Chinese people gradually developed their own social and cultural characteristics in Taiwan. In this process, the idea of gradual detachment from the life of the mainland and attachment to Taiwan is suggested as a means of addressing the transformation of their identity from Chinese to Taiwanese. On the one hand, the ethnic concept of ‘Taiwanese’ was raised in textbooks; on the other, the distinction between ‘Chinese’ and ‘Taiwanese’ was drawn. Regarding the concept of ‘Taiwanese’ people, the official discourse of *Social Studies [History]* used the term ‘Taiwanese’ to indicate the identity of the people of Taiwan. This was different from it in *Knowing Taiwan* assuming ‘Taiwan’ as a geographical identification and called ‘Taiwan’s people’ (Tai-zen) which means ‘people in Taiwan’.

In this edition, ‘Chinese’ people means having the ethnicity of the mainlander:

Bei-wei-xiao-wen Emperor implemented the policy of Han-ization (Chinese-ization), the nomadic tribes, who moved into China gradually Han-ized (Chinese-ized). The boundary between Han and Hu (peoples of nomadic tribes) was gradually blurred. Chinese became a great ethnicity hybridized by various ethnic groups. (Nan-yi, III, 2003: 89)

According to this paragraph, ‘Chinese’ no longer meant both the people in the mainland and in Taiwan as it had been used previously; rather, it solely referred to people(s) in mainland China down through the millennia. ‘Taiwanese’ and ‘Chinese’ were recreated as concepts identifying the two ethnic groups.

*Social Studies [History]* explored the idea of a ‘multi-faceted Taiwanese’ culture created and recreated on the basis of its geography as Taiwan Island, and its historical conditions, from the prehistoric era to today. Although the idea of a multi-faceted ‘Taiwanese’ culture was already raised in *Knowing Taiwan [History]*, *Social Study [History]* elucidated the idea of a locally-oriented culture to embody the uniqueness of Taiwan. Unlike all previous editions, in which Taiwan’s culture was presented as being inherited from the Chinese, it was now introduced as being constituted from various elements during its successive political regimes:

The Confucius Institute was established in Fu-cheng (Tainan city in southern Taiwan); however, culture and education were not prevalent. With an increasing number of private and local public schools were founded, the Han culture took root and developed rapidly in Taiwan since then. (Nan-yi, 2003: 144)

The cultural connection between Chinese culture and Taiwanese culture still existed. The official discourse introduced how Chinese culture, for example, Confucianism, came to Taiwan and became one part of the Taiwanese culture. Unlike the idea of the previous edition which presented Chinese culture as a fundamental part of Taiwan’s culture, ‘Taiwan’s culture’ was presented as the subjectivity in which the ‘Chinese’ element was included in this edition.

In the earlier editions of *History* (the 37<sup>th</sup>- to 83<sup>rd</sup>-year editions), Chinese culture included both the culture of mainland China and Taiwan; however, in the 89<sup>th</sup>- year edition, Chinese culture means the mainland solely:

Chinese civilization originated from the Wei-river basin (Yellow River Valley) and spread to the Hua-bei Plain in the east and the Yan-tze River and Chu River Valleys in the south. This is where Chinese culture



originated. In the east of this area lies the Pacific Ocean, in the west lies the Central-Asian and Shin-jiang basins, in the north lies Mongolia and the cold Serbian wild lands, and in the southwest lies the forests, mountains, and deep valleys. (Nan-yi, 2009: 9-10)

In previous editions, the expression ‘Chinese culture’ is used to mean the culture originating in the Central Plain of the mainland shared by people over the geographical mainland territory and Taiwan. This idea of ‘Chinese culture’ was reinvented to mean the culture in and of mainland China. ‘Chinese culture’ which has even been the tie connecting Taiwan and the mainland to be one community was no longer existed, and thus Taiwan and the mainland were conceptually recreated to be two heterogeneous cultural entities.

### **6.10.3 ‘Taiwan’ as an imagined community**

As Billig (1995:74) argued, ‘a nation is more than an imagined community of people, for a place-a homeland-also has to be imagined’. The meaning of ‘Taiwan’ was given as a socio-cultural and social-political community as it presented in *Knowing Taiwan [History]* (1997 to 2001). In *Social Studies [History]* (2002-2006), the meaning of ‘Taiwan’ was more than a socio-cultural or socio-political community which was stretched in the previous edition *Knowing Taiwan [History]*. This situation can be seen from the presentation of Taiwan’s cultural and political activities in the textbooks of *Social Studies*. With regard to the ancestry of Taiwan, the same topic mentioned previously, Han immigrants in the Qing-governance era, were presented alternatively:

To recognize the native identity of Taiwan: Han people immigrating from China in the early Qing era often distinguished each other through their ancestral home, e.g. ‘Chang-chou’ and ‘Chao-zhou’ (the towns of Fujian

province in the mainland) people. However, they developed the patriarchal clan system based on the kinship, or a community on the neighbourhood. Those Han people were the first generation of Taiwanese people. (Nan-yi, I. 2003: 150)

While the Han immigrants in the Qing era were suggested as the ‘first generation’ of Taiwanese people, creating a patriarchal clan, the textbook not only created the relationship between Chinese people and Taiwan’s people as it did in the previous edition, but also addressed the distinct ‘Taiwanese’ community from the mainland. In the content, ‘Taiwan’ was literally presented as a unique place, bearing the experiences and memories accumulated over four hundred years of Chinese people staying there for generations. The discourse transferred the sense that the ‘imagined community’ of the geographical mainland China had been far away from those Chinese immigrants’ imagination when describing their socio-cultural life in the geographical Taiwan. This means that Taiwan carried the sense of more than the concept of a physical environment, rather, the homeland which had the cultural meaning marking people’s identity.

As in previous editions, this is revealed in the textbook sections on contemporary Taiwan - for example, the section on economic development - and even more obviously in the accounts of politics. Some accounts of the politics of post-war Taiwan, not mentioned in *Knowing Taiwan [History]*, were added for the first time. Many new accounts are introduced, for example, the white terror era under the Martial Law (1947 to 1987), the Beautiful Formosa Incident (1979), and the first party rotation (2000) over the years from the late 1940s to 2000s:

In the end of the 38<sup>th</sup>-year of the republic era, the central government moved to Taiwan. To stabilize the social order, the government imposed

Martial Law to limit people's freedom of speech, publication, convocation, and movement and thus influenced the political democratisation. Under Martial Law, many people were indicted on the charge of 'suspected of rebelling' or 'harbouring communist bandits' because of their thoughts, words, and actions. In the 68<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic Era, the Beautiful Formosa Magazine Company celebrated International Human Rights Day in Kaohsiung by requesting the end of Martial Law. In face of the pressure from society, President Chiang Jing-kuo lifted Martial Law, the ban on newspaper publication and party organization. (Nan-yi, II, 2003:30)

As *Knowing Taiwan [History]* suggested the notion of political evolution in post-war Taiwan, *Social Studies [History]* provided more details of the political transformations, in which Taiwan was addressed as not only an institutional entity but also a community coordinated by people carrying the same memories of Taiwan's political evolution. This discourse displayed the process of Taiwan's democratisation from the conservative political ethos to a civil society in which citizens participated and thus reinforced the idea of the involvement of both the government and people as the driving force behind the creation of a 'Taiwanese' political environment. In this historical context, the connection between the government, people, and the society of Taiwan was built up to embody the construction of the 'Taiwanese community'.

In *Knowing Taiwan [History]* (1997 to 2002), the Chinese nation was composed of two sovereignties, the R.O.C. and P.R.C.. Similarly to the presentation in *Knowing Taiwan [History]*, *Social Studies [History]* addressed Taiwan's statehood with even more explicit attitude:

In the 85<sup>th</sup> year of the republic era, Lee Teng-hui and Lian Chen were elected to be the president and vice president, respectively; this was the first time that the people selected the national leader of Taiwan. (Nan-yi, III, 2003:37)

The textbook not only suggested 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' as a sovereignty, but also a statehood which was structured by both the political sphere in congruence with the social sphere. While saying people elected their national leader, the textbook delivered the sense that citizens are involved in the creation of society and politics. The meaning of Taiwan went beyond its presentation in the previous edition as a constitutional and institutional organization, to be seen as, instead, a life community engaged by both people and government. This community is not just at local level, but at national level. When the expression 'national leader' was used, the national identity of 'Taiwan' was addressed.

Contemporary China was also presented as a state. In the 89<sup>th</sup>- year edition, *Social Studies [History]*, as well as in the earlier editions, the history of China began from the prehistoric era; nevertheless, the history of contemporary China is said to have begun with the P.R.C. regime in the mainland. 'Taiwan' was seen as a political entity governed by the R.O.C. government, while 'China' was put forward by the P.R.C.. The term 'China/Chinese' was not only used to indicate the P.R.C. government, but also the Chinese state, as is shown in the following example:

Because of the continual development of economies, China entered the WTO in the end of 2001. With the growth of economic liberty, internationalization, the power of the economy, and the military and politics, China's influence on international affairs was rapidly increasing.  
(Nan-yi, 2003 III: 51)

Although the R.O.C. and the P.R.C. had previously been seen as representing two governments, with the territories of Taiwan and mainland China respectively, the terms 'Taiwan' and 'China' had not been used to indicate two separate states. Textbooks in the previous edition (the year 83 edition, 1997-2002) saw the R.O.C. and

the P.R.C. as two governments, but still seen those two political entities; however, whether those two political entities could be Chinese states was uncertain. In *Social Studies (History)* (2002-2006), 'P.R.C. in China' was given with the national meaning. When literally expressing P.R.C.'s political action in the international field, the discourse identified it as characteristic of a state and national power. Even though the meaning of P.R.C. in China as a country was not rhetorically given, its meaning as a state was explicit.

Although throughout the textbooks no sentence ever mentioned the independence or the statehood of Taiwan, national identity of Taiwan has been created within the narrative of the textbooks. Moreover, in this context, the textbooks not only shaped the image of 'Taiwan/Taiwanese' as a cultural community but also addressed its political identity, e.g. cross-strait relations, as the relationship between two governments. Hence, the idea of two political entities, 'Taiwan'- the R.O.C. state and 'mainland China' – the P.R.C. state was implicitly suggested. A 'Taiwanese' history was invented in which the sense of a contemporary Taiwanese nation-state was presented at a certain level in the textbooks of the 89<sup>th</sup>-year edition, *Social Studies [History]*.

## **6.11 'Taiwan' as a nation-state? (2007 to 2011)**

### **6.11.1 Inventing the Taiwanese ethnicity**

In the 94<sup>th</sup>-year of edition (2007 to 2011), the history of Taiwan was organized with the same storyline as in the 89<sup>th</sup>-year edition, starting from the prehistoric era, via Ming-zheng, Qing-governance, Japanese, and the R.O.C. regime; however, more details of the histories of contemporary Taiwan were introduced and these reshaped

the meaning of 'Taiwan' to be a more explicit sense of a nation-state. In the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition textbooks, the concept of 'Taiwanese' ethnic identity was literally addressed for the first time:

To recognize the native identity of Taiwan: Han people immigrating from China in the early Qing era often distinguished each other through their ancestral home, e.g. 'Chang-chou' and 'Chao-zhou' people. [...] After living in Taiwan a long time, they identified themselves as Ding-gang (Taipei, Northern Taiwan) or A-gang people (Tainan, Southern Taiwan). This change revealed people's stronger sense of identity though living in the same Taiwanese community. (Nan-yi, I, 2009: 114)

Living in Taiwan for a long time was explained by the official discourse in the previous and the current editions as the factor causing Chinese immigrants to change their Chinese identity to Taiwanese. In addition to this objective condition, the official discourse further suggested the self-identification as local Taiwanese to portray the sense of the marginalization of Chinese identity and the centralization of Taiwanese identity in Chinese immigrants' minds. In this way, the official discourse presented the way in which the Taiwanese community was formed, grounded on the gradual consolidation of the Taiwanese identity in the historical context.

In addition to describing the government's cultural programs over the decades (as the 89<sup>th</sup>-year edition did), the new text introduces more details of the integration of different cultures and peoples to fulfil the concept of a contemporary multicultural 'Taiwanese' society which had been mentioned in the previous edition:

More and more immigrants to Taiwan through marriage and for labour brought different cultures to Taiwan. These heightened perceptions of Taiwan being a multi-ethnic culture. [...] As the populations of foreign brides and labourers increases, the south-eastern shops along the streets are

something to see.[...] Taiwan's different cultures enrich the depth of Taiwanese culture. People should learn to respect different cultures in order to form a Taiwanese community. (Nan-yi, II, 2010:123)

In *Social Studies [History]* (2002 to 2006), the boundary between 'Taiwanese' culture and the 'Chinese' was marked; however, the implications for Taiwan's culture were explicitly introduced as the content of the multi-faceted 'Taiwanese' for the first time. The discourse suggests that the heterogeneous cultures of Taiwan not only 'collected' in a physical manner, but rather their mutual respect for each other as a community was the basis for the development of a cultural community. In this way, the meaning of the multi-faceted culture was given as the unique culture feature of the 'Taiwanese'.

### **6.11.2 The political identity of Taiwan**

'Taiwan' has been presented as a 'community' in *Knowing Taiwan [History]* and a 'homeland' in *Social Studies [History]*(the 89<sup>th</sup>-year edition, 2002-2006). More specific contents regarding 'Taiwan' as a homeland which conceptually marked the identity were introduced. Amongst those accounts, the idea of the changing identity of Chinese immigrants to be the people of Taiwan can be seen. According to those accounts, the identity of 'Taiwanese people' was addressed, and simultaneously, the distinction between it and the Chinese was identified:

In the early Qing-governance era, immigrants from China brought their religious belief, norms and clan organisations to Taiwan, and integrated them with Taiwan's; a consciousness of Taiwanese geopolitics and kinship was created. (Nan-yi, 2010: 65)

The content explained that the Chinese people and culture has been blended with the local Taiwanese people and culture. This process introduced in the content displayed the way in which 'the other' that the (Han) people and culture arriving from outside of

Taiwan, had become the part of ‘us’ – the people and culture of Taiwan. This means the Sino-based culture and ethnicity has intertwined with the local Taiwan, and then reproduced to be the new form as ‘Taiwanese’. According to this content, the cultural identity of Taiwan was invented, and because of its character, its difference from the Chinese was marked.

In the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition the status of Taiwan as a state was presented in an even more explicit manner. Take the description of cross-strait relations for example, ‘in recent years, the political confrontation across the strait has remained. Although social interactions, e.g. business, marriage, and tourism, have been increasing, the P.R.C. is still insisting on the “one China policy”, denigrating Taiwan’s sovereignty and legitimacy (Nan-yi, II, 2010:118)’:

The government of our nation adopted a pragmatic diplomacy and claimed that the R.O.C. is a legitimate country; meanwhile, actively strengthened the relations with other countries to ensure the status of Taiwan in the international communities. (Nan-yi, 2010: 120)

The ‘R.O.C.’ (Taiwan) was treated as more than just a legitimate government or an entity as a state-society constitution as it was in previous edition (*Social Studies [History]*), rather, it was literally suggested as a national manifestation. By narrating that the status of ‘Taiwan’ as a state was currently still denied in the international community, and the government sought to break the diplomatic bottleneck, the textbook said that Taiwan was an agent able to enact diplomacy in the international context. This discourse rationalized the paradoxical status of Taiwan as to whether it is a state or not, and addressed the nationality of Taiwan from the other side.



## 6.12 Conclusion

The transformation of Taiwan's history across three periods: the 1950s to mid-1990s, mid-1990s to 2000s, and 2000s to 2010s, reflected the fact that the national character of Taiwan has been invented and reinvented to embody the changing shape of the 'imagined community' from 'China' to 'Taiwan'. According to the presentation of custom, ancestry, and history in the textbooks published in 1951 to 1953 to those in 1989 to 1996, 'Taiwan' was presented as a region contained within the Chinese nation. With regard to the statehood of China, the R.O.C. was identified as the only authentic government of Chinese state ruling the geographical mainland and Taiwan. During this period of time, the perception of the nationhood of Taiwan has been undergoing a process of reconstruction, and the mainland has been gradually fading out from the Taiwanese people's 'imagination' of their national community over editions in the 1950s to 1996. Increasing accounts of contemporary Taiwan were written into the national histories, and at the expense of contemporary accounts mainland China, within the sense of the gradual waning of an 'imagined' Chinese community created.

In the 74<sup>th</sup>-year edition (1989 to 1996), 'Chinese' was still addressed as the cultural character of Taiwan. Although the mainland and Taiwan were still presented as belonging to one cultural community, the official view that there was only one Chinese government has changed; the other legitimate Chinese government, the P.R.C., was introduced. Although the R.O.C. in Taiwan and the P.R.C. in China were not explicitly introduced as two states, they were identified as two sovereignties. During the late 1980s to mid-1990s, 'Chinese' was no longer presented as one nation-state, rather, one nation composed of two halves. In the mid-1990s, when the textbook *Knowing*

*Taiwan (History)* (1997 to 2001) was published, 'Taiwan' was presented as a community with its own four-hundred-year history, but it was also still presented one within the broader spectrum of 'Chinese' nation.

This attitude regarding Chinese as 'one nation and two sovereignties' has shifted further in the later editions of textbooks published (*Social Studies [History]*, 2002 to 2006 and 2007 to 2011). The historical content of *Social Studies [History]* was similar to *Knowing Taiwan [History]*, which started from the prehistoric era to the R.O.C. regime; however, 'Taiwan' was no longer represented as one part of the 'Chinese'. In this historical context, Taiwan's culture and ethnicity originated from the southern Asian mainland, was constructed by Han immigrants, then the Japanese, and then reconstructed to be a multi-faced contemporary culture and plural-ethnic 'Taiwanese' society. Simultaneously, 'Taiwan' was addressed as a political entity which was no longer part of the Chinese state. In those latest two editions 'Taiwan' was conceptually reinvented to be the 'Taiwanese' political community which was constructed by the involvement of both the government and citizens.

During the six decades, the official discourse, deployed in the national history in the textbooks, has shaped Taiwan's national character from Chinese to Taiwanese. The change in the rhetorical expression of the text and contextual composition of the content, regarding the perspective of culture and politics, as a 'banal' approach, continually and subtly, but intangibly, transformed the 'imagined' national community of Taiwan from Chinese to Taiwanese. While the past of Taiwan was invented and reinvented over decades, 'Taiwan' has gradually been developed, independently from the officially delineated picture of an 'imagined' Chinese community. A new concept

of an imagined 'Taiwanese' community has been created based on the officially invented 'Taiwanese' history.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **The transformation of the nation of Taiwan: content analysis of senior high school textbooks (1949 to 2011)**

This chapter will continue the discussion of chapter Six regarding the creation and recreation of the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan based on the textbook analysis. With this aim, this chapter will start from the perspective of the historical framework, the meaning of the cultural community, and political entity of Taiwan as presented in the history textbooks of the senior level (1949 to 2011) to explore the transformation of the official nationalism.

In this chapter, how Taiwan’s national characters was initially presented as thoroughly ‘Chinese’ in the 1950s, but eventually reproduced to be ‘Taiwanese’ is going to be displayed. Through comparing the content in textbooks over a series of editions, this chapter argues how and in which way ‘Taiwan’ has been gradually detached from being part of ‘Chinese’ to constituting a quite distinct ‘Taiwanese’ national subjectivity over six decades; therefore, the creation of an ‘imagined Taiwanese community’ based on the officially invented ‘Taiwanese history’ can be witnessed.

The changing ideology in the history textbooks can be seen as an example of the state’s will to re-fashion the Taiwan people’s sense of imagined national community (Anderson,1983) as official ideology changed. The content of the textbooks was the political discourse which could be seen as the top-down driving force with the aim to pull readers into the ‘invented’ historical plot structure (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). Strategically, the textbooks not only transferred the notion of belongingness to readers, but also reminded them ‘who they are’ throughout the texts (Billig, 1995). Through

the use of syntax and rhetoric, the discourse positions the audience as members of a common group, and simultaneously, separates others out from (Billig, 1995: 31).

## **7.1 China as the imagined community of Taiwan (1951 to 1953)**

### **7.1.1 The composition of the ‘Chinese’ history**

The earliest senior high school textbooks was the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition (published in 1951 to 1953). This was largely the history of mainland China, starting from Beijing man in the prehistoric era and the legend of the Huang Emperor, followed by the first Chinese empire (Qing) in the mainland (BC 221), leading up to the contemporary R.O.C. regime (1911-present) in Taiwan. The content of textbooks encompassed the political and cultural histories of each of China's dynastic eras, which were all based on mainland accounts. Across 2000 years of recorded history, the term ‘Taiwan’ first appears in the Qing dynastic period, which followed the Ming dynasty (14C. to 17C.) in the content. Qing history is said to have begun when the Qing military penetrated the Ming's territorial frontier, to which the latter offered resistance (Book II, 1952: 91-95). This territory was conquered in 1644; at this point, Taiwan was introduced as part of the territory of the Chinese empire. In 1680, Zheng-jing, loyalist of the Ming empire, retreated to reclaim the lost territory of the mainland, and surrendered to the Qing empire:

Zheng-jing, a loyalist of the Ming empire, was a great force of military resistance against the Qing. In 1661, his father Zheng Cheng-gong led his military to the island of Pen-hu first and then entered Taiwan, as part of his task of reviving the Ming empire. In 1662, Zheng Cheng-gong died from a disease and Zheng-jing succeeded him. In 1680, Zheng-jing lost the war with the Qing and retreated back to Taiwan; he died in the next year. Zheng-jing's younger brother Zheng Ke-shuang continued the work to

revive the Ming empire. Under his governance, there was corruption in the domestic affairs of Taiwan and in 1683 he finally lost the battle with Qing military led by Admiral Shi Lang, under the command of the emperor Qing Kang-xi. Zheng's 23-year governance in Taiwan ended, and the territory of Taiwan became the Qing empire's domain.(Book II, 1952: 94)

The history of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was mainly constructed by the accounts of Qing dynasty in mainland China. Taiwan's history was placed on the Chinese historical timeline; however, the history of the Ming-Zheng era (1661 to 1683) in Taiwan was not introduced. According to the construction of this historical context, the official discourse presented the dynastic continuity of Chinese history in which 'Taiwan' was embedded as an object.

In the content of textbooks, the establishment of Qing empire was followed by accounts of socio-political and socio-cultural activities in the Qing dynasty, for example, the political and military system (1952: 98-103). Here, the storyline was organized according to the Qing empire's territorial expansion: from the central plain area out to Mongolia, Xin-jiang, and Tibet, as well as political control of the marginal districts, such as the south-west, north-east, and Taiwan:

The policy to govern Taiwan was in similar with that of the north-eastern mainland. Mainlanders who intended to go to Taiwan should apply for the officially issued permit. In this ban, only single male was allowed to go; transporting the family was unpermitted. This policy was implemented for preventing long-term inhabitation in Taiwan. Until the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Qing Yuang-zheng emperor (1732), the restriction of the immigration rule to Taiwan was relaxed. [...] In Ming-zheng era, there were approximately five to six hundred thousand Han people in Taiwan and increased to more than two millions via the period of Qing Kang-xi emperor, Yuang-zhen, to the Jia-qing. (Book II, 1952: 115)

The history of Taiwan in the historical context of the Qing dynasty, for example, the

population figures, was explained, but its local history, such as the lives of Chinese immigrants and Taiwan's social, cultural, or political activities, were excluded. Along with many places in mainland China, Taiwan was simply described as one of the Qing empire's plantation areas. This means that 'Taiwan' was treated as a locality and only one part of the larger Chinese cultural entity.

In history, after 1683, Taiwan was referred into the content of the Qing settlement in 1732. Following a description of the Qing plantations in Taiwan and the peripheral areas of the Central Plains of mainland China, the textbooks subsequently talked about the different events during the Qing era. These included social-cultural developments, such as the philosophy and thought during this period (1952:125-132), the invasion of China by Britain and Russia in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (1952:136-151), the attempts to subvert the Qing empire (1952:157-174), the invasion of foreign powers Russia, Britain, France, and Japan in late mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (1952:180-194), and the Qing dynasty's political reformation (1952: 200-212). Hereafter, Taiwan was only mentioned when the Qing empire lost the Sino-Japanese War in 1894:

In the 20<sup>th</sup>-year of Guang-xui emperor (1894), Qing Empire lost the Sino-Japanese War and ceded the territory Taiwan and Penghu Qing Empire signed Ma-guan Treaty to cede the territory of Taiwan and Peng-hu to Japan. (Book II, 1952: 187)

The history textbooks described how the Qing empire lost the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and ceded the Chinese territory of Taiwan to Japan. The textbooks also explained the loss of other territories to foreign states in the late Qing period, i.e. the north-east to Russia, as well as the military union of eight states - Russia, Japan, Britain, French, US, Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany (1952: 216-233), and the establishment of

the R.O.C. government in 1911 (1952: 237-246). The series of historical events from 1895 to 1911 was thus organized as a storyline of regime change from Qing empire to the R.O.C. regime. The accounts of the mainland constructed the historical frame in which the past of Taiwan, such as the Japanese rule at the time 1895 to 1945 was completely excluded.

Following the end of the Qing dynasty, the history of early 20<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. the establishment of the R.O.C. government (1911) and the eight-year resistance to the invasion of Japanese aggression (1937 to 1945), was chronologically organized as the history of contemporary China. 'Taiwan' appears only in the section on the end of World War II (1944 to 1945), which marked the end of the Japanese era in Taiwan and the start of R.O.C. regime:

When Japan lost WWII, Taiwan was revived and returned to China from Japan in the 34<sup>th</sup> year of the republic era (1945). [...] The fact that Taiwan was one part of the Chinese territory was admitted by the international community. (Book II, 1952: 321-322)

Following the history of Chinese communists in the mainland territory, the textbooks stated that the R.O.C. government moved the capital from Nanjing city (mainland China) to Taipei (Taiwan) in 1949; this formed the last part of the history textbook, covering 1945 to 1949. During this time, important events in Taiwan's history, such as the case of the 228 Incident, was not mentioned. In this sense, the official discourse skilfully dealt with the accounts of the Japanese era in Taiwan which broke the historical continuity of the Chinese era by dismissing 'the other' from the content. The historical fact that Taiwan returned to the R.O.C. government was described by using the word 'revived'. This discourse rhetorically created the sense identifying the



Japanese regime as an illegitimate political sovereign occupying China's territory (Taiwan). This logic implicitly addressed the illegitimacy of Japanese governance over Taiwan, and simultaneously, stressed that Taiwan was one part of China – the Chinese community.

The outline of the Chinese nation was shaped in these history textbooks, where Taiwan was treated as only one province of China. The history was constituted by the accounts of mainland China from the prehistoric period to the present-day. Taiwan's accounts were mentioned, however, not introduced with details or organized into a complete plot. According to the organization of historical structure, the past of China was the history of Taiwan which delivered the sense regarding Taiwan as being one part of the Chinese community.

### **7.1.2 The depicted frame of Chinese cultural community**

Anthony Smith explained the concept of a nation as 'a named human community residing in a perceived homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a distinct public culture' (2010: 13). If this is true, what is the origin of national consciousness regarding the strong affinity of cultural imaginings? How do these imaginings create the contour of an 'imagined community'? In Taiwan's senior high school textbooks, the legend of the Huang Emperor was presented to express the sense of the cultural and ancestral origin of 'Chinese' in the content of ancient history:

The You-chou clan established housing; Sui-ren introduced fire; Fu-xi invented Eight Trigrams and words; and Shen-nong developed agriculture for people. Those wise men changed people's lives, and their inventions can be regarded as the stages symbolizing the transformation of ancient Chinese civilization. Our great civilization began from here [...] The

Huang Emperor's contemporaries made quite a few important inventions. For example, the princess Lei-zu, taught people to raise silkworms for producing silk. The official historian, Cang-jie, created pictographs, which were the origins of Chinese characters. (Book I, 1952: 11)

Myths and legends are stories illustrated as history used to mark the cultural origin of any given community. Rhetorically, while 'Chinese' was presented as the civilization of 'us', 'we' readers in Taiwan were invited to see 'our' history as rooted in 'ancient Chinese civilisation', with its geographical roots in mainland China, and to view this history as a national one, rooted in a shared descent. In the case of the officially created legend of the Huang Emperor, the idea of Chinese people based on the basis of common ancestry was addressed.

A common myth says the Huang emperor was the ancestor of all the Chinese people.

The official discourse perpetuated this myth down the generations:

According to legend, the Tang, Yu, Xia, Shang, Zhou, and Chin dynasties comprised descendants of the Huang Emperor. [...] The Huang Emperor was regarded as the ancestor of the Chinese nation (Chung-hua-min-tzu). We future generations can be seen as the offspring of the Huang Emperor. (Book I, 1952:18)

Through expressing the idea of a complex composition of peoples, the political discourse created the sense of the common ancestry shared by Chinese people. By using the word 'we' in the texts, readers (people in Taiwan) were pulled into the plot being reminded that they were part of 'Chinese' national community. In this paragraph, not only the idea of common ancestry of the people in Taiwan and mainland China was suggested, but also the identity of 'Chinese people' was articulated.

The textbooks described the 'Han' people as the main Chinese ethnic group in the

history of the Han dynasty, which was not only introduced as a political organization of empire - a political unity, but also as a nation:

In the Han dynasty (221–207 BC) Dong Zhong-shu, the scholar and a minor official, rejected other schools and to set Confucianism as the only ideological orthodoxy. Hence, Confucian ethics were regarded as the principle regulating the mainstream thought and value in Chinese society. Since then, literally originating from the name of the Han Empire, the word ‘Han’ became the pronoun of China’s main nationality; Chinese people are ‘Han people’, and Chinese pictographs are ‘Han words’. (Book I, 1952: 87)

The ‘Han’ (dynasty) was defined as a Chinese nation with its own particular custom, such as writing system and ethic value. In explaining how and why the Han culture became Chinese tradition, textbooks created the cultural orthodoxy and tradition as the imaginings of the Chinese national community.

Based on the statement suggesting ‘Han’ as the main ethnic group, the textbooks further explicitly identified the ethnic identity of ‘Chinese’ people. The textbooks expressed that while the ethnic diversity of early China was alluded to, this is merely used to position the concept of Chinese as embracing any ethnic or cultural diversity that might have existed, and claiming that such identities were still based on Han:

We Chinese people have experienced five main large scale of ethnic hybridization in the history. The largest ethnic hybridization happened during the Jin Dynasty called Wu-hu Chaos (literally Five Barbaric Tribes wreak havoc on China). Non-Chinese nomadic tribes, including Xiong-nu, Xian-bei, Di, Qiang, and Jie, moved into the Central Plains and hybridized with the Han people. Since then, although still based on Han ethnicity, ‘Chinese people’ carried a broader meaning as the ethnicity hybridized by those peoples - various tribes and Han. (Book I, 1952: 142)

The concept of ‘Chinese’ people was defined indicating ethnicity based on Han

people, but hybridized with various ethnic groups to include the broad meaning indicating all people(s) in 'China'. While the textbooks presented the idea suggesting Chinese people as a plural-ethnic nation, the connection between different ethnic groups was created. By using the word 'we Chinese', readers (people in Taiwan) were unconsciously guided to 'imagine' their ethnic connection with other groups in the mainland. The Chinese landscape (the mainland and Taiwan) was created to be picture of one 'Chinese' ethnic community.

### **7.1.3 The statehood of China**

Describing the Chinese as a Han cultural community helped to make legitimate the establishment of the R.O.C. government as a project of Chinese national revival insofar as it meant the overthrow of the Qing dynasty founded by Jing people (one of the nomadic tribes outside the area of the Central Plain of the mainland). The dynastic realm was not only presented as an imaginable cultural system but as a political system, as suggested by Anderson (2006: 19). The establishment of the Republic of China (R.O.C.) as the government ruling the Chinese realm was addressed through this logic:

The founding father knew it was time to advocate revolution and overthrow the Qing Empire. In Guang-xue 31<sup>st</sup>-year (1905), he went to Europe to discuss revolution with students studying overseas. [...] The goal of the nationalist revolution was declared to revive the Chinese nation, establish a republic, and average land ownership. At the time, the Republic of China was given by him. (Book II, 1952: 10)

Two elements were adopted to articulate the meaning of the Chinese state: 'founding father' and 'revive the Chinese nation'. The term 'founding father' conveyed the belief that the R.O.C. government gave birth to the contemporary Chinese state. The idea to

‘revive the Chinese nation’ was introduced as the reason to overthrow the Qing dynasty and to re-establish the Chinese nation. The notion of ‘reviving China’ implied that the Chinese orthodoxy (Han) should be in charge, as the Qing Empire was founded by the minority Jing people (one of the nomadic tribes outside the area of the Central Plain of the mainland). The official discourse to ‘revive the Chinese nation’ not only legitimised the R.O.C., but also identified its inheritance from the Chinese (Han) dynastic realm. Hence, the R.O.C. government as ‘Chinese’ was stated to be ‘Chinese’.

In the 1950s, the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.) were the two major political camps in rival positions in mainland China. Through introducing the background of the R.O.C. government, the textbooks attached the R.O.C. government to the KMT party to address the legitimacy of the party-state governance over China and contrast the aim of ‘national unification’ of the KMT with the ‘puppet’ regime of the communists who were presented as the tool of a foreign power:

The Chinese Revolution Party was reorganized as the Kuomintang (KMT, the Nationalist Party). In an attempt to fell warlords, who were dividing and occupying the territory of China, and to clear away foreign powers in order to maintain the unification and independence of China, Sun convened the first National KMT Representative Congress in Guang-zou at the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic Era (1922). (Book II, 1952: 15)

The accounts of the KMT, the Chinese Revolution Party who cleared away foreign power, defeated the warlords, and overthrew the Qing Empire were organized to appear to be a historical plot. Through introducing historical background and the activities of the Kuomintang (KMT), the textbooks legitimized the role of the KMT as the nationalist party with sufficient significance to sustain the Chinese nation. The official discourse explored how the nationalist party endeavoured to maintain the

national security of China. The rationality and contribution of the KMT was suggested and the KMT's party-state government which could replace the Qing empire to rule over China was logically addressed.

While the role of the R.O.C. government led by the KMT was stated, the role of the communist party existed as a 'non-Chinese' political group:

The communist party established the puppet regime 'People's Republic of China' supported by a strong military force of Soviet Russia with the capital at Bei-ping in the 38<sup>th</sup> year of the republican era (1949). (Book II, 1952: 122)

The R.O.C., led by the KMT, was founded with the plan of 'reviving China'; therefore, the Chinese government was founded by the 'founding father' whose manifesto literally signified the Chinese nation. In contrast, the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) was introduced to be supported by Soviet Russia – a foreign power. Due to this reason, the 'P.R.C.' should be understood as the betrayer of the Chinese nation. The P.R.C. government led by the communist party was not 'real' China. The concept of 'one Chinese state' was reinforced within the text.

## **7.2 The transformative imagined community of Taiwan (1953 to 1962)**

### **7.2.1 Taiwan as a marginalized character**

In the mainland-centred historical framework, 'Taiwan' was introduced in the historical period of the late Ming dynasty (Zheng retreated to Taiwan in 1661). As in the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition, the historical accounts of Taiwan were limited to topics of Qing settlement (chapter 28, 'the settlement in southwest, northeast and Taiwan', Book II, 1955: 112) and governance (chapter 33, the section 'coast defence and Taiwan', Book

II, 1955: 205). In the same historical period of Qing dynasty, however, more accounts of Taiwan were referred for the first time. The section of Japan's invasion and the Qing's settlement in Taiwan were the new contents. In 1874, Japanese fishermen encountered a shipwreck and drifted to Taiwan. However, the Japanese government considered that some of those people drifting to Taiwan were killed by the local Taiwanese. They claimed compensation from the Qing empire but this was rejected. Thus, the Japanese government assigned military troops to attack Taiwan under the guise of striving for justice for their people (1955: 207).. This event was historically explained as Japan's invasion of Taiwan and the background which caused Qing's attention to notice the importance of Taiwan to the security of the national territory:

Japan's invasion of Taiwan drew the Chinese government's attention to its coastal defences and to the importance of Taiwan. After the invasion, the Qing Empire reconstructed Taiwan and thus reshaped its society. The first governor was Shen Bao-zhen, then Ding Ri-chang, and finally, Liu Ming-chuan. [...] The main achievements of Liu were as follows: first, opening up roads in the mountains and endeavouring to the work of educating fan people [...]; second, re-setting up administrative areas [...]; third, re-modifying the monetary system [...]; fourth, military establishment [...]; fifth, transportation system: the transport service between Keelung and Taipei started from Guang-xui 17<sup>th</sup>-year, and between Taipei and Xin-zhu was achieved two years later [...] Liu governed Taiwan for six years (1885-1891) and set up the foundation for modernization of Taiwan's society. Taiwan had been stepping towards the most prosperous place of China'. Unfortunately, the territory of Taiwan was ceded to Japan four years later when he left. (Book II, 1955: 207-208)

By explaining how and in which way the Chinese empire ruled Taiwan's society, the textbooks presented the notion that Taiwan was constructed to be a 'Chinese' society, politically and culturally engaged by the Chinese empire. The history of Qing

governance in the late period of the Qing settlement (Liu Ming-chuan in Taiwan) followed the events of the late Qing dynasty when Taiwan was ceded to Japan and the early R.O.C. regime era (1911). According to the historical composition of the content, the textbooks state it was the R.O.C. regime era in Taiwan, instead of the Japanese era (1895 to 1945), that followed the Qing period of governance. The official discourse created the historical continuity of Chinese history, in which the history of the Japanese era in Taiwan was excluded.

In the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition, the official discourse stated that Taiwan returned to the R.O.C. government in 1945 when Japan unconditionally surrendered at the end of World War II. Although Taiwan's history from 1945 to 1949 still was excluded (for example, the 228 Incident), historical accounts of post-war Taiwan. Social, cultural, and political activities implemented since 1949, such as the agricultural rent reduction, were mentioned to show the contemporary Taiwan; however those accounts were still presented as being Chinese in character:

In the cultural perspective, the government advocated the education, science, and production, and particularly national security. Moreover, the government also encouraged the research on the study of world legacy for the purpose to enrich the glorious Chinese culture. (Book II, 1955: 337)

Given the KMT's political aim of re-establishing control over the mainland over which it continued to claim sovereignty, and for which it had the recognition of the international community in doing so, Taiwan was presented as being at the very centre of China:

Taiwan had become an outpost in sharp contrast to the mainland, which was governed through terror, genocide, slavery, coercion, and exploitation by the communists. [...] Today, Taiwan is the station that will restore the



Chinese nation, the castle that will resist communism in the Far East. The model province which implemented 'Three Principles of the People', the place for people agitating for democracy and freedom. (Book II, 1955: 337)

Identified as the model province, the official discourse presented Taiwan as one province of China - the 'imagined Chinese community', comprising the territory of Taiwan and mainland China. This revealed the ideological statement of 'Chinese' nationalism adopted by the R.O.C. government; however, the amount of information about contemporary mainland China decreased while that about Taiwan increased over editions, showing that the Chinese imagined community was waning.

### **7.2.2 Two Chinese sovereignties**

The textbooks of the 41<sup>st</sup>-year edition, as well as the previous one, still introduced the contents of culture, which were originally created in the prehistoric era and during successive dynasties in the mainland. The cultural characteristics, such as ancestry, myth, people (based on Han), and so on, were presented with the same statement as those in 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition. In this edition, however, the idea of political identity regarding the R.O.C. government as the only government of China was stressed, and was furthermore addressed with a stronger tone than it had been in the previous edition. This can be seen in the content of the textbooks which mention that not only the Chinese Communist party but also Soviet Russia was the enemy of China. Take the content of the chapter, titled 'resisting Soviet Russia and the Chinese Communist' for example:

In October, the 38<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic, the Communist Party declared its independence as a state, and this puppet regime was the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) established in Bei-ping. Soviet Russia immediately recognized the legitimacy of the P.R.C. [...] The P.R.C. was just like the

false organization, ‘Man-zhou Guo (State)’, which was established by Wang Jing-wei and was dependent on Japan. (Book II, 1955: 334)

Wang Jing-wei, who was a member of the Kuomintang (KMT) party, was invited by the Japanese government to establish a Japanese-supported government in Man-zou Guo state in 1940 when Japan invaded China (1937-1945). The case of Man-zou Guo (state) was used as an analogy for the support provided by Russia to the People’s Republic of China (P.R.C.) founded by Mao. A stronger tone was adopted to stress the Republic of China (R.O.C.) as the only Chinese government. The official discourse reinforced the concept that the Chinese territory of mainland China was occupied by a foreign political power. Although the word ‘puppet regime’ was adopted to describe the status of P.R.C. government in the mainland as in the previous editions, in this edition the idea of two Chinese political sovereignties (the P.R.C. government and the R.O.C.) is stated for the first time.

The textbooks described how the P.R.C. was not allowed to join the U.N. and linked this with the idea identifying the P.R.C. as a ‘foreign’ power:

In February of the 40<sup>th</sup> year, the U.N. accused the C.C.P. of being the invader [...] In November of the same year, the U.N. rejected the application of the C.C.P. to join. Moreover, our government sued Soviet Russia for its aggression against China and was admitted by the U.N. congress [...] (Book II, 1955: 338)

Describing the U.N.’s rejection of the status of the P.R.C. in the international society, the textbooks suggested the sense that the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.) was in the same camp with Russia acting as ‘the other’ from outside China to subvert the Chinese government. With this logic, the P.R.C. was identified as being non-national, even though it was the government ruling the territory of mainland China.

In the content, however, the idea of one Chinese state was still preserved. Not only saying that Taiwan was constructed to be the outpost for resisting Communism, the textbook also stressed that Taiwan was the actor carrying with the nationalist mission of restoring the Chinese territory of mainland China:

The ultimate goal of the R.O.C. government in Taiwan was to restore the mainland; moreover, it moved the institutions, which had been successfully implemented in Taiwan, to other provinces in the mainland to achieve the great goal of rebuilding the Chinese nation. (Book II, 1955: 337)

Taiwan was proposed as being responsible for completing the national task of re-unifying the Chinese nation. This discourse means that Taiwan was considered as the only province (territory) beyond the control of the Chinese communist party and the mainland was still regarded as the territory of the Chinese nation.

### **7.3 Taiwan as the authentic China (1963 to 1972)**

In comparison with the content of previous editions, the most obvious change was the section covering the contemporary history. In this edition, more accounts of post-war Taiwan were added into the content of the 51<sup>st</sup>-year edition (1963 to 1972), and the history of the post-war mainland China after 1949 was barely covered. Although some significant events, such as the 228 Incident in 1947, were still absent in this part of contemporary history, the focus of the history was Taiwan, not the mainland. This means the contemporary history of Taiwan was presented as the history of contemporary China. The events of post-war Taiwan such as the implementation of local governance, economic and cultural development, were taken into account and had their Chinese characteristics emphasized:

During the Japanese occupation era, the Taiwanese compatriots suffered

the unequal treatment. The chance to undertake education was extremely limited. After being revived, the education was implemented by the R.O.C.'s government on the basis of the ideal of developing nationalistic spirit of Chinese, including the perspectives of self-discipline, morality, physical and psychological health, scientific and life knowledge. (Book II, 1964: 177-178)

The contents of Taiwan's history, for example, accounts of social and cultural activities, were increasingly introduced in comparison with those in previous editions. In the section on contemporary China, the official discourse shed light on Taiwan, rather than mainland China; the history of the mainland after 1949 was not mentioned. Even though 'Taiwan' still had its identity underlined as 'China', the contour of the imagined Chinese community, comprising both sides of the Taiwan Strait, has gradually changed to exclude the mainland.

#### **7.4 Chinese nationalism in Taiwan (1973 to 1984)**

Through investigating the textbooks of the 60<sup>th</sup>-year edition (1973 to 1984), the content was still organized by the historical accounts of the mainland, exploring the history from the prehistoric era to the R.O.C. regime in Taiwan. In comparison with previous editions, the presentation of the history has some changes in the section on contemporary China, the R.O.C. regime in Taiwan and from these we can notice the gradual enhancement of Chinese nationalism over editions. This idea reflected the two sections newly added into the content. One is the section on 'the restoration of Taiwan' in chapter 32: 'the 918 incident and the anti-Japanese Aggression war' (1981: 98-101), which presents the R.O.C. government as having regained Taiwan from the Japanese government:

Since the Sino-Japanese War, China has suffered the disasters brought on

by Japan to which Taiwan was ceded for fifty years. [...] The Revolution in 1911 (led by Sun Yat-sen) encouraged Taiwanese compatriots to resist the colonial government, and thus, the anti-Japanese governance movement reached its climax for the hope of returning to the motherland. After Japan surrendered in WWII, Taiwan was returned to China. (Book III, 1981:100)

Although the textbooks introduced that Taiwan had once been under Japan's governance, Japan's rule over Taiwan was historically identified as occupation, Taiwanese people were literally expressed as 'Chinese' compatriots, and the geographical Taiwan was one part of its 'Chinese' motherland. Based on this logic of the textbook, the identity of Japanese government was given as the 'non-nationalist', namely, 'the other' that the Taiwanese people had resisted, out of loyalty to their 'motherland' - China. So even Japanese rule, which was a non-Chinese regime was one period of Taiwan's past: in fact, the textbook still can create the historical continuity of China on which the national identity of Taiwan was based.

Although the events of the mainland are organized to be storyline of Chinese history, the content of the mainland ended in the 38<sup>th</sup> year of the Republican Era (1949) and the last case was that the C.C.P. took over territory of mainland China:

In January, the 38<sup>th</sup>-year of the republic era, [...] In May, Wu-han, Si-an, and Shang-hai fell into enemy's hands; August, Lan-chow; October, Guang-chou; November and December, Chong-ching and Cheng-du. The whole territory of the mainland was lost. (Book III, 1981: 107)

The territory of mainland China was expressed as not being the 'Chinese'. Undoubtedly, there should no longer be any reason that the accounts of this lost territory were included in the contents of the textbooks anymore. Because of the above mentioned reason, we noticed that the frame of the imagined community of 'China'

has been changing in the content of the textbook over successive editions.

In this edition, developments of post-war Taiwan were written into the content for the first time in the last chapter, 'R.O.C. government's establishments in Taiwan' (1981: 108-112). Taiwan's achievements were identified as having been implemented by the R.O.C. government; however, more accounts were presented in which Taiwan's socio-cultural and socio-political activities were still addressed with the 'Chinese' character:

Exerting pressure on every aspect of society for more than twenty years, Taiwan has made great economic strides in the history of the Chinese nation [...] The goal in the future is to revive the Mainland and implement the public institutions, which have been successful in Taiwan, to other provinces in China. (Book III, 1981: 110)

Although the development of contemporary Taiwan's society was introduced which was the focus of the history of contemporary China, the territory of Taiwan was still presented as the outpost, one province and small part of China. This discourse suggested the 'China' as a complete nation should comprise not only just Taiwan, but also the mainland. The idea of one 'imagined' Chinese national community was thus implicitly presented.

The 60<sup>th</sup>-year edition of senior high school textbooks (1973 to 1984) was published once the P.R.C. had been recognised by the UN, followed by the R.O.C.'s withdrawal from this organisation. The chapter 'resisting Soviet Russia and communists' in the 41<sup>st</sup>-year and 51<sup>st</sup>- editions in which the illegitimacy of the P.R.C. government was addressed, no longer existed. The new content entitled as 'implementation of the constitution and resistance to Communism' was added and suggested an alternative view suggesting 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' and 'P.R.C. in China' as two political entities:

In October, the 60<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic, the U.N. unexpectedly resorted to violence and allowed the puppet regime, the Communist Party, to join; our nation automatically withdrew from the U.N. From now on, we should maintain a solemn attitude to strive no matter what kind of dangerous situation, and preserve the spirit of our nation and the independence of our state. History has told us there will be no challenge, hurdle or enemy that cannot be conquered. (Book III, 1981:112)

The textbooks explored the content concerning the R.O.C. withdrawing its place from the U.N. and was also being denied to be a state in international society because of the P.R.C.'s political oppression and the UN's attitude. With this logic, the textbook defended the legitimacy of the R.O.C. and its status as the Chinese government, despite being denied as a sovereign state in the international society. The textbook also indicated that the P.R.C. was a 'puppet regime' and enemy of the nationalist government occupying the national territory of the mainland. Unlike the descriptions in previous editions identifying the P.R.C. as being led by the Communist party and supported by a foreign power (Soviet Russia Union), the P.R.C. was now presented as the sole antagonist to the 'Chinese' government (R.O.C.). The hostility towards the Soviet Russia Union gradually decreased, while the C.C.P. was identified as being rebellious towards the R.O.C. government, taking the territory of mainland China. The concept 'China' was still explained as one state; however, signified two political entities - 'P.R.C. in China' and 'R.O.C. in Taiwan'.

### **7.5 The distinction between mainland China and Taiwan (1985 to 1999)**

In the textbooks of the 72<sup>nd</sup>-year edition (published in 1985 to 1999), the history of China was still explored from the pre-historical age, through successive dynasties to the era of the R.O.C.'s government in Taiwan. As in the previous editions, 'Taiwan'

was still treated as an object fragmentally introduced in the content of Chinese history. As well as the presentation in the previous textbooks, Taiwan was written into the history in the section of late Ming dynasty and Qing dynastic era (17C.); however, more historical details of Taiwan under Qing governance were incorporated into the content. This can be seen in the content of the period of Qing dynasty (the Qing settlement in Taiwan), for example, Chinese immigration to Taiwan and Qing rule in Taiwan at the time:

From the 22<sup>nd</sup> year of Emperor Kang-xi (1683), when Taiwan was drawn into the territory of China until the era of Emperor Tong-zhi (1861), the Qing Empire preserved a passive attitude in managing Taiwan. However, the Chinese people from Fu-kien and Guang-dong provinces continuously migrated to Taiwan. In the late period of the Ming-cheng era in Taiwan, there were less than 100,000 Han people in Taiwan, but more than two million in the 16<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Jia-ting (1812) [...]. Particularly, in the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Tong-zhi (1873), when Japan invaded Taiwan, the Qing Empire became concerned with Taiwan and assigned governors - Shen Bao-zen, Ding Ri-chang, and Liu Ming-shuan to Taiwan. (Book III, 1999: 31)

There is an increasing number of historical accounts of the interactions between mainland China and Taiwan, and through this content we can gain the sense of the linkage between those two places in the Qing dynasty although they were geographically separated by the Taiwan Strait. This discourse strategically reshaped the imaginings of one 'Chinese community' (Taiwan and mainland China) into an even more explicit contour than it in the previous editions.

In this edition, there was more history of contemporary Taiwan (in the 1950s to 1990s) added into the section of contemporary China than there had been in previous editions. Take the account of the economic activity in the chapter with the title 'The



establishment in the outpost of restoring China' (1999: 191-194) for example:

The economic development in post-war Taiwan was regarded as an economic miracle in the history of China's economy. [...] The important policies were peaceful agrarian reform; that is, 'three-seven-five' tax reduction, the sale of public land, land to the tiller, the encouragement of private business, which became the main economic power. [...] Because of the continuously developing economy and higher education, there have been more than three million people who have obtained a college education. The increasing population of the middle class, such as entrepreneurs, engineers, architects, accountants, lawyers and doctors, was the main force driving the modernization and industrialization. (Book III, 1999: 192-193)

This section began with presenting the great economic achievements and reputation of Taiwan since the 1950s. Those economic achievements of Taiwan, however, were addressed as the economic miracle of 'China'. This means the local activities of Taiwan were identified and labelled with characteristic of contemporary China. The national identity of Taiwan as Chinese was marked accordingly.

The 'imagined community' of China was no longer a complete national component. While the textbooks presented Taiwan's economic and political achievements and life which were contrasted with those of the mainland, the distinction between 'mainland China' and 'Taiwan' was marked:

Since the C.C.P. occupied the mainland, the compatriots there lost their freedom. Their lives and thoughts were completely manipulated; in addition, the C.C.P. cadre held the privileges, while civilians were isolated from the outside world. This was similar to being shut behind the Iron Curtain, which resulted in poverty and the laggard society of China. The leader of the C.C.P., Mao Ze-dong, had blind faith in violence, continually initiating 'conflicts' and 'movements'. Millions and even tens of millions of people lost their lives in such acts. (Book III, 1999: 181)

The textbooks still ideologically proposed one Chinese cultural community. When literally saying that people in Taiwan and mainland China are compatriots, this discourse suggested those two places, Taiwan and the mainland, belonged to one nation. According to this paragraph, however, the mainland and Taiwan mean two societies with their own individual socio-cultural and socio-political structures. Although the accounts of the history of the mainland after the 38<sup>th</sup>-year of the Republic Era (1949) were added into the contents of the Chinese history and that means that mainland China ruled by P.R.C. was part of Chinese nation, they were limited to negative cases depicting a backward society. Although Taiwan and the mainland were still expressed as one cultural community, their divergent contemporary social, political, and cultural developments were stressed as the consequence of their different governance:

Once the C.C.P. occupied Mainland China, they destroyed Chinese culture. In the 55<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic, the C.C.P. imposed the Cultural Revolution, assigning the 'Red Guard' to ruin cultural relics throughout the mainland with the intent of destroying Chinese traditional culture completely. In the 55<sup>th</sup> year, Chiang Kai-shek explained the intrinsic spirit of Chinese culture and 'three principles of the people'. He pointed out that ethics, democracy and sciences were the foundations of Chinese culture, which corresponded with the idea of the 'three principles of the people' introduced by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Hence, the Movement of Reviving Chinese Culture took place throughout the state. (Book III, 1999: 198-199)

Therefore, although the Chinese people were still presented as belonging to one cultural community sharing an interconnected traditional Chinese culture, 'Taiwan' and 'mainland China' were socially and culturally distinguished into two worlds. One notion of 'China'- imagined cultural community - presented it as being composed of two halves: mainland China and Taiwan. In addition, textbooks suggested that Chinese

culture has been destroyed by the Cultural Revolution in mainland China, but revived by the Moment of Reviving Chinese Culture in Taiwan. This kind of discourse of the textbooks suggested the meaning that Taiwan was the figure of 'China' while the other half (the mainland) has been gradually fading away from the illustrated picture of the 'Chinese community'.

While Taiwan and mainland China were now described as two societies with distinctive features, readers are left in no doubt as to which of these two societies ought to be regarded as authentically 'Chinese' in character. In this edition, the P.R.C. was no longer assumed as a puppet regime as it had been in the previous editions (from the 37<sup>th</sup>- to the 60<sup>th</sup> year); instead, it was identified as the other Chinese government:

In 1<sup>st</sup>, October (1949), the government named the 'Central Government of People' was established in Bei-ping; the name of the state was changed to be 'People's Republic of China'. (Book III, 1999: 180)

The content referring to Taiwan as an outpost, whose mission was to reclaim the part of Chinese territory (the mainland) that was lost was also dropped and replaced by the expression of 'peaceful unification':

Because of the efforts of the government and the people, the ideal of the modernization of China was achieved in the territory of Taiwan. Taiwan has been constructed to be the model of a democratic society practiced by Chinese people. The ultimate goal was to unify China; therefore, our government formulated the Guidelines for National Unification in the 80<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic. Based on the statement of rationality, peace, equality and mutual benefit, through approaches of interaction, cooperation and negotiation, our government expected to establish the consensus of democracy, freedom and wealth to build a stable cross-strait relation and a mature environment for the peaceful unification with mainland China. (Book III, 1999: 199-200)

The existence of the R.O.C. and the P.R.C. as two sovereign 'Chinese' states was not explicitly stated, but heavily implied. The accounts of contemporary Taiwan, for example, its democratic politics, were still literally explained as being characteristics of China, and thus nationally defined the identity of Taiwan as China. The discourse suggested the idea that the two states - the R.O.C in Taiwan and P.R.C. in the mainland – were the authentic embodiment of the real Chinese nation.

### **7.6 Contemporary Taiwan as an independent community (2000 to 2006)**

The 84<sup>th</sup>-year edition (2000 to 2006) was published by a private company for the first time, however the publication of textbooks still followed the guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education (R.O.C.). The presentation of history again started from the prehistoric era, followed by successive dynasties and then ended with contemporary Taiwan. The idea regarding China as a cultural community was maintained according to the content of this edition. The content of the history still preserved the mainland China centred historical timeline of the earlier editions and the section on the culture and politics of contemporary mainland China, governed by the P.R.C. government were presented in similar ways as before. However, a much fuller and more distinct account of contemporary Taiwan was added into the content for the first time.

In previous editions, it was the history of contemporary Taiwan followed up the Qing dynasty as the history of China; in this edition, however, the account of the P.R.C. in mainland China and R.O.C. in Taiwan were simultaneously the themes of contemporary China. For example, the section on socio-cultural and socio-political activities of contemporary mainland China in 1949 to late 1970, governed by the P.R.C. government, were mentioned with more details than those in the previous

editions. The subjects – the establishment of the P.R.C., the social, political, and economic development and characteristics in the mainland, and the change in the cross-strait relations, were included (Nan-yi, 2000: 156-164). This revealed the historical viewpoints regarding Chinese as one community comprising two political entities.

In the content on contemporary China, the new political perspective of Taiwan introduced a series of decisive political events for the first time, such as the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident (1947), the Beautiful Formosa Incident (1979), the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party (D.P.P., 1986), the lifting of Martial Law (1987), and direct presidential elections (1996) (Nan-yi, 2000: 166-177). These events, which happened during the 1950s to the 2000s, were chronologically placed in the timeline to present the political evolution and the construction of the civil society of Taiwan under the theme of the process of democratization. The first case was the history of the February 28 Incident in 1947, which was explained as a consequence of an authoritarian government that ‘terrorized’ society, a very different description of the R.O.C. government’s position in Taiwan to that presented in earlier editions. The series of political cases along the timeline of Taiwan’s history were organized to be the content which displayed the history of political modernization in post-war Taiwan and addressed ‘Taiwan’ as a socio-political community. The period around the late 1980s before the lifting of the Martial law was an obvious case:

Those people of the Beautiful Formosa Magazine company were a force outside the KMT party, who asked the government to give people more social and political freedom. On 10 December, in the 68<sup>th</sup> year, the Beautiful Formosa Incident happened in Kaohsiung. The members of the political elites were caught and sent to jail; however, the request to the

government for democracy gradually increased. (Nan-yi, 2000: 175-176)

By presenting the case of the Beautiful Formosa Incident which marks the political transition from a conservative socio-political ethos to a liberal one, the discourse expressed that the era under the authoritarian governance gradually changed driven by the prospect of gaining political freedom. This case followed the lifting of Martial law and the birth of the civil society of contemporary Taiwan:

President Chiang Jing-kuo implemented a series of policies of political democratization from the 75<sup>th</sup>-year of the republic era. In September of that year, the people from the KMT party organized the first opposition party - Democratic Progressive Party.[...]in the 76<sup>th</sup>-year, Taiwan was lifted from the Martial Law. The long-term Martial Law era lasting for thirty-years came to its end. (Nan-yi, 2000: 176)

Describing the engagement of the government and society, the official discourse presented the ways in which Taiwan evolved into a liberal society driven by both top-down and bottom-up power structures.

The last case of post-war Taiwan's politics was the direct presidential election in 1996:

In the 85<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic, direct presidential elections of the president were explored. People had more rights to participate in public affairs. At the time, democracy in Taiwan was steadily becoming mature. (Nan-yi, 2000: 177)

These events of Taiwan's political life since the late 1940s (the 228 incident in 1947) to the late 1990s (the first presidential election in 1996) were chronologically placed in the timeline to project the sense of political evolution and the construction of the civil society of the 'Taiwanese', in which citizens and the R.O.C. government participated. 'Taiwan' expressed as having the character of a civil society was so different from the description in previous editions, in which Taiwan's socio-cultural

and socio-political characteristics were still expressed as ‘Chinese’. A series of socio-political events including the removal of the temporary provision of the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, the force mobilized to put down a rebellion in 1990, and the direct election of local government officials, public opinion representatives and the president in 1996 was explored and all this suggested the idea of political progressivism on which the political community of Taiwan was grounded.

More accounts regarding the social, cultural, economic, and political activities of Taiwan were also referred to and articulated as the content in which ‘Taiwan’ has its meaning as a community. This can be seen in the content on ‘the implementation of local government’ (1950), which had been briefly mentioned in earlier editions as a case of the first significant political policy in post-war Taiwan: this event was now further explained and addressed the meaning of the formation of the Taiwanese community:

When the government moved to Taiwan, while facing the Taiwan’s political and social elites’ passion for participating in public affairs, the need to implement local government was urgent. [...] in July, in the 39<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic, Taiwan entered the era of local governance, and the power of local governments was protected by law. (Nan-yi, 2000: 173)

Various elements relating to politics were raised: the participation of social elites in public affairs, the implementation of local government, and so on, were organized to be the past of Taiwan’s politics which had its characteristic as a civil society driven by both the government and citizens. This content delivered the outline of the ‘Taiwanese community’.

Taiwan’s socio-cultural and socio-economic activities were introduced with a

similarly manner concerning 'Taiwan' as a community independent from that of mainland China. The textbooks explored the development of Taiwan's culture as a process of the formation of a specifically 'Taiwanese', rather than the 'Chinese':

In the 60<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic Era (1970), the trend of returning to local Taiwanese culture appeared in the society of Taiwan. [...] The local Taiwanese culture, with its theme of challenging the political culture, fuelled the ideology of resisting Communism. In the 65<sup>th</sup> year, the literary group of anti-communism and modernism challenged the local Taiwanese literature. [...] In this argument, the definition of 'local Taiwanese' was questioned, particularly, with regard to the relationship between Taiwanese and Chinese literature. After this, the experiences of everyday life and society became a major trend in literature; moreover, novels describing the historical development of Taiwan gradually appeared. (Nan-yi, 2000: 202)

In the case of the literature, textbooks portrayed the idea that 'Taiwanese' was a cultural subject constructed of various elements, such as an anti-communist stance and local Taiwanese literature. Those literatures have different styles, but are given the same name of 'Taiwanese literature'. 'Taiwan' was no longer treated simply as an object embedded within 'Chinese' as it had been in earlier editions. According to this content, the discourse not only implied the content of 'Taiwanese culture', but also suggested the difference between the 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese' simultaneously.

The textbooks also suggested the local-oriented culture as the unique character to embody Taiwan as a community:

The project for the construction of a cultural centre in each town and city was developed by the Twelve National Establishments in the 66<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic Era. In the 70<sup>th</sup> year (1981), the Executive Yuan founded the Council for Cultural Affairs with the aim of preserving and protecting the cultural legacy on the one hand and planning cultural activities on the other. Towards constructing a multicultural society, the Council for



Cultural Affairs planned to protect the culture of aboriginal people as the ethnic minorities of Taiwan, in addition to promoting the culture of local communities. (Nan-yi, 2000: 204)

While the indigenous people who had previously been referred to as ‘barbarians’ (in earlier editions, 1950s to 1990s) were now described as Taiwanese, the concept ‘local’ applied to mean the community of Taiwan rather than as ‘local’, part of an unified ‘Chinese’ community.

According to the composition of the contents of the 84<sup>th</sup>-year edition, the textbooks presented the history from the pre-historic era (Beijing Man and the myth of the Huang emperor in the Yellow River Valley in mainland China), followed by the successive Chinese dynastic periods, up to contemporary China, including both the P.R.C. in the mainland and R.O.C. in Taiwan. In this edition, the culture of China, including the common ancestral origin, ethnic organization, and physical civilization, was still presented as being shared between Taiwan and mainland China and evoked the sense of the ‘imagined Chinese national community’ in the text. However, this imagined Chinese community’ was a composition organized into two halves - contemporary ‘Taiwan’ and ‘mainland China’ based on their respective socio-cultural character. The distinction between contemporary ‘mainland China’ and ‘Taiwan’ was not only drawn along the line of socio-cultural and socio-political characters, but also according to political status. The new edition gave a more complete introduction of the P.R.C. government’s development and cross-strait relations than it in the previous edition (published in 1985 to 1999). In this edition, the development of the Chinese Communist Party - from its commencement to its construction of as the People’s Republic of China was explored:

In September of the 38<sup>th</sup> year (1949), the C.C.P. founded the ‘Democratic Coalition Government’ and passed the law of the Democratic Coalition Government of the P.R.C., adopted the Gregorian calendar and the five-star national flag, established Beijing as the capital, and chose Mao Ze-dong to be the president. On November 1, the People’s Republic of China was established. (Nan-yi, 2000: 156)

The Chinese Communist Party and the P.R.C. government no longer mean ‘puppets’ who even damaged the national unity of China; instead, the sovereignty of the P.R.C. as a state was explicitly recognised and its legitimacy conceded.

Taiwan was now presented as one of two states of the divided China:

The C.C.P. continuously forced our government to surrender by repressing our state’s international status and diplomacy, and using military force to deal with Taiwan. The era of Martial Law ended in the 80<sup>th</sup> year, and the Guidelines of National Unification became the fundamental principle to deal with cross-strait affairs. [...] It stated: I. China was divided into two independent and equal sovereignties across the Taiwan strait. II. The R.O.C. was an independent sovereignty and had the right to develop diplomatic relations with other states. III. Our government developed pragmatic diplomacy, which would benefit the unification of China through approaches of freedom, democracy and equality. [...] In the 88<sup>th</sup> year, President Lee Teng-hui introduced the state-to-state strategy. (Nan-yi, 2000: 208-209)

The interaction between the ‘R.O.C.in Taiwan’ and the ‘P.R.C. in China’ was described as ‘the expectation of a peaceful unification with China’ in the previous edition (published in 1985 to 1999); however, the idea regarding the relation between two sides was changed to be ‘cross-strait relations’ and ‘peaceful confrontation’. The textbooks now portrayed the transformation of the cross-strait relation over a span of five decades between two sovereign states, the R.O.C. in Taiwan and the P.R.C. in China. This content suggests that one imagined Chinese state may still remain;

however, it had become to be organized by two political entities.

## **7.7 Re-inventing the history of Taiwan (2007 to 2011)**

### **7.7.1 The composition of the content of 'Taiwanese' history**

From the 1950s to the 2000s (the 37<sup>th</sup>- to 84<sup>th</sup>-year editions), the *history of China* is almost equated with the history of the mainland China, and this content is the history of Taiwan. Not until the mid-2000s - with the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition (2007- ) - did this composition change completely, when the histories of mainland China and Taiwan were separated into two volumes. In the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition (2007- ), Taiwan's history was now presented in a separate volume comprising events across 400 years in the territory of Taiwan. The *history of China* from the prehistoric era of Beijing Man, via successive dynasties to the establishment of the R.O.C. by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (the R.O.C. during 1911 to 1945 in China), was the other volume, describing events in mainland China. According to the composition of history of China, we can notice that the *history of China* was solely the mainland's history, and this suggested the idea of considering Taiwan and mainland China as two communities each with its own past.

The textbooks of the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition (2007 to 2011) traced the past of Taiwan back to the Dutch and Spanish colonization, and to the Ming-zheng regime, broadly exploring the accounts of cultural and political activities in this place. The past of Taiwan - was organized into four main themes: the prehistoric era (i.e. prehistoric, the Dutch and Spanish empires, and the Ming-zheng era), Qing-governance, Japanese-governance and contemporary Taiwan (from 1945-). This composition of the content which comprised the historical era during which Taiwan was ruled by the Dutch, Spanish, Chinese Ming-zheng, the Chinese Qing empire, the Japanese, and the R.O.C.

regime portrays the historical viewpoint of the multifaceted political background and cultural characteristics of Taiwan as the ‘tradition’ of ‘Taiwanese’ history. In this historical context, the Chinese political power in Taiwanese history, namely, the ‘Ming-zheng era’ and ‘Qing-governance’, was one of the successive regimes which ruled Taiwan. This can be seen in the history of the political transition that the Ming-zheng regime ended when the Qing Empire took over the territory of Taiwan in 1683:

The Qing-rule era which lasted for two hundred and twelve years was the longest regime in Taiwan island so far. (Han-lin, 2009: 43)

According to this paragraph, readers can get the sense that the Chinese Qing empire was presented as an era and a regime in Taiwan, but was not the national subject as it had been in the previous editions in which Taiwan was embedded as one part. Under this ideological statement of Taiwan’s history, it was the Japanese era which followed the period of Qing rule. The Japanese era was explained as colonization, which literally carried with it the meaning of violently conquering the territory of Taiwan. However, it was still taken into the account of Taiwan’s history. This reflects the fact that Taiwan’s history contained more than Chinese dynasties. The textbooks strategically changed the sense of one ‘imagined Chinese community’ framed in the previous editions and re-framed the picture of the ‘imagined Taiwanese community’ in the composition of history. In this way, the current textbooks suggested that Taiwan and mainland China each had its own historical experiences; the distinction between the two was thus drawn.

### **7.7.2 ‘Taiwan’ as an imagined community**

As in the junior high textbooks of the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition, the senior (94<sup>th</sup>-year edition/

2007 to 2011) gave Taiwan its own 'prehistoric' era and cultural origins, distinct from the history of 'Beijing Man' which was introduced as the ancestral origin of 'Chinese'. According to the presentation of Taiwan's cultural origins, Taiwan can no longer be seen as just one local part of Chinese nation:

Taiwan's history started to be recorded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, 300 years ago, when foreign powers colonized Taiwan. The period before this is referred to as the 'prehistoric era', and is viewed through archaeological evidence. [...] Prehistoric cultures were inconsistent and fragmented. The origin of the Taiwan's aboriginal people was argued by scholars. Some believed they originated in Austronesian in the islands of south mainland Asia, and some thought they originated in southeast mainland Asia. (Han-lin, 2009:15)

The official discourse expressed 'south mainland Asia' as the origin of Taiwan's local people. By doing this, the textbooks avoided the controversial issue of whether people in Taiwan shared an ancestral origin with the mainlanders, while still expressing precise knowledge about the distinct origin of the people in Taiwan. This discourse has recreated the history of the ancestry of Taiwanese people which was different from the idea assuming 'Beijing Man' as the ancestral origin of people in Taiwan in earlier editions.

The textbooks further explored that Taiwan's culture was formulated and reformulated under the governance of different regimes since the Dutch and Spanish colonization era. The section begins by explaining the status of Taiwan, which was an important location for foreign countries to carry out business throughout such Asian countries, and identifying it as the central crossover point for the biggest geographical ocean and land position for trade throughout the region. This part followed up the history of the Dutch influence which was emphasized as shaping education, religion and introducing

new agricultural techniques and which opened a new era in Taiwan:

The Dutch people, in Taiwan for 38 years, had a great influence on Taiwan's culture. In addition to teaching words and establishing schools and churches, some of them married the local people. They also introduced the buffalo for farming; the practice of rice-growing; new vegetables; fruits and animals, such as peas, ginger, cabbage, tomato, mango, shakya [...]; and the dove and pig. (Han-lin, 2009: 28)

In this narrative context, 'Taiwan' could be understood as not only a physical environment but also a socio-cultural composition in which more than one cultural element was concealed. According to the content, readers can get the idea that the culture came from outside Taiwan, i.e. Dutch culture became the culture of the Taiwanese. The content of 'Taiwanese culture' was being elucidated along the timeline of the history since the Han people came to Taiwan in the era following the Dutch and Spanish rule. During the short dominance of the 23-year Ming-zheng regime, the textbooks explained that, first, this Han regime brought with them their culture, which was easily accepted and rooted in the culture of Taiwan:

Zheng's management of Taiwan introduced and underpinned the Han people's culture in Taiwan, and this influenced future generations. The administrative officer, Zheng Yuan-hua, was responsible for the development of education and culture by establishing the Confucius Temple and schools and an education system, which was similar to contemporary secondary and higher education. [...] Zheng cultivated the territory of Taiwan; in addition, his greatest influence was that he radiated and planted the Han culture in Taiwan. [...] He held up the imperial examination to train intellectuals. This lay the foundation of Han culture in Taiwan for the future two and three hundred years. (Han-lin, 2009: 38-39)

Although the meaning of 'Han' culture and people was generally understood as the 'Chinese', the latter term is notable by its absence in the content of textbook, and thus

the impression is given that this cultural influence is only one among many others contributing to the evolution of a distinct society from that of the mainland and which is described as developing a Taiwanese identity. In this section, the official discourse created the picture of imagined ‘Chinese community’ comprising the mainland and Taiwan in the history of Ming-zheng era.

The textbooks also presented the ‘Chinese’ as settling in Taiwan from the mainland as ‘immigrants’ to Taiwan whose own traditions were modified by their encounter, including through inter-marriage, with a quite distinct history and culture:

People came from different ancestral hometowns of the mainland, but now lived in the same town or village and would participate in the annual ancestral worship ceremony together. While Chinese immigrants lived in Taiwan for long, their customs of the ancestral worship were mixing with the local characteristics to reformulate the large-scale religious community in Taiwan, such as the Ma-zu religious belief. (Han-lin, 2009: 66)

In this paragraph, readers can understand the notion that the life style of Chinese immigrants based on ‘their’ culture, gradually changed to be ‘Taiwanese’ though the localization, such as in religious activities. The discourse explained how the Han culture (Chinese, mainland China’s culture) came to Taiwan and was localized to be Taiwanese and suggested the sense of the reformation of the ‘Taiwanese’ community. According to the content of this paragraph, the ‘Chinese’ culture and ‘Chinese’ people and culture were no longer the other (Chinese), rather, the local – ‘Taiwanese’ (Taiwan’s people and culture). The content showed how and in which way the Chinese culture as the culture coming from the ‘outside’ had gradually changed their belongingness to the ‘Taiwanese’. The sense of an imagined Taiwanese community was articulated in the historical context.

In the textbooks, the history of the Japanese-governance era (1895 to 1945) followed the era of Qing-governance. Whereas previous editions gave little space to accounts of the Japanese era of Taiwan, and presented it as the illegitimate domination (occupation) of a foreign power over part of China, resisted by the local population, this period was now presented as yet another example of the diverse influences on the development of the 'Taiwanese' culture:

The custom of 'cutting pigtails and foot-binding' can be taken as an example. The Japanese government considered the revocation of the custom of foot-binding to be an emancipation of the female labour force. The government also thought that cutting the pigtail would remove the identity of the Qing Empire. Those two movements had the meaning of assimilation and modernization. However, the Taiwanese people's attitudes to it were different. Some agreed cutting the pigtail and eliminating foot-binding were the performance of modernization, while some resisted those who followed the Chinese tradition. (Han-lin: 2009: 120)

The discourse explored the idea that the culture of Taiwan was produced and reproduced from the Ming and Qing to the Japanese era, though rooted in Han traditions and then changed by the Japanese customs to suggest that the culture of Taiwan was shaped from the Chinese-based to be a hybridization mixed with the Japanese.

Taiwanese culture was not only different, but involved separation from the mainland; however, this does not mean the cultural relations between mainland China and Taiwan were denied. The textbooks explained the Chinese culture in Taiwan had been recreated to be one aspect of Taiwanese culture:

China and Taiwan were separated for the length of one generation, and thus



developed into different worlds, each with their own historical memories and life experience. [...] Moreover, contemporary China's culture had a different face from the traditional one, to which was also in addition to people's imagination, memories, and expectations about China in Taiwan. (Han-lin, 2009: 204)

According to the content, the relationship between mainland China and Taiwan on the basis of traditional Chinese culture was implicitly admitted. Through addressing the socio-cultural difference between Taiwan's society and mainland China, however, the textbooks explained that the element of traditional Chinese was one part of the 'Taiwanese'; contemporary China was explained as in different from the traditional. In this logic, the distinction between mainland China and Taiwan as two socio-cultural subjectivities was thus drawn by the discourse.

The identity of Taiwanese people was also addressed in the texts. 'Chinese' people were presented as the ancestors of Taiwan's people in the textbook of previous editions; however, this term was not used to mean 'Taiwanese'. The textbooks referred to the 'Chinese' people by using the term 'Han' to indicate the ancestry of the 'Taiwanese' people, even though Han people can mean Chinese people. Because of this expression using the word Han to indicate the ancestry of Taiwanese people, the discourse created the distance between the identity of 'Taiwanese people' and 'Chinese people':

The earlier immigrants from China identified themselves on the basis of their original ancestral home. For example, they called themselves 'Fukien' or 'Guang-don' people. However, as they lived in Taiwan for a long time and were affected by ethnic-hybridization, they regained their identity as Taiwanese; for example, they called themselves 'An-ping' (Tainan), 'A-gang' (Tainan), 'Ding-gang', or 'Yi-lan'. (Han-lin, 2009: 66)

How the Chinese immigrants (Han people) gradually changed their Chinese identity to consider themselves as ‘Taiwanese’ was presented in the content. In this sense, the mainlander was no longer identified as Chinese, rather, recreated as becoming ‘Taiwanese’. The official discourse has recreated the identity of Chinese people to be the Taiwanese.

In addition to presenting the ethnic character of Taiwan’s people, the textbooks also addressed the ‘Taiwanese’ as a particular group, even though politically and culturally influenced by a number of peoples coming from outside Taiwan. In the content on the Japanese era, for example, the textbooks presented the ‘Taiwanese’ people, who were neither Chinese nor Japanese:

The story of the novel ‘Asian Orphan,’ which spanned the era of Japanese governance, developed from the life of the character Hu Tai-ming. Hu was struggling between the cultural motherland of China, and the colonial motherland, Japan. Japanese discriminated against him as a Taiwanese; however, because he had studied in Japan he was thus also discriminated against by the Taiwanese. He was even regarded as a spy by both Taiwanese and Japanese people during the time of WWII. [...] This novel vividly depicted the pathos of Taiwanese intellectuals looking for their identity, and their confusion in the Japanese era. (Han-lin: 2009:128)

This case regarding ‘Taiwanese’ as the identification of people in Taiwan was even more explicitly explored in the content on the Japanese era. The political discourse suggested Taiwanese people were struggling to accept the dual identity of being both Han (Chinese)-based Taiwanese and Japanese. In this paragraph, the rhetorical usage of ‘Taiwanese’ people within the historical context of Japanese era as the identity of people in Taiwan who cannot be identified as either ‘Chinese’ people or the ‘Japanese’.

The increasing distinctiveness between ‘Chinese culture’ and ‘Taiwanese culture’ increased while the subject proceeded from the Japanese to the contemporary era on the timeline of Taiwan’s history. In the content of Qing-governance era, those mainlanders moving to Taiwan in the Qing dynasty were called ‘Han people in Taiwan’ who can still be understood as ‘Chinese’. However, those Chinese immigrants and their offspring were no longer identified as ‘Han’ in the section of contemporary Taiwan; rather, they were explicitly given the identity of ‘Taiwanese’ people:

During the four hundred years after the Han people came to Taiwan, the ethnic relations between Minnan and Haka were sometimes tense, and were sometimes more comfortable. [...] In the Japanese era, Minnan and Haka were both regarded as ‘Taiwan’s native people’; therefore, in contrast to those who came to Taiwan after the 38<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic Era, they were of native/local Taiwanese ethnicity. [...] In the 1990s, because a labour force was needed for Taiwan’s society, more and more foreign labourers and brides came to Taiwan. [...] 12.5% of babies born in Taiwan were to foreign and Chinese brides. These ‘new Taiwanese children’ and their mothers were forming a new ethnicity in Taiwan. (Han-lin, 2009:190)

The discourse addressed the identity of ‘Taiwanese people’ by summarizing the ethnic construction of ‘Taiwanese’ which was organized by various groups in the past and present over four hundred years of Taiwan’s documented history. In this case, two points were suggested to understand the meaning of Taiwanese people. Firstly, the concept of a plural-ethnicity was used to identify the character of Taiwan’s people. The Minnan and Haka groups, provincial Taiwanese and the newer inhabitants, e.g. foreign brides and their offspring, constructed, and then reconstructed to embody contemporary Taiwan as a plural-ethnic society. Secondly, the official discourse addressed the Chinese immigrants (Minnan and Haka) coming into Taiwan as native

Taiwanese. This means that Chinese immigrants (and their offspring) who had experienced the Japanese era and thus had different historical and cultural experience from the mainlanders were native people. In this historical context, the discourse invented the new vocabulary of ‘Taiwanese people’.

According to the officially written history which was chronologically recorded from the prehistoric era to the contemporary, the textbooks not only presented the cultural features to manifest ‘Taiwan’ as a cultural community, but also depicted the political character of ‘Taiwan’ to address its statehood. The political entity could be understood as the state which was explicitly defined by Weber, ‘the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory’ (Weber, 1991: 78). Under this heading, the political characteristic of ‘Taiwan’ was given:

Bidding farewell to the fifty years Japanese colonization when WWII came to an end, Taiwan returned to its Han-people-based R.O.C. government. Separated for half-century, Taiwan’s people felt strange to their motherland. (2009:145)

In the content, the concept ‘Taiwan’ means not only the geographical concept, but also the national territory which can be noticed from the expression of this paragraph – ‘returning to its motherland’ and ‘a ‘Han-people-based’ government’. It was the word ‘Han’ rather than ‘Chinese’ used to imply Taiwan’s government. ‘Han’ was the main ethnic group of Chinese people; nevertheless, the textbooks used ‘Han’, a cultural concept, instead of ‘Chinese’. Hence, the paradoxical meaning of ‘Taiwan’ as to whether it was one part of the Chinese state or not caused by the literal ambivalence was prevented. Moreover, the identity of the R.O.C. government which took over Taiwan after WWII was presented to be a ‘Han-people-based’ government, and so the

statehood of Taiwan can be understood as that Han people ruled its territory. By this narrative logic, the discourse created the meaning concerning 'Taiwan' to be a nation-state which has its political unity in congruence with the cultural unit.

The meaning of 'Taiwan' is not only as a political entity with its own statehood, but also as a community coordinated by both its government and citizens. Similar content can be seen in the textbooks published in 2002 to 2006; the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition textbooks (2007-), however, tracked a progression from the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident (1947) to the Martial Law era (1947-1987), and finally to the era of Taiwan's democratic politics to portray the Taiwan's political evolution addressing local-oriented 'Taiwanese' socio-political character. Take this paragraph describing Beautiful Formosa Incident for example:

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of December, 1979, Beautiful Formosa Magazine Society undertook an activity in Kaohsiung. There was a conflict between the society and policemen. Many of the political elite, intellectuals, and cultural workers were caught and put in jail. The leaders and participants were tried by of military law. This trial was a key affair in post-war Taiwan, inspiring and moving many people to political action. The Beautiful Formosa Incident was a milestone for the politics of the post-war Taiwan, leading to the beginning of the destruction of the authoritarian Martial Law domination. (Han-lin, 2009:158-159) [...] The families of the victims in the Beautiful Formosa Incident and their lawyers were involved in elections in the mid-1980s to resist the authoritarian government. In this era, when President Chiang Jin-kuo implemented important socio-economic establishments and the democracy fighters strove for freedom, the forty-year authority was deconstructed. Taiwan stepped into a new era. (Han-lin, 2009: 160)

Compared with the previous edition (2000-2006) in which the Beautiful Formosa Incident was introduced, the formation of the Taiwanese political community was

presented more specifically in this one (2007-). New content which was not presented in the previous senior edition, forms the background, the course of the Beautiful Formosa Incident, people's participation in politics to challenge the KMT's forty-year authoritarian dominance, and now introduced to explore people's engagement to politics contributing to democratization. This content reinforced the idea of the formulation of Taiwanese political community. When some words, for example, such as president, were used, the official discourse illustrated the historical plot in which the national notion of 'Taiwanese' as a political community constructed and reconstructed by both Taiwan's government and people.

The national identity of Taiwan cannot be seen from not only the content introducing its characters, but also from the distinction highlighted between it and mainland China.

The case of the economic activity can be taken as an example:

In the early stages of cross-strait business, China's reliance on Taiwan for capital was higher than Taiwan's reliance on China as a market. However, with the rapid growth of the economy, China became one of the three largest economies in the world, equal in importance to the EU and US, and thus seriously influenced Taiwan. [...] In the 2000s, China's policy on economics swayed between open and controlling, and politics and economics were interwoven and mutually influencing. (Han-lin, 2009: 177)

In the content of the textbooks, mainland China was the only case used to be compared with Taiwan. Because of this case, readers can understand the economic difference between mainland China and Taiwan. Perhaps, we cannot directly know this was the purpose of the textbook; however, the notion regarding 'mainland China' and 'Taiwan' as two economically divided communities appeared.

There are three points in the paragraph above: the economic interaction between China and Taiwan, China's economic status in the world, and China's economic power, were explored which suggested the meaning that China played an influential role in the world from the economic perspective. Rhetorically and conceptually, the concept 'China' was assumed as a national identification. In this contents expressing the economic characteristics of mainland China, we can see 'China' was embodied to be a national identification. Through this discourse, the textbooks draw the national distinction between China and Taiwan.

### **7.8 Conclusion**

Numerous facts across the span of time constituted the story of the past. Those events which happened were true and unchanged even as time went by; however, some of them were drawn upon to organize the content of history while some were dismissed and thus marginalized in people's memory. Through selecting, organizing, and then identifying the historical events, a story of the past was created and recreated by the operation of particular powers, and then used to underpin the identity of the present-day; this is why tradition can be invented and reinvented as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argued. In Taiwan's case, the national character of Taiwan was sweeping from the 'Chinese' to 'Taiwanese' in the six decades as we can see in the content of history textbooks published in 1949 to 2011. According to the investigation of the history textbooks published by the government, the discernible changes of the contents marked the transitions of contemporary Taiwan's character.

From the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition (1951–1953) to the 84<sup>th</sup>- (2000–2006), 'Taiwan' was presented as a part and a province of mainland-centred Chinese history. During the six

decades since the 1950s, the contents of senior high school textbooks have had a trajectory of ideological transformation in which Taiwan's national character has been gradually shaping and reshaping. The discourse addressed Taiwan and the mainland as sharing the same ancestral origin, ethnic and cultural origins, and as being one 'imagined' community. From the 1950s to the 1980s (the 37<sup>th</sup>-year to the 60<sup>th</sup>-/ 1973-1984), the textbooks insisted that the R.O.C. government was the only legitimate government of China, and meanwhile, the illegitimacy of the P.R.C., was also stressed. This situation reflected the fact that 'Chinese' was recreated to be the nation articulated by two political entities. This idea of 'one nation organized by two states' was furthered in the textbooks of the 72<sup>nd</sup>-year edition (1985 to 1999), in which 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' and 'P.R.C. in China' were stated as two governments for the first time. The idea of an 'imagined Chinese community' remained; however, the boundary between mainland China and Taiwan was drawn.

In the 84<sup>th</sup>-year edition (2000-2006), Taiwan's history was still concealed within the context of the mainland-centred history as being one part of Chinese nation; however, 'Taiwan' was presented as a community, not only politically independent from the mainland, but also economically, socially, and culturally distinguished from a separate 'mainland China community' according to the presentation of contemporary history. From the 37<sup>th</sup>-year edition through to the 84<sup>th</sup>-, as the context changed, 'Taiwan' gradually began to be reproduced as the subject in the history of contemporary China, while the contemporary mainland was marginalised. This situation reflected the sense that the image of 'mainland China' has been gradually fading from the sense of who Taiwan's people are perceived to be.



The text of the history of Taiwan broadly covered the political, social, economic and cultural aspects with the accounts of the 400-year recorded history, which was written in sequential order of political regime in the latest edition published in 2007 to 2011. The discourse of textbooks reshaped the meaning of 'Taiwan' to be an 'imagined community' with its cultural sphere in congruence with its political sphere. From both the cultural and the political perspective, the textbooks not only assumed the local-oriented culture as the essence of Taiwanese culture, but also suggested political distinction between mainland China and Taiwan. Although throughout the textbooks no sentence ever addressed the nationality of 'Taiwan', national identification of a contemporary 'Taiwanese imagined community' has been created within this newly invented 'Taiwanese' history.

Taiwan's past was unchanged; however, its history in the textbooks was consummately presented in a different way from the five-thousand-year 'Chinese' to be the four-hundred-year 'Taiwanese'. According to the transformation of the content of history textbooks (1949 to 2011), the ideology of Chinese nationalism has gradually replaced by the Taiwanese nationalism in post-war Taiwan. In the textbooks over successive editions, the official discourse literally addressed the sense of one cultural community and political entity as one Chinese nation-state, then one Chinese and two Chinas, and finally separated Taiwanese and Chinese as two nation-states. Through contextually formulating and rhetorically presenting the historical plot, the discourse silently and continually shaped and reshaped the picture of the 'imaged community' of Taiwan. While the history of 'Taiwanese' has been invented and reinvented, the contour of the 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983, 2006) created in the texts to broadly encompass the place of mainland China and Taiwan, has been gradually transforming

over time. The sense of the imagined Taiwanese community was thus recreated.

## **Chapter Eight**

### **Reshaping the imagined Taiwanese community: teachers' explanations to 'China' and 'Taiwan'**

This chapter argues how the official written history was presented by teachers as a way to reproduce the nation of Taiwan from the bottom up. Chapters 6 and 7 explored the way in which the history of Taiwan in high school history textbooks was changed over a period of sixty years since 1949, with the effect of transforming the relevant 'imagined community' presented by the R.O.C. government from 'China' to 'Taiwan'. However, the literal meaning of the content of the textbooks could be understood by readers in different ways; thus, the substance of the official ideology is susceptible to being hermeneutically changed by readers. We cannot know exactly how that text may have been 'consumed' or interpreted by its users. Nor can we know whether the textbooks have transferred such official 'banal' nationalist ideas to readers, or whether the prose used in the textbooks may instead have had other, quite unintended, effects (Billig, 1995).

The historical accounts associated with the central questions regarding the identification of 'Taiwan' and 'China' provide readers with a framework within which they could explain the content in many different ways. We cannot know whether the teachers using the textbooks successfully transferred such official 'banal' nationalism to pupils or whether they may have had other, quite unintended effects. In light of this concern, this chapter will explore how the secondary teachers presented the content of textbooks, and will argue that this presentation amounts to a re-creation of the officially sketched picture of the imagined 'Taiwanese' community.

Twenty-five semi-structured interviews were conducted with high school history teachers in order to understand how the teachers explained the content of the history textbooks. In particular, this chapter concerns how they applied the historical meaning of the material associated with the concept ‘China’ to address Taiwan’s character, and how teachers explained the content of the most current history textbooks to teach students about the character of ‘Taiwan’ and ‘China’.

The discussion based on interview data will be explored from two perspectives: those of (1) the *cultural community* (the people, their history, and their ancestry) and (2) the *political entity* (the government and its territory). Based on the interview data, this chapter seeks to know how teachers work with the textbooks to argue which kind of imagined community was created based on their explicitly described or implied interpretations of the content of textbooks. According to the interview resources, two different historical viewpoints – one Chinese-based and the other Taiwanese-oriented – were positioned by teachers to explain Taiwan’s history. Chinese-based means teachers suggested Taiwan is a Chinese-based socio-cultural and socio-political community but developed into the Taiwanese, while Taiwanese-oriented means Taiwan as an independent socio-cultural and socio-political unity composed of various elements, including ‘Chinese’. Those are two diverse views to explain ‘Taiwan’; however, addressing the same point regarding ‘Taiwan’ as a national community.

### **8.1 Re-marking the boundary between ‘China’ and Taiwan**

In the most current history textbooks of both the junior and senior high school level, the histories of mainland China and Taiwan have been into two different volumes, representing mainland China and Taiwan as two national entities. In the volume on

Taiwan's history, Ming and Qing-governance - the 'Chinese' regimes, however, were introduced in the composition of Taiwanese history. This literal expression in the textbooks creates the impression that Taiwan and mainland China can be regarded as one cultural community based on this historical connection. In this regard, the interview focus was on how the teachers express Chinese regimes in the Taiwan's history to represent the sense of 'Taiwanese' history. Teachers admitted Taiwan and mainland China had always correlated when governed by Chinese political powers; however, they stressed 'Taiwan' as a society different from that of mainland China even though ruled by the same government. This can be seen in the case of teacher (006):

Taiwan's history was documented since the Ming and Qing eras. I will use the word, Ming-zheng regime, instead of mentioning it as the Chinese government to students. [...] I will tell students even though Taiwan was under the same political governance as the mainland, in the Qing-governance period, even though Taiwan was the territory of China, the Qing empire did not really pay too much attention to govern Taiwan.

Suggesting that the Qing government devoted most of its effort to governing mainland China, this teacher suggested that Taiwan in the Qing-governance era was just nominally part of the Chinese empire. The idea that the Qing empire paid little attention to Taiwan, which did not appear in official textbooks, was adopted by teachers as a historical explanation to address the relationship between the Qing empire and Taiwan. In this way, the teachers reinforced a sense that 'Taiwan' was isolated from the 'imagined Chinese community' introduced in the textbooks.

Continuing with the same logic, teacher (011) explained the socio-political order of Taiwan in the Qing dynasty more specifically:

This idea was not addressed in the contents of the textbooks; however, most of the time I concluded this to students. Although Taiwan was under the governance of the Qing Empire, the Qing spent most effort on governing the mainland. Taiwan's society relied on the gentry class to maintain social order. So, I would just explain it as a political power ruling Taiwan, rather than suggesting that Taiwan and the mainland were the same state.

The teacher suggested that the Qing Empire had little concern with Taiwan to emphasise the idea that Taiwan had long been a self-governing society. The scant social connections between Taiwan and mainland China were highlighted in a way that differed from the officially created imagining of the two places and their relationship in the textbooks.

The teacher stressed that two places across the Taiwan Strait had quite few communications even ruled by the same government (Ming-zheng and Qing), for example, teacher (010) said,

Taiwan and China did not have too deep relation in the past, we should not understand Taiwan's history from the perspective of Chinese history. Actually, the communication between the mainland China and Taiwan began in the Ming-zheng and Qing dynasty; before this period, there were neither cultural nor political connections between them. Even in the Ming-zheng and Qing-governance, because of the difficulty of transport, going through the Taiwan Strait was inconvenient and dangerous, communications between people in the mainland and Taiwan were quite few.

The amount of communication between Taiwan and the mainland can neither be quantitatively estimated nor be found in textbooks; however, the idea that there was little communication was adopted by this teacher to explain the minimal relations between China and Taiwan during the Qing dynasty. This point is mentioned by

teachers to stress that infrequent communication meant that although Taiwan and the mainland were politically ruled by one government (Qing empire), they should not be seen as the same society.

Teachers also recounted details of the local activities in Taiwan to introduce students to the historical knowledge that Taiwan had been a self-developed community with its own socio-cultural and socio-economic character which was quite different to that of mainland China although both were Sino-based societies. This idea can be seen in the case of teacher (003) who said,

We should ask how much influence the Qing Empire had in Taiwan in its political, social, and cultural aspects. We need to know that Taiwan was a small island in the eye of the Qing government, and thus they were not greatly concerned about it. Cultural, social, and economic activities in Taiwan were developed, but those developments were not the result of the governance of the Qing government; rather, these activities were developed by the people of Taiwan themselves. For example, at the time of the Qing governance era, the three most important business harbours - Tainan, Lukang, and Manga - supported the economic development of Taiwan. We can say that Taiwan was a territory of the Chinese government; however, I do not address the relationship between Taiwan and China as an expression of their belongingness to one nation in particular.

Some of the examples of Taiwan's local activities were referred in the content of textbooks; however, those accounts were interpreted by teachers to mean the difference between mainland China and Taiwan. In this way, the teachers reshaped the idea regarding Taiwan as being included within the 'imagined Chinese community' to be the 'Taiwanese community' based on itsself-developed socio-economic and socio-cultural activities in the historical context of the Qing-governance era. Through

explaining the development of the two societies, teachers placed the boundary that distinguished the two societies of the mainland and Taiwan. They downplayed the Ming-zheng and Qing governance eras as ‘Chinese’ to imply the slight association in the historical links between Taiwan and mainland China.

Some teachers, however, explained that the earliest history of Taiwan was strongly related to mainland China, rather than seeing Taiwan and mainland China as two (socio-cultural and socio-political) communities. They thought that completely isolating ‘Taiwan’ from ‘China’ would bias student understanding of the history of Taiwan. By explaining the meaning of the ‘imagined Chinese community’, they introduced the idea of how the Taiwanese community was formed from into being independent from China; for example, teacher (013) said:

We cannot deny the association between Taiwan and China in the perspective of history because the Ming-zheng and Qing governance eras were Chinese regimes. Taiwan’s history is separated from that of China, which makes it difficult to explain its historical origin to students. You should introduce these things from Chinese history; there are many things that you simply cannot explain from the context of Taiwan’s history alone. Just as the textbooks have introduced, the Confucianism, customs, and traditions of the Han people became a great part of Taiwanese culture.

This teacher explained ‘Taiwan’ as continually sharing the same historical experience with the mainland in the Ming and Qing dynasty to suggest the view assuming both two places share the same national belongingness to the Chinese nation. By suggesting the Chinese culture as a crucial part of the Taiwanese, this teacher built up the sense of an imagined ‘Chinese’ community comprising both the mainland and Taiwan, and thus suggested the sense that ‘Taiwan’ has always been included within the Chinese



community. This idea does not mean ‘Taiwan’ was one part of China, because this teacher (013) further explained how the framework of the Chinese imagined community has gradually been dissolving in a historical context from the Ming-Qing era to the contemporary:

We should regard those Chinese dynasties as the beginning of the background of the multifaceted and complicated histories of Taiwan. I will claim that Ming-zheng and Qing governance were Chinese regimes because I do think it is meaningful to foster a better understanding of the foundation of the multifaceted Taiwanese historical background.

This teacher has provided the reason why ‘Taiwan’ was initially seen as merely one part of China because of the historical connection. This idea, however, was explicitly presented by teachers who depicted the situation as one in which Taiwan had gradually been separating from ‘Chineseness’ and recreated itself to be an independent community. In the textbooks, the discourse did not provide the perspective identifying Chinese elements in Taiwan as objects embedded within the Taiwanese framework which was organized by various historical elements. However, the teacher explored the idea of a plurally constructed historical background to be the past of Taiwan and to reinforce the Taiwanese historical character, provoking the notion of a historic ‘Taiwanese land’.

The idea of a plurally-structured ‘Taiwanese’ history was also used to explain Taiwan as ever having been part of the Chinese nation sharing its historical experience with the mainland, but as changing when Taiwan entered the Japanese era, such as the case teacher (020) said,

Following these two eras of Ming-zheng and Qing-governance, Taiwan entered the era of the Japanese and R.O.C. regimes. I try to

portray the context of the complicated historical background of Taiwan because this will let students gain the sense of how Taiwan's history comprised a series of complicated political regimes to let them know how Taiwan changed from a Chinese-based society to a Japanese and then contemporary multi-faceted one.

The teacher suggested that 'Taiwan' might always have been one part of the Chinese nation, namely, one community with the mainland, but had gradually developed to be something different in contemporary times, containing much more than Chinese elements alone. Although those political regimes of Taiwan in question are treated in the textbooks, the teachers suggested the 'Taiwanese history' comprising various historical elements or agents, and thus gave readers (students) the sense that Taiwan was historically associated with many places, but did not belong to any one of them.

## **8.2 Reshaping the meaning of 'Taiwanese' culture**

In the content of the 94<sup>th</sup>-year edition of both the junior and senior high school levels, although the textbooks suggested the multi-faceted nature of 'Taiwanese' culture, 'Chinese' culture, sometimes literally expressed as 'Han', was depicted as the crucial or even fundamental component of Taiwan's culture:

In its four-hundred-year history, Taiwan's society was organized by aboriginal people and immigrants of different regime eras, and thus became a multi-faceted society; in particular, culturally inherited from the Chinese.(Nan-yi, 2009: 166).

The discourse of the textbook suggested Taiwan's culture was inherited from China, and portrayed the picture of an imagined Chinese community (Taiwan and mainland China) in its description of its contents. The interview questions thus asked teachers how they presented the idea of the 'Taiwanese' culture, with a particular focus on how they explained the meaning of the Chinese or Taiwanese culture and their relationship

presented in the textbooks.

Teachers adopted the official historical accounts of Chinese culture and its fundamental role in the 'Taiwanese', such as teacher (001) said,

We cannot deny that Han culture was Chinese, and is one crucial and essential part of the Taiwanese. I do not stress that the element of Chinese culture was the only one within Taiwanese culture, but rather, claim the idea of a multi-faceted culture. Han culture, for example, religious beliefs, e.g. Ma-tzu (sea God), that took root in Taiwan, moreover, last until today. These stories are what I use to explain in class why Taiwanese culture cannot be separated from the Chinese.

Although the teacher argued that Chinese culture was a significant part of Taiwanese culture, she also implied that Chinese culture in Taiwan had been localized, as a way of reinforcing a sense of the multi-faceted composition of Taiwanese culture. For instance, she used the case that the religious beliefs of Ma-tzu, who came to Taiwan with Chinese immigrants, as described in the textbooks, took root in Taiwan, as a way of suggesting the cultural connection between China and Taiwan. However, while the teacher suggested Chinese culture as the foundation of Taiwanese culture, and the cultural relation was seen as connecting mainland China and Taiwan; it did not mean those two cultures were the same. Many teachers suggested the idea that Chinese culture was gradually indigenized, as teacher (002) said:

I explain the intimate association, suggesting that Chinese culture was not only one of the most crucial parts of Taiwanese culture but also even its foundation. The Qing dynasty was composed of Chinese immigrants who brought their habits and traditions to Taiwan; thus, since that time, Chinese culture has influenced Taiwan deeply. Nevertheless, they were not the original ones to colonize Taiwan; there have been many changes throughout the history of Taiwan. The Chinese immigrants lived in Taiwan

for generations; hence, their habits and customs have been gradually changed and indigenized. At this time, the so-called local Taiwanese culture cannot be called Chinese anymore.

The textbooks proposed that Chinese (Han) culture came to Taiwan with immigrants and influenced Taiwan's indigenous culture; however, the textbooks did not introduce the localization of Chinese culture in Taiwan. In this teacher's view, 'Chinese' culture was defined in a broad sense refers to material objects and human activities such as language and religion that are connected with the geographical region of mainland China. The teacher, however, suggested that Chinese culture in Taiwan was transformed to be intermixed with the local-oriented culture. Hence, students can get the sense that Chinese culture was no longer identified as mainland China's culture but as Taiwan's. This means Taiwan and mainland China no longer culturally connected as one national entity, and thus the 'imagined community' of Taiwan as 'China' was reshaped to be 'Taiwan' itself.

Preserving the ideological statement of Chinese-based Taiwanese culture, teachers further stressed the idea that Chinese culture has been reproduced to become the culture of contemporary Taiwan and China, such as teacher (003) said:

The Chinese culture was gradually shaped by the early Xia, Shung, and Zhou dynasties and later by the P.R.C. in the mainland and the R.O.C. in Taiwan. Because of different developments in the mainland and in Taiwan during these decades, Chinese culture in the mainland and Taiwan became so different. Han immigrants during the Qing dynasty brought their culture with them; however, over generations, with the Japanese colonisation, a half-century separation from China, and rapid economic and political developments, this culture was rendered completely different from what it used to be originally.

The textbooks presented that the Chinese culture was the culture of both mainland

Chinese and Taiwanese; however, the teacher did not address this cultural sameness between them. The teacher explored the way through which the traditional Chinese culture shared by both the contemporary mainland and Taiwan has been reproduced in each place. By using a comparative approach, the teacher expressed how traditional Chinese culture has evolved differently into local Taiwanese and contemporary Chinese cultures, so an explicit distinction between the two sides appeared. According to this discourse, ‘Chinese culture’ can no longer serve as the tie between Taiwan and the mainland, and the contours of the ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan as ‘Chinese’ represented in the textbooks have been reframed by the teachers.

The teachers used empirical examples from the culture of everyday life to explain how and in which way the Chinese culture was transformed into contemporary Taiwanese culture; for example, teacher (002) said,

I tell them how and why traditional Chinese culture influences our language and thought, such as idioms and Confucian moral principles. We can say that the Taiwanese culture is grounded in the Chinese culture. It does not mean those two concepts are the same; we still need to know the difference between contemporary Taiwan’s and China’s cultures. Taiwanese people can feel the inheritance of Chinese culture, such as morality, ethics, and virtue, which are rarely felt in China’s society today. The traditional Chinese cultures had declined in China.

Although this teacher presented the official idea assuming Chinese culture as being the essential part of Taiwanese culture, her explanation of this topic went beyond that of the content of textbooks in which the connection between mainland China’s culture and Taiwan’s culture was implicitly addressed. She explicitly identified ‘Chinese’ culture as the traditional, and then suggested this traditional Chinese culture is the culture of Taiwan solely, but not in mainland China. Because of this gesture, she

logically distinguished the geographical area of Taiwan and mainland China to be two communities each with its own cultural character.

Traditional' Chinese culture could be explained as being tangibly reproduced into two different types in contemporary China and Taiwan, such as teacher (005) suggested:

All aspects of today's culture and traditions, including language, words, and religion, originated in China and came to Taiwan in the Ming-zheng and Qing dynasty; nothing originated from the local Taiwanese culture. However, our thoughts, cultures, and even the language were so different from the mainland today. They wrote the simplified Chinese characters, however, we still wrote the traditional type. From the manuscript of Chinese words and the pronunciation and expression of the Chinese language to the sense of values, Taiwan and mainland China were so different. I will not say Chinese culture was completely preserved in Taiwan, but Taiwan at least preserved part of it; many of them have not existed in mainland China.

These empirical cases of traditional Chinese culture in mainland China and in Taiwan were not referred into textbooks; however, they were presented by teachers to students. While those traditional features of Chinese culture, such as words, were explained by the teacher as surviving in Taiwan but not in mainland China, the idea that traditional Chinese culture was no longer the culture of mainland China where it originated appeared. So, the discourse of this teacher reproduced the ambiguous relationship between China and Taiwan in the content of the textbooks to be a clear sense regarding 'Taiwan' as an 'imagined traditional Chinese community' in which contemporary China was excluded. By this logic, 'Chinese culture' in the textbooks as the traditional Chinese was used to be an item marking a distinction between Taiwan and contemporary China.

Teachers emphasised the influence of Japanese culture and governance as a significant factor in reshaping a Sino-based culture of Taiwan; such as teacher (011) said,

Many new ideas were brought to Taiwan by the Japanese government, for example, punctuality, dietary habits, language, and so on, that changed the Chinese-based Taiwanese culture. The Japanese culture, I will explain it more, because this deeply affected the Taiwanese in many aspects, such as architecture and food. Since this era, many perspectives in everyday lives, such as the education, environment, and politics, started to develop in Taiwan. [...] I will tell them such as the architecture we can see in Taiwan, e.g. the presidential palace, buildings of the primary and high school and police station, or the diet, such as the rice ball, and shabu-shabu [Japanese hot pot].

Textbooks chronologically introduced the culture of each political era in Taiwan; however, teachers presented this content in an alternative way and thus provided the view in different from the textbooks to understand the content of 'Taiwanese' culture. The cultural elements of Japan were adopted by the teacher to highlight the transformation of the Chinese-based Taiwanese culture to be the multifaceted contemporary Taiwanese culture. This idea transferred the sense that 'Taiwan' has been gradually detaching from the 'imagined Chinese community', comprising the mainland and Taiwan, was portrayed, and thus can be seen as the reproduction of the officially written history in which Chinese culture was the basis of the Taiwanese.

Teachers provided more reasons in addition to the content of the textbooks to stress that mainland China and Taiwan cannot be considered as one cultural community even though both places always had cultural associations. This can be seen in the case of teacher (015) who said,

Because Chinese characters were simplified in the Cultural Revolution in

China and the simplified forms continued to be used, the words used in mainland China today are not those in the ancient Chinese classics. The traditional Chinese culture has been lost because of the Cultural Revolution. Hence, I ask students this question when we talk about the concept ‘Chinese’: Can the culture of the P.R.C. be considered Chinese’?

The event of the Cultural Revolution, which had a striking impact on mainland China’s society, politics, and culture from 1968 to 1978, was mentioned in the textbooks. The case of the Cultural Revolution, however, was introduced as more than just as a part of China’s history; rather, it was adopted by teachers to mark the socio-cultural difference between mainland China and Taiwan. In statements marking the boundary between the contemporary Chinese culture and the Taiwanese, this teacher adopted the historic Cultural Revolution to argue the cultural difference between the traditional Chinese culture and the contemporary. In short, Taiwan can be, but contemporary China cannot be included in the ‘imagined Chinese community’.

In similar, teachers assumed the Chinese culture as the traditional culture which has become a part of the Taiwanese, but long longer existed in mainland China, and suggested the cultural linkage between those two places had been broken. Teacher (009) said,

It is impossible to drain the Chinese element out of the Taiwanese culture. From a long time ago, since the Ming and Qing dynasties, Han culture was the fundamental element of Taiwanese culture. From the perspective of high culture, Chinese poetry, opera, Confucian philosophy, and popular culture, like food and customs, those Chinese cultures are still part of the everyday lives of Taiwan today. The Chinese cultures in Taiwan, I will say, were preserved much better than those in China, which were almost completely destroyed in the Cultural Revolution.

Two independent historical items: one being the Cultural Revolution, and the other



the meaning of Chinese culture given as tradition, were organized to be the theme of this argument which suggested the connection and disconnection between mainland China and Taiwan. This discourse began from suggesting traditional Chinese culture as the root of the culture of 'Taiwan'; however, it denied this traditional Chinese as being shared by both Taiwan and mainland China. The Cultural Revolution which was briefly mentioned as a disaster of contemporary mainland China in the textbooks, was adopted by the teacher and addressed to be the factor destroying the traditional Chinese culture but not that of 'contemporary Chinese'. So, this argument not only marked the distinction between contemporary China and Taiwan, but also between contemporary China and its tradition. While teachers identified Taiwan as the inheritor of traditional Chinese culture, contemporary China was simultaneously weakened its membership from any imagined community based on traditional culture.

In contrast to the previous group of teachers who stated Chinese to be the essence of Taiwanese culture, some teachers explained Taiwan's culture as being formulated and reformed to be Taiwanese with its own character as a result of the political transformation of successive regimes. Teacher (007) said,

The context of history textbooks were still constructed by the history of Han people, who immigrated to Taiwan from mainland China. However, while more and more cultures, such as the Japanese and Western, were blended within it, the Taiwanese culture cannot be understood as being constructed by the Chinese only.

This teacher challenged the content of textbooks that overstressed the element of Han (Chinese) in the composition of Taiwanese culture; instead, they stressed 'Taiwan' as the cultural community by organizing various elements of the 'Chinese' (China's culture). She suggested the view of a multi-structured culture as a feature of Taiwan's

culture, in which ‘Chinese’ culture, that of Han, was embedded as one object like others coming from outside. The teacher has reinvented the content of textbooks by raising the view concerning Taiwan as a cultural community comprising various elements to manifest the identity of the imagined ‘Taiwanese’ community.

To some teachers, the socio-cultural transformation of Taiwan and mainland China was seen as the factor causing cultural divergence: teacher (006) said,

We can say the cultures in Taiwan were from the mainland of China; however, now we cannot understand Taiwanese cultures as the Chinese. China has been organized by lots of cultures, and Taiwan is the same. Moreover, in order to maintain the social order in such a huge state, the P.R.C. government must use the power to unify those cultures and thus manipulate people’s thought and life. In this ethos, the characteristic of the multi-faceted culture was not obvious in the society of the mainland China.

In this case, two points: the historical factors and contemporary developments in each places of mainland China and Taiwan were implied to be the cause the cultural differences between two places. The content of the socio-political environment of mainland China, for example, the limited freedom of speech, was introduced in the textbooks to portray the general understanding of the society of China, but used by the teacher to argue the government’s influence on the cultural formation of mainland China. This argument was furthered to explain logically the Chinese culture in mainland China and Taiwan and its reproduction in each place, and to disconnect the cultural linkage between mainland China and Taiwan.

### **8.3 The geographical Taiwan as the ‘Taiwanese’ homeland**

The presentation of history has strikingly changed in the most current textbooks of the junior and senior high school editions. Since the 89<sup>th</sup>-year edition of the junior level

and 94<sup>th</sup>- of the senior, the histories of the mainland and Taiwan are distinguished into different volumes. Ironically, a large number of Chinese cultural legacies, for example, architecture and language, were still introduced in the content of Taiwan's history as the root or one part of Taiwan's culture:

Because of the social and political changes, Minnan and Haka language, and the aboriginal folk songs have been organized to be the characteristic of the culture of our hometown. (Nan-yi, 2010: 174)

How can these objects be explained in the sense of a 'Taiwanese hometown'? What kind of meaning did the environment filled with those Chinese cultural items of Taiwan evoke that permitted the understanding of it and China as one community? Hence, this section focuses on the discussion of how teachers explain to their students the idea of the physical environment of 'Taiwan' in the content of textbooks.

By assigning homework to students to observe the legacies and heritages near their school, teachers strongly suggested the idea of how their living environment is associated with them – and people in Taiwan. This can be seen from the case of Teacher (015) who said,

My purpose in asking them to do this homework was not to tell them how long the heritage, for example, the Long-shan Temple, has been established or the details about it; rather, I want them to gain the sense of the culture of their homeland. So, I will ask them to pay attention to learning, for example, what god was worshipped in this temple, why, and why in this place. I intended to transfer the sentiment for our homeland Taiwan, to them.

The teacher stressed that the purpose of this work is to instil in students the idea of a Taiwanese community to stir up the explicit sense regarding the concept 'Taiwanese homeland' to students. In this case, the teacher suggested the combination of the physical environment and social settings, such as the environment and culture respectively, as forming Taiwan into a homeland made by, and also for, its people. Various cultural elements, including cultures coming from outside Taiwan, such as from Japan and mainland China, were explained as the cultural objects collected in this physical environment. Through homework, the teacher explained how and why 'Chinese' physical objects (e.g. the temple and architecture) had become part of the life of Taiwan. In this vein, the meaning of 'Chinese' legacies were reinvented and incorporated within the 'Taiwanese' landscape. The label 'Chinese' was matched with the sentiments of local Taiwanese and thus no longer addresses the identification of a 'Chinese' nation. In this way, teachers encouraged students to imagine the physical setting of 'Taiwan' not only as a community, but also as a national environment.

In some cases, teachers started by explaining that Taiwan was a community organised by Chinese immigrants from the time of the Qing dynasty. In this way, teachers provided the perspective for students to understand how and in which way the Chinese people, cultures and heritages were localized and then identify those people and cultures should no longer be assumed as 'Chinese'. The idea of seeing Taiwan as a homeland does not mean denying the association between Taiwan and the mainland and taking a viewpoint in opposite to that of the textbooks. Instead, this should be understood as a way to reproduce the content of textbooks when interpreting a 'Chinese' item with a 'Taiwanese' meaning to reinforce the Taiwanese national identity. Teacher (018) said,

I will introduce them to some cases in addition to those mentioned in the textbooks, such as the Wang-kong temple just next to our school, which has its god - Kai-zhang-sheng-wang, the god of people from Chang-chou, in Fukien Province of mainland China. This is architecture from the Qing-governance era featuring Minnan-style that is still well preserved today and that will give them the sense of the environment and of Taiwanese people's lives in the early era when Chinese immigrants came here. I told them that this place was the town where our ancestors, those Chinese immigrants from the Qing dynasty, came and lived to give them the notion of why the place Taiwan cannot be understood as merely a geographical idea but rather, is our homeland. As time went on, this temple was the place we went to worship at important festivals such as the lunar new year. Surrounding this temple was the market, which was the living centre of local people's everyday lives and still is today.

In the content of textbooks, although historical accounts of Taiwan were chronologically presented, they did not deliver the meaning of the formation of the 'Taiwanese' hometown. In the discourse of this teacher, students can understand that Chinese immigrants built up the social network in the physical environment of Taiwan and lived their lives in this territory, and then understand the notion that Chinese items coming from mainland China gradually became part of the life of Taiwan. Therefore, the connection between Chinese immigrants, Taiwan's local environment, and the current population was thus created to allow people to regard Taiwan as their own living community.

Some teachers did not explain the meaning of the Taiwanese homeland from the historical perspective, but, instead, they provided their own personal experience which reshaped the concept of geographical Taiwan in the textbooks to take on the meaning of 'Taiwanese' homeland. Teacher (009) also explained the identities of older generations and the new were different due to their different life experiences:

My parents still think that mainland China is their birthplace and homeland, but I do not, because that is a place that I just visited for a couple of days— Why should or how can I consider it as my homeland? I was born and live here, why should I consider the mainland is my hometown, even though Taiwan's people and mainlanders speak Chinese. Their writing and pronunciation are so different from ours. It is unreasonable to tell students that mainland China, where they have never been, is their homeland.

While the teacher stressed the idea that the environment of daily life was the hometown, the 'Chinese' items, such as legacies or the Chinese language, were known as the cultural items of Taiwan. The teacher also stressed the idea of a territorial-nation on which the cultural items and people will be localized to be one part of this place no matter where their origins; the language was adopted as a case to address this meaning. In this way, the controversial expressions of textbooks, in which the association between Taiwan and the mainland as one community on the basis of the Chinese culture was denied.

They also criticized the contents of earlier editions which followed the ideology indicating mainland China, but not Taiwan island, was the homeland of people in Taiwan. Take this case for example, where teacher (001) said,

Sometimes, I made a joke to students that they have to memorize the geography of mainland China, such as how and what provinces the Yellow River runs through, which was a place in the imagination that they have never been to. It is meaningless to memorize those things because they are unrelated to our lives in Taiwan. So in this regard, I pay particular attention to introducing them to the sense of homeland by taking them out to visit heritage sites, for example, Le-cheng Temple, quite near to our school, where students and their families have been going to worship since they were little.

Teachers severely criticized notions and 'imaginings' of Taiwan and the mainland as

one Chinese community officially created in previous editions. By describing the geographical features of mainland China and Taiwan, the textbooks often presented ‘Taiwan’ as the physical residence of the perceived environment, but not as the national identification. In this discourse, ‘Taiwan’ was the named place solely belonging to people here, which means not just a geographical meaning, but also the socio-cultural identification marking the identity of people who lived in this area. This area not only means the current living environment, but also the historic place sharing the common memory with people here. The temple was such a case, not meaning solely a religious centre, but also the evidence left by the previous generation and thus able to provoke the imaginations of the intimate relation built up between people and this territory over successive generations.

The teachers tracked backward to discuss the gradual reformation of the ‘Taiwanese community’ in the territory of Taiwan during the four hundred years of its documented history. Many details of how the successive regime eras constructed and reconstructed the everyday environment in Taiwan were explained, through from the time of the Dutch and Spanish colonisation to contemporary Taiwan, known as ‘the Taiwanese homeland’. Teacher (017) said,

Our school is in Tainan, which has rich historical heritages left from the Dutch colonization eras such as the Fort Provintia and An-ing fort built by the Dutch. I have the purpose of helping them understand the content of the textbooks and to have the sense of Taiwan not only as a place but also as our homeland.

Teacher (022) explained the historical legacies of the Japanese era as being one part in the environment of Taiwan:

I recommend many of them, such as Lukang, which is still quite well preserved today, to give them the idea of the formation of a Taiwanese local community. I often suggested my students should see the temples near their homes, which were established in the Qing-governance era, or to visit heritage sites left over from the Japanese era, such as Tai-chung Park in the city centre, which was established in the Japanese era.

The legacies of each regime in Taiwan were introduced in the school textbooks but not with the meaning of national identification. In the teacher's discourse, however, those legacies in the physical environment of Taiwan were used to address the complexity as the unique historical experience as character of Taiwan. So those historical objects brought into Taiwan by foreign powers were interpreted by the teacher and then had their meanings reproduced to serve as a national symbolism on which the Taiwanese identity is grounded. The teacher played a role in the further reinvention of the meaning of those historical objects to advocate the linkage amongst the historical objects, such as the case of the township of Lukang which has existed since the Qing dynasty until today, with the life and people in Taiwan. In doing this, their explanations reinforced the idea addressing 'Taiwan' as the people's homeland, which went beyond the discourse of textbooks.

#### **8.4 The identity of 'Taiwanese' people**

The most current textbooks drew up the archaeological viewpoint to explore the plural-origin ancestral background (South Asia and mainland Asia) of early local Taiwanese people, and suggested the notion that Chinese ancestry was concealed within that of Taiwanese people. This idea differed greatly from the earlier textbooks which stated that the Taiwanese were also Chinese, sharing the same ancestral origin as the offspring of the Huang Emperor and Beijing man:



Archaeologists argued whether the culture of the Taiwan's aboriginal people dates back to the prehistoric era. For example, the tradition of extracting teeth of the Yuan-shan culture can be found in the Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, and Ping-pu aboriginal tribes. [...] The origin of the Taiwan's aboriginal people was argued by scholars. Some believed they originated in Austronesian in the island of south mainland Asia, and some thought they originated in southeast mainland Asia. (Han-lin, 2009:15)

The teachers adopt the textbooks' uncertain attitudes towards the origin of people in Taiwan suggesting that people in Taiwan were all immigrants coming from many different places, with the only difference being whether they came to Taiwan earlier or later. Teacher (023) said, 'about the question of where the earliest Taiwanese people came from? We are unclear of the answer, and the textbooks still suggested the southeast Asian mainland with an uncertain narrative tone'. Sometimes, the official idea was reinforced when the teacher preserved the idea of uncertainty Taiwanese ancestry in the textbooks.

In addition to the introduction the ancestry of the Taiwanese people in the ancient era, the textbooks explored Taiwan's recorded history across four hundred years, in which the Han (Chinese) were expressed as the ancestors of most people in Taiwan since the Qing-governance era:

The earlier immigrants from China identified themselves on the basis of their original ancestral home. They called themselves 'Fukien', 'An-ping', or 'Guang-don' people. However, as they lived in Taiwan for a long time and were affected by the ethnic-hybridization, they regained the identity as Taiwanese; they called themselves 'Fu-cheng' (Tainan), 'A-gang' (Tainan), 'Ding-gang', or 'Yi-lan'. (Han-lin, 2009: 66)

The event of Han immigrants coming from China was introduced as the basis of the kinship and ancestry of Taiwanese people in the textbooks. This content can be

understood from two perspectives: first, 'Chinese' could be understood as one crucial part of the ancestry of the Taiwanese; second, the identity of 'Chinese' existed within Taiwanese ancestry. With this concern, the explanation of the sense of 'Chinese' ancestry served as the interview focus in the discussions regarding the identity of 'Taiwanese' ancestry and people.

Preserving the viewpoint based on agreement on the ancestral relationship between the 'Chinese' and the 'Taiwanese', as teacher (025) said, 'even we used the word 'Taiwanese' to identify ourselves; however, in addition to aboriginal people, most Taiwanese people's ancestors are Chinese'. Teachers explained the Chinese as the ancestry of local Taiwanese people, thereby reinforcing the official idea concerning Taiwan and the mainland as one ethnic group; however, the teacher (025) further explained,

Absolutely, we can explain that Taiwanese people are Chinese. But we should understand that those Chinese immigrants to Taiwan in the Qing dynasty were all people in lower social classes struggling in life and thus came to Taiwan to earn a living. This perspective is perhaps was the explanation of the Taiwanese people's national character today, which was so different from that in mainland China.

Although the teacher adopted the official view on the ancestral relation between mainlanders and Taiwanese, she also suggested the layer of association to clarify the identity of 'Taiwanese' people. First, she referred to 'Chinese' as hailing from the southeast mainland, that is, a small specific part of the broad spatial area of mainland China. In this way, the sense of the entire mainland, as an imagined ethnic community created in the mind of the Taiwanese, was minimized into one particular area of southeast China. Second, she further specified the group of people positioned at a

lower socio-economic class. Those two ideas linked together allowed the logic marking the difference between Chinese immigrants and the majority of mainlanders to be deduced, thereby conjuring the sense of a weak ethnic connection between Taiwanese people and present-day mainlanders.

Similarly, the physical description 'southeast of the mainland' was adopted to specify the identity of those mainlanders coming to Taiwan who were the ancestors of the people in Taiwan before the Chinese arrived in the Ming-Qing dynastic era. Teacher (019) said,

Because of the immigration ban imposed by the Qing government, only single males were allowed to come; moreover, they were all from southeast China. Those Chinese people could only marry Taiwanese aboriginal females. However, 'Chinese people' means the people on the mainland who experienced long-term ethnic hybridization in the areas around the Central Plain. So that is why the facial appearances of Taiwanese people and Chinese people are different.

Numerous individual accounts mentioned in the textbooks: mainlanders living Central Plain, Chinese immigrants coming from southeast China, most Chinese immigrants coming to Taiwan were male, were re-organized by teachers in a different way and reproduced to offer another view concerning the ancestry of people in Taiwan. This teacher specified that 'Chinese' refers to mainlanders in the Central Plain who have been hybridized with people in this area. As such, the teacher's narrative that mainlanders from southeast China who married local Taiwanese women suggested the notion that the identity of Chinese people was different from that of Taiwan's people. Hence, the idea of two ethnic communities, namely, 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese', was reinvented by teachers because of the intrinsic ethnic composition of each.

Under this heading, the identity ‘Chinese’, meaning people coming from mainland China during the Ming and Qing dynasties, was used to identify the ancestors of the Taiwanese people by teachers; however, they suggested the ‘localization’ of Chinese in Taiwan to address the identity of ‘Taiwanese’ people; for example, Teacher (005) said,

We cannot deny the fact that most Taiwanese people’s ancestors came from the mainland two hundred years ago. Once those Chinese lived in Taiwan for a long time, their offspring experienced so many different political eras in Taiwan, they became very different from people in mainland China.

The teacher presented the officially written history suggesting Taiwanese ancestry as Chinese-ethnic based. However, she hereafter suggested that the geographical and cultural separation from the mainland resulted in the gradual widening distinction between Taiwanese and mainlanders. In this case, we can find that the teacher recreated the content of textbooks by explaining the history of those mainlanders coming to Taiwan as the transformation of their identity from ‘Chinese’ to ‘Taiwanese’. Although they did not specify the differences in perspectives between mainlanders and Taiwanese, teachers utilized geographical separation to evoke the imaginings regarding people in two places of the mainland and Taiwan as two communities.

Following a similar ideological statement, the teachers suggested the idea of indigenisation to display how the Chinese immigrants gradually became ‘Taiwanese’ people: such as Teacher (017) said,

Taiwanese people were Chinese immigrants since the Ming and Qing dynasties; however, after living in Taiwan for generations, they started to

call themselves Taiwanese, such as the D-gang (people from Taipei, northern Taiwan) and the A-gang (Tainan, southern Taiwan), to mark their identity, and they abandoned their self-perception identity as mainlanders.

The teacher stressed how Chinese immigrants in the Qing dynasty had been self-determined to gain the sense of 'Taiwanese', instead of preserving the identity of 'Chinese'. This idea suggested the view that the identity of Taiwanese people cannot be defined by their ancestral origin because this had been recreated to be the self-perceived identity adopted in geographical Taiwan. Hence, the meaning of Taiwanese people in textbooks was reshaped into an even more explicit concept.

Moreover, the idea of the localisation of Chinese immigrants was suggested as marking the difference between 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese' people. Teacher (018) said,

Those Chinese people lived in Taiwan for generations. Their property and offspring were all in Taiwan, and thus they attach their life to the place Taiwan and call themselves Taiwanese, not Chinese anymore. Even though Taiwanese people's ancestors came from the mainland, Taiwanese people gradually developed their own customs and culture while living here that were different from that of their ancestors.

The historical explanation of long-term inhabitation of Chinese immigrants in Taiwan which was content in the textbooks was referred to by the teacher to address the meaning of Taiwan as not just a geographical concept, but also the cultural meaning as people's homeland own. The account of Chinese immigrants who lived in Taiwan for a long period was explained by teachers as the cause of the formation of another socio-cultural 'Taiwanese' group. When mentioning that Chinese people's property and offspring was in Taiwan, the teacher transferred the notion that the life of Chinese immigrants had become different from those days and life of mainland China. What they had – their property, and their past – those days with their offspring, were all in

the place Taiwan; therefore, 'Taiwan' which was 'the other place' to them had now become their hometown marking their 'Taiwanese' identity. Thus, the teacher created the sense that Chinese immigrants and their generations became culturally and psychologically distant from their Chinese origin.

Teachers also explained the development of the kinship of each society of the mainland and Taiwan to indicate those two places as two ethnic communities. Teacher (009) said,

Both people in contemporary Taiwan and China have developed their own kinship while experiencing different histories and politics, even though they have always had ancestral relationships. In Taiwan, in addition to the Han people coming from mainland China, aboriginal and new habitants came to be hybridized to be the Taiwanese, who are quite different from those on the mainland.

The teacher adopted the approach to compare the ethnic formation in mainland China and Taiwan to argue that people in mainland China and Taiwan have gradually developed their own senses of kinship, and to highlight the fact that their ancestral diversity has gradually widened as time passed. Through the discussion of the social change and ethnic reformation of each society, the ideology considering Chinese and Taiwanese as one family based on the ancestral linkage became less persuasive. In this case, we can see how the teacher reorganized the content of the textbooks and reproduced the meaning of the contemporary China and Taiwan as two ethnic communities.

Teachers presented the official idea regarding mainlanders as the ancestors of Taiwan's people; however, they also furthered the officially written history by representing the identity of 'Taiwanese' people in a different manner by them as a

group with the plural-ethnic character; teacher (003) said,

Taiwanese people means people in the place Taiwan, including the native, the provincial, and the new inhabitants and Chinese people means mainlanders, even though mainlanders and Taiwan's people had ancestral relations. However, mainlanders came to Taiwan and hybridized with Taiwanese aboriginals. The anthropological research ever reported that more than 90% Taiwanese people were ethnically based on the aboriginal Taiwanese.

The teacher identified the ancestral relationship between Taiwanese and Chinese mentioned in the textbooks to students; however, she additionally suggested a way to understand Chinese and Taiwanese as two communities grounded on each own ethnicity. First, she suggested the ethnic hybridization among peoples in Taiwan to highlight a sense of ethnic uniqueness of Taiwanese. Second, she presented socio-cultural features based on empirical to address the Taiwanese identity. On this empirical basis, she stressed the ethnic characteristics of the Taiwanese to mark the Taiwanese identity, simultaneously stating the distinction between Taiwanese people and mainlanders.

In these cases, teachers' explanations regarding the identity of Taiwanese people reflected the similar logic which suggested the ancestral linkage between Chinese people and the Taiwanese and then distinguished them. In this process of the invention and re-invention of the identity of 'Taiwanese people', the connection between the 'Chinese' and the 'Taiwanese' people grounded on the ancestral relationship in the textbooks was loosened. The meaning of 'Taiwanese' and 'Chinese' was re-created to identify two ethnic communities by teachers.

In addition to the previous idea considering Chinese as the ancestry of Taiwanese

people, some teachers suggested the idea of multi-ethnic ancestry as the character of Taiwanese people and stated that ‘Taiwanese people’ was an ethnic group heterogeneously comprising various ethnic elements, such as Teacher (013) said,

I will not say that Han, the Chinese ancestry, was the basis of Taiwanese ethnicity, not because of trying to dismiss the sense of a Chinese ethnic and ancestral relationship with the Taiwanese but for understanding the idea of the multi-ethnic Taiwanese people.

The concept ‘multi-ethnic’ mentioned in textbooks could enable readers to come up with two different ideas regarding the association between ‘Chinese’ and ‘Taiwanese’. First, the Chinese ancestry could be understood as the cue to provoke the idea concerning the two places Taiwan and China belonging to one cultural community. Second, ‘Chinese’ can be seen as merely one of the elements of the ‘Taiwanese’. According to this case, ‘Chinese’ ancestry was rhetorically applied as one element in the composition of Taiwanese ethnicity while this teacher explained the meaning of the multi-ethnicity and Chinese ancestry, she clearly addressed the relation between those two ideas and also provided a view to understand the intrinsic character of the ‘Taiwanese’ identity.

Teachers also paid particular attention to the explanation of the ethnic composition of the people in Taiwan. In doing this, not only were the ‘Taiwanese’ identity and ancestry stated clearly, but also the difference between the identity of Taiwan’s people and of the mainlanders was marked. This can be seen in the case Teacher (019),

Various peoples, including aboriginal, native, and provincial Taiwanese and foreign immigrants - the so-called new inhabitants - were hybridized as the ethnic components of the Taiwanese. So, Taiwanese people were very different from those in mainland China.



In the teacher's discourse, 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese' people were explicitly distinguished into two ethnic groups. Although the textbooks mentioned the idea that the Han are ancestors of Taiwanese which perpetuating the imaginings of the connection between Taiwanese people and mainlanders, this teacher clarified this official stance. By proposing the idea of 'Taiwanese people' as intrinsically comprising different ethnic elements, they shifted the focal point from a Chinese-based Taiwanese identity to a multi-ethnic one. Perceptions of Taiwanese and mainlanders were reshaped to accommodate the idea of the two as different ethnic groups.

Following up the same logic, teachers suggested the ethnic hybridization in China and Taiwan to stress their fundamental difference. For example, teacher (023) said,

Through the ages, the peoples of the Chinese nation have been hybridized and re-hybridized even up until today. In Taiwan, there were four main groups, that is, the Minnan, the Haka, the provincial, aboriginal Taiwanese, and new inhabitants. These are all Taiwanese people. Chinese and Taiwanese have different ethnic compositions.

In the textbook, the element of 'Chinese' was still implicitly within 'Taiwan' as a linkage to stir up the imaginings regarding Taiwan and the mainland as one cultural community according to the two presented accounts - ethnic hybridization of Chinese people (mainlanders and local Taiwanese people) in successive dynasties and four main ethnic groups (Chinese immigrants in Ming-Qing dynasty, and post-war era, and indigenous people) in Taiwan. However, those contents regarding the meaning of 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese' were reproduced by teachers to be two ideas. One is the Chinese immigrants to Taiwan in the Qing dynasty, who were Taiwanese people's ancestors. The other meaning is the mainlanders in contemporary China, who were explained to be very ethnically different from the Taiwanese, and thus rhetorically

expressed as ‘Chinese nation’. The teacher created a logic to explain how Chinese people moving to Taiwan became a part of the Taiwanese people which portrayed the sense that the Chinese element in Taiwan has been gradually diluted. In the discourse, the creation of the Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity underwent different process and thus produced and reproduced into different identifications.

### **8.5 Is ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ a state?**

The status of ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ was addressed as a state, but ambiguously, in the textbooks of both junior and senior levels. The implicit historical presentations in the textbooks enabled wider space to debate the role of the R.O.C. in Taiwan as if it is a state as in the case below. First, the UN recognises the sovereignty of China as the P.R.C. government in mainland China, but not the R.O.C.. Second, the relationship between Taiwan and China was presented as a cross-strait relation which denoted the particular relation between two sovereignties:

In the early stage of cross-strait business, China’s reliance on Taiwan for capital was higher than Taiwan’s reliance on China as a market. However, with the rapid growth of the economy, China became one of the three largest economies in the world, equal in importance to the EU and US, and thus seriously influenced Taiwan. [...] In the 2000s, China’s policy on economics swayed between open and controlling, and politics and economics were interwoven and mutually influencing. (Han-lin, 2009: 177)

‘Taiwan’ existed as an ambiguous concept without being given an explicit identification as to whether it means a state or not. Under this concern, how do teachers present the paradoxical term ‘Taiwan’, which carries with more than one identification?

In this discussion of the R.O.C. as ‘Taiwanese’ government, some teachers disregarded Taiwan as a state. They used the term ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ as it is in the textbooks to address the national character of Taiwan. Teacher (001) said,

We cannot say that R.O.C. means the same as Taiwan because our constitution still states that the territory of R.O.C. comprises both the mainland and Taiwan. So I would just say that our government is R.O.C. and our state is R.O.C. in Taiwan as it expressed in the textbooks. So ironically, if Taiwan were a state, we would still put a question mark there; however, now the fact is R.O.C. in Taiwan and P.R.C. in China were completely two different places for more than sixty years.

She explained Taiwan as not being a state, because it was based on the ideology of a political tradition that was underpinned by the constitution of the wider R.O.C. state (both the territory of mainland China and Taiwan). This idea regarding Taiwan and the mainland as one political and national entity, which was stated within the R.O.C.’s constitution, was denied. By suggesting R.O.C. in Taiwan and P.R.C. in China as two societies and territorial-states, this teacher distinguished ‘Taiwan’ from the mainland and also pulled ‘Taiwan’ out from the framework of ‘Chinese nation’ to stress the Taiwan as a state.

Some of the teachers not literally expressing ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ as a state; however, they transferred the notion that Taiwan is a state by depicting the socio-cultural and socio-political characters which were crucial elements to embody the statehood. Teacher (004) said,

No matter what the textbooks expressed, I told students that although Taiwan has the form of a state, with its society, culture, and diplomacy, it cannot be considered a state. The R.O.C. has been an exiled government since 1949 when it moved to Taiwan; at the same time, the P.R.C.

established to be the government of the mainland. According to the R.O.C. Constitution, the national territory still comprised both the mainland and Taiwan. I would not say Taiwan is a state to my students, because we cannot change the content of the R.O.C. Constitution because of China's political refusal to declare the independence of Taiwan.

Indicating the orthodoxy of the R.O.C. Constitution, in which the issue of Chinese nationhood was addressed, the teacher suggested that Taiwan's national status was denied. However, the unfeasibility of changing the constitution was explained as being derived from the political threats of the P.R.C. government, instead of from any intrinsic reasons originating in Taiwan's society and politics. In this discourse, 'P.R.C. in China' and 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' have been identified as two political entities in rival status. Although teachers did not explicitly express Taiwan as a state, the idea regarding the mainland and Taiwan as two states each with its own government and territory was suggested.

Some teachers explained the factor causing uncertainty of the R.O.C. government in Taiwan as a state from the perspective of the contemporary politics, i.e. referring to the R.O.C.'s retreat from the UN. Teacher (006) said,

I would ask students what caused the ambiguity of our national status. What is the problem with our recognizing Taiwan as a state? I will not say Taiwan is a state as many states have disagreed with this since 1970, when our government withdrew its place from the UN; of course, this resulted from political factors caused by China's suppression.

The two historical events, that the R.O.C. government moved to Taiwan in 1949 and that it withdrew from the UN in 1970, were placed in different sections in the textbooks but re-organized to be the reason to defend the existence of the state of Taiwan. By linking these two key historical facts together, the teacher stressed Taiwan as having

the status of a state, but also as suffering a crisis in its national status due to the political threats of the P.R.C.. Instead of describing the uncertainty of the nationality of Taiwan, she argued the R.O.C. and the P.R.C. as two states. In doing so, she reshaped the meaning of 'Taiwan' or 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' implicitly expressed in the textbooks into the explicit concept of a state. Discussing the meaning of the 'R.O.C. in Taiwan', teachers criticized the ambiguous expressions in the textbooks from the perspective of the political history of the R.O.C.. Teacher (009) said,

I would ask them who established the R.O.C. state - Sun Yat-sen - and where this state is. Mainland China also admits that Sun Yat-sen is their founding father; however, their state was called P.R.C., not R.O.C. Then, I asked how the R.O.C. is now. They said, "Taiwan". Indeed, I said, 'The R.O.C. is Taiwan, the state founded by Sun Yat-sen'. Although the R.O.C.'s status was doubted by the international community because of the P.R.C.'s political suppression; it already had a state in 1911 and moved to its territory Taiwan in 1949. Although the constitution of the R.O.C. still assumed that its territory comprised both the mainland and Taiwan, the mainland was governed by the P.R.C. So in this sense, I told students, the R.O.C. still existed, but its territory became small; the R.O.C. state is Taiwan now.

This teacher provided the sense that the territory of the R.O.C. state gradually decreased when mainland China disappeared from the picture of 'imagined community', thus leaving only Taiwan. She did not engage in the discussion on whether either Taiwan or the mainland is or was 'China'. However, through creating the logic of attaching 'Taiwan' with the historical background of the R.O.C. government to legitimize the logic that assumed Taiwan's status as a state, she reshaped the implicit identification of Taiwan's status in the textbooks to be the explicit idea of a state with sovereignty over its territory of Taiwan.

Preserving the idea that 'Taiwan' was a state, teachers explained the challenge to Taiwan's national status from the political competition with the P.R.C.'s government. In this way, they reinforced the idea that R.O.C. in Taiwan was a state from the other side. Teacher (015) said,

I said directly to students that Taiwan is a state; we do not have to discuss this question. [...] since the KMT lost the Chinese Civil War to the C.C.P. and the R.O.C. government came to Taiwan in 1949, Taiwan and China have been two states. However, I said to them that because of the political suppression by the P.R.C., Taiwan's legitimacy as a state was not accepted by the international community. This is the factor that we need to know.

The teachers explained that the confusion around Taiwan's national status was not self-inflicted, but was the consequence of the P.R.C.'s political oppression. She particularly referred that since 1949 Taiwan and mainland China have both been governed by their own government to suggest 'Taiwan' and 'China' as two states with each own statehood.

The account that Taiwan is the 'only' territory of the R.O.C. or the R.O.C. is the Taiwanese state's government was not explicitly presented as a national identification in the textbooks. Some teachers, however, explicitly said that Taiwan is a state which was not literally referred to in the content of textbooks; for example, Teacher (018) said, 'I will say that the name of the state is Taiwan and the government is the R.O.C.'; or Teacher (021) said,

I will say to them that the three conditions that define what a state is are people, territory, and sovereignty. So I would say to them, 'If Taiwan has these, why is Taiwan not a state?' This would inform them that Taiwan is a state with its own government, the R.O.C.. This has been a fact not just recently but since 1949 when the R.O.C. government came. As time went

by, the two sides of the Taiwan Strait developed into two completely different societies – the democratic and communist, during the six decades since 1949. Taiwan, this territory is my homeland, which is unrelated to mainland China, the other state.

Teachers presented the idea that each territory, Taiwan and China, has its own government to elucidate that R.O.C. in Taiwan and P.R.C. in China as two independent political communities and two states. They explained that the R.O.C. government moved to Taiwan in 1949 to present the sense how Taiwan came to be a state with its people, territory, and government since 1949. This definition of ‘state’ was a part of the subject ‘people, territory, and government’, but the concept of ‘Taiwan’ had not been addressed in any of those subjects in the textbooks. In this teacher’s discourse, these three concepts had been being integrated by the teachers to embody the being of Taiwan as a state. In doing this, she ideologically attached the geographical concept of Taiwan to the R.O.C. government and Taiwan’s citizens to create the meaning of Taiwan as the political entity. Moreover, the democratic socio-political ethos of Taiwan was mentioned: this transferred the sense of the cooperation between the government and citizens in creating this ethos to mean that ‘Taiwan’ was not only the political entity, but also a community. In this discourse, students can get the idea of why and how China and Taiwan mean two states which cannot be seen in the textbooks.

Some of the teachers discussed the statehood of Taiwan from the perspective that Taiwan as a political community has gradually formed in each of the crucial political eras of Taiwan since 1949. Based on those case mentioned in the textbooks, teachers’ discussions of this topic was based on those cases mentioned in the textbooks, and extended them to explore the process of the formation and reformation of a Taiwanese

state. This can be seen in the case of Teacher (005):

In the Chinese Civil War, the KMT and C.C.P. competed for the sovereignty of the Chinese state, resulting in the split of the Chinese state. If the KMT had not strengthened its own power and imposed social control in the early R.O.C. regime era, the territory Taiwan could also have fallen into the C.C.P.'s hand to be a communist society.

The textbook did present that one Chinese state had been split into two in 1949; however, this teacher not merely repeated this content referring China and Taiwan as two states, but furthered this idea into the sense of 'Taiwanese national community'. While the teacher referred that the R.O.C. government successfully resisted against the communist to protect Taiwan from falling into Chinese communists' hand, she suggested two ideas: one is the national distinction between mainland China and Taiwan, and the other is the fatality of the territorial Taiwan associated with the R.O.C. government. Hence, students can learn that 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' was more than a political unity, and that is was also a community.

Discussing of the early R.O.C. regime era in Taiwan, teachers reinforced the idea that Taiwan and China were political entities based on each own political experiences and which shaped their socio-political characters to embody themselves as two states. Teacher (003) said,

When talking about the history of Taiwan from the 1950s to now, of course those events such as the White Terror era, martial law, the 228 Incident, and so on were important. In the White Terror era, people in Taiwan did not have freedom of speech and thought under martial law. [...] In the White Terror period, people carefully considered what to say and how to say it; otherwise, they would be sentenced to death; thus the KMT did not pay too much attention to establishing Taiwan. I did not judge the KMT government because it is unfair to say this from today's viewpoint;



however, I tell students of the need to impose ideological control in order to avoid the penetration of the Chinese Communist Party. I told them to think about this case from the government's statements at the time: Taiwan was free of the dominance of the Chinese Communist Party.

A significant point was mentioned by this teacher to address Taiwan as a state. This teacher referred to the political change of Taiwan as the process where 'Taiwan' had been a part (province) of China but gradually changed into a political entity. Although 'Taiwan' or 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' has not been rhetorically identified as a state by this teacher, she distinguished Taiwan and mainland China into two communities according to her presentation of Taiwan's political change. In this teacher's discourse, students can know that the R.O.C. government, established in China in 1911, was no longer regarded as 'Chinese' when it moved to Taiwan and thus had the geo-political condition based on Taiwan; rather, its fate became strongly associated with Taiwan since 1949 and prevented Taiwan falling into communist governance. According to this case, what was can notice is that this teacher developed a logical argument to explain how Taiwan was a socio-political community coordinated by its government and people, completely different from the mainland.

Furthermore, teachers explained the sense of 'Taiwan' in the context of the early R.O.C. regime era to 1987 when the Martial Law was lifted. During this era including the white terror era Taiwan was under the authoritarian governance of the KMT government, and this was explained as the initiating circumstance of the political separation between Taiwan and contemporary China into two individual entities with different socio-political features. Teacher (010) said,

In the 1980s, many intellectuals undertaking higher education in foreign countries and bringing the idea of liberty to Taiwan's society accelerated

the progress of political change. In contrast, mainlanders governed the society violently. Their government would pull down people's houses when implementing the work of building public facilities without negotiating with people. But in Taiwan, the public affairs and the environment were participated in and constructed by citizens in Taiwan.

The teacher introduced the idea that Taiwan has experienced political evolution and gradually developed its own socio-political environment engaged by citizens and the government to be two entirely different communities. The textbooks introduced the socio-political development of China and Taiwan by reviewing their societies and politics separately; however, the teacher introduced the contents of the social and political activities of Taiwan and China in a comparative way, through which she emphasised the distinction between the two societies. This teacher stated that mainland China was a communist society where the people were manipulated by the P.R.C. government both physically and psychologically, and Taiwan was the liberal and democratic society.

Teachers stressed the social characteristics of China and Taiwan to highlight the point regarding Taiwan and China as two communities. For example, teacher (015) said,

I do not intend to create an image whereby students think that mainland China is an enemy. I tell them the difference between a communist and a democratic society and why we should therefore appreciate Taiwan's political democracy. Since 1949, these two kinds of politics, the P.R.C. in China and the R.O.C. in Taiwan, have shaped two societies into two different forms wherein people differ not only in terms of their lifestyles but also their values and thoughts.

Numerous accounts of the social features which were not seen in the content of textbooks were mentioned by the teachers in their classroom, such as the above mentioned in which the socio-political situation, the ideologies and life of the people

in mainland China were referred to. In this case, what students could learn was that mainland China and Taiwan were two completely different societies having nothing in common. This idea was going beyond the content of the textbooks, and stressed that ‘Mainland China’ and ‘Taiwan’ were two distinct communities.

Some teachers paid particular attention to explaining the social and political movements as a factor in the promotion of the formation of a Taiwanese political community. Take the Beautiful Formosa Event/Incident explained by teacher (002) for example:

Social and political movements, such as the Beautiful Formosa Incident, revealed the same idea of the evolution of our politics. Many details of the entire process of the Formosa Event were omitted from the textbook contents. [...] Because of the Beautiful Formosa Event, more and more Taiwanese people were inspired to learn the value of democracy. People in Taiwan started to reflect on Taiwan’s politics and society; the trend of democratic state was thus promoted.

The Beautiful Formosa Incident in 1979 when Taiwan’s society was governed under the Martial Law could be understood as a riot because of the time at which it happened. In this discourse, however, it was explained as a socio-political movement participated in by Taiwan’s citizens to mark the democratisation of Taiwan. Hence, as we can see this teacher not only presented the content of the textbooks but also reshaped this officially written history explanation to be the sense of construction of the ‘Taiwanese’ political environment as a community enjoying long-term involvement by its citizens.

Adopting the same perspective of the democratisation, teachers addressed the lifting of Martial Law as the landmark of Taiwan’s democratization for reconstructing Taiwanese political community. Teacher (023) said,

Although Taiwan was not considered a country because of KMT's political purpose of restoring it to mainland China before the 1980s, Taiwan this place experienced political revolution during those decades and developed its own society completely different from that of the mainland, especially since the 1987 when the Martial Law was lifted. The events of the political revolution in the last twenty to thirty years are quite related to Taiwan's nation-building.

In the textbooks, readers can gain the idea that the political changes as the evolution of Taiwan drove the formulation and reformation of democratic society of post-war Taiwan. This content indeed delivered the idea of progressivism which was also elucidated by some teachers to address the meaning of 'Taiwanese political community' and to mark the difference between China's society and the Taiwan. In this case, moreover, this teacher recreated the national identity of Taiwan from the perspective of political history. Through explaining the transformation of the role of Taiwan from being a part of 'China', namely an outpost for reclaiming the lost territory of the mainland, to a political entity constructed and reconstructed over many years, she suggested a view to understand this as the process of the nation-building of Taiwan promoted by the R.O.C. government and Taiwan's people. Explicitly, the teacher articulated the identification of 'Taiwan' as a state.

'Taiwan' as a political community, was further addressed as the national identification in the political events that followed the late 1980s. Speaking of the direct presidential election in 2000 for example; teacher (022) said,

I often suggested the macro vision in addressing how and why Taiwan gradually became a democratic political community after 1949 and why people have had the right to participate in politics and even elect their president from 2000 to today. We Taiwanese people had the right to elect our own president, to choose who we wanted. Taiwan at the time became

a state. [...]I hope they can know that it was a difficult road for Taiwan to be as it is today, from a province governed by authoritarian government to a civil society created by us.

The term ‘Taiwan’ means the ‘Taiwanese political entity’ which was not only a community formed by both the participation of the government and citizens, but also a state institutionally constructed. This discourse explored the political development by adopting the martial law era as the first event and the direct presidential election as the most current case to project the sense of the creation and recreation of the Taiwanese state. The history of post-war Taiwan was re-created to be the story of Taiwan’s nation-building that Taiwan was no longer a province that was merely a part of the Chinese nation; instead, it was a community organized by people going through a difficult phase, together, since 1949. In this discourse, three concepts - the people, the government, and the territorial Taiwan, were integrated to address the meaning of the Taiwanese community and Taiwan’s nationality.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

The implicit meaning of ‘Taiwanese’ nationality as presented in the textbooks was reshaped to be a clear national identification by teachers. Empirically investigating teachers’ discourse from two key categories cultural community and political entity which were the two crucial features to manifest the ‘imagined community’, this chapter outlined the research result into two perspectives: the Chinese-based position and the Taiwanese-centred one. These two statements, however, lead to the same conclusion concerning Taiwan as a national community, which reflected teachers’ discourses have gone beyond the officially written history and reinforced Taiwan as a nation-state.

In the most recent history textbooks, the concept 'Han culture' meaning 'Chinese' culture was reshaped to be the identification of the traditional Chinese culture by teachers. According to their discourse, the 'traditional Chinese culture' served two roles in the construction of 'Taiwanese culture'. One is that traditional Chinese culture was the basis of Taiwan's culture, and the other is the element of many cultures in Taiwan. However, the former idea was stated to explain the way in which the Chinese culture was already being transformed into the Taiwanese culture featured with the multi-faceted character, while the latter was used to suggest that the traditional Chinese culture was delegated to be one element of the many cultures organizing the Taiwanese. Both of those two perspectives suggested a view marking the distinction between contemporary Taiwan and China and addressed the cultural identity of Taiwan.

Chinese-based and Taiwan-based viewpoints were two statements positioned by teachers to explain the ancestry of people in Taiwan. Tracing Taiwanese ancestry from the beginning of the uncertainty of the ancestral origins through the Qing dynasty to the contemporary era, the linkage between the Chinese and Taiwanese people was explained by teachers as having a decreasing relationship in the gradual change of the structure of the ethnicity in Taiwan. In this regard, the Chinese (Han) people in Taiwan, particularly after being hybridized with other ethnic groups after the Qing governance era, cannot be understood as 'Chinese' anymore, but rather, were 'Taiwanese'. Secondly, 'Chinese' ancestry and people was expressed as one element with equal importance to that of others of Taiwan in the construction of the 'Taiwanese' ethnicity. In this respect, 'Chinese' was seen as being encompassed within the subjectivity of the 'Taiwanese' people. Both the Chinese-based and

Taiwanese-centred historical interpretations led to the statement that contemporary ‘Chinese’ (mainlander) and ‘Taiwanese’ were two different ethnic groups.

In the discussion of the statehood of Taiwan, the vague reference expressed as ‘R.O.C. in Taiwan’ in the textbooks, was recreated into an explicit idea as a state by teachers. From two different ideological statements, teachers suggested the same idea that the R.O.C. in Taiwan is a state. Expressing Taiwan and mainland China as the domain of the R.O.C. and P.R.C. government since 1949, some teachers marked the national boundary between ‘Taiwanese’ state (R.O.C. in Taiwan) and ‘Chinese’ state (P.R.C. in China) which had each own statehood embodied by socio-political and institutional features. By suggesting the angle to explain the way in which the R.O.C. government and citizens engaged in Taiwan’s socio-political environment, other teachers address the meaning of ‘Taiwanese’ as not only the political entity, but also a community. In those cases of political activities, for example, the implementation of Martial Law, the social movements and direct presidential election, their discourses revealed similar ideology concerning the statehood of Taiwan: that it was politically, socially and also institutionally created and recreated and thus gradually separated from that of mainland China.

In the discussion of Taiwan’s nationhood and statehood, the Chinese-based and Taiwanese-centred ideological views were two main attitudes adopted by teachers; however, they led to the same idea regarding the meaning of ‘China’ and ‘Taiwan’ as two nation-states. This consensus, reached by both the Chinese-based and Taiwanese-centred views, was produced under the process of drawing the distinction between mainland China and Taiwan and which was the way of how the sense of an ‘imagined

Taiwanese community' has been reproduced. The study of interview with teachers provided the view that the bottom-up driving forces have had the same aim but a more explicit attitude of declaring the 'national' character of Taiwan, thus also reinforcing the Taiwanese nationalism based on the textbooks.



## Chapter Nine

### **Conclusion: the dynamics of ‘imagined communities’, ‘invented tradition’ and ‘banal nationalism’ recreating Taiwanese nation**

Through both institutional and ‘banal’ socialization, states discipline their citizens into becoming individuals with ‘natural’ nationalist character (Billig, 1995; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). The nationalism usually applied by the state, however, is neither politically, nor historically immutable. The reproduction of individuals’ activities in daily life goes beyond the politically, and culturally fixed boundaries intended to be known by the state. The territorial margin delineated by the state as the contour of the nation thus becomes a product which is socially reproduced. This phenomenon is initiated by the state in making the nation, and further by the society to reformulate the nation-state. This is the process that the state and society tie together as the structure of society-state, namely, a form of contemporary nation-state. The social phenomenon is that increasing numbers of the population are identifying themselves as Taiwanese and decreasingly as Chinese: this might not directly tell us about how the state, or the society produce the contemporary nation-state. How can we best to explain this is theoretically informed and empirical specific case to explore the way in which the engagement of both the top-down and bottom-up power?

This social phenomenon regarding the self-identification of Taiwan’s population is consistent with the change in government (i.e. the history textbooks) shaping its role and ‘imagined community’ of Taiwan. This progress occurs not just under one party’s (KMT) rule, but continues after the transition to democracy when Taiwan was emancipated from Martial Law in 1987. According to the content of history textbooks,

Taiwan's identity and character from 'Chinese' to 'Taiwanese' can be perceived based on the officially presented history as having three stages: the 1950s to 1980s, the late 1980s to late 1990s, and the 2000s to 2010s. In the junior and senior editions of history textbooks of the period (1950s-1980s), 'Taiwan' is initially treated as a part of China with its accounts embedded within the history of China, which was played out mostly on the Chinese mainland. 'Chinese' denotes not only the state, but also the nation, comprising both the territory of Taiwan and the mainland. Over time, however, in successive editions of the textbooks, one great imagined 'Chinese' community had changed. 'China' and 'Taiwan' become separated into two national subjectivities. In the latest textbooks of both junior and senior level. 'Taiwan' is perceived as not merely a geographical identification, but also denotes an imagined national community with its geo-cultural and geo-political based accounts.

The study of nationalism has had a keen interest in generalizing the key theories by the investigation of the empirical case. With this concern, this study interconnected three of the crucial theoretical ideas, namely, imagined communities, banal nationalism, and invented tradition, in this field using the case of Taiwanese nationalism. These three theories connected well to explain the social phenomenon of increasing Taiwanese identity and the decreasing Chinese identity in contemporary Taiwan. The presentation of national categories in the history textbooks over the period from 1949 to 2011 has dramatically changed from the 'Chinese' to 'Taiwanese'. What distinguishes 'Chinese' from 'Taiwanese' applied not just in the rhetorical expression of an individual event, but in the context of history the history of Taiwan which was re-organized by the local-oriented accounts, instead of that of mainland China. The empirical evidence of the content of textbooks over successive editions

reveals the consistency with the argument that ‘tradition’ is invented and reinvented to legitimize current social and political arrangements, with the process of encouraging the change of psychological status in the nature of the ‘imagined community’ and the use of a ‘banal’ conception of the nation. Interviews with teachers is a way to explain how the nation-state is reproduced by the society. Teachers who interpret the content of textbooks tend to situate them within a banal but strong Taiwanese frame of reference, regardless of their ethnicity or age group.

The ideological transition in the content of textbooks reveals the official nationalism with articular clarity, as it revealed explicitly, and on which rich historical resources teachers recreated the national impression, as the identity of ‘Taiwanese’ nation. The case study of the 228 Incident (chapter 5) argued the history of the 28<sup>th</sup> February Incident has been created and recreated as common memory of ‘Chinese’ to ‘Taiwanese’. This incident happened in 1947, but, existed as a taboo subject which had never been mentioned in the any history textbooks before the late 1980s. In the late 1980s, this event was introduced in the textbooks for the first time as a disaster brought by WWII and conflict between the Chinese people (people in Taiwan) and its government when the officer caught the tobacco traffickers. In the content, this case was known as a historically resulted catastrophe on China’s territory – Taiwan Island. Until the 1990s and the early 2000s, the 228 Incident was still presented as an incident in Taiwan, the territory of China; however, rewritten to be a conflict between people with different cultural and political experiences (Chinese-based mainlanders and Japanese-based local Taiwanese). In the newest textbooks (mid-2000s to 2011), the 228 Incident was presented as a socio-cultural and socio-political conflict between two ethnic groups of Taiwanese people (the local Taiwanese people and the provincials)

and local Taiwanese people and its government. Contextually, deciding which section should be remembered while others are forgotten, the official discourse presented the 228 Incident as a common tragedy of ‘Chinese’ caused by unpreventable historical factors of the post-war era to that of ‘Taiwanese’ derived from domestic crisis. In the textbooks over editions, the identity of participants in this event, including the government, local Taiwanese people and Chinese immigrants, were all reshaped from ‘Chinese’ to ‘Taiwanese’. Rhetorically, as well as contextually, the label of Chinese identity of ‘Taiwan’ become detached.

Teachers supplemented the vague presentations in textbooks by providing alternative explanations for the events and topics and by referencing numerous accounts excluded from the textbooks; thus they reshaped the 228 Incident into an explicit ‘Taiwanese’ memory. Regarding the plot of the 228 Incident, two crucial points in addition to the content of the textbooks were stressed by teachers. They are the ‘Taiwanese’ national identity literally applied to the Chinese immigrants and R.O.C. government. By mentioning the struggle of the Chinese immigrants in the ‘Taiwanese’ society, the challenges to the R.O.C. government in governing ‘Taiwanese’ society, and the conflict between local Taiwanese and Chinese immigrants resulting from the socio-political change, many teachers suggested an alternative angle from which to reflect the history. Deriving from different historical critiques, they tried to encourage pupils to regard the 228 Incident as a common tragedy for all people in Taiwan. The 228 Incident was reinforced as the collective memory of all ‘Taiwanese’ people, as a psychological tie symbolizing the common suffering and as a case marking the initiation of political democratization. In coherent with the historical statement of the textbooks driven by the top-down power, teachers who could be seen as the

representatives of their society reshaped the 228 Incident to be a 'Taiwanese' common memory.

On the basis of the content of textbooks (1950s to 2011), chapter 6 and 7 explored how the 'imagined community' has been gradually 'invented' and 'reinvented' from 'Chinese' to 'Taiwanese'. In both of the earliest textbooks at senior and junior level (1950s-1980s), the 'Chinese' history was portrayed as the national history for people in Taiwan. The general content of textbooks over different editions was similar: the mainland and Taiwan were connected and politically ruled by the R.O.C.- the only genuine Chinese government. Minor changes were made in the accounts of Taiwan (i.e. Qing-settlement, Japanese occupation, and the subsequent developments in contemporary Taiwan) over the editions; simultaneously, decreasing accounts about contemporary mainland China were provided. Much valuable effort goes into exploring the changes of this continual, and increasingly 'Taiwanese' explanation, presented in the categories of 'people', 'ancestry', 'custom', 'government', and 'territory'. Accordingly, the image of the mainland grew increasingly hazy to the people of Taiwan.

In the 74<sup>th</sup>-year edition (1989-1996) of the junior level and the 72<sup>nd</sup>-year (1985-1999) of the senior, the ideology of 'one great Chinese nation' remained, the P.R.C. was introduced as the government of the mainland. The idea of 'one nation, two states' was raised. The contour of the imagined Chinese community was 'silently' shaped from being one unity to be being composed of two political entities: the 'R.O.C. in Taiwan' and the 'P.R.C. in China'. In the content of textbooks, the two territories across Taiwan Strait - the mainland and Taiwan - were identified as two states, although they were

still described as one nation based on their common cultural, historical, and ancestral origins. At the time, the Taiwan-centred history - *Knowing Taiwan (History)* advanced the idea of a local 'Taiwanese' cultural community grounded on its four-hundred-year recorded history. In the content of *Knowing Taiwan*, however, the ideology of 'one Chinese nation' based on the same culture was proposed in the explicitly addressed rebuilding of Chinese nation as the common pursuit of the two Chinese states.

In the editions published after the mid-2000s, the accounts of mainland China comprising those of the prehistoric era via successive dynasties to the contemporary R.O.C. regime (1911-1949) and the P.R.C. (1949-), were edited into the content of Chinese history separated from the Taiwanese. This idea assuming 'Taiwan' and 'mainland China' as two states was not the sole argument to distinguish 'Taiwan' from 'China'; instead, there was also the change of the idea of the cultural tie between them. Instead of just going along with the received idea of 'one China, two states', a high degree of 'Taiwanese-ness' was achieved while the 'one great Chinese nation' underwent a fundamental transformation. Preserving this ideological stance of the edition published in the mid-2000s, the concept 'Taiwan' was embodied from the category of cultural activity, people of different ethnic backgrounds, their past and present, and a political community engaged by both the participation of the government and civil society to be the Taiwanese homeland. This means the national history of Taiwan has been reinvented, turning from 'Chinese' in outlook to 'Taiwanese'. In the latest textbooks of both the junior and senior levels, the Taiwanese people's ancestors were people originating in South Asia, rather than the 'Beijing man' of the prehistoric era in He-bei province of mainland China which had been mentioned in earlier editions (in 1950s to late 1980s). Taiwanese people were a plural-ethnic

group comprising Minann, Haka, aboriginal people, and immigrants; rather than, the ethnic groups in the mainland, such as Mongolia and Tibet. Taiwanese culture, was no longer presented as one part of Chinese culture, rather, as a multi-faceted culture comprising various foreign elements inherited from successive regimes in Taiwan's past. In this manner, the official discourse reformulated the sense of a 'Taiwanese' imagined community in a 'Taiwanese' history based on its recorded four-hundred-year accounts in the territory of Taiwan.

On the one hand, the textbooks were the items used in the everyday life, similarly to the 'census, maps, and museum' argued by Anderson, 'flagging' by Billig, or 'Scottish kilt' by Hobsbawm and Ranger; they were also the embodiment of the official power on the other hand. According to the investigation of history textbooks, the official power frames the 'Taiwanese' national environment periodically by fixing the cultural and political boundaries. In the textbooks published before the late 1980s, one 'imagined Chinese community' (Taiwan Island and mainland China) based on the same cultural origin and ruled by the same government of R.O.C. was shaped, and then changed into the structure of nation but organized by two political entities. Subsequent to this, 'one Chinese nation, two China states' divided into two imagined communities as 'Chinese' and 'Taiwanese' nation-states in the mid-2000s. In this exploration, Taiwan's history underwent the processes of invention and reinvention; as such, a blueprint of 'Taiwanese' nationalism was being created.

The R.O.C. government took extensive measures in deliberately creating the Taiwanese nation by inventing and reinventing the history of Taiwan. The repetition of the notion of Taiwanese identity in the latest textbooks served the function of

constructing a stereotype, as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983: 1) explained, as constructing a psychological setting to imply the past on which national identity was based. The empirical specific case of the history textbooks is also theoretically relevant to Anderson's (1983, 2006) concept of 'print capitalism', since, through the reading of 'national' history, people unfamiliar with each other can gain a sense of common past. In the field of education, the historical understanding they gained unified pupils' knowledge even more to be a belief in the ideological 'habitus' regarding themselves with the common-ity (Bourdieu, 1993). Here, we might encounter a challenge, as positioned by historians, for example, Stefan Berger (1997) and Georg G. Iggers (1983), that is how to reach consensual agreement amongst heterogeneous ideas to arrive at a standardized understanding of what is the 'national' history. This case of Taiwan triggers a perspective that reflects the theoretical concern of nationalism. Through changing the syntax in the history textbooks over editions, the official discourse recreated the 'banal' signs in the environment of daily life from 'Chinese' to 'Taiwanese'. This case responded to the challenge of writing the national history encountered by historians. This is like the case of 'flagging' as 'banal nationalism' set forth by Billig (1995), textbooks constituted the application of official ideology to people all over Taiwan. In Taiwan's case, however, an interesting observation that can be made is that the same flag that carried the symbolism of Chinese nationhood was reproduced to be Taiwanese. Theoretically in parallel with the empirical data of interviews with teachers and the textbooks resources, this study is a unique case-study by which to argue nation-building as social, political, and also historical engagement. This suggested a new perspective to fulfil the implication of social constructionism concerning the corporation of the state and society as the key factor in creating the



nation.

Perhaps, we might ask how the official nationalism, namely the ‘invented history’ and ‘banal nationalism’ in this case, is able to unify contradictive political ideologies, and heterogeneous cultural elements and memories in Taiwan’s society? To be more specific, in Taiwan’s latest textbooks, the signifier ‘Chinese’, no matter in the cultural or political category, exists implicitly as a component of the ‘Taiwanese’, how is a national history belonging solely to ‘Taiwan’ rendered possible? How can we know the content of history – how is the text understood by readers ideologically, socially, and politically positioned in different places?

The answer to the above question comes from the interviews with teachers discussed in Chapter 8. Regardless of their ethnic background and age, teachers used the textbooks in a ‘nationalist’ way simply by virtue of addressing their pupils as common members of a ‘Taiwanese’ national community. The teachers had different references to address the historical accounts, such as the cause, effect, meaning which might not introduced in the textbooks, however, the interesting phenomenon was that their different statements of the national categories were united in the argument upholding the idea of a ‘Taiwanese’ community. In the category of Taiwan’s culture, namely, Taiwan as a cultural community, two stances were revealed: 1) ‘Chinese-oriented’: Chinese was the cultural foundation for developing contemporary Taiwanese identity, and 2) ‘Taiwan-centred’: considering Taiwan as the spatiotemporal context, in which various elements were comprised as the organization of contemporary Taiwanese culture. Explaining ‘Taiwan’ as a national sense, two ideas can be concluded. One is considering Taiwan as having been being one part of China, but gradually evolved into

being a Taiwanese community; the other is assuming Taiwan as being an independent political entity on the basis of its institutional structure and political history.

As shown in chapter 8, two very different ideologies of ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ were posited. Some teachers pointed out the historical tie between Taiwan and mainland China; some stressed the constitution of ‘Taiwan’ as the ‘Taiwanese’ nation, in which ‘Chinese’ was one crucial element. In either one of the two historical views, one must bear in mind that ‘Chinese’ signified identification with traditional China, rather than the contemporary mainland China and the P.R.C. government. The relation between ‘mainland China’ and ‘Taiwan’ is like that between two brothers who each owned half of the thousand-year old jade left by the grandfather, a Chinese man – symbolizing the tradition of Chinese. The sign proving the elemental connection between the brothers no longer existed. This Chinese jade in Taiwan was understood as the cultural root or crucial element of ‘Taiwanese’ identity, greatly influencing the lives of the Taiwanese in areas such as language, beliefs, folk culture, and architecture. This jade not only signified the Chinese tradition as one part of ‘Taiwanese’ identity; simultaneously, it remarked the distinction between contemporary China and Taiwan. Such as teacher (019) said, ‘I told my students that the Qing Dynasty was composed of Chinese immigrants who brought their habits and traditions to Taiwan; thus, since that time, the Chinese culture brought by those people has influenced Taiwan. So, we can say Taiwan’s culture was grounded on the Chinese and our ancestors were Chinese. However, the Chinese culture means the tradition, which had been destroyed in Cultural Revolution’.

The teachers’ explanations have filled in the ideological gap in the textbook

presentation of the sense of 'Taiwan' and 'China' as two nation-states. It is here that the history teachers have furnished us with an explicit idea regarding the authentic meaning of 'Taiwan', 'reinvented' beyond the content of textbooks. The historical knowledge passed on to the students was more than that offered by the textbooks; the sense of 'Taiwanese' community was reshaped to be an explicit sense with the meaning of a nation by the teachers.

This research suggested the perspective to explain the two interconnected steps – the state produced the nation and the society reproduced the nation-state - by conducting the unusual case-study of Taiwan. Much of the concern focuses on the presentation of 'Taiwan' and 'China' based on the national categories in the content of textbooks. Taiwanese national identity, which was manifested by the presentation of history, increased gradually but was applied in a banal way. The 'national' tie between Taiwan and mainland China has been being loosened because of the cultural and political relationship was presented in a different way over successive editions. In this process, there was a gradually falling proportion of the accounts of contemporary mainland China, while the accounts of contemporary Taiwan increased: 'Taiwanese' culture and government, instead of 'Chinese', had been being assumed as being the national features of Taiwan, and the official discourse has invented and reinvented the imagined community of Taiwan by using the features of banal nationalism.

The contemporary Taiwanese nation has its own identity under historical transition according to textbook analysis, and furthermore, this has also been reshaped by teachers through their extensive discussions. In a similar manner, the teachers were an even more adamant nationalists, who reinforced Taiwanese nationalism as a concept

that profoundly distinguished Taiwan from mainland China. The result of the interview with teachers served as the empirical evidence in accordance with the theoretical discussion in arguing the creation of the Taiwanese nation-state. In this study, the theoretical concepts of 'imagined community', 'banal nationalism', and 'the invention of tradition' bind together and mutually reinforce each other to become an appropriate reflection of the study of Taiwanese nationalism. The resources of textbooks and teachers' presentations were layered regarding the national category, which could be seen as the reconciliation of the top-down power from government level with bottom-up from societal level, so that the ethnographic accounts were reproduced into historical accounts addressing the identity of 'imagined Taiwanese national community'.

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RESEARCH AND RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

## Self-Audit Checklist for Level 1 Ethical Review

*The audit is to be conducted by the **Principal Investigator**, except in the following cases:*

- **Postdoctoral research fellowships** – the applicant in collaboration with the proposed mentor.
- **Postgraduate research (PhD and Masters by Research)** – the student together with the supervisor. *Note: All research postgraduates should conduct ethical self-audit of their proposed research as part of the proposal process. The audit should be integrated with the student’s Review Board.*
- **Taught Masters dissertation work and Undergraduate dissertation/project work** – in many cases this would not require ethical audit, but if it does (for example, if it involves original fieldwork), the student conducts the audit together with the dissertation/project supervisor, who keeps it on file.

Potential risks to participants and researchers

- 1 Is it likely that the research will induce any psychological stress or discomfort?  
NO
- 2 Does the research require any physically invasive or potentially physically harmful procedures? NO
- 3 Does the research involve sensitive topics, such as participants’ sexual behaviour or illegal activities, their abuse or exploitation, or their mental health? NO
- 4 Is it likely that this research will lead to the disclosure of information about child abuse or neglect, or other information that would require the researchers to breach confidentiality conditions agreed with participants? NO
- 5 Is it likely that participation in this research could adversely affect participants?  
NO
- 6 Is it likely that the research findings could be used in a way that would

adversely affect participants or particular groups of people? NO

7 Will the true purpose of the research be concealed from the participants?  
NO

8 Is the research likely to involve any psychological or physical risks to the researcher, and/or research assistants, including those recruited locally  
NO

### **Participants**

9 Are any of the participants likely to:

be under 18 years of age? NO

be physically or mentally ill? NO

have a disability? NO

be members of a vulnerable or stigmatized minority? NO

be in a dependent relationship with the researchers? NO

have difficulty in reading and/or comprehending any printed  
material distributed as part of the research process? NO

be vulnerable in other ways? NO

10 Will it be difficult to ascertain whether participants are vulnerable in any of the ways listed above (e.g. where participants are recruited via the internet)? NO

11 Will participants receive any financial or other material benefits because of participation, beyond standard practice for research in your field?  
NO

**Before completing the next sections, please refer to the University Data Protection Policy to**

**ensure that the relevant conditions relating to the processing of personal data under Schedule 2 and 3 are satisfied. Details are Available at:**

[www.recordsmanagement.ed.ac.uk](http://www.recordsmanagement.ed.ac.uk)

### **Confidentiality and handling of data**

- 12 Will the research require the collection of personal information about individuals (including via other organisations such as schools or employers) without their direct consent? NO
- 13 Will individual responses be attributed or will participants be identifiable, without the direct consent of participants? NO
- 14 Will data files/audio/video tapes, etc. be retained after the completion of the study (or beyond a reasonable time period for publication of the results of the study)? NO
- 15 Will the data be made available for secondary use, without obtaining the consent of participants? NO

### **Informed consent**

- 16 Will it be difficult to obtain direct consent from participants? NO

### **Conflict of interest**

The University has a 'Policy on the Conflict of Interest', which states that a conflict of interest would arise in cases where an employee of the University might be "compromising research objectivity or independence in return for financial or non-financial benefit for him/herself or for a relative or friend." See: [http://www.docs.csg.ed.ac.uk/HumanResources/Policy/Conflict\\_of\\_Interest.pdf](http://www.docs.csg.ed.ac.uk/HumanResources/Policy/Conflict_of_Interest.pdf)

Conflict of interest may also include cases where the source of funding raises ethical issues, either because of concerns about the moral standing or activities of the funder, or concerns about the funder's motivation for commissioning the research and the uses to which the research might be put.

The University policy also states that the responsibility for avoiding a conflict of interest, in the first instance, lies with the individual, but that potential conflicts of interest should always be disclosed, normally to the line manager or Head of Department. Failure to disclose a conflict of interest or to cease involvement until the conflict has been resolved may result in disciplinary action and in serious cases could result in dismissal.

- 17 Does your research involve a conflict of interest as outlined above? NO

## Overall assessment

If all the answers are NO, the self audit has been conducted and confirms the ABSENCE OF REASONABLY FORESEEABLE ETHICAL RISKS. The following text should be emailed to the relevant person, as set out below:

“I confirm that I have carried out the School Ethics self-audit in relation to [my / name of researcher] proposed research project [name of project and funding body] and that no reasonably foreseeable ethical risks have been identified.”

- Research grants– the Principal Investigator should send this email to the SSPS ResearchOffice (ssps.research@ed.ac.uk) where it will be kept on file with the application.
- Postdoctoral research fellowships – the Mentor should email the SSPS Research Office(ssps.research@ed.ac.uk) where it will be kept on file with the application.
- Postgraduate research (PhD and Masters by Research) – there is no need to send the Level 1 email. The ethical statement should be included in the student’s Review Board report.
- Taught Masters dissertation work and Undergraduate dissertation/project work – there is no need to send the level 1 email. The dissertation supervisor should retain the ethical statement with the student’s dissertation/project papers. If one or more answers are YES, risks have been identified and level 2 audit is required. See the School Research Ethics Policy and Procedures webpage

[http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/admin/info\\_research/ethics](http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/admin/info_research/ethics) for full details.

## Appendix 2: Informed Consent for Interviewees

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am very happy to invite you as the interviewee to this interview for collecting the data for Ph. D dissertation about Taiwan's national identity and nation-building.

This study tries to understand how teachers explain the content of history textbooks. The junior and senior high school history teachers are participants in this research. This interview will last approximately one to two hours and voice-recorded for the research need. This interview will obey the ethical rules and confidentiality for respecting individual values and privacy. This study aims at exploring contemporary the formation and reformation of Taiwanese community. By discussing the presentation of content of the history textbooks, this study seeks to understand the way in which the official discourse create the meaning of 'Taiwan'. For example, in the content of textbooks, Taiwan is assumed as a subordinate province of China or an independent nation-state? The researcher will ask a series of questions in the interviews with teachers to understand how they present the content of textbooks. Your participant will be great helpful to this research.

If you would be able to participate, please sign the form and return it to the researcher.

I understand the aims and procedures of this research.

I know my right to answer or not to questions.

My identity will not be shared with anybody. I agree the interview contents for the research use.

親愛的先生/女士您好：

非常高興邀請您當本研究的受訪者。此次訪談用於博士論文資料，主題為台灣國家認同與國家建立，基於了解教師們對歷史教科書內容的解釋，國中與高中老師為本研究訪談對象。本研究遵守研究倫理規則，一律匿名以保障受訪者隱私；訪談大約進行一至二小時，訪談內容將以錄音存檔方式以供研究分析。您的合作非常助益於本研究論文。本研究主要著力於探討當代台灣文化的形成以論證台灣國家認同與國家建立過程。從文化變遷的角度而言，例如：台灣已從屬於中國大陸的一省，逐漸建構起獨立的國家主體。本研究將訪談中學歷史老師，以論證政治與社會兩股交錯的力量是否已經成功建立起台灣民族國家

主體。

非常謝謝您的參與

明俐 敬上

如果您願意參與訪談，請在本表上簽名並交回給訪談者。

( )我了解本研究的宗旨與過程。

( )訪談過程中，我有發言權與自由。

( )我的個人身分受保密；我同意訪談內容本研究使用。

Sig\_\_\_\_\_ Date\_\_\_\_\_

簽名

日期

Ming-li Yao/ 姚明俐

Email: s0930143@sms.ed.ac.uk

University of Edinburgh, School of Social and Political Sciences

## Appendix 3

### Interview schedule

#### i. The ancestry

What is that mean when the textbook say aboriginal people of Taiwan in the pre-historic age? Where do they come from?

The textbooks said that they come from the south mainland Asia; so can students understand the aboriginal people as the mainlander?

#### ii. The culture

What does the concept multi-faceted Taiwanese culture mentioned in the textbooks?

Where do those culture come from?

The textbooks mentioned a lot of the culture of Han. Why Han culture is, or still, important to Taiwan's people? Please give some examples.

What is the concept 'Han' mean?

The textbooks mentioned Han people is Taiwan people's ancestor. Does it mean Taiwanese people share the same ancestry with the mainlander?

What it the concept 'plural-ethnic Taiwanese people' mean in the textbooks?

#### iii. The history

The 'Han' regime – the Ming-zheng and Qing-governance rule Taiwan for more than two centuries, can we understood Taiwan ever ruled by Chinese empire as one part of China?

Can we say Taiwanese people share the same cultural tradition with the mainlander?

What is the concept Japanese 'governance'?

Why colonization can be explained as 'governance'? Do students use the word



‘occupation’?

In which perspective the Japanese influence us? Could you give some examples?

vi. The government and political history

What is the background of the R.O.C. government? The textbooks separated the year the R.O.C. government’s history before and after 1945 into two volumes of Taiwan’s history and China’s history? How to understand this kind of historical presentation in the textbooks? According to the presentation of textbooks, is R.O.C. a Chinese regime?

What is the 228 Incident? What is the background of the 228 incident? What is the historical meaning of the 228 Incident? Can students understand it as a tragedy to local Taiwanese people? The textbooks used the term ‘ethnic integration’ in the account of the 228 Incident, what does it mean?

What is the era under Martial Law since 1947? Can you describe some? What is the history of the 228 Incident? Do you feel the 228 Incident a sensitive topic to discuss in the class? (Why)

Do you feel the Beautiful Formosa Incident a sensitive topic to discuss in the class? What is this event?

What is the historical meaning of the presidential election?

Is there any particular idea or historical perspective you often remind students when talking about contemporary Taiwan’s political history?

v. The meaning ‘Taiwan’

In many places, textbooks used ‘Taiwan’, for example, Taiwan’s international status, our hometown Taiwan, we Taiwanese people, Taiwan’s economic miracle, Taiwan’s local culture, and so on. What is the concept ‘Taiwan’ mean?

#### Appendix 4

##### The editor of the history textbooks (the junior level )

The edition of textbooks	The editor
History I (1952)	劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong
History II (1955)	劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong; 于鴻霖/ Yu, Hong-lin; 夏德儀/ Xia, De-yi
History I (1966)	劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong; 于鴻霖/ Yu, Hong-lin; 夏德儀/ Xia, De-yi
History II (1966)	劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong; 于鴻霖/ Yu, Hong-lin; 夏德儀/ Xia, De-yi
History I (1984)	李國祜/ Lee, Guo-chi; 王文發/ Wang, Weng-fa
History III (1984)	李國祜/ Lee, Guo-chi; 王文發/ Wang, Weng-fa
History I (1987)	李國祜/ Lee, Guo-chi; 王文發/ Wang, Weng-fa
History III (1987)	李國祜/ Lee, Guo-chi; 王文發/ Wang, Weng-fa
Knowing Taiwan [History] (1997)	National Institute for Compilation and Translation

##### The editor of the history textbooks (the junior level )

The edition of textbooks	The editor
Senior High School History I (1952)	邱樑楷/ Qiu, Liang-kai
Senior High School History II (1952)	郭廷以/ Kuo, Teng-yi; 劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong; 劉昌洪/ Liu, Chang-hong
Senior High School History I (1953)	郭廷以/ Kuo, Teng-yi; 劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong; 劉昌洪/ Liu, Chang-hong
Senior High School History II (1955)	郭廷以/ Kuo, Teng-yi; 劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong; 劉昌洪/ Liu, Chang-hong
Senior High School History I (1964)	郭廷以/ Kuo, Teng-yi; 劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong.
Senior High School History III (1963)	郭廷以/ Kuo, Teng-yi; 劉崇鉉/ Liu, Chung-hong.

Senior High School History I (1981)	李國祁/ Lee, Guo-chi; 王仲孚/ Wang, Zhong-fu; 王建/ Wang, Jian
Senior High School History I (1999)	李國祁/ Lee, Guo-chi; 王仲孚/ Wang, Zhong-fu; 王建/ Wang, Jian
Senior High School History III (1999)	李國祁/ Lee, Guo-chi; 王仲孚/ Wang, Zhong-fu; 王建/ Wang, Jian

Appendix 5 The content table of junior and senior high school textbooks of the 94th-year edition

Junior level	Senior level
<p><i>Social Studies (History)[I]</i> (Nan-yi publication, 2010) { (page 1-77, Geography )</p>	<p><i>Senior High School (History)[I]</i> (Han-lin publication, 2009)</p>
<p>1. Prehistoric Era and Aboriginal People in Taiwan p.78 2. Taiwan in the Era of International Competition p.88</p>	<p>I. Early Taiwan p.5 1-1 Pre-historical Age and Aboriginal People p.6 1-2 Dutch and Spanish Colonization and Ming-zheng Regime p.22</p>
<p>3. Ming-zheng-governance Era p.102 4. The Politics and Economics in Early Qing-governance Era p.102 5. The Society and Culture in Early Qing-governance Era p.110 6. Late Qing-governance Era p.118</p>	<p>II. The Long Term Qing-governance p.37 2-1 The Development of the Politics and Economics p.38 2-2 The Transformation of the Society and Culture p.52 3-3 The Foreign Invasion and Modernization p.67</p>
<p>Social Studies (History) [II] (Nan-yi, 2010) 1. The Politics in Japanese Era p.82 2. The Economics and Education in Japanese-governance Era 3. The Social Development in Japanese-governance Era</p>	<p>III. The Era of Japanese Colonization p.81 3-1 The Establishment of the Colonial Governance p.82 3-2 The Transformation of the Society and Culture p.99 3-3 Taiwan's Society in the Period of the War p.115</p>
<p>4. The post-war Politics of Taiwan p.108 5. The post-war Cross-strait Relation and Diplomatic Development p.116 6. The Post-war Economics, Society, and Culture p.122</p>	<p>IV. Contemporary Taiwan and the World p.127 4-1 From the Authoritarian to Democratic Politics p.128 4-2 The Development and Challenge of the Economics p.144 4-3 Social Transformation and Diversification p.154 4-4 The Development of the Culture of Taiwan in the World of Globalization p.166</p>

